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BLACK WOMEN IN WHITE COLLARS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LOWER-LEVEL PROFESSIONAL BLACK WOMEN WORKERS, 1870-1954. (VOLUMES I AND II)

The Ohio State University PH.D. 1986

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BLACK WOMEN IN WHITE COLLARS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LOWER-LEVEL PROFESSIONAL BLACK WOMEN WORKERS, 1870-1954

Volume I

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Stephanie J. Shaw, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1986

Dissertation Committee:

J. C. Burnham

L. J. Rupp

W. R. VanTine

Approved by

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Stephanie J. Shaw
1986

To my father, Aaron Vernard Shaw, who did not live to see the completion of this project. He was a wonderful example of the "strong men." And to my mother, Jennie Lee Thompson Shaw, a phenomenal woman.

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VITA

July 16, 1955	Born - Burlington, NC
1977	B.A., North Carolina Central University Durham, North Carolina
1979	M.A., The Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio
1979-80	Visiting Lecturer in History North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina
1981-1982	Instructor in History, The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio
1984-Present	Assistant Professor in History Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Fields: American Social History, Professor John Burnham
American Women's History, Professor Leila Rupp
American Labor History, Professor Warren VanTine

Introduction

A decade ago, Theodore Zeldin wrote an essay concerning the development of social history as a field of study. He explained that although social history is not new as the often-used label, "the new social history," suggests, many new ideas and discoveries have continually come out of the area. The innovations, wrote Zeldin, were the result of the very rebellion that social history represented: rebellion against traditional interpretations of the past and methods of arriving at those interpretations.[1]

Over time, social historians have indeed employed innovative methods and fresh sources in order to learn more about past and present American experiences. The most recent studies treat social groups as active groups rather than passive or reactive groups, as adaptable groups rather than pathological groups, as mobile groups rather than unstable groups. These new studies allow new or, at least, different interpretations of America's past and a different understanding of the history of the social groups whose experiences compose the larger story.

In a similar manner, this is a study of a small group of lower-level professional black women workers who lived between 1863 and the present. All of the women were in the

work force before 1954. It is an attempt to present a history of this group in the socio-cultural environment that helped to shape the experiences of some of its members. As a social history of lower-level professional black women workers, this study is to some extent a collective biography. But the biography is only the basis for asking and answering historical questions. It is an attempt not only to examine work-related issues, but additionally to construct or reconstruct the context of the women's lives. To this end, specific topics examined include family lives, class, caste, gender, networks, work, professionalism, and professionalization.

The women in this study worked for at least part of their careers as primary and secondary school teachers, social workers, registered nurses, and/or public librarians. I have labeled the women "lower-level professionals" because the expression, "semi-professional," invokes an image of a non-professional. The women of this study met the traditional definition of "professional" in their preparation, work, personal attitudes, and community images. The term lower-level professional, then, intends only to imply the position of the occupations on a hierarchy of occupations topped by physicians and attorneys, who were upper-level professionals in terms of training, self perception, earning potential, and community

recognition.

This study concerns approximately sixty black women workers who left some record of their lives. Over half of this number figure prominently in this study. They include some women who were internationally known and others who were probably not known at all outside of the communities in which they lived and worked.

The women whose lives were most fully documented need to be introduced, and they suggest the diversity of background and accomplishment of the characters in this narrative. The earliest born woman, for example, was Mary Church (Terrell). Terrell was the daughter of the prominent Memphis, Tennessee, Churches, Robert and Louisa Ayres Church. Born in 1863, Terrell was educated in private Ohio schools and worked as a school teacher until she married. Janie Porter (Barrett), another early worker, was born in the Southeast around 1870. She went to school at Hampton Institute and became best known for her social work among Hampton, Virginia, blacks; she founded the Locust Street settlement house and, started an orphanage in Virginia for black youth. Aside from her social work in Virginia and her work as a club woman, very little is known about Barrett.

Background material on Lugenia Burns (Hope) is equally lacking, but she was born in St. Louis, Missouri, probably also in the 1870s. She became most noted for her work in

Atlanta, Georgia, through the social settlement house that she helped to found and maintain, the Neighborhood Union. Septima Clark (married) was born in 1881 in South Carolina. She taught school for about forty years altogether in the South Carolina Sea Islands, in Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, and in the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

Portia Washington (Pittman), born in 1879 to Booker T. and Fannie Smith Washington, is also a part of this study. Pittman taught in both public and private schools during her lifetime, and she also gave private music lessons from time to time. Angelina Weld Grimké was the namesake of the feminist activist, Angelina Grimké Weld. The former, a Washington, D.C., school teacher born in 1879, was the daughter of Archibald Grimké (nephew of the South Carolina Grimké sisters, Sarah and Angelina) and Sarah Stanley Grimké, a writer from Michigan.

Sadie Peterson (Delaney) began her career as a librarian at the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library. She was born in 1889, probably in New York, and she became well known for her work as a hospital librarian and bibliotherapist at the Tuskegee Veterans Administration Hospital. Mabel Doyle (Staupers) was born in the West Indies in 1890, but her family moved to New York when she was a young girl. She became a registered nurse and the

executive secretary, field representative, and one-time president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN). Beulah Shepard (Hester) was a North Carolinian who was born in 1893. She was a social worker in the Boston area for most of her career. And, Charlemae Hill (Rollins), who was born in 1897, grew up in the Oklahoma Territory and later became an internationally known Chicago-based librarian and author of children's books.

Eunice Rivers (Laurie), born in 1899, was an Alabama public health nurse for her entire career. Lucy Mitchell (married) was also born in 1899. She grew up in Florida, but she spent most of her teaching career in the public schools of Massachusetts. Mabel Northcross (married) was born around 1900 in Tennessee and was a nurse and nurse educator for almost fifty years. One of Northcross' co-workers in the NACGN was Estelle Massey (Riddle Osborne). Osborne was born in 1901 in Texas and actually began her professional career as a public school teacher. She eventually became a nurse and worked in Washington, D.C., St. Louis, and Kansas. As an active member and president of the NACGN, she was one of the key people responsible for keeping the organization strong and active during the 1930's and 1940's.

Beulah Whitby, who was born in 1902, was a Detroit social worker. Whitby was an important resource person for

city officials when racial tensions and riots plagued the city in the 1940s. Constance Fisher, also born in 1902 (probably in Alabama), was a graduate of Fisk University. She spent most of her professional career as a social worker in Washington state. Ophelia Settle (Egypt), born in 1903 in Texas, was a sociological researcher at Fisk for Charles Johnson during the late 1920s. She subsequently worked as a social worker in Missouri, Louisiana, and Washington, D.C. Miriam Matthews was born in 1905 in Florida. She grew up and spent most of her life in California, however, and was a well-known librarian there. Lula Catherine Jordan (McNeil) was born in the Virginia tidewater area in 1905. She began her professional career as a public school teacher, but she quickly changed careers by enrolling in nursing school. She became a public health nurse and continued to live and work in the tidewater area of Virginia.

Thelma Fisher (Dewitty) was born in Texas around 1912. After teaching in the public schools of Texas for several years, she went to Seattle, Washington, to graduate school. She remained in Seattle as a public school teacher. Lillian Holland (Harvey) was born in Tennessee in 1912. She was a hospital staff nurse for several years, and she eventually became Dean of the School of Nursing at Tuskegee Institute.

Clara Stanton (Jones) was born in 1913 in Missouri. Jones worked as a student and a professional librarian in

the Atlanta University library, and she also worked during the early years of her career in the library of Dillard University. During the early 1940s, she went to work in the Detroit Public Library system, and she eventually became the director of the system. Fostine Glen (Riddick), born in 1916 and reared in Muncie, Indiana, became a nurse in Virginia after going to nursing school at Tuskegee. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie was a nurse who was born around 1917. Carnegie eventually became director of the nursing school at Hampton Institute. Her colleagues and former students recently honored her by creating a black nurses' archive at Hampton University and naming it for her. Elva Lena Jones (Dulan), also a nurse, was probably born around 1919. She was born in Tarrytown, N.Y. grew up in Philadelphia; went to nursing school in Baltimore and spent most of her nursing career in Colorado.

Barbara Lockett (Pickett), a librarian, was born in 1926. She worked as a librarian in Kentucky from the 1950s to at least 1974. Gloria Smith was born in Chicago during the 1930s. At the time of her interview in 1977, she worked as a nurse educator and school administrator in Kansas.

Interview transcripts, tapes, and other published and unpublished documents also provide varying amounts of information on the lives of approximately thirty other women who worked in the social work, teaching, nursing and library

professions during the time period of this study. While there were many women who worked in these professions whose life stories cannot be reconstructed, there is a wide variety of published material available that is related to the topics discussed in this study.

That related literature, old and new, primary and secondary, provides valuable concepts, comparisons, and insights for understanding the historical significance of these women. Older literature on the history of the family explains the importance of exploring family structures, functions, and member roles, and more recent scholarship on the family suggests that families are institutions that change not only over the generations but within generations. That is, families are developmental institutions that have structural and functional processes and sometimes, consequently, changing member roles within them.[2]

The existing literature on black socio-economic class is extensive but not very diverse. That literature points out the relationship between class group membership and socio-cultural values, traditions, and life experiences in general. Most of the older studies are sociological, and few reveal changes in class backgrounds over generations within families and within larger social groups. But even fewer of these studies determine whether or not the experiences of their subject groups differ from those of

other social groups of the same class.[3]

In general, the history of work has undergone many changes. The earliest labor history was primarily institutional history--the history of work places and labor unions--more than the history of workers. More recently, the focus of labor history became the workers: their work culture, attitudes, and control over work processes.[4] Similarly, as more research was done on the professions, new questions arose. Those new studies were at first in concensus with older works on what made certain occupations professions and others not. The newer research, however, raises new questions about the "closedness" of the professions and the built-in biases in the structures of professions particularly in regards to working women.[5]

The history of women in America has probably undergone the most rapid development of all the areas examined in this study. That history has moved from little more than straight, biographical narratives to interpretive studies of women as a part of society but yet as a group with a history, a sociology, and a culture of their own. The more recent scholarship portrays the feminist movement as an almost natural response of some women to their culturally imposed, subordinate positions in society.[6]

The sociological and socio-historical literature on caste presents the most complicated picture of all of the

areas studied here. That literature hardly disagrees on what caste is, but a long and continuing debate rages on over whether such a system exists in the United States and whether "caste system" is or is not an appropriate way to describe so-called racial relations in the United States. Another issue that is usually addressed in caste studies is the role of the middle class within lower caste groups.[7]

Finally, the formal study of network systems is still new enough that the questions are still being devised. The bulk of the sociological literature on networks reflects the struggle to define the phenomenon. That literature discusses strong ties and weak ties, intensity and frequency, diversity and density, durability and directedness. The literature reflects continuing concern about the purposes of the networks and the relationship of those purposes to the form or the shape that the networks take, but no scholars question the importance of networks.[8]

The lives of the women of this study sometimes corroborate the findings of previous scholarship, but perhaps more often, not. The first part of the dissertation concerns family and class in the lives of the women. Family lives of the women reveal very typical middle social class traditions, but there were significant differences in the ways in which children were socialized and in the roles of mothers in these families.

The chapter on social class reveals the character of the black upper classes historically as revealed by previous scholars, and it compares those earlier findings with the lives of these women. Facts about family and class force, very different conclusions from those of earlier scholars, particularly on the topics of class consciousness and intergenerational mobility.

The middle section concerns the work that the women did, virtually always for pay, outside of their homes. These chapters concern work processes, professionalism, and professionalization. All three lines of inquiry reveal that external factors, that is, factors beyond the workplace, more often determined how these women worked than did such work-related issues as wages and working conditions. Moreover, significant differences existed between the work experiences of these women and white working class groups and white female white-collar workers.

The last section includes chapters on gender, caste, and networks. Gender affected the lives of all of these women. First of all, their general experiences were often very similar to those of white middle-class women, but certain aspects of their socialization as females was very different. Consequently, many other aspects of their lives were different. Second, the lives of these women revealed that while it is true that, historically, racism within the

feminist movement and disagreements among black and white women over organizational philosophies and objectives sometimes made it difficult or even impossible for some black women to participate in the larger national movements, the differences in the way in which these black women were socialized in their families as females probably played an equal if not larger role in deterring them from even seeking a role in larger women's movements.

The chapter on caste seeks to determine the impact of lower-caste position on the lives of the women. A dual approach to the question of caste was necessary. On the one hand, as the Jim Crow system of segregation became more and more entrenched, these external factors beyond the women's control had a large impact on their lives. But on the other hand, there were internal caste factors, perhaps stimulated by external factors but still within the complete control of the women, that were also important in their lives. Those internal and external factors combined to encourage personality types quite contrary to the so-called "Black Anglo-Saxons."

The final chapter on networks examines how the women "connected" with other individuals and groups in order to fulfill personal needs and to bring about social change in the many areas with which they were concerned. Networks were effective because of both structure and function as

these networks changed over the life cycles of the women and over the generations. The conclusion emerges that perhaps it is not always the tight-knit, homogenous groups that are most successful at achieving specific goals.

This social history of lower-level professional black women workers therefore contributes to the recent reorientation of social history both through separate chapters and as a larger, more complete study. As has now been suggested there are alternative interpretations for the specific topics that the individual chapters concern: family history, class history, labor history, women's history, and Afro-American history. But there are also other areas that may benefit from this complete study. One major area that is still a concern of both historians and sociologists is group identity: class consciousness, worker consciousness, gender consciousness, and caste consciousness. Another area discussed both implicitly and explicitly in this study relates to group and individual mobility: geographic, occupational, and economic. A third area concerns relationships within and among groups: kinship groups, organizational groups, occupational groups, "racial" groups, and community groups. And, finally, the womens lives suggest the complexity of factors constantly converging and diverging and helping to shape the actions of individuals and groups.

For some of the women of this study, only an oral interview transcript or tape was available. For others, manuscripts, biographies, autobiographies, and other published materials were accessible. One major feature helps to prevent this variation from creating an imbalance. Those women whose lives were documented in several kinds of sources were the women who were most prominent. They are important here because they are the ones who earlier scholars described as acutely class conscious (to a fault), hardly caste conscious, extremely egocentric, and generally caught up in essentially unimportant activities. Perhaps more importantly, they are usually depicted as true representatives of the middle class. And so these women are particularly important for testing the conclusions of other scholars who previously wrote about the black middle class in particular, middle-class women in general, and the American middle class subsequently.

Natural limitations imposed by the scarcity of source materials help to explain the small number of women represented in this study. As mentioned earlier, experiences from the lives of approximately sixty women help to comprise this story. In some chapters, fewer women are represented because of the limitations of the sources that are available. The oral interviews of many of the nurses, for example, were conducted by individuals who sought to

compile a history of black graduate nursing and nursing institutions. Hence, those sources are heavily weighted in that direction. Similarly, the manuscript collections at the Black Librarians' Archives do not include papers that were not direclty related to the women's professional endeavors. Additionally, some inherent limitations of oral interviews (time, memory) and autobiographies (objectivity) must be acknowledged. Because of these factors, necessarily, the conclusions made here are somewhat limited.

Still, these conclusions are powerfully suggestive for several reasons. First of all, this study covers a long period of time. These women lived between 1863 and the present. They worked in four professional areas; they were social workers, public school teachers, librarians, and nurses. They resided throughout the United States; they lived and worked in the North, the South, the Southwest, the Old Northwest, the West, and one woman even lived and worked in the Great Plains state of Kansas. And yet in spite of the diversity of their backgrounds (geographic, chronological, occupational), the similarities in their experiences suggest the validity of the patterns that emerge.

Like many of the more recent social histories of various groups, this study is concerned with showing strengths as well as weaknesses, progress as well as

setbacks, change as well as continuity. And there are clear indications of both external "forces" and internal control. Altogether, the story of these women is a story not very different from the characterization of the life of librarian Clara Stanton Jones in a 1971 Dallas newspaper article: "It is an epic of struggle and stubbornness, reverence for education and achievement, and a religion which offered . . . sometimes the only salvation in this life."[9] But for these women, collectively, "religion" was not necessarily otherworldly. It included an unconditional faith in their own abilities to foster positive change in their lives.

PART I

WHO ARE YOUR PEOPLE?

Long-time residents of a small town or community usually, very shortly after encountering a newcomer, get around to asking the newcomer some form of that ubiquitous question, "who are your people?" The inquirer does not necessarily want to know the economic or social standing of the newcomer; instead, the question is often simply an attempt to establish an appropriate relationship with the newcomer.

In this study, however, the answer to the question, "who are your people?" seeks to establish much more. In Chapters One and Two, on family life and socio-economic class respectively, I seek to ascertain, as much as possible, the "roots" of the women of this study and to proceed further to examine the women's own family lives and ways in which they interected with class phenomena.

William Bridges' 1965 study of American families actually explains why a social history of any group ought to begin with a study of the families. He described the role of the family in the life of a child in terms of acculturation. He said that, theoretically, the family "transforms an asocial, biological entity into a human

being, and by instilling in that child the values endorsed by his culture, it prepares him to meet the demands that his society will make on him." Bridges saw the second role of the family similarly as a conveyor of the cultural values of the group across generations, thus perpetuating the culture. He recognized the reciprocal relationship between domestic practices and social context and concluded that patterns of acculturation, in fact, were both results and causes of the socio-economic order.[1]

Socio-economic class has no small part in determining lifestyles of individuals, either. Like the family, socio-economic-class foundations often determine the nature of the shared and learned traditions. But equally important, the socio-economic class determines, to a large degree, the manner in which individuals may act upon those transferred values. For the middle-class women of this study, later chapters will show how the women followed through on this training through all of their work.

CHAPTER 1

Family Life

Only in recent years have scholars of American family history begun to acknowledge class and ethnic differences within family structures, functions, and member roles.[1] The conclusions of those newer studies allowed a more precise understanding of the diversity among family patterns and the complexity of family history as it relates to American history. Such scholars challenged earlier conclusions that the American family was essentially nuclear and patriarchal, that family members had rigid, gender-specific roles, and that deviations from those characteristics reflected maladjustment and instability.

These newer studies reveal clearly that American families have almost never been as stereotypical in character as the older scholarship suggested. The recent studies uncovered "normal" family structures that were sometimes nuclear, sometimes extended, and sometimes modified extended. Often family structure was a reflection of social class.[2] And in just the last decade, the most significant, detailed contributions to understanding the relationship of class and ethnicity to the structure and stability of the family indicate that family structures were

flexible and that particularly, although not exclusively, among working classes, flexibility manifested itself in extended-kin networks which enabled "peasant" families to withstand the strains of modernization. Consequently, deviations from "normal" family arrangements were not necessarily evidence of maladjustment at all.[3]

Discussions of family functions underwent a similar development. The more recent works do not necessarily disagree with the earlier ones, they simply explain family functions in more detail and more broadly. They all, for example, agree that the family has always been the primary agent for socializing and educating children, but the recent scholars define education broadly to include not just schooling but also such things as learning (socio-) sexual roles and learning to talk, eat, cope with problems, and control bodily functions. That broad education, or the socialization and acculturation of the child, is the focus of many new studies, and teaching the children the family and community social values sometimes involved encouraging a "commercial spirit" in the child. In some working class families, it could easily mean learning the role of family as an employment referral agency, a housing authority, and a welfare agency for recent, newcomer kindreds.[4]

Scholarship on family-member roles involves more varied conclusions than the literature on family structures and

functions. Some of that literature claims that children were different and separate from society and had a consciousness of their own as children. Other studies conclude that the colonial American child, at least, was a miniature adult as a result of early, regular, and rigid disciplining. And, finally, the most recent studies on white-ethnic, working-class families reveal that a major role of children was to enhance to the family's survivability by working and contributing economically.[5]

Most scholars acknowledge women's familial roles as child rearers and nurturers and partners. Some of those scholars do, however, provide some clearer explanations of the roles, some of the women's reactions to the roles, and how certain women modified the roles. For example, Barbara Welter specifically explained the nineteenth century white, middle-class woman's role and character in terms of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg described how some women responded to that role when it became a burden too heavy to bear. And Virginia Yans McLaughlin explained how Italian women managed to fulfill social and cultural role expectations while working outside the home.[6]

While several of these sources differentiated between classes, few of them described "racial" differences. Instead, a whole separate literature on black families that clearly

explained some differences among classes evolved. W. E. B. DuBois compiled the first significant studies on black families. While they were not generally historical in nature, they and other sociological and anthropological studies provided and continue to provide much background material on black families.[7]

Although DuBois introduced "the legacy of slavery" to black family history and sociology, E. Franklin Frazier developed and popularized the theme that slavery was antithetical to family and marital organization. Frazier in 1939 in Black Families in White America, not Moynihan in 1965, started the scholarly debates by maintaining that slavery, modernization (especially urbanization and migration), and certain social and biological differences destroyed and/or inhibited the development of strong historical and cultural traditions necessary to sustain family functions. Moynihan, in The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, also described this "tangle of pathology." His discussion resulted in much scholarly debate among sociologists, anthropologists, and historians. Refuting the Frazier-Moynihan finding was the major goal and result: that is, researchers found that matriarchy and instability were not the "norm" among black families and that, where there were "matriarchies," instability was not a necessary result.[8]

But the other strand of black family types discussed by Frazier did not receive the same proportion of attention. Frazier also talked about a stable, two-parent, patriarchal, middle-class, black family that he said descended from ante-bellum free blacks or at least mulatto or skilled slaves. Unfortunately, many who subsequently worked to support or refute Frazier's claims did not recognize class as a major factor in their analyses. But Frazier, himself, continued his work on the black middle class and the result, _Black Bourgeoisie_, presented black middle-class persons as people who not only mimicked whites and had no cultural traditions of their own but who also resented being black, and, consequently, aspired to be as much like whites as possible. He described them as being conspicuously materialistic and possessing only imaginary status in their "world(s) of make believe."[9]

All of these sources provided a point of departure for family history generally and the history of black families particularly, but many had limitations. Some of them concerned only white families. Many that did include a study of black families confused social factors with economic factors. And among the studies of the black middle class, popular literature and "impression" often formed the basis of the analysis.

An examination of the family lives of the black,

middle-class women of this study reveals some similarities and some differences in family structure, function, and member roles when compared with those described in the existing literature on black families specifically and family history generally. Surviving manuscript collections and other primary source material reveal that between 1870 and 1980 these black, middle-class families were primarily patriarchal, but gender roles were often varied. Neither did those sources reveal any "racial" identity confusion, i.e., "Black Anglo-Saxons." In fact, transferring "racial" consciousness from parents to children was a part of the socialization process within the families. And in those cases of extended-kin networks within households and outside of them, they reflect "flexible traditions," as McLaughlin called them, rather than pathology.[10]

Evidence about the women of this study indicates that the families from which they came helped to determine their own later family lives and lifestyles. As children and grandchildren in particular families, they attained values and traditions by which they would live themselves and by which they would rear their own children. All of the women came from very stable families in the broadest sense. They were all property owners, and the families included, at first at least, both parents. Most of the parents had formal education through high school, and many beyond high

school. And all of those who did not have extensive, formal education had other skills that allowed them to provide adequately for the family. Robert Church for example, had less than a fourth-grade education, but he was a self-made millionaire. Although Mary Church Terrell's father provided her with varied educational experiences to help her become a "real lady," including a two-year stay in Europe, in all of the other families, the primary concern of the parents was that their children, daughters included, be capable of supporting themselves.[11]

In the homes of the parents of these women, the fathers were clearly the heads of the household, and as the material providers they made most of the major decisions affecting the family members. While there are many indications of patriarchy, among the best examples was the frequency with which the family moved because of the father's work. Julia Smith's father, the first black male graduate of Boston University, a lawyer, and a dentist, moved his family to Columbus, Indiana, because of his work as Special Examiner for the United States Bureau of Pensions. Her mother, one of the first black public school teachers in Washington, D.C., did not work outside the home after marriage.[12] And although Miriam Matthews did not say her father made the decision to move her family from Florida to California, he was a Tuskegee-trained painter, and her mother was a

housewife. But, more significantly, her father set up his own business in California, his brother accompanied them on the trip, and their first home there was with Miriam's father's godfather.[13] Because it was only out of sheer frustration over his inability to control his daughter's spending that Booker T. Washington turned the matter over to Portia's stepmother, here was another example of patriarchy in the families.[14] Frances Grant's father, a prominent Boston dentist, outraged by Frances' first grade teacher's "lack of professionalism," took Frances out of public school after that teacher marched in a protest parade with cigar makers. And when the Grants' home became a gathering place for Harvard summer school students, Frances' father sold the house and moved "'beyond the ten-cent trolley.'"[15] In short, the men in these families made basic decisions that affected the entire households.

The composition of the families and households was much more complex, since the makeup of the families changed from time to time. Family structures were greatly affected by life cycles. The most consistent patterns of change directly corresponded to specific stages in the lives of these subjects: childhood, adolescence, adulthood (or the point at which women married or established themselves independently of their parents), and old age or post-retirement age.[16]

Among the women whose papers survive, or whose oral interviews (histories) were available, in every instance in which there were descriptions, the families into which the women were born and the households in which they lived as children consisted of a grandmother, at one time or another, the parent(s), and the children. Even in the case of Portia Washington (Pittman), whose family at first lived in a house with other Tuskegee faculty, the family was essentially nuclear. But after her mother died, her maternal grandmother came to Tuskegee to care for her.[17] Occasionally, a single aunt lived permanently with the families.[18] But more common than permanent, resident kin other than the grandmother were relatives who stayed long enough to finish college, or long enough for their husbands to finish college, or long enough to get reorganized to complete their journey further northward.[19]

The major, long-term changes in the households of most of these children occurred as soon as they went to school. Not surprisingly, as a part of their middle-class upbringing, over half of the girls went to school away from home. Family and friendship networks often determined where they went and with whom they stayed. Some attended boarding schools and stayed on the campuses. Others became part of new "families." Mary Church Terrell lived with friends of her family, Mr. and Mrs. Hunster, when at the age of six she

went from her Memphis, Tennessee, home to Yellow Springs, Ohio, to attend kindergarten at Antioch College. She lived with the Hunsters from approximately 1870 to 1875. When Mary was ready to go to public elementary school, it was the Hunsters' suggestion that she attend the public school of Oberlin, Ohio, where she boarded with an elderly widow of a black physician until she enrolled at Oberlin College and moved onto the campus.[20]

From 1895 to 1899, Portia Washington (Pittman), an Alabaman, stayed on the campus of Framingham State Normal School from which her first stepmother graduated. In 1901, she enrolled in Wellesley College as a special student and stayed in a boarding house off campus for the year she was there. She then went to Bradford Academy in Bradford, Massachusetts, where she lived in a college dormitory until she left to return to Tuskegee in 1904.[21] Eunice Laurie completed grades six through ten at a Fort Gaines, Georgia, church-affiliated boarding school of which her uncle was principal. Between approximately 1903 and 1908, Laurie went to school in Thomasville, Georgia, where she was in the care of several older girls from her hometown who also attended the school.[22] When Septima Clark left home to attend Avery Normal Institute, she joined a family which lived across the street from the school. In this family, the husband was a railway postal clerk who was away from home much of the

time. His wife, with several small children, did not want to be home alone.[23] Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, whose home was Washington, D.C., spent the summers with her relatives in New York when she was growing up. It was her cousin, a nurse, who piqued her interest in the profession and who took her to apply for admission and to take the admission test at Lincoln Hospital in New York.[24] Ophelia Settle Egypt, whose mother died when Ophelia was a child, was living with her father and his sister in Denver, Colorado, when she decided to attend Howard University in Washington, D.C., as a result of the influence of her cousin who was already at Howard.[25] Henrietta Smith-Chisholm did not say whether or not a family member or family friends encouraged her to attend nursing school at Freedman's Hospital, but she did say that when she graduated, her cousin, a New York nurse, found her a temporary job in the city before she passed the state licensing exams. Smith-Chisholm was very happy to get a job there because by this time, her mother and sister, born in New York but long-time residents of New Jersey, had migrated back to New York.[26]

Attending school early influenced the household structures of these families. And as this chapter suggests and a later chapter will detail, family-based networks were very important in the early education of these girls.

The most variation in the composition of families and

households occurred after marriage. For example, for a short time after they married, Beulah and William Hunter Hester lived in a rooming house in which they had one room and access to a kitchen. They never had any children of their own, although they later reared one daughter of William's sister. Shortly after moving from Greensboro, North Carolina, to Boston, Massachusetts, because of William's new pastorate, they acquired their own house and took in student lodgers and boarders. After Hester's husband died, her aunt came to live with her. And later after a physical assault on Hester by some delinquent boys, Hester's nephews came to Boston to move her back to Oxford, North Carolina, thereby fulfilling their father's (Hester's brother's) wish that they take care of her.[27] But the many changes in Hester's household stand out as the exception rather than the rule among the married women.

Among the divorced or widowed women with children, however, frequent changes were normal. The changes in these families often represented some tragedy. In the case of Portia Washington Pittman, her married life began quite blissfully. Her architect husband built a nice home for her in a new black suburb of Washington, D.C. They had three children while there, but when Sidney, her husband, became frustrated because of his inability to work steadily, he moved his family to Texas. They lived in Texas several

years, but after Sidney struck their daughter, Fannie, Portia left him and went back to Tuskegee to teach. By that time all of her children were either in school, working, or both. When she went to Tuskegee to teach, she had to live in a dormitory with other students and faculty. When she had to leave her teaching job at Tuskegee because her teaching credentials no longer met the standards of the school, she moved into a small house that she built off campus and continued to teach music in her new home. Later, her daughter Fannie, who had left music school for financial and health reasons, came to live with her. Then when Fannie got married and left, her mother, now in her old age, went to live with her son, Sidney, Jr., in Washington. He died in 1967, and Portia was alone again until Fannie's husband died and she came back to live with Portia. Portia was living in a two-room, roach-infested, ghetto apartment, too old to work for a living and with no living relatives to help while also trying to care for Fannie, who was very ill, when, in 1972, the Washington, D.C., branch of Tuskegee Alumni discovered their plight and moved them into a new apartment.[28]

Septima Clark, as a widow with a child, experienced several changes in her household composition, each one representing a setback. After her husband died, his twin came to Dayton, Ohio, for his body, Septima, and her ten-

month old son. They moved from their own single-family home to that of her husband's parents in Hickory, North Carolina. Clark's inability to accept the ways of her domineering mother-in-law led her back to South Carolina, near her birthplace. She and her son, Nerie, Jr., lived in a rooming house until he ran away from the boarding house mistress to come to the school where Septima taught, two-and-a-half miles away. At that time, Clark decided that she could not keep her son with her under such circumstances, and so she sent him back to Hickory to live with his paternal grandparents. Because she missed him terribly, she soon sent for him again, but he was growing fast, and she could not afford to keep him and feed and clothe him. After living in three different boarding houses, she gave up and once again sent him back to his grandparents.[29]

The lives of single women who never married were not nearly so traumatic, although changes in their households were often the result of the death of a relative. For nearly all her early adult life, Angelina Grimké lived in the home of her uncle and aunt, Francis and Charlotte Forten Grimké, in Washington, D.C., despite the fact that she and her father were property owners.[30] But after her father's death in 1930 and a dispute with her Uncle Frank, she moved into her own house.[31] By this time, Angelina was forty-seven years old!

Frances Grant lived as an adult with her mother and grandmother. After her mother died, her grandmother went to Washington, D.C., to live with her son (Frances's uncle). Frances left Cambridge, Massachusetts, and went to New York to live with her sister Helene, a school teacher, and her sister's friend and housemate, Georgie. When Helene died, Frances found her own place.[32] And, finally, Julia Smith apparently lived with her parents all of her life and lived alone in the same house after their deaths. But when her brother became ill, she left her job, closed up her house, and went to stay with and care for him in Cambridge, Massachusetts. After his death, she lived alone again.[33]

The structures of the families of these women were indeed complex and varied. Many of the reasons for changes in structure were obvious while others were not. The manner in which these families served their members was closely related to the structure in that one structure was more functional or purposeful at one time than at another. By the same token, family members consciously reorganized themselves in order to perform some specific function.

Among the women about whom evidence survives, the clearest illustrations of family functions come from the surviving letters and other papers of the oldest women. But more often than not, the oral interviews, biographies, and autobiographies of those women born later and whose papers

are not yet in archives supplement conclusions drawn from the available manuscript collections. Illustrating similar functions of these families with such dissimilar structures confirms the claim that functions of the family were constant. Of added importance is the fact that Portia Washington Pittman, Angelina Grimké, and Mary Church Terrell were all born between 1863 and 1883. All of the other women were born between 1883 and the 1930s. All of the women who were married were married for varying lengths of time between 1895 and the present, and throughout the ninety years there were consistent patterns.

A primary function of the family was to rear children. Rearing children involved more than simply providing food, clothing, and shelter for them. Providing whatever the child needed in order to develop into a happy, socially acceptable, productive person was just as important as providing material necessities. For that reason, providing both social and non-social skills and emotional as well as physical nourishment were parts of the rearing process.[34] And while the parents did not always provide the skills and support directly, the parents made sure that someone did provide those things. Probably one of the primary reasons that Booker T. Washington married three times was to make sure that his family received proper care. His work required that he be away from home most of the time, and if

he could not be there providing the nurturing and guidance that Portia and her two brothers needed, then someone else had to. Before he married the third time, his first wife's mother, a second wife, his brother and sister-in-law, nurse-maids, and members of the Tuskegee faculty assisted. And just before his third marriage, his intended wrote to him expressing concern that she was unable to be the warm, affectionate mother that she knew Portia wanted, and that she was, in fact, worried about "being thrown [in] with her for a lifetime."[35]

Booker T. Washington carefully saw to Portia's safety and well-being. A Tuskegee fund-raising agent accompanied her to and from school in the North. Mary Moore, an English teacher at Framingham, and Principal Ellen Hyde became her guardians. Moore agreed to act _in loco parentis_ during school sessions, and Portia spent her summer vacations in the homes of individuals selected by her father. Even while attending Bradford Academy, all of Portia's male escorts came from Tuskegee. And when she left the United States for Europe after graduating from Bradford, her chaperone was Jane Clark, Tuskegee's lady principal.[36]

The parents of these children also tried to teach them the self discipline and social skills that would help them "get along in the world." And although the parents were very ethnically conscious, they taught their children to avoid

allowing other people's feelings about them based on their ethnic group membership prevent them from doing what they needed to do. After Portia moved out of one boarding house in Europe as a result of some caste-related problems, her father wrote to her telling her not to think about "American prejudice, or any other race prejudice. The thing is for one to get above such things. If one gets in the habit of continually thinking and talking about race prejudice, he soon gets to the point that he is fit for little that is worth doing."[37] In other words, Portia had to discipline herself not to let other peoples' problems regarding color become her own.

But also of importance was behaving in a manner to prevent creating problems. Mary Church Terrell provided an excellent example of how these parents trained their children. While riding on a train with her father who had left the car in order to smoke, a conductor tried to move her to another ("colored") car. She reminisced that she did not understand why it happened, and when she tried to explain the incident to her mother, Terrell said:

> I assured her [that] I had been careful to do everything she told me to do. For instance, my hands were clean and so was my face. I hadn't mussed my hair. . . . I hadn't soiled my dress a single bit. I was sitting up 'straight and proper.' Neither was I looking out of the window, resting on my knees with my feet on the seat, (as I dearly loved to do). I wasn't talking loud. In short . . . I was 'behaving like a little lady' as she told me to do.[38]

All of the parents wanted their children to behave properly. And to behave a certain way towards friends and family was just as important as one's behavior in public before strangers. Archibald Grimké, away from home as American Consul in San Domingo, instructed Angelina to be a comfort to Frank and Lottie (her uncle and aunt) who were caring for her. He begged her: "do my darling learn to be kind and thoughtful and unselfish." He often reminded her to write people back who had written her and not to forget her old friends.[39]

But despite her father's admonitions, Angelina's behavior was not always acceptable. Her father subsequently wrote to her that her aunt wrote to him saying she could no longer care for Angelina. He continued that Lottie spoke kindly but frankly especially about "the influence which Washington is exacting upon you." He reminded Angelina that he worried about the possible effects of the move on her before they left their Hyde Park, Massachusetts, home, and he alluded to a discussion they had regarding his fears before they went to Washington to live. He continued that his hope was that she would be a comfort and a joy to her aunt and uncle and that she would be worthy of living in "such a city as Washington." But instead she proved to be the opposite: a source of anxiety and illness. The elder Grimké added that since being in Washington had a negative

effect on Angelina, they had to find a school where all the best qualities in her would develop. He concluded that if anyone was to blame, only Angelina was responsible. But he added, rather than blame herself she should "turn over a new leaf in your dear young life."[40] "Mama Day" wrote to Angelina several years later that only by becoming trustworthy would she win back people's confidence, but to regain that confidence would take time for someone who had been so deceitful. She encouraged Angelina to be a comfort to her father and to be as unselfish as he was.[41]

Another aspect of the socialization of these children involved making sure that they understood the value of money, saved it, and used it wisely. Archibald Grimké tried hard to convince his daughter to be thrifty. At one point, he refused to send her money she needed to repay a friend. He reminded her that her allowance was fifty cents a week and she would have to pay it back herself. He told her no one should ever get in debt unless absolutely necessary and, upon doing so, the first concern should be getting out. Another time, he refused to send her five dollars for a new winter outfit unless she was willing to accept it in lieu of her round-trip train ticket home for Christmas. On still other occasions he told her to take care of her things, make new things from old ones, and keep new ones from becoming old, and he suggested that she repair old shoes rather than

buy new ones. He reminded her often to "practice a wise economy."[42]

The parents worked to prepare their children to "do well" and "make good." Sending the children to the best schools that they could afford reflects that. But equally important, in spite of the fact that they were girls, the parents wanted them to be capable of making a living and supporting themselves. Booker T. Washington at first opposed Portia's marriage, saying she should be capable of supporting herself professionally before getting married.[43] Similarly, before Angelina Grimké was to graduate from high school, her father wrote to her advising her to decide whether she wanted to go on to college or trade school. He added that it was his responsibility to make sure she could support herself.[44] She decided to go to Wellesley.

Finally, the parents cultivated pride and self confidence in their children. They encouraged the children to work hard and to present themselves at their best. Archibald Grimké once wrote to Angelina that he thought she would like Pompeii, the novel, but he warned her not to spend all of her time reading novels: "History, biography, works of travel, etc., etc., you must learn to like. You don't want to be like every Tom, Dick and Harry . . . of the mentally weak. . . . Get a move on you in the straight and

narrow way of sound sense and sound school[ing]!" He constantly urged her to study hard and be a credit to herself and him in all respects. On one occasion, after he received a letter from Angelina's principal saying that she was ill, Archibald wrote to her that if she was not really ill and was only "indulging yourself and neglecting your studies, I shall be deeply grieved." A few weeks later he wrote that he believed her when she said she was ill but he cautioned her, "Do not let the precious time slip away from you [but] instead, have something to show for all the expenses of your education. Do not in anything be content with mere mediocrity, but aim always to attain excellence in character and culture."[45]

The parents sometimes went to extremes in order to help their children maintain pride and confidence in themselves. In Miriam Matthews family, shortly after the film "Birth of a Nation" opened in her hometown, some Armenian neighbor children called the Matthews children derisive names and told them to look at the movie posters. Miriam's mother went to talk with the children and their parents. Before leaving, she told them, "you should be thankful that you are in America, where you don't have to flee for your lives or be beaten by Turkish people. You should show your proper respect for people who have been American citizens for generations, and are your superiors in education and

income."[46] As mentioned above, this example was an extreme one. More common was encouragement like that of Norma Boyd's mother, who told her children that no person was better than they were except those whose conduct was superior.[47]

For the children, the function of the family was not simply to provide the obvious necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, protection, and education but also to equip them with skills and attitudes that would prepare them for life. Among those values were pride, self confidence, socially-acceptable behavior, thrift, compassion, respect, dependability, and integrity: traditional middle class values. When these children became parents, they encouraged the same values in their children. By looking at the lives of the women as adults, it is also possible to see how the family, or more specifically marriage, functioned for them. For these women, not only was marriage the only acceptable arrangement in which to have children, but marriage also allowed the women to share their lives with a partner, who, unlike children, would (hopefully) be with them until death.

Because Mary Church Terrell lectured around the country and in Europe, she and her husband did much of their communicating through the mails. The letters reflect the respect they had for each other as individuals and for each other's work. And they reflect the affection that they felt

for each other. Mary Terrell spoke of herself as "the wife of the finest colored graduate to receive the degree (sic) of Magna Cum Laude . . ." and added that "next to being the wife of the president of the United States, being the wife of a Harvard graduate is the greatest honor that a woman could have."[48] In a letter to her, her husband, Robert, praised her work and assured her that she would get her rewards for that work in this world.[49] He later wrote: "You grow better as the years go by. I am very glad the people appreciate you at your real worth. You deserve all the plaudits heaped upon your devoted head."[50]

Mary wrote to him often about her love for him, about how badly she missed him, and about how much more and more dependent on him she was becoming. She sent her letters with "thousands of kisses." She romantically signed others: "tout a toi;" or, "with bushels of kisses and a world of love to you, I am yours heart, soul and body;" and, in one instance, "lots of love to you . . . and a big, long, soulful kiss for you from your affectionate wife."[51]

Other younger women apparently had equally supportive and affectionate relationships. Clara Jones, one of the youngest women and a librarian, recalled how supportive her husband always was of her endeavors.[52] When Fostine Riddick's husband finally gave in to his wife's desire to return to college, he packed up and went with her from their

tidewater Virginia-area home to New York and assisted her with her assignments.[53] The husband of Charlmae Rollins, a Chicago librarian, was also very supportive of her, and while she was on a European trip during the summer of 1958, he advised her, "Things are fine here, [and] so just forget about conditions here and have a most pleasant time."[54] Joseph Rollins began all of his letters to his wife with an affectionate, contemporary greeting, "Hi sugar." And he closed most of these letters with, "My love is yours."[55] Sadie Delaney's husband saluted her with an original poem.

> . . . .
>
> I loved you dear on New Year's day in February, too.
> In March and April, May and June, I thought the world of you.
>
> . . . .
>
> And now it is December and the ending of the year
> And I am every bit as much in love with you my dear.
> Another year is ending but another year will start
> And all throughout its calendar, you will be deep within my heart.[56]

Although no other manuscript collections of a married woman included enough personal papers to show similar relationships, several other women spoke fondly of their long marriages. Beulah Hester, married forty-six years, spoke of her husband's support of her and her work. And Lucy Mitchell discussed, at length, her partnership-friendship-marriage and her children's gratefulness to her husband and her for showing them what family life could be.

At the time of her interview, one of her children was in her thirty-second year of marriage, and the other was in his twenty-fifth year.[57]

Finally, in their old age, these women presented an interesting anomaly. Unlike their grandparents and parents, they hardly ever lived in the homes of their children. (Of all of the women who married and had children, only Portia Washington Pittman went to live with her children. Her motivation was primarily financial.) While they were usually active grandparents, they were fiercely independent. Only after being assaulted did Beulah Hester acquiesce and go with her nephews back to the South, but there is no indication that she lived with them in North Carolina.[58] Julia Smith (unmarried) even remained in her multi-story house alone after three break-ins, the last one affecting her so badly psychologically that she isolated herself for three years.[59]

An examination of the roles of these women in their families during various stages of life not only helps to complete the discussion of their family lives, but the examination also serves to reinforce the premise of the interdependency of family roles, structure, and function. But because of the paucity of sources, the roles of these women when they were girls is difficult to determine. What was clear, however, was that simply being children provided

parents and grandparents a common object of attention and affection. And as children, they gave their grandmothers something to do. Most of the women recalled that their grandmothers passed on to them the stories about long-departed family members. As children, the girls listened to their grandmothers' stories about "hoopsnakes," slavery, and the underground railroad. In Clara Jones's case, the story teller in her household when she was a child was her grandfather. But grandmothers helped make doll's clothes and "saved" the children from whippings. They sometimes cared for the children while their parents were away. And she helped bury the dead pet canary. The grandmothers were later a link between these women and their children. Lucy Mitchell recalled that her own daughter often preferred to talk about her "growing up problems" with her grandmother (Lucy's mother) rather than with Lucy. And at one time, Mitchell's mother and her mother-in-law lived in the house with Mitchell, her husband and their children. E. Franklin Frazier aptly called these grandmothers, "the guardians of the generations."[60]

There need be no guessing about the role of the women as mothers. And their "role" as mother was quite complicated because in many cases the women worked outside of the home while their children were growing up. These women could not carry the full responsibility of child

rearers and nurturers, and, while they did their best, they usually did not have to. Mary Church Terrell and her husband were not only good friends and companions to each other, they were partners in child rearing. Again, their letters revealed their partnership. In one instance she told her husband that she wrote to their daughter, Phyllis, and told her not to let boys visit her during the day. She added that no decent boy would want his sister to be alone in a house with a boy, and if he were not a gentleman, then Phyllis would be better off rid of him anyway.[61] Her instructions to Phyllis required her husband's enforcement. Another, similar letter reflected Terrell's agony over not being at home with the girls and her need to depend on her husband to fill in. She wrote that she was glad he was taking care of the girls. She continued:

> I do wish I were home tonight. I am dreadfully worried about the girls. I shall never leave them without an elderly woman again. It is not right. It is positively dangerous. You will do the best you can, but you are a man and you are not at home when they return from school. I am worried nearly to death. I can hardly think that I shall be absent from home another week. . . . You see that Phyllis in particular does not walk home with boys. . . . Please come home <u>early</u> and <u>stay</u> home till they retire."

The speeches at the Purity Congress that Terrell was attending in Columbus, Ohio, no doubt helped trigger her anxiety.[62]

Terrell's role as a partner in the family activities was

clear in other letters in which her husband expressed his desire for her to see specific houses before they made a decision to buy.[63] And once, after Terrell and the children left for a vacation, her husband wrote to her thanking them for "leaving the apartment in such 'apple pie' condition. Every thing looks as smart and as neat as a pin," he added.[64] Such a comment suggests that he did not automatically view housecleaning as a woman's or girl's "natural" responsibility.

Mary and Robert Terrell's partnership was not unique. Although Eunice Laurie did not have children, she was still more than a "helpmate" for her husband. He provided her with the support she needed to maintain her work and other interests. In fact, she noted that for twenty years he accompanied her anywhere she had to go when she needed him, including on work assignments.[65] Lucy Mitchell described a similar situation when she commented that marriage and parenthood came first with her ". . . but that career had a place whose needs could be met with skillful planning and cooperation of the spouse. Cooperation of the husband is most important in meeting these three aspects of a woman's life. . . ." She added that her husband saw that domestic duties alone did not meet her need for self-development, and so he encouraged her to go to school and helped her with the housework and children. They had been married forty-three

years at the time of his death.[66] The only married woman who completely stopped working outside the home after having children and who did not return until the children reached school age was Florence Edmonds, a nurse. She was responsible for rearing the children, while her husband, who began to work two jobs, provided for them materially.[67]

Of all the women in this study who married, at least thirteen had children. The records are scanty, however, about children's children. At least four women had grandchildren, but only two talked about being grandmothers. Ophelia Egypt said that she and her five-year old grandson comprised a "mutual admiration society" and that he spent every Saturday with her.[68] But Lucy Mitchell described her perception of the role of grandmothers, and she described that role in detail. She thought that grandchildren should see grandparents age gracefully and move from a productive, working stage of life to one in which they could pursue "meaningful leisure activities in a well-earned retirement." Mitchell believed that seeing grandparents grow old not only reduced the children's anxiety about growing old and dying, but that experience also allowed the elders the opportunity to watch and enjoy their grandchildren grow up. She lived in a four-generation household two times: once as a child and once as a parent, with her children, her mother, and grandmother. She said the presence of the two senior female

family members contributed positively to her own children's development.[69]

But Mitchell cared for her grandchildren only periodically (e.g., to allow their parents to take a vacation without the children). She attended her grandchildren's school events, birthday parties, and other celebrations when she could. One granddaughter, at the age of seven or eight, wrote about Mitchell:

> "There's something about my grandmother that is very special to me.
> She's very kind and understanding and sweet as can be.
> She fixes me cold drinks whenever I am hot,
> And gives me hot drinks whenever I am cold.
> So I would say my grandmother should never be so old."[70]

Her grandchildren, although grown, continued to call to see if they could run errands for her. Whenever she needed their help, she accepted their offers. But Mitchell maintained her own household alone and said she enjoyed her independence. Her conclusion sums up the later years of life for almost all the subjects of this study. The traditional role reversal, in which children take care of parents, did not occur as it had with their parents.

While some aspects of the family changed over time, others did not. By looking back at the whole picture presented here, the changes that took place and the interrelationship of family structures, roles, and functions

become apparent. And the ways in which the families of these women compare to existing studies also become clearer.

All of the subjects of this paper were born between 1863 and approximately 1935, and their lives therefore extended from the Civil War to the present. In that century and a quarter, all of the changes that took place in society hardly affected the functions, stability, and survival of their families. The ability of members to resist the potential strains from external forces directly reflected the capability of the family members to modify the structure of the group and the roles of the group members. I have already described a number of such changes. It was because Mary Church Terrell's parents felt that she could not get a good education in the "colored" public school in Memphis, Tennessee, Mary became an "adopted" member of the Hunster family in Yellow Springs, Ohio, where she could get a "good" education in spite of her color. After administrators at Tuskegee Institute no longer accepted Portia Washington Pittman's teaching credentials, she eventually went to live with her son. When Septima Clark was unable to find acceptable and affordable lodging for herself and her son, she sent him to live with his grandparents. Because Archibald Grimké's work took him out of the country, his brother and sister-in-law assumed the role of parents to Angelina. After Ophelia Settle Egypt's

mother died, she and her father moved to another state to live with his sister.

These families were not incapable of change, but neither were they unstable. Family members reorganized themselves in response to different situations. But all of the reorganizations were conscious efforts to fulfill that aspect of the family which was incapable of change: that is, the primary function of the family members to "provide" for each other the love, support, and education (including but not limited to schooling) that was necessary for individual survival. Just as Frances Grant described her father's house as a "do drop in" for relatives until they were able to move on, Mary Church Terrell's household included extended kin from time to time. Her daughter, Phyllis, and Phyllis's husband, Billie, lived in Terrell's house while Billie was establishing a pharmacy.[71] And Terrell's nephew Thomas, a student at Howard University, wrote to her for permission to stay in her house after a tonsilectomy. He also stayed at Terrell's house later while looking for a job and while anticipating his military draft call.[72] Fostine Riddick's sister and brother-in-law lived with Riddick and her husband for a full year, and Clara Jones went to live with her brother and sister-in-law while she was in nursing school.[73]

The roles of the women, however, did change over the

generations and, of course, between life-cycle stages. As mothers they had a far different or, at least, a much larger, role than their mothers had. While in their parents' families, their fathers were more often than not the spokespersons for the family; as wives and parents themselves, the women were partners, equal in value and in importance. And the role enlargement was as much social as it was economic. For some of the women, working outside the home provided a sense of wholeness and added worth (social not economic) that otherwise could not be fulfilled. Lucy Mitchell said she wanted to work to "meet her need for self-development." Mary Church Terrell expressed similar sentiments.[74] All of the women were able to combine successfully their multiple roles of wife, mother, and worker.

As children and young adults, the parents of these women encouraged them to become self-sufficient. The economic independence of the never-married women and, the equal-partner status in the early adult years of the married women no doubt increased their ability to remain independent in their old age. No one _had_ to care for them when they were younger and consequently, they could care for themselves beyond that stage. Only Portia Washington Pittman had to go to live with her children in her old age.

Altogether, the family lives of these women were

similar to and different from much of the literature discussed earlier in this chapter. For example, there were many examples of extended families and households, but those extended structures almost never represented instability. In fact, in almost every instance, the basic family unit or household that accepted new members was very stable, and the acceptance of that new member provided stability to the newcomer. In most instances, the extended structures did not represent an attempt to resist environmental stress. Instead they were situations that allowed newcomers to prepare him or herself to be a stable and independent person later.[75] Except in the case of accomodating grandparents, these modifications in family and household structures were most prevalent during the years when these women or other family members left home for educational opportunities.

By adjusting family and household structures, these family members were fulfilling traditional family functions in the same way that other families have, but in these families, the roles of family members were often very different from the roles of individuals in other family groups. For example, unlike the children in Bodnar's white ethnic groups, the children in these families were encouraged and prepared to support and be responsible for themselves, not their families. They had no role in contributing to the family economy. And contrary to

discussions in the early literature on black middle-class families, an important part of that preparation included repeated lessons in thriftiness. Those lessons were just as important as lessons on good behavior or other aspects of education or socialization.

As adult women with families, these women's roles parallel those of other groups at least to the extent that they were most often domestic workers in their homes, responsible for homemaking and childrearing and being partners to their husbands. But because these women worked for pay outside of the home, they were material providers as well. And when these women worked outside of their homes, there was apparently no resulting tension in their families. And, finally, the families that these women reared did not develop the role of and responsibility for providing a place for these women when they reached old age.

The history of the family lives of these lower-level professional black women workers is indeed a paradoxical one. In a society that viewed them as dependents by virtue of their "race" and their gender, they were very independent. That independence allowed them to work both inside and outside the family. That independence and family flexibility allowed them to overcome the problems of both environments inside and outside of the family and to reap the benefits of both areas while perpetuating, through their

children and other relatives, strong and useful family traditions.

CHAPTER 2

Social Class

The institution of slavery and all of its concomitant implications about the slave's intelligence, personality, and all-around achievement potential had a lasting impact on how some black Americans perceived themselves and how others perceived them. Because of the alleged genetic inferiority of the African-American, the conclusion followed that not only was it unnecessary to educate the slave, but also that any attempts to do so would be useless because he/she was incapable of comprehending little more than rudimentary details. This attitude, coupled with the belief that education would "unfit" the slave for slavery, left millions of blacks effectively uneducated. The subsistence level of existence that resulted had a multi-generational effect of undereducating black Americans. For all of these reasons and more, the slaves and early descendants of slaves who did acquire a formal education came to occupy "special" positions in American society. Educated black Americans became the core of the elite class of blacks in this country.

Educated black women comprised a significant portion of that elite group, but because of caste, gender, and later,

economics, few professions were accessible to them. The majority of these women consequently went into the lower-level professions. Specifically, this chapter examines how the women lived as middle- and upper-class women and how lifestyles and other manifestations of social class changed over the generations. These patterns of socio-economic class, together with the information on family life in the previous chapter, help to form a basis for understanding both material and non-material foundations of this small social group.

Attempting to determine social class is a difficult task, and the existence of a caste-like system in the United States further complicates the matter. The pervasive influence of the caste system in the United States was an important finding of several major studies completed between the 1930s and 1950s.[1] The caste system positioned two "races" in an inferior-superior rank order, which, unlike class systems, prevented vertical mobility and emphasized endogamy.

Traditionally, scholars speak of economic class and social class as two separate phenomena. Occupation, education, and income are usually the common objective variables that those scholars use to determine economic class. Social class, by contrast, centers around behavior and lifestyle. The most important middle-class behavioral

characteristic is usually "respectability."[2] But lifestyle involves many more factors, from cultural and material possessions to institutional memberships and associations.

While most scholars discussed social and economic class separately, it is more appropriate and accurate in the case of the lower-level professional black women workers to discuss their social-class position in a manner that includes and even assumes a certain economic class position. In most instances, it is not possible to separate social class from economic class. The relationship between the two is too intricate. During the nineteenth century, for example, a mulatto woman who was the daughter of a white planter might benefit from this family relationship (a social institution) if her father paid for her education. By virtue of that education, she could qualify for and even obtain a white-collar position. Those economic variables of occupation, income, and education might allow her to socialize in certain circles that otherwise were not open to her in spite of her education and her family membership.[3] Social-class members are held together by mutual interests. Some of those interests are economic, others are social. Although they may, in some instances, be independent of each other, in the case of the upper classes, they are hardly ever independent.

One group of scholars explained the difference between social class and economic class in terms of group participation. Social classes, they maintained, are participation groups. The members of the group act together in various situations. Economic classes, however, hardly ever participate as a group.[4] The most obvious exception to this was the black summer resorts formed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Affluent blacks in Washington, D.C., and nearby areas had colonies of summer homes on the Chesapeake Bay at Highland Beach, Arundel-on-the-Bay, Columbia, and Eagle Harbor. There was another such colony called Oak Bluffs in Martha's Vineyard. And affluent blacks in New York had summer homes on the eastern end of Long Island in communities which they called Sag Harbor and Azurest.[5] Those who owned homes and/or vacationed here participated both as social cliques and economic groups.

Finally, another way of explaining the inaccuracy of social/economic distinctions relates to the caste system. The influence of caste in the United States prevented all but a very few blacks from rising very high economically. Subsequently, compared to whites, the income range among black workers was narrow. The caste system also limited the range of occupations in which blacks worked. And so those who possessed formal educations, whether they became

physicians or hotel porters, held an elite social status. And whether they held the highest paid physician's salary or the lowest paid porter's salary, their elite social standing (based at least partly on economic indicators of education, income, and occupation) mandated that they behave in a certain way and live in a certain manner (economically and non-economically) as much as was possible.

I. THE SOCIAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

Between 1880 and 1950, few changes occurred in the social-class patterns found among black Americans. Nor did the patterns differ significantly in different geographical areas. Since the range between blacks' classes was very narrow, scholars often deliberately used the term "upper classes" rather than "upper class" and "middle class;" distinguishing one from the other was almost impossible. One scholar claimed that in a small Virginia town in the 1940s, there existed no black middle class in either the sociological or historical sense. Instead, he could identify extremes and call one an upper class and the other a lower class. But in between the two was "a somewhat amorphous group of individuals, less wealthy and less educated than the upper class and more wealthy and more educated than those in the lower class; but only for the purposes of analytical study can they be defined as a social class," he observed.[6] Another scholar called the black middle class of another Southern town in the 1930, "a spike on a broad base instead of a large section of a true pyramid, as one finds in white society."[7] In still another study, the author added that class lines among blacks were vague because of "caste taboos" prohibiting mobility in the South in the 1940s.[8] And finally, another

scholar determined that in the North, class distinctions were very vague until the 1920s, when they took on patterns similar to whites.[9] A character in Rudolph Fisher's The Walls of Jericho summarized all of these ideas on the ambiguous structure of black classes: "'. . . I always say the top ain' but a little way from the bottom - can't be, 'ain' been risin' long enough.'"[10] Because of that amorphous condition, for the lower-level professional black women workers, whose occupations and incomes were somewhat similar, self perception and status recognition were factors to consider while examining social class, and they were just as significant as traditional variables.

In order to determine how these women compared to the larger caste group, it is necessary to examine the historical nature of the black upper classes. Simple as it may sound, even this presents difficulties because of the inconsistency of sociological and anthropological studies of black Americans. The existing studies of the black North examined specific years, primarily between 1898 and the 1930s. On blacks in the South, the bulk of the studies focused on the period between 1937 and 1945. The other major problem concerns the language used by the scholars who conducted the early studies. Most of the authors clearly explained how they used the terms "upper" and "lower" class. And also, they often explained whether they were discussing social or

economic class. But other authors did not provide clear definitions. Still, it is possible to construct a general composite description of the black upper classes (economic and social) between 1890 and 1950 based on the older published works.[11]

Two of the most dominant characteristics of the old upper and middle classes (to the 1930s) were, in fact, physical ones: light skin color and straight hair. Many of the members of these classes could trace their ancestry to white landed aristocrats, presidents, state legislators, and other prominent whites. And the members of this mulatto group were proud of their "blood."[12]

The physical proximity to whiteness provided what Arnold Taylor called in _Travail and Triumph_ a "mulatto escape hatch."[13] Sometimes the white parent, usually a male, sent his black child to school. More often, however, light skin color afforded economic advantages that were not available to darker-complexioned blacks. The whiter a black person looked, the more employable he/she was. Both black and white employers preferred to hire a mulatto because mulattos were as acceptable to white customers as they were to black patrons. But as much as mulattos benefited from their complexion, and as proud as most were of their ancestry, and while for several decades mulattos insisted on marrying only other mulattos, almost all the upper class mulattos denied

wanting to be white and wanting to socialize with whites. Instead, they said their own families, friends, and associates provided completely satisfactory relationships and atmospheres. Their real concerns were: their inability to work, shop, live, etc., where they wanted to; the injustice of one group having so much power over another; and, the injustice of a caste-barrier before them particularly because they were "better" than all lower-class and most middle-class whites.[14]

As much as they intimated that they had no desire to be white, the old mulatto aristocracy (upper class) members saw themselves as the natural "heirs and carriers of the genteel tradition of upper class white southerners. . ." and as such, they set the acceptable standards of behavior for other blacks to follow. The upper-class members, from the bottom to the top, from the North to the South, and from at least as early as the 1890s to at least as late as the 1950s, expected their peers to behave in a certain way and to share certain values. And especially in the case of the upper part of the group, one scholar added that they were not simply imitating whites. Rather, their behavior was a result of habit and unconscious incorporation of the behavior of southern aristocrats, not the less cultured southern white bourgeoisie.[15]

The basis of their social class and the primary

characteristic of their behavior was their respectability. Their conduct was not just proper, it was superior. They placed, perhaps, an exaggerated value on moral conduct: a rigid puritanical restraint. In interpersonal relationships, upper class persons emphasized premarital chastity and marital fidelity. Even in the South, where common-law marriages were legal and normal, the upper-class blacks insisted on legally-licensed, monogamous marriages. There was no illegitimacy in upper class families and no divorce. The members of this group found loud, boisterous, uncouth, lower-class people insulting and a source of worry that the lower-class behavior of some would reflect poorly on them. How one behaved in public was so important that in upper class women's social clubs, a person could not join unless recommended by an older member and unless the membership had the unanimous approval of the group. But before the members made a decision, they often held a tea for the potential member to see how she behaved at such functions. The members of the upper class dressed well and expensively, but tastefully (conservatively). Husbands and wives addressed each other as "Mr." and "Mrs." when in public, and even in gender-segregated groups, the women addressed each other by social titles as well.[16]

One of the symbols of stability among the upper class was home ownership. The homes were orderly, comfortable,

well furnished, and also spacious enough for frequent entertaining. And in Northeastern cities, they were often in integrated neighborhoods and in suburban areas. Wherever the home was, the children were the center of attention in it. In the North, there was almost always at least one house servant. In Southern homes, household servants were present only when the woman's outside schedule prevented her from doing her own housework. The black upper class members were refined and graceful. Economic advantages allowed the old mulatto aristocrats to pick up the "gems of culture," but the newer upper-class members of the business and professional world often struggled very hard to succeed, and, consequently, they did not have the time to develop the same appreciation for fine arts and the like.[17]

Middle-class behavior, where the distinction could be made, was hardly different from that of the upper class. And again, respectability was the basis of that behavior. But respectability for the middle class meant that they did the best that they could do in spite of all of the odds against them. Middle-class blacks were very disciplined and proud that they had no prison or arrest records. They worked hard and, as a group, the middle-class adults were very ambitious and kept their children in school as long as was possible. Although many members of this group were very poor, they emphasized the importance of being honest and

mannerly. They, like the upper class, adhered to very rigid sexual restraints, but in the South, few had marriage licenses. When a couple did possess a marriage license, it was a status symbol more than a statement on morality. The black middle-class person, like the black upper-class, therefore, viewed persons who acted immorally and who displayed other forms of lower-class behavior as traitors to the "race". Their middle-class values included the significance of home ownership, but very often, lodgers, usually extended-family members, were a part of that home. The biggest concern of members of the black middle class was getting ahead and providing for their children. And the only major difference between this group and the black upper class was the prevalence of typically lower-class traditions such as superstitions and the belief in predictive dreams, witchcraft, jinxes, etc.[18]

Unlike behavior patterns, the occupational patterns of black upper and middle-class persons depended to a large extent on time and place. Until approximately the 1920s, the members of the old upper class worked as domestic servants in wealthy white homes, or they owned service-oriented business which catered primarily to a white clientele. Many of the self-employed blacks were barbers, tailors, food caterers, and skilled artisans. Other individuals in the upper classes were teachers, physicians,

lawyers, and dentists. In the North, more of the upper-class workers were salaried civil servants, educated clergy, teachers, trained nurses, and social workers than in the South. In the South, there were more land-owning farmers than in the North, and more college teachers. (Most of the black colleges were, and are still, in the South). The "new upper-class" persons (post-1930) in the South were founders of and salaried workers in developing black insurance companies, real estate offices, pharmacies, and dry cleaning enterprises. In the North, after 1930, the college-trained professionals usurped the position of the servant workers. But few changes occurred in the occupations of the middle class. They generally remained teachers, uneducated ministers, small farmers, "respectable" domestics and servants, physical laborers, small proprietors, clericals, and lower-salaried workers. In the South, more of the workers were physical laborers, agricultural and industrial, and in such cases there was no loss of prestige because the occupational range in the South was narrower, and a very important and large part of southern labor was physical.[19]

Education was very important for both the upper and middle-class blacks in the North and South throughout the period 1890 to 1950. Next to behavior, education was probably the most significant index to status. Among all of the classes, the elite persons possessed more formal

education, but there were a few regional differences. For example, when there were "elite" adults in the North who were not formally educated, they were clearly the oldest residents in the North and/or in their respective residential cities. But their children always had formal educations. While in the North the children went to the "best" white schools, in the South they went to the "best" black ones. The only real measurable change in education was the range. Because, among the old elite, residency, family, and other non-economic factors were more important than formal education, the educational range was broad--ranging from those individuals with no formal education to those who were trained physicians and lawyers. After the 1930s, however, because education became more important and more accessible, the range narrowed and very few members of the upper class lacked college training.[20]

Color, behavior, and economic opportunities were all very important factors in accomplishing upper-class status in black America. But institutional memberships and associations (family, church, networks) were more important than education and occupation, during periods and/or in areas where educational opportunities were scarce or unnecessary. Among those social associations, family membership undoubtedly was the first important factor. While the importance of family did not differ between

regions, its importance did change over the generations. But member participation in extra-familial groups remained consistent over time and between regions.

The upper-class families were stable, patriarchal units in which the father was the authoritarian figure and the economic provider. Although the wives usually had college degrees and were at one time school teachers, after marriage, in the South, they stopped working. In the North, however, upper-class wives continued to work after marriage. And, again, they were licensed marriages, "bound up with the moral and religious ideas of sin and virtue," and "regarded as a solemn contract upon which rest(ed) the stability and ultimately the meaning of the family." The marriages were, therefore, permanent, and the ceremony usually occurred in church.[21]

When children resulted from these unions, there were very close ties between them and both parents in these home-centered families, and the parents' concern for the child's future resulted in a very disciplined and directly supervised childhood. The concern for the child's future was manifest in the frequency with which the parents obtained educational insurance policies immediately after the birth of the child. Throughout their childhood and adolescence, children attended public lectures, museums, and the like, which reflected the parents' hope that their

children in their adult life would "seek cultural attainments." The concern for the daughters in the family also manifested itself in the institutions in which they received their education. The chastity of the girls was a necessity, and close contact with other classes made the parents nervous. Consequently, parents sent their daughters away from home to attend school at one of the strict church schools of the state. And when the children were old enough to marry, the parents discouraged marriage outside the group because it could threaten their exclusivity, and also because such a marriage potentially could threaten the "respectable" name of the family. That family name was very important and an implication of its importance was the ability among upper-class blacks to detail their family history for several generations back.[22]

The middle-class black family, too, was primarily patriarchal, but there were more instances in which women (divorced, deserted, and widowed) headed families than among the upper classes. Children were also the focus of the middle-class family, and as in the upper class, parents made long-range plans for their children, especially regarding education. The parents worked hard for the children's future and made great sacrifices for them. They all wanted their children to enjoy a better life than they had, but unlike the upper-class parents, the middle-class parents

talked about their sacrifices and often reminded the children of them. They sent their children to either "good" white schools or the black schools with solid middle-class traditions. The children went to summer camps "to broaden them out" and to summer school when they appeared to be "slow." The only major difference between the upper and middle-class families was that among the middle-class families few people knew their family history beyond their grandparents.[23]

Although members of both classes attended church regularly, church attendance served more social functions than religious ones. Church attendance was, however, a means to enhance status, and particular churches had particular appeal. It was especially important, that is, to go to the "right" church. Most Atlanta upper-class blacks around the turn of the century, for example, attended a Congregational church. A few others attended an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. In the North, around the same time, upper-class blacks went to Episcopal churches. In Boston, that Episcopal church, and any other that upper-class blacks attended, was probably integrated. By the middle of the twentieth century, upper-class blacks in the North attended Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches. A few individuals also were members of AME and Baptist churches. Middle class "strivers" in the North and

South attended Episcopal and Congregational churches, but in the South, a large number of middle-class blacks were also Baptists.[24]

The churches that black upper- and middle-class persons attended depended on the nature of the service. These individuals preferred the more sedate churches. The people in these classes were antagonistic towards the churches known for "shouting," stamping, "jazzed-up hymns" (gospel music), and uneducated ministers. According to upper-class persons, religion should come "quietly within the self. . . ." And they were also aware that whites considered the emotionalism of the lower-class churches to be "primitive." The upper-class person did not need or desire to be "preached at." In fact, like other Americans of comparable classes, they took theology "with a grain of salt" or ignored it altogether. They rejected supposedly literal interpretations of the Bible. Still, they went to church. Membership in or at least friendship with members of the right church was important to upper-class persons and middle-class strivers--so much so, that most of them were very active in the church, holding positions that required some training (financial posts, choral direction, etc.). They also expected the minister to be actively involved in causes for "racial" advancement, and they used the church as a bulwark in maintaining moral standards and inhibiting

deviant behavior within their own groups.[25]

Because the members of the upper classes generally had more leisure time than the lower class, social activities occupied significant portions of their lives. This was especially true for women, and the patterns were similar, regardless of the region in which they lived. Neither did the activities differ significantly over time. The activities centered around church groups and activities, non-church-related social clubs, the home, and group uplift organizations.

The older the person was, however, the more likely were the activities related to the church. Some of the activities included fund-raisers to pay off church debts, beautification projects, and church socials. There were also humorous performances, Biblical plays, fashion shows, and dinners. Younger members of the families were also active in church. But non-church-related clubs were equally important. There were bridge clubs, sororities and fraternities, and uplift organizations. The older upper-class members entertained their clubs primarily in their homes. And although the two groups socialized together freely, there was always one ball every year which did not include the middle-class individuals.[26]

Although the middle-class women participated in many of

the same activities as upper-class women, the middle-class women's activities, as previously suggested, more often concerned the church. The middle-class women and teenage children practically led double lives. They were avid church workers, yet they played cards, gossiped, went to dances, and, among their closest friends, even drank. Still, within all the social activities, the social groups reinforced the middle-class ideals "of restrained public deportment and respectability."[27]

In addition to the economic and social class characteristics of the black middle and upper classes between 1890 and 1950, there are several other areas that deserve a brief comment. Those areas are class consciousness, caste ("racial") consciousness, status recognition, and self-perception. They deserve attention not simply because they are gauges that help determine social class. In fact, status recognition is the only one of those four entities traditionally used to measure social class. But an examination of class consciousness is important because the middle class allegedly had none; caste ("racial") consciousness, because the upper class allegedly had none; and self-perception, because it helps reveal examples of both class and caste consciousness.

There exist many examples of people outside the black middle and upper class recognizing the status of those

people inside. The most obvious example is the manner in which and the frequency with which blacks from lower classes and whites from upper classes called on black individuals to head community organizations, educational institutions, and the like. Whether the individual assumed the leadership position voluntarily or involuntarily, because the position was caste-related it was impossible to be caste-unconscious. Additionally, the persistent caste barrier was a constant reminder of racial-group membership. Blacks in these classes read the "race" papers like the Chicago Defender and the Baltimore Afro American. And black women teachers constantly expressed anger about being introduced to white teachers by their first names and having whites introduced to them with their social titles.[28]

One scholar wrote that in the 1940s, black upper-class men were politically conservative but that they tolerated extreme black radicalism on the ground that it might shock white Americans to awareness of the Negro's situation. The same scholar added that black upper-class "race" women (women who worked in organizations devoted to the advancement of black Americans) had little time for the "social butterflies," and that when black upper-class individuals pushed for racial solidarity, it was not an effort to maintain their own security; rather, it was a form

of "defensive racialism." Upper-class persons opposed segregation as a long-term solution because it resulted in a lack of freedom of contact which was discriminatory and which led to inferiority.[29]

But the presence of racial consciousness does not preclude class consciousness. The gap between the classes was not broad, but it was sufficiently large to permit distinctions. The black upper-class persons were reminded of their class as often as they were reminded of their caste. Many of the examples of either could adequately illustrate the other. A good example is the aforementioned "race-leader." Another would be the insistence on intra-group marriages.[30] One study even mentioned that to black upper-class caste activists "improving the race" meant uniformly raising everybody to at least middle-class standards of behavior.[31] Powdermaker wrote in the 1940s in After Freedom that the black middle class was becoming sociologically white.[32] Actually, the black middle class was becoming more middle class. And, finally, the examples of class and caste consciousness and leadership also reflect, to some extent, self perception. From their own lips, over and over, black upper-class persons remarked that people should judge a "race" by its possibilities, not its exceptions; that is, its upper-classes, not its lower-classes.[33] And that meant that they (the upper classes), as

in any human group, should be the standard for judgment.

Over the decades, many changes occurred regarding the character of the black upper-classes. The most obvious change was the "browning" of the group mentioned above. The black upper classes darkened for both internal and external reasons. First of all, the light upper-class members came from small families. Only a few of the children married and even fewer had children. Although they tried to marry within their color/class group, the group was too small.

Group members eventually began to marry the "up-and-coming" black- and brown-skinned professionals (men) and semi-professionals (women).[34]

Several phenomena (besides marriage to a light-skinned person) contributed to the upward mobility of the business and professional groups and therefore the "browning" of the black upper class. By 1920, changes in business organization and technology were forcing out of business small, black proprietors who served whites. At the same time, the country was becoming more and more urbanized and more and more segregated. The result was a new large black service market that especially needed professionals and semi-professionals (e.g., teachers, publishers, lawyers, undertakers, insurance agents). More darker-complexioned blacks began to move into the cities and into these

professions. A final push into the upper-class probably came during the Great Depression when this group of salaried workers was able to sustain itself while other professionals like physicians and lawyers lost clients and money, and the black domestics lost jobs. The new economic groups therefore forced the broadening of the base of the upper class. And although at first the old elite retreated to their old traditional circles, the two groups eventually merged.

By 1940, economic, demographic, and social changes in the country forced a reorganization of class groups. Education and income became more important even in social groups than family background and manners. The upper class of the nineteenth century was a small group set off from the masses by "superior culture" and high standards of morality. There were only a few black professionals in the community, and most of them, by virtue of their family, training, and education, were a part of that group. But by the 1940s "position" (and accompanying education) became more important in determining class status than "training" (social). Consequently, more of the professionals eased into the upper economic classes and eventually even their social circles.

II. THE LOWER-LEVEL PROFESSIONAL BLACK WOMEN WORKERS

By focusing on lower-level professional black women workers, not only is it possible to see how they compared to the larger black population in general, but it is also possible to see more clearly the interrelationship of traditional social and economic class factors in the lives of the individuals and the group. And, finally, this more narrowly analytic study also reveals more clearly the ways in which the general lifestyle of the women changed over time.

It was possible to retrieve some details regarding social class in the lives of thirty-four of the women included in this study, and a synthesis and analysis of this material reveals a cyclical pattern in the class factors in the lives of the women. These thirty-four women were born over approximately a seventy-five-year period beginning in 1863. Arranging the women in the order of their births from the oldest to the youngest revealed that the oldest women came primarily from upper-class backgrounds. And the socio-economic class background declined fairly consistently until the 1910s when it began gradually (and somewhat inconsistently) to rise again. Although this pattern begins and ends at different times for the parents, children, and grandchildren of the women of

this study, on the basis of the very limited information available, the pattern also seems to exist among those groups.

In order to discern change over time, the women were divided into cohorts. Originally, they were divided into three groups based on when they were born, and each grouping represented a twenty-five-year period with the first group beginning with the one woman born in 1863. The three groups, as a result of this twenty-five year division, were dramatically uneven; the first and third groups had approximately eight members and the middle group had seventeen. Consequently, the middle group was divided approximately in half. And so the number of cohorts was increased to four with approximately eight women in each group.

The Parents

The members of the oldest cohort were Mary Church Terrell (b. 1863), Portia Washington Pittman (b. 1879), Angelina Weld Grimké (b. 1883), Beulah Shepard Hester (b. 1883), Julia Smith (b. 1885), Norma Boyd (b. 1888), and Susan Dart Butler (b. 1888). All of these women except two were clearly from upper-class backgrounds, and the other two were from at least middle-class backgrounds.

Although Mary Church Terrell's parents possessed little

formal education, they were exceptionally wealthy. Her father, Robert Church, had become a millionaire by investing the money that he saved from several small business ventures in Memphis, Tennessee, real estate during and after a yellow-fever epidemic in the city. His first wife, Mary's mother, operated a very successful hair salon in Memphis for white women, and she was, in fact, financially succesful earlier than her husband was. Angelina Grimké's father, also a former slave and son of his owner's son, became a Harvard-trained lawyer and United States Consul to Santo Domingo. Angelina's mother was a white woman who was a successful writer. Beulah Hester's parents directed an orphanage in Oxford, North Carolina. Her father was a Baptist minister, and her mother, who also worked in the orphanage, was a graduate of Boyton Institute. James E. Shephard, founder of the National Religious and Training School (then a private school, now North Carolina Central University) was her father's brother. Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, was Portia Washington Pittman's father. Her mother, Fannie Norton Smith, was a graduate of Hampton Institute and a housewife at Tuskegee. Julia Smith's father was the first black graduate of Boston University, a trained dentist and lawyer and, for a time, a Special Examiner for the United States Bureau of Pensions. Her mother was one of the first black teachers in the

Washington, D.C., public schools. She received her education in private Catholic schools. Norma Boyd did not remember what kind of work her father, the son of a white woman, did for a living when the family moved to Washington, D.C., from North Carolina. But later he operated a livery and eventually went to work for the Lothrops, a wealthy white family in the District. The last woman in this cohort was Susan Dart Butler. Butler's father was born free in Charleston, S.C., in 1854. He graduated from Atlanta University in 1879 and from the Newton Theological Seminary in Massachusetts in 1882. He came to own several sizable pieces of property in Charleston during his lifetime. Butler's mother, Julia Pierre, was a Washington, D.C., schoolteacher until she got married.[35]

The second cohort of women included nine women, and the information regarding their parents was as consistent as the data on the older group. This second group of women came from families that were solidly middle class, and the family backgrounds of only one woman in this group resembled those of the oldest cohort. There was no information available on the educational and occupational backgrounds of one of the women's parents. The women in the second cohort were Sadie Delaney (b. 1889), Florence Edmonds (b. 1890), Mabel Staupers (b. 1895), Frances Grant (b. 1895), Charlemae Hill

Rollins (b. 1897), Septima Clark (b. 1898), Lucy Mitchell (b. 1899), and Eunice Laurie (b. 1899).

The earliest-born woman of this group was Sadie Delaney, and there was no information available concerning her parents. For the remaining seven women, however, bits and pieces of information were available on their family backgrounds. Florence Edmonds' father was a food caterer, and her mother was a housewife. Mabel Staupers' father brought his family to New York from the West Indies just after the turn of the century. He was an air brake inspector for a railroad company. Frances Grant's mother was a proofreader for a Massachusetts publishing company until she married, at which time she became a full time homemaker. Frances' father, George Grant, was the dentist who invented the artificial palate for cleft palates. He taught at Harvard Dental School for fifteen years, and at the time of Frances' interview in 1977, he was still the only black ever elected as President of the Harvard Odontological Society. Charlemae Rollins' family moved to Oklahoma just after the federal government opened the territory for settlement. Her mother, Birdie Tucker Hill, was a school teacher, but apparently she did not have a college degree as did the school-teacher mothers of the older and youngest women in this study. Nor is it clear what Rollins' father's educational and occupational

background was, but he did possess some carpentry skills, since he built the community school in the Oklahoma town to which they moved. Septima Clark's mother had no formal education, but she worked to help support the family by taking in washing and ironing. Clark's father owned and worked his own farm. Lucy Mitchell's father owned and operated several Florida orange groves, but after a freeze killed his whole crop one year, he opened two barber shops, both of which served only whites. Mitchell's mother apparently did not work until she and her husband separated, where upon she moved to Columbus, Ohio, and worked in a corsetiere shop. She worked there for at least two years, and it was unclear what kind of work she did after that. Eunice Laurie's father owned and worked his own farm. And when his farm work was caught up, he occasionally worked at a nearby lumber mill. Her mother helped out on the family farm, but she never worked outside of the home.[36]

The family backgrounds of the third group of women are similar to the second cohort's, but there were indications that the backgrounds were beginning to rise. The women of the third cohort were Mabel Northcross (b. 1900), Constance Fisher (b. 1902), Beula Whitby (b. 1903), Ophelia Settle Egypt (b. 1903), Miriam Matthews (b. 1905), Lula McNeil (b. 1905), Henrietta Smith Chisholm (b. 1910), Lillian Harvey

(b. 1912), and Thelma Dewitty (b. 1912).

Mabel Northcross's father was a brick mason, and her mother worked at home as a homemaker and by taking in washing and ironing while the children were growing up. Constance Fisher's father was a college-educated man and a high-level administrator at Fisk. Letters to Fisher from her father suggest that her mother was a housewife. Beulah Whitby's father was a Yale University Divinity School graduate, and no information concerning her mother was available. Both of Ophelia Egypt's parents were college-educated school teachers, but her mother stopped teaching after she got married. Miriam Matthews'father was a Tuskegee-trained painter who owned his own business, which catered primarily to whites. Her mother had some college education and worked with him as his accountant, bookkeeper, and secretary. Lula McNeil's father was a skilled worker in the Virginia shipbuilding industry. Her mother was a housewife. Finally, Thelma Dewitty's father owned and operated a boarding house for working men, a grocery store, and a baseball team. Her mother periodically worked as a cook for wealthy whites, and she later opened her own restaurant.[37]

The women of the last and youngest cohort were Clara Jones (b. 1913), Jean Hutson (b. 1914), Elva Lena Dulan Jones (b. 1915), Fostine Riddick (b. 1916), Mary Elizabeth

Carnegie (b. 1918), Joyce Cooper Arkhurst (b. 1921), Barbara Pickett (b. 1926), Barbara Miller (b. 1930's), and Gloria Smith (b. 1930's). The educational and occupational backgrounds of the parents of the youngest group of women for whom this information was available (seven out of nine) was also generally rising, but it did not approach the consistency or the height of the parents of the oldest women nor the consistency of the second cohort. But several were more formally trained than any of the parents of the third group and almost all were better trained than those parents of the second group members.

Clara Jones's father attended college for several years and worked as an insurance sales supervisor for the Atlanta Life Insurance Company. He also had several personal business ventures, which Jones did not name. Her mother taught school until she got married, and she resumed that work after her husband died. Jean Hutson did not mention what her father did for a living, but her mother was a college-educated school teacher. Elva Lena Jones Dulan's father was a skilled factory worker. She did not mention her mother's paid work. Joyce Cooper Arkhurst's father was a dentist who received his undergraduate education at Lincoln University. He completed his professional training at the University of Michigan. Arkhurst's mother was a housewife, brought up,

according to Arkhurst, to be a "lady-of-the-house." Barbara Miller's father was a craftsman who made, dyed, repaired, and cleaned oriental and oriental-style rugs. Her mother did some domestic work. Barbara Pickett's father was also a graduate of Lincoln University. He began dental school at Temple University and finished at Howard. Her mother was a housewife. Finally, Gloria Smith did not say what her father did for a living, but she did say that he had two years of college education and that he did not want his wife to work outside the home. Smith did, however, add that her mother periodically styled hair in their home.[38]

Generally, the jobs/positions held by the parents of the subjects of this chapter at first began to decline in prestige and often in income yield as well, and then they began to rise but not as consistently and clearly as they declined. The patterns found by the sociologists and anthropologists mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were almost the exact opposite. The male parents of the older women of this study were generally college-educated men who attended prestigious white schools, and the later ones received their training in black schools or were not college-educated at all. The parents of the youngest women were occasionally graduates of the "good" white schools but not the eastern ivy-league colleges from which some of the oldest male parents came.

The earlier studies, on the other hand, indicated that the older elites had no college education and worked for wealthy whites or in businesses that catered to whites, and the later upper-class men graduated from college. What this means in this instance is that upper-class status for the families of the women of this study had no relationship to whether or not the individual worked for wealthy whites. Instead, it seems that access to wealthy and/or influential whites and gaining access through whites to positions of power were more important determining factors. And the connection was to white women as often as it was to white men. By working on his father's (his owner's) boats, Robert Church gained the business experience that enabled him to become prosperous. Gilbert Pillsbury's wife, who was teaching in a missionary-type school in South Carolina at the time, arranged for Archibald Grimké and his brother to go North to school. Later, their aunts, Sarah Grimké and Angelina Grimké Weld, helped finance their graduate and professional education, and President Cleveland appointed Archibald Grimké to his post as United States Consul to Santo Domingo. Booker T. Washington's family and the black community of Malden, West Virginia, contributed money for him to go to Hampton Institute to school, but it was his master's wife who first began to teach him and General

Armstrong, Hampton's founder and first president, who arranged Washington's assignment to build and head Tuskegee Institute.[39] Within this group, the relationship between upper-class status and white associations was very different from that which the earlier-mentioned scholarship indicated.

The parents of the second cohort members, however, did not acquire their positions through recognition from and/or appointments by prominent whites. And only the parents of Frances Grant resembeled those of the oldest women's. In general, the men in this group were less educated rather than more educated than the older group of fathers. Except for the father of Frances Grant, all of the fathers were skilled workers (farmers, caterers, carpenters, barbers), and all were self employed except for Mabel Staupers' father who worked for the railroad. Both the caterer and the barber served white clients. All of the mothers in this group were housewives as long as their husbands lived and as long as they lived together. One also taught in the school that her husband built, and one wife took in some laundry to supplement her husband's income.

The parents of the third cohort of women were also men of some skills as the fathers in the second group were. But in this group, unlike the men of the second group, the skills of these men were more professional than vocational and their training more often came as the result of some

years of college. In this group, two of the seven men worked at skilled trades; one was a painter and the other was a brick mason. The painter received his training in the formal setting of Tuskegee Institute. The seven men in this group worked as a brick mason, a college administrator, a college-educated clergyman, a college-educated school teacher, a vocational school trained painter, and a self-employed entrepreneur. Within this group, only three of the mothers were exclusively housewives, and they were the wives of the college graduates. The wife of the brick mason took in laundry. The wife of the painter worked in his business, and the wife of the entrepreneur sometimes worked "out" as a domestic servant.

Finally, the parents of the last group of women represent backgrounds that were more mixed than those within any other groups but, again, generally rising. One of the fathers was a skilled craftsman and another was a skilled factory worker. Two were dentists, and one sold insurance. The occupations of the other two fathers were not apparent. The only general conclusion evident here is that the men who had college educations here were from "better" schools than those of the third cohort, and the service areas in which they worked were higher than the service jobs of the men in the third group who attended college. The work of the wives

in this group is just as mixed, and yet one tentative conclusion might be possible here also. In this group, five of the seven women were housewives while they were married implying that either the income of the husbands was increasing and/or that the self-perception of status was directing women back to the homes. Only one woman did domestic work. Information about one other was unavailable. And the last one, who may have been separated or widowed, taught school. At least two of the six women whose backgrounds were discernable, had college degrees.[40]

Knowledge of the economic/occupational family background of these women is crucial in any attempt to analyze the lifestyles of the women. Membership in financially well-off families afforded a certain kind of education and often allowed for particular kinds of leisure-time activities. And partially, as a result of family membership, a certain amount of social status was almost guaranteed.

As Children of Parents: Schooling

Education in these families was not only desirable, it was also attainable. More importantly, however, the kinds of schools the children attended changed over the decades, and the changes clearly related to the economic advantages that some families had over others. Mary Church Terrell's

parents sent her to Yellow Springs, Ohio, to the Antioch College Model School for her primary education. From Antioch, Mary went to Oberlin High School, and from there she went to and graduated from Oberlin College. Between 1888 and 1890, she studied languages in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Angelina Grimké attended Fairmont Elementary School near her childhood home in Hyde Park, Massachusetts. She then went to Cushing Academy in Ashburnham, Massachusetts, and she graduated in 1895 from the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (now Wellesley College). Beulah Hester attended elementary school at two private North Carolina academies. One school was a Congregational, church-affiliated school and the other was a Presbyterian school. Although her home was in North Carolina, she then attended Hartshorn Academy (now affiliated with Union University in Richmond, Virginia), where she took the "normal courses" and received a degree equal to a two-year college degree. After she married, she returned to school at Simmons College of Social Work from which she graduated in 1933. Portia Washington Pittman attended elementary school at Tuskegee but subsequently went to Framingham State Normal School, Wellesley College, and Bradford Academy (now Bradford Junior College). From the latter, she received a degree probably equivalent to a two-year college degree. Finally, she went to Europe in 1905

and studied music there until 1907 under Martin Kraus, a student of Franz Liszt.[41]

Julia Smith attended Washington, D.C., and Columbus, Indiana, public elementary schools, and she finished high school at the "M" Street School in Washington. She then attended Howard University where she received her Bachelor of Arts degree. Norma Boyd graduated from Armstrong High School in Washington and Howard University. The last woman in the first cohort, Susan Dart Butler, attended Avery Normal Institute, a private, church-affiliated, South Carolina school for blacks that was run by whites. While her family lived in Washington, D.C., for a few years, she attended segregated, public schools. Butler did not graduate from college, but she did attend Hampton Institute for a short time.[42]

The women of the second cohort attended a large variety of schools. Sadie Delaney attended public schools in Poughkeepsie, New York, and later graduated from the College of the City of New York. Where Florence Edmonds received her primary and secondary education is unclear, but she received her professional training at Lincoln Hospital and Home Training School for Nurses in New York City (Lincoln Hospital). She subsequently won a scholarship to Columbia University Teacher's College to study hospital social

services. Mabel Staupers apparently attended public schools in New York City, and she attended Freedmen's Hospital Nurse Training school for her professional training. Frances Grant went from public school to Bowdoin Grammar School and Girls' Latin School. In 1913, she became the first black woman elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Radcliffe College, and she graduated Magna Cum Laude with a degree in classics. During the 1940s, she went to New York University where she earned her master's degree.[43]

The only available information regarding Charlemae Rollins' education is that she at first attended the school that her father built when her family first moved to Oklahoma, and she did not go to college. Septima Clark attended Avery Institute, the private, church school in Charleston, S. C., during her high school years. After she married, she attended a number of different colleges beginning in 1922, until she received her bachelor's degree in 1930 from Benedict College, a private, black school in Columbia, South Carolina. She received her Master of Arts degree from Hampton Institute in 1946. Lucy Mitchell went to Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Girls (later Bethune College and Bethune-Cookman College). By the time she became of age to go to college, her family lived in Massachusetts, but she went back south to attend Talladega College, a black, private college founded by the American

Missionary Society and associated with the Congregational Church. Her family members preferred that she choose between Howard University and Spelman College. She finished her master's degree at Boston University in 1935 after she got married. Eunice Laurie, an Alabaman, attended a private, black, church-affiliated, elementary school in Georgia. She then went through high school at another private school operated by white northerners for blacks. She received her nursing training at the John A. Andrew School of Nursing at Tuskegee Institute.[44]

The oldest woman of the third cohort was Mabel Northcross. Northcross received her elementary and secondary education in the public schools of Humbolt, Tennessee. She received her nursing diploma in 1919 from Hubbard Hospital at Meharry Medical College. And finally in 1946, after attending many different schools, she earned her bachelor's degree from New York University. Constance Fisher attended high school at Tuskegee Institute. In 1924, she completed her bachelor's degree at Fisk, and within a few years, she earned a master's degree from Western Reserve University. There is no available information on where Beulah Whitby attended primary and secondary school, but she completed her bachelor's degree at Oberlin College in 1924. Ophelia Egypt finished undergraduate school at Howard

University, and went (probably) directly to the University of Pennsylvania for graduate school. Miriam Matthews attended public school in California and received her bachelor's degree in 1926 from the University of California at Berkeley. She finished her master's degree in library science in 1945 at the University of Chicago. Lula McNeil attended segregated public schools in her Newport News, Virginia, hometown. And then in 1925, she finished a two-year normal course at a private black school in Petersburg, Virginia. But in 1934, McNeil finished nursing school at Hampton Institute. Henrietta Smith-Chisholm went to public schools in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and she completed her nursing training at Freedmen's Hospital in 1931. Smith-Chisholm started taking classes at Columbia University in 1931, but it was probably well into the 1940s when she finished her bachelor's degree at Catholic University of America. Lillian Harvey probably received her grammar school education in public Tennessee schools. She subsequently earned her nursing diploma from Hubbard Hospital at Meharry Medical College, a bachelor's degree several years later from Columbia University, and she eventually earned a master's degree and a Ph.D. The dates of her graduations are not available, but she did not go straight through to the Ph.D. and, in fact, probably twenty years passed between the year that she got her nursing diploma and the year that

she got her Ph.D. degree. And finally, Thelma Dewitty, the youngest woman of this cohort, finished undergraduate school at Wiley College, a private, black, Texas school. After teaching for about ten years, Dewitty began graduate school at the University of Washington. She graduated from there in 1945.[45]

The members of the last cohort attended schools as diverse as all of those mentioned above. Clara Jones started college at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She left there in the early 1930s to attend and graduate from Spelman College. She worked for about six years (possibly including her two years at Spelman) and finally went to the University of Michigan where she earned her Master of Library Science degree in 1938. The depression of the 1930s slowed down Jones's educational process, and it also interfered with Jean Hutson's educational plans. While Jones had to work several years before going to graduate school because of the economic hardships created by the depression, Jean Hutson began college at the University of Michigan and completed three years in a medical track when her parents told her that they had enough money for her to finish her undergraduate degree and one additional year of graduate school. She took her last year of undergraduate school at Barnard College and completed her graduate

training in Library Science there. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie went to Washington, D.C., public schools and finished her nursing training at Lincoln Hospital in 1937. She worked for a short time before going to West Virginia State College on a work-study program, and she earned a bachelor's degree from there in 1942. Ten years later, Rockefeller Foundation Fund money allowed Carnegie to finish a master's degree at Syracuse in 1952. And twenty years later, in 1972, Carnegie earned a Doctorate in Public Administration from New York University.[46]

Elva Lena Jones Dulan was able to go to public grade school in Philadelphia. And after she graduated, she enrolled in Provident Hospital School of Nursing in Baltimore. Dulan graduated in 1940 and the very next year, the Red Cross began to recruit black nurses for the Army Nurse Corps (ANC). She registered and subsequently went into the ANC. She used her G. I. benefits to return to the University of Colorado from which she earned her bachelor's degree in the late 1940s and her master's degree in the early 1950s. Joyce Cooper Arkhurst grew up in Seattle, Washington, and attended public school there. When she graduated from high school, she enrolled in the University of Washington and earned her bachelor's degree there. After working in California for just a few years, in 1949, she went to Columbia University Library School. Barbara Pickett

grew up in Georgia. She attended Payne High School, which was the Laboratory school for Payne College, a small, black, private, church-affiliated school. She finished high school and undergraduate school at Spelman College in 1945 and then went directly to Howard University for one year of graduate school. She graduated in 1947 from the Atlanta University School of Library Service.[47]

Barbara Miller and Gloria Smith are probably the two youngest members of this last cohort and of this whole study. Although the exact ages of neither is known, they were probably born between the late 1920s and the late 1930s. Smith was a senior nursing student during the early 1950s, and it seems that Miller took her first job out of college in the 1950s. Miller attended public schools in Louisville, Kentucky, and finished two years of college at Louisville Normal School. She worked for two years and saved money so that she could then spend two years at the University of Michigan where she earned her bachelor's degree. Gloria Smith's grammar-school background is unknown, but she went to Wayne State University College of Nursing after she graduated from high school. Smith subsequently earned graduate degrees from the University of Michigan and the University of Oklahoma.[48]

All of these women came from families in which the

parents wanted to educate their children, and they provided the girls with a sound primary and secondary education, probably the best that they could afford. The oldest women of the first cohort attended "good" northern academies including Antioch, Framingham, and Cushing. The younger women of the first cohort attended segregated, public, elementary and secondary schools if they lived in Washington, D.C., or further north, and they went to private and/or missionary-type schools if they lived in the South. All of the women of the second cohort at least started school in public elementary and secondary institutions except the women who lived in the South. Those women attended segregated, private schools. All of the women in the third cohort for whom this information was available attended public elementary and secondary schools. All of those schools except one were segregated. And the pattern for the members of the youngest cohort was exactly the same. All of the youngest women for whom the information was available attended public schools except for two who lived in the South. They attended the same private schools that the older southern women attended.

Undoubtedly, the oldest women grew up at at time when the prestigious private schools regularly admitted a few black students, but equally important, the parents of these women could afford to send them there. The parents of the

women of the later groups could less afford that same luxury, but by this time there were more public schools available to blacks. The southern women, who also tended to be younger, often did not have the luxury of public schools available to them where they lived. And where there were public schools available, they were frequently grossly inferior. And so rather than not educating the girls or sending them to inadequate schools, the parents of the southern women afforded the expense of sending them away from home to private schools.

The college educations of these women took on a pattern similar to their earlier education. And by looking at the tracks of colleges that the women attended, it is possible to see the decline and the beginning of the rise in the general national status of the schools attended. The older women attended "good" northern schools such as Radcliffe, Oberlin, and Wellesly. Two of the oldest women also studied abroad for several years. The two youngest women of the oldest cohort attended "good," private, black schools: Howard and Hampton. In the second cohort, the two women who lived in the North went to integrated colleges, one public and one private (City College in New York and Radcliffe). All of the other women went to private, black colleges or nurse training institutions for blacks. One of those hospital

schools was associated with a private, black school. All of the women of the third cohort began college in private, black colleges (or black hospital schools associated with black private colleges) except one who attended Oberlin and one who lived in California and was able to attend the state schools. In the last cohort, five of the women began and five women finished bachelors' degrees at white schools. Two attended hospital training schools for blacks, and the remaining one graduated from Howard. All of the women of this group completed their graduate/professional education in white schools. But the patterns that are visible in the professional education of these women are much more complex than they appear superficially.

Clearly the women moved generally from the prestigious private white schools to the private black schools to the public and to a lesser degree private white schools. But within this cycle, it is equally clear that timing and income contributed to where the women went to school as much or more than where they happend to live. The younger women, who tended to come from the lower economic background, did not complete their schooling until some years after they finished their initial professional degree. Many of these women by that time had married and had access to a second income, or other private and public sources of funds were then available to them. Septima Clark used her husband's

military allotment check to enroll at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in 1922. And over the next eight years, she worked and went to school at several different places until she finished college. Lucy Mitchell completed her master's degree at Boston University, but not until several years after she married. Miriam Matthews, who did not marry, finished her master's degree at the University of Chicago, but not until 1945, almost twenty years after she finished her undergraduate degree. Lula McNeil received her nursing diploma in 1934, and it was 1944 before she completed her bachelor's degree. Thelma Dewitty worked for more than ten years after she finished her bachelor's degree before she returned to school for her master's degree. Almost twenty years passed between the time that Mary Elizabeth Carnegie finished her bachelor's and master's degrees. And another twenty years passed before she finished her doctorate. Carnegie worked during the intervening years, but both of her graduate-school undertakings benefitted from Rockefeller Foundation fellowships. Similarly as in Carnegie's experience, approximately ten years elapsed between the time that Fostine Riddick received her nursing diploma and her bachelor's degree. And another decade passed before she received her master's degree. But Riddick did not benefit

from private foundation money even then. Instead, her husband cashed in an insurance policy to allow Riddick to return to school for her bachelor's degree. Beulah Hester had married and worked at a number of efforts at home to earn extra money before she finished her bachelor's degree when she was about forty years old. In Mabel Northcross's case, almost thirty years passed between the time that she earned her nursing diploma and her bachelor's degree. It took Henrietta Smith-Chisholm almost ten years to do the same thing. And it took Lillian Harvey many years to finish her professional training, which culminated with her earning a doctorate. Even Francis Grant, a member of the second cohort and from one of the better-off families, did not finish her master's degree until thirty years after she finished her bachelor's degree. But Grant's father died when she was quite young and it was probably all that her mother could do to send her to Radcliffe for four years and to provide for the education of her other daughter. Grant, like Mathews, never married.[49]

By contrast, the three oldest women pursued their professional education uninterrupted. So did about half of the women of the youngest cohort. Within the youngest group of women, Fostine Riddick and Mary Carnegie took, comparatively, a long time to finish their schooling. There were short interims of full-time or part-time work between

Clara Jones's degrees. Elva Lena Jones Dulan also had short breaks between her schooling process, but as mentioned above, she afforded her graduate education with the help of the G. I. bill. The remaining five women went straight through school with no interruptions.

Clearly, the two middle groups of women and to a lesser degree the youngest women of the oldest group and the oldest women of the youngest group had to depend more on their own, their husbands', and other public and private sources of funding to complete professional training. But once financially established, women from all the groups continued to "broaden" their education by periodically taking other courses or by studying independently. Mary Church Terrell often asked her brother to send her books on writing and publishing. Despite her superior education, she expressed her concern that she was academically inadequately prepared.[50] Letters between Angelina Grimké and her father indicated that she often attended summer school at Harvard where she studied English and Literature.[51] Julia Smith attended summer school at Columbia, Harvard, and Boston Universities. And Septima Clark went to Columbia University during the summers of the early 1930s to learn new ways for teaching "exceptionally dull children" and to Atlanta University in the later summers of the 1930s to study

curriculum building and rural sociology. Susan Dart Butler never graduated from college, but in order to operate the library that she opened for blacks more efficiently, she visited and studied other libraries in Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, and Washington, D.C.[52] Many of the younger women also took classes in the evenings and during the summers. But as indicated above, for most of these women, it was the only way for them to complete the college degrees that they wanted and needed. But for a few of the younger women, the additional study was not part of a degree requirement but was instead for the sheer joy of learning and to perform their work more effectively.[53]

As Children of Parents: Education

A major concern of the parents of all of these women was to provide the best formal education that they could for the children to prepare them for independent, productive lives, but they also worked with the children at home to supplement that education in many ways. Helping the children with their homework and reading to them was common, but sometimes the education involved attending museums, plays, and the like.[54] And the behavior and well being of their children was a consistent concern that sometimes fostered a dependency on the parents that extended far beyond childhood.

While Archibald Grimké was in Santo Domingo, he often wrote warm letters of encouragement and advice to Angelina several times a week. In one instance, he wrote to her to do her best work at home and at school "sweetly and successfully," and he advised her to learn to speak French and German. He added that he would teach her to speak Spanish. He also encouraged her to write him about everything that interested her no matter how unimportant it seemed to her. On another occasion, he advised her not to eat too much candy, adding that it was especially bad for the teeth and stomachs of young people. And he advised her to see a dentist for a check-up if she had not done so since he left the United States. Mr. Grimké urged Angelina not only to do her best work, but also to continue to play and enjoy "basket ball" and other physical exercise. He wanted Angelina to "aim always to attain excellence in character and culture," and when he informed her that the _National Cyclopedia of American Biography_ wanted to include a sketch of his life in an upcoming edition, he added: "I hope that some day my little girl will be entitled to a place in the National Cyclopedia also by the side of others of the same name, like for instance your famous namesake, Aunt Angelina [Grimké Weld]."[55]

Angelina's mother, though separated from her husband while Angelina was a child, wrote similar letters.

Immediately after sending Angelina to live permanently with her father, Sara Stanley Grimké wrote to Angelina of her delight that Angelina had a good train ride and that her father was happy to see her. She added her hopes that Angelina had a teacher whom she liked, that she would be a good girl, and that she would be "a great comfort and help" to her father. In a subsequent letter, Mrs. Grimké advised Angelina: " . . . improve in your writing as fast as you can, so as to write lessons and books when you get older as mama does. . . ." She hoped that Angelina was "both good and happy in Hyde Park" and later told her daughter that "it is better to be good and happy than to have the whole world besides." Sara Grimké was also aware that Angelina might not get the same care and attention living with her father that she, her mother, would provide, and so in one instance, she sent Angelina some Colgate's Oat Meal Soap and told her to use it every day and to give her ears and neck extra attention.[56]

Angelina's other adult relatives expressed similar concern about her. Her maternal grandparents wrote to her often for a while either encouraging her to be a "good, nice little girl" or praising her for being so. Her grandfather occasionally reminded her of the wonderful times they had together when she lived with them.[57] Before she became

very ill, Angelina's Aunt Charlotte (Forten Grimké) also kept in close contact, especially while Angelina's father was in Santo Domingo. After Angelina was in a train wreck, in a letter expressing sympathy, Angelina's Aunt reminded Angelina of the talks that they once had every Friday after school and promised to write to her every Friday until or unless Angelina asked her to stop.[58]

No matter how old Angelina was, whatever encouragement she needed, her father always seemed to supply. When, for example, Angelina was having some problems at the "M" Street School where she taught, he wrote to her constantly encouraging and advising her. On one occasion, he advised her to request a transfer to Armstrong High School, if the pressure became great, but to think about it well so as not to "jump from the frying pan into the fire." He added: "But whatever you do, keep your own counsel."[59] In 1906, he wrote a long letter urging her to be

> as comfortable in mind and body as it is possible for you to be under the circumstances. Do not be cast down whatever happens my dear. Keep a good heart and remember that you will get your appointment, as you ought to get it. But if you do not, why then you must show the stuff, the real woman's stuff of which you are made. Think seriously of following a literary career and begin to work hard to make a success of it . . . . You have the talents to make a name for yourself in some direction in literature. Think of this whether you get your appointment or not, and keep your balance [and] your sanity.[60]

Finally, although Angelina spent nearly every summer between

1905 and 1925 in New England, and although she had her own checking account, she gave her father her money for expenses and had him send a small check to her almost every week. Letters between the two Grimkés indicated that Angelina's friend, Leila Allan, was correct when she wrote to Angelina that one of her (Angelina's) many blessings was her devoted father.[61]

Constance Fisher's father's letters to his daughter read like the letters of Archibald Grimké to his daughter, Angelina. The letters reflect typical middle-class parental concerns regarding the education of the children and the responsibility of parents to the children. Isaac Fisher once wrote to Constance after she was out on her own:

> May I repeat my desire to have you continue a daily reading of some good paper? The habit has meant so much to me that I can not be satisfied until I have made certain that my own daughter for whom I want the highest success possible is having the advantage of one element of my own preparedness. If there is no money for a paper I shall try to deny myself something else so that you may have a paper regularly.
>
> . . . If . . . [I] may know without the slightest question _that in any and every case of need, you will turn to me naturally and promptly for the help which you may need and which will give me so much pleasure to give_ . . . I shall be happy. . . . One of the greatest pleasures I have had in all my life has been to get for you the things you have desired, particularly because you have been so much a daughter after my own heart. You can see why I count it a part of my day's pleasure to be permitted to do something for you.[62] (original emphasis)

Although more details are available concerning the

lives of the older women and the women from the wealthier families than for most of the other women, accounts from the life stories of most of the women are replete with examples of parental concern for the health, happiness, education, safety, and futures of the children. Eunice Laurie's father sent her to a boarding school in Fort Gaines, Georgia, because he did not want her to grow up in the environment where they lived. She went from there to a private boarding secondary school in Thomasville, Georgia. But when her father realized that all of her teachers were white, he took her out of the school and sent her to Tuskegee. And when he learned that she was in a manual training program at Tuskegee, he convinced her to become a nurse.[63] Beulah Hester's mother took her out of Lincoln Academy, the private Congregational school in King's Mountain, N. C., because she believed that Beulah was the teacher's pet, received preferential treatment, and consequently received no challenges there.[64]

The fathers of Susan Dart Butler and Charlemae Hill Rollins built schools in their hometowns so that their children could have an alternative to no formal education or poor education. Butler's father also maintained a sizable library.[65]

Norma Boyd's parents moved their whole family from North Carolina to Washington, D.C., in order to take

advantage of better educational opportunities for their children. Miriam Matthews' parents moved their family from Florida to California partially to remove the children from the segregated atmosphere of the South. Barbara Miller's family moved to Louisville, Kentucky, from Chatanooga, Tennessee, when Miller was four years old after an Aunt wrote advising them to come because Louisville had a free public library. Miriam Mathews' parents used the address of another relative on their daughter's school records so that she could attend a better public school. Septima Clark's mother insisted that Septima attend a private kindergarten not only because she might learn more there, but also because the public schools were crowded and other children with communicable illnesses often attended. Several of the women recalled that when they were children, their parents quizzed them on their school work and visited the school to have conferences with their teachers.[66] The value of education among the upper classes is usually one of the most visible indicators of class, and the families of these women obviously saw education as a very important part of their lives. But part of that education also concerned learning to play musical instruments. Almost all the girls learned to play musical instruments while they were young, and several took dancing lessons, which, Julia Smith added, were

"mainly for grace."[67]

All of the children were "special" in their families. But whether the family was solidly upper or middle economic class or in the lower end of the "strivers and strainers" group, the parents expected the children to behave respectably. When Angelina Grimké was a young girl, her father wrote to her often instructing her to be kind and sweet and to respond courteously to those who wanted to be her friends. And when Angelina was almost thirty-years old her father similarly wrote to her to be friendly with all the teachers who were friendly to her at the new school where she taught. He reminded her in other letters to send appropriate acknowledgements to those who sent gifts to her and to "make a proper apology" to those to whom she had been unkind. He constantly urged her to represent herself well in all endeavors and to correspond regularly with those family members and friends who cared about her.[68] But when Angelina behaved improperly, her father cushioned his chastisement by writing to her: "Please do not do it again, my dear little girl."[69]

The concern for the girls exemplified the traditional fears that middle-class parents often displayed regarding the maturation of their daughters. Archibald Grimké absolutely refused to buy Angelina an evening gown for Christmas when she was seventeen. He wrote forthrightly to

her that she was a schoolgirl, not a woman in society. Miriam Matthews remembered that as an older teenager her parents allowed her to wear "rice powder" and "pale pink pomade lipstick," but she could never wear real lipstick and rouge.[70]

Some of the fears specifically concerned potential sexual misbehavior. Septima Clark's parents would not allow their daughters to do domestic work because they might be tempted or forced to submit to the lustful whims of the man of the house in which they worked. Beulah Hester constantly did her brother's assigned chores because they made it clear that if she did not, they would tell their parents that boys at school gave her candy and wrote notes to her. In her old age, Beulah Hester recalled her mother saying, "I'd rather see you in your grave than bring disgrace on me" (by engaging in premarital sexual activity). And Septima Clark anticipated a lecture about being unchaperoned with her fiance after she discovered that she got blue dye from his suit on her white shirtwaist when she kissed him goodbye.[71]

The parents hardly ever punished their children physically. Instead, they talked with them when they made mistakes or committed wrongdoings.[72] But despite an occasional transgression, all of the parents thought of their children as Booker T. Washington expressed in his

letter to the Manager of the New England Conservatory of Music when he sought admission for Portia; He wrote, ". . . my daughter has been well raised and I think you will find that she will not be, in any respect, offensive nor will she give you any trouble in any regard."[73]

Norma Boyd's mother taught her children that every time they went out, everything they did reflected their home training. Certainly, echoing the sentiments of all the parents, she added that good behavior told people that they came from a good home. Boyd's mother also pointed out to her that all she had was her integrity, and she advised Boyd that if she ever made a mistake to admit it readily and she would never have anything to hide.[74] There was no reason for the parents to think that their children would not behave properly. They taught their children to say "thank you," "excuse me," and "please." Some parents did not allow their children to gossip in their homes. The children could not borrow things from friends. And several of the women who went to private black schools specifically commented on the reinforcement of that training in their schools where the teachers emphasized orderliness, individual responsibility, manners, dressing appropriately, and conduct.[75]

Although there were no discernable changes in the ways in which parents encouraged certain behavioral traditions in

their children, there were distinct changes in how the children socialized, and, in general, spent their leisure time, especially during their late teenage years. Angelina Grimké, Portia Washington and Mary Church frequently went to theater (live and cinema), museums, and concerts. Julia Smith, the oldest woman of the second cohort, went to museums, ballet, opera, libraries, etc., when she was a child. Her father also took the children walking and bicycle riding on Sundays. And, of course, the girls visited with friends.[76]

But most of the women of the middle and last (youngest) cohort recalled socializing with friends from school or church. Norma Boyd, for example, attended football games, basketball games, and dances with her classmates at Howard University as well as church-related activities. Florence Edmonds went to many Sunday School picnics and Sunday afternoon hikes with other friends from church. Frances Grant noted a fairly established social pattern among black youths who went to college, a pattern that included attending private parties, proms, football games, and the like. And Miriam Matthews, who attended an integrated public school in California, recalled that black students could not attend the school proms held in segregated hotels. But black students participated in school programs in which they performed

classical music, "not jazz," she added. And on Fridays, they would go to one or another's home, ". . . roll back the carpets and dance." Those who could play the piano provided the music and the mother of the house, who always chaperoned, made cookies and punch. She added that girls always danced together at these gatherings until they were sixteen years old.[77]

The Patterns in Marriages

As the girls grew up and got married, there were also some noticeable patterns regarding their marriages. Even among the husbands, the decline and rise in occupational status is visible. Mary Church, the eldest of all the women, married Robert Heberton Terrell, a Harvard graduate, a teacher, and a lawyer when she met him. He was the head of the Latin Department at the black high school in Washington when she went there to teach. By the time they got married, he was a Division Chief in the Treasury Department, and in 1901, he became a Judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, a position to which he received five consecutive four-year reappointments.[78] When Robert Terrell wrote to Robert Church for permission to marry his daughter, he wrote that he could support "Miss Molly" (Mary) and save money as well. His "accumulations" totaled about two thousand dollars, and he earned two

thousand dollars a year. He added that his job was secure and not contingent upon political administrations.[79] Portia Washington married Sidney Pittman, a former Tuskegee student to whom Booker T. Washington advanced money to attend Drexel Institute in Philadelphia to get advanced training in architecture and mechanical drawing. He worked at Tuskegee several years but eventually left to establish his own firm in Washington, D.C. Beulah Hester married a minister who received his training at the National Religious and Training School (now North Carolina Central University). Susan Dart Butler, the youngest member of the first cohort married Nathaniel Butler, a Boston real estate dealer.[80]

Five women in the second cohort also married. Sadie Delaney actually married two times, but there was no information available on either of her husbands. Florence Edmond's husband was a janitor in a men's clothing store in Massachusetts. Mabel Staupers also married twice. Her first husband was a physician. The occupation of her second husband was not apparent. The husband of Charlemae Hill Rollins worked as a government inspector in Chicago, but there are no indications of what he inspected for the government. Septima Clark married Nerie Clark, a man educated to the sixth grade and a Navy veteran. He and Septima were married for only a few years before he died, but his last occupation was as a waiter in a country club

restaurant. Lucy Mitchell married a man who graduated from Talladega College in 1913. Mitchell did not say specifically what kind of work he did for a living, but she did mention that he was admitted to Harvard Law School after he graduated from Talladega in 1913, and so he may very well have become an attorney. Eunice Laurie was married, but what kind of work her husband did is not evident.[81]

In the third cohort, at least five women out of the nine were married. Ophelia Settle Egypt married Ivory Lester Egypt in 1940 when she was thirty-seven years old. He was a dining-car waiter at the time. Lula McNeil got married in 1945 when she was forty years old, but there was no indication of the kind of work that he did in McNeil's interview. Henrietta Smith Chisholm got married shortly before her husband went into the military. Smith-Chisholm refused to say when she was born, but it was probably around 1910. If her husband went into the military during World War II just after they married, she was at least thirty years old. She did not say what her husband's regular occupation was. Lillian Harvey married a Baptist minister. Thelma Dewitty's husband worked with a bonding company.[82]

Finally, in the youngest cohort, all nine women were married. Clara Jones's husband was a social worker and, later, a juvenile court case work supervisor who earned degrees in the field from Atlanta University and the

University of Michigan. Jean Hutson's first husband was a professional song writer. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie's husband's occupation was not clear. Elva Lena Dulan's husband was a waiter on the Union Pacific Railroad for nineteen years. He was a college graduate when they married in 1943 when Dulan was 28 years old. Fostine Riddick mentioned her husband's retirement, but she gave no indication of the work from which he retired. Joyce Cooper Arkhurst married a Ghanaian Diplomat who once served as the Ambassador to the United Nations from his country. Gloria Smith's husband was in the military for a time, but it is not clear whether he was a career serviceman or whether he worked at some other occupation. Barbara Pickett's husband was one of the first black executives in the Boy Scouts of America. And finally, Barbara Miller's husband attended the University of Chicago. It is not clear whether or not he graduated or what kind of work he did after he finished or left school.[83]

Three possible patterns emerge from the material concerning the marriages of the women. The first pattern is simply that the younger women were more likely to be married than the older women. The second pattern is that the women of the second cohort (b. 1889-1899) generally married younger than the women of the first cohort (b. 1863-1888).

Interestingly, it was the women of the second cohort who tended, most consistently, to be from poorer families. The women of the third cohort (born 1900 to 1912) married much later than the women of the second cohort. The ages of the women of the last cohort (b. 1913-1930s) when they married seemed to decline again. It should be noted, however, that these patterns are not conclusive, because several of the women's birth years were estimated and several women did not give the exact year that they were married, but rather, it was apparent that they married right after getting out of school, or after they went to work at a certain place or around the time of another incident which they did date.

The second pattern was a little more conclusive, although information on the occupations of several husbands was also missing. Still it is evident that the husbands of the women in the first cohort tended to be college-educated and professional men. The information on the husbands of the women in the second cohort was too sketchy to attempt a general characterization. One man did not graduate from high school and worked as a waiter, but another was a physician. The known occupations of the others were somewhere in between. The same was true for the husbands in the third cohort. The only obvious conclusion about the occupations of the husbands of the third cohort is that none of the men reached the highest occupational level of the

highest member of the second group. But in the fourth cohort, the husbands were more often college-trained, professional men. It is clear that there was a decline and a subsequent rise in the occupational status of the husbands of these women. The beginning and the end are clear. The men of both groups were almost always college educated and professional workers. But in the middle two groups, although they are clearly different from the first and last groups, it is almost impossible to say where the decline and rise began.

As Parents of Children

Although twenty-two of the thirty-four women included in this chapter married, only twelve of them had children.[84] And among the twelve, sufficient documentation exists to detail the childrearing experiences of only two: Mary Church Terrell and Lucy Mitchell. They sought to imbue their children with the same values and habits which they learned as children and continued to practice. The Terrells were always very concerned about their children. Evidence of that concern is extensive in the letters of Mary and Robert Terrell. Mary often took the children (Phyllis and Mary) to Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, for their summer vacations. In her letters home she wrote about the children's swimming lessons in Oak Bluffs, her determination

that they should learn to swim, and her reassurances that even though the children attempted daring stunts, nothing would happen to them because of her negligence or carelessness. She added on another occasion that if the children were any happier, "they would expire from pure joy." And reminiscent of Mary Terrell's instructions to Phyllis not to have boys walk her home or visit her during the day, she added that Oak Bluffs was an ideal place to vacation with the girls, for there were no temptations and/or evils there.[85]

Mary Terrell worked diligently with her daughter, Phyllis, on her communication skills, whether reading, writing, spelling, or pronunciation. Terrell discovered in 1901 that Phyllis, then in the seventh grade, could not read well. She wrote to her husband while she and the children were vacationing in Opequon:

> I try to be as calm as I can when I give her reading lessons, but she is enough to try the patience of Job. I feel certain that no child in Washington [who] passed to the seventh grade knows so little about reading as Phyllis. Bless her dear little heart. She is the sweetest piece of humanity that ever lived. I feel like a criminal when I think [of] how I allowed her to run wild nearly six weeks last summer without requiring her--forcing her--to read everyday as I am doing now. I have tried to use as little force as possible because I feared I would make her hate the sight of a book. . . . But now I see she dislikes to read because she actually doesn't know how and doesn't have the remotest idea how to spell [sound?] out a word so that she can pronounce it.

Several years later, Robert Terrell wrote to his wife that he received a letter from Phyllis with no spelling or grammatical errors. He added at the end of the statement: "Progress." Even after Phyllis was a grown woman, her mother wrote to her correcting her errors. For example, after Phyllis wrote her mother in 1930, that they needed a new brown fur neck piece because their "brown fox as [sic] seen better days . . ." Her mother wrote her back telling her that the correct word was "has," not "as." And when Phyllis was thirty-nine years old, her mother wrote to her from London about the details of the trip and of her lunch with Viscountess Snowden. Terrell reminded her daughter to "be sure to pronounce the word 'Viscountess' as though it were spelled Vi countess[;] the 'Vi' rhyming with 'my.'"[86]

But Terrell's concern for her children went beyond whether or not their English was correct. She was equally concerned about their respectable behavior. When Phyllis and Mary were in school in Oberlin, Ohio, Mary wrote to her mother that Mrs. Myers, whom they visited in Cleveland, "was very particular with us, and we didn't give her a speck of trouble. We helped her every day." Although Phyllis and Mary had card parties and attended others while they were young adults, Phyllis wrote her mother in 1952 that there was not much happening at home (in Washington) except some poker parties, and she added emphatically, "which I did not

attend." Mary Church Terrell was ninety years old at the time and Phyllis was 54. And when Terrell was in England for at least a week without getting a letter from Phyllis, she wrote to her daughter: "Surely you must be ill! I do not believe you would treat me that way unless something had happened to you." It is difficult to determine whether the concern was for Phyllis' health or the disrespect shown her mother.[87]

Indeed at least one of the women's children glorified her mother formally. Sadie Delaney's daughter, Grace Hooks, sent her mother telegrams on numerous occasions that reflected her adoration of her mother. In those telegrams, she congratulated her mother for awards she had won, and she referred to her mother as "a counsellor, companion, and friend," to many, including herself.[88]

Lucy Mitchell talked a lot about her children and grandchildren but in more general terms. She thought parents and grandparents were uniquely able to shape the attitudes and behavior of their children. They (the adults) could transmit "integrity, honesty, affection, sensitivity, compassion, dependability, respect, appreciation [and] a sense of respectability." And Francis Grant provided an example of a woman who did not marry or have children but who sought to pass on appropriate behavior traditions to her

students. Every month, she held teas for the best students in her class. The special guests at these teas were accomplished blacks such as Paul Robeson and Nella Larson. The teas served several purposes. They gave the students the opportunity to meet some of the great contemporary black artists, they motivated the students to work hard, and, also, they gave "the children the opportunity for a gracious experience, . . . learning how to manage a tea, how to act at a tea, how to dress for a tea, how to conduct themselves with people they were meeting."[89]

As previously mentioned, very little information existed that revealed complete child-rearing practices of any of the women as parents, but still the information that is available provides more than a vague impression. The information that does exist reveals no changes between how the parents of the women expected them to behave and how the women themselves prepared their own children to be "respectable."

A brief look at the education of the children also reinforces patterns detailed earlier concerning the education of the women. But the pattern went far beyond those already outlined above in this paper. The Terrells sent Phyllis and Mary at first to public schools in Washington, D.C., and then to Oberlin Academy and Oberlin College. Then Mary returned to Washington anad attended

Howard University and Phyllis went to St. Johnsbury Academy in Vermont. Portia Washington Pittman's daughter, Fannie, started at the Institute of Musical Arts (Julliard School), then went to a conservatory in Detroit, Michigan. Portia wanted both children to go to the "good" northeastern schools but she could not afford to send them in one instance, and she received discouragement from a school administrator in the other.[90]

Two of the younger women whose children went to college in the 1940s and 1950s went to other schools. Florence Edmonds' daughter, Ruth, received her Bachelor of Science degree from Massachusetts State College (University of Massachusetts), and Edmonds' other daughter, Arretta, went to the University of Massachusetts and Simmons College. Her son, James, graduated with honors from Oberlin Conservatory of Music and received his master's degree from the University of Michigan. Lucy Mitchell's daughter attended her mother's alma mater, Talledega, and received her master's degree from Radcliffe College. Mitchell's son graduated from Bates College and Boston University Law School. If the educational pattern of the parents and children approached a 360-degree turn around by the time these children went to college in the 1940s and 1950s, the grandchildren of Lucy Mitchell and perhaps others of their

generation completed the circle by the 1970s. Mitchell's five grandchildren, some of them earning two degrees, attended Smith College and the University of Michigan, Cornell and Harvard Universities, Stanford, Morehouse and Boston University.[91]

Patterns of Material Wealth

The manner in which these women lived after they became adults, whether or not they married, closely resembled their lifestyles in their parents' families. For example, the women who came from families who owned property continued to value property ownership as a form of security and an indication of wealth (class). Those women who traveled extensively as children also usually did the same as adults. Property ownership, the presence of household servants, and travel are all indications of wealth (economic class), but they are equally important illustrations of lifestyle. And the patterns in the manifestations of these factors are probably predictable.

Mary Church Terrell's parents were no doubt the wealthiest of all of the families. Because of the monetary wealth of the Churches, Terrell was able to travel throughout the United States as a child and adolescent, and when she was in her mid-twenties, she spent two years in Europe at her father's expense. Terrell also traveled as an adult to

Europe several times as a representative of various organizations. But in 1930, she and her daughter, Phyllis, went to Europe purely as tourists. Though there are no indications that the Church household included servants when Mary was a child and living there, it is evident that servants were there later. As an adult Mary Terrell had domestic "help" in her house, but it is not clear that that help was purely domestic help. Finally, Robert Church made his fortune speculating in real estate. His daughter was not a speculator, but she did come to own a lot of property. Many of her property holdings were part of her inheritance from her father's estate, but she also bought property in Washington, D.C., and on Chesapeake Bay. And it was property that she bought independently of her husband.[92]

Similarly, Angelina Grimké owned property and had many investments. She probably also inherited some of her property, but most of her investments were in place long before her father's death. Account statements sent to her from one real estate agency indicated that the company maintained and rented one house for her as early as 1912. (Her father died in 1930). She owned other houses as early as 1916, 1931, and 1934. Some of her check stubs dated between 1913 and 1924 documented several investments with Swartzell, Rheeem, and Hensey Company ranging from five hundred to two thousand dollars. And when Swartzell, Rheem

and Hensey Company filed for bankruptcy in 1934, she held notes with them totalling $110,000![93] Although apparently Grimké did not own any resort property, she did spend many summers at resorts in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts in the summer homes of friends or at boarding houses.[94]

Julia Smith, another member of the oldest cohort came from an economically comfortable family. Her father's nine-room house had both a summer and winter kitchen as well as a furnace. He also owned property at Arundel-on-the-Bay (Chesapeake). And the family spent many vacations there. But after the house at the beach burned down, rather than rebuild, the family began to go to Opequon in the mountains near Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Although family summer vacations were normal for the Smith family, Julia did not get to Europe until 1958. She was sixty-three years old. Susan Dart Butler apparently did very little travelling beyond the east coast, but her father was an extensive property holder in South Carolina and she was one of the heirs of that property after her parents died.[95] Norma Boyd, another member of the first cohort, travelled to South America when she was in her early sixties. And even then she was travelling as a representative of several organizations. She was born twenty-five years after

Terrell. Boyd represents almost all of the younger women who did not travel abroad until they could do so independently of parental support and who owned very little property but took extreme pride in home ownership. Norma Boyd made the latter point clearest when she said, " . . . in my family, the first thing you do is try to buy your own home. I don't know anybody in my family who doesn't own his own home. . . ."[96]

Frances Grant, a member of the second cohort, came from a family that owned a formidably large house in Massachusetts. The house was on Boston's Bicentennial Tour in 1976. And the Grant family vacationed during the summers at their second home in Arlington, Massachusetts. But Grant did not travel abroad as a young girl. She took her first European tour in 1926. She was thirty-one years old at the time, and she was independent. Sadie Delaney and Charlemae Hill Rollins, also members of the second cohort also travelled throughout Europe. But they travelled there after they were adults and their European travels were also in conjunction with professional meetings and presentations.[97]

Photographs with notations among Constance Fisher's papers suggest that she travelled throughout Asia as a young woman. But it was not possible to date the photographs. And Miriam Matthewswas the only other woman of the third cohort who travelled outside of the United States. Matthews

travelled extensively throughout Europe, Asia, and South America, but she did not take her first trip out of the U.S. until 1955. She was fifty years old at the time.[98]

Within the youngest cohort, probably only two women ever travelled outside of the United States. One was married to a foreign ambassador (Joyce Cooper Arkhurst) and the other, Jean Hutson, spent one year working in Ghana.[99]

Only the two oldest women who travelled abroad did so while they were very young and at the expense of their parents. Julia Smith was about ten years older when she travelled outside of the country than the two older women were when they did the same. And almost all of the remaining women did not undertake this kind of travel until they had worked for decades. When the other women did travel beyond the United States, that travel was almost always related to the work of the women, and in one case, marriage.

Beyond the women in the first cohort, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the women owned property other than the houses in which they lived. All of the parents of all of the women were apparently home owners, but, again, there is no information available to show beyond the first cohort that they owned any property outside of the homes in which they resided. All of the parents of the

women in the first cohort owned property other than their principal residences except perhaps Norma Boyd's parents. All of the other parents of that group owned investment property except Hester's parents. And except for Terrell and Grimke, who owned large holdings, and Butler and Ophelia Settle Egypt, who came to inherit some property, the women of this study were homeowners, but in terms of real estate, no more.[100]

Other Institutional Memberships

Institutional memberships are also very important indicators of social class. Presumably, members of certain class groups attend particular churches, join certain clubs and work in particular non-social organizations. The sociological and anthropological studies mentioned earlier indicated that the black upper-class members (except in the South) belonged to or attended Episcopalian or Congregational churches. The same holds true for the subjects of this chapter whose religious affiliations were evident. But other curious patterns concerning membership were also visible. For example, among the oldest women, there were no indications that they attended church and/or worked in a church. In Mary Church Terrell's over-four-hundred-page autobiography, she mentioned attending a church only while a student at Oberlin College. It was, however, a

Congregational church. But her reference to it concerned her experience singing in the choir, not any indication of her formal religiosity. Equally surprising, there were no indications that Angelina Grimké attended church, although she probably did. Her Uncle Frank, with whom she lived until the 1930s was a Presbyterian minister. Beulah Hester's husband was a Baptist minister in Boston, and she worked in his church. But they were transplants from North Carolina. Six of the women noted that they were Episcopalians. Among them, one was from a family of many generations of Episcopalians, and one was a young convert. Two women were congregationalists. One was from a family of several generations of Congregationalists. Five women, all with southern roots, were Baptists. Angelina Grimké was probably a member of a Presbyterian congregation. Two women, both in the youngest cohort, were Catholic, and one woman was brought up as a member of the AME church.[101] More than half of the women did not even mention their church affiliations.

Among all the women's relationships to other social institutions, there were also few consistencies. Only four of the women mentioned that they were members of Alpha Kappa Alpha, the oldest black sorority in the country. Only two women were members of Delta Sigma Theta, the other prestigious black woman's sorority. Several of the women

were members of card clubs. The older women tended to play whist, not bridge, and none of them, of course, played traditional gambling games such as poker. And the most startling revelation was that only two women were Links, historically America's most exclusive black woman's social/service club. Only one of the women was a member of Girl Friends, another elite woman's club. She was Barbara Pickett, and she was also one of the Links.[102]

The social clubs provided opportunities for the women to get together informally as well as formally. They exchanged social courtesies among fellow members in the form of breakfasts, teas, and the like. The clubs were also often very active in community work. They raised money for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), and many other causes. The women were also active members of literary clubs and integrated national women's clubs as well as other charity organizations like the Red Cross and the Salvation Army.[103]

Besides the obvious contributions that some groups made to the community in various ways, for some, even card playing served a serious purpose as well as a recreational one. Mary Church Terrell proudly wrote in the 1930s:

> I belong to the oldest woman's card club formed by our group [black women] in Washington. When I was first

> invited to join it I was so serious-minded I thought it would be wrong to accept the invitation. Playing cards seemd to me to be a wicked waste of time. . . . But mother insisted that I needed the kind of recreation which a card game with friends one afternoon every other week would afford. I took her advice . . . and I have never regretted it. . . . When my husband was ill [for] four-and-a-half years, I could never banish the impending tragedy from my mind except when I tried to fix it on a game of cards. Even when I did not succeed entirely in doing so, spending an afternoon or an evening with congenial friends at a card game occasionally cheered me greatly and helped me to view more philosophically the visitation of sorrow through which I was passing.

She continued that, in old age, there was no equivalent to a game of cards with good friends and that undoubtedly, quilting bees at one time served the same purpose. But since people no longer needed quilts as in earlier times, card playing could serve the same purpose.[104]

But there were also women who belonged to no card clubs and/or to clubs that were not related to card playing. Julia Smith, of the first cohort, belonged to the Brownie Club, a single woman's club, the motto of which was, "no men, no dancing, no card-playing." She added that they had the most "innovative" meetings. Mabel Staupers, a member of the second cohort, belonged to a club called the AMBITS when she was a nursing student. Ambits, short for ambition, was a club composed of black nursing and medical students.[105]

Networks are another important aspect of social institutions in which these women participated. Most of the

material concerning networks belongs more appropriately in a later chapter but a few details are useful here. The networks of some of the women were very impressive and complex. First of all, the internal (among the women and their families) networks provide some very interesting insights. Angelina Grimké taught English to Norma Boyd. Julia Smith's family was very close friends with the Grimkes. Smith's father knew the Grimkés before Angelina was born and he worked with Archibald Grimké organizing the Washington, D.C., branch of the NAACP. Reverend and Mrs. Francis Grimké, Angelina's uncle Frank and Aunt Lottie, were frequent guests in the Smith home. The Smith family was also close friends with the Joseph Lees. Angelina Grimké and her father lived with the Lees most of the time that they stayed in Boston after they moved to Washington. Julia Smith knew all the Lee children, including Tessa, Angelina's long-time best friend and school roommate. The Smiths were also close to Robert and Mary Church Terrell. In fact, it was Julia's father's influence that got Robert his first job. Howard Lee, son of Joseph Lee, entertained Mary Church Terrell and her children when they visited Oak Bluffs, and Squantum, Massachusetts. George and Fannie Baily Grant (Frances' parents) entertained Archibald and Angelina Grimké often. And Julia Smith's Aunt Georgiana married, it seems,

the same Dr. George F. T. Grant of Boston. (He married twice.)[106]

The connections among the older women are not so surprising. The Terrells, Grimkés, Smiths, and Grants, were the wealthiest among all the families. All of them were part of a Boston-Washington network based on wealth, educational attainment and institutions, and residence. The Grimkés lived in both Washington and Boston. The Terrells lived in Washington, but Robert went to Harvard. The Smiths lived in Washington, but their roots were in Boston. Julia's grandfather was John Smith, the black abolitionist who served two terms in the Massachusetts House in the early nineteenth century.[107] And Frances Grant's father was also a Harvard graduate, and his family remained in Boston although Frances moved to Washington.

The external group networks are more impressive but less complicated. Predictably, the older women were part of an international network fostered in part by their travel abroad for extended lengths of time or on numerous occasions. They traveled as students, as members and representatives of international organizations, and as independent tourists. The women born later were part of local, regional, and national networks based on sororities (professional and social) and professional organizations. And for the youngest cohort, even this conclusion may be

presumptuous, because these women rarely actually commented directly on the groups within which they interacted.

Both Terrell and Pittman attended presidential inaugurations and inaugural balls. At one of the late nineteenth century affairs, Terrell met Frederick Douglass, then United States Marshal for the District of Columbia. He became her life-long friend. And the Terrell home in Washington served as a salon of sorts that Paul Laurence Dunbar and the famous violinist, Joe Douglass, frequented. But Terrell was also a part of an international network that resulted from her travel in Europe as a student, as a tourist, and as a representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths. During those travels she met and became "visiting friends" with the Viscountess of Snowden, Lady Astor, Emperor Hailie Salassie, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Wells, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Coleridge Taylor, and other world renowned people. Her work as a lecturer in the United States afforded her access to equally prominent Americans. Carrie Chapman Catt was one of her biographers, and Terrell was once a house guest of President and Mrs. Harding. None of the other women moved within such formidable circles.[108]

Among Angelina Grimké's corresponding friends were Meta Vaux Warwick Fuller (an accomplished black woman artist) and Langston Hughes. And Frances Grant took her first trip to Europe with Clarissa Scott, daughter of Emmet J. Scott, Booker T. Washington's secretary and later a representative of President Theodore Roosevelt to black American soldiers overseas during World War I. But clearly as time passed the networks in which these women moved became smaller geographically, and blacker. Among Angelina Grimké's correspondences, the only surviving documents from whites who were on a friendly basis were from individuals who worked with publishers of her writings or white members of her family. Although in this chapter, she and Mary Terrell are in the same cohort, they were born almost twenty years apart. The networks of the women of the last cohort were local. When they extended beyond local boundaries, they usually related to sorority work or a professional organization.[109]

Status Recognition and Self Perception

Still, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, all the women subjects were special if for no other reason than because they were educated at a time when few blacks went to college. And even as young girls, these subjects knew that they were different. They were from families that

were better-off economically, socially, or both. But although they knew that they were from the upper classes, they were not arrogant. Shortly after Portia Washington went to Bradford to school, she wrote to her father that she was already friends with the best girls there (her emphasis). Julia Smith admitted that her family and personal friends were educated people who made a good living, but she tried to ignore the writers who called people like her "aristocrats." Frances Grant admitted that she and her friends were "snobs" in a way, but only to the extent that they "took a rather dim view of persons who had opportunities for education but (who) had not taken advantage of them." But there are other examples that indicate that the women had certain self-perceptions relative to class. Eunice Laurie, Lucy Mitchell, and Florence Edmonds, for example, commented that doctors always attended their mothers during childbirth.[110] They no doubt knew that such a phenomenon at the time was an indication of wealth. A clearer example of the women's recognition of their own class and status came from Mary Church Terrell when she wrote to her brother about the rudeness of a rent collector. She wrote:

> There is no doubt even that these poor white collectors ignorant and bursting with race prejudice do not insult colored people now and then. They do not treat us with proper respect. The other day one of them bowed to me in Van Court's [the agent who collected her rents

> in Memphis] office without lifting his hat. I shall request Van Court to instruct his male employes [sic] never to speak to me anywhere.[111]

Perhaps the best example of how Angelina Grimké viewed her own status was evident in a letter from Charles S. Johnson to her. Apparently, there was an affair to which She did not get an invitation but to which she felt she should have. She apparently inquired about the incident. Johnson responded emphatically:

> This is a horrible mistake! Your invitation was one of the first ones addressed. I am surprised and genuinely sorry that the miscarriage occurred whether you intended to come or not. In spite of what you say I should like to see you here. Can't you induce yourself to take a weekend holiday?

Whether Grimké went to the affair is not clear. She did not return the R.S.V.P. card. What is clear is that the oversight offended her, and Johnson was equally as apologetic and embarrassed.[112]

The manifestations of how others perceived the women also took many forms. Sometimes it was in the form of national and international invitations. Sometimes it took the form of solicitations for publications or positive responses regarding job inquiries. The recognition had different forms at different times. For Mary Church Terrell, the recognition that people conceded to her came purely as a result of the name she made for herself. For Angelina Grimké and Portia Washington, much of the

recognition they received, although sometimes national in scope, came closely linked with their fathers' names. The ways in which the other (younger) women received status recognition related, usually, once again, to their work, and that will be discussed later.

Other indications of Terrell's status included her being asked by Ruth Hanna McCormick to work for her in her Senate campaign among blacks in the country. She received and accepted a similar invitation from the Hoover administration's 1932 re-election campaign. As early as 1890, officials from Oberlin College invited Terrell to become the school's registrar. They later named her one of the school's one hundred most famous alumni. In 1952, she was Delta Sigma Theta's National Woman of the Year.[113] Indications of recognition of Angelina's talents included a request from one person for a handwritten signed copy of her recently published poem, "A Winter Twilight." Mary Kaubaucle solicited articles from Grimké for the Birth Control Review. And Katherine E. Conway (of Pilot Publishing Co.) wrote to Angelina about how much she enjoyed Angelina's poem, "Beware Lest He Awake." Conway asked Angelina to please come to see her because she "should like to know one who writes so strongly and well, and is so fine to her people."[114]

As previously mentioned, there was little evidence of status recognition of Angelina Grimké that did not somehow

relate to her father. That was even truer for Portia Washington Pittman. In all the materials consulted which concerned Portia's life, she seemed to have little separate status.[115]

For all the women who were members of the later cohorts, the ways in which others recognized them were on a much smaller scale and more local level. The Women's Club of Pittsfield, an organization of primarily white business and professional women, named Florence Edmonds "Mother of the Year." Another local group also surprised her with a "This is Your Life" day. The Los Angeles Sentinel named Miriam Matthews one of ten "Women of the Decade" in Los Angeles in 1960. And Beulah Hester received four consecutive appointments to the Boston Board of Overseers of Public Welfare.[116]

Middle Class and Lower Caste

Finally, although the earlier women were more well-known among integrated circles of women's groups and mixed-gender groups, all of the women were strident workers for "racial" equality. In fact, there was more evidence of caste consciousness than of class consciousness. A few examples will suffice here.

Mary Church Terrell, the oldest and the wealthiest of the women, worked for decades after her marriage ended her

teaching career, speaking throughout the United States and Europe on the "race problem" as well as on behalf of women's rights. She was one of the founders of the Washington, D.C., branch of the NAACP and was a staunch supporter of W.E.B. DuBois, despite the powerful opposition to him. In fact, Terrell openly challenged Booker T. Washington not only by working with the NAACP, but also by publicly speaking against the 1906 dismissal of the three companies of black soldiers after a racial incident in Brownsville, Texas. This took an extraordinary amount of courage on her part because Washington was responsible for Theodore Roosevelt's appointment of Robert Terrell as Judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia. Washington and another Tuskegeeite wrote to Judge Terrell about the embarrassment that his wife was causing.[117]

Even more dramatic than Terrell's challenges to Booker T. Washington, at the age of eighty-three she challenged the American Association of University Women because they would not permit black women to join. She won when she was eighty-six. When she was eighty-eight years old, she tested the long forgotten anti-discrimination laws in the District of Columbia by sitting down to eat in a segregated restaurant and subsequently suing the restaurant for refusing to allow her to eat. She was ninety years old when

she won that case. Between the ages of eighty-seven and ninety, with the aid of a cane, she walked picket lines in front of Washington, D.C., department stores protesting the managers'/owners' refusal to serve and/or seat black customers in the store restaurants. She was ninety years old when the Supreme Court ruled that Washington restaurants could not refuse to serve blacks. Also when she was ninety years old, Terrell led a group of concerned citizens to fight for the release of Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons, all three jailed and sentenced to die in Georgia for killing a white man who attacked them.[118]

It is almost an absurd assumption that blacks of any class were not conscious of caste. Angelina Grimké also expressed a level of that consciousness (which according to some scholars did not exist), when she responded to Ogden Porden of Hampton Institute concerning a European tour that he was organizing. She informed him that such a trip did not appeal to her, for she would want to go to Europe "to get away from America and be a human being. Over here, there is for colored people, enough involuntary 'jim-crowing' without voluntarily carrying it abroad." She concluded, "no thank you. A trip to me would mean a chance for living, breathing, enjoyment."[119]

None of the women could possibly live without some consciousness of their caste-like positions. Through their

work, they directly served the black community. One of the younger women, Miriam Mathews, a librarian who lived in California devoted much of her life to studying black life and culture in California and bringing it into her libraries. She personally promoted several fledgling black artists and was an early proponent of Black History Week.[120] Mathews and Terrell, among the oldest and the youngest of the women, were not the exceptions, they were parts of the rule.

One of the best examples that shows how these women set aside class distinctions in order to benefit the larger group came from adult life of Lugenia Burns Hope, founder of the Neighborhood Union settlement house in Atlanta, Georgia, and the wife of John Hope, the first black president of Morehouse College. Very few details concerning Hope's early life are available, and, consequently, she was not one of the thirty four women represented in this chapter. Still, her work record with the Neighborhood Union, an Atlanta-based, social service, volunteer group, exemplifies the obfuscation of class hierarchies among these women for the benefit of the caste. In a recommendation letter for Hope, A. D. Williams wrote:

> . . . I have been associated with Mrs. John Hope for some years, and I have found her to be peculiarly effective in organizations. She has the happy faculty of being able to have all classes of women work

> together. Whenever we have wanted the women of our city to work as a unit, we have always secured Mrs. Hope as a leader and we have never failed.[121]

Chapter seven will explain extensively the manifestations of caste consciousness for the entire group of women.

Conclusion

The omnipresence of the "racial" caste system in the United States complicates any discussion of social class when it concerns the lower-caste group. Partly because of the existence of the racial caste system, social and economic factors in the lives of black Americans became intricately interwoven. Robert Church's favored-slave status and consequential business experience and wealth allowed his daughter, Mary, to go to school at Antioch, Oberlin, and in Europe. Her elite education placed her in a very high position on a class hierarchy and only partially because of her earning potential. All she had to do was get married to lose her job as a teacher in the District of Columbia schools. She got married, and she lost her job, but not her status. And so it was her social status, not her economic status, that her education, an economic indicator, helped to provide permanently. But even if social status were based entirely on behavior, that behavior was a result of a learning process, which wealth afforded to some through education, travel, and early exposure to culture.

The ways in which these women compared to the larger black population (part one of this chapter) were very interesting. There were many similarities as well as several striking differences. The first and most obvious difference was that the women came from families in which the parents became less and less educated at first rather than more and more educated. But the families from which the women came and their own families, after they married and had children, remained child centered. And the parents were especially protective of their "girls." Respectability and even super-respectability, as DuBois put it, remained a very important measure of social class. Consequently, the parents of the girls encouraged them to behave properly, and the schoolteachers under whom they studied reinforced the values in their teaching. Unlike what the sociological and anthropological writers found among the larger black upper classes, however, these women, especially but not exclusively the older women, seriously enjoyed cultural pursuits including attending theater, museums, and other cultural activities.

The social-institutional memberships of the women present a pattern very similar to earlier findings. The women whose church affiliations were evident were primarily Episcopalian and Baptist. The women who were not Episcopalian were younger and Southern. It is not clear

which factor was more important. Local social clubs, card clubs, "race" organizations, and sororities remained important. But there were no wild poker parties like those E. Franklin Frazier described. And, finally, among these women, unlike in earlier studies, there was a plethora of evidence to prove that they were both class and caste conscious.

The final objective of this chapter was to reveal the patterns of change in the different areas of social class measurement exclusively among the subjects. The changes were clear and consistent. Just as the educational levels of the parents of these women declined and then rose, so did their own. The material wealth of the women also declined at first. The earlier women owned several pieces of property and invested money in other areas. The younger women had no obvious investments other than in the homes in which they lived.

The women who married also married men who became, at first, less educated. There is no doubt a relationship between the lower incomes of the husbands and the lack of material wealth of the married women. And in the same manner in which the other factors related to economics changed (education, property ownership), so did other indicators of wealth such as how the women spent their

extended leisure-time. The older women were international travelers at an early age, and some continued to travel extensively throughout their lives. The middle group of women traveled abroad but only after working for several years and usually not until after retirement. The younger women almost never traveled outside the country exclusively as tourists.

Finally, the social institutions other than church to which the women belonged changed in some ways and remained constant in others. Specifically, the youngest women belonged to many of the same social organizations that the older ones did. They included sororities, card clubs, and "race" organizations. But the older women more often belonged to more organizations in general and more organizations which had national, international, and integrated memberships. One of the results of the broader social institutional associations and the wealth of the older women was the creation of social networks that were also broader-based; that is, national and international.

But all of the patterns above revealed more than simply the lowering of the economic base of the lower-level professional black women workers. They also reveal the increasing accessibility of black colleges for young adults and the increasing acceptability of those schools to the black upper-classes. The patterns also reflected the

increasing segregation within American society after the turn of the century. It was Caroline Moore, Pittman's former guardian at Bradford, who advised her not to send her daughter to Bradford Academy in the late 1920s because of "racial" tension. And one of Mary Church Terrell's most intensive struggles in the 1920s was for the admission of Eva Ross, a young black girl, into several of the very same New England schools which the older subjects of this paper attended. Several of the schools admitted Ross but revoked the admission when they discovered that she was "part colored."[122]

The elucidation of these data provides some understanding of the socio-historical development of the black upper-classes. Nor do these findings necessarily directly contradict those of Frazier, Dollard, Powdermaker, Drake, and Davis, _et al_. is not yet clear. Nearly all of these women did have more education than their parents had. But a glimpse at the last two generations of Lucy Mitchell's family might very well be an important clue. Her children went to college in the 1940s, and her grandchildren went in the 1970s. The schools they attended were similar to and sometimes the same as those which the oldest women attended. In other words, perhaps this chapter reveals details of the beginning of and hints of the ending of a cycle into which the other scholars entered at the middle.

Part II

The Women As Workers: An Introduction

During the past several decades, a sizable group of sociologists and historians have studied, written about, and debated the process of professionalization and the characteristics of professions. The body of literature on those topics from the 1920s to the 1960s offers little disagreement and innovation. Talcott Parsons' studies from the 1930s and Ernest Greenwood's descriptions of the professions in the 1950s are not only very similar in content but they hardly differ from A. M. Carr-Saunders' descriptions of professionals and professionalism published in the 1920s.[1] In general, the studies on professionalism agree that professions are based on a "systematic body of theory" or specialized knowledge. The mastery of that knowledge results in professional authority or functional specificity and the sanction of the community (of laymen); or, a public-granted monopoly in administering services based on this knowledge. The nature of carrying out that monopoly renders the work service-oriented (as opposed to profit oriented; or, as Parsons said, altruistic as opposed to egoistic). In order to avert the potential abuse of the monopoly (knowledge-based power) and resulting privileges,

the professions also have a code of ethics which is regulatory. That code also presumably helps to win and to retain the confidence of laymen partially by including the licensing of "worthy" persons. And finally, the professions have a culture which involves formal institutions (hospitals, law offices, schools, etc.) and organizations (associations) as well as formal and informal cliques based on myriad interests and specializations. The code of ethics, the organizations and institutions, and specialized knowledge, while all a part of the "professional culture," contribute to the culture by creating values, norms, symbols, and rationality in the occupational area. One of the outstanding values that all of the professional workers share is professional objectivity--the ability to separate personal judgments and values from occupational responsibility and performance.[2]

The foci of the post-1960 studies on professionalism illustrate a wider range of interests, issues, and ideas. Many of the studies simply apply the older descriptions of professions and professionalization to previously unexamined groups or individuals.[3] Some directly challenge the standard descriptions based on the study of different groups.[4] Others contribute to this body of literature by re-examining previously studied groups and offering alternative

conclusions by casting those groups in new categories (e.g., "semi-professions"). They also attempt to explain the phenomenon as well as to describe it.[5] And, finally, there are a few brave souls willing to argue that there is one characteristic that distinguishes professions from non-professions. Workers' control, personal attitude, and gender are among those explanations.[6]

Still much ground remains uncovered. For example, almost all of the studies reflect concern either for the processual or the structural. The former reveals how an occupation moved from non-professional status to professional status. The latter concerns "the professions" and how they differ (structurally) from other occupations. Far too often, advocates of both methods are too restrictive. One assumes that there is a process through which occupations move in becoming a profession, and the other assumes that there is a model structure by which to measure all other groups. Until most recently, there was rarely ever a three-dimensional examination which revealed the interaction of the aspiring professionals, the structure of the profession and its organization, the work process, and the process of professionalization, which is, after all, the result of the work of the professionals and the functionality or non-functionality of the structure of the profession.

The exceptions to this characterization include several more recent studies that introduce new questions and ideas on this topic. By placing the professions and professionals into their proper socio-cultural perspective, these newer studies suggest, among other things, that contrary to the older studies, which viewed professionalization as progressive, perhaps professionalization is regressive, and that often, professionals are egoistic rather than altruistic. But still, these studies often critique the roles of professionals using others' definitions of the role. They add to our knowledge on the topic, but they do not adequately criticize the scholarly process for determining whether a person or occupation is a professional or a profession. And consequently, the critique is only applicable to those groups whose status was determined by a method that may not even be adequate.[7]

All of these studies, old and new, concentrate on the organizations and institutions of majority group persons. Almost necessarily, the whole experience would differ, sometimes significantly, if the subjects of examination were of a lower-caste group in the professions and if the methodology of the study allowed an examination of that group and its members' roles in the larger society where the experiences may or may not be similar to those of the

majority group, as well as in their caste sub-community where they may be different. An examination of the black, female, lower-level professionals does in fact allow a clear demonstration of the interrelated nature of social, cultural, political, and economic forces with processes, structures, and functions of professionals and professionalism.

A study of black, female professionals casts new light on factors affecting professionalism, professionalization, and work while also revealing in great detail the dynamics involved in professionalism and professionalization when caste impediments determine the training, the work place, the organization, and the acceptance of the worker. That picture is even more complex when as caste-member professionals, the individuals had to reconcile their role as professionals in their immediate (usually segregated) environment with the denial of true professional status by others in the larger professional arena. Both of these conditions had some effect on the processes and structures of professionalization because they involved the struggle of groups of workers to obtain professional status not from society or their professional superiors, nor from those they served, but, instead, from their own professional peers.

In an attempt to provide a three-dimensional image of the lower-level professional black women workers as workers,

this discussion of the women involves three substantial parts represented by chapters. The first part (chapter 3) concerns the women as professionals in their own right. Although it is not possible to compose the complete picture of the professional lives of all of the individual women, there are clearly two categories to which most of the available data relate. The first of those categories is the involvement of the women with those activities described earlier as professional endeavors. The second category concerns status recognition or recognition as professionals by others, in this case, from within and outside the profession.

The second part (chapter 4) concerns the process of professionalization by and through organization. This section is specific to the women who were nurses. There are two reasons for focusing on the nurses. First of all, it is possible to reconstruct the history of the nurses' struggle because of the availability of their own records and because of the comparative extensiveness of publications by and about the nurses. The second reason is that it was possible only for the nurses to reveal how black, professional, organized women functioned in the professional arena and in the larger society as a group as well as individually with black, professional, organized women as the leaders of the

activities. It is not possible to show this dynamic, for example, for the black women social workers because they did not work together as an organized group until the 1970s. It is not possible to do the same for librarians because until 1971, the black librarians did not have a national organization of their own. Instead they worked, first as departments in the black teachers' organizations on the state level, and later as individual members of the American Library Association (ALA). Not until the 1970s did black librarians organize the Black Caucus in the ALA. Finally, there was a national teacher's organization composed of state organizations. But although women often held leadership positions in state organizations, the national organization was almost always controlled by men.[8]

An attempt to make the picture of these women workers as complete as possible must include a discussion of work. In chapter five, the topic of work both directly and indirectly relates to the discussions of professionalism because of the ways in which the women had to work as black service workers. Additionally, the questions concerning work cultures and processes take on different emphases when the groups were white-collar workers whose concerns go far beyond bread and butter issues and working conditions (i.e., egotistic concerns).

Chapter 3

"You Don't Do It For The Money": The Question of Professional Status

The issue of professional status for the black women workers represented here is much more complex than the traditional and the revisionist literature on professions can indicate. In both types of literature, there is now some consensus that nursing, teaching, librarianship, and social work are not true professions. William Goode's work mentioned earlier, for example, maintains that librarians can never be "real" professionals because they have no control over their work. Nina Toren came to the same conclusion about social work, and Raymond Callahan explained that the same was true for teachers. Richard Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson even insisted that the larger society would never allow any of the occupations dominated by women to become professions. Barbara Melosh echoed that sentiment with specific reference to nurses. And Fred Katz wrote that nurses could not be professionals because of their relationship or lack of a hierarchical relationship to physicians.[1]

For the black women in the occupations represented in this study, the issues concerning professional status are

much more basic than gender segregation of work, worker's control, and relationships to professional superiors because these women were, in essence, denied professional status by their professional peers. For these women, the denial of entrance to professional organizations almost summarily denied their professional status long before scholarly debates even began over whether these occupations were or were not professions. For that reason, the professional status of these women must be based on criteria that goes beyond their participation in the professional culture and other newer, more recently established criteria.

For these women, their attitudes about their work and the manifestations of those attitudes are very important factors.[2] These attitudes are especially visible for these women in the mannner in which they participated in the traditional professional culture. But equally important was their own work ethic which involved a total commitment to service to their clients.[3] And, finally, in both traditional and non-traditional ways, status recognition is also an important indication of these women's professional status. In this case, status recognition is a traditional variable for determining professional status in that the recognition accorded to these women came from the larger professional community. But that recognition was somewhat inconsistent until the later years of this study. Instead,

throughout the period of this study, it was the communities served by these women that conceded their status as professionals.

It is important and, perhaps, imperative to recognize the opinions generated in both collegial and local communities particularly in cases where there are limitations on the workers' upward mobility for whatever reason. In such cases, the worker can reach the highest attainable level of work among his or her particular group and consequently be placed in the highest possible status by that group. But beyond the immediate group, there are many more and higher levels possible and therefore the status recognition might be different. In the case of these lower-level professional black women workers, their attitudes about their work and their involvement in the professional culture as well as the status recognition both from the immediate work community and from individuals outside that immediate environment indicate that these women were real professionals.

One of the requirements of professional status according to the scholars of professionalism is the attainment of some specialized training. All except four of the women whom this study concerns held at least a bachelor's degree.[4] To some extent, chapters one and two

provided many of the details concerning where the women went to school and the importance of their getting a formal education. But with regards to professionalism, the part of their education that they acquired independent of parental support and encouragement is more relevant here. It reflects their own attitudes about education and its value. In general, the women pursued knowledge zealously and, sometimes, even frenetically.

The story of Septima Clark's struggle for an education (detailed earlier) is quite atypical in terms of her economic instability. But her burning desire to complete a bachelor's and then a master's degree and to acquire other special training in non-degree coursework was very typical. Before receiving her bachelor's degree from Benedict College, Clark attended summer school sessions in Columbia, South Carolina, and regularly took extension courses through the State College. As a result of her fortitude, she eventually received her bachelor's degree in 1942. Between 1942 and 1944, she took an overload of courses during the summers at Hampton Institute in Virginia and received her master's degree at the end of the last summer (1944). But in addition to attending school for degrees, Clark also pursued non-degree courses and programs to help her perform her job more effectively (professionally). She remarked

that she attended Columbia University in 1930 because she wanted to learn new ways of teaching slow learners. In 1937, she attended Atlanta University to study curriculum building and rural sociology, both of which were new fields of study. Similarly, Boyd received her undergraduate degree in elementary education, and although she remained an elementary-level teacher throughout her career, she still returned to school for a one-year course to prepare herself to teach upper-level grades.[5]

Mabel Northcross was one of the nurses whose pursuit of knowledge appears frenzied. She constantly took specialized advanced courses being offered at a number of different schools. Some of the more well-known institutions that she attended included Southern Illinois University; the Universities of Michigan, Indiana, and Chicago; Columbia University; and, the Chevalier Jackson Bronchoscopic Clinic (Temple University). Northcross admitted in her interview that she did attend a lot of schools, but she never wanted to stay at any of them. The only exception was New York University. She finished her bachelor's degree there in 1946.[6]

Almost all of the women undertook additional study beyond degree requirements for their jobs, and there were no indications that they did so in order to keep their jobs. The undertaking was a personal choice and a reflection of

their personal values regarding education and work. Mabel Northcross insisted that in spite of her desire for more education, she never took time from her job to go to school that she had not earned. She accumulated vacation time, sick leave, and personal leave in order to finish school. At one time she had at least six months of accumulated time from work. Northcross refused to neglect her job responsibilities while she tried to improve herself as a worker. In a similarly selfless manner, Miriam Matthews took a six-month leave of absence without pay from her job in the Los Angeles County Public Library System to travel to the East Coast to work and study in the New York Public Library System.[7]

The women believed that formal, advanced education was necessary for them to perform their jobs as well as they wished to peform them. Fostine Riddick had a very difficult time getting her husband's approval for her return to college. But she believed that she absolutely had to return to school. In spite of her superiors' confidence in her preparation and ability, when the occupational classification of "nurse anesthetist" began to break down and more extensive training and degrees in the area of anesthesiology became common, she resolved that she either had to return to school for more training or she had to stop

administering anesthesia. Because her husband at first refused to allow her to return to school, she resigned her job. When her husband finally began to support her efforts to further her study, Riddick not only finished her bachelor's degree (during the mid-1950s) but she also finished a master's degree in 1963.[8] Several of the other women pushed for advanced training in their fields. But none had to push family members the way that Riddick did.

It took a number of these women many years to finish college. For many of the younger women, the reason was financial. But several of these women did make connections with national agencies that publicly advocated and financially supported educational opportunities for blacks, public health improvements in general, and expanded educational opportunities in the South. And those women pushed these agencies for more support as hard as Fostine Riddick pushed her husband. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie went to Hampton Institute to work as the assistant director of the nursing program there in 1943. For some time (she did not say how much) she actually worked as the director because there was no one else to serve in that capacity. When the school did get a new director, Carnegie's role as assistant director became formalized. About the incident, Carnegie said she did not mind. She gracefully assumed the position for which the college administrators hired her. Carnegie stated: "I

didn't make a case out of it, but I did make a case of getting a scholarship and getting out and getting additional preparation." The president of Hampton contacted the General Education Board (GEB) on her behalf, and she received Rockefeller Foundation money to attend the University of Toronto, the school of the Foundation's choice. The courses were not graduate level courses, however, and Carnegie received only a certificate upon completion, and she remained dissatisfied. She went from Toronto to Florida A. & M. College at the request of the GEB to help start a nursing program there. Carnegie continued to insist upon having a master's degree, particularly since the GEB installed her at the Florida college as the Dean of the nursing school. Against the advice of one GEB representative but with the support of the President of Florida A. & M. College, Carnegie finally got her wish, and the GEB helped support her through the completion of her master's degree at Syracuse University.[9]

Carnegie struggled for the finances that she needed in order to complete her advanced education. She had received her nursing diploma in 1937 at Lincoln School for Nurses in New York. She immediatley began to work on a bachelor's degree at New York University but dropped out to go to work at Tuskegee. When she left Tuskegee, it was to enroll in a

National Youth Administration-sponsored degree program at West Virginia State College in which nurses could work part time in exchange for tuition, room, board, and a small stipend. Carnegie recalled, "it was my chance to go to college, and I went. . . ." She graduated from that program in 1942, attended Teacher's College (Columbia University) on a Public Health Service Grant during the summer of 1943, and after spending more than a decade working at Florida A. & M. and studying at the University of Toronto and Syracuse University as mentioned before, she finally returned to school again and completed a doctorate in 1972 at New York University in Health Services Administration.[10]

Other agencies contributed to the completion of advanced training for other women. Estelle Massey Osborne received Rosenwald Foundation money to attend Columbia University Teacher's College in New York for her bachelor's degree. Rosenwald foundation representatives saw "leadership potential" in Osborne, and she took advantage of their sentiments by insisting that she "needed more preparation" if she were to be a real leader in her field; she added, "certainly education had to be fundamental."[11] Beulah Hester was not lucky enough to have the support of foundations like the Rosenwald or the Rockefeller, but she apparently possessed sufficient powers of persuasion to convince the Bursar at Simmons College to allow her to

enroll in the School of Social Work and to accept a twenty-five dollar-a-month payment for her education. Hester was still paying the installments after she graduated in 1933.[12]

Most of the surviving records do not detail these women's struggle for education, nor do they always indicate that there was a struggle. But most of those records do indicate that the women sought higher education for the various ways that it could benefit them in their work. Mary Church Terrell completed a master's degree and went to Europe to study languages, which she taught in Washington, D.C. Lillian Harvey, who headed the nursing program at Tuskegee for almost thirty years, received her nursing training at a hospital school, but she subsequently returned to school and completed a bachelor's, a master's, and a Ph.D. degree. Angelina Grimké spent part of her summers in school in New England. Florence Edmonds finished the nursing course at the Lincoln Hospital nursing school and then borrowed money against an insurance policy to finish a bachelor's degree at Columbia. Rhietta Hines Herbert, about whom only information on work experiences was available, consistently enrolled in institutes and workshops to keep abreast of developments in her area of social work. And Elva Jones Dulan , a member of the Army Nurse Corps during World War II, took advantage of her veteran's benefits to

finish the baccalaureate degree. Five years later she began graduate work, and she ultimately finished her master's degree.[13] The manner in which these women pursued education as individuals is phenomenal considering that many of them began their work before there were rigid college requirements for working in their areas.

As a group and as individuals, the nurses' attitudes about education are particularly evident in many places. When Mabel Staupers explained the purpose of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN)to GEB officials, she insisted that one major role was "to improve the standards of nursing education. . . ." The president of Florida A. & M. College, F. R. E. Lee, wrote to the Rosenwald Foundation about Reva Speaks, a nursing instructor there:

> She is the type of woman who wishes to go forward as indicated by the fact that after graduation from Freedman's Hospital and after being registered in Ohio, she entered the University of Cincinnati and completed a regular college course for the Bachelor of Arts Degree. As Director of nurses here, she is anxious to prepare herself in the very largest manner in promoting the nurse training department here.

When Staupers, representing the NACGN, recommended Edna Purdie from Richmond, Virginia, for one of the Rosenwald fellowships for nurses, she said Purdie was "excellent material for a scholarship" and that Purdie was on leave from St. Phillips Hospital and enrolled for the year at

Virginia Union College. She added that Purdie attended Columbia University for the two previous summers and she wanted to finish her residence work at Columbia, which she could not do without a scholarship. And, finally, ten years later, in 1945, Staupers was relocating her home from New York to California, but she planned to make stops on the way at several military bases representing the NACGN to visit several of the black army nurses. About one nurse in particular (Ms. Rainey), Staupers told M.O. Bousfield, an administrator of the Rosenwald Foundation Fund, "I, too, am very proud of her and have from the beginning, realized that she was excellent material. I want her to get her degree just as soon as she comes out of the army and be prepared to continue the leadership in civilian life which she has given the Army."[14]

These women were genuine in their desire to improve themselves as individuals and as workers. But they were not just guessing about what they needed or wanted in the way of education. They were strongly aware of changing trends in their fields and they intended to be prepared for them. Septima Clark foresaw the attempt of Southern school administrators to use competency testing to avoid paying black teachers equal wages to whites. And that was at least part of her reasoning for continuing her education formally and informally. But even more explicitly, one nurse wrote

in her application for a scholarship in nursing in 1936:

> A decade or so ago, the words 'Nursing Education' were seldom, if ever used. . . . 'You learn by doing' was the accepted theory and so probationers 'as green as the grass of the countryside' from whence they came were sent on the wards to learn how to be a nurse by the 'trial and error' method. . . .
>
> Today the trend is toward higher education in all professional fields. Nursing, being among the youngest of the professions, was among the last to recognize and stress the need of college preparation for its students. . . .
>
> I wish to help solve that problem [of the under-education of nurses and, especially, black nurses] or at least make a contribution, as a result of wider experience and knowledge. . . .
>
> I have set myself a tack which only through broader education can I accomplish.[15]

These women viewed education as a very important part of their work. Their education was not simply "dressing" to make them more marketable as potential wives or middle-class ladies, which was often the case for white middle-class women.[16] Instead, these women viewed education as preparation for work. The more education they had, the better prepared they were. And when they talked about going to school or returning to school, they explicitly used the term "preparation" as illustrated in several of the quotations throughout this chapter.

Another part of the preparation for work (and the professional culture) involved attending and organizing professional conferences. Some of the women viewed

participation in these conferences as another valuable way to keep abreast of new ideas, research, and trends in the professions. Although only a few of the women talked explicitly about why they attended the conferences, many of them talked about attending. And for many of those who attended the meetings before the 1950s, the black organizations were the vital line to that additional information because often the leaders of the black group did communicate with the officers of the white organizations and with other governmental and non-governmental agencies that could provide useful information.

Historically, individuals who worked in areas that required extensive formal education often sought organization as a way of creating and maintaining what they perceived as their special status and preparation.[17] In that sense, these women were no different. The following chapter explains, in detail, how the nurses sought professionalization through organization. But very briefly, it is possible to show the same trend among black teachers and librarians. Black teachers formed state-level organizations in Kentucky and Georgia in 1878, in Alabama in 1882, in Virginia in 1888, in Florida in 1891, and in Arkansas in 1899. There was a black teacher's organization in almost every state in the South by 1900. One author

wrote about the Louisiana Education Association, the first of all of the state groups, that "the LEA made every effort to keep the black teachers abreast with new developments and techniques in education through educational articles in the journal and by sponsoring various educational workshops throughout the state."[18]

The librarians did not organize formally until much later than the teachers, but they did so for the same reasons. The librarians' division of the Virginia State Teachers' Association worked to "provide incentive for the members to engage in continuing education" and to promote the value of library service to students, teachers, and principals.[19] In the Georgia group, the goals were not very different. The black librarians of Georgia hoped that through organization, they could improve and expand library service, "promote professional growth and development of librarians," and work with other professional groups toward the promotion of child welfare. And the Alabama librarians had their own organization, but they also sent delegates to the American Library Association (ALA) meetings "in order to keep abreast of national professional activities."[20]

Many of the women were proudly active to the extent that they were able to belong to and to attend professional meetings. Mabel Staupers said she joined the NACGN in 1916 when she was a senior nursing student. Estelle Osborne said

when she went to Freedmen's Hospital as the first educational director in the nursing program, she insisted on time off to attend professional meetings. Florence Edmonds became active in the Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Visiting Nursing Association as soon as she began to practice there in 1945. And Gloria Smith, one of the youngest subjects of this study, began attending the meetings of the ANA as soon as she came out of school in 1956. She was also a member of the APHA. The records of New York social worker Rietta Hines Herbert, another of the younger women, indicate that at least in the 1960s, she attended annual meetings of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., The Child Welfare League of America, the State Committee on Children and Public Welfare of the State Charities Aid Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the New York State Welfare Conference, and the American Orthopsychiatric Association/World Federation for Mental Health Joint Meeting. And, finally, not only did Mary Elizabeth Carnegie attend all the conferences that she thought would benefit her, but she added, "I always dragged my students to everything [also]. I'd just pack up the car and take them with me. I thought that was important too."[21]

For some of the other women for whom professional activities were discernable, their membership alone in the

professional associations was extensive. Barbara Pickett, one of the youngest subjects of this study, was a member of every regional professional association within her occupation. She was active in the Louisville Library Club, the Kentucky Librarians' Association, the Southeastern Librarians' Association, and the American Library Association. Mabel Northcross, during her lifetime, was a member of local nurses' organizations in St. Louis, the Pan-Missouri Nurses Association, the American Nurses' Association, the NACGN, the National League for Nurses, and the National Operating Room Nurses' Congress.[22] But membership and activity in an organization was not always a simple matter of paying dues and attending a meeting.

Almost all of these women worked at least part of their lives during the era of racial segregation in American history, and that legal proscription against racial mixing prevented some of the women from taking advantage of all the programs that they wanted to attend. But when the barriers came down, these women joined the organizations quickly.

Sadie Delaney was one of the women whose papers revealed professional exclusion and partial inclusion. When she wrote to the Alabama Library Association asking whether or not she could attend the 1954 meeting, the Secretary responded to her:

> As you know, the Alabama Library Association has as yet not opened its membership to Negroes. I am sure you realize the problems involved in Alabama in contemplation of such action. The Association is divided in its willingness to admit Negroes to membership, and partly as a result of the laws of the state the group not willing to admit Negroes as members has succeeded in having its way. The Executive Board has been studying the problem and its members feel that the situation will in time be changed, but it is the overwhelming opinion of the Board that any insistence at this time on Negro membership, or even Negro visitation at the meeting, would result in more friction than it would be worth, would be embarrassing to both races, and that it would serve only to set back such progress toward integration as has already been made.

Three years later, Delaney wrote to the Southeastern Library Association (SELA) with the same inquiry. The chairman of the program committee responded that the SELA members chose to meet in Roanoke so that "the Negro members could attend with the minimum of embarrassment." She added that blacks could attend all of the library functions except those involving meals, but they could not stay at the conference hotel because the hotel policy prohibited blacks from eating and/or sleeping there. The SELA had, however, enlisted the support of a black librarian from Roanoke who was assisting black attendees with room and board arrangements.[23]

Mary Elizabeth Carnegie worked diligently with the NACGN from the beginning of her nursing career. And she served as President of the Florida NACGN and as Secretary of the Eastern Region of the NACGN. She began to pay membership dues to the white Florida State Nurses Association

in 1948, the first year that blacks could join. But because of segregation, she could not attend the meetings until several years later. Fostine Riddick joined the Tidewater (Virginia) Association of Colored Graduate Nurses as soon as she moved to the area. She could not join the Virginia Nurses' Association at that time. But she did note that she became a member of the ANA as soon as the racial barriers came down. Barbara Pickett said she was a member of the Kentucky Library Association at the time that blacks could be members but when KLA officials discouraged their attendance because of segregated hotels. Pickett attended some of the meetings anyway. Eunice Laurie said she went to professional conferences when "there weren't but four of us Negro nurses [there]." She added, "But we would go [to the conferences] and we would attend the meetings. We had very little to say, but we would be there." Similarly, Septima Clark said she went to the first interracial teachers' conferences held in South Carolina. She attended these meetings even though black and white teachers had to sit in separate sections.[24] Clearly, to the women, the advantages that might come from attending the meetings far outweighed the circumstances under which they had to attend.

Finally, in addition to formal education and professional organizations and meetings, the women turned to larger public and private agencies to help provide the

information that they needed or to make it possible for them to deliver such information to other black professionals. When the NACGN could not keep up with the requests of black nurses for conferences and workshops, the officers turned to the U.S. Department of Labor for help. During the Annual Children's Health Day programs they turned to State Health Departments. When NACGN money ran short and the National officers could not afford to attend regional conferences, they turned to the GEB and the Rosenwald Foundation. And, finally, when Estelle Massey Osborne got an invitation to present a paper at a 1935 conference, she turned to her friend, M. O. Bousfield, at the Rosenwald Foundation for assistance. She wrote to him:

> I think this [is] one of the most significant things that has developed so far in the matter of professional relationships. More than ever, I need your cooperation to make this presentation a creditable one. Being away from [the] base, it is difficult for me to keep up with the developments in the public health field of the South. It would be a great help if you will keep me informed of any new developments where Negro nurses are either included or should be included.[25]

Most of these women expressed extraordinary concern about being fully prepared for their jobs. They constantly sought education or "preparation" in the way of formal schooling, conferences, workshops, and the like. But their attitude toward their work is also visible in ways other than the way they linked educational preparation with job

performance potential. That final major area concerns how these women viewed their role in society as workers. They truly saw themselves as public servants: workers whose main concern was not how much money they made or how many hours they worked but, instead, how well they served their clients or how they contributed to the commonweal. Miriam Matthews, for example, said she found community service a privilege and a responsibility. She added that she worked the way that she did because she wanted more quality in the life of her community.[26]

Service to the community was indeed a very important part of the world views of these women. When Ollie Jewell Sims applied to the Rosenwald Foundation for a fellowship to study for a master's degree in Public Health Nursing, she wrote in her application, "I believe that this more widened experience received through such preparation would prepare me properly and more adequately to serve in a greater way." Then she thanked the foundation for providing her "the opportunity to submit my plan for fuller service." Mabel Staupers said that when she graduated from nursing school, she made three dollars a day for twelve hours of work. She added that it was not the kind of work that one did for the money, implying that the work was more important than the pay. Norma Boyd expressed a similar view when she said that

wealth was never her objective or goal in life. She said "satisfaction comes in service, the number of people you have helped." She was especially proud of her record of service and her humble beginnings because, she said, "If I had been born in luxury, I would have never been an example to the child who wasn't." Boyd also asserted that "to have unselfish ambition gives you peace of mind." She taught school most of her life and she said she never received more than twohundred dollars a month. She added that she also made many speeches at the request of others but, she added, "I never made a speech in my life for which I was paid. To receive money for speaking is not a service." And, finally, when Janie Porter Barrett, the Virginia Settlement house founder, once received a request from Mrs. Booker T. Washington to come to Tuskegee to "take charge of the girls," Barrett wrote that she wanted to go to Tuskegee, but she chose the needs of the Virginia settlement house over the prestige and salary of a position at Tuskegee.[27]

Mary Elizabeth Carnegie's work career is a classic example of the women "going where they were needed," whether they would receive remuneration or not. When Carnegie went to Andrews Hospital (in Tuskegee) in the 1930s, she said there was not much nursing to do there because male attendants did much of the work. So Carnegie began to volunteer to do public health nursing in rural Alabama.

Many people there doubted her sincerity, but she made her own uniforms and insisted to her superiors that if Andrews Hospital physicians could volunteer their services, so could she. Her superiors finally acceded to her requests. One of her instructors at West Virginia State College (where she subsequently went to study for her bachelor's degree) said that Carnegie did this work "on her own initiative without remuneration primarily because of her interest and concern about the health problems of that rural community." About Carnegie's work at West Virginia State, Clara Hamilton, the Health Supervisor there, said,

> Much of her [Carnegie's] off-duty time was given to working with girls in the community and the city of Charleston. She worked with the Girl Scouts . . . and she volunteered to act as nurse for a summer camp for the underprivileged girls in the vicinity. Because of her interest in these groups, she gave up her vacation following graduation in 1942 and served the interest of the camp.[28]

The service ideal was very important to these women. It was "selfless ambition" that drove them to work the way they did. Carter G. Woodson wrote in The Negro Professional Man that the nurses "easily cooperated in forming local and large associations of the members of their profession not only in their own interest, but to provide large opportunities of the same kind in neglected parts of the country." Mabel Staupers echoed that sentiment when she wrote that black nurses fought for the establishment of

black hospitals not just to have a place to work but, also, to upgrade the health of the black community. But the nurses had no monopoly on the supply of selflessness. Many Atlantans know of the work of the Neighborhood Union, a volunteer social welfare group and social settlement house. And some remembered its twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in 1932 at which Lugenia Burns Hope was the guest of honor. During that ceremony, Hope came forward to receive the silver trophy of the National Business League for outstanding civic work. One observer remarked "how graciously she received the trophy and bowed, not in the name of Lugenia Hope, but in the name of the Neighborhood Union of Atlanta."[29]

The women's dedication to service is also evident in the extent to which they worked after retirement for their particular community causes. The example of Lucy Mitchell appears in an earlier chapter. Before she retired, she worked diligently to help establish the Associated Day Care Services of Metropolitan Boston (ADCS) and to raise and standardize educational requirements for day care centers and their workers. A part of her struggle was to acquire a state licensing law for child-care centers and to make day care centers more than simply a place to house children physically while their mothers worked. It took more than

twenty-five years to succeed at this task, and after Mitchell retired, she became a board member of the ADCS and an advisor on the state Advising Council of the newly created Office for Children in the Department of Public Welfare during the 1960s. When Mitchell was about to retire for the second time, the newly created Head Start program attracted her attention and she went to work with that program for several more years. Similarly, in 1969, near or after her retirement, Florence Edmonds was instrumental in the founding of the Early Childhood Development Center, a daycare center founded by blacks in Boston. And finally, Eunice Laurie, an Alabama public health nurse, worked for ten years with the County Health Department in the Maternity Clinic after she retired from her regular public health nurse position.[30]

Providing a needed service to the community was an important part of the work that these women chose to do. Their attitudes about their work place them among those occupational groups recognized as professionals. That identification as a professional is partly the result of the women's attitudes about their work and, consequently, their actions based on those attitudes. Those actions included working individually and in groups to acquire as much education (i.e., preparation) as they possibly could in their areas. And the second factor, although particularly

attitudinal, is closely connected to the first factor. That second factor is their unstinting commitment to service, service made possible by and, perhaps, in their world views mandated by, their preparation. It resulted in not just work, but a dedication to improving the society whether or not "society" would or could repay them in cash. They worked the way they did because, as Norma Boyd said, "satisfaction comes in service."[31]

Finally, the other factor that determined these women's place in the occupational hierarchy was the recognition that they received as workers. That recognition sometimes proved their status and sometimes it simply helped to substantiate it. That recognition is evident for all of the women, and it came both from the people whom these women served as well as from those who were in positions recognized as occupationally superior.

The recognition of these women's positions in their chosen areas of work is consistent throughout the generations. In the communities which these women served, individuals looked to them for the help that they could provide because of their positions. One example of that recognition came from a young teacher who sought and received Mary Church Terrell's help originally when Terrell was a teacher herself and also later, long after Terrell left

teaching because of her marriage. The young woman wrote:

> Twelve years ago, I asked you to assist me in securing a position as a teacher in our schools. You helped me and in October of the same year I was appointed teacher.
>
> All of these years I have been grateful to you for making the way possible for me to help support my mother and sister.
>
> In January, I was forced to seek your aid again to assist in having or asking for my transfer nearer my residence.
>
> Just yesterday my heart was made happy when [I was] infomed that I am once again a little nearer my home.
>
> I can't find words to thank you for your kindness to me.

In a similar manner, an aspiring young writer sought the help of Angelina Grimké, who taught English in the Washington, D.C., public schools and who was a poet and a playwrightand who wanted her evaluation of his poems. One of Grimké's contemporaries thought so highly of the schoolteacher's talents that he or she (the author initialed the letter rather than signed it) wrote to Grimké: "I would love to have this little poem for my very own in your very own handwriting some future day." Mabel Northcross said in her interview that although the nursing school at Hubbard Hospital closed many years earlier, people in the nursing department at Meharry Medical College constantly wrote to her for advice and support.[32]

The larger black community regularly recognized these

women for their contributions to society. The Booker T. Washington Business Association of Detroit awarded Beulah Whitby, a social worker, its highest achievement award. In the same city, the West Side Human Relations Council honored Clara Jones for her outstanding community service. Sadie Delaney received awards from black sororities, the National Council for Negro Women, and the National Urban League. When Lugenia Hope attempted to retire in 1935 as the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Neighborhood Union (a post she held since the organization's founding in 1908), the membership refused to accept her resignation until Hope's husband stepped in and convinced them that they were being unfair to his wife. In a similar case involving Mabel Staupers, field representative and executive secretary of the NACGN, supporters of her work succeeded in convincing her to withdraw her resignation. She remarked at the time, "I felt very humble at the mass of pressure which was brought to bear upon me and which influenced me to change my mind." This was the second time that Staupers tried to resign.[33]

From within the professions (in and outside of the black community) the women often received various types of recognition for the manner in which they did their work. The extensive collection of Sadie Delaney's papers provides several

varieties of examples of this kind of recognition. Because she worked as a bibliotherapist as well as a librarian in a veterans' hospital, the areas from which recognition came to Delaney are extensive. One administrator praised the "initiative, imagination and creative thinking" that she used in aiding patients at the hospital while developing the area of bibliotherapy. One medical group invited her to be an honorary member of their organization. Library journal writers and conference organizers solicited papers from her. International library groups sought her help and commended her work.[34]

The status of the women as workers is also evident in more uncommon ways. A friend of Angelina Grimké owned a book written by a Swedish woman in which a chapter on black poets contained a "likeness" to Grimké. Charlemae Rollins, the Chicago children's librarian and author, was so well respected by children's authors and publishers, that many, many literary pieces written for children did not go to or come off the press without her approval. And when Fostine Riddick left her position as nurse anesthetist at King's Daughters (children's clinic) in Virginia, the clinic closed down rather than accept resident physicians from the Medical College of Virginia and the University of Virginia.[35]

Individuals and organizations from many other areas

were aware of the service that these women provided through their work, and they demonstrated that knowledge in various ways. The Lion's Club honored Delaney for her work with "the lion's roar" during a special ceremony; one unit of the Veterans of Foreign Wars gave a testimonial dinner in her honor; and, the warden from San Quentin prison wrote to her for information on bibliotherapy that he might be able to use in the prison. The Rosenwald Foundation wrote to Delaney for lists of books that she thought should be in Rosenwald schools. Look magazine featured her on its "Look Applauds" page. And she was the subject of one of Eleanor Roosevelt's "My Day" radio programs. Herbert Hoover requested Lugenia Hope's service on his advisory committee on refugee camps after the Mississippi River floods of 1927. The University of Michigan presented Clara Jones with its Athena Award, and she was also the recipient of five honorary degrees.[36]

The work-status recognition that these women received came from diverse groups. It came from individuals who were a part of their work communities; from the local, usually segregated, community; and, from national and international organizations. But there is additional evidence that supports the concept of the professional status of the women. And that recognition came from organizations and associations in which they worked where and when the

barriers of segregation were not present.

Around the turn of the century, Lugenia Hope became the first and only black member of the Cook County Board of King's Daughters (charity organization). The members subsequently elected her as their executive secretary. The administrators of the School of Social Work at the University of Detroit chose Beaulah Whitby to supervise their students during their field placements. Estelle Osborne became the first black person elected to the Board of Directors of the American Nurses' Association, and, also, as the Second World War caused the relaxation of racial barriers, she became a consultant for the National Nurses Council for War Service. Barbara Miller, who at one time could not attend the meetings of the Kentucky Librarians' Association (KLA), became the chairperson of its Public Librarians' Section and the representative of the integrated state group on the American Library Association Council. The KLA also awarded her with its Outstanding Public Librarian award. The membership of the librarians' groups also elected Miriam Matthews (of California) and Sadie Delaney (of Illinois) to the Council. And the Oregon chapter of the National Association of Social Workers chose Constance Fisher as its 1969 Social Worker of the Year.[37]

The ways in which peer-professionals and professional superiors recognized the work of these women are even more

extensive. As a librarian, Charlemae Rollins became the first black honorary member of the American Library Association. But as a result of the void that she found in children's literature during her career, she also became an author of children's books. As a result of that work, the ALA awarded her the Grolier Foundation Award in 1955, and, in 1970, the National Book Association presented her with the Constance Lindsay Skinner Award. The Governor of the State of Colorado appointed Elva Lena Dulan to the Colorado State Board of Nursing. Lillian Harvey was not only a member of the Board of Directors of the National League of Nurses, but she also served on that group's Baccalaureate accrediting team. At one time, she also served as a member of the steering committee of the Southern Regents Education Board, and she said board members always took her suggestions and advice very seriously. As another example of the credibility of the women as professional, over an almost twenty-five year perod, Mary Elizabeth Carnegie served as assistant editor or editor of the _American Journal of Nurses_, _Nursing Outlook_, and _Nursing Research_. And finally, as mentioned earlier, several of the nurses became deans of nursing schools. Some of the social workers supervised departments. And librarians headed departments and branches. But regarding supervisory responsibilities, Clara

Jones and Miriam Matthews exceeded them all. Jones became the director of the Detroit Public Library System, which in terms of size, was in the top five libraries in the country. And as head of the South-Central Region of the Los Angeles County Public Library System, Miriam Matthews supervised twelve branches.[38]

The examination of whether these workers were or were not professionals must focus ultimately on the workers primarily and the individuals served by the workers secondarily: The worker's attitude about his or her work and the status that the recipients of the work accord are key to understanding professionalism. Education, certification, and licensing are important factors, but they can obscure more important (if less visible) criteria. The women's activities in those more recognizable areas are evidence of their attitudes toward their work. And their attitudes made them professionals. Education, if it is complete, merely prepares a person to practice or work. Licenses and certificates provide the authority to do so. The purpose of a code of ethics is to regulate the manner in which the worker practices. Not any of these factors independently, nor all of them collectively make a worker a professional. Whether or not a person is a professional depends ultimately on his or her attitude about his or her work and his or her resulting actions.

Status recognition is an important factor for determining professional status but that recognition is not always positive proof. The reason is especially visible in the case of these black women workers. According to standard definitions of professionals, almost none of these women could (in any way) be professionals before the 1950s because before that time, because of their lack of "status" in the profession they could not belong to "the" professional organizations. Because they could not belong to "the" professional organization, they could not acquire "the" right type of license. Without "the" right type of license, there was presumably no code of ethics, and consequently no regulation of professional behavior. The point is, that as long as legal institutions upheld caste barriers, these women could not be professionals according to the standard definitions. The evidence as to whether or not these women functioned as professionals therefore comes best from themselves. They believed that they were professionals. And their actions indicated what they viewed as "professional." They understood the value of education and licensing but those things were only important insofar as they related to providing service.

The observations and actions of those individuals served by the workers during the segregated era and after are also testimonials to the status of these women where they

worked. Septima Clark said that "the teacher's word was not questioned, her reports were authoritative" to the parent. Julia Smith said that when a black teacher walked through the poorest black sections of Washington, D.C., all the cursing and swearing on the street stopped. Florence Edmonds, who walked through the streets of Harlem to carry out her job as a visiting nurse, said she had no fear; her nurse's uniform and her bag were her passport. Those examples also indicate the status recognition that those who were served gave the women. But even the rger community recognized the level of work that these women did. News agencies in Detroit offered to buy the The Information Place (TIP) service that Clara Jones pioneered in her library work. Many other libraries adopted the service. The Neighborhood Union, founded in 1908 by Lugenia Burns Hope, was the launching ground of the famous Atlanta School of Social Work with which people now freely associate the names of W. E. B. DuBois, Inabel Burns Lindsey, Charles Johnson, and E. Franklin Frazier. And individuals throughout the country duplicated the Neighborhood Union plan. About one particular "copy-cat" program, Eugene Kinckle Jones wrote to Lugenia Hope:

> I see in this plan . . . a duplication of the Atlanta Neighborhood Union plan of work, with, possibly, the exception . . . that Mr. and Mrs. Phillips have more funds behind them. . . . You will hear more about this movement. It will undoubtedly spread. . . . But remember that the idea is no different from the

> one which you have in Atlanta. For this reason you . . . should press all the more forward in your endeavor.[39]

For individuals who were/are the victims of legal and socially accepted barriers to equal access, the real status recognition of the workers that should help to determine whether or not the worker is/was a professional comes not from the professional organizations, whose criteria for determining professional status changed with the legal and social and political climate, but from the people served or from the recognition, including the duplication, of the service. Based on these women's attitudes about their work and their role in society as workers, the translation of those things into career activities, and the resulting recognition they received these women were professionals.

Chapter 4

Professionalization Through Organization: The Case of the Graduate Nurses

When a group of workers in the same profession finds that none of the established occupational organizations include their area of work, one of the first steps towards establishing the legitimacy and strength of the profession is to form a professional organization. Many professionals formed such organizations upon discovering that there were none already in existence that adequately served their needs. But the pattern is not quite the same with regards to the black professionals. In general, the professions in which black Americans worked were old ones--ones in which professional organizations, sometimes several in each area, were well established. But as noted in the foregoing chapter, often, the black professional could not join those groups because he or she was black. Caste exclusion from the previously established professional associations caused black professionals to form separate groups.

The black nurses' struggle to create a sound, effective, and accessible professional organization for themselves is a story not very different from the story of other groups of workers faced with the loss or denial of

appropriate occupational status. In those instances, the workers organized themselves and set standards for the membership in an effort to stave off further losses; they set educational standards and continually pushed for maintaining those standards; and they encouraged each other to upgrade their training. Additionally, these nurses maintained organizational flexibility so that as conditions changed, they could also. And they sought the support of other people whose influence could only help their causes.[1]

The nurses studied here encountered the usual kinds of problems that new organizations faced. One of their major problems was financial. Another concerned keeping the professional organization functional or readjusting the role and structure of the organization when necessary. To a lesser degree establishing an effective leadership core was also a problem. But for these nurses, there was another dimension of problems that other struggling professionals did not have to face. Those other problems, which were the result of discrimination rather than occupation, included working (1) to prevent the loss of training institutions; (2) to create new educational institutions; (3) to maintain a certain level of training at those institutions; and (4) to maintain certain standards for entrance to the profession. All of these efforts, once again, were not just to protect the profession but, instead, to protect a small

group of the workers in the profession. Consequently, the history of the nurses' attempts to professionalize through organization is not "pure" organizational history. It includes the story of changing political, economic, and social conditions to the extent that those factors affected the organization. It is also a story about leadership and the role of effective leaders in sustaining an organization. The leaders had several roles because ultimately, professional acceptance could hardly come before the accomplishment of social acceptance. For that reason, the story of the professionalization of black nurses through organization in the proper cultural context is also a story of social acceptance.

Because Mary Eliza Mahoney, the first black graduate nurse in this country, graduated from the New England Hospital for Women and Children School of Nursing in Boston in 1879, she could join the Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada (later, the American Nurses' Association-ANA) through her school association. But many black nurses in other states and from other schools could not join because their schools did not have Associated Alumnae chapter status. Making matters worse for the aspiring black nurse, between 1878 and 1908 segregation increased to the point that it became more and more

difficult for black nurses to get into traditionally white hospital and nursing schools that previously had admitted blacks. This change had many results. Among them, it further reduced black nurses' access to the ANA; it led to the opening of several black nursing schools in the country; and it resulted in the founding of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN) by twenty-six black nurses, some of whom were members of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada.[2]

The founders of the NACGN had specific reasons for organizing the nurses, and had specific goals in mind when they began. First of all, although many black graduate nurses could be members of the ANA by joining an alumnae association, they received no encouragement to participate in the organization. Another concern was the lack of commitment in the ANA to resolving segregation and discrimination problems. (Most black nurses could work only with black patients whether in hospitals, public health/welfare agencies or settlement houses.) And, finally, and equally important, was the lack of full recognition in the profession that resulted from the ANA exclusion.[3]

All of these negative forces created a situation "made to order" for the creation of a black professional nurses'

organization. Martha Franklin, the originator of the idea, thought that black nurses had to organize in order to help themselves. She believed that by working together they could identify and eliminate problems. And she hoped that a national association would help black nurses achieve professional recognition and the eventual elimination of the burdens of segregation and discrimination. In 1908 she and fifty-two other black nurses met at St. Mark's Methodist Church in New York City for their first national meeting and thus formalized the beginning of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN). Their original stated goals included improving the standards of nursing; ending discrimination in nursing; and creating among black nurses a definite and visible group of leaders. Several years later, the nurses expanded their list of objectives to include specifically: increasing opportunities for nurses; recruiting black students to nursing; advising nurses; interpreting the black nurse to the public; and encouraging the cooperation of national health organizations with the black nurses' groups. To be a member, the nurse had only to be a nursing graduate of an accredited school of nursing with a minimum of three years of professional schooling. The nurse had to be registered where registration was also a state requirement and pay a one-dollar membership fee and two dollars in annual dues.[4]

The first meetings of the NACGN took place in cities throughout the eastern half of the United States. Black nurses and physicians travelled relatively long distances to attend the meetings. And the topics of the papers read reflected a concern for general public health problems, medical problems specific to blacks, and professional issues for nurses.[5]

From the beginning, the NACGN served several of the purposes for which the black nurses created it. In contrast to blacks' status in the ANA, in the NACGN, not only could black nurses present papers on professional and scholarly issues, but they could also present papers on individual work experiences. The ANA officials did not concern themselves with problems of segregation and discrimination. Between 1908 and 1951, when the NACGN disbanded, integration was a major focus of the NACGN activities. The nurses in the NACGN not only recognized the value of the individual black nurse, but through the organization, the nurses could also begin to work more effectively to achieve full professional status in the other existing nursing organizations and the larger community.

The data that exist on the NACGN do not allow a total reconstruction of the structure and activities of the organization until after 1930. A few pieces of evidence,

however, do exist to help explain the organizational structure during the early years. At the beginning, the organization was truly national; that is, there were no local branches. There were important committees (e.g., on resolutions, education, civil liberties and, later, defense) on which women served, and there were major officers elected regularly. By 1909, in order to sustain and strengthen the national body, the members decided to allow one delegate from other state and local nursing organizations, which had the same goals, to attend NACGN meetings and to vote. In so doing, not only would the National grow numerically, but, also, it would presumably be easier to remain informed about problems on the local level where much of the work of the organization took place. Therefore after 1909, local organizations began to support the NACGN financially, and once local groups formed NACGN chapters, individual nurses could join the national only with the endorsement of a local organization. Because the national organization could not afford and did not have a paid executive secretary, in 1916 the members established "a voluntary category of national organizers" in which the officers elected by the national body served without pay.[6]

The economic depression of the 1930s forced a modification in the function and structure of the organization. Prior to 1930, the organization held one

national meeting a year. During the 1930s, the association began to hold four regional meetings a year to allow more women to participate less expensively. Grant money from philanthropic organizations such as the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board, and individuals including Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton helped to make these regional meetings possible. In 1934, philanthropic aid also allowed the establishment of a national office in the RCA building in New York City where other nursing organizations (the ANA, the National Visiting Nurses Association-NVNA, National League of Nurses-NLN or NLNE, and the National Public Health Nurses Association-NPHNA) had offices. Those funds also provided for the employment of a paid half-time executive secretary. Many nurses saw the creation of a national headquarters in such close proximity to the other major nurse organizations and the formation of representatives of all of them into a National Health Council as the first major step toward equal and full recognition and participation in the health fields.[7] That accomplishment was still a long time coming. For twenty-six years, the NACGN had worked toward that step. But another seventeen years passed before the nurses accomplished their goal. It was 1951 when the ANA membership formally dropped all racial barriers to membership.

The only other major structural changes that occurred during those last seventeen years of the black nurses' organization took place during the years of World War II. For example, beginning in 1941, while the four regional conferences per year remained a mainstay, the annual meeting became a biennial event. Within two years, by 1943, the NACGN officers suspended publication of their journal, the Bulletin, because wartime printing costs became prohibitive. In lieu of the Bulletin, they published a mimeographed bi-monthly newsletter and called on the membership to vote on the suspension of all annual national meetings. This would be only a temporary situation and was perhaps a patriotic duty to accept the urgings of the United States Office of Transportation. The request from Mabel Staupers at the national office of the NACGN also added that such cancellations would "free our nurses for essential services to the Army and civilians." And they could use the time and travel money to strengthen local associations.[8]

Although there were few changes in the structure of the NACGN from the founding to the disbanding of the organization, the activities of the group, especially after 1930, covered many areas as the nurses worked to fulfill their earlier stated goals and to meet the needs of the nurses as new situations arose. The roles or the functions of the organization parallel the activities of the group.

Those activities concerned "racial" problems, professional competence, and professional status. They also concerned the status of the nursing student. And, finally, the black nurses actively and consciously worked for the development of black nursing leadership. What seems especially novel about the black nurses' struggle is the broad base of support they developed toward the fulfillment of their goals. For strength, they drew on a remarkably diverse group of laypersons to push for their rights as black nurses and consequently the rights of blacks in general.

The activities that concerned caste as well as professionalism focused on ending discrimination in employment practices of nursing schools, hospitals, and public health agencies. Another issue concerned ending the general exclusion of black nurses in other nursing associations and in particular, the complete exclusion of blacks in the ANA throughout the southern and border states. Toward the enhancement of the professional status of black nurses, a major goal of the nurses was the development of a core of black nurse leaders, the creation of post graduate nursing courses especially at public institutions for black nurses and continual educational and personal development of the women. In order to stimulate the advancement and the improved status of black nursing students, the NACGN

membership advocated the upgrading or closing of inadequate black nursing schools; the maintenance of existing black nurse training institutions where they were meeting standards and the upgrading of those programs that were not meeting standards but where the programs were crucially needed because of discrimination or black population density; and non-discriminatory admission policies in existing white nursing schools.[9] And through all of the NACGN goals and activities, a primary interest was also the health of the black public, a vital concern because of segregated and unequal facilities for medical care and health care training.

The nurses were persistent in their discussion of the importance of leadership development. Several of the women recognized very early in their careers that leadership could make or break their organization and their individual and group reputation. And leadership was certainly necessary in order to coordinate the various facets of the struggles on behalf of the group. Indicative of that, in 1935 Mabel Staupers wrote to one of the nurses' strongest supporters, M. O. Bousfield, that a major purpose for creating state organizations was "to develop leadership and to bring about cooperative efforts in approaching some of their problems."[10]

On more than one occasion, someone reminded the black

nurses that they were not yet ready for leadership positions. Estelle Osborne, who received Rosenwald Fund money to complete her master's degree after insisting that she had to have it as part of her preparation for leadership, recalled angrily that white directors of black nursing schools "would tell us without even blinking that there were no Negro nurses prepared to give leadership even in our own schools." Mabel Staupers recalled that Adah Thoms served for many years as assistant or acting director of the Lincoln Hospital Nursing School, but she never had the title of director. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie had the same experience at Hampton Institute, but Carnegie did not mind because she considered the position to be a mere stepping stone. And ten years later, Carnegie took the directorship of the Florida A. & M. Nursing program, but when she was ready to pursue graduate work, she sent Doris Peters Brown, a nurse who worked under her supervision, to get graduate training first in order that Brown might work effectively while she (Carnegie) was away.[11]

Carnegie said that Estelle Osborne often commented that black nurses should be "grooming" individuals for adminstration. Such an attitude undoubtedly caused Osborne to push for support whenever she could. In 1943 Osborne approached Jackson Davis of the General Education Board for

monetary grants for three black nurses. Davis wrote in his interview notes that Osborne was "impressed with the opportunities for nursing education" in the South. But she said those opportunities required "trained personnel," who were not yet in place. Although Davis could not commit the GEB for the money, he did give Osborne three grant applications and a promise to try to get the scholarships.[12]

Staupers, Osborne, and Carnegie, leaders in their own right, knew the importance of formal training in leadership development. But Fostine Riddick understood the importance of the work itself in developing leadership. Riddick said, "As I look back over this, I think much about our leadership training . . . [that came] as we learned and practiced nursing. We also increased our ability to supervise [and] to assume a leadership position because we did this. We assumed these roles as students."[13]

Almost all of the nurses included in this study were leaders, but two individuals stand out in organizing and carrying out the activities of the Association. They were Estelle Massey Riddle Osborne, president of the Association beginning in the 1940s, and Mabel Doyle Keaton Staupers, first and long-time executive secretary.[14] They both travelled frequently for the organization, but all of their odysseys were all a part of one master plan. The breadth of their work and the extent of their travel is evident in a

letter to one of the financial supporters of the NACGN, Congresswoman Bolton. It also provides an example of the role and function of leaders in a struggle such as the one that the nurses faced.

> First, I will begin by saying that I had been on a field trip which took me to Pensacola, Florida, to attend our Florida State Nurses' meeting; to Mobile to find out why there is only one Negro public health nurse in that city; [and] to Birmingham to check on our re-organized local Assocation. From there, I went to Atlanta where I discussed with some of our white friends the possibility of better jobs for our nurses in the City Hospital. . . .
>
> From Atlanta, I went to Raleigh to check on some very serious conditions which exist in our nursing school in that city.
>
> My next trip was in Richmond. I wish it were possible that, now [that] you are so near to Richmond, you could look in on the splendid work which is being done by Dr. William Sanger, President of the Medical College of Virginia, in behalf of Negro nurses. This institution maintains an accredited school for Negro nurss, [and] also an accredited course in Public Health nursing where most of our students in the southern states go when they are given scholarships under the Social Security Act. . . .
>
> In Washington, I attended the meeting of the National Council for Mothers and Babies. Mrs. Wanget, the Executive Secretary of this Council, is certainly doing a fine job. Her interest in our nurses and our Negro mothers is most commendable.[15]

With schedules like this, it is no wonder that Staupers tried to resign her position as Executive Secretary as early as 1935 because of health problems. Like many of the women in this study, many of her medical problems may have been simply the result of overwork. Fortunately for the NACGN,

M. O. Bousfield, a friend to the NACGN and a board member of the Rosenwald Foundation Fund heard of her decision and wrote her a very convincing letter that was no doubt partly responsible for her remaining in that post.[16]

Staupers was a very important person in the struggles of the black nurses because she obviously engaged in many more activities related to the group than are within the traditional duties of an executive secretary. Both she and Osborne were very active in every phase of the black nurses' struggle for recognition. For example, in 1934, before Osborne was president of the NACGN, she made a trip to Calhoun, Lousiana, to investigate charges that the white public health officer there ignored the needs of the black community. While there she convinced the officer to bring his entire staff out to give "thorough" physical examinations to all of the school children.[17]

Osborne also gave public speeches and issued news bulletins related to problems of the black nurse and the health of the black public. On one occasion she spoke on the health and economic problems resulting from the caste system. She spoke specifically about the lack of training facilities for blacks and poor employment alternatives after they completed their training. She talked about inequalities in salaries and facilities and concluded that

"the future of the Negro nurse is tied up with the progress of the Negro race; the progress of the Negro race is greatly handicapped by specific health hazards; these health hazards are a result of economic insecurity, which is the outgrowth of a caste system." Later when the National Health Act was before Congress in 1939, the NACGN (possibly Osborne) issued a "Special News Bulletin" explaining the bill (S-1620) and the importance of the bill to the black public and the black nurse. The bill, if passed, would appropriate money for services "in rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distress." The author reminded the nurses that the bill could affect nine-tenths of the black population living in the designated areas, but she reminded them that "the Negro nurse will not be intetgrated into this big, national program of health unless the Negro nurses are active now to see that the bill insures the integration of Negroes into the service, by placing into the bill itself those phrases and definitions which will make it clear that in the administration of the Act the rights of Negro people will be safeguarded." Among the details of the bulletin was advice to black nurses to respond to protect their own and the black public's interest. They were to insist on: (1) a clause that specifically required equal pay for equal work regardless of race, sex, creed, or color; (2) minority representation on all federal, state, and local advisory

councils; (3) full publicity of all plans of administration by each state prior to approval; (4) public hearings on those proposals; (5) annual reports to Congress; and (6) an explicit statement prohibiting unequal distribution of funds in those states where segregated institutions existed. She urged nurses to "make the contents of this bill a part of the useable knowledge of every Negro nurse in your community." She instructed them to write their Congressmen about their interest in the bill and to present the issues to local YWCA's, YMCA's, Ministerial Alliances, civic and social clubs, and any other community group to which they had access. And, finally, she pointed out that it might take several years to pass the bill but that in the interim, because it would mean more nursing jobs, they should work towards "recruiting Negro girls to the nursing profession that [sic] have the mental ability, the emotional stability and maturity to perform a high professional service to the public." The recruit should not just "wander through her training period and [do] whatever turns up." Rather, she should choose a speciality that met her needs and abilities and, ultimately, take advantage of any training opportunities already available through the Social Security Act and the National Health Act when it became law. In this manner, the NACGN, through its leaders, like most national

organizations, served as a clearing house of information to black nurses on issues that concerned them and their future as workers.[18]

The type of attitudes and kind of resistance that both Staupers and Osborne met in their attempts to carry out this work are best illustrated by a letter to Florence Laska, chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee (of an NACGN Citizens' Council) concerning charges against the NACGN and other sympathetic citizens. In that letter, S. S. Goldwater, commissioner of Hospitals for New York City, wrote, "Propagandist groups, continually agitating for the appointment of more colored nurses, fail to note that the number of colored nurses now employed in the Department is beginning to receive protests against the prevailing condition and tendency." He added that he received many requests to place Negroes in Civil Service positions for which they were not qualified. He also claimed that he often violated the rules of the merit system in order to hire blacks. After seeing the letter, Staupers wrote him back saying that, first of all, the concerned persons who contacted him were not "propagandists." They represented and were, in fact, from organizations such as the YWCA and the Federal Council of Churches. Second, the original letter to him did not ask for the appointments of more nurses. Instead, it asked for the end to discrimination

against those already employed. Third, the letter did not inquire about civil service positions (clerical and administrative). It referred only to nurses. And finally, she asked him why nurses who already met all state qualifications should need special consideration, and why the New York hospital was hiring nurses from outside the state. Goldwater responded that answers to her questions would require a book-length essay, and he did not have the time to answer. He did, however, offer to meet with her later to discuss the problems.[19]

Osborne observed similar attitudes among white directors of black nursing training institutions who constantly claimed that there were no black nurses capable of holding high administrative and/or teaching positions. Osborne finally began to confront them directly by asking why they were unable to produce competent nurses in the schools that they directed.[20] The black nurse leaders of the NACGN fought against just such attitudes--that the black nurses were not competent and/or should not be fully integrated--in order to attain the recognized professional status that they desired. Ultimately, they were successful.

In the black nurses' struggle for full professional status, possibly the only problem that they encountered larger than the struggle for complete equality was the

struggle to remain financially solvent. As mentioned earlier, the generosity of several philanthropic organizations and individuals made it possible for the NACGN to set up a permanent headquarters, and the organization apparently did not ever become totally self-sufficient. The Rosenwald Foundation, the General Education Board (Rockerfeller Foundation), Congresswoman Francis P. Bolton, the Elmhurst Foundation, the New York Citizens' Committee, and the National Health Service helped to keep the NACGN alive. For several years, the Rosenwald Foundation provided approximately $1,250.00 a year, about one half of the NACGN's operating expenses, provided that they raised an equal amount of money.[21]

Throughout 1935, the NACGN officials often requested money from the Rosenwald Fund to help carry out organizational functions. It is not clear whether this money was always a part of the $1,250.00 pledge or in addition to it. On one occasion, the request was for money to allow Staupers to attend the Congress on Medical Education meeting for the sessions of the Committee on Hospitals and Medical Education. A few months later, Osborne wrote to Bousfield that the NACGN was "financially embarrassed," and she asked for the balance of the Fund's pledge. She added that the NACGN was going to sponsor a Roland Hayes concert in the fall and that they might make

money from it. She concluded by adding her hope that "the Fund will find it possible and worthwhile to stick with us through our growing pains." During the same month, NACGN officials wrote for money to travel to speak in Detroit where a recently appointed black nurse supervisor was having problems with her white colleagues and subordinates. At the end of that year, Staupers asked for $47.63 for Pullman fare to travel to a regional conference in Tuskegee, Alabama, and another in Durham, N.C. As she phrased it, "I am wondering if it would be posible in view of the importance of these conferences to the growth of our association, for the Fund to donate this travel expense."[22]

The NACGN also had problems accounting for the money, at least at first. At one point, the Comptroller of the Rosenwald Fund, Dorothy Elvidge, asked Staupers to please tell her how to induce Petra Pinn, the NACGN treasurer, to send to the Rosenwald Fund the 1934 financial records of the NACGN. Not only did it take several months, it also took many letters.[23] There is no evidence, however, to suggest that the NACGN spent the money inappropriately. Nor is there any indication that Pinn was an incompetent treasurer. Instead, the only available evidence suggests that Pinn was very embarrassed about the Association's financial situation, perhaps partially caused by the uncoordinated

movements of the group's representatives. At about the same time that the Rosenwald Fund Comptroller wrote for the NACGN's financial reports, Pinn wrote to Staupers that she was always "looking out for the depletion in [the] treasury which was bound to come, with nurses working by jumps and spells, fits and jerks." Just a few weeks later, Staupers wrote to Bousfield about their money problems: "The older members, like Miss Pinn, have been dubious about the advisability of establishing headquarters, etc., as they have been more interested in reporting the amount of money in the treasury at each convention than in checking on actual accomplishments made during the years."[24] Presumably, just as a reminder, the next year, Elvidge, the Comptroller, wrote a month in advance to the NACGN that by the fifteenth of May, she wanted a "certified statement of all receipts and disbursements for the year including amounts received for membership fees, contributions, and all other sources." Correspondence on this occasion suggests that Pinn met this deadline.[25]

In 1936, the Rosenwald Fund Trustees stopped funding several programs, including the NACGN. Bousfield informed Osborne of his certainty "that an application for continuation of such aid as we have given in the past, either in the form of a grant, or in the form of travelling expenses, will not receive favorable consideration."

Osborne thanked him for all of the previous help that the Fund had provided and, curiously, for future support.[26]

In 1938, Staupers took the only appropriate step and appealed directly to the President of the Fund, Edwin Embree. She informed him of the dramatic growth of the NACGN and added that in order to continue the work they were doing they had to have more help from "their friends." She added that they desperately needed a full-time secretary and funds for travel.[27] The tactic apparently worked. In 1941, the NACGN was again receiving Rosenwald Fund money.[28]

But the financial crises of the NACGN received a positive "charge" directly from Bousfield in another way. In 1941, Bousfield wrote a chastising letter to Black nurses, nurse administrators, and nurse educators, although the exact distribution is unclear. In that letter he wrote:

> The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses should have wider and more continuing support from colored nurses, and particularly those in administrative positions. There is hardly a national organization among colored people (certainly none among colored women) which has shown a comparable growth in influence during the past few years. None has the potentiality of this group in making jobs and furnishing leadership for the masses of colored people. Such an organization should be self-supportive, and could be if its beneficiaries who are all the colored nurses in this country, pay their annual dues.
>
> . . . . If the administrators of nursing schools took it upon themselves the responsibility of seeing that their graduate nurses paid their dues, Mrs. Bolden's (sic) contribution would not be missed, and would no longer be needed. These administrators

> should see this as their responsibility even if the nurses do not. Negroes need national representation, and should not be sqeamish about demanding financial support for it.[29]

In 1941, the money shortage resulted in Staupers' turning in her resignation again. Because of the lack of funds, she had always served as both Executive Secretary and field representative of the NACGN, and she was no longer able to maintain this pace. She submitted her resignation with the condition that she would withdraw it and remain as Executive Secretary if the funds became available to hire a field worker.[30] Then she appealed, again, to the Rosenwald fund for money to hire additional staff.[31]

It is ironic that while the war opened doors to economic opportunities for many previously excluded groups, it had the opposite effect on the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. While there were more calls for NACGN representatives to sit on various "defense councils," other demands for workshops also increased the NACGN program beyond budget capacity. Much of the money that they normally used for programs went into the fights to include blacks in the U.S. Armed Forces and to open more nursing schools to black students. And, finally, in one memo to NACGN members, Staupers wrote:

> It has become almost impossible to get stenographic service. We have never paid our workers prevailing wages. Hence, at this time, when the Federal Government is needing clerical workers, we

find ourselves unable to hold them.

> Mrs. Myrtis Ragland Davis is leaving to work with a health agency in New York City. Mrs. Davis is another salary casuality.[32]

In spite of all the problems, logistical and financial, that the NACGN suffered, the organization at least after the 1930s exercised some national influence. Members of the organization sat on the National Council for War Service, the Committee on the Structure of the National Nurses Organizations, and the National League of Nurses.[33]

The officials also exercised influence by recommending nurses for jobs. The Louisville (Kentucky) Health Department officials, for example, asked the organization to recommend two black nurses to them in 1935. The Kansas City Hospital also requested two, and in the same year, the State Health Department of Tennessee requested a list of unemployed public health nurses from which they would choose four. When Cincinnati General Hospital administrators announced in 1945 that they would hire black R.N.'s, a nurse there wrote to Staupers asking her to send a list of interested nurses. And when the new city hospital opened in Winston Salem, North Carolina, Bousfield asked an NAGN nurse to apply for its nursing school education director position.[34]

When the Freedman's Hospital Chief Surgeon wrote to

Staupers asking her to recommend "a strong nurse administrator and executive" for the position of Superintendent of Nurses, he asked for her to recommend "the best person available in the country for that position." He also requested that the person be a member of the NACGN. Staupers' first recommendation was Estelle Osborne, and she also sent the names of Ethel Young (N.C.), Rita Miller (Mercy Hospital, Philadelphia), and Rheva Speaks (Nashville, Tenn.). Osborne got the job. And not only did a recommendation come from Staupers, but at the request of Staupers, one also came from the Rosenwald Foundation and Harold Ickes.[35]

But the NACGN functioned in a much broader manner than simply raising money, recommending nurses for positions, and informing black nurses of relevant current issues. The leaders of the organization also attacked directly the issue of professionalization. They did so first and most obviously by organizing themselves. And they were very particular about who could be a member. In fact, Adah Thoms, the author of the oldest book on black nurses, Pathfinders, wrote that the only problem that the black nurses encountered at the first NACGN meeting in 1908 involved what to do about two practical nurses who showed up for the meetings with the intention of becoming charter members of the NACGN. The prior announcements of the

meeting did make clear that the organization was "for graduate nurses only." The qualified nurses did not allow the two women to become permanent members.[36] Then in 1917, an NACGN member discovered a member who was not a registered nurse. That nurse was not present at that meeting, but the members present decided to draft a letter to the woman explaining their requirements for membership and therefore the reasons that she could no longer be a member.[37] And as late as 1941, Mabel Staupers, still concerned about membership requirements, wrote a letter to her friend, M.O. Bousfield to which he responded, "I think you are quite right in concluding that you must set up some type of standards for membership in your organization." He reminded her that the National Medical Association (NMA) recently expelled several members because of unethical conduct. And he suggested that the particular woman about whom Staupers had some questions would probably not "make . . . a satisfactory member."[38]

A second area of their early work related to professionalism concerned the NACGN leaders' constant pleas to the members to attend as many professional meetings as they could and to involve themselves in a life-long educational process by continuing to enroll in nursing courses throughout their careers. They also urged nursing

students not to stop their formal education after getting a diploma. Instead, at a 1934 regional meeting in New Orleans, the message to nursing students who were present was to stay in school and be prepared when opportunities created by the NACGN began to open up.[39]

A third major area of the nurses' work at professionalism was their consistent effort to include black nurses in the regular, state examining and licensing processes. As early as 1909, only one year after the formation of the NACGN, the members of the organization decided that members would work for state registration laws, which were becoming standard. They would also insist on the elimination of double standard registration and licensing based on color. The NACGN began to demand that state offices require black nurses to meet the same standards that all other nurses met. And they organized "coaching classes" to help those nurses who needed tutoring in order to pass licensing exams. Several southern states either barred black nurses from taking the state exam or gave them one different from the one given to white women. Partially because of NACGN efforts, the state of New York passed a law requiring that all nurses (professional and practical) obtain a license from the State Board of Examiners. In another similar instance, Ludie Andrews, a 1906 graduate of Spelman College and organizer of the nursing school at Grady

Hospital in Atlanta, worked for ten years, ultimately successfully, to attain the requirement of state registration for black nurses in Georgia. She worked to convince "the Georgia State Board of Nurse Examiners to realize that Negro nurses should have the opportunity to take the same state board examination as other nurses in the state." Andrews' fight came to a successful end in 1920.[40]

These issues were very important in the struggle of the nurses for professional status. First of all, if state law did not require black nurses to fulfill the same requirements as whites, the black nurse found difficulty finding jobs outside the state in which she attained her education but not a license. Second, and perhaps more importantly, when it was common knowledge that black nurses did not meet the same qualifications as white nurses, it was easy to presume that black nurses were not as capable and therefore not "real" professional.

While urging NACGN members to participate in local community activities as black nurses, the leaders of the organization also advised them to take advantage of whatever material the state health departments could/would offer as well as the institutes and workshops sponsored by the NACGN.[41] As early as the 1930s, the NACGN officials had more requests to conduct conferences and institutes,

especially in the South, than they could handle. Because of the demand, in 1937 Osborne wrote to the Department of Labor for information on Labor Department programs that black nurses could attend. Naomi Deutsch, the director of the Children's Bureau, responded that her office worked with and advised state agencies rather than sponsor programs directly. Those state and local agencies were they very ones that excluded black nurses. But Deutsch added in a promising note, "our consultants will inform themselves concerning the activities in which Negro nurses participate in the southern states and will send this information to Miss Staupers."[42]

For the same reasons that licensing and personal/professional development were important issues to the NACGN membership, the status of black nursing schools was also. Unless the nursing schools met certain standards, the graduates would have little status. For that reason, it was just as important to the nurses to maintain certain schools as it was to raise the standards of or close others. The NACGN became involved in several heated battles to these ends. The first instance for which documentation exists concerned the Freedmen's Hospital Nurse Training School.

During the 1930s, the Freedmen's Hospital Nurse Training School apparently became unstable, and officials threatened to close it. The Surgeon in Chief at the

Hospital wrote to Staupers that "With such a wide awake organization as the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc., favorable results [in the continued progress of the school] will be accomplished."[43] Within just a few weeks, there was even talk of adding a tuberculosis hospital unit as a Public Works Administration project. A consultant on the project wrote to the NACGN for input on the project, which would "mean the addition of much needed facilities for the care of colored tuberculosis patients, and perhaps what is more important, the establishment of facilities for the instruction of colored nurses . . . in the care of tuberculosis patients."[44] But, strangely, at the same time, Staupers heard that Freedman's nursing school was about to loose accreditation. Staupers, on behalf of the NACGN, immediately began to write letters. One of the persons to whom she wrote was Malvina Schneider, secretary to Eleanor Roosevelt. She asked Schneider to bring the matter to the attention of Mrs. Roosevelt, and she suggested that Mrs. Roosevelt determine whether, in addition to recent appropriations made to the school for repairs, there was money set aside for increasing the staff.[45] No documentation of the First Lady's response exists among the nurses' papers, but the school remained open, became stable, and continued to grow.

The second situation involved the John A. Andrew Hospital School of Nursing Education in Tuskegee, Alabama. Very few of the details of this controversy are available, but the NACGN officials and "friends" started to work on the matter as soon as they heard that the school was about to close. Ruth Logan Roberts, chairperson of the Advisory Council of the NACGN, wrote to Bousfield at the Rosenwald Foundation, about the matter in February of 1939. She told him that the possibility of the school's closing was a very serious matter because she heard that the closing was recommended by the Rosenwald group. She asked Bousfield to explain the position of the foundation to her.[46]

Indicative of the organized and coordinated effort to save the Tuskegee school, Staupers wrote a similar letter to Bousfield, interestingly enough, on the same day. She asked Bousfield whether the plan of the Rosenwald Foundation included reopening Flint-Goodridge hospital in Louisiana. She reminded him that nationally, health programs were expanding, that more black nurses needed, and that without the hospital at Tuskegee there would be no Southern school interested in training black nurses. She also asked Bousfield to explain the position of the Foundation.[47]

As in the case of the Freedmen's Hospital Nursing School, the nurses contributed to the success of the movement to keep the Tuskegee nursing program open. These

two incidents serve as examples of the kinds of situations in which the nurses had to work that superficially had no relationship to professionalism. But in reality, the support of these two schools was a necessary part of the nurses' organized efforts to maintain professional status. The John Andrew Hospital and Freedmen's Hospital were major institutions involved in training black nurses. As long as black nurses and nursing students had only limited access to majority institutions, closing these institutions might have a tremendous impact on the ability of black nurses to wcrk and to study.

In a controversy of another kind, the NACGN urged the closing of a nurse training institution. In October of 1940, at the suggestion of Nellie Cunningham, the Executive Secretary and Educational Adviser of the State Board of Examination and Registration of Nurses for South Carolina, Staupers wrote to NACGN nurses in Charleston and encouraged them to work to close the McClellan Hospital nursing school because the school's program was inadequate and graduates of the institution were unemployable outside of South Carolina because the school was not accredited. Staupers wrote to Viola Ford: "I believe that it is the duty of every graduate registered nurse in Charleston to discourage the continuation of the nursing school at McClellan Hospital and

encourage the employment of a graduate staff." McClellan's graduates had the title Licensed Nurse rather than Registered Nurse, and Staupers ended her appeal with a note about a McClellan graduate whom NACGN executive officers were trying to place in another nursing school that would accept some of her previously earned credits. She added that if the nurses in South Carolina could see the problems that such schools created, "they would not only raise a voice of protest but they would organize a Citizen's Committee of persons interested in the progress of the Negro nurse, who I am sure would help to do something about it.[48] Immediately, the training school faculty secretary, E. B. Burroughs, telegraphed Staupers to "Please send [the] name of [the] Hospital and Training School Graduate that prompted your advice to close [the] institution. You Northern executives do not know our situation. [We] will fight to keep [the] school open."[49]

Staupers answered the Burroughs letter but refused to give him the name of the student. Among other things she told him, "I am only asking that if you cannot meet the minimum qualifications of your own state and give these young women the opportunity to do more than serve McClellan Hospital for three years, that you either bring the school up to the standard requirements, or close it." She sent materials to Burroughs on "The Essentials of a Good Nursing

School" and later suggested that Burroughs should attend the NACGN regional meeting in Durham, N.C., which was to be on improving standards in hospitals. The meeting was primarily for hospital administrators in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.[50] Finally Staupers advised Turner to "talk with Miss Margaret Andell further and with some of the white people in Charleston interested in our Negro girls. It might be possible to get them to train a few at Roper Hospital, just as some of the other white schools in the South are training Negro nurses. At least Roper Hospital would have enough wards for Negroes to give the curriculum that is required." She further suggested that if it were not possible to improve and maintain McClellan, then perhaps the city could build "a good hospital for Negroes" on the site. Finally, as an aside, she mentioned that another concern of South Carolina Nurses should be the improvement of Burke High School, a public school, because all students could not go to Avery, the private school.[51]

In the same manner, the NACGN leaders' advocacy on behalf of the nursing students could not hurt the organization. The future of the black nurses rested with current nursing students. At the 1931 national conference, several papers presented concerned the status of nursing students. One woman, commenting on the lack of concern for

the mental and physical health of the students, urged that "greater consideration be given [to] students during illness and periodic physical examination during training as a measure against breakdowns and disappointment." At the end of the decade, Osborne attacked the kind of nurse supervision that she said was really "snoopervision." She urged supervisors to be fair and democratic in nurse/student relations. She noted that a student exploited by superiors for three years would not come out of school with "initiative," "originality," and "adaptability." She advocated a forty-four hour work week for nurses and students with two, fifteen-minute, daily breaks which "even" the captains of industry had the sagacity to realize was valuable.[52] Improving the quality and status of nursing schools and nursing students was an important part of the work of the NACGN. That work not only earned the group a reputation of being a professional organization with standards, but also, the nursing students at institutions with which the NACGN worked would be more inclined to join the organization and probably strengthen it.

But one of the most important battles that the NACGN fought and won was for the integration of black nurses into the armed forces during World War II. This victory was a major contribution to the struggle for full professional status. The struggle began during the first World War, when

Ada Thoms, a charter member of the NACGN, urged black nurses to enroll in the American Red Cross from which the Army recruited nurses. Some women enrolled but were told not to expect a call for duty. Yet in 1918, an influenza epidemic increased the need for nurses and reduced the supply. The Army had no choice but to call black nurses. But getting black nurses in the armed forces during World War II proved far more difficult in spite of the shortage of nurses. Knowing that they faced an uphill battle, the NACGN again encouraged the black nurses to enroll in the American Red Cross. But this time, since membership was contingent upon ANA membership, the Red Cross had to create a special category for black nurses who otherwise met all the qualifications.[53]

At the start of the second World War, according to Army Nurse Corp officials, the Army had "no provision . . . for the appointment of colored nurses in the corps." For that reason, NACGN members and supporters of integration began to inundate the Surgeon General's office with letters of protest and inquiry.[54] They also invited General Love of the War Department to attend a meeting in Washington to discuss the lack of an Army policy on black nurses. Staupers asserted, "Although we do not wish to see this country plunged into war, we want the War Department to know

that we realize that Negroes have a part to play in the preservation of democracy." She subsequently urged Senator Bolton to talk with Mary Beard (then director of the Red Cross) about the plight of the black nurse with regards to military service, and she added, "we expect that, in the states where segregation is approved by law, Negro personnel will serve the Negro units. We would also hope that, in these states where segregation is not approved by law, we would be integrated into the service." Marion Seymore, Chairperson of the NACGN Defense Committee, relayed to Beard the same position on integration and segregation. She added that General Love asked if the NACGN would "accept responsibility in selecting nurses in the event [that] they were used." General Love reported that the Secretary of War would study the positions and inform the nurses, but he did not. Consequently, Seymour asked Beard to look into the matter with the War Department, and she reminded Beard that "In every newsletter, bulletin, and nursing journal, we are reading of the need for nurses in the Army and Navy. We fail to understand how America can say to the world that in this country we are ready to defend democracy when its Army and Navy is [sic] committed to a policy of discrimination." Beard responded: "I believe that the call will come for all of us American nurses to serve our country. It requires only patience to wait until the present confusion clears a

little."[55]

In 1941, the Surgeon General announced that he would call Negro nurses but only to work in black hospitals and wards. This act led again to a flood of protest from many black organizations not only because of segregation but also because the announcement that black nurses could be members of the Army Nurse Corps included a ceiling quota of fifty-six! While working on this problem, the NACGN urged all nurses who wanted to serve in the military to continue to apply and whenever they received rejections to send copies of the rejection to the NACGN and the War Council. And the members of the newly created Defense Committee of the NACGN began to draft letters like the one to Beard mentioned above. In her own letter to Beard, Staupers advised the director of the Red Cross to set 500 as the maximum number of available black nurses for the Army.[56]

Finally, in July of 1944, the War Department provided that the Army accept black nurses with no quota and that those nurses serve both in the United States and abroad.[57] The NACGN still, however, had half of the battle left to fight. The battle was with the Navy, but unlike the fight with the Army, this one was decidedly shorter. In response to an inquiry by Staupers, Rear Admiral W.J.C. Agnew wrote to her that "there is no policy in the Navy which

discriminates against the utilization of Negro nurses." He assured her that each application received full consideration. But it was not until a few days later that the first black nurse was inducted into the Navy.[58] It was no doubt the direct result of an act passed by Congress in March of that year amending the Selective Service Training Act to allow the induction of nurses in the Armed Forces without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin. But, indirectly, the pressure of the NACGN and other organizations influenced this decision. When the war ended a few months later, there were 500 black army nurses and four black nurses in the Navy nurse corps.[59]

The roots of the NACGN decision to fight for the inclusion in the American armed services were really no different from their struggle for membership in the ANA, admittance to white schools, registration of black nurses, and the improvement of black schools. Continually refusing to admit black nurses in the face of drastic shortages of nurses served to reinforce the same segregationist attitudes among the general public. Admission to the Armed Services could serve as an indication to the public that black nurses were the same as white nurses: trained, competent professionals. And while admission would help to establish the legitimacy of black nurses as professionals, there would be more jobs available to them also.

But the nurses could not fight their battles alone. Even as a group, they did not have enough power. These women were politically astute, and they had dependable allies who were in better positions to publicize the nurses' problems. They called upon those allies whenever necessary. In fact, one of the hallmarks of the leaders of the NACGN seemed to be their ability to mobilize support from many areas. In the efforts to get black nurses in the military, for example, the nurse leaders closed ranks with the black press and created some very embarrassing headlines and stories. Two writers headlined their paper on one occasion with "Army Nurses . . . Needed, and Badly; But Hundreds of Qualified Negroes Are Turned Down." Another article headlined "NURSES . . . . Are Scarce, But Jim Crow Keeps Negro Girls from Serving New York Sick." The Chicago Defender informed the public that "Jim Crow Blocks Army Call for Needed Nurses" and "Negro Nurses Hit Jim Crow Policy of Army, Navy." In one impressive, full-page story, another article captioned, "Here are 20 Nurses the Army Says it Won't Use," and it included photographs of twenty individual nurses with their credentials listed underneath. The nurses' professional backgrounds ranged from being recent graduates to having more than twenty years of experience. To point out the hypocracy and the irony of the nurses'

situation, the article noted the individual women who had brothers and/or husbands in the military, and it noted the women, married or single, who were willing to relocate in order to serve in the military. All of the women had previously applied for service and either received rejections or no response at all. Other publisher/supporters included Fred Moore (The Colored American Magazine and The New York Age) and the president of the Black Associated Press.[60]

The NACGN was also responsible for organizing two groups that immensely enhanced the organization's visibility and, because of the members of the groups, the credibility of the nurses. One was the National Advisory Council to the NACGN, founded in 1938/39. Bousfield of the Rosenwald Foundation Fund suggested the creation of this council. The purpose of the Council was to develop "greater interest in and support for the program of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses." The Council included members of the NACGN, the AMA (American Medical Association), NLNE, NOPHN (National Organization for Public Health Nursing), American Red Cross, NAACP, National Urban League, YWCA, NMA, Children's Bureau, National Tuberculosis Association, Federal Council of Churches, and leaders in government, sororities, education, and various other communities. The council members worked with the black nurses in all of their

efforts. They worked, for example, for the integrated inclusion of black nurses into the armed services, to upgrade black nurse training institutions, and to keep open training facilities for black nurses at Tuskegee Institute, Hampton Institute, and the University of Georgia. And when nursing schools at Yale and Western Reserve Universities attempted to begin a racial-exclusion admission policy, the National Advisory Council successfully blocked the move.[61]

The other major group that came out of the NACGN was the Citizens' Committee Affiliated With the Local Graduate Nurses Association of New York City. This group evolved from the Harlem Committee of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association which was active in the 1920s. The Committee members raised money for the NACGN, testified at city hearings on dual standards in hospitals and schools, recruited qualified students for nursing schools, and published materials for school children on nursing as a career. They were successful in getting Bellvue Hospital administrators to allow black nurses to train and study in the psychiatric division there, and they worked to reorganize the Harlem Hospital "Lady Board of Managers" to make it autonomous, functional, interracial, and knowledgeable. The Committee was also successful in getting blacks named to the boards of several hospitals and public

health agencies and black supervisory nurses in the Department of Health, the Brooklyn Tuberculosis Association, the House of Detention, and the Henry Street Settlement Visiting Nurse Services. They were also able to integrate the nursing staffs at several hospitals. The Committee members protested segregation and racial discrimination as "taxation without representation or participation." The members blamed the Harlem riots of March, 1935, on the "flagrant practices of 'Jim Crow.'" They made both recommendations and demands, and in most instances, because of the insistence and the prestige of the organization, most of the goals were accomplished.[62]

But, finally, although the nurses had to deal with all the above issues because of immediate, short-term needs, they all eventually had to attack the ANA itself in order to achieve the long-range goal of full and equal professional status in the health care fields. During the 1930s and 1940s, at the same time that the nurses were fighting for equal inclusion in the armed services and other public and private institutions, the NACGN mounted a new and more concerted campaign for full membership in the ANA and other nursing organizations. The original organization, the Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada, had no color bar when it began in 1897. In 1916, several years after becoming the American Nurses' Association, a

structural reorganization occurred making the state rather than the school the basic unit of membership. Almost instantly, sixteen states and the District of Columbia associations began to exclude blacks from membership.[63]

The nurses directly linked their membership in the ANA with professional states. Before the United States sent troops to the Second World War, Estelle Osborne, on behalf of the NACGN members who were still unable to break the racial bar in the ANA, wrote to the director of the ANA in 1937:

> The professional status of the Negro Nurse in the South is greatly handicapped by the lack of opportunity to affiliate with the American Nurses' Association.
>
> To this end, we are recommending that the Board of Directors of the American Nurses' Association consider the following plan:
>
> In every Southern State where custom forbids the joint organization of the two groups [ANA and NACGN], we suggest that the American Nurses' Association recognize the Negro state organization if it meets the American Nurses' Association State requirments as the necessary medium through which the nurses may obtain membership.
>
> We further recommend the appointment of qualified Negro nurses as members of the standing committees of the American Nurses' Association. We feel that such participation will be mutually educational and helpful.[64]

The first response to that request in the records of the organization, dated four months later, was a most ambiguous response. The secretary of the ANA told Osborne that the ANA already had a policy on both of her

recommendations. She said, first of all, that the ANA only recognized one state nurses' association and that there were provisions for membership through that state association. On Osborne's second recommendation, the secretary said the standing committee members received their appointments directly from the Board of Directors "unless otherwise provided for" and that those committee members "are appointed because of their particular fitness to serve on the committee to which they are appointed as members."[65] In a very disheartened tone, Osborne wrote to the secretary of the NACGN members' disappointment with the ANA decision. She added that the state organizations were unlikely to admit blacks without a national ANA policy welcoming all qualified nurses regardless of color. She concluded by saying, "In the face of such policies, I seriously wonder how many 'good Americans' shudder at the acts of Hitler."[66]

By 1942, however, the ANA Board of Directors, with a new president, accepted similar recommendations of the NACGN. The recommendation was that black nurses barred from ANA membership because of "racial" barriers in state associations have access to ANA membership through NACGN membership as in the American Red Cross and the National League for Nursing Education. Two years later the ANA appointed black nurses as staff consultants and resource persons "for the interpretation of the status and problems of the Negro

nurse. . ."[67]

Still, after thirty years of working to establish a secure position before directly confronting the ANA, and with many of the original goals of the NACGN partially accomplished, the ANA still did not fully accept the black nurses. But in 1945, a very bold and poignant announcement came from the NACGN office and apparently went to the ANA members.

> The burning political question regarding the nurse draft has placed in the hands of the profession a new opportunity of becoming a potent force for world unity. It offers a great challenge to the profession for the removal of policies which prevent the full use of our nursing facilities on our civilian and fighting fronts.
>
> The Negro nurse has a distinct contribution to make and might well be used more fully in health programs, in civilian hospitals, and certainly in the armed forces. . . .
>
> The advancement of any segment of the profession benefits nursing as a whole. Your realization of this and your support in the past ten years helped make possible the great progress achieved by the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Now we are ready for a new phase of this development.
>
> The time has come for the total mobilization of nursing services without limitations. This can be accomplished primarily through your cooperation by accepting to membership and making available to your members factual information by Negroes in nursing, and by making known to the American public your desire for integration without the limitations which now face nurses because of race, religion, sex, and nationality.[68]

Finally, in 1946, the ANA adopted a platform that advocated: (1) the removal of "racial" barriers to "the full

employment and professional development of nurses"; (2) a change of policy by state organizations excluding black nurses; and (3) that the ANA Board of Directors find a way to grant membership to all black nurses. At the biennial convention of the ANA in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on September 26, 1946, the motion carried in the House of Delegates "that the American Nurses' Association admit to membership those qualified Negro nurses who cannot become members of the American Nurses' Association through their respective state nurses' associations; and that the American Nurses' Association take steps to implement this action.[69]

In 1947, the NACGN Board of Directors recommended to the ANA that "the ANA Board take the necessary steps to absorb the functions of the NACGN, if there were no legal barrier within the ANA that would hinder this absorption." The next year, the ANA membership voted to grant membership to any black nurse excluded from state associations. And in 1949 Estelle Massey Osborne became an elected member of the Board of Directors of the ANA and the first black office holder in the history of the organization.[70]

In 1950 and 1951, newspapers and news releases heralded the historic merging of the two organizations and the dissolution of the NACGN. Those articles and releases reported that, "it marks the first time as far as could be

ascertained, that an important organization composed predominantly of the nation's largest minority voted itself out of existence because much of its work was accomplished."[71]

Clearly, the NACGN did accomplish most of its goals, but in actuality, there was probably another more important reason for the disbanding of the organization. The NACGN was already losing its members to the ANA and other nursing organizations. In 1942, the Delaware, Florida, and Maryland State ANA's opened their doors to blacks. In 1947, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and West Virginia admitted black nurses. In 1948, the North Carolina organization followed suit, and in 1950, Louisiana nurses merged. By 1948, when the ANA voted to drop all racial barriers, at most only six other state associations still excluded blacks.[72]

But more important than the ANA acceptance of black members was a simultaneous action taken by several NACGN groups. Rather than maintain membership in both the ANA and the NACGN, the local NACGN members often dissolved the organization. Anna Ramose of the New Jersey group wrote in 1946, "As a result of the invitation from the New Jersey State Nurses Association to our nurses to become members of their organization, the New Jersey State Association of Colored Graduate Nurses voted to dissolve their organization on Sunday, November 17, 1946. . . ." A similar news release

from North Carolina announced that "At the 27th meeting of the North Carolina Association of Negro Registered Nurses, held at Raleigh, North Carolina, ... it was unanimously voted to dissolve the organization."[73] And so even though the ANA agreed to assume the functions of the NACGN, it is possible that the shrewd leaders of the NACGN foresaw their impending doom and took the most astute step that they could possibly take by disbanding the national organization.

For forty-three years, the leaders of the NACGN worked for the very things for which other professional group members worked. They worked for registration and licensing requirements, better quality training programs, and the elimination of training institutions that did not meet minimum standards. And as the next chapter will suggest, the nurse leaders also worked to transform nursing training programs into nursing education centers. But they also worked toward an end for which few professional groups had to strive, that is, inclusion in existing professional groups of their own kind.

Throughout the struggles for professional status and acceptance several factors were important in explaining the success of the NACGN. In order for those collective efforts to be successful, the organization had to be flexible in its

structure and functional in its roles. It had to be able to change as the political, social, and economic environment and conditions mandated. Leadership is also a crucial factor in the success of an organization. The NACGN had in Estelle Massey Riddle Osborne and Mabel Doyle Keaton Staupers two untiring leaders. Osborne and Staupers were most effective identifying problems and mobilizing not only other black nurses, but also groups of lay people whenever necessary. The two leaders also made sure that the issues that they confronted with NACGN time and money were those which would attract more nurses and potential nurses (students) to the organization. But they did not work simply for more members while neglecting their original goals. All of the work that they did helped to serve both ends.

This chapter shows as clearly as the limited sources will allow how roles (functions) and structures of organizations might take shape in the struggles of a professional group. The case of the black nurses is an interesting one. Their professional status was understood by the black community, which they most often served. But to the general public, the lack of ANA acceptance meant that they were not real professionals, and yet many of the women were better prepared, professionally, than their white

counterparts. Estelle Massey Osborne was, allegedly, the first nurse, black or white, in the Washington, D.C., area with a master's degree, but, still, at first she could not belong to the D.C. branch of the ANA or the NLN.[74] Because Osborne's preparation was so much better than other members of the local organizations, the local ANA and NLN members' denial of her membership clearly was not because Riddle was not a professional. All of this is to say that among the black nurses and within the NACGN there were two struggles taking place at the same time, and the differences in them were subtle enough that they are difficult to distinguish. One of the struggles was internal, and the other was external. The one was a struggle among black nurses to create and maintain certain professional traditions. The other, the external, was actually for social acceptance by the professional groups that would, consequently, impart professional acceptance by the larger society. The nurses whose struggle is detailed here were already professionals when the ANA accepted them, but they still had to endure the two struggles. Toward both of those ends, the black nurses, in and through the NACGN, were largely successful. And their dual campaign provides a variation in the pattern of occupational organization, one concerned with workers' quest for recognition from professional peers.

Chapter 5

The Work Culture and Work Ethic of Lower-Level Professional Black Women Workers

Scholars who examine work culture usually include in their studies most of the same topics that sociologists who study work organization include, but the approach is what distinguishes one from the other. The social historians, in examining work culture, assume from the outset that the official description of the job and what the worker actually does on the job are not necessarily the same. Work-culture study concerns how the worker works: his/her attitudes about the work; traditions, values, and rules created by the workers as well as the employers; and the interactive relationships among employer demands, worker consciousness, and consumer needs and expectations.[1]

Labor studies of work cultures are not really new, even though they were not always as sophisticated as current-day studies are and even though the contemporary phrase, "work-culture," did not distinguish them from other labor studies. One of the earliest and probably most forgotten work-culture studies was a part of the Russel Sage Foundation's Pittsburgh Survey, published by John Fitch in 1910 as <u>The Steel Workers</u>. Another of the early work-culture studies is Frances Donovan's book <u>The Saleslady</u>, first published in 1929. Both authors revealed the environment that the

workers created in an effort to devise and maintain a self-conscious identity while also considering family, community, consumer, and employer concerns.[2] After the publication of E.P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class, many more studies utilized the work culture approach to explain the social history of various groups.[3]

There exist very few studies that detail the work experiences of professional women.[4] Where they do exist, none of the studies provides an adequate model for studying the work of the black, female lower-level professionals. The most obvious reason, of course, is that the caste subculture impinges on all of the aspects of the black women's lives, including their work, and the result was often a work culture determined more by group needs than individual desires and a work ethic, defined by the same.

In Daniel Rodger's study of the history of the work ethic, The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920, he described the early nineteenth century work ethic as the belief that "work was the core of moral life." He explained that hard work both distracted the worker from useless activities and left the worker so physically exhausted that there was little energy left for such activities. Hard work, according to the ethic, led to self-control, fortitude, and all around good character. By the middle of

the nineteenth century, the work ethic, adapted to the new industrial order, included among its tenets the expression that adherence to the formula of "hard work, self-control, and dogged persistence" would result in material success. Gerald Grob, in Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideologies' Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900, also showed how the changing realities of American society and culture resulted in a change in workers' values. Grob also claimed that workers became more materialistic and acquisitive as indicated by the shift from utopian work organizations to business-oriented trade unions. Norman Ware described the same phenomenon in the shift toward "business unionism" in his study of industrial workers.[5]

For the black female professional workers, neither the work culture nor the work ethic were the same as the culture and ethic of industrial workers and professional white women workers. The women of this study operated within a majority culture (the national culture) but also within several subcultures. This influence of the subcultures had a powerful impact on the ways in which the women worked and on their attitudes about their work. Moreover, the requirements of the subcultures led to the creation of a work ethic that was different from the Protestant work ethic that characterized the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The work ethic of these women was not

individualistic, concerned only with the things that the individual might accumulate as a result of hard work. Instead, it was a group ethic--one concerned with how the groups might benefit from the hard work of the individual in the group. Their work culture was a clear reflection of the acceptance of that ethic.

The records of these women reveal that their important work-issues concerned the ramifications that the work had for the caste rather than for the individual worker. That statement is not an overgeneralization. The women rarely discussed the supervisor-supervisee relationships or superior-subordinate relationships such as Melosh detailed clearly for white nurses. Nor did the women devote much time to discussing problems related to carrying out their official job responsibilities. The work culture that they described involves their struggle to compensate and even to overcompensate their for the failures of the "racially"-segmented society.

The women for whom it was possible to reconstruct at least part of their work experiences worked in every region of the country. They worked in at least one of the occupations included in this study, and some of them worked officially or unofficially in more than one. They worked in public and private schools, hospitals, public health/welfare

agencies, settlement houses, and public libraries. They worked in major metropolitan areas and in the almost forgotten Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. They worked at various times beginning in the 1890s. But despite the differences in time, geographic and demographic setting, and the particular institution, almost all of the women worked in places that, until around the 1950s, had one striking characteristic. They worked in institutions that served blacks exclusively, or they worked in "public" institutions in positions created to serve black clients separately.

Legal segregation severely limited the types of institutions that could employ these women. What may not be so obvious is that segregation also determined how these women worked as much as, or more than, the traditional professional culture did. These women expressed a tremendous amount of responsibility for those whom they served particularly because of their clients' limited access to the larger world. The statement that Janie Porter Barrett made to Hampton Institute Principal, Hollis B. Frissell, reflects that responsbility. After Mrs. Booker T. Washington invited Barrett to come to Tuskegee Institute to work as a principal in charge of the female students, Barrett's complete statement to Frissell said the "letter

from Mrs. Washington . . . makes me wish that I could be in two places at once. I should be glad to serve at Tuskegee, but I know I am going where I am needed [most?], and though the undertaking is most difficult, it isn't impossible. . . . This home school will be, in time, a tremendous power for good."[6] Barrett's letter reflects the overwhelming responsbility that the women felt for the group, and thus, in a large way, it reflects the work ethic.

In recounting their work experiences, the women emphasized their professional roles as servants to humanity. School teachers commented frequently on their desire to educate their students in the traditional sense, to make them aware of "the ways of the world," and to prepare them to create and take advantage of opportunities for themselves. Public health nurses often spoke of their responsibility to the community; and nurse educators spoke of their responsibility to their students and to patients. Social workers saw their primary responsbilities as helping their clients as much as possible rather than fulfilling bureaucratic job descriptions. And librarians sought to make the libraries in which they worked more relevant to the particular communities that their libraries served.

The women's desire to serve their constituents was evident in surviving comments by several women representing each area of work. As indicated earlier, Norma Boyd wanted

to be remembered for the service she rendered. She added that rather than self ambition, "To me, the ideal is to inspire the children you teach to be ambitious . . . ." Janie Barrett, a social worker/school teacher, manifested a similar attitude when she realized that "what our people need, . . . isn't to be told to 'go ahead' but to 'come on,' and we must know it and say it and help them to follow." Boyd and Barrett were among oldest women represented in this chapter. But the youngest women equally believed in being of service to their clients. Gloria Smith, a nurse educator and one of the most recent of all of the women, developed a program would "provide support for the people [nurses and nursing students] who are giving care" as well as the people they were serving. Another younger woman, Fostine Riddick knew at a very young age that she wanted to be a nurse. One of the reasons that she gave was that when she started school, there were few "miracle" drugs, and health professionals actually had to care for the patients and nurse them back to good health. And all of the librarians who worked in black branches saw it as their duty to build up the library collection of published and unpublished works on the black experience in order to be a useful library to the community.[7]

The earlier chapter on social class included a

significant amount of material on how some of the school teachers worked because through their work they functioned as socializers of children as well as transmitters of knowledge. Frances Grant spoke most explictly about this part of her work role. Norma Boyd spoke more directly to creating opportunities for her students also by exposing them to a broader education than textbook material. She remarked that it was a teacher's duty to "open opportunities" and "open doors" for her students as well as to teach.[8] Consequently these teachers often involved themselves in much more work than traditional teachers' duties.

For Septima Clark and the other teachers who worked in rural areas, much of what they did was "social work." When Septima Clark taught on St. Johns Island and the Island of McClellanville off the South Carolina coast, the residents of the Islands, young and old alike, were in need of more than basic "schooling." She had to impress upon the residents of the Islands the importance of attending school. This was not an easy task on the islands where all able-bodied persons usually worked cane and cotton crops from June to December. She helped tend the sick and prepare the dead for burial. She sometimes spent her entire Saturday visiting the residents and helping them with sewing. She worked to motivate the islanders toward self-improvement,

and she got the adult men interested in fraternal, self-help societies. In so doing, she was able to help combat adult illiteracy on the islands because the men had to make speeches in their organizations. She helped them put their speeches together, but when they became tired of having to memorize them, they began to learn to read and write. In a similar form of "social work," she was able to remove from her teaching role some of its "babysitting" aspects in one instance when she found appropriate schools for two older deaf-mute boys, obtained the applications, helped the parents fill them out, and delivered the boys to the school in Spartanburg, South Carolina.[9]

Over the decades, the teachers continued to teach the materials in which they received their training and to which they were assigned, but certainly, equally important, many, as suggested in sources that have survived, also involved themselves in all of the aspects of the school and the community as they also worked for what they perceived as the advanacement of the people whom they served. Despite the change in specific issues over time, that aspect of their work never changed.[10]

The women who worked as social workers also wore the several hats of social worker, teacher, socializer, and civil-rights activist. The oldest of the social workers,

civil-rights activist. The oldest of the social workers, Janie Barrett, was actually originally trained as a school teacher. The Locust Street Social Settlement in Hampton, Virginia, that she created in 1890 to improve "the homes as well as the moral and social life of the community" began when she noticed a few girls who did not have anywhere to play except in the street. Eventually, she established a club house and, later, a broad continuous program for all age groups and both genders. The programs included teaching homemaking, child welfare, poultry raising, cooking and canning, and traditional school courses in the evening. Barrett later founded the first "home school for delinquent colored girls in Virginia" founded, funded, and operated by blacks. That institution subsequently became a large, well-known, and well-respected institution.[11]

Probably the only equal in fame of the Locust Street Settlement House was the Neighborhood Union that Lugenia Burns Hope founded almost twenty years later. Not unlike the Locust Street Settlement House, according to the constitution of the Neighborhood Union, it was organized for the

> moral, social, intellectual, and religious uplift of the community and the neighborhood; . . . to establish lecture courses that shall instruct and help the mothers of the neighborhood in the proper care of themselves and their infants; . . . to organize clubs [and] branch societies for the needs and improvement of

> the neighborhood; to unite our efforts in breaking up dens of immorality and crime in the neighborhood; . . . to encourage wholesome thought and action in the community by disseminating good literature among the young; to encourage habits of industry by establishing clubs for cooking, sewing, millinery, manual training and general homemaking; to keep a census of the community by which we may know the full status of every family and individual therein; [and] to provide for the harmless and beneficial sports and games for the young of the community.

In varying degrees, the Neighborhood Union workers did undertake all of these objectivies. Created to serve the black community of Atlanta, Hope founded the Neighborhood Union in Atlanta at a time when no public agencies in the state promoted black health care, recreation, and safety. There were no black playgrounds, boys and/or girls clubs, or juvenile officers. Streets were in bad condition, and there were almost no street lights in the neighborhood. Both crime and disease existed in excess.[12] The void created by a segmented society determined and defined Hope's work. The same was true for Barrett's work, which she began eighteen years earlier.

All of the other data available on the work of women who were social workers indicate that they were trained social workers, worked in public institutions, and had fairly specific job assignments. One of the women, Beulah Whitby, worked as a social worker in Detroit beginning in the 1920s. At first, as a worker in the black Lucy Thurman Branch of the YWCA, her job was to meet trains and provide

as much help as she could for the black migrants from the South. By the beginning of the 1930s, she was working as a staff member of the Alfred District, the largest and almost all-black district of the Department of Public Health. During her first ten years there as a caseworker, she worked exclusively with black clients' cases. She attacked the segregation policy as administratively expensive because she could not visit a white "case family" even if they lived on the same street as a black family she was visiting because her work responsibilities were specifically, "racially" defined.[13]

Whitby's early experience provides another example of how the segregation policy actually helped to shape her work. The example is Whitby's work with Detroit's Muslim population during the 1930s. Because white social workers did not know what to do with those Muslims who were in need of public assistance, Whitby took the cases. White case workers refused to issue relief checks to black Americans in their Muslim names, and while white case workers also withheld the checks of those who sent their children to Muslim schools instead of public schools, Whitby was more sympathetic to them. She had their checks made out in whatever name they wished, and she never withheld their relief because of their educational preferences. She saw

relief as their right, and she did all she could to prevent others from interfering in that right. During the next decade, because of the "race" riots in Detroit during the early 1940s, much of Whitby's work directly concerned racial relations. She not only worked on interracial committees, which sprang up after the riots, but she also organized them. She felt challenged to do something as a person "interested in seeing Detroit prosper."[14]

The work of black nurses also involved more than just "nursing." But compared to social workers and teachers, the evidence concerning nurses indicates more variety in where the work occurred and how the nurses carried out their work. One of the main reasons concerns the wide range of nursing in which these women worked. Some were public health nurses while others were hospital staff nurses. Some became nursing educators, and others were visiting nurses. Even among the staff nurses, there was differentiation. One was an operating room nurse, another was a nurse anesthetist, and still another was a pediatric nurse.

The work routine of the public health nurses could be quite rigorous. Eunice Laurie worked in the rural South and went from plantation to plantation gathering vital statistics on births and deaths, organizing and compiling the material, and filing certificates. She taught sanitation, food preservation, maternity care, child-

delivery preparation, and home nursing. Another public health nurse, Lula McNeil, worked in a small southern town in the Tidewater area of Virginia on the prevention and treatment of typhoid fever and tuberculosis. McNeil held "clinics" in church yards, farmyards, private homes, and wherever else she could. In the remote "offices," she was also responsible for gathering wood, starting a fire, picking up patients, bringing them into the clinic, and then taking them home again. She taught midwives how to improvise and sanitize their supplies and deliver babies in as sanitary an environment as possible. Both women also taught and actually did some post-delivery care of the mother and the newborn.[15]

The nurses who worked in hospitals also performed a wide variety of tasks. Beginning nurses performed a number of housekeeping duties, i.e., scrubbing floors and cleaning facilities. The nurses took temperatures, poured medicine, helped with surgical dressing, bathed patients, and gave massages.[16]

The major concern of the nurse educators/administrators was the needs of their students. All three women who worked in that joint capacity went to existing institutions to start or reorganize nursing programs. In the late 1930s Estelle Osborne went to Freedman's Hospital in Washington,

D.C., to help reorganize an existing nursing program. Among the first things she did was to block her students' schedules so that they had an adequate amount of time to study and to sleep. She changed the curriculum to make it more relevant to contemporary health-care needs. She fired instructors who missed classes, and she created a nursing library. Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, who went to Florida A & M College, first made the nursing school a division in the college and completely separated its administration from the hospital in order to strengthen her authority and to protect her students. She hired her own faculty and then returned to school for more graduate work in order to direct the program more effectively. Lillian Harvey went to Tuskegee Institute to set up the nursing school. One of the first things that she did was to order live animals and set up an animal room despite the expense so that students in anatomy and physiology would not have to depend exclusively on textbook information. And when students advanced to a particular area of study not taught at Tuskegee, Harvey sent them to take the courses in other schools where they could have access to facilities, technical equipment, and doctors with expertise in that area. As the previous chapter explained, the preparation of these students was crucial because of the limitations in where the women could go to school and because of larger socio-cultural assumptions

about the quality of the preparation of black nurses. In other words, the nurse educators'/administrators' work was defined in part by the environment in which these women had to study and work.

Despite the lack of details concerning the work processes of black nurses, there are several discernable conclusions. The women wanted to serve, first of all. When Lula McNeil quit her job as a nurse at Hampton Institute to go into public health nursing, it was because she felt that her skill and training were wasted at the school infirmary where most of the students who came in simply wanted to get excuses for missing classes. She wanted to do "real" work. Mary Carnegie's decision to work in Tuskegee as a staff nurse in the hospital during the day, and as an unpaid, public health nurse in the evenings also reflected that work ethic.[18] And a second conclusion is also possible based on the admittedly limited sources. The women wanted to serve well. They took their responsibilities seriously, and whether working with the institutionalized ill, the home-bound patient, midwives, the public in general, or nursing students, the nurses always tried to do the best work that they could do.

Of all the groups of workers, the nurses left the most detailed evidence of what they did on their jobs, but for

librarians, there is more explicit information concerning their attempt to make libraries relevant for the particular community that they served. The oldest librarian was Charlemae Hill Rollins, who spent her working life in Chicago. Rollins was a children's librarian for twenty-seven years at the George H. Hall branch. Her duties included the typical library duties such as checking out books, shelving books, and circulation accounting. But Rollins was also a storyteller in the children's section of the library and, later, an author of children's books. Rollins began to write children's books after she discovered that the library did not have any information on black achievers, materials that local school children asked for. She began to do several things. She began to increase the library holdings on black topics. She started young people's library clubs to increase their reading ability and awareness of black life and culture. And, finally, she began a one-woman campaign to make the public and publishers aware of published material for young people which stereotyped any ethnic group.[19] In other words, Delaney, the librarian, became an educator.

Much of the librarians' work was public relations work in and outside the library. When Barbara Miller went to Louisville, Kentucky, to work, she believed that she had to do two things. She had to make herself known to the public,

and she had to increase use of the library. Miller claimed that for three years, she never turned down an invitation to speak anywhere. She spoke at PTA meetings, told stories in classrooms, and always tried to make parents and children feel that she remembered them personally. But while Miller's public relations work was of her own choosing to make herself better known and to attract patrons to the library, others engaged in public relations work because it was a part of their job assignment. Clara Jones came to the Detroit Public Library system in the midst of city-wide, "racial" conflict. Because of the problems in the city, one of her first job assignments was to work on the Commission on Community Relations. She had to speak to city groups about the library, determine the needs of those people, present her findings to the council, and develop appropriate library programs. In this capacity, Jones spoke all over the city throughout 1944 to various groups on "racial" relations and at the same time made new contacts with community groups for the library. After the tension died down, Jones went back into the library.[20]

The work routines of Clara Stanton Jones and Miriam Matthews were more complicated than those of the other librarians. Both women worked in large, urban, de jure integrated library systems. And, eventually, both women

came to direct large systems. Jones directed the Detroit Public Library System and Matthews directed the South Central Region of the Los Angeles County Library System. As supervisors, they did more than check out books, shelve them, and give out library cards. They trained, counseled, and rated staff members; wrote budget and annual reports; and completed surveys to project future needs of the library. Matthews started library books clubs and lecture series. One of her major concerns was getting more blacks involved in the library and building up the black collection in literature and history. While she worked in the Los Angeles System, the library programs had the largest audiences and circulation that they ever had.[21]

Jones directed a large metropolitan system, and The Information Place, the information referral service that she started, could serve the needs of its diverse population, but Jones also that individually, the branch libraries served more homogenous groups, and she constantly urged the branch librarians to direct their specific programs to the needs of the specific community that they served. Jones lived in Detroit for three decades (between the 1930s and the 1970s), and she saw the demography of the city change. She also knew that in economic crises, library budgets were often the first cut, and so she worked to make the libraries useable, used, and easy to justify. She stated that one way

to make sure that the library was well utilized was to make sure that it met the needs of the newest group of hyphenated Americans in the urban center.[22] Once again, although Jones had responsibilities and concerns that any library administrator would have, she was also particularly concerned about the immediate socio-cultural environment of the branches. The positions of the women as professionals and community leaders also placed them in the most opportune positions to reach community members in ways other than those prescribed by official job descriptions. One of Estelle Osborne's work assignments during World War II illustrates that phenomenon clearly. During the war Osborne worked as a consultant to the National Nursing Council for War Service, an agency at least partially funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Katharine Faville, the acting Dean of the College of Nursing at Wayne State University in Detroit, wrote to Mary Elizabeth Tennant, fellowship adviser with the Rockefeller Foundation, to thank her for making Osborne available to them. She proceeded to describe Osborne's activities while she was in Detroit. She explained the current "racial" problems in Detroit and added that the situation had the potential to become worse because of the school's pending actions. In order to build a new Nursing Center Building, University officials were about to

file a condemnation suit on property where blacks lived. In order to avoid creating new problems, the school administrators used Osborne as a liason, putting the schools officials in touch with black community leaders, which apparently the school administrators had been unable to do on their own. Osborne also provided the names of black Detroit residents whom she considered appropriate candidates for the advisory committee of the College of Nursing being organized at the time. Osborne also met with black students at the school who felt they were being discriminated against. Faville said Osborne "helped us to bring the matter out into the open in a way which otherwise might have been impossible." Osborne established contacts for the school with black organizations and individuals, and, without her help, Faville said the process would have, at the least, "been very time consuming and difficult."[23] Clearly, other people in positions of importance also consciously and sometimes necessarily defined the work of these women in cultural caste terms.

It is, however, also possible to go back to the childhood of the women to help explain their work culture and their work ethic. As young students in school, the evidence of caste consciousness was often related to future work. For example, Janie Porter (Barrett), "delicately bred" in "an aristocratic Southern [white] family" in which

her mother was a nurse, wrote that she felt extremely out of place when she went to Hampton Institute. She was not used to the rural, black folk, the plain food, and the drab living conditions. But, more importantly, she got tired of being drilled on her "duty to the race" while at Hampton. She said that at first, she used to wake up happy on Sunday mornings, thinking, "Today I don't have to do a single thing for my race!" But while at Hampton, the teachers whom she encountered made her become more caste conscious and more responsive to the needs of the group. When she created her "Palace of Delight," the Locust Street Settlement House, the money that she used was that which she and her husband had saved to have an indoor bathroom installed in their house. Lucy Mitchell received similar indoctrination at the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Girls where Mary McLeod Bethune constantly reminded the students: "You are being trained to serve, go out into your community and be an example of what education and training can mean to an individual." Bethune also repeatedly urged her students to "help your fellowman."[24] Thus there are some indications that the women's teachers influenced them in a way that would later allow their work cultures to be determined by the needs of the group.

There are many factors that contributed to the work

situations of all of these working women, but for most of the women, it is possible to reconstruct only bits and pieces of their work lives. For one woman, however, it is possible to get a glimpse of practically her whole work life and to reiterate concurrently the several points that the previous material in this chapter revealed concerning work culture and work ethics and their origins. The woman is Sadie Peterson Delaney, and she was a librarian.

Delaney began her professional career in 1920 at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library in Harlem, which served a predominantly black community. She very quickly made a good name for herself through her civic work with immigrants and delinquent boys and by working with Boy Scouts, social workers, parent-teacher groups, and the YWCA. While at the 135th Street Library, Delaney organized the first black art exhibit held in the city and organized a "book lovers club" which brought in young aspiring writers like Langston Hughes and James Weldon Johnson. She also built up the collection of books about or by blacks while at the 135th Street branch. One of the groups in which Delaney became particularly interested was the blind. In order to work effectively with blind patrons, she began to teach herself to read braille.[25]

In 1923, Delaney got an invitation to come to the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital to develop the library there.

She had serious reservations about going to the South to work, and so she solicited advice on the matter from friends. G. F. Tobias of the International Committee of the YWCA responded positively. He advised her, "I feel that since such a strong and, in large part, successful fight has been made to save the institution to a colored administration it is incumbent upon us as a group to send the strongest and most experienced people possible to give leadership in the various departments of work." Lawrence Oxley, who later became an official with the Department of Labor, wrote to her that as much as he loved his native Boston, "I have about decided to spend the rest of my life here in the Southland. . . ." He added, "It is a great life if you don't weaken, . . ."[26] Delaney decided to go, but for only six months. When that six months ended, she asked for an extension of her original six-month leave from the New York Public Library.[27] She never went back to New York to work.

While at Tuskegee, Delaney earned an international reputation for three particular aspects of her work. One was for the general growth of the library. When she arrived at Tuskegee in January, 1924, the library had only 200 volumes and a monthly circulation of 275 volumes. At the end of her first year, the library had 4,000 volumes and a

circulation of 1500 volumes a month. By 1953, the library circulated over 10,000 volumes a month. Many of the acquisitions were not the result of budget increases and new purchases. Instead, Delaney wrote to authors and asked for donations of their works to the library. To contribute to the growth of the library, Delaney also started a library binding service to provide patients with vocational experience (1926); a disabled veterans' literary club (1930); a library debate club (1934); numismatic and philatelic clubs (1935); a clipping service (1936); a nature study group (1938); and a history forum (1939). All of the programs were for the veterans/patients, and all were apparently successful.[28]

The second area for which she earned widespread recognition was her work with the blind. She started a Department for the Blind at Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital. An official of the Braille Department of the Lions Club wrote that Delaney was the first person connected with a veterans' facility "who has ever carried even ONE pupil through to success." The Lions Club honored Delaney with "the Lion's Roar" for her continued successful work with the blind veterans.[29] One of her blind student patrons went on to win "a Fulbright Award to study the methods and techniques used in every country in Europe to affect psycho-social adjustment of the blind."[30]

The third major area of Delaney's work alluded to above, concerned her pioneering work in bibliotherapy, defined by one contemporary observer as ". . . the art or science of curing or improving the state of health of the ill and infirm, either physically or mentally, through skillful selection and reading of appropriate books and use of other media." While a librarian at the 135th street branch of the New York Public Library, Delaney began to recommend certain books to delinquent boys to effect positive change in their attitudes and behavior. She continued the work at Tuskegee and in 1933 opened a bibliotherapy unit there. The Chief of Special Services at Tuskegee Hospital wrote about Delaney's work that

> Through the employment of initiative, imagination and creative thinking, she pioneered to the development of certain techniques in the rehabilitation of mental patients known as bibliotherapy. Librarians throughout the country have visited the hospital to observe the work, and doubtless many of her ideas have formed the basis for the present day use of books as a therapy.[31]

Sadie Delaney was probably not very different from the other women regarding the manner in which she carried out her professional duties (work) and aspirations. Perhaps she did receive more recognition than many because of the uniqueness of her work. But just as other women "worked" even when they were not on the job, she did not limit her work to those who were patients in the VA hospital. On one

occasion, she took the time to write to an agency to request that they send a cane to a blind woman who lived in Columbia, Georgia.[32] She, like many others, carved out her own niche where one did not exist. Delaney devised her own work routine as a result of an existing vacuum. She was doing work that, in her view needed to be done, but which no one else was doing. A letter that Delaney's husband wrote to her congratulating her on working at the veterans' hospital for thirty years is probably applicable to all of the women in this study. He began by telling her that she was more than a librarian; she was a "guardian angel." He added:

> No one knows better than I the long tedious hours of research late into the night and early morning [that] you have given to your work.
>
> The felicitations and flowers you may recieve [sic] today will only express in a way the Honor[s] that are due you, but the deep heartfelt gratitude of hundreds of Veterans you have aided will in some small way compensate for the great work you have done here.[33]

There was indeed a work culture among the lower-level professional black women workers, but it does not closely resemble those of industrial workers and white women pink- and white-collar workers. Industrial workers constantly fought against management for better working conditions, wages, and hours. And their most obvious and, at the same

time, most subtle struggle was for control over production. The nursing leaders in Barbara Melosh's study struggled not as much against supervisors as superiors: physicians. The traditional nurses struggled against other nurse supervisors. Melosh repeatedly described the self-destructive struggle of nurse-leaders in their quest for professional status and worker control as a selfish struggle; a struggle that often pitted some nurses against other nurses. Melosh described, for those nursing leaders, a work culture that developed almost entirely around the leaders' struggle against physicians for professional status and against the traditional nurses' resistance to the struggle.

The records of the black women workers suggests a very different kind of work culture from that of white nurses and industrial workers. The black women were concerned with professional status as the previous chapter indicated, but they were concerned with much more. And surprisingly, in spite of how bad working conditions were, only a very small number of women even discussed them. When they did, in most instances the concern they had about working conditions was for the impact that those conditions had on the people they served. Lula McNeil, the Tidewater, Virginia, nurse, described her working conditions most vividly. But her concern was not that she had to set up

"office" in yards, abandoned buildings, and the like, but, rather, that her case load, much larger than those of white nurses, did not allow the blacks in the area to have the quality of service that they should have. The St. Louis Fire Department described the black hopsital in that city as a death trap and advised the workers there to attempt to save no one but themselves if there were ever a fire. But the nurses did not complain about their own safety. Instead, they pointed out that the city spent more money on monkey and snake houses at the zoo than for black patient care. In the Island schools where Septima Clark taught, she always had several times the number of students in her classes that white teachers had, and she always had less adequate facilities. In 1913, the women of the Neighborhood Union in Atlanta counted over six thousand students in Atlanta's black schools, which had a seating capacity of around four thousand. The black Atlanta social workers did not even have a facility from which to work when Lugenia Hope created the Neighborhood Union. But they later purchased a building in the heart of the black community and subsequently gave it to the city under the condition that it serve as a public health center for the black community. And Susan Dart Butler's hometown, Columbia, South Carolina, did not have a library that blacks could use until she

created one in one of her father's buildings. She later leased that building to the city for one dollar a year in order to have a library for blacks maintained by the city.[34] Most of these women worked under conditions that were less than adequate. It was within these bad working conditions that the work culture of these women evolved.

These women, by virtue of their education and occupations, were more than representatives of occupational groups to the community, and they subsequently had little time for personal campaigns. They were problem solvers, connections to other agencies, political advocates, and whatever else the community needed them to be. The needs of the community defined, in a large way, the work culture of these women. The grey area between official job duties and the work that the women actually did depended on the community. And in a community that was cruelly and consistently shortchanged, these women had to be flexible enough to be, in an official or an unofficial capacity, many things to many people.

Sadie Delaney's husband called her a "guardian angel." But the women, themselves, described their work cultures better than anyone else could. Clara Jones, the librarian, said, "Black librarians have never been saddled with the image of the prim, forbidding, 'jailor of books' (to quote Melvyl Dewy's scornful phrase). Invariably, [the black

librarian] . . . has been . . . an active leader, helper, worker in the community, who was never intimidated by the kinds of roles required to take the library to the people." She continued, "They have had to be part teacher, part social worker, part counselor. . . . They have shared their talents . . . with the community as a part of their involvement in civic and cultural life." Similarly, an award citation presented to Eunice Laurie when she retired from nursing described her past work role as " . . . a health adviser, a housing adviser, a financial adviser, a spiritual adviser, and a moral adviser." Vivian Hewett, another librarian, described her work role as "a social worker, an 'Ann Landers,' a public relations specialist, a fund raiser, not to mention the teacher-writer-reference-bibliographer-lecturer bit." And, finally, with even more profundity and preciseness, Mary Church Terrell, whose classroom career was very short, wrote to her daughter on one occasion, " . . . I have been working for my race in one way or another ever since I was a grown woman."[35]

Legal segregation determined, by and large, where these women worked. Unequal facilities and a commitment to social responsibility help to explain how they worked. Beyond their obvious job responsibilities, they worked in whatever manner would best serve the community in whose behalf they

worked. And their work ethic required that they perform that work to the best of their abilities not for the rewards that they might reap individually but, instead, for the benefit of the community members who usually had few, if any, other advocates.

Part III

Sources of Power

The term "power" is not easy to define. Traditionally, "power" concerns the ability of one to control or influence others. Sometimes it is simply the ability to act in some desired way. And it is equally the ability not to act, if that is what the actor desires. "Power" is, therefore, self control as much as it is control over others.

It probably seems erroneous to attribute power to these women considering that they were women, lower-level professionals, and black. After all, within gender groups, white-collar groups, and "racial" groups, they were not very highly ranked in American society. Yet for these women, all of these groups could be and, in fact, were sources of power. But the women and other members of their primary groups created sources of power out of their everyday experiences and expectations.

This third section, which focuses on gender, caste, and networks in the lives of these women, shows how, to paraphrase Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, a triple negative could lead to positive and even powerful results.[1] Because these women were born into a society in which whites, men, and

professionals were among the guardians of power, the subjects of this study naturally turned to their own groups in search for power. And they found, to an astonishing degree, both the power of self determination and the power to influence others.

Chapter 6

The Influence of Gender

Literature on the conceptualization of women's history describes several useful concepts to consider while studying any group of women. One of those concepts concerns the categorization of women as a distinct sociological group. This distinctiveness of women's experiences was the result of a socialization process that covertly and overtly shaped women's behavior, attitudes, and actions in a manner that often resulted in rendering female roles more restrictive and less fulfilling than male roles. Studying women in this way makes it easier to see the pressure put on women to conform and thus provides a more complete description of their experiences.[1]

Studies on conceptualization also point out the necessity of using periodization schemes that are more relevant to women than those used in traditional American history. Traditional American history periodization is usually less useful in the study of women than life-cycle approaches based on the stages and important events in women's lives. These new studies also note the importance of using non-traditional sources in reconstructing the lives of women who were usually in the domestic sphere and

consequently did not have access to the public institutions where records were often meticulously kept.[2] All of these suggestions are useful ones for researching the lives of the women of this study.

Recent research on black women emphasizes the inextricable complexity of the relationship between gender and caste when considering black women. Angela Davis, in Women, Race, and Class (1981) painstakenly detailed the interrelationship of gender, caste, and class, and she demonstrated clearly the error of attempting to write about black women without simultaneously examining all three areas. When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (1984), by Paula Giddings, is also a major contribution to the new tradition of studying the condition of black women in the more complex manner. But despite the interconnectedness of "race," class, and gender, it is still necessary at this point to attempt an explanation of the role of gender in the lives of these black lower-level professional women and to do so in a manner which excludes, whenever possible, the ways in which caste and class made the gender-related experiences unique.[3]

There are three reasons for attempting an analysis of gender alone here. One reason is to determine what factors related to being female were common in the lives of these

women who came from various economic, geographic, occupational, and generational groups and areas. The second reason is to show how their socialization was similar to the experiences of white middle-class women. The third and perhaps more important reason is that by looking at gender influences alone, it may be possible to determine what factors in the lives of these women -- factors that were totally within their own control -- might be responsible for their excluding themselves from modern women's rights and feminist movements.

The approach taken here is quite different from the approach of most of the other works on black women in that they almost always begin with the assumption that black women are the victims of double or triple oppression and that that oppression often consequently determined how the women lived their lives.[4] While not ignoring the fact that multiple factors did often simultaneously and negatively affect the women's lives, this chapter begins only with the question: Did gender influence the lives of the women?

Overall, gender affected the lives of these women when they were girls very inconsistently. Sometimes they had certain prescribed gender-specific roles. And, paradoxically, at other times, it appears that individuals (usually family members) discouraged the women from thinking that there were any limits to their abilities for any

reasons. Occasionally, the sources indicate some rebelliousness on the part of the girls but rebelliousness with an interesting twist that actually foreshadowed a unique feature of the adult lives of the women. Parents often had certain expectations of their female children. As indicated earlier, a large proportion of girls had musical and/or dance instructions when they were young. Though that is often a reflection of class background, one woman reflected that when she was growing up, it was customary for girls to be able to play a musical instrument. Other gender-related expectations variously concerned sexuality, the sexual division of labor, and preparation for adulthood and independence.

There were only a few examples of concern with sexuality, but these examples were poignant ones. Septima Clark, for example, had a real reason to be afraid for her mother to see the blue dye from her future husband's uniform on her white shirt waist which was mentioned earlier. And Beulah Hester did not do her brothers' chores because she enjoyed doing them. Instead, both women had reasons to be afraid as a result of their upbringing. Clark knew that her mother would think that she had no business being so close to the young sailor and that she might even question Septima's morality. Hester's fear of her mother's finding

out that she accepted candy or notes from a boy was even more powerful because of her mother's haunting remarks that she would rather see her daughter dead than have her disgrace the family.[5]

There are also indications that because they were girls, parents believed that they required special protection. Clark's father absolutely refused to allow her to work as a domestic in a private white home or a hotel because there were too many "temptations and possible dangers sometimes associated with that sort of work." Her mother similarly believed that "a situation might develop in which there would be temptation with the man of the house or delivery boys, or even men on the street." They both feared that white men could tempt black girls into illicit relationships, and they knew of many examples that served as warnings. Clark recalled that in her neighborhood there were four black women with families who were mistresses of white men who had white families on the other side of town.[6] When Portia Washington went to Europe, she had a chaperone in the person of Jane Ethel Clark, Tuskegee's lady principal. When Clark returned to the United States, Portia's legal guardians were the officials of the German Colonial Society.[7] When these women had their own children, they continued to try to protect their daughters.

Mary Church Terrell's letters to her husband while she attended the Purity Congress are once again appropriate examples. When Terrell instructed her daughter Phyllis not to entertain boys after school, she added that no decent boy would want his sister to be alone in a house with a boy.[8]

In other instances, it is also quite clear that the girls had domestic responsibilities based on gender. When Archibald Grimké was the U. S. Consul to Santo Domingo, he mailed to Angelina two threads to represent the length and width of a pair of curtains that she, with her aunt's help, was to make and mail to him.[9] But the best example of the domestic responsibilities of the girls came from Therese Lee, one of Angelina's good friends. On one occasion, Lee wrote to her schoolmate, Angelina:

> As you know and I only to [sic] well know and realize fully, we have no domestic. So that thankless and unending job is thrust to my door. I have spurned it, but it returns and rather than have my spurns returned again I take it with drooping head, [and] listless eyes . . . . This morning . . . I was forced to rebel but was subdued . . . . I have made all the beds but Mr. G[rimké]'s and my own . . . but alas! there is so much more for my bedraggled hands to do. My mother says Genevive's room, the parlor, library, and dining room must be swept today and she can not do it but they must be done today.[10]

Undoubtedly, the parents of these girls wanted them to be able to perform traditional domestic tasks. Beulah Hester's mother had the process down to a science. Hester's instructions were to "wash on Monday. Iron on Tuesday.

Mend on Wednesday (before putting the clothes away). Thursday . . . begin your cleaning. Finish on Friday. [On] Saturday . . . do your cooking."[11] But for one of the girls, her domestic ability was even "newsworthy." When Portia Washington returned to Tuskegee from Framingham Academy to complete her last year of school, much to her dismay her step-mother required that she take a course in dressmaking. When she went to Bradford Academy the next year, a writer from the Indianapolis Freeman, reinforcing the gender-specific expectations, wrote:

> "For college she dresses very plainly, in a gray skirt and jacket and a wash [white?] shirtwaist. All of them she could make with her own hands if necessary, for last year she devoted herself to an industrial course at Tuskegee. Besides being a practical dressmaker, she can trim a hat or bake a loaf of bread equally well for she has also taken the courses in millinery and housekeeping."[12]

The parents clearly had certain expectations of their young daughters because they were girls, and in their homes there was clearly a sexual division of labor, but despite both of those facts and the examples cited above, the parents did not necessarily believe that gender should determine what their daughters did for a living later on. In fact there is some evidence supporting a gender-neutral socialization process in that parents and other family members, encouraged the girls to achieve. The remark of Beulah Hester's mother that if something had been done

before, then her children, girls included, could do it also, was not uncommon. When Angelina Grimké was in her twenties and having problems on her job at Armstrong School, her father wrote to her,

> I know there is no one in the Armstrong [School] who knows the subject as well as you do. And I have been confident that you know well how to impart what you know to your class. You must not let that fellow [Roscoe Bruce] rattle you and make you lose faith in yourself. Don't let anyone in that school, or anywhere for that matter do so. . . . You know [your subject] . . . better than anyone else . . . .

On another occasion he advised her simply not to let Bruce worry her. He said, "do your work well . . . . You can do it. You have it in you, I know. Thus make up your mind to do so."[13]

The few references to gender in the parent-to-child correspondences were merely generic uses of the words. For example, Archibald Grimké's advice to his daughter to "show them . . . the real woman stuff of which you are made" was a very powerful expression and an acknowledgement of the strength of women, but undoubtedly, he would have made a similar statement to a son in a similar circumstance. Likewise when Constance Fisher's father wrote to her to tell her how proud of her he and her mother were, they sent her twenty dollars as "something tangible" to express their pleasure. They wanted her to buy herself a new dress. He

continued, "we are with you in your determination to 'look the part,' since you are so determined, also, to act the part of the fine woman we have wanted you so much to be." Constance's father was not necessarily referring to Constance as a woman but, instead, as a "good person." In fact in the same letter he informed her of his public endorsement of a man whom he said the public was trying to 'crucify.' He concluded that discussion with, "I had to write it to feel that I am the gentleman [i.e., "good person"] I want so much to be."[14] The point here is that there seems to be in these two examples, at least, less concern on the part of the parents for their girls as girls, than for their girls as (good) children.

Sometimes the roles about which the parents concerned themselves were not gender-specific roles at all but, rather, age-specific roles. When, for example, Angelina Grimké wrote to her father informing him that she wanted an evening dress for Christmas, he responded admantly that evening dresses were for women; that she was a school girl and did not need one; and that she need only to dress as a school girl, not a woman in society.[15]

And when there was occasional rebelliousness among the girls, it was often a rebellion against their assigned role as children rather than their assigned gender role. As mentioned earlier, even when Portia Washington was living in

Massachusetts, over a thousand miles away from her father, he arranged all of her dates, but when Portia went to Europe, she lived her own life, chose her own dates, socialized at the local Brauhaus, and she felt relieved to be out from under her father's thumb.[16] When Lucy Mitchell was a student at Talladega College, female students had to wear uniforms that included black cotton stockings. Several of the girls bought black, drop-lace stockings and wore them to church one Sunday. The school matrons became furious, but the students successfully defended themselves by pointing out that the prohibition was against silk stockings, not drop-lace stockings.[17] Although there is no evidence concerning whether or not boys also had a dress code, it appears that the girls' rebellion was aimed at their ascribed child-like role rather than a gender restriction.

As adults, the women fit more neatly into traditional gender roles. It is even possible to say that the women displayed specific-gender roles as wives and mothers. That is not to say that inside their families the women had only mother/wife roles, but it is to say that female roles were most consistent with tradition within the families. Most of the women had to modify their work lives after marriage, reflecting at least an implicit acceptance of female-defined domestic roles. Portia Washington Pittman said she worked

hard to be a "proper wife" and was glad that her step-mother forced her to learn housekeeping. After marriage she did not work for pay again until her architect husband could not make enough money to support her family, and even then, she at first gave private music lessons only in her home. In order to devote full time to her family, Florence Edmonds did not work for pay for fifteen years after she married. family. Septima Clark stopped working for pay after her sailor husband returned home. She rejoined the work force only after he died. Clara Jones also stopped working after she got married. But while her children were young, she would work temporarily and on a part-time basis if and when the library was in critical need of additional staff. Lucy Mitchell also stopped working after she had children, and when she returned to work, it was also on a part-time basis, and it was in a nursery school where she could take her children with her. Still she always refused full-time work as long as her children were growing up.[18]

The women also often delayed their educational pursuits after they married. Barbara Simmons Miller became a full-time housewife/mother for a short time after marriage, but she later returned to school and to work. And just as Lucy Mitchell eventually began to pursue part-time study after she had her two children, Henrietta Smith-Chisholm pursued her master's degree on a very limited basis after she

married. She said that when she finally did finish her master's degree, her daughter was old enough to graduate with her.[19]

Yet none of the women mentioned immediately above gave any indication that their decisions to give up remunerative work outside the home and take on full domestic duties was anyone's other than their own. The only exception was an outstanding one. Fostine Riddick was the only woman who said that she withdrew from the work force involuntarily, and then not without some rebellion. She was also the only woman who actually said that she despised housework. She commented that one of the wonderful things about finally going back to school at Tuskegee after several years as a housewife was that she got a reprieve from washing and ironing shirts and other housework since her husband was still in Virginia.

Two years aftir graduating from Tuskegee Institute nursing school, Fostine Glen married Henry Riddick. Because he wanted her to be a housewife, she quit her nursing job, and for two years she stayed at home learning to cook, giving parties, and gaining weight. But "those two years of complete housewifery" were unsatisfactory to Riddick, and without her husband's knowledge, she began looking for a job. She found a part-time job as a nurse anesthetist at a

nearby children's hospital and said she worked there two mornings a week for nine years without her husband's knowledge. Over at least a ten-year period, Riddick was able to take four or five, very short, private duty cases with her husband's knowledge after convincing him that the client searched the entire city and could not find another available nurse and that she had a moral duty to help those who needed help. She remembered that she once worked on a six-day assignment and made twenty-four dollars--enough to buy her easter dress, hat, shoes, and purse.[20]

Strangely, by the middle of the 1950s, Henry Riddick started insisting that his wife return to school to finish the degree that she always wanted to have. His wife did not understand his change of heart. He had previously allowed her to go to Columbia University for six weeks one summer and swore that he would never do it again. But in order to protect her interest, Riddick told her mother-in-law of her husband's change of heart. When the time came to go and he tried to back down, his mother reminded him of his promise. Fostine Riddick was able to return to school after all, and she said she finished school "and came home to be a better wife."[21]

Riddick enjoyed her new civic activities and her "association to nursing" but soon, again, it was not enough. She got restless. Her husband retired, and she tried to join

the navy. Riddick hoped that she could join as an officer, take her husband as her dependent to wherever she had to go to do her basic training, and then return to an assignment in a naval hospital in Portsmouth, Virginia, in the Tidewater area where she lived. There she would serve for two years then go into the reserves until retirement age. Needless to say, the plan did not work out. Finally, in 1957, Riddick went to work at Norfolk Community Hospital with her husband's approval. She worked there for six years, excluding the year that she took off to go to New York University to get a master's degree.[22]

Fostine Riddick's plight is indeed an interesting one compared to the stories of the other women. She apparently never had any children, but still her husband did not want her to work outside the home for pay. Probably more accurately, he did not want her to work as long as he was working. In every other respect, he seemed to be a cooperative partner. When his wife went to New York to work on her master's degree, he, then retired, went with her. Riddick said her husband took her to school, tracked down articles for her, helped her with her assignments, and was an attentive listener when she needed him to be. She concluded that he had really earned the degree.[23] None of the other women with families who stopped working outside

the home indicated that it was anyone's decision other than their own. It seems then that Fostine Riddick's husband was under the influence of the image of the middle-class tradition (that was becoming less and less influential), whereby the wife of a "good" husband did not need to work for pay.

Probably the examples that precede Riddick's saga are more typical. But another response of another husband reflected not his disapproval of his wife's working but rather his disapproval of her working out of town. Indicative of that, Ann Hutchinson wrote to her friend, Estelle Osborne, after Osborne returned home after being away for an extended period: "I know your hubby is happy for you to be at home, especially when you promised not to leave again."[24]

Rather than shun domestic duties, most of the women often took on more responsibilities than were required of them. But those additional responsibilities were within the traditional female role of mother-nurturer. Mary Church Terrell, for example, adopted Mary Church, her brother's daughter, when he could no longer care for her, and she took the same brother's son when her brother died. Beulah Hester and her husband never had any children of their own, but she did rear the daughter of her husband's youngest sister. And finally, when Miriam Matthews' sister-in-law died, leaving

Miriam's brother with a two-year-old child, she moved into his home to help care for the child and stayed there for six years (when he remarried).[25]

Just as it was the letter of Tessa Lee, a future school teacher but not a subject of this study, that revealed the clearest example of some of the domestic responsibilities of female children, it is Laura Terrell Jones, a school teacher, whose correspondence helps to sum up some of the gender-related values and roles of the many of the adult women. Laura Jones was the sister-in-law of Mary Church Terrell and a frequent correspondent of Mary Church and Robert Terrell. Jones taught school at Tuskegee, but so little of her life is known that she is not a subject here. Still her letters are quite illuminating. Jones was legally separated from her husband before 1908, but she did not obtain a divorce decree until 1917. She wrote to Mary Church Terrell on one occasion that one widower at Tuskegee

> has just emerged from his weeds and conjecture is rife as to who will get him. He is a 'catch' in Tuskegee society as he bears the title of Director of Trades and is a member of that August body, the Executive Council. He has four beautiful children and a bank account. His little girl is devoted to me and I have been wondering whether to enter the contest, but I am afraid I don't like Tuskegee well enough to settle here even granting that I might win out."[26]

This letter was also by far one of the best examples of how class and gender could work together. Jones saw both a

single man as well as a salaried, professional man, with a bank account, no less.[27]

Years later, a middle-aged Laura Jones wrote a pain-filled letter to her sister-in-law:

> To see the home people, revisit familiar scenes, to know that you are bound by ties of love, affection, blood to others; all those things have such a good effect. I live so much of my life as Mrs. L. T. Jones, -- schoolteacher -- that to wake up in the morning in a house instead of a dormitory; to realize that the stirring about you is the noise of relatives and not girls from here, there, and everywhere; to be able to put on a house dress instead of school attire; to dawdle over a meal; etc. . . . mean(s) so much.

But Jones insisted that she did not want sympathy. She was thankful for her job. And she added:

> I hold no brief against life that domesticity was snatched ruthlessly from me. Like all who look back on something denied, I believe I'd have made a good wife, a good mother. I know I love a home [life, and,] in fact, I might have become one of those tiresome women to whom sweeping, dusting, etc., are veritable rituals. God forbid! As it is, I have lived a very full life. . . .
>
> Yet to be with the home people means so much![28]

Laura Jones said she did not regret her life, but it sounds as though she did. She did not give up domesticity, it was "snatched ruthlessly" away. She felt cheated, denied something important, as she described herself, almost pitfully in lofty domestic terms. Jones said she held no grudges but the tone of her letter is sadly resentful. It almost seems that Jones viewed herself as a failure in life

because of her obvious acceptance of the traditional, domestic, gender roles for women.

Clearly, at least in domestic situations, gender affected the lives of the women. Even Laura Jones, after her marriage ended, lived for twenty-five years in a girls' dormitory. And in most instances marriage and child rearing restricted the women from other activities. But the restrictiveness of the domestic sphere is the obvious. The not-so-obvious deserves some consideration as well.

In those very same families where the women learned traditional female roles and values, they also received the encouragement and support that could only foster the kind of self-confidence and self-esteem that allowed them to pursue activities outside their homes in a manner that other women, married or single, might never attempt. These individuals were high achievers. Most of the nurses, for example, eventually came to head nursing schools and programs or to administer nursing departments at large hospitals. Most of the women were of very humble origins. But they were the children of what DuBois called "strivers and strainers." The younger women were often simply the offspring of very proud domestic workers who harbored "great expectations" for their children. Because of those high aspirations, the girls were not socialized to be great wives or great mothers alone. Instead, their mothers and fathers, brothers and

sisters, and husbands and friends encouraged and pushed them to become women <u>and</u> writers, teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, speakers, and the like. Generally, their lives did not support the notion that they should grow up to be only conventionally good, submissive, domestic, married women. With the exception of Mary Church Terrell's father, who supported her pursuit of Oberlin's "gentleman's course" but who expected her to come home and be a "real lady" when she finished it, the women in this study revealed that in the area of occupation, their parents wanted them to be whatever they wanted to be as long as they were the best that they could be. And above all, the parents wanted their daughters to be capable of supporting themselves whether they married or not. Some other recent studies also support this conclusion concerning the ways that black parents encouraged their daughters.[29]

And there are many other indications that parents sought to prepare their daughter for independent lives. Recall for example that Booker T. Washington at first disapproved of his daughter's marriage because he felt that she was not yet able to support herself. Beulah Hester's mother removed her daughter from one elementary school to another because she felt that Beulah was not getting a good education. And when Hester later went to Hartshorn Academy

and wanted to specialize in music, her mother very curtly informed her that as long as her father could afford it she would take the regular academic course and music instructions because she might not be able to teach music for a living. Eunice Laurie's father insisted that she withdraw from Tuskegee's vocational (domestic) course and take an academic program. When Laurie was a child, neighbors criticized her father for sending her away to a boarding school for the first six years of her schooling. But Laurie said her father wanted her to be in an environment different from that which existed in Early County, Georgia, and additionally, he knew that for the future, she would need much more than her home-town school could provide. Julia Smith's father even sued (successfully) to have his daughter admitted to Minor Normal School at the unprecedented age of sixteen.[30]

Supportive evidence of the lack of oppressive and restrictive gender roles for these women came in numerous forms. The encouragement sometimes referred to educations, occupations, and/or avocations. It often came from friends. And within the family, ironically enough, it came overwhelmingly from males. Henrietta Smith-Chisholm's father actually preferred that she study business rather than nursing. Miriam Matthews' parents had no second thoughts about educating their daughters. In fact, they

insisted that Miriam's sister go to business school because they thought that she was the more talented of the two in business-related areas. (She eventually became vice-president of a large Los Angeles savings and loan association.) Matthews expressed appreciation that her parents taught her to be independent, to form her own opinions, and to speak up and stand up ("on my own two feet") for what she thought was right. And, finally, when Clara Stanton (Jones) left home for college, her grandfather, a former slave, sat her on his knee and reminded her of his confidence in her ability.[31]

The attitudes of fathers, brothers, and husbands perhaps had a profound impact on the accomplishments of the women, and the women remembered that the male family members always had confidence in the abilities of their wives, sisters, and daughters. Booker T. Washington wrote to Portia Washington, after she settled into her new "home" in Germany, "We shall expect great things from you when you return." When Mary Church Terrell was about to leave for the International Congress of Women in Austria, her husband wrote, "We are expecting big things from you and I know we are not going to be disappointed." Robert Church once wished his wife luck for a future presentation in San Francisco, but he added that he knew she would do well

because she always did. When Thomas Church encouraged his sister to seek the Presidency of Tuskegee Institute after Booker T. Washington died, he said, "You can deliver the goods better than he did . . . ." And he called her "a very formidable candidate." Several years later, after reading one of her published articles, he commented that, "I can see, that with contributions like this one, you can eventually build up a power to be respected and feared." When Charlemae Rollins went to Paris to speak throughout Europe about her work, her husband wrote to her, "I fully know that you covered yourself with glory . . . . I know that it must have been grand." When she went to Oslo to present the Jane Addams Peace Book Award, he wrote, "I know that it will be a grand success because you have everything at your command and you are quite capable of doing anything that you attempt."[32]

The belief in and encouragement of the women was also expressed less directly. For example, when Margaret Murray Washington required that her step-daughter take the vocational/domestic science program at Tuskegee, her father also required that she take chemistry under the great scientist, George Washington Carver. Before Angelina Grimké was fifteen years old, her father encouraged her to study French, German, and Spanish. When Grimké worried about her future as a public school teacher in Washington, he advised

her that she need not worry because she also had the ability to make a nice living for herself in literature. And finally, Thomas Church, a consistent supporter of his sister's writing, wrote to her on one occasion that "all of the Hearst papers are always filled with cheap claptrap hokum of special writers . . . ." He suggested that she send samples of her work directly to Hearst, and he added that she could write "rings" around the "specially paid lady writers" whose works he read. He added on still another occasion about Mary's writing and her lack of a publisher, that it was the same as "casting pearls before swine."[33]

While there is little evidence like that above from the mothers and sisters of the women, there is no proof that they were less enthusiastic about the women's work abilities. Instead, among these women, at least, there are logical explanations for the lack of details concerning female relatives. Some of the available explanations are: (1) Angelina Grimké had no siblings, and her mother died when she was very young; (2) Mary Church Terrell had a half-sister, but she was almost twenty-five years younger than Mary; (3) the only available correspondence from family members among Charlemae Rollins' papers are letters from her husband; and (4) Portia Washington Pittman had no sisters, and what few letters to and from her that survive are in her father's

papers and thus, are to or from him. Still, while on one hand the evidence is naturally quite limited, on the other hand it is nonetheless consistent.

Other revealing information among the records of the older women and many of the others provides clues to how the women were able to fulfill those great expectations. Clara Jones worked off and on throughout her married life. She admitted that she would not set very high goals until her three children grew up because she wanted to be a good wife, mother, and librarian. But she revealed that her supportive husband was one of the reasons that she was able to accomplish so much. She called him "an emancipated man." Lucy Mitchell commented extensively about her husband's support. He not only provided the emotional suport that she needed, but he also helped with the housework and child rearing. Eunice Laurie said marriage and family never presented any barriers to her career. She added that her "husband was always very liberal . . . ." Even Fostine Riddick's husband, who at one time refused to allow her to work outside the home or to leave home to go to school, not only acquiesced in both areas, but he also went with her to New York to study and did a lot of her library "leg work" for her.[34]

Mary Terrell's husband and brother had no small part in her ability to function successfully outside of the domestic

sphere. Robert Terrell (her husband) constantly received her letters with various instructions in them. In one instance she told him to have Phyllis' (their daughter's) violin repaired before she returned. In another, she told him to take her evening gown off the hanger and to put it on/in? the sofa to prevent any damage. But most importantly she wrote him many, many times from out of town asking him to send her some item that she forgot to pack. In fact, some of Terrell's instructions to her husband were quite extensive. In a single letter for example, she asked him to "Tell mother that Floy failed to pack two of my nicest white undershirts." And she told him to read the first part of the letter to her mother. She asked him to take care of Phyllis and to take care of her (Mary's) papers and letters and to keep Phyllis out of them. She told him to open her mail and to forward the important things. And she instructed him about what to do with the remaining mail. In still another letter Mary asked Robert not to light a sulfur candle in a particular room because it might damage some clothes that she had left out. She asked him to put a particular dress in a trunk and to mail the children's sulfur tablets to her with a box of Palmers Skin Success and her "nice black silk shirtwaist." She even told him to wrap the skin cream and the tablets in the dress before mailing

them.[35]

Robert Terrell provided a lot of the assistance that allowed his wife to be away from home so often. He and her brother, Thomas, provided equally the psychological boosts that contributed to her efforts. But Thomas also contributed tangibly to his sister's efforts. He constantly sent her books on writing and on where to send and to sell manuscripts. He also sent her notes regularly concerning his ideas on contemporary issues, readings, etc., because as he put it, because she was now "tied down to weekly articles," she needed an "outside or foreign influence to guide or suggest something to avoid monotony."[36]

And if there is still any doubt that Mary Church Terrell, at least, led an unencumbered and very independent life inspite of her gender and marriage, her papers provide two very revealing letters. In one instance, her husband wrote to her, "Tell me about your work and how your plans are relative to it. Do you have to travel, or do you send others out . . . .?" Clearly, Robert did not know exactly what his wife was doing, which implies that she was doing something that she chose, independently, to do. In the other letter several years earlier, she wrote to her husband that on that trip, (speaking throughout Ohio) she would not make any money. She said to "break even" was the most that she could hope for. But she added that she had to make some

money because "I need some things so much which I do not want if I can not earn the money myself."[37]

Just because the socialization process of which these women were a part did not necessarily indoctrinate them to be "mere" women, it does not necessarily follow that throughout their lives they did not make decisions based on the fact that they were women. Nor does it mean that some of their life experiences were not directly a result of their gender. Throughout their lives -- most visibly during their adult years -- they made certain decisions because they were women. Those decisions concerned the type of work they did on their jobs. They concerned marriage and reproduction. Some of their decisions were not just personal. They often had important political ramifications. In some instances, their own experiences as women motivated them to adopt certain goals or to maintain certain postures on behalf of other women.

Most obviously, that these women worked in the occupations that they did is an additional commentary on the gender-segregation of work. But it is a commentary that is not altogether obvious. A few of the women talked about wanting to be nurses, for example, all of their lives. But such cases were far and few between. None of them left records in which they said they did not want to work in the

occupation that became their career. But still there were some societal pressures, both overt and covert, in operation long before the women were even aware that their gender made a difference. At least partially because of their gender these professions were the most likely ones for them to choose. Ultimately, although perhaps in their families they could do/be anything, in the real world they could not.[38]

But once they were in their careers, there were specific areas in their work environment with which they chose to work that reflected at least a certain amount of gender consciousness and sometimes even feminist consciousness. Mary Church Terrell worked most actively on behalf of women's issues. She was aware of the problems that working mothers had, and as the first President of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), she advocated "the creation and institutionalization of child care centers and mother's clubs" to help women who had to work outside the home in order to make a living. At the 1911 Purity Congress held in Ohio, she pleaded with the audience to contribute to the establishment of "Rescue Houses for Colored Girls." When she spoke before the International Council of Women in Berlin in 1904, she rejoiced "not only in the elevation of my race, but in the almost universal elevation of my sex." And during the International Congress

of Women meeting in Switzerland in 1919, she wrote to her husband that it was the first time that women had spoken in St. Peter's Cathedral. In many of her lectures throughout the United States, there were scattered references to "sisterhood," and those lectures almost always concerned the work, progress, and/or needs of black women as well as women in general.[39]

Terrell was also an active suffragist. A New York newspaper mentioned that at the 1900 National Woman Suffrage Association held in Washington, D.C., Terrell's speech, entitled "The Justice of Woman Suffrage," was "a most scholarly argument." At that same meeting, Isabella Beecher Hooker presented Terrell with a bust of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Hooker's sister. Friends often wrote to Terrell about their own opinions on suffrage, and they often asked her about her own. One white woman from Kansas wrote to her about her worries about the fate of woman's suffrage in her state. She believed that most black voters opposed it, and she asked Terrell how to reach them and convince them to support woman's suffrage. She added that she believed that black supporters could convince them. But, unlike male organizations, her women's organizations did not have the money for speakers. She then asked Terrell if she would come to speak if they could raise the money for her to

come.[40]

On the issue of suffrage, Terrell's husband was also a supporter. Once women won the vote, he wrote to her while she was traveling, "I am glad the fight is over and the women have won." He commented on the "alertness" and "activeness" of the involved women campaigners. He wrote to her two months later after she visited President and Mrs. Harding in Marion, Ohio, that he was glad she went and that the Hardings could now have an "idea of the caliber and ability of the best there is among colored women." He added that "woman suffrage is going to help us mightily I believe [in accomplishing civil and political equality]. Our women are well-educated and they are inclined to go forward in movements."[41]

Other evidence indicates that Mary Terrell and Angelina Grimké were active in other feminist-oriented issues. On one occasion, Mary Terrell received a letter from Margaret Sanger asking for her help in setting up an "American Birth Control League" that would be operational in every state. The letter asked all those who believed in family limitation to attend the conference. The topics of discussion were very specific and feminist-oriented. They included problems of mothers, ways to penetrate legislative barriers to birth control information, and "scientific discussion of contraceptive methods and their application." Although the

letter was a form letter, it ended with, "This appeal is only made to those who have come into intimate contact with me during the years of my work."[42] Because birth control was such a controversial issue, that note was probably more than just a public relations statement. Angelina Grimké too expressed interest in the issue of birth control. In 1920, she prepared an article for Sanger's Birth Control Review that caused one of the editors to warn her to refrain from making a pure propaganda piece. She wrote a short story for the magazine the year before that.[43]

In several instances, the women worked with and even created job situations that allowed them to work on behalf of women's concerns. In the 1970's, Mabel Staupers pointed out just how new the birth-control movement and other aspects of "modern motherhood" really were. She said that in the 1920's, through the Harlem Tuberculosis Committee, she and other members carried on planned-parenthood activities. She said they not only taught women "how not to get pregnant," but they also advocated wet nursing. Constance Fisher, a Seattle, Washington, area social worker, devised a pioneering program to work specifically with disadvantaged women during pregnancy. Ophelia Egypt, another social worker, worked for over a decade in family planning activities. Part of that time she worked in an actual planned-parenthood center. While she was there, the

program came to include sex education for teenagers.[44] All three women were aware of the specific needs of women, and through their work, they responded to those needs.

Sometimes the work that these women did did not seem necessarily concerned with women's issues or activities. Mary Church Terrell's work for kindergartens and nursery schools and Lucy Mitchell's career-long struggle for improving the conditions in day care centers and the licensing of the centers and their staffs might appear to be instead a reflection of their concern for child welfare. Indeed, they did talk of their concern for the children and the society's future. But in this case, they also recognized the existence of a socio-economic structure in which women's economic abilities were not uniform. There were working-class women who could not afford in-home "nurses" for their children -- children who nonetheless needed adequate care while their mothers were not at home. And so Terrell and Mitchell as well as other women of this study involved themselves in issues that were beneficial for women who did not enjoy the social and economic security that they did.[45]

For most women, marriage and childbearing and rearing of course had some impact on their lives because they were women. The obvious impact for professional women was that

they had to take on more extensive domestic roles than they had before. What is not so obvious is that marriage could also affect the employability of women. Laws in the District of Columbia, for example, prohibited the employment of married women in public schools. For that reason, when Mary Eliza Church elected to marry Robert Heberton Terrell, she also elected to give up her job. Ironically, her marriage did not preclude her "working" on the district of Columbia Board of Education, which in all probability was an unpaid job. Norma Boyd, who also taught in the District, said that she never wanted to "gamble" on marriage. She did not explain whether the husband or the loss of a career was the gamble that she was unwilling to risk. But she did explain what she thought a marriage should be like. She said marriage in her view meant that she would have children and they would be the center of her life (as her mother's children were for her). Her husband would have to be a leader, and she would work at making him and their children a success. Boyd's view of what a marriage should be was the traditional Victorian view in which the woman's position was subordinate to the husband's and in which the children and the husband were the foci of her attention. But Boyd's very next sentence was that marriage was a big gamble that she was not willing to take.[46]

For other women, marriage did not result in legal

employment restrictions. And for one in particular, the pursuit of a husband was half of the fun. Lillian Harvey, a nurse, described how she pursued the man she married. Harvey admitted that one of the reasons that she went to Tuskegee to work after she finished nursing school was because of the rumor that there were eligible bachelors there. After commencing her new job, there was a Christmas party that she attended. She asked a male physician friend to point out the single men to her. She said he unenthusiastically pointed out one single man. She understood his nonverbal communication, and so she did nothing. Later in the evening she said the physician's face lit up when he pointed out another man to her. And so she did everything she could to attract his attention. When she ate dinner in the school dining hall, she made sure to go for second servings whenever he came in. Harvey said she "worked on him" and "got him." She added laughingly that he really did not have a chance to escape her because she even prayed for him.[47]

Although none of the women who married disdained child rearing, childbearing brought with it certain dangers and traumas. Lucy Mitchell had her two children early in her marriage, within thirteen months of each other. During her second pregnancy she developed a kidney condition that required her to be in the hospital for the last two months

of her pregnancy. Because it was clear that she might not survive another pregnancy, she said she and her husband began looking "into this burgeoning development of birth control." Unfortunately within six months after her second successful delivery, Mitchell was pregnant again. Her doctor advised her to terminate the pregnancy, and she agreed to have an abortion. At this point she asked one internist how she could prevent pregnancy. He told her abstinence. Mitchell said it was impractical. She was newly married; she and her husband were still quite young; and she hoped that there was some alternative. Consequently, she began holding neighborhood meetings for women who wanted information concerning birth control, and she invited staff people from the Sanger Clinic as resource persons. As a result of Mitchell's quest, she did obtain the information that she needed and did begin to use birth control devices, but her activity did not constitute a broadly feminist gesture at all. It was simply a matter of her own personal needs. When she was in her early forties, she had a hysterectomy and did no subsequent work in the birth control movement.[48]

Septima Clark and Mary Church Terrell suffered the loss of children shortly after birth. Clark was so distraught after the death of her week-old infant that she almost convinced herself that it was God's punishment for her getting

married against her parents' wishes.[49] Mary Church Terrell's first three children died shortly after their births. One scholar asserts that as a result of those deaths, Terrell threw herself into her work--organizing black women into the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), which became a surrogate child. And, if indeed, language is thought, then an article that Terrell wrote in 1900 does suggest that the NACW was, for her, a substitute child. It read, in part:

> "So tenderly has this child of the organized womanhood of the race been nurtured, and so wisely ministered unto by all who have watched prayerfully and waited patiently for its development, that it comes before you today a child, hale, hearty, and strong, of which its fond mothers have every reason to be proud."[50]

For Portia Washington Pittman, it was the illness of a child which traumatized her. Her father expressed concern that she was in "great danger of breaking down nervously." The full-time nurse and wet nurse for the child could not ease her burden, which was much more than physical. After several months, her son did begin to regain his good health, and he eventually recovered completely. But Pittman wrote after the ordeal, which was exacerbated by the family's financial instability, "I am so worried and nervous [that] I don't know what to do."[51]

Recently, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg described how in extreme instances some women responded to inadequate

preparation for the wife/mother roles and/or dissatisfaction with some aspect of their lives. Although these responses are probably not peculiar to women, other scholars revealed similar examples in the lives of women who were high achievers. Kathryn Kish Sklar noted that for Catharine Beecher, illness or invalidism became a way of escaping her own definition of women as submissive and weak yet with an abundance of self-denying strength. And Allen Davis described similar cases of mental and physical illnesses in the life of Jane Addams in particular and commented on the insecurities and illnesses of intellectuals in general.[52]

Among the lower-level professional black women workers studied here, the origins of stress were often slightly different. In many cases, probably simple physical exhaustion was an important element: the result of trying to fulfill several role expectations at once. Among this group were some of the oldest and youngest cohort members, which may be an indication that the women often attempted to be all things to all people, reflecting a statement made by Addie Watts Hunton, turn-of-the-century president of the Atlanta Women's Club. Hunton wrote:

> It is generally admitted that the most womanly woman is she who, while making her hearthstone her throne [and] her children, her jewels, can still have a warm heart and a ministering hand for the crying needs of humanity.[53]

In Beulah Hester's case, after she married her minister

husband, they were always short of money. Once they moved to Massachusetts where her husband was going to work at the Twelfth Street Baptist Church, Hester began to go to school at Boston University where she was taking courses in religious education. But because of the shortage of money, she also took in some lodgers and boarders and gave private music lessons. She was going to church, going to school, keeping house for her family and several additional lodgers, preparing all of their meals, and teaching music. It was more than she could handle, and she had a nervous breakdown.[54]

Mabel Staupers' work detail was no less rigorous. Staupers was married, served as Executive Secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, and she constantly travelled throughout the country as field representative of the organization. As a result of being overworked, Staupers attempted to resign from her job several times. But she was such a valuable worker in the organization that her first resignation prompted Estelle Massey Osborne to write to M. O. Bousfield at the Rosenwald Foundation for his opinion on how to respond. They both agreed that they should try to keep Staupers, and Bousfield wrote to Staupers on the same day that he replied to Osborne's letter. He told Staupers that first of all it would be a mistake for her to quit. He added:

> I think you have done very well and I doubt that the the person whom you suggested could do as much. I sympathize thoroughly with your belief in your illness and I feel that giving up now would probably confirm that opinion in your own mind and would perhaps not be the best thing for you. You are doing a better job than you think you are and as soon as you begin to believe this, you will get better.[55]

Staupers subsequently withdrew her resignation and wrote to Bousfield that she "went to a very good nerve specialist who feels as you do about my health. I am working hard to make myself realize that I am better."[56]

Lula McNeil's case was hardly different from those of Staupers and Hester. McNeil's community people were so proud of her when she graduated from high school that they paid for her to further her education so that she could come back home and teach school. But McNeil hated teaching, and at her first opportunity, she left home and went to New York to take the "business courses" -- shorthand, typing, business English, and bookkeeping -- that she always preferred. But while she was in school, she also had to work. By the time she came home for the Christmas holiday, she was so ill from exhaustion that her mother refused to allow her to return. After staying home for a time, McNeil began to teach again but had to return home very shortly, ill again. This time, McNeil commented, "I stayed home a year just to get my nerves together because I really was a nervous wreck." The first instance of McNeil's illness is

clearly an example of the manifestations of exhaustion-induced stress. But in the second instance, perhaps McNeil's response was very similar to Carrol Smith-Rosenberg's nineteenth-century women. She did not want to teach, and when she had to, she became ill. After staying home for a year "getting her nerves together," McNeil went to nursing school where students had to work as a part of their education, and they had to study and maintain a certain grade average. But McNeil noted no more instances of "nervous disorders."[57]

In one other example, Julia Smith spoke of stressful situations which led to her having nervous breakdowns. Smith said that in 1936, she had to get away from her work for a short time, and she in fact went to Bermuda because her health was bad, she was teaching in crowded classes, and she was generally overworked. She said as a result of those things her "nerves collapsed." She used a similar expression to describe her emotional state in her later years after screaming with all of her strength when she discovered that burglars were inside her bedroom with her. She said when she screamed, she "shattered every nerve" in her body, and as a result, she completely isolated herself for three years. In her words, she went into "hibernation" for three years.[58]

Probably one of the most interesting gender-related

aspects of the women's lives was their position on feminism and women's rights in general and sometimes unconscious acknowledgements of feminism. Among the few women for whom there is evidence of their positions on women's rights, their comments range from being staunch feminists to claiming that they really did not understand what the movement was about.

The feminist/women's rights issues about which the women expressed concern were varied but not detailed, and, therefore, little more than highlights of their ideas are available. Ophelia Egypt said she was not an advocate of abortion herself, but she believed that abortion ought to be an available alternative for those who wanted it. Lucy Mitchell compared abortion to radical mastectomy. She said whether to have one or not was a matter that only the woman and her doctor should determine.[59]

As indicated above, Terrell was consistent in her position on women's rights, but among the other women, the positions on women's rights were inconsistent. Lucy Mitchell called herself a feminist. She supported the passage of an Equal Rights Amendement and the access of women to birth control information and abortion. Miriam Matthews said she did not approve of all of the aspects of the women's rights movement and would probably not call

herself a "women's libber" but ironically, she also said ". . . I approve anything that promotes the welfare and equal rights of women."[60]

Several of the other women's records provide what might be the most suggestive observations of all. Florence Edmonds' comment on the women's rights movement was that she never had a problem finding work. She said she got where she was by working, and she just kept on working after her husband died. Eunice Laurie said she could not see how her gender hampered her. She even believed that had she chosen to be a physician instead of a nurse, she could have. She added that she never thought of being a doctor simply because nurses were closer to patients, which is what she wanted. Beulah Hester's thoughts on feminism/women's rights were, at best, confused. She said that she did not see that a woman must be equal to a man. But she added that although she did not accept the movement and would not be a part of it herself, she did not criticize it. But Hester also said she believed that there were some things that women <u>could</u> do and some things that men <u>should</u> do. (my emphases) Then she continued by talking about women's over-exerting themselves physically and, as she put it, "bringing themselves down." Norma Boyd expressed an attitude similar to Laurie's and Edmonds'. She said she really did not know what a women's liberation movement could do for her because she had always

done what she wanted to do. She continued that women should get equal pay for equal work, but she added:

> If I am in the home, then my obligation is to make that a happy home. My children and my husband should be thinking of me as a center of love and understanding. I believe that the trouble in the world today is children do not have [a] home life. I think women are running out of the home because they just don't want the responsibility. They feel the home is too limited -- but they limit it.

Boyd's speech evckes the life Catharine Beecher, probably the most famous proponent of the cultivation of domesticity in women. Just as Beecher did, Boyd eloquently explained what marriage, motherhood, and domesticity should/could be while being, herself, a single, childless, professional, working woman.[61]

The women's positions on women's rights and feminism reflect a number of things. They associated women's rights with economic issues, and because they almost always always worked, some consequently saw no value in the movement for themselves. And perhaps their upbringing, which in many instances lacked gender-specificity and included huge doses of a "self-help" philosophy (i.e., "you can do anything you want to do"), made them independent to the point that they were blind to the things that they could not do because of their gender. This may be particularly applicable for the middle-generation women who were not witnesses to the suffrage movement and other early women's rights struggles

and who took for granted their ability to vote, work outside the home while married, and other things for which the older women fought.

Undoubtedly, the time and place of the women's births and the ways in which they were socialized as children had some impact on their positions concerning women's issues. But the positions of the women could and did change as a result of their life experiences. Examples from the life of Portia Washington Pittman provide good evidence of this. When she was a teenager, during an interview with her on the education of girls, she agreed with her father that whenever possible, girls should have access to education, but she added:

> "The mind of the Negro woman, as we see it, takes more readily, though, to music and to domestic science than to the subjects which could be classed as more particularly academic, and the poor girls with whom we have to deal sorely need just such instruction as they are getting under my father."

This interview indicated a thorough acceptance of her father's philosophy. But in her old age, Pittman commented that because of her attempts to be exclusively a housewife after her husband moved the family to Texas, she thoroughly understood the need that contemporary women expressed to live an independent life.[62]

Similarly, life experiences probably had some influence on the attitudes of Terrell and Mitchell. Mary Church

Terrell and Lucy Mitchell were the strongest feminists. But Terrell was from a different generation from practically all of the women and lived much of her adult life during a period in which restrictions on women were most severe. And Lucy Mitchell, early in her life, needed to terminate a pregnancy and to prevent any future pregnancies simply to protect her life. For both women, individual experiences provided a compelling reason to advocate women's rights.

The discussion of the gender-related experience of the women of this study reveals many patterns. The major ones were: (1) the childhood experiences of these subjects included aspects that were traditional middle-class values such as chastity and domesticity; (2) in some instances, parents went beyond traditional middle-class encouragement of achievement and in fact encouraged public achievement; (3) as adults, the single women sometimes and the married women always functioned within traditional domestic realms, but they functioned equally well outside that domestic environment; (4) as adult women in families, they rarely (as far as the evidence goes) were victims of family-member, male-dominant oppression, and in fact they were recipients of a profusion of support and encouragement from male family members; (5) it was not uncommon for these women, in their efforts to be great achievers in domestic,

educational, and occupational spheres, to succumb to illnesses often described as "nervous disorders" or physical exhaustion; and (6) on feminism, the women's position ranged from being ardent supporters to those who saw no relevance in the women's rights movement in their lives. And there is perhaps a high correlation between their position and their life experiences.

All of these patterns have some direct relation to each other in that the socialization process of the women's upbringing did have a profound impact on the rest of their lives, but not in the same limiting, restrictive way that Hilda Smith and other historians of white women detail. Instead, a significant enough portion of that socialization imbued the women with the belief that there was little that they could not do.

Other aspects of their life experiences no doubt reinforced that view. For example, Julia Smith, who explained her family history in great detail, provided this information. She had four maternal great aunts. One taught French to wealthy white women. The other three taught school, and one of them was one of the first black public-school teachers in Washington, D.C. Among five paternal aunts, one was the first black school teacher in Boston. Another was a Washington, D.C., public-school principal for

forty-two years. One was an accomplished graphic artist. And another was a mezzo-soprano concert artist. The last one was a Boston school teacher. Her aunt Florence, to whom she was very close, traveled across the continent alone during the late nineteenth century when it was quite uncommon for women to do so.[63] Mary Church's mother was a very successful businesswoman long before her husband made his fortune. Miriam Matthews' mother left college to get married. But when Miriam's father opened his own business, he performed the physical labor while Miriam's mother ran the business.[64]

It is also possible that another aspect of the family histories of these women had some impact on their lives. The distances that these families travelled, economically and otherwise, was probably also important because it could contribute to the boundless world views that these women had. Mary Church Terrell's father, a former slave, became a millionaire. Her husband, Robert, was a former slave who became a Harvard "honor man" as she called him and a prominent lawyer and judge in the District of Columbia. Portia Washington Pittman's father was born a slave, and he became one of the most influential men in the country during his lifetime. And Angelina Grimke's father, Archibald, and her uncle Francis, also former slaves, received formidable educations and had impressive careers.[65]

Many of the parents were "exodusters" of one form or another in that they picked up their families, their households, and their lives and moved because they believed they could live better somewhere else. Mabel Staupers' father came from Barbados to New York for a better life. Charlemae Rollins' father took his family to Oklahoma Territory to start anew. Miriam Matthews' father moved his family from Florida to California. And Jean Arkhurst's grandfather pulled up stakes and took his family from the southern United States to Australia.[66] There are probably more examples among those women whose recorded remembrances do not include other specific references. But still it is clear that within the experiences of these women were pieces of family history that encouraged these women to believe, even if unconsciously, that there was little that they could not do. And, of course, wherever family members directly encouraged the women, it could only help. The women seemed to have no limit to what they believed they could do, except, of course, in the instances where they worked themselves to the point of exhaustion because of that powerful self determination. And perhaps because of that self determination, they were able to and did forget the limits imposed by conventional gender roles outside of the primary environments where they were wives, sisters, mother, and daughters.

Finally, if the above presentation is a valid one, an answer to why so few of the women were activist feminists throughout their lives is obvious. More importantly, perhaps, it also helps to explain why some aspects of the larger women's movement did not attract many black women. Several scholars have previously described in detail the racism that permeated the women's rights movement from its origins to the present day. Bell Hooks called the white women feminists "racial imperialists" in her thorough discussion, Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism. Angela Davis and Paula Giddings provided additional detailed accounts of black women's history that also explore and explain the attempts of black women to participate within the larger feminist movements.[67]

All three authors also appropriately point out that while the racism of white women feminists historically prevented black women from being active in the larger women's rights movement, the black women also lacked interest in feminist movements or were not attracted to it because of the classist nature of many of the issues around which the movement formed. Jean Noble labeled them "Miss Anne's Causes," and Toni Morrison described the movement as a "ladies liberation movement" that had not moved beyond middle-class issues or support.[68]

And finally, a third group of studies share in the

attempt to explain the interconnectedness of caste, class, and gender in explaining why black women largely remained aloof to the women's rights movement. Studies such as Bonnie Thornton Dill's recent article, "Race, Class and Gender: Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood," point out the mistrust among black women toward white women feminists whose feminism seemed personal and individualistic.[69] Moreover, several of these studies pointed out the difficulty (if not impossibility) of black women's recognizing patriarchy as their number-one enemy. "A Black Feminist Statement," a position paper of the Combahee River Collection, explained that black women could not afford to fractionalize black people by gender.[70]

All of the arguments concerning class and "racial" biases in the women's movements as factors that inhibited black female participation are useful analyses, and they are valid as far as they go. And understanding those biases within the movement to end sexism is important, but at this point someone needs to address not the flaws in feminist movements (though they were real and ever present) but instead, why in other instances--in the majority of instances--black women at best did not understand and, at worst, chose not to participate in those movements. That they had more compelling "race work" to do is as overworked as an explanation as the racism-in-the-feminist-movement

conclusion is. Lower level professional black women leaders saw no compelling reason to be feminists. Generally, they did not view themselves as sexually oppressed. They were told by family members and they believed, perhaps erroneously, that they could do anything they wished. As far as they could tell, their gender had no inhibiting impact on what they could or could not do. Barbara Harris called her first chapter in Beyond Her Sphere: Women in the Professions, "An Ideology of Inferiority. . . ." These women (black professionals) inherited no such ideology--at least not one based on gender.[71] Perhaps even the language concerning sexual oppression specifically was outside the perception of these women because in their lives and within their primary environments, gender rarely ever played a significantly restrictive, oppressive role.[72]

In fact, while in most ways examined here (sexuality and sexual division of labor), these women appear to be extremely conventional, the ways in which their parents insisted on independence and the extreme manner in which the parents, husbands, and brothers urged public accomplishments in these women were not very typical when compared to middle class women historically. And those two factors had a profound impact on the views of these black professional women with regard to women's movements.

Chapter 7

Consciousness of Kind: The Binding Tie of "Race"

The two major issues of this chapter concern the status of the women in the larger society and their response to that status. The first part of the chapter is about the external factors that continually influenced the lives of the women. The experiences of these women reveal that throughout their childhoods, educational processes, travels, and work, the caste system had no small influence. Contrary to the thesis of William Julius Wilson's controversial work, The Declining Significance of Race, in which he claimed that so-called racial-group membership is becoming less significant in determining the circumstances of individuals' lives while class is becoming more important, based on the experiences of the women of this study, little changed, and at most, racial-group membership became more important.[1] In fact, various aspects of the segregation system were visible from the childhood experiences of the women to their adulthood, in their educational processes, travels, and work. And because the women were born over almost seventy-five years, the consistency of the influence of their "racial" group membership is clear, even while the class backgrounds of the women, previously discussed, changed.

The second part of this chapter concerns internal evidence: the ways in which the women chose to respond to specific incidents in their day-to-day situations. The women saw themselves as more than middle class persons, workers, women, or Americans, although they were clearly all of those things. A major part of their identity was "racial." And, interestingly, it appears that the women, in fact, had a hierarchy of loyalties that began with, as Tony Martin entitled his book on Marcus Garvey, "*Race First*."

This chapter depends heavily on the use of the term "caste." The first American scholar who suggested that the relationship between blacks and whites in the United States was a caste relationship was W. Lloyd Warner. Warner defined the relationship as one "in which the privilege, duties, obligations, opportunities, etc., are unequally distributed between the groups, which are considered higher and lower." Warner continued, "There are social sanctions which tend to maintain this unequal distribution. . . . A caste organization can be further defined as one where marriage between [the] . . . groups is not sanctioned and where there is no opportunity for members of the lower group to rise into the upper groups or for the members of the upper to fall into the lower ones.[2] Although a number of scholars took issue with Warner's description of the

American segregation system as a caste system this chapter utilizes the phrase, American caste system, because there were more similarities than differences between the Indian caste system and the American segregation system and because of the general acceptance and broad understanding of the term.[3]

The second term that requires some explanation is "race." The term is generally understood or misunderstood in terms of genetic inheritance. But recently, the term has come to have a popular social meaning. Indicative of that shift in usage, Monroe Edmonson wrote in A Dictionary of the Social Sciences that "It may be noted that the term 'social race' is used with increasing frequency to refer to socially visible or institutional racial or quasi-racial distinctions. . . ."[4] In this chapter, the term "race" refers to the widely understood but rarely explicitly stated, "social race." The importance of this distinction was made clearest by Allison Davis et al. They wrote: "'by all the physical tests the anthropologist might apply, some social Negroes are biologically white;' hence the term "race" cannot have [a biological?] meaning when applied to Negroes." Cox added that "We should remember here, . . . that the racial situation in the South never depended upon 'physical tests of anthropologists.' It developed long before anthropometry became of age. Furthermore, the

sociologist is interested, not in what the anthropometrists set up as their criteria of race but in what peoples in interaction come to accept as race. It is this latter belief which controls their behavior and not what the anthropometrist thinks."[5]

The activities of the women of this study reflect a collective concern that went far beyond the extended-family collectiveness that John Bodnar and others found common among lower-class white ethics. These women were working for "the race." And that work occurred on two levels: one, to advance the group; and, two to help create a truly democratic society (i.e., to eliminate the segregation system).

An examination of the lives of the women of this study reveals conclusively that "racial" group membership continued to have an impact (often negative) on how they were able to live their lives or, rather, was a constant environmental factor in their life circumstances. The evidence supporting this claim comes in two forms. One concerns "racial" relations, a factor essentially beyond the personal control of the women. The other concerns the choices that the women consciously made because they identified with "racial" group and were conscious of membership in it.

The External Evidence

The women whose life stories were retrievable for this study could very easily and accurately be called representatives of what DuBois called the "talented tenth." They were usually very well educated, most often better educated than their white counterparts. But as extraordinary as these women were, there were constant reminders that they were black. And the reminders of the rigid segregation system were present in every aspect of the women's lives including their family lives, schooling, and work.

Even while these women were children in families, there were disruptions in their family lives that were somehow related to their being black. Just after the Civil War, Irish rioters, who resented Mary Terrell's father's success, shot him in the back of the head and left him for dead in his business establishment. During Eunice Laurie's childhood in Georgia, Klan members attacked her father, who owned his own farm and home, because he was "living too well" for a black man. Later, the Klan accused him of aiding in the escape of a black man accused of shooting a policeman. After they began to shoot into Laurie's home, her father moved the family into a rented house while he continued to live in the original home until the harassment ended. And, similarly, it was necessary to reorganize Lucy

Mitchell's whole extended-family life when Klan activities endangered the lives of some of her family members. Her immediate family, her grandmother, and her uncle's family lived in homes that were next to each other in Daytona, Florida. Her uncle was a carpenter, and he not only built his home and manicured his lawn to everyone's envy, but he also built a restaurant and a movie theater for blacks to attend. The local Ku Klux Klan threatened his life several times, and after they started several fires at his home, he moved his family in with his mother until the circumstances improved. Later, the Klan attacked Mitchell's own home and several of the black men in the community moved into the house to protect and guard it, and the women and children in the family moved out for several weeks until the harassment tapered off.[6]

The women talked freely about the effects of racism in their lives, but they often used the term "prejudice" to describe the phenomenon. In explaining how racism affected her family life, Francis Grant said her first "real significant introduction to prejudice" came when she was young and still living with her parents. Grant's father, a very prominent Massachusetts dentist, died in 1916, and shortly after that the rest of the family moved into a different house. Grant's mother's "race" was not obvious to some people and certainly not to the owner of the house that

she found to rent. But the children, Francis and her sister, were more obviously black, and when they went to move into the house, the owner claimed that Mrs. Grant secured the house by pretending to be white. In order to evict the Grant family, the owner sold the house.[7]

Acts of persecution were numerous and varied during the time that these subjects were coming of age, and the examples above represent different generations and different geographical regions. Terrell, born in 1863, described incidents that occurred during the 1860s or 1870s. Laurie, Mitchell, and Grant were born between the mid-1890s and 1905, and the incidents that interrupted their families occurred in the 1910s and 1920s. Additionally, Laurie and Grant lived in the deep South; Terrell lived in a border state; and Grant lived in a New England state. But even on the West Coast in the 1950s, whites set fire to Thelma Dewitty's Washington home because they did not want her to live in their neighborhood, and before they accepted that she was not leaving, they even planted a fire bomb in her car.[8]

Even the staunchest supporters of civil and political equality for blacks backed down when the threat of "racial" amalgamation was too close. Angelina Grimké's mother was white and the daughter of a liberal Midwestern minister. When he discovered that Archibald Grimké, his daughter's

intended, was black, he actually wished himself dead. He wrote to his daughter on one occasion,

> I have advocated every measure for their [blacks'] full enfranchisement to civil and religious liberty and the opening of our schools and colleges for their education and culture, but amalgamation always seemed unnatural and revolting. Toward them I cherish none but philanthropic feelings but to give them my beautiful accomplished daughters for wives seems perfectly abhorrent. . . . I am ready to welcome death.[9]

Sarah Stanley married Archibald Grimké anyway, and they had one child, Angelina Weld Grimké, but the marriage lasted only a few years. Angelina went with her mother to live with her family, but that arrangement did not last, either. Sara Grimké wrote to her former husband in 1887:

> She [Angelina] needs that love and sympathy of one of her own race which I am sure her father still has for her, but which is impossible for others to give. My own family kind and anxious as they are to do right, do not. Neither is it possible for them to give her the love she requires to make her good and happy, and a child cannot be good unless it is also happy. It is almost impossible for her to be happy with me, try as I will, because she is getting old enough to see and feel the thoughts of others, which the difference in race and color naturally engender regarding her.[10]

Caste-related problems continued throughout the women's adult lives. Mary Church Terrell recalled her attempts to buy a house in the nation's capital. She described in detail the many realtors who were willing to rent her a house but who were not willing to sell her one. Most would not even sell her a house in a neighborhood where other

blacks lived (but rented). When she finally found someone willing to sell her a house, the realtor required a much larger deposit than advertisements noted, and he raised the total purchase price by several thousand dollars.[11]

Another primary area of discrimination concerned the schooling of the women. Cyclical changes in educational patterns have already been described. The older women attended integrated schools throughout their lives. The middle group of women generally attended segregated institutions for their primary, secondary, and undergraduate education. And when they were able to take advantage of fully or partially integrated educational institutions for graduate training, the youngest women were also beginning to enter, for their first degree, the reintegrated schools.

The older women had more freedom to go to school where they wanted and could afford to go, but they did not necesarily receive warm welcomes. Angelina Grimké's experience at Wellesley is one example. Although there are no indications of what specifically the incident was, Charlotte Forten Grimké wrote her niece, at Wellesley in 1899:

> Tell us exactly what the situation is there and if, as we do most earnestly hope, you are more pleasantly situated and find the prejudices not so great as you supposed. In such a large school, in New England too, there certainly must be some friendly ones [whites]; and you and Tessa [Lee Conneley], being together, can afford to ignore any unpleasantness which I suppose

> must always exist in the minds of some where so many are gathered together. . . .[12]

Portia Washington's early schooling was probably difficult enough because she was who she was. It was bad enough that she, the daughter of a man more famous for advocating segregated industrial/vocational education for blacks than for any of his other endeavors, attended the best, integrated, college preparatory schools and liberal arts colleges in the country between 1895 and 1905. The black anti-Washington press, especially any paper for which Monroe Trotter (whom Washington's supporters called "The Boston Skunk") wrote, made Portia's presence in New England somewhat of a national scandal. Coupled with her necessary isolation because of the media, she also had to endure the persecution of some of her classmates, who personally objected to her presence. When one newspaper reporter asked Portia about "racial" snubs she allegedly incurred at Wellesley, she diplomatically responded: "the [white] southern woman's feelings about social intercourse with colored people is a thing beyond her control. Education had not been so effectively directed to this weakness of hers that she is able to overcome it." Subsequently, the anti-Washington Press suggested that one of the reasons that Portia left Wellesley was because her presence divided the students into Northern and Southern factions.[13] Much of the

ruckus was indeed stimulated by the anti-Washington press. But Pittman's biography, written many decades later, claims that because she was black she also lived a very lonely existence at Framingham Academy until her classmates discovered her talents as a pianist, after which she received invitations to play for numerous parties, dances, and the like. Her biographer also asserted that Portia's life at school was difficult and lonely because of the influence of the parents of her Southern classmates.[14]

Americans sometimes also carried their biases overseas. While traveling to Europe in 1905, most of the people on the ship travelling with Portia Washington and her chaperone, Jane Ethel Clark, assumed that they were East Indians. But one Southern white woman absolutely refused to eat in the same dining room with "Negras," at least not until she realized who the two were. When she discovered that they were the daughter of Booker T. Washington and the "lady principal" of Tuskegee, the woman could not get close enough. After they arrived in Germany, in an effort to help Portia settle in quickly, Clark helped her find a boarding house near the studio where she was to study because Clark remembered that when she attended Oberlin, students who lived near the school were more receptive of her presence than the community at large was. But still, some incidents resulted in Portia's moving. It is not clear what happened

or who was involved, but about the incident or incidents, Portia wrote to her father in her accommodationist manner, "I have had many unpleasant experiences in this boarding [house] this year, but it is all good experience for me and I know human nature much better than ever before."[15]

Similar unpleasantries marred Mary Church's educational experience in Europe between 1888 and 1890. Two American men (one from Baltimore and one from Washington, D.C.) came to live at the pension where she lived. Very shortly after their arrival the owner called Church in to talk with her. When she asked Mary her nationality, she responded American. The lady then asked her about her skin complexion and whether or not she could go into hotels in the United States. Church responded that since her childhood, she had always stayed in the best hotels. Then the owner got to the core of the matter. She said that the men from the United States told her that Mary was a "Negro" and that no self-respecting American would associate with her in the United States and that if she allowed Church to stay at her house, no decent Americans would stay with her in the future. Church informed her that such conditions existed only in part of the United States, but that she would cause the owner no further embarrassment and would leave. The owner subsequently regretted the whole incident (or was a great pretender) and tried to convince Terrell to stay. But

Terrell insisted that she could no longer stay and maintain her self-respect.[16]

The struggle for graduate and professional education during the adult years of younger women presented similar confrontations. Florence Edmonds had to leave her home town of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, around 1918 for her nursing education. When she applied to the local hospital training school for training, they did not refuse to admit her. They simply said they had never admitted a black student before and advised her to apply to the Lincoln Hospital and Home Training School for Nurses in New York City. When Estelle Osborne went to Columbia University to work on a graduate degree in nursing in 1930, some administrators did all they could to prevent her from taking "critic teaching" courses because no blacks had ever taken them. She bullied her way into the courses anyway and had no problems with the students she critiqued. Ophelia Egypt, a medical social worker, won a scholarship in the mid-1920s to Washington University in Missouri from the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, and she accepted it. But the University was segregated, and so while she could take her hospital courses at the hospital, because she could not attend University classes, the social services department gave her a private tutor. And, finally, the segregationist policies of the state of Texas paid for Thelma DeWitty to

attend graduate school in Seattle, Washington. Black students could not attend any white school in Texas, and the only graduate school for blacks was at Prairie View A & M. DeWitty did not want to go to school there, and so she chose a major not offered there. In such cases, it was the policy of the state to pay the tuition of the student to go out of state for his or her education because there was an instate program (at the white school) but the state laws prohibited black student enrollment.[17]

The impact of the segregation system was most visible in the work environment of the women. The caste system more often than not determined where the women worked, very often determined with whom they worked, and it undoubtedly determined the conditions under which they worked. There were very few variations in the work experiences of these women with regards to the segregation system: women who entered the work force in the nineteenth century had very similar experiences to those of women who entered the work force in 1940. The experiences reported were similar in New York, Washington, California, Colorado, Alabama, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. In other words, neither the geographic location nor the time period had much impact on the effectiveness of the discrimination. And in general, the day-to-day ncidents in the work lives of all the women reveal how startlingly similarly the segregation system was

over time and across the country.

Mary Church Terrell's first realizations of how her caste position could impede her fulfillment of the "yankee protestant ethic," which she learned as a student in Ohio, came while she was a college student at Oberlin. As a student, Terrell hoped that she could take advantage of the summer months by working as other students did. One year she headed for New York as soon as school was out. Almost immediately, she got two appointments for interviews based on her qualifications, but she did not get either job after the prospective employer discovered that she was not white. Later on, two different women hired her as their secretary but subsequently dismissed her upon discovering that she was black. In one instance, the employer was simply a bigot, and in the other, the woman was genuinely afraid that the rest of her staff would quit if they discovered that they were working with a black woman. Terrell gave up hopes of finding an acceptable summer job.[18]

When Terrell did graduate from college, her first job was at Wilberforce College, the oldest black college in the country, and from there she went to the "M" Street school (later called Dunbar High School) in Washington, D.C. Dunbar was the first public, college preparatory, high school in the country for blacks, and when Terrell went there it was one of two such schools in the country. And while the

start of World War I some fifteen years later helped to open up the job market for white women, at first it had no such effect for Terrell. She took the civil-service exam after the war started and passed the exam. On her original federal employment application, in the space next to "race," she wrote "American." Still, somehow, she received a clerical appointment. But soon her employer realized that all of her previous jobs were with black institutions (i.e., that she was black), and she lost her job. Even more amazingly, she received another call to go to work in the War Risk Insurance Bureau as a clerk. But her supervisor mistakenly assigned her to work in a "white" typing room. When the embarrassed supervisor discovered the mistake, he accused her of being incompetent and uncooperative and dismissed her. When she got another federal position, it was in a black workroom of the Census Bureau.[19]

Septima Clark, living in South Carolina, probably entertained no illusions about where she might get a job. When she graduated from Avery Normal in 1916, no black person could teach in any South Carolina public school. Her first teaching job was in a one-room school on St. Johns Island off the coast of South Carolina. She recalled that the trustees of the school were responsible for providing "an ax, a water bucket and dipper, a table and a chair, and, later, the firewood." Students sat on benches with no

backs, and they had no desk tops. Her salary was twenty-five dollars a month (compared to the eighty-five dollars a month that white teachers earned), and she taught 132 students (compared to white teachers' load of three to eighteen students). She lived in an unfinished attic in which the only heat came from the big chimney (not a fireplace) which ran through it. The house had no running water and no electricity, and in order to have a warm bath Clark had to wait until everyone was asleep and bathe downstairs, in the dark, by the fireplace. Once a month the oppressive nature of the whole experience became even more amplified when Clark went to have her pay voucher signed. No matter what the weather conditions were like, the white trustee who had to sign her pay voucher never invited her inside his home. If he were eating or otherwise occupied, she stood or sat on the porch until he was available to come and sign her voucher.[20]

By the 1920s, after a successful campaign to allow black teachers to teach in the black Charleston public schools, Clark was able to return to the mainland to teach. But once on the mainland, she was not satisfied simply to teach. She became very active in the YWCA and the NAACP. Participation in both institutions cost her dearly, both emotionally and financially. In one instance, Clark's YWCA work took her along with two white women to the mayor's

office to discuss the lack of recreational facilities for black boys and the YWCA's need of a policeman on major-event days. Although their discussion produced the necessary results, the mayor seated the two white women when they entered then he sat down himself with his back to Clark. As a member of the NAACP, Clark became involved in a salary equalization campaign. In what city officials no doubt viewed as retaliation, (and in the hope of avoiding equalization) they began to require National Teacher's Exams for appointments. Clark had no problems scoring well on the exam. Probably many of the "agitators" did well, because not long after that, city education officials turned to another strategy. They sent questionnaires that included questions about the teachers' organizational affiliations to all of the teachers. Clark was one of the few who was fearless enough to admit membership in the NAACP, and she subsequently lost her job.[21] After more than forty years of teaching in South Carolina schools, almost thirty of them in the public school system, Clark lost all of her retirement benefits. She went from South Carolina to the Highlander Folk School, a unique, experimental, integrated school created during the 1920s to help teach poor Appalachian people social, cultural, and basic survival skills (nutrition, reading, voting, etc.). Clark worked there until Tennessee officials closed the school down for

violating the state's integration laws and for engaging in commercial activities.[22]

In the 1940s, Elva Dulan was one of the first black nurses hired by the Baltimore, Maryland, city hospitals. She worked in the segregated, black, tuberculosis wards. When she left only eight months later, it was because the Red Cross was finally accepting black nurse recruits for the Army Nurse Corps. Dulan subsequently became one of the first blacks at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina. While she was at Ft. Bragg, black and white officers had separate living quarters, separate recreation halls, and, as soon as a second one was constructed, separate mess halls. Black officers could not go into the Officers' Club, but there was not one for them. When she left Ft. Bragg for Ft. Huachuca, Arizona, it was to help set up a separate black hospital.[23]

After she came out of the military, Dulan completed a bachelor's degree in nursing and in 1946 became a visiting nurse for the local public health agency servicing the Five Points Area of Denver, primarily a low income, black/brown neighborhood. In 1951, she completed a master's degree in Public Health Nursing Supervision but could not get a promotion because the director of the Public Health Department would not allow a black nurse to supervise white nurses. She worked there for nine years with no promotions. She then went to the Tri-County Health Department, where she

stayed for four years as an assistant supervisor. She left in 1963, she said, because the medical director would not promote her to full supervisor, and after the promotion of two less-qualified white nurses, Dulan commented that she could not remain and keep her self respect.[24]

The women born between 1900 and 1920 who entered the work force between 1920 and 1945 also ran up against the wall of segregation. But demographic changes in society, strains on city/state budgets, and the resulting necessary reorganization of work institutions mandated the lowering of Jim Crow barriers to some extent. Among this group of workers there were some signs of changes in the structural (i.e., segregated) organization of the work institution, but there were not necessarily any changes in the attitudes of whites about having blacks there, nor was there any more commitment to improving the working conditions for those still in segregated environments. Among the youngest women in this group, a few others, like Elva Dulan started working in the 1940s in integrated environments but with black clients only, and they usually worked in large urban areas, more often than not in the North.

When Estelle Massey (Riddle Osborne, b. 1901) completed her nursing training in the 1920s, she took the state board examinations and achieved the highest average score of all the students in the state of Missouri, black or white. But

a few months later a white classmate received an appointment over Osborne at the hospital where they worked. Osborne's supervisor straightforwardly advised her: "You know if you really want to make a name for yourself, you ought to go over to People's hospital (?) and reorganize that place." Massey did move on to St. Louis' City Hospital No. 2 (later named Homer G. Phillips Hospital), and found that the conditions there were horrifying. The hospital was in a facility discarded by a white medical school (Barns Hospital). Even the city's fire department protested the conditions of the building.[25]

As far as the sources reveal, Beulah Whitby (b. 1902), a social worker, worked in an integrated environment from the beginning of her career. She worked in Detroit beginning in 1931 during the depth of the depression and at the time when black migration to northern cities was continually increasing. She worked for the integrated Department of Public Welfare, but she worked in the Alfred District, the largest of all the city's districts and an almost all-black district. Despite administrative integration, the social worker's case loads were segregated. Whitby remarked that she could not visit a white family even if she were visiting a black family on the same street. No doubt this policy was administratively expensive at a time when the city could least afford the extra costs. And, of

course, her work with the city's Muslim population was also the result of the racism of the segregation system.[26]

Henrietta Smith Chisholm's (b. 1905) work place in Virginia was hundreds of miles away from Whitby's Detroit, and they were in different professions (Smith-Chisholm was a nurse). But the policies of the institutions for which they worked were essentially identical. Smith-Chisholm remarked that black nurses in Virginia could care only for black patients, and as a visiting nurse, neither she, nor any other black visiting nurse, was ever allowed to do hourly work in which they could earn more money and have more choice regarding work assignments. Only white nurses had those opportunities. Neither could black nurses go out on delivery (midwifing) calls, because the patient might be white. But Smith-Chisholm was the only one of some 60 women whose experiences appear in this study who sounded angry about work segregation. She said that sometimes she would be in a "poor white trash" neighborhood when some white person called her for her services. She always absolutely refused and informed the person that she would send someone the next day. Of course, she was following the policy of the department, but she added, "I'm just as much of a segregationist as they are."[27]

At least Smith-Chisholm did not have to withstand the conditions that Lula McNeil did as a public health nurse.

In the 1930s, McNeil worked in a South Hampton County, Virginia, integrated public health department with segregated work loads. South Hampton County covered 604 square miles, and ten to eleven thousand whites and sixteen to seventeen thousand blacks lives there. But while there were two white county public-health nurses, McNeil was the only black one.[28]

Many of the women in the later groups were born during the years when blacks of all classes and locales strongly embraced the philosophy of self help.[29] They began their working careers either during the 1930s depression or around the start of World War II when A. Philip Randolph and others applied pressure on President Roosevelt by organizing the March on Washington Movement that resulted in Roosevelt's creating the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The very same women probably had not even thought of retirement when the historic _Brown v. Topeka Board of Education_ decision came down.

Those organized movements and the consequent legislation allowed more black workers to move into the mainstream of the labor market or at least made it illegal for prospective employers to use "racial" group membership to exclude anyone from employment. And, indeed, during the 1940s probably none of the women whose experiences appear below could have held the positions they held in the 1960s

and 1970s. Still, the significance of their "racial" group membership hardly declined over the decades.

Miriam Matthews' professional career as a librarian began in the 1930s when she graduated from the University of California at Berkeley School of Librarianship. Her practicum assignment was at the Helen Hunt Jackson branch of the Los Angeles Public library, which was in a predominantly black and Jewish neighborhood. While she was there, she often inquired about the possibility of permanent employment in the system and about the times when she could take the necessary civil service exam. On one occasion, she asked about the exam date, and her co-worker told her that the next exam date was in June. Actually, the next exam date was in May, and Matthews had to register that day in order to take the test. She successfully completed the exam, but she believed that the white librarians deliberately lied to her so that she would miss the exam and remain ineligible for the exam for another year and, thus, ineligible for a permanent job. She continued to work in the Los Angeles Public Library System doing substitute work for a time until she informed her supervisors that if she did not get a permanent position soon, she would return to college for her master's degree. Matthews believed that the white librarians' fear of her getting a master's degree frightened them into offering her a permanent job. No one else in the

system had a master's degree and they certainly did not want her to be the one with the advanced degree.[30]

Matthews believed that her supervisors often conspired against her during her tenure with the Los Angeles Public Library system. In 1940 she took a six-month leave of absence without pay to work and study in the New York Library system. When she returned she was about to be laid off because her supervisors failed to report the reason for her absence. Her immediate supervisor insisted that she sent a letter of explanation, but when Matthews went from place to place trying to locate the letter, she realized that the letter did not exist. She consequently typed up a letter of explanation herself, took it to her supervisor to sign, turned it in to the appropriate authorities, and saved her job. In another instance, Matthews reported that she requested a transfer to a different library branch to get out of the rut in which she found herself. Shortly after her request, the library system instituted a program to rotate all librarians to prevent the same from happening to them. Administrators then rotated all of the city's librarians except Matthews.[31]

In 1944, Matthews went to the University of Chicago to earn her master's degree. Upon her return, she had few caste-related problems with her supervisors or peers. In fact, in spite of the protests of many, she received an

appointment to head the South Central region of the system involving twelve branches, sixty employees, and 1.25 million books. She worked in that capacity for eleven years.[32]

Matthews always worked successfully in her appointments, and so she was understandably appalled by a letter she found while researching the history of the Helen Hunt Jackson branch of the library system. That letter from the Assistant City Librarian to the City Librarian recommended that they experiment with an all-black staff at one of the branches. The librarian chose the Jackson (?) branch because it was in a "black, Jewish, and other foreign races" neighborhood and the users there would be more tolerant of a black librarian. If it did not work, they could go back to the old policy. The letter continued, "it is the only hope of promotion for Miss Matthews in our system. If she succeeds, the satisfaction and pride of her people will be great, and their loyalty increased. If the race reaction is not as we expect, it will be easy to return to our former policy of a white librarian in charge."[33] Matthews worked successfully in each of her capacities, but it was precisely that kind of assumption (that she would never be promoted in the integrated system) that practically all of these women had to fight. Matthews did not explain whether the implication of the letter was that she could not compete adequately with whites or that whites would not allow her to

supervise. But to all intents and purposes, both facets are illustrative of the same phenomenon.

Finally, there is one other area concerning "racial" relations and work that deserves some comment here. These women were in the workforce at a time when the professions were undergoing many changes. There were, for example, new professional programs in social work, nursing, and librarianship. Many hospital training schools had been transformed into separate nursing schools with separate professional staffs and with more rigorous admission and graduation standards. There were new licensing requirements in social work, teaching, and nursing. And within individual institutions, there were policies requiring periodic professional-practice reviews through in-service or outside class work.[34]

Many of the women of this study expressed a desire to keep abreast of the changes rapidly occurring in the professions. One of the simplest ways to fulfill that desire was to attend and participate in the professional meetings and associations. But even in the attempt to be quality professionals, caste barriers appeared. Although the barriers often prevented the active participation of these women, they carried on fierce campaigns to break down the barriers. Still, for many years, most of their efforts to keep informed of the current professional trends took place

within segregated institutions. Until the 1950s, the policy of the National Education Association, the American Library Association, and the American Nurses' Association ranged from total exclusion of blacks to allowing membership (dues paying) but prohibiting participation. Negative evidence suggests that black social workers did participate in their national organization.[35] Because of exclusions, black professionals formed their own organizations and continued to work in and through them to help maintain the quality of the professionals and to gain official recognition as professionals from the larger national groups.

All of the available evidence concerning the lives of these women indicates that the perceptions of racial-group membership and people's actions because of the perceptions continued to influence the lives of these women. Racism in the United States during the whole lives of these women was normal or institutional or caste-like. It was a cultural phenomenon: a part of the American culture. Those environmental factors, as has been suggested, affected all of the women greatly. There are, however, some indications that some changes did occur in the nature of the impact of racism. The oldest women, for example, most often endured physical endangerment. The older women recalled how their families were often the objects of violence spawned by local white organizations. Only one woman from the youngest

group, Thelma DeWitty, noted physical threats to her life, and in her case there is no indication that she was the victim of an organized hate group as the other women were.

Successful anti-discrimination cases and civil rights acts certainly could not change people's attitudes, but such factors would presumably influence where the women worked and the conditions under which they worked. And undoubtedly those cases were partly responsible for Jones's and Mathews' and others' coming eventually to hold high level jobs in integrated institutions. But for many black women workers, especially teachers, the occupation of most professional black women, the Brown decision had a most powerful negative impact. Among the women studied here, Frances Grant, who taught at the Bordentown School in New Jersey, lost her job as a result of the integration movement. The city fathers could not accept a coeducational, integrated, boarding school there. Many black teachers lost their jobs because of the closing of traditional black schools. But even more lost jobs because "integration" often meant placing ten or fifteen white teachers in a traditionally black school and placing only one or two black teachers in the traditionally white school.[36] And so, once again, perhaps the significance of caste factors changed in some cases, but it did not necessarily decline

The Internal Response

Chapter two examined in some detail the preoccupation of many scholars with the extent of "racial" consciousness among the black middle class. Similarly, much of that same literature addresses the role of black, middle-class professionals, especially in the black community. All of these discussions appear more complex when class consciousness and "racial" consciousness are complicated by the role of color. The presumption of those scholars who look at all three factors together is usually that the mulatto was an upper-class member of a lower caste. Sometimes that was indeed the case. But more often it was beside the point.

James Weldon Johnson's classic work, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, provides an excellent literary example of the potential complexity of the problem. In this work, the black, multi-lingual traveling companion of a very wealthy man decided that he wanted to go back to the United States, to the South, to "his people." His companion responded to his desire by saying:

> 'My boy, you are by blood, by appearance, by education, and by tastes a white man. Now, why do you want to throw your life away amidst the poverty and ignorance, in the hopeless struggle, of the black people of the United States? . . . This idea you have of making a Negro out of yourself is nothing more than a sentiment; and you do not realize the fearful import of what you intend to do. What kind of Negro would you make now, especially in the South? . . . I can imagine

> no more dissatisfied human being than an educated, cultured, and refined colored man in the United States. . . . My philosophy of life is this: Make yourself as happy as possible, and try to make those happy whose lives come in touch with yours; but to attempt to right the wrongs and ease the sufferings of the world in general is a waste of effort. You had just as well try to bale [sic] the Atlantic by pouring the water into the Pacific.'[37]

Charles Chesnutt, another careful observer of black society and a prominent late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century black writer, captured a different but yet similar viewpoint when one of his characters spoke, "'I have no race prejudice . . . but we people of mixed blood are ground between the upper and nether millstones. Our fate lies between absorption by the white race and extinction in the black. The one doesn't want us yet, but may take us in time. The other would welcome us, but it would for us be a backward step.'"[38]

On the surface, the mulatto group and, more generally, the upper classes did seem to be in an ambiguous position based on much of the literature, popular and scholarly, as indicated by the above examples. Johnson's character returned to the United States as a black man and later decided to pass for white. But among the women of this study, there was no confusion or conflict at all. Most of them were of mixed ancestry; all of them were middle class at least; and all of those who said anything about the topic were firmly dedicated to "the race" as if it were,

something tangible. Their lives repeatedly illustrated their consciousness of a group identity. As mentioned earlier, they heard about their "mission" from teachers, parents, and friends. Janie Porter Barrett got huge doses of "racial" solidarity lectures at Hampton Institute. Lucy Mitchell heard them at Mary McLeod Bethune's school in Daytona, Florida. Clara Jones's grandfather, a former slave, told her that she was not getting an education simply for herself. He told her, "you're doing it for your people." And when parents and teachers were not around to influence these women, friends did the job. For example, when Sadie Delaney could not decide whether or not to leave her nice job at the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library to go to Tuskegee, her good friend G. F. Tobias of the International Committee of the YMCA reminded her that it was the duty of the stronger and more experienced members of "the race" to serve at those black institutions that needed them most.[39]

Beyond the women's formative schooling, parents, and friends, there were many examples of role models that perhaps also made no small impression. Julia Smith reminisced about the faculty at Dunbar High School ("M" St. School) in Washington, D.C. She talked about Dunbar having the "best educated colored people in the country at that time." Norma Boyd attended Armstrong High School in

Washington, the second black public high school in the country. She compared the faculty there to Dunbar's faculty. Angelina Grimké was her English teacher. Her math teacher was a Princeton graduate, and the German teacher, Otelia Cromwell, completed her language studies in Europe. Elva Dulan went to a segregated primary and secondary school in Philadelphia. She reflected that the school had "a very brilliant principal, Mr. Arthur Faucett [sic], and superb black teachers. This was a different experience and a most meaningful one for the students; . . . we were so fortunate, because the principal and teachers spent a great deal of time informing us of Negro history. . . ." She added: "I think my basic educational foundation was the best because of these dedicated black men and women instructors." Clara Jones recalled that she studied black art, history, and literature at Spelman College. She said she was glad for that background since it made her respect the abilities and accomplishments of black people.[40]

The "racial" consciousness among the women was clear. They identified themselves first and completely with "the race." Septima Clark said that teaching at the segregated Avery Normal Institute (c. 1918) was the most important of her early work experiences because it was there that she first began her organized efforts to "improve the lot of my fellow Negroes." She added, "Sometimes I have the almost

certain feeling that I was providentially sent to Avery that year." Mary Church Terrell was in Europe when she accepted her "mission." When it was almost time for her to return to the United States, she was at first sad because she knew she would return to "humiliations, discriminations, and hardships" because of her "race." But she decided that she would be happier at home promoting "racial" equality than living free in Europe. She said she could not shirk her responsibility. When Clara Jones delivered the convocation address at the University of Michigan Library School in 1971, she proudly stated: "As an individual and a librarian, my interests encompass all interests and all people . . . . (But) my starting point of identification with mankind is that of an Afro-American, and from this point reaches out to all the world." Josiah Royce might have called Jones's position "enlightened provincialism."[41]

The group consciousness among these women helped to foster what was almost a mission in life to work for the advancements of blacks. And it is important to note that many of the women did have alternatives. Mary Church Terrell could have remained in Europe. She could have also accepted the offer of Oberlin College to become the school registrar. She would have been the only black person in the country at the time to hold such a position in a predominately white school. Nor do the lives of the women

indicate that they shaped the forms of their work because of a paternalistic sense of noblesse oblige. Instead the women studied here, many of whom did not have to work at all, for anybody, felt that they had a responsbility to work whenever possible for a truly democratic society and for the full acceptance of black people as human beings. Indicative of this, when Terrell composed the Creed of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, she wrote, "I will never belittle my race, but encourage all to hold it in honor and esteem." And she later wrote about her father's anger over her taking a job: "My conscience was clear, and I knew I had done right to use my training in behalf of my race."[42]

The attempts to facilitate a true democratic society and to push for racial equality and acceptance is readily apparent in the work, that these women did over their lifetimes. After Terrell left the classroom because she got married, she embarked on a career of educating a different audience by becoming a professional lecturer. Terrell lectured equally forcefully on the status of women and the status of blacks, and she often took advantage of her white female audiences to remind them that they should also be concerned about "the race problem." She spoke most often on "the injustice and brutality to which colored people are sometimes subjected," even though friends told her that those kinds of speeches would threaten her ability to earn a

living. She commented that she "felt that I could not be true to myself or to my race, if I did not . . . . tell the truth about the barbarities perpetrated upon representatives of the race. . . ."[43]

When Terrell received an invitation to address the International Congress of Women in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1919 her husband wrote to her that "everybody seems delighted to learn that you are going over and everybody knows that the colored Americans will have a real representative at the International Congress." And she did indeed use the platform to inform the audience of the contributions of black Americans. Terrell spoke on "The Colored Man's Part in the War," and she spoke in German "because (she) wanted to let as many foreign people as possible hear the truth and get the colored man's side of the story." She told her husband that she told "the plain, unvarnished, ugly truth" about blacks fighting for freedoms that they did not enjoy. And she added: "If I die tonight, I feel that after the real, tangible work accomplished in behalf of freedom, justice, and fair play for a handicapped, persecuted race, Thursday night, May 15, I will not have lived in vain."[44]

Terrell's public speaking career had its ups and downs. In one instance she wrote to her husband, "I tell you, white people like to hear disagreeable truth if one has tact and

good taste enough to present it (forcibly) but politely." But on another occasion she wrote, "It is a very nerve racking performance: this thing of representing my race and trying to please narrow-minded, white people, too." But she added, "Still I shall try." She often wrote home saying that she missed being there but that she would continue the work "because I really feel that I am putting the colored woman in a favorable light everytime I address an audience of white people, and every little bit helps."[45]

Terrell certainly had to believe that her work was doing some good, because the work did not pay very well. She usually earned fifteen to twenty-five dollars (over expenses) for each lecture she gave. But very often her remuneration barely covered her expenses. She once went to a town to give a lecture, and at the end of the program, the man who invited her gave her three dollars! She spent twenty dollars just to get there. But Terrell commented: "I was not on the lecture platform to make money, but to create sentiment in behalf of my race and to acquaint the public with facts which it did not know then and does not know today." She said she needed the money but did not turn down an invitation just because of it. But Terrell added that she could have become wealthy from her lecturing career if she had advised blacks to be docile, or if she "had

played the clown, and talked 'natural' [i.e., in lower-class dialect, quite unnatural to her] as one manager advised me to do. . . ."[46] She declined all the suggestions.

Just as Terrell refused to make a clown of herself, Jean Hutson refused advice of another kind. Hutson was a good friend of Carl Van Vechten and he always criticized her for taking life too seriously, and, in fact, he constantly apologized for her to his friends because she was not a "party girl." But their biggest disagreement came because she would not make the Schomburg Center into the elitist institution that he thought it should be. Hutson believed that the Schomburg belonged to the people, and Van Vechten disappointed her by establishing a collection at Yale that she believed was so elitist that access was almost impossible.[47]

Like Hutson, many of the librarians realized the importance of the role that they could play as black librarians in the struggle for fair and equal treatment of blacks, for improving the public stereotypical image of blacks, and for preserving and promoting the history of blacks. Barbara Miller, the youngest of the librarians, reported that she spent a large portion of her library budget in Kentucky on black books because of the previous neglect of black subject areas. She also said she hesitated

to order materials written in black dialect (and street slang) because she did not know whether it helped or hurt black children. Clara Jones spent a lot of her time with the Detroit Public Library System developing a manuscript collection on black Detroit. She acquired the papers of Madam Azalia Hackley, a nationally known black musician, music educator, and music scholar, and Jones made a bid on the Motown papers before the company moved to the west coast. While Jean Hutson worked at the Schomburg Center, she negotiated unsuccessfully to get the papers of Malcom X. In California, Miriam Matthews was probably the first person to organize black art exhibits. Her recognition and exhibition of Beulah Woodward's sculpture in 1935 at one of the library branches led to a one-woman show of Woodward's works at the Los Angeles County Museum. It was the first exhibit of its kind in California and probably in the country and received national media attention. Mathews acted as an unpaid agent to several fledgling black artist at the time.[48]

Another librarian whose whole life history was not available for this study provided similar accounts of her work. Augusta Baker, one of the nation's most prominent children's librarians and storytellers, began her career at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

Baker recalled that when she began to try to inform the young black patrons of their heritage, she could find very few books to supplement the discussion. The books that she did find were filled with negative stereotypical images. And so she and several library and community people began to search for adequate books. They established criteria by which to judge the books. The criteria concerned illustrations, realism, language (time, place, and people accurate rather than "author-created dialect"), and social worthiness. Baker also made the children's center at the 135th Street branch into a "children's cultural club" of sorts. She had Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes come in and read poetry, and they, in turn, urged the children to write. Aaron Douglass, a prominent Harlem Renaissance artist, came in and explained his black history murals to the children, and Frederick O'Neal came and talked about black theater. Baker also invited black foreign diplomats who came and talked and showed slides about their countries. Finally, in 1940, Frederick Melcher of the R. R. Bowker Company, which awarded the Newberry and Caldecott medals for children's publications, took Baker to a meeting of children's publishers and told her to "speak her piece" on the lack of appropriate reading material about blacks, and she did.[49]

The work career of Charlemae Hill Rollins, the Chicago-

area public librarian, probably epitomizes the line of the Delta Creed that Mary Church Terrell wrote that encouraged the members of the sorority to encourage all to honor "the race."

One of the first things that Rollins did along this line was to identify those children's and juveniles' books that included black images without negatively stereotyping them. She undertook this effort after she sent one hundred and fifty questionnaires to black and white high school principals asking them to identify the books used in their schools that included material on blacks. When she got only two responses, she went to work organizing a literature guide. The end product, We Build Together, identified positive image materials for children on black life, and the first edition included only twenty-four acceptable books. The National Council of Teachers of English published the booklet in 1938. By 1948, the work had two-hundred entries. One of Rollins' eulogists wrote that the booklet "helped to raise the level of consciousness to a need for more honest portrayals of the Negro and to correct the inequities of limited representations of the Negro in every genre of literature for children."[51]

Rollins then began what many described as a one-woman campaign to force publishers to be more accountable about for the images of blacks in the books that they published.

And she became a consultant to several publishers on the subject and an advisor to many writers of children's books. On one occasion a librarian friend wrote to Rollins: "the letter you wrote to P.W. is bearing fruit. Mrs. Poole has written to you, I'm sure, about the two books we have received for review. The Negro reading public is large enough now to make demands on publishers." In a later letter to one of the editors at the Thomas Y. Crowell publishing company, Rollins wrote that she believed Crowell had to make some changes in a book it was publishing called _Rifles for Wattie_. Rollins called one line in the book "the most objectionable of all words [and] phrases in the book." That line read "'when she opened her vast mouth to grin at him, her teeth reminded Jeff of a row of white piano keys." On another page she objected to the sentence "He even smelled clean" because it represented a "real deep down unconscious stereotyping by an author who feels that 'all Negroes smell [bad].'" But she also suggested that the editor leave the word "nigger" in at another place in the book because Rollins said it was the boy speaking, not the author, and it was probably an accurate reflection of how boys of the time referred to slaves.[52]

Rollins had a hand in editing many well-received children's and juveniles' books. Two white women writers

were especially grateful for her help. Publishers repeatedly rejected Virginia Cunningham's juvenile story on Paul Lawrence Dunbar before Rollins edited the book, after which Cunningham was able to sell it. Rollins said "'everything was wrong'" with Florence Means's second book: "The characters spoke in dialect at Tuskegee -- of all places." The original version of the manuscript used words such as "negress" and "pickaninny." The original title of the book was Dark Lillibell. After Rollins' review of the book, Means rewrote it and retitled it Great Day in the Morning and the book was acceptable.[53]

Rollins not only made herself a "watchdog" over published children's and juveniles' books, but she also concerned herself with generating those kinds of works and with making the Hall branch of the Chicago Public Library into one where young people could go to learn more about black life and culture. She brought to the library such personalities as Arna Bontemps, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and Jean Toomer. She took advantage of Illinois writers including Gwendolyn Brooks, Doris Saunders, Hoyt Fuller, and Era Bell Thompson. One writer gave Rollins credit for creating at the Hall Branch "one of the most complete collections on Black people in this country." And Rollins contributed to that body of literature herself by

writing: Christmas Gif' (1963) on Christmas folklore relating to black family life; They Showed the Way: Forty American Negro Leaders (1964); Famous Negro Poets (1965); Famous Negro Entertainers on Stage, Screen, and Television (1967); and Black Troubador, Langston Hughes (1970). Additionally, she periodically expanded We Build Together, the bibliography that she first compiled in 1938 on children's and juveniles' books.[54]

All of the women discussed above immersed themselves, even on their jobs, in work designed to improve the conditions among, the status of, and the image of blacks. And there are no indications that they did it because it was necessarily a part of their jobs. Of course most of the women worked exclusively or primarily with or for blacks. And, admittedly, Clara Jones' first job assignment with the Detroit Public Library specifically concerned improving "racial" relations in the city. But all of the women went beyond the call of duty -- beyond their job descriptions -- and accepted additional tasks. They worked in the way that they did because they believed it was their responsibility as black professionals.

In 1931, W.O. Brown described "racial" consciousness in a way that aptly synopsized the way that the women of this study acted. Brown wrote:

Race consciousness is a major form of group

> consciousness. . . . It is defined as the tendency towards sentimental and ideological identification with a racial group. For the individually race conscious the race becomes an object of loyalty, devotion, and pride. By virtue of this fact it becomes an entity, a collective representation. The race becomes a fiction, a stereotype which to the race conscious is a reality.

Brown added:

> The race conscious posit their race as an entity to which they must have obligations. They have a conscience about this race. They must serve it, fight for it, be loyal to it. To the outsider the race of the race conscious may appear to be an imaginative construction, but to the initiated, the race is a reality, in a sense, a personal experience.[55]

The records of the women reveal several examples of that "obsession" with "the race." When, for example, Mary Church Terrell's friends urged her to write about something other than the "race problem" in order to get her work published, she said:

> "Those who advised me to write about something else evidently thought that all I had to do was to select any subject which might tickle the fancy of an editor, then proceed to produce an article on it. They believed I could direct my thoughts and my interest to any other subject that occurred to me and produce a good article just as one turns [on] the faucet to get water in a sink. But my whole being was centered on the conditions confronting my race, and I poured my heart's blood into efforts to promote its welfare. It was impossible for me to write on anything which did not concern the race."[56]

Much of Angelina Grimké's writing either reflected "racial" problems or concerned other forms of "racial" identification. Gloria Hull wrote that in Grimké's poem, "At April," she identified herself with the "'Brown girl

trees'" in the line "we/with the dark, dark bodies." Grimké, incidentally, was hardly physically identifiable as black. Additionally, her well-known play, Rachel, published in 1920, is about a black woman and her struggles in and against a racist society. Even the short story that Grimké wrote for Birth Control Review concerned lynching and "racial" oppression. In that story, the main character, a black woman, killed her newborn son after she heard that her brother had been lynched. The woman said she would not have any children "for the sport--the lust--of . . . mobs."[57]

In the 1940s, Layle Lane wrote on race-related problems in the same way that Terrell did in the 1900s and Grimké did in the 1920s. Lane taught school in New York for thirty years. Among other things, she also wrote a column for the New York Age. Lane opposed segregation in the armed forces and used her column to build pressure to abolish it. Lane also solicited letters from black soldiers, her former students, about their experiences in the military, and she used the information she got from these letters in her column.[58]

There also exists evidence of the women's efforts to preserve their group heritage. When Portia Washington got an audition with Martin Krause in Germany, she practiced European classics all day long, but she knew that she would not play them for her audition. Instead she played what she

knew best, the old Negro spirituals. The music impressed Krause tremendously, and he accepted Washington as his student. Later when Washington taught music in the United States, she devoted much of her time to spirituals and black folk music.[59] Washington was no doubt influenced by her father, who believed that the spirituals were an important part of a glorious tradition that black people ought to preserve. In a similar manner, Ophelia Egypt collected interviews with former slaves in the 1920s and 1930s and wrote a book based on them.[60] Miriam Matthews over her lifetime, collected every bit of information she could find on the history of blacks in California in order to publish the material in several books.[61]

Julia Smith worried about the amount of the history of blacks in Boston and the District of Columbia slowly being lost. She donated one thousand of her father's glass plate negatives, which she had had for seventy years, to the Boston Museum of Afro-American History. She protested the destruction of the first public high school for blacks in the country, the "M" Street School building in Washington, D.C. She also protested the destruction of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Francis Grimké's church, and the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, one of the oldest Baptist churches in the country. Both churches, incidentally, hosted women's conventions in 1895. The Colored Women's

League met at the 15th Street Church, and the National Association of Afro-American Women met at the 19th Street Church.[62]

Altogether, few of the activities in which these women involved themselves did not reflect their being conscious the group with which they identified. As Jones said, that identification began with being black and from that point, "[reached] out to all [of] the world."

Most of the evidence on the influence of caste on the lives of the women concerns two broad areas: the character of the segregated society and the character of this black, segregated, middle-class group. The former no-doubt influenced the latter. Janie Porter Barrett, well aware in 1912 of the entrenchment of the segregation system, wrote that ". . . the Negro race is going through the most trying period of its history. Truly these are days when _we are being tried as by fire_. . . . The only things to do is to face the situation with unfaltering courage, and live down the conditions. . . . Conditions must grow better. . . ." As exemplified in the women's lives, the segregation system worked to foster a group consciousness and cohesion that helped to soften the blows and lessen the disabilities inherent in such a system.[63]

The activities of the women on behalf of individuals

might easily be explained simply as an isolated act of generosity or mentorship. But evidence suggests that it was more than that. Undoubtedly, helping one talented member of the group could have a ripple effect in that that individual, if he or she were similarly conscious, would return to the community and help many others. Dorothy Church Lymas wrote to her cousin, Mary Terrell, of her own thinking in that regard: "We don't always get a chance to return a kindness to the very source from which it came, but someone along the line will reap the benefit of that service and he, in turn, will help some other souls, and so it goes."[64]

The women believed that they had a major role in and responsibility for lifting the group. They learned of this responsibility through their own life experiences, and they were taught it by others who learned it earlier and who practiced it. The black community members of Malden, West Virginia, scraped together their dimes, quarters, and half-dollars to send their most promising black pupil to Hampton, Virginia, to school. That student was Booker T. Washington. Many decades later, his daughter, Portia Washington Pittman, gave benefit concerts in Washington, D. C., to raise money to send Clarence Cameron White, a talented, young, black violinist to Europe to study. Lula McNeil was the star pupil in the first graduating class of the Newport News,

Virginia, black high school, and the black community members there pooled their money and sent her to the Normal School in Petersburg, Virginia. When Lucy Mitchell attended Mary McLeod Bethune's Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Girls, the black townspeople of various classes regularly prepared and sold chicken dinners to raise money for the school to help pay grocery bills and teachers' salaries. At Homer G. Phillips hospital, Mabel Northcross and her nursing staff had regular fundraisers to send their best students to the University of Minnesota to study beyond the program of the hospital school.[65]

The group consciousness exhibited by these women was fundamental and consequential. The pages above help to explain, with reference to these women, what that consciousness was, where it originated, what some of the consequences of it were. But the consciousness displayed here was not several things that it appeared to resemble. It was not the collectivism that John Bodnar and others found common among lower-class white ethnics. Nor was it another example of the nationalism that Edwin Redkey and Tony Martin described in their studies on black social, political, and economic movements. The experiences of these women were much more than both of those phenomena.

The women went far beyond the extended-family

collectiveness that John Bodnar and others found common among lower-class, white ethnics. In Bodnar's studies on working groups in Pittsburgh he found that individuals worked in extended-family networks in order to help each other find employment, housing, and whatever else they needed. He described a process of socialization that acculturated individuals to their family roles. Children went to work at a young age and all paychecks went to the mother. The main concern of the group members was family survival rather than individual success. They did not aspire to achieve "The American Dream."[66]

The women of this study showed greater social maturity than the white-ethnic groups that Bodnar studied. These women identified themselves much more broadly than Bodnar's groups did. The women worked very hard to get to a certain position in life, but they were not individualists. The women were also family-oriented as an earlier chapter revealed. But their families were not the extent of their worlds. The most consistently pressing problems and identifications were with "the race."

But the women were not extreme "racial" nationalists in any sense although it may appear that they were. As early as 1936, the NATCS did urge that black history be taught in all public schools in order to raise public awareness, to help clear up some of the misconceptions that whites had

about blacks, and to lessen "racial" discrimination while also stimulating awareness and pride among the black students. And the Association also proposed that black art and black music courses be available to all black students and that the NATCS start a fine arts department to collect, preserve, and exhibit black art. Still they did not urge intragroup cooperation and cohesion as an ultimate goal or as a key to group liberation as nationalists did. Nor did they urge, in the extremist-nationalist sense, "racial" separation. Instead they pushed for group solidarity and social integration.[67]

They were, at least, the enlightened provincials that Royce described. They were "provincial as well as patriotic, - servants and lovers of (their) . . . own (communities) . . . as well as citizens of the world." Royce understood patriotism that was accompanied by community consciousness and pride.[68] These women were just as dedicated to their cities, states, and nation as they were to "the race." Lugenia Burns Hope wrote, specifically, of how the work of the Neighborhood Union was to benefit the immediate black community, the city of Atlanta, the State of Georgia, and the nation. Beulah Whitby said that after the riots of the 1940s, she organized an inter-racial group of Detroiters who represented many different organizations

because she felt compelled to do something. Her only stipulation to prospective joiners was that they be interested in interracial relations and that they "want to see Detroit prosper." Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, a black Massachusetts and nationally prominent club woman who is not a subject of this study, expressed Royce's idea best when she wrote about the NACW:

> "Our movement is a woman's movement in that it is led and directed by women for the good of men and women, for the benefit of all humanity, which is more than any one branch or section of it. . . . And too, we are not drawing the color line; we are women, American women, as intensely interested in all that pertains to us as such as all other American women; we are not alienating or withdrawing, we are only coming to the front, willing to join any others in the same work and cordially inviting and welcoming any others to join us."[69]

Ruffin's statement indicates that at least some of these women could, whenever necessary, step beyond DuBois's characterization of the "double consciousness" of black Americans when he wrote the often-quoted passage in The Souls of Black Folks about the unreconciled struggle between "race" and nationality.[70]

These women's identities did not stop at being black. They were citizens of communities, states, and the nation. And they could and did merge their identities whenever it was useful to do so.

As in the case of other cultural groups, these women did, as "leaders," accept the responsibilities that came with position. These women were not representatives of Robert Park's "marginal men" who escaped and renounced their "parochial," ethnic origins. In education, income, and community status, these women were certainly far more accomplished than the black masses. But they chose not to escape their past. Instead they chose and perhaps, were forced, as DuBois suggested, to be black and American, too. They worked to be respected as black people and to be treated like any other Americans. They were a part of what Richard Bardolph called "the black vanguard." And as with any vanguard group, they were in the forefront of the activities of the group. They were "race leaders," but as Davidson suggested, they did not consider themselves to be more evidence of "shining examples of the triumph and cultural superiority of a liberal universalist democracy."[71] Too many negative experiences of the caste system inhibited that kind of thinking. Instead they were among the few during their lifetimes who achieved in spite of odds against achievement. Because of that achievement and their social environment and their socialization they did, indeed, become, to paraphrase Brown, the servants of, the fighters for, the loyalists to, "the race." And not unlike Theodore Abel's suggestions in his 1939 study on group consciousness,

the consciousness and subsequent work of these women were conditioned responses to their environment.[72]

Chapter 8

Networks of the Lower-Level Professional Black Women Workers

The accomplishments of the women in this study may seem extraordinary considering the ubiquity of the barriers of the segregation system. The double handicaps of caste and gender pushed these subjects toward the bottom of the social hierarchy. But they were persistent individuals and overcome many of the obstacles. Still, few individuals who overcame such barriers are able to do so without the help of others, and in the case of these women, the communities--the social environments--in which they worked, studied, and lived contributed to their success. The social networks of the women, constructed in family, class, gender, caste, and occupational-group membership, were at least partly responsible for their accomplishments.

The networks in which these women were active included many social groups. When these subjects were young and still dependent on their families, the networks which worked for them were those that family membership provided. Very often, the family-based networks were class-related as well. As the women got older and entered formal educational and, later, work institutions, their networks enlarged to include

superiors and peers with whom they had contact during that part of their lives. At some point after becoming established professionals, the occupational connections became paramount. This latter characterization is especially clear for the librarians and nurses. And as the impact of all of those groups evolved over the life cycles, the networks in all the areas became, over the generations, more and more caste based.

Sociologists and social anthropologists, pioneers in the study of social structures and symbolic interaction, are still struggling with the definition of "network." J. Clyde Mitchell wrote in 1974, that after the introduction of the term, "social network," in the 1950s, many people studied the idea, but few did "empirical field work based upon the idea." He concluded that for that reason, many concepts emerged, but they were accompanied by much confusion.[1]

Still, between those early explanations and those of the last few years, the definitions reached by individual scholars have become much more precise and useful. For example, Elizabeth Bott, in her pioneering 1957 study on the influence of social networks on husband-wife relationships, described networks as "a set of social relationships for which there is no common boundary."[2] But by 1969, Mitchell was explaining social network as a "specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons with the additional property

that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved."[3] And similarly, in 1983, Fine and Kleinman explained a network as "a set of relationships which people imbue with meaning and use for personal or collective purposes."[4]

Scholars generally agree that there are two uses of the term "network"; three types of networks; two ways of studying networks; and many characteristics of networks. The oldest and the most common use of the term "network", is metaphorical. In this case the term is used ideationally -- to suggest a picture or image of social-structure reality.[5] The second use of the term is analytical. Those who use networks as an analytic tool use the idea to classify bonds, to establish patterns in bonds, to make causal conclusions based on the nature of the bonds and the behavior of those individuals or groups who form the bonds. The analysis approach helps to explain individual behavior, processes of communication, and coalition building within the structure.[6] The metaphorical approach is essentially structural and the analytical approach is essentially functional.

The two types of studies are morphological and interactional, or structural and transactional. The morphological criteria of a social network include:

anchorage, the focal point of the network; reachability, the notion that any person in the network can be contacted from any starting point within a limited number of steps; density, the extent to which the members of the network know each other; and range, the diversity in and density between the anchor and other direct contacts in the group. Collectively, these four morphological characteristics help to explain the "shape" of the network.[7] The characteristics of the interactional process, however, help to explain the behavior of the members.

The interactional process helps to explain processes in social organization rather than form. Among the concepts that characterize "symbolic interaction" are content, directedness, durability, intensity, and frequency. Content, according to Mitchell, is the most important aspect of links between people, and it refers to the meanings that people in the network give to their links. Directedness concerns the nature of the link between two members: whether one person chose the other or vice versa and whether or not the choice (link) is reciprocal. The durability of a network concerns its persistence over time. Intensity in network links refers to the willingness of members of the group to honor obligations. Intensity is often referred to as "strength." And, finally, frequency, the most easily quantifiable of the characteristics of a network concerns

the amount of contact among people.[8]

Historical discussions of networks involved in women's lives are generally more recent and fewer in number than the sociological and anthropological studies. And often the network information is implicit. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, for example, recently wrote about the centrality of female family members and friends in women's lives during the nineteenth century. Rigid gender-role differentiation and gender segregation contributed significantly to the existence of female networks. Katherine Kish Sklar's book on Catharine Beecher is a major contribution toward understanding women's connections with other women. Estelle Freedman's 1979 article, "Separatism as Strategy," presents a strong argument for the present-day re-creation of the old-fashioned women's spheres because of the cohesion and the power that segregated but unified groups could have. Nancy Schrom Dye's work on the New York Women's Trade Union League illustrates the dynamics, weaknesses included, of a multi-class, female-based network. And Blanche Wiesen Cook's 1977 article, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism. . . ," as well as Susan Ware's 1981 book, _Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal_, are studies specifically concerned with women's networks.[9] All such works provide a rich and substantial basis for understanding the processes of networking in women's lives, and by using the

lives of the lower-level professional black women workers, it is possible to get a glimpse of another dimension that shows the complexity of the network systems in which some women operated.

In the lives of the lower-level professional black women workers, that complexity revealed itself because the women participated extensively in several major groups in their day-to-day lives. Moreover, these women's groups were not as exclusive as Cook's and Ware's. Nor did these women work or reside in one centralized, geographical region as most of Ware's and Dye's subjects did. The women in this study were not just homemakers, or organizers, or administrators, or reformers, or paid service workers. They were often all five. Furthermore, unlike the network of Ware's New Deal women, which began to crumble as its members aged and failed to attract younger women, the networks of these subjects were multi-generational. The older generations not only build the bridges but also helped to carry the neophytes over the rough places. The neophytes eventually became the sharp eyes, the steady hands, and, seemingly, the tireless feet and legs for the older generations. And, finally, the women studied here represent not one paid occupational group, but four.

Further illustrating the intricate tapestry of networks among these women was their membership in particular family,

class, gender, occupational, and caste groups. And within each category were more sub-groups. For example, as nurses, black women often connected with other nurses or nursing groups, sometimes black, sometimes white, sometimes mixed. Sometimes they found it expedient to work with black male physicians or hospital administrators: workplace elements whom white nurses often perceived as "the enemy." Sometimes it was necessary for the nurses to work with other professionals such as the "teachers in colored schools." And when the nurses' goals appeared selfish in the eyes of their superiors and they could no longer fight their own battle without jeopardizing their professionalism, they worked with and advised community groups on fighting the battle instead.

The first networks to which the women belonged were ones composed of their families. The earlier chapter on family life detailed characteristics of the structures and functions of the families. That chapter revealed, among other things, that the households in which these women grew up and, later, the households in which they reared their own children were almost always extended, even among the younger generations. They not only included parents and children, but they also almost always included a grandparent; they often included great grandparents; and they occasionally

included an aunt or a cousin or a niece or a nephew. But the families from which these women came also provided other connections.

Descriptions of these extra-familial but family-founded networks are imprecise. They could equally appropriately describe one aspect of the second network in which the women moved: that of social class. Still, an attempt will be made to make some distinction between the two. The chapter on class differentiated, in particular, a change over generations in which the class networks of the earlier women were much more formidable than those of the later women. The same is true of those networks which included people outside the family but which were the direct result of family membership, as the following pages will show. And the evidence indicates that those connections for the older women were very advantageous to them, while the material on the younger women indicates that those extra-familial connections were either significant for very different reasons or they were not obviously significant at all.

Among the oldest women, the life stories of Mary Church Terrell, Portia Washington Pittman, Angelina Weld Grimké, and Julia Smith provide examples of extra-familial networks based on family membership. For example, the prominence of Mary Church Terrell's father put him in contact with equally prominent blacks throughout the country. His friendship

with Senator Blanche Kelso Bruce, one of the two black Reconstruction Senators, made it possible for Mary to attend the pre-1890 inaugural balls as the guest of Senator and Mrs. Bruce. And Portia Washington Pittman's father's connections also afforded her the opportunity to attend inaugural balls around the turn-of-the-century.[10]

The prominence of Portia Washington's family opened many doors for her. Her first step-mother, Olivia Davidson Washington, was a graduate of Framingham State Normal School, and that fact, coupled with her father's prominence, no doubt made it easier for the school to admit her. In 1902, Portia became the first black student ever admitted to Bradford Academy. And the vast influential network to which her father belonged was probably a factor there also. In fact, Alice Freeman Palmer, a member of the Board of Trustees at Tuskegee Institute, was also a member of the Board of Trustees at Bradford. While Portia studied music in Germany, her guardians were the officials of the German Colonial Society, who had an old connection with her father. After her return from Germany and her marriage to Sidney Pittman, her father's influence contributed to her husband's ability to earn a living and support his family. And then, after the dissolution of her marriage, it was Robert Moton, her father's successor at Tuskegee, who offered her a job teaching music at Tuskegee Institute.[11]

The family connections of Angelina Grimké worked in a way parallel to those of Terrell's and Pittman's. Before Grimké graduated from college, her father's old friend, Tom Miller, then president of what became South Carolina State University (Orangeburg, S.C.), secured a position for her at the school. Her father also informed her that she could live with the Millers while she worked there.[12]

The Grimkés' living arrangements with the Lees in Massachusetts and Francis and Charlotte Forten Grimké in Washington, D.C., also reflect the family networks. Angelina Grimké and her father alternated living with the two families from the 1890s to 1930 when Archibald Grimké died. Joseph Lee was a very prominent caterer who later came to own and operate a nationally known inn and restaurant at Squantum, Massachusetts. He also invented the mechanical bread dough kneader, which large bread-making companies came to use. While she was in school, Angelina boarded with the Lees. During that time, her father lived with his brother and sister-in-law, Francis and Charlotte Forten Grimké. When Angelina wrote to her father in Massachusetts, he was at the Lees, and she was at the Grimkés. Even after the younger Grimké graduated from school and began to teach in Washington, while she was at the Grimkés, her father was at the Lees'.[13] The two families were very close-- so close, in fact, that Joseph Lee often addressed his letters to his

daughter, Theresa, (Tessa) and Angelina while they were away at school to "My dear little girls." Archibald Grimké, in his letters to Angelina (Nana) and Tessa, affectionately referred to them as "His two best girls." The two girls often wrote to each other's fathers.[14]

The Lee home and business establishment were apparently the sites of much social activity. The letters of Tessa Lee and Archibald and Angelina Grimké are filled with references to visitors from one place or another. One of those visitors, Meta Vaux Warrick (Fuller, 1877-1968), was a good friend of Archibald Grimké, and she wanted to be friends with Angelina. Fuller was an artist who had at least a national reputation as a sculptor before World War I. She was undoubtedly the most prominent black woman sculptress since Edmonia Lewis (1845-1890?), whose marble neoclassical sculptures won international acclaim for her before 1879. At Archibald Grimké's urging, Angelina responded favorably to Warrick's friendly overtures, and they began to correspond with each other and to exchange ideas.[15]

The last example of this type of connection that parents provided their children came from Julia Smith's oral history. Both the paternal and maternal sides of Smith's family were old Bostonians. Her grandfather, a former member of the state legislature, was also a prominent abolitionist. Julia Smith was very close to Harry Craft and

his wife Bessie Trotter. Craft was the son of Ellen and William Craft (Smith's grandfather's close friends), who are best known, historically, for their daring escape from slavery. Bessie Trotter was probably the sister of William Monroe Trotter, publisher and editor of a number of black national newspapers, including The Boston Guardian, the newspaper well known for opposing the programs of Booker T. Washington and for demanding full and immediate civil rights for blacks during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Smith's father was also one of the organizers of the D. C. branch of the NAACP. Her family and the Grimkés and the Terrells were all good friends. Mrs. Blanche K. Bruce was an old friend of Smith's mother. And other family friends included Harry Furnish, former minister to Haiti; Daniel Hale Williams, the first surgeon to perform open heart surgery; and, Charles Drew, the physician and scientist who discovered the process for separating blood and plasma just in time to save hundreds of thousands of lives during the second World War.[16]

But the example of the family connections of Julia Smith revealed above are very different from those of Terrell, Grimké, and Washington, mentioned before. In fact, it is possible that Smith's case is a transitional one. The examples of the women who were older than Smith therefore reveal what were very impressive networks in terms of the

prominence of their members, and, moreover, the women in the earlier group somehow gained some advantage by being participants in them. Smith, on the other hand, spoke of men and women who were friends of her parents and grandparents and who were very prominent individuals. But there are no indications that she benefitted from those family connections in any way other than socially. The available examples from Smith's life seem to show that the family-founded networks became less significant in material ways and more significant simply as social class networks. Smith was born two years after Grimké and Washington-Pittman but eighteen years after Terrell. The only other woman among the oldest seven whose whole life could be reconstructed was Septima Clark. The examples from Clark's experiences, to be discussed later, were indeed different. The fact that her family was not as well off materially as the other women in the oldest group, and the fact that they were Southerners, were undoubtedly important factors.

Two other younger women in this study mentioned the relationship of their parents to individuals now considered to be historically significant. Jean Arkhurst, a public librarian whose whole life could not be reconstructed, mentioned that Shirley Graham, who became the wife of W. E. B. DuBois, and her mother were best friends growing up in Seattle and that her mother was a bridesmaid in the wedding

of Graham and DuBois. But Arkhurst gave no indication that her mother's relationship with the DuBois family had any significance in her own life. The other woman who mentioned an interesting parental connection was Virginia Lacy Jones, an Atlanta librarian. After Jones's father died, her mother took the family to her home in Clarksville, West Virginia, where she opened a boarding house. Among her boarders was William Goins, the pharmacist husband of Phyllis Terrell, daughter of Mary Church Terrell.[17]

Clearly, the social relationships of the older women were different from the other women, and the impact of the extra-familial relationships on the lives of the subjects of this study changed. That is not to say that after the second generation of women (born roughly 1880-1900) family friends had no role in their lives; there is too much evidence that suggests otherwise. Instead that role and the nature of that family-originated network changed. The networks of the older women were as much related to class as to family, and that is why the names that appear are prominent ones. As an earlier chapter indicated, partially because of their high socio-economic status, those individuals were able to help the older women. It was a time (roughly 1880-1905) when the black upper classes had some influence at home and abroad. By the time the third generation of women, born roughly between 1900 and 1920,

came of age between 1920 and 1940, those old, well-respected, well-known, and influential black "leaders" were dead or no longer wielding the influence that they once had. Those women born between 1900 and 1920, and 1920 and 1935 still had some support from individuals outside of the family. But outside of their professions, these individuals were usually only locally known. They were preachers, teachers, lawyers, and physicians. They were friends of the parents, but they also often had a professional-client relationship with the subject, which was, ultimately, a caste-connection.

The earlier chapters on social class and family life revealed some aspects of class networks among these women and their families, while discussing changes that occurred in the origins, structures, and functions within family and class. The information that concerns the networks based primarily or exclusively on class in which the women participated suggests three things:

(1) that for the oldest women, the social-class connections provided some advantages other than social;

(2) that for the other women (all born approximately twenty or more years after Terrell) whose life stories reveal any insight into this factor, the class connections functioned primarily in traditional social ways; and

(3) that for all of the women regardless of gene-

ration and class and family origin, there was one area in which the class connections served as a social conduit while also providing a concrete, material advantage. That material advantage often concerned the housing of the women at various times and places.

For all of the women, the class networks provided social activities. Terrell was able to get tickets to the 1902 Harvard commencement through the Roscoe Bruce family. Bruce was the son of Senator Blanche K. Bruce, and he was the superintendent of the Washington, D.C., black schools.[18] But while Terrell was at that 1902 commencement, the wife of Joseph Lee (with whom the Grimkés boarded in Massachusetts) gave a reception for Terrell and Mrs. Bruce. Howard Lee, Joseph Lee's son, also entertained Terrell and her daughter, Phyllis. He took them to Keith's, a famous local theater, to his father's famous restaurant, and on a general sight-seeing tour. While she was in Massachusetts, Margaret Washington, wife of Booker T. Washington and Portia's stepmother, visited Terrell and invited her to the Washington summer home nearby.[19]

Among the women born after Terrell it is not possible to illustrate the second example of social class networks in any more detail than already described in earlier chapters and in the pages immediately above. But the last type of social class connections listed above were present during

at least part of the lives of some of the women of all generations. That form of network provided social activities while simultaneously allowing the women a tangible and material advantage. This particular network was invented out of necessity and was probably the direct result of the segregation. For that reason the network might be a "caste" network as much as a class network. But because the network concerned the living accommodations of the women when they traveled, and because only the financially better off women traveled extensively, the network was equally, if not primarily, a class network.

Julia Smith recalled that when she was young, because blacks could not stay in all hotels, they (middle- and upper-class blacks?) carried calling cards and letters of introduction from people who knew them addressed to acquaintances along the journey in order that the traveler could be accommodated. Francis Grant described a somewhat similar circumstance when she said, "I could start at Boston and go straight down to Washington and Virginia, and in every city find people who knew me and my friends, and drop into an established social pattern . . . and a certain amount of physical and material comfort. . . ." Several of the letters of Mary Church Terrell were simply to inform her family of the addresses of people with whom she was staying.[20] And an example from the younger women's lives

exists in the form of a letter from an unidentifiable friend of Sadie Delaney, the Tuskegee librarian, in which the writer wrote to her from his California home: "We had a letter from Lex and Katheryn Cox telling of the wonderful visit they had with you in your beautiful home. It seems that all our close friends there in Tuskegee found time to be nice to them, but they were right at home when they were with you. . . ."[21] And just as Angelina Grimké lived with the Lees while she was a student in Massachusetts, Septima Clark lived in the home of a railroad porter with his wife and family when she went away from home to school just after the turn of the century.[22] In the 1930s, when Miriam Mathews went to the University of California at Berkeley, she lived with the Leon Marsh family. She knew Mrs. Marsh through her sorority, Delta Sigma Theta. Indicative of the durability of this link, when Mathews attended her fiftieth anniversary class reunion in 1976, she stayed again with the Marshes. And by this time, Mathews could have stayed in any hotel.[23]

From her childhood in Baltimore, Maryland, Jean Hutson, a New York librarian, remembered somewhat similar living arrangements for black travellers. Hutson's mother was a school teacher, and so when Hutson got out of school, she stayed with a lady who ran a boarding house until a family

member picked her up. She recalled that Langston Hughes and W. E. B. DuBois frequently stayed there when they visited the city. And Thelma Dewitty noted that the home of J. Arnell and David Hickey was a boarding house for her and her husband and many other black newcomers to and travelers through Seattle.[24]

The class-based networks in which these women participated were, in some instances, the result of the desire of the members to socialize with each other. But they were also the result of proscriptions against equal access to public accommodations. In the day-to-day travel of the women, sometimes it is possible to distinguish between the two. But often it is not possible. The most anomalous examples are those of the women's vacation travels. The chapter on social class mentioned the black resort areas at Arundell (Maryland), Oak Bluffs (Massachusetts), and Opequon (West Virginia). Some of those black middle and upper class vacation spots were places where blacks owned their summer homes (Arundell and Oak Bluffs), and sometimes they were places where there was a black person who owned an inn or boarding house (Opequon) and where many prominent blacks vacationed. In both instances, it is hard to say whether the network that developed among those travelers was a caste network resulting from caste barriers or whether it was a class

network that developed regardless of the segregation system.

Much of the available data that reflect, illustrate, or imply the working of network systems involved, in one way or another, the paid work that these women did. The implications, however, are still not clear. Because of the women's participation in gender, caste, and work groups, the information could easily fit into more than one category. For example, the women participated in occupationally organized cliques, but those occupational groups were usually also gender- and caste-segregated. Still, an attempt will be made to separate one from another wherever the sources indicate the pre-eminence of one or another type of network.

Although legal segregation often discouraged the formation of intense networks between black and white women of the same profession until after World War II, there did exist very important links between black and white women in the same profession. The relationships were not integrative bonds with reciprocal exchanges for mutually beneficial results. In fact, except inferentially, there is almost no evidence to show how the black women aided white peer professionals as far as this study goes. But the black women as individuals did benefit from their relationship with whites. Those connections were usually between one of the black women and an educational or occupational

supervisor, or they were between black and white professional peers.

In reference to the first type of "connection," several of the women whom this study concerns credited their placement at a particular job or school to a white person in the same field of work. Usually that woman was a teacher, and she was always a person more professionally established. Lula McNeil, for example, (b. 1905) credited Nina Gage, the white director of the Hampton Institute School of Nursing, with getting her a nursing position in Richmond, Virginia, after she finished nursing school. That training prepared her for a position with the State Department of Health in Suffolk, Virginia, which Gage also helped her to acquire. Frances Grant (b. 1895) got her first teaching job in 1917 as a result of the influence of Eva Hall, a 1903 Radcliffe graduate.[25] Before Miriam Mathews decided that she wanted to be a professional librarian, one of her professors got her an internship at a Los Angeles public library.[26]

On more than one occasion, a white woman peer professional positively influenced Clara Jones's career as a librarian. While she worked and studied at Atlanta University, one of her white supervisors, a Ms. Carothers, encouraged her to go to the University of Michigan for her graduate degree in library science. Carothers was a

graduate of Michigan, and one of her mentors, Margaret Mann, was there. Jones went to Michigan and finished her Master of Library Science degree. She subsequently went to Southern University (Louisiana) to work. While at Southern, one of her white instructors from Michigan recommended her to Lucy Morgan, the first (woman?) personnel director of the Detroit Public Library System, for a position in the system. Morgan contacted Jones about applying for a position in 1940. Jones did not apply until 1944, but Morgan still remembered her, and she got the job.[27]

Portia Washington's music teacher at Bradford, Samuel Morse Downes, not only arranged for her to get a music scholarship while at Bradford, but he also was responsible for her meeting with and subsequently studying music with Martin Krause in Berlin. And as a final example, within just two years after Barbara Miller (b. c1930) went to work as a children's librarian in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1957, as a result of the influence of Margurite Cheviac, a white librarian, Miller became the head of the department. Cheviac's was leaving to take another position at the University of Indiana. Before she left, she insisted that Miller, who had not even applied for the job, not only could do the job but should also be given the opportunity to do

so.[28]

Among all of the materials collected for this study, there was only one explicit example of a close, interracial, mutually-beneficial connection between peer professionals. This friendship was between Sadie Delaney, the Tuskegee bibliotherapist and librarian, and Clyde Cantrell, the Director of Libraries at Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Delaney and Cantrell were real friends at a time and in a place where such relationships as equals were frowned upon at best. Cantrell wrote articles in library journals about Delaney, praising her work. And he was responsible for a short biography of Delaney being printed in the Congressional Record. Cantrell also worked very hard, but unsuccessfully, to have Delaney appear on the CBS television series, "Person to Person." And on several occasions, before taking a position in the Alabama Library Association concerning black librarians in the state, Cantrell consulted with Delaney.[29]

But not all of the subjects of this study had supervisor-supervisee relationships with white professionals. Neither were they always relationships between two individuals. The other type of connection that existed in spite of the segregation barriers involved the concern of the white professional for the group of black

professionals. The evidence of this type of relationship exists only for the librarians, but brief descriptions of the connection exist for several state groups.

Individual white librarians in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama took a special interest in the black librarians of their states and helped stimulate more interest in organizing their co-professionals. In North Carolina, Mollie Huston Lee, a black librarian, was responsible for bringing black librarians together in 1935. She believed that if black librarians worked together in the promotion of libraries, then not only would libraries and librarians benefit, but general education would also. But two white North Carolina librarians were quite instrumental in strengthening the group in the larger profession. Albert Marshall wrote that Mary Beal, Secretary and Director of the North Carolina Library Commission, and Mary Peacock Douglas, a State Department of Education School Library Supervisor, "went out of their way to provide guidance and encouragement to the struggling librarians" serving black youth. Apparently, partially as a result of collaboration, the North Carolina Negro Librarian's Association became the first such group to obtain chapter status in the American Library Association.[30]

In Alabama and in South Carolina, white librarians were also instrumental in the struggle of black librarians. In

Alabama, Gretchen Schenk, who was president of the Alabama Librarians' Association, worked extensively against tremendous odds to bring black librarians in that state (not organized formally until 1944) into the larger state groups, but the opposition to the program was too strong, and Schenk was unsuccessful. In South Carolina, the most direct stimulus for black librarians to organize came from white librarian, Agnes Crawford. Black librarians first met as a group in that state in 1937. Those black librarians who expressed interest in organizing themselves met together for the first time as a result of a questionnaire that Crawford compiled and sent to them.[31]

There were few other examples of inter-racial connections among these women in their day-to-day lives. Black nurses did attempt to establish strong ties with white nursing organizations (see chapter four), but their attempts were almost always unsuccessful until the 1940s, and where they were successful at making a connection, it was usually one-sided and characterized by white nursing groups only responding or reacting to an action by the black nurses. The only exception, of course, was the relationship between the black nurse's group and Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton, discussed earlier.

The pattern concerning networks that emerges thus far

reveals a shift during the life cycles from dependence on family and class connections for advancement to a heavier dependence on a connection with white supervisors or peer professionals as the women aged. At about the same time that the importance of class- and family-exclusive networks seem to be declining, the caste-related networks began to become more significant. These networks were crucial for providing emotional support and social connections, but they were also important for providing tangible, material advancements. One example of a shift toward networks that were primarily, though not exclusively, caste originated is the increase over time in the dependence of these women on black males in key positions, and even within that phenomenon, there is a clear pattern of life-cycle variation.

Black males always held important positions in the black community. And, in fact, contrary to the stereotypical myth concerning the occupational superiority of black women, black males always held the key professional positions. As the women studied here got older and older and became more and more established, the men with whom they came in contact rose higher and higher also. In every instance, the men were in more established positions, and they were in positions superior to those of the women.

During the early years of the careers of these women,

more prominently established black men played crucial roles in their lives. For example, after Septima Clark graduated from school in South Carolina and received her teacher's certification, she had problems finding a job because of the limitations placed on blacks. It was the pastor of her church who contacted a trustee of the St. John's Island schools, and that trustee subsequently offered Clark a job in 1916. She obtained her second job as a sixth grade teacher at Avery Normal, Subnormal, and Elementary Laboratory School through the principal who was her principal when she was a student there. Both the pastor and the principal were black men. Mabel Northcross's decision to become a nurse was influenced by a black male community physician who not only talked with her about going to nursing school, but who also took the time to take her to visit the school of nursing at Meharry Medical College (Hubbard Hospital). Miriam Matthews' first professional position during the 1920s and at least one subsequent promotion in 1933 came as a result of the insistence of two prominent black male professionals, her family physician John Outlaw, a California resident since 1903, and John Diaz, another community physician. And, finally, indicative of the extent to which networks had shifted from class to caste, even Mary Church Terrell around that same time,

though much older than any of these women, received an appointment to Ruth Hanna McCormick's Senatorial campaign as a result of the influence and recommendation of Congressman Oscar DePriest. In 1934, DePriest also tried to get an interview with Eleanor Roosevelt for Lugenia Hope of the Neighborhood Union.[32]

The links between the black male and female professionals were probably strong from the beginning because of the segregation system. The presence of black physicians at the meetings of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses certainly indicates as much.[33] But as the women got older and more established, the links became more established, clearer, and even more functional.

Sometimes the basis for those black male/female, professional connections came out of schooling experiences. Mabel Staupers, for example, said she chose Freedmen's hospital for her nursing training because black people in Washington "were doing things." She met Louis Wright (then an intern, later head of Harlem Hospital) there and Peter Murray, who later became the first black head of the Acadmey of Medicine of New York. Staupers commented: "All of these people could give you some lift--not only [involving] the spirit of knowledge, but [they] could tell you where to turn to do things." Estelle Osborne, another nurse, recalled her graduate school days at Columbia University. She said all

the black men enrolled in graduate school there were college deans and presidents. She added that she never thought about it at the time, but they became good friends, and when she ran into snags while developing the nursing program at Freedmen's Hospital, she called on them. Ambrose Caliver, formerly at Fisk University, was one of those friends. On one occasion, when Osborne needed money and "the power to spend it" for her program at Freedmen's Hospital, she called on Caliver, then at the United States Department of Education, and he was successful in getting a United States Office of Education grant for her.[34]

As the careers of the women matured, the networks with black professional men developed. The nurses had M. O. Bousfield at the Rosenwald Foundation and Roscoe Brown, health education specialist, in the New Deal Federal bureaucracy, and the nurses, the librarians, the teachers, and the social workers had Harold Trigg and Ambrose Caliver in the U.S. Department of Education; Lawrence Oxley in the Department of Labor; Eugene Kinckle Jones in the Department of Commerce; Robert Weaver and Clark Foreman at the Department of Interior; and connected to the Department of Interior by their positions at Freedmen's Hospital were T. Edward Jones and Richard Mackenzie. All of these individuals held their positions through the 1930s. When

Susan Ware wrote recently that there were no black women in her study on New Deal women because they were not connected to the women's network, she was generally correct, but the black women could and did communicate with other New Deal bureaucrats. But those bureaucrats were almost always black men. And so once again with regard to the myth of the black female occupational superiority, not only on the community level were black men in better positions to help the women examined here, but, also, in the federal government and other large, national bureaucracies, it was black men who held the key positions, and it was those men to whom the women turned for help.[35] The account of the organizational history of the NACGN (chapter four) revealed, in detail, how M. O. Bousfield at the Rosenwald Fund Foundation was especially helpful to the nurses. He not only helped them to acquire funding, but he also worked closely with them in workshops and conferences. He chastised black nurses and nurse educators for not being more financially supportive of the organization. He pushed for the sponsorship of a black woman army hostess and for the fair utilization of black nurses in social settlement house work.[36]

The relationship between the nurses and Bousfield was reciprocal: they depended on each other for many things. When Bousfield had information about scholarship money

available for nurse training, he wrote to the NACGN. On one occasion, Mabel Staupers, secretary of the organization, wrote to him: "I was aware of your interest and knew that you would help wherever you found it possible." She added: "please let me know when you are ready to interview applicants. I have some good material, both graduate and undergraduate, for you in many cities." And similarly, the nurses could count on Bousfield when they needed his direct input. When Staupers wrote to him for a recommendation for Estelle Osborne, he did not understand for which position he was to recommend her. And so he wrote Staupers back: "Please make this clear, and depend upon it, I will get a letter off immediately.". NACGN representatives frequently referred nurses and nursing students to Bousfield for employment referrals and scholarship information.[37]

The segregation system helped to strengthen the networks among black professionals. Because John Andrew Hospital (Tuskegee) and Freedmen's Hospital (Howard) were the only two government-affiliated hospitals where black nurses could work, the nurses and the black male administrators of those hospitals worked closely together for the benefit of both. T. Edward Jones, the Chief surgeon at Freedmen's Hospital, wrote to the NACGN for recommendations of black nurses for a position open there. He once asked Staupers to recommend "a

strong nurse administrator and executive" to him, " . . . the best person available in the country."[38] On another occasion, a black male hospital administrator wrote to the NACGN for the recommendation of two nurses "of our kind" for positions that he had or anticipated having available.[39]

When the nursing schools at Freedmen's and Tuskegee were in danger of being closed, the alert nurses began writing letters to key people throughout the country, including Eleanor Roosevelt, asking questions about the threat. Jones observed that he was confident that the situation would work out appropriately with such a "wide awake organization as the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses" working with and for them.[40] And the nurses could and did call on Jones to aid their causes. For example, Staupers once wrote to Jones that no black nurse in the District of Columbia could be a member of the District League of Nursing Education even though they met all the requirements of the National League. That obstacle effectively disqualified black nurses from many jobs in the district. Staupers ended her letter to Jones by saying, "I hope that you will use your good offices through the Secretary of Interior to remedy this injustice to our nurses."[41]

And finally, in the limited information available,

there are a few other indications that the male administrators and the women workers cooperated with each other when such cooperation was useful or necessary. In one instance when Richard Mackenzie served as a consultant in the Department of Interior at Freedmen's Hospital, one of his major efforts was to get a tuberculosis unit installed at Freedmen's Hospital as a Public Works Administration project. He solicited the ideas of the NACGN members on the matter. Eugene Kinckle Jones (Department of Commerce), and Lawrence Oxley (Department of Labor) worked to keep whites in the government informed of situations among black professionals. Jones sent lists of active black social workers to Katherine Lenroot (Children's Bureau), one of Susan Ware's New Deal women, to consult for various reasons. Roscoe Brown sent new, published materials concerning the health of black Americans to Lenroot and to Elizabeth Tandy, also of the Children's Bureau. Oxley circulated research material by black educators on the state of affairs in the black community throughout the Department of Interior, and he tried to attend the conferences of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools and to bring the information he collected there back to the Department of Labor.[42]

The higher-placed, professional men were therefore

important links to the less visibly-placed women workers studied here. Those connections provided both tangible and intangible benefits to the women workers individually as well as collectively. They provided emotional support and information. They provided crucial links to financial institutions and support and government programs. And, additionally, except for the Rosenwald Foundation connection, all of these links were with the New Deal administrators. Clearly there was a black New Deal network. It was not as visible as the (white) women's network because no blacks headed departments or bureaus in the departments as white women did. Instead the black men held such positions as "Advisor on Negro Affairs" or "Director of Surveys in Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes." And blacks did not have the benefit of a member in the president's cabinet as white women did. Granted there was the so-called "Black Cabinet," but its advisory status was, though important, often nebulous. Still, there was Mary McLeod Bethune, the Negro Advisor in the National Youth Administration and a member of the "Black Cabinet."[43]

Women representatives of all the groups were in touch with Bethune at one time or another. But the contact was not a simple indicator of a public worker/federal government connection. Rather, it was an indication of how the lower-level professionals worked cooperatively with other black

professional groups, individuals, and organizations: for the advancement of the individual, the profession, "the race," or the clients they represented; for the immediate resolution of a particular problem; or, for the encouragement of collective action for long-range project goals.

On the individual level, there are several examples of how the work-related networks operated formally and informally within and outside of the professions. Estelle Osborne recalled that when she taught nursing in Kansas City, the nurses there co-signed loans for each other regularly so that they could go to summer school. On her way to New York for a summer session at New York University, she stopped in Cleveland, Ohio, for an NAACP meeting where she met Charles Johnson, then at Fisk. He subsequently helped her get Rosenwald Foundation money for school. She got to New York before the money arrived, but she was able to make ends meet by going to work in a movie theater, a job that another nurse/student friend helped her obtain. When Frances Grant left her teaching job at a Bordentown (N.J.) school, her good friend, Regina Andrews, a librarian, helped her get a part-time job working in the Washington Heights (N.Y.) Library.[44]

It was also quite common for networks to develop

between these women and other caste-oriented organizations, professional and non-professional. They represent, most obviously, the power networks. NACGN officers encouraged their members to be active in the NAACP. The American Teachers' Association (formerly the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools) automatically included NAACP dues in its membership dues. The National Council of Negro Women, led by Mary McLeod Bethune, sent telegrams and letters to the President, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of War complaining of the refusal of the armed services to admit black nurses into the service while radio broadcasts advertised the shortage of nurses. On another occasion, on behalf of the nurses, Bethune placed a copy of the report of the NACGN's 1939 National Conference on Health and Housing on the desk of every congressman in Washington and many other federal administrators. At this time, Bethune was the Director of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration.[45]

In 1934 and 1935, the nurses worked with the black women's sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA), to end discrimination in city hospitals in higher-level positions in those hospitals. Norma Boyd, a public school teacher and a member of AKA, launched a public health program for blacks in the South from her home. Boyd also went to the AKA's for the funding of an anti-lynching campaign in congress. The

AKA's provided the initial money for the project and printed Christmas cards to explain the purpose of the lobby group. Mabel Staupers, the NACGN "workhorse," collaborated with the AKA's and Norma Boyd in the effort to get the amended Bolton Bill through congress. The bill with its amendments would have created a Cadet Nurse corps and ensure equal rights and privileges to black nursing students who wanted to join the corps. Septima Clark, a South Carolina school teacher, worked with local sorority women in a public health program to immunize Charleston school children against diphtheria. They cooperated in providing the money for the immunizations, transporting children to and from the immunization sites, and subsequently providing hot lunches and milk for the children from poor families. Sadie Delaney, while working as a librarian in New York City, was responsible for founding the first Negro Professional Women's Club in the city, and she organized the Social Workers' Luncheon Club there. And, finally, the NACGN was a part of the successful March on Washington Movement of the early 1940s.[46]

The black professional groups also occasionally worked together on a more formal and permanent basis. The formal alliance between black librarians and teachers is most notable. Black Georgia librarians first organized as a

group in 1949 as a department of the George State Teachers and Educational Association (GSTEA). One librarian called the GSTEA, founded in 1925, the "parent organization" of the librarians' group. She added that as the teachers' group matured, so did the librarians' group. Ultimately, the librarians structured themselves after the GSTEA: one regional librarians' group for each regional teachers' group. The Alabama Association of School Librarians also met as a part of the Alabama State Teachers' Association. The black librarians in South Carolina formed the South Carolina State Librarians' group as a part of the Palmetto State Teachers' Association, and the teachers' organization in South Carolina helped to stabilize the librarians' group through regular financial appropriations.[47]

One final area concerning networks outside of the immediate professions deserves reiteration. That network was one that existed between these women as workers and the black press and other civic organizations. For black teachers, nurses, and librarians, at least, the black newspapers and journals were strong allies. Not only did the press keep the black public aware of the struggles of the group as indicated in the chapters covering the NACGN (four) and "Caste" (seven), but the black press also helped inform the professional groups themselves. Mabel Staupers credited the Cleveland Call and Post with alerting the NACGN

that the black nurse cadets from Cleveland Hospital were not admitted to military hospitals while their white classmates were. Consequently, the NACGN joined the press in instigating Cleveland citizens to bring pressure on various local institutions. Staupers pointed out in her history of the NACGN and black professional nurses that the NACGN always utilized people outside the profession to help remedy the problems that the nurses encountered. In New Jersey, black nurses organized an _ad hoc_ federation of local clubs to force tax-supported institutions of the state to hire black nurses. Black librarians in New York City depended on a civic organization of black Harlem women who formed the James Weldon Johnson Literary Guild for support (financial, moral, and mechanical) for their special projects. And the NACGN's Citizens' Committee in New York seemed to be everywhere, all the time. In the 1930s, the Louisiana Education Association (formerly the Louisiana Colored Teachers' Association) worked with the Prince Hall Masons of the area and sponsored workshops on legal issues for "grassroots leaders." And in 1936, Willa Carter Burch, then president of the NATCS, wrote to Harold Trigg at the Department of Education about a program entitled "Plan of Cooperation of the NATCS with the Local Committee on the Solution of Educational Problems." The NATCS created the

committee from lists supplied by "local leaders" whom Burch asked to submit a list of names of "outstanding citizens of various community interests" with whom they could cooperate whenever necessary. She added that laymen could often succeed at resolving some problems that educators could not.[48]

Some of the best available examples of the role of black journals in the efforts of the professional groups appeared in the *Journal of Negro Education*. The editors of *Journal* did more than publish scholarly articles. They also included a section called "Current Trends and Events of National Importance in Negro Education," in which the editors announced professional meetings. The editors and the readers also used that section to debate issues that were relevant for black professionals. On one occasion, the editor published an entire letter written by a black librarian to black members of the American Library Association which explained the living, eating, and sleeping accommodations for blacks at an upcoming meeting. The protests that followed the letter were so strong that the librarian, who wrote the first letter on behalf of the ALA, had to send a second one in his own defense saying that he did not accept the terms of segregation himself and that he would not attend any meeting that he could not attend on the same basis as whites.[49]

The black women studied here did move within several networks that were very functional for them. The primary networks in which they operated were caste networks, in which men were prominent. But the professional networks of which they were a part were also most often caste and gender specific. The evidence of this network is clearest for the nurses and the librarians.

Based on the limited available sources, it appears that the nurses' network was a strong one. The NACGN, a power network itself, no doubt was partly responsible for this cohesiveness among individual nurses. NACGN officials were in contact with nurses throughout the country through annual meetings. And when the depression of the 1930s made annual meetings prohibitive for women not living in the general region of the meeting, temporary restructuring helped to keep the group active and strong. The NACGN served as a clearinghouse of relevant information for black nurses, and that function was clearest during the years of World War II when the nurses intensified their struggle for formal, comprehensive inclusion in the military effort. The national office provided moral, educational, and advisory support to individual nurses throughout the country and to nursing groups. And the nurse members helped each other at their jobs.[50]

Evidence survives of a number of concrete indications of the strength of the network among nurses. Estelle Osborne said that she went to work at the Homer G. Phillips Hospital in St. Louis for a short time because just after the mayor announced that he would appoint a qualified black woman to an administrative position, she received nineteen telephone calls and telegrams from black nurses, educators, and administrators in the city asking her to apply. When the administrators at the Cincinnati, Ohio, General Hospital announced that they would begin to hire black registered nurses, one nurse wrote to Staupers informing her of the new policy. She wrote: "at last the General Hospital has decided they will employ Negro R.N.'s. We have none here to apply as Lowery is full time with the R.C. [Red Cross]. So if you know one anywhere who would be interested direct them here. You know what kind of person they should be." She concluded her letter by saying "will you [also] please send our Councilman, Attorney Jessie D. Locker a letter of commendation for his very sincere work in our behalf. He actually went to bat and stayed there." This nurse's letter reveals a great deal about black nurses and their networks. First of all, as earlier indicated, they could depend on and did depend on men in key places for the boosts they needed. Her letter implied that the black nurses in her area were densely networked otherwise she could not have known that

only one was not employed by a hospital. And finally, the letter reflects its author's perception of the NACGN as a clearinghouse for up-to-date information on black nurses throughout the country.[51]

The friendship bonds between the individual nurses were often strong and durable enough that one nurse (Anne Glover) surprised Mabel Staupers with a special letter in 1963 (long after Staupers' NACGN work was over) that began: "Greetings to you! Because you will wonder . . . [about] the enclosed check, I will make haste to explain it." The woman explained that several years earlier her brother-in-law died leaving her younger sister "comfortably-fixed." That sister and another sister recently left the U.S. for Europe (at the expense of the widowed sister), but because the sister writing to Staupers could not go with them, the widowed sister gave her a check for one thousand dollars. Glover added: ". . . because I have great admiration and affection for you, I want you to have this small token of that affection." She advised Staupers to spend the money in any way she wished.[52]

The NACGN provided a strong foundation for the networks of black nurses. The strength of the networks also came in the schooling and employment patterns among the women. Almost all of the older nurses received their training at

Lincoln Hospital (New York), Freedmen's Hospital (Washington), John A. Andrew Hospital (Tuskegee), and Meharry Medical College-Hubbard Hospital (Nashville). A later generation would come from those schools as well as collegiate (degree) programs at Hampton Institute (Virginia), Dillard College (New Orleans), and Florida A&M College (Tallahassee); and a disproportionately large number of those nurses for whom any information is available attended graduate school at Columbia University or New York University. And, finally, because of caste barriers they could not work just anywhere, and so the nurses' paths crossed often. For example, Mabel Northcross worked at Homer G. Phillips hospital in St. Louis from 1921 to 1970. Estelle Osborne and Mary Elizabeth Carnegie worked there in the 1930s. Osborne hired Carnegie at Homer G. Phillips. When Carnegie became acting director of the new school at Hampton, Rita Miller at Dillard helped her get her program organized. When Carnegie went to Florida A&M to start the School of Nursing (1945-1951), it was Riddle, Miller, and Staupers who helped her whenever she called on them. Lillian Harvey was dean of the School of Nursing at Tuskegee from 1948 through 1976. Fostine Riddick took course work there during that time. In many such ways the paths of the individual nurses continued to cross frequently as they moved from one place to another working or studying.[53]

Among the librarians, there also seemed to be close networks. But the limitations imposed by the scarcity of sources and the nature of those available do not allow the documentation of networking in the same detail that the materials available on nurses allow. For example, the librarians had more options in regards to their schooling, and so, unlike the nurses, who could attend only a handful of schools, the librarians could usually receive their training in the state where they lived. Also, the black librarians did not have a national organization like the NACGN until the 1970s, and so organizational records do not exist. The black librarians' organizations, where they did exist, were on the state level. Still, records of individual librarians indicate that there was a network operating, but the bulk of the evidence comes after 1940, when segregation barriers were breaking down.

The networks in which the librarians worked that are revealed by surviving documentation were, in fact, quite different from those in which the nurses operated. There did exist the kind of comraderie through which the women helped each other obtain jobs, as suggested by Louise Giles' experience in encountering an old friend at a library meeting, which resulted in her changing jobs. The librarian friend asked her if she were happy with her job. She

responded emphatically and unhesitatingly, no. The friend invited her to apply for a position helping to set up and supervise a branch Learning Resource Center at a community college in Michigan. She applied and received the appointment. Another writer noted that as early as 1950 the few black librarians who attended the ALA meetings always gathered together in a hotel suite to discuss common concerns. He added that when the Atlanta University School of Library Service began to hold annual alumni dinners, almost all of the black librarians--whether or not the individual was an Atlanta University graduate--attended them for the encouragement, information, and convivialitity for which the gatherings were well known.[54]

The librarians maintained strong ties with black writers and with people who wrote on black life and culture as well as with other librarians. There are also a few references to their work with black artists. Delaney and Rollins, for example, were close friends with almost all of the Harlem Renaissance writers and artists. Delaney was a good friend of William Grant Still, the composer. And younger authors like Richard Wright, Gwendolyn Brooks, and James Baldwin were among their good friends.[55]

The two librarians, Rollins and Delaney, clearly had close ties with black writers, and because of their positions at large urban area libraries, they, unlike the

nurses, were in a position to help black males by promoting their accomplishments. These women were at the same time doing their jobs. But their connections with white literary figures entailed direct involvement in the production of the literary pieces. In that regard, earlier chapters detailed Charlemae Rollins' influence in the works of Frances Cavanah, Marjorie Allen, Florence Means, Virginia Cunningham, and Phyllis Whitney.

Another sign of group solidarity among the librarians was their formal and informal recognition of each other's accomplishments. When Delaney received the Woman of the Year award from the National Urban League in 1950, two North Carolina librarians, Maude Lassiter from the Granville Street Colored Library in Oxford, N.C., and Mrs. Ray Moore, from the Stanford-Warren Library in Durham, N.C., sent their congratulations. Among the many congratulations that Delaney received when she received an honorary doctorate degree just a few months later was one from Zenophon Smith, a Peoria, Illinois, public librarian.[56]

The librarians kept each other informed of their own and each others' accomplishments. On one occasion, Rollins wrote to Delaney: "Virginia [Lacy Jones, Dean of the Atlanta University School of Library Service,] wrote us about the great honor which is being given you today." And she

added her congratulations to the many that Delaney received. The librarians were extremely proud of each others' successes. Rollins continued in her letter to Delaney, "We are all very proud of you, and it is gratifying to see that people all over are appreciative of the help you have so generously and unselfishly given to those who needed it." On another occasion, Rollins wrote to Delaney "I am so proud that I know you. Knowing you is one of my most precious possessions, and I'm deeply grateful." And finally, in response to the letter to Rollins from Delaney congratulating her for a recent ALA Bulletin recognition, Rollins responded "It is wonderful to get such recognition from the ALA Bulletin, but [it is] much more wonderful to have all my friends and co-workers approve in such a whole-hearted fashion." And in spite of her own outstanding accomplishments, Rollins wrote to Delaney that she (Rollins) was appreciative of the honors and recognition that she had received, but she said, "you are the person who has really made the contribution and everyone knows that--all of us are proud of you."[57] It is certainly significant that Rollins and Delaney almost always used the pronouns "we" and "us."

In general, the bonds of the women were also tight across generations. Mary Church Terrell no doubt personally helped to foster some intergenerational connections by inviting young, black, aspiring talents to her home.

Terrell's sister-in-law, Laura Terrell Jones, often reminisced in her letters to Terrell about meeting Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Joe Douglass, and Paul Laurence Dunbar at the Terrell home. On one occasion, she said the Terrell's Washington, D.C., home was a "regular salon."[58] Portia Washington Pittman gave benefit concerts to raise money to send young, talented, black artists to Europe to study.[59]

Many of the women supported and promoted members of a younger generation in and outside the professions that strengthened and perpetuated group traditions and intergenerational bonds. And the younger women also looked to the older women as role models and counselors and mentors. Barbara Pickett said her inspiration came from the older librarian and educator, Virginia Lacy Jones, and the black educator and elocutionist, Hallie Brooks. In the 1960s, when two young nurses, Minerva E. Williams and Ernestine Oglesby, were toying with the idea of starting a new black nurses organization, they went to Mabel Northcross for both advice and consent. Angelina Grimké could look to Anna Julia Cooper, one of the nation's most prominent black educators during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for friendship and advice. Cooper was an old family friend, and she remarked in 1930 that her friendship

with the Grimkés went back almost fifty years. The younger women, on their parts, were sometimes able to help the older ones. When Ophelia Egypt, a seventy-two year old, retired social worker, was interviewed in 1974. She talked about a book that she wrote and revised four times for various publishers. After reaching the point where she believed that she could not do any more she met with friends to explain the situation, and one of the younger women at the meeting said she would help. Egypt wept when she told about the young woman's willingness to help; she did provide assistance, and the two women developed a sisterly relationship.[60]

One of the most poignant examples of the efforts made to keep intergenerational bonds tight came from Ellen B. Stebbins, an old friend of the older Grimké men, Archibald and Francis. Stebbins kept in touch with Angelina long after Archibald Grimké died. In one letter she said, "I keep wondering whether you have friends about you, to help you in one way and another over the hard places on life's highway. Of course it would be comfort to me to know." The remarkable thing is that Stebbins herself was aged and deaf. She managed to walk "up the street" and back to her house once each day, although she was losing her vision. And she had recently given up her large, comfortable home, which she could no longer keep alone, and had moved into a room.[61]

Stebbins's attempts to maintain her friendship with Angelina Grimké and her consistent concern for Grimké's well-being in spite of all her own serious problems is a powerful commentary on the bonds between these women. The bonds were strong ones. They were based on class, caste, occupation, family, reverence, and sometimes just plain efficacy.

The women of this study recognized the importance of networking. Mary Church Terrell believed that she was asked to speak on the first evening of the International Congress of Women meeting in Zurich because of her connection with Jane Addams. If Angelina Grimké did not know it before she began to experience difficulties on her job, her father used the occasion to advise her to be friendly with the people at her new work location. And on one occasion, he instructed her specifically and emphatically, to make "Miss Dailey" (Angelina's new supervisor) her friend! The Grimkés' old family friend, Lillie B. C. Wyman, once notified Angelina to expect a letter from Theodore Stanton, son of Henry and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She advised Grimké that if he wrote, for her to be cordial. She added that he was connected to Rutgers College Library; he was building an Elizabeth Cady Stanton memorial collection at the College for Women there; and "he has thrown himself quite eagerly into work for my advantage." She added: "Acquaintance with

him may link you and your literary works to other links." And although Mary Church Terrell had long before understood the importance of connections, when her brother urged her to seek the Tuskegee position, he advised her to get her friends--political, literary, and financial--to endorse her candidacy. M. O. Bousfield once wrote to Estelle Osborne in 1935 that one good thing about the conference that they had just attended was "the large attendance of the white persons who are in influential positions in nursing schools and in administrative capacities." And in another, almost humorous example, a nurse who was seeking employment wrote to Bousfield for help. She informed him that Staupers suggested that she write him; Osborne was her former teacher; and that A. D. Simington, at Tuskegee Veteran's Hospital, could provide a letter of reference. Then she added: "I worked there a full year and became well acquainted with him and his sister. They often spoke of you, and incidentally, on several occasions [I] had the pleasure of meeting your daughter, Mardell, there."[62]

The nurses, both individually and as a group, practiced coalition building carefully. Mabel Staupers, while commenting on the value of the nurses' relationship with congresswoman Bolton, said, "You can't always do everything yourself; but, if you know a man who knows a man or a woman of [more] influence, turn to them." Estelle Osborne

reiterated the value of the Bolton connection, but she added, "I had to handle her [Bolton] with kid gloves at certain times because she would want us to play politics." And Massey implied that sometimes the "games" were not in the best interest of the NACGN, and the NACGN struggle for survival and success was already an uphill one. One of the signals of victory, as well as an indication of the nurses' knowledge of the importance of networks, was the acquisition of a national headquarters. But that office was not just anywhere. It was in the RCA Building in New York City where all of the major health and medical organizations also had offices.[63]

In attempting to explain these women's networks in sociological terms, it is first of all obvious that the anchorage or the focal points of the networks of which these women were a part were continually changing. This chapter alone cannot identify the anchors of the networks of the women while they were young and a part of their parents' networks. Later in their lives, however, the anchors included teachers, supervisors, government bureaucrats, and peers. When the network was made up of several other networks (usually organizations), the anchor was often an organization. The women in their particular situations also appeared to be accessible to one another. And, in fact, the

networks of the nurses was a very dense one characterized by strong ties. The networks were also often diverse in that the links were often with individuals from various other backgrounds (occupational, gender, class, and the like). Structural diversity and range of a network varied according to the interactional content (purpose). That is, a national issue required and resulted in a coalition of networks. Local or individual concerns resulted in smaller networks or interest connections.

The interactional characteristics of the networks and the network members are much more evident than the structural ones. The purpose of specific links depended heavily upon time and place. For completing an immediate goal, the women connected with whatever person or group was appropriate. In these interest networks, the bonds were broken once the task was complete. But for long range goals, the links were more durable and, consequently, the network was a power network. These power networks were both intra-group (occupational) networks and inter-group connections. But they are best illustrated by the occupational organization and, to a lesser degree, the caste connections. For most of these women and their networks, the purpose of the connection was closely related to either problems or solutions created or resolved by the segregation

system described in the previous chapter. For that reason, the networks here were often strong ones and the links between members were equally strong. In this case, however, that obvious conclusion may be misleading because many of the women represented were group leaders, anchors in professional networks especially, and their role as a leader required a commitment to honoring group obligations. The other type of strong links that were visible were sentiment networks established between individuals with no other intentions than establishing friendship.

But another aspect of these networks proved to be quite interesting. That aspect concerned what Mark Granovetter called "The Strength of Weak Ties." In many instances in this chapter, it was possible to see the significance of knowing "someone who knew someone." Supervisor-supervisee relationships, usually frequent, but not necessarily intense, were often responsible for getting one woman or another a scholarship, a job, or a promotion. Similarly the connections with lay committees allowed these women access to community people to whom the women needed access and did not already have. It was often through "Friends of Friends," as Jeremy Bossevain termed it, that these women were able to do much of the work to which they were committed.[64]

But perhaps more significantly, the "shapes" of the

networks here were so fluid and adaptive to immediate conditions over the seventy-odd years that this study covers that there were many forms rather than one. Such an effort is also complicated because in this case the study concerns the women both as individuals and as members of several groups (family, organization, occupation, caste, etc.) and the positions of the individual women in the graph would change too frequently. Still, some generalizations concerning some physical characteristics are possible.

Two visible historical patterns are clear. One of the patterns concerns the course of change over the timespan of the study. The other pattern involves changes that occurred over life cycles. Over the generations, the women came to depend less on family and class networks and more on caste networks. And over the generations, the family and class networks moved from national to local in scope. Within the life cycles, the early networks revolved around family and class and connections with more prominent individuals who were usually preachers, teachers, physicians, and attorneys. As the subjects got older, their connections with educators in their profession seemed to be one of their most important connections. And either simultaneously or subsequently, the significant connections also became professionally oriented in a supervisor/supervisee manner. Later, the primary

network was professionally rooted among and between the women themselves as they became full-fledged professionals and leaders in their own right.

Within those patterns, three trends run consistently throughout the history. First of all, men always figured prominently in the networks of the women. Those men were at first connected to the women through their community roles. They were usually service workers themselves, and the women, then girls, or their parents were usually clients. Moreover, the connection was always one in which men were in a higher-level position than the women. The second pattern revealed that the networks of these women often were intergenerational. And the third pattern was that while often there existed very formidable bonds not only within a profession, but the bonds were equally strong across the professions and beyond them to include non-professional but caste-related organizational members.

The changes that occurred over the life cycles of these women simply reflect the enlargements and changes in their primary environments. Concomitantly, _de facto_ and _de jure_ segregation play a part in the life-cycle changes. In the earlier stages of life, the most significant influence on the lives of the subjects came, of course, from their parents. Soon, the connections and networks of the parents came to share the influence on these children's lives. Local

leaders--teachers, preachers, physicians, attorneys, etc.,--began to figure more prominently in the lives of the youngsters. And because of the eventual entrenchment of totally segregated societies, those community leaders were almost always black.

But as implied earlier, time (generation) and place had some impact upon the nature of the networks even in the life cycle. The oldest women could and did attend integrated schools, but they worked as adults in segregated environments. Their networks became more caste based also whether the link came from a family, class, educational, or occupational link. The middle group of women generally went to segregated schools and worked in segregated environments even if they were in integrated work institutions, as many of the social workers were. Their immediate networks were therefore almost always exclusively caste based. The only general exception was that many of the nurses had early and important connections with white nursing educators who worked in black institutions. But even as the women in all of the groups got older and returned to graduate schools that were fully integrated, their most important networks created out of that environment were with other black men and women. Among the very youngest women, who more often went to integrated colleges from the beginning and who

usually worked in integrated situations, there were more networks that were "interracial," but caste networks remained as strong as ever. In fact, probably the most startling pattern of all was that while the socio-economic class origins of the younger women were on the rise as indicated in an earlier chapter, and while their access to integrated educational institutions and their employment in integrated situations increased, the strongest networks became and remained caste networks.

Admittedly, those caste networks may have been class connections within the caste. After all, these women were well-educated nurses, social workers, teachers, and librarians, and they networked with others in those occupations and with physicians, attorneys, government bureaucrats, and the like. But the basis of the network remained the caste. And the most positive proof of at least their own perception of the increasing importance of caste requires only a glance back at the organizational history of three of the four groups in the decade and a half after this study ends. During that time, the black social workers for the first time in their professional history formed a separate organization, the National Association of Black Social Workers, in 1968. Black nurses did the same in 1971. And the black librarians formed the Black Caucus in the American Library Association in 1970. Evidently, the

professionals themselves believed that their networks--"bricks" in their foundations--were weakening, and so they began to fortify the old source of their strength in their primary professional environment: the caste.

Conclusion

Each of the chapters of this dissertation represents one section of a mosiac that in its own right provides a complete image, or as near to a complete image as the resources will allow. And yet each piece is only a part of a larger picture. Reconstructing these small and large images was one of the aims of this study. More specifically, one of the aims of this study was to attempt an examination of this group of women in their full social contexts: as daughters, wives, sisters, mothers, workers, professionals, activists, organization members, class members, caste members, and as females. Only by showing the complexity of the lives of these women (or of any social group) is it possible to show some of the many processes that were a part of their experiences and the many changing relationships that occurred over their lifetimes. Consequently, a part of that goal included providing a narrative about the lives of these women that would explain, simply, who they were and how they lived.

The completion of that goal helps to make the fulfillment of the second goal possible; that is, to contribute to the growing body of literature on social history in a manner that would allow comparisons and

contrasts with other groups. Such a comparison would allow more complete answers to questions about American social history, and it would suggest several new questions. And in this case, some of the questions raised by this study may be as important as answers that it provides.

Available information on the family lives of these women makes it possible to draw several conclusions. The mothers of these women usually worked for pay until they got married and only when necessary to "help out" after they married. The women of this study worked in their careers whether the added income was necessary or not even though childrearing often influenced the decisions about when and where they went to work. The families were either patriarchal or egalitarian, and across the generations of women and their parents, the families were child-centered. The parents of these women and the older women themselves were often willing to send the children away from home at a very young age in order that the girls might have good educational opportunities. Sometimes parents moved their whole families either west or to Washington, D.C., where there were good high schools that the children could attend. The women of this study also made sacrifices for their children, but among the younger women, whose children had more access to better public high schools, the sacrifices

did not need to occur until the child of was college age.

As the families of these women changed over time, new functions and roles tended to reflect the adaptability of the family to current circumstances, allowing the absorption of temporary or permanent new members. The structures changed whenever it was useful to change them, and it appears that the changes were made with ease.

Family functions also appeared to be constant, but member-roles changed both over the generations, and the life-cycles. Over the generations, the public/private - male/female sphere demarcations became less and less marked. Few of the married women of this study could have related to Betty Friedan's "problem with no name." Over the life-cycles, the roles of family members as children, adolescents, adults, wives, mothers, and grandmothers were traditional. But as grandparents, these women, unlike their own mothers and grandmothers, maintained their independence.

It was in their families that these women got their exposure to middle-class traditions. And they passed those values on to their children. To that extent, the outstanding characteristics of social class did not change over the time period. But the economic backgrounds and all of the aspects of their lives related to those economic factors changed correspondingly. Those changes concerned where they went to school, the educational and occupational

backgrounds of their husbands, and where their children went to school. Economic class even influenced how they spent their leisure time.

The women were conscious of their class status but they were not obsessed with it, at least not in a negative way. As Sidney Kronus discovered several years ago, they "appeare(d) to live within their means, to take life seriously, and to accept their responsibilities to family, work, and community."[1] And, in fact, the women were taught in their families and in community institutions to be responsible for themselves and to accept some responsibility for others of the caste in spite of their gender and perhaps because of their class. And as a result of their class status and the educational and occupational opportunities that it afforded, these women became important resource persons and role models in their communities. In fact, the lives of these women suggest that Stephen Birmingham was talking about a different group when he wrote that "among blacks, the elite have achieved importance without real position. They have become dignitaries, but without much power, leading ladies and gentlemen without much influence, figureheads but not leaders--shining examples, but not guides."[2] It is possible of course that Birmingham was speaking of the wealthiest blacks instead of those

considered to be "elite" during their time because of other factors as well. But even if he were talking about that smaller group, several of the women of this study and their families were a part of that group (e.g., Terrell, Smith, Grant, Grimké). The women of this group were extremely conscious of and responsive to the needs of others. They were extremely caste conscious and proud.

It was through the women's work that their commitment to those responsibilities are best seen. The women took on far more responsibilities than their job descriptions required simply because they saw needs that no one else was fulfilling. Their work ethic and their work culture were created by that vacuum and their earlier socialization rather than by personal goals exclusively. Larger political, economic, and societal factors had more influence on the way that the women worked than did potential individual gains.

Gender-group identity had some influence on the way that these women were reared. Like comparable white women, they were expected to be cooks and cleaners and nurturers, and their parents prepared them for those domestic roles. But they were not expected to be subordinate. In fact, a major concern of their parents was seeing to it that the women did not have to depend on anyone for their survival. That independent thinking, coupled with their intense

"racial" group consciousness often prevented the younger women from seeing the relevance of the women's movement in their lives. Consequently, and particularly for the younger women, the fact that they did not seek a role in the feminist movement because of their own training was more important than the goals, philosophies, and strategies of the movement itself that may or may not have precluded their participation. All of these women lived through at least part of the Jim Crow era in American history. But it does not appear that "racial" discrimination was simply more important to them than sexual discrimination was; instead, to many of these women sexual discrimination seemed not to be a problem at all while the problems related to caste--social, political, and economic--seemed ever present. The consequent consciousness of group or group identity that came out of their common experiences was most powerfully conditioned by their social "race" rather than by their gender.

Throughout the lives of the women, various types of bonds or links were made with individuals and groups for various reasons. The bonds were with kinsmen, friends of kinsmen, friends of co-workers, work and school supervisors, and diverse other individuals and groups. And as the women aged individually, and as the generations passed, these

connections became less and less integrated. And their indirect tie to individuals were always as important as their direct ties.

The history of this group of women therefore presents several significant conclusions as a history of women, workers, and blacks. But it is also significant in its relationship to the history of the larger American society. These women represent another subgroup, the American middle class. As middle-class people, they had a historical mission that was essentially progressive. According to Robert Wiebe, it was the new American middle class that developed the programs needed to resolve the many problems of the twentieth century.[3] The middle class constituted the "natural" guardians of traditional American values.[4] But values are defined by cultural experiences and can consequently also be particularistic or localistic. For these women, the traditional American values were important, but out of their common experiences came other values, which many have defined, perhaps too loosely, as "nationalistic." While it is already evident in recent scholarship that lower-class, working class, white-ethnic groups espoused cultural values that were often different from the American (WASP) main stream, this study suggests that perhaps even within class groups there may be some diversity within the value systems generally espoused by the group. Simply put,

there were no passive conformists among these women. In fact, conformist, accommodationist behavior was not tolerated there.

These women were progressives. But they were not exactly like Wiebe's progressives. Instead, they fit the pattern of progressivism described by John Burnham. These women were less concerned with exposing corruption than with correcting social ills. They believed that they could make a difference, and they went to work through their organizations and as individuals to do so. They were selfless functionaries at the service of society. They tried to be not accept into the acquisitiveness that characterized society during their lifetimes.[5]

Another question raised by looking at the experiences of these women relates to family history. Chapter One provided a brief discussion of some of the recent literature in the history of the family. Although the conclusions of the newer literature are more positive with regard to ethnic groups and the "survival" of families against all odds, this study suggests a new issue. The suggestion is, that although modernization and urbanization no doubt influenced family structures, functions, and member roles, there is a critical gap in the study of family processes as they are affected by family-controlled factors, whether the

family is urban or rural, lower-class or middle-class. This question is suggested in one instance by the example of Mabel Northcross' leaving her high-level administrative position at a St. Louis hospital after working there for almost fifty years to return to her Hombolt, Tennessee, home to care for her ailing sister. The other example is Julia Smith's leaving her job and home in Washington, D.C., to go to her brother's home in Massachusetts after hearing that he was ill.[6] Perhaps family structural reorganization was not the result of external societal factors as much as it was the result of immediate family situations that had no relationship to external forces, economic or political or otherwise.

One of the external factors affecting family processes that deserves closer examination concerns shifting the focus from the modernization of the family to the modernization of "the state." Earlier studies discuss "peasant societies" and clannishness <u>versus</u> assimilation. These women moved from historically, extended families to independent senior citizenship not because the group or individual became "more modern," but rather simply because they could afford to be independent. Beyond the oldest women whose financial security was established early in life, the younger women in this study worked beyond the New Deal years and could benefit from Social Security. The modernization of "the

state" allowed them to work in public schools, hospitals, social welfare agencies, and libraries (segregated and/or integrated) rather than the private missionary schools, charity groups, and the like and consequently to benefit from institutional pension plans. Their mothers often worked, when they worked, for these private institutions in which even their wages were possible only because of some generous benefactor(s). Or they worked as domestics, and even the New Deal, at first, included no retirement plan for them. The modernization that was most important in determining the quality and the characteristics of these women's lives often originated outside of the family. The same may be true for other family groups regardless of class and regardless of ethnicity.[7]

The internal/external factors impinge once again on issues related to class- and caste-group membership. As explained earlier, because of caste-related problems, the class group could not be fully aloof from the lower classes. The consciousness of these women as members of a "racial group" was consistent. They suffered from no caste identity confusion. They knew who and what they were. But neither did they suffer from "racial psychosis," as Reuter termed it. Even though the caste factors that had any effect on their lives continued to be a factor throughout the years of this

study, they reflect the changing significances, not the declining significances of caste, and while Wilson found class becoming more important and caste becoming less important, over the last thirty years in the experiences of these women, class not only remained less important than caste, but additionally there were no indications that it was becoming any more important than it ever was. To paraphrase C. Van Woodward, Jim Crow's career was indeed a strange one.[8]

Another question raised by this study concerns the role of structure in social groups in bringing about social change. While this study shows the importance of networks in any struggle for social change, it also suggests that the more "weak ties" (i.e, the more diverse the group) the better the chances for success. The more support that the women of this study had from different groups, the more successful they were. Homogeneity and intense cohesiveness seem to have contributed little to the success of these women in many of their endeavors.[9]

Finally, the data on these women's lives might suggest another area for further study. It concerns the use of the term "prejudice" by older women to describe some of their circumstances and the use of the term "racism" by younger women. This shift also reflects a challenge to Wilson's conclusion mentioned earlier. At some point in the history

of this group, conditions changed significantly enough that "racism," a term connoting power and powerlessness, became a part of these women's basic vocabulary. Other scholars have explained the entrenchment of separate systems beginning at least as early as the Plessy _vs_ Ferguson decision in 1896. And these women talked fairly consistently about living in integrated neighborhoods as children through the 1920s and not having that option as adults. Certainly the change in term usage reflects that increasing rigidity in the social system. But, also, one term reflects optimism and the other reflects pessimism. The implications, if any, are not clear. But they appear to have ramifications as significant as the shift from the use of the term "colored," a term perfectly acceptable to most "Americans of color," to "Negro" to "black."

The women in this study were participants in family groups, class groups, gender groups, and others. But they simultaneously operated inside of larger social, political, and economic groups. In the historical process, those internal and external factors constantly converge and diverge, dispell and attract, support and oppose, push and pull, usually for some discernible reason. And in the case of small social groups, the results are different for different groups. For example, unlike many white middle-

class women, the women of this study were socialized to believe that they could do anything probably _because_ they were women as much as in spite of their being women. But it is only _because_ they were black that that socialization was imperative because they were women. Black women who had little or no education during the early years of this study had few occupational alternatives to domestic work in a white home. In the minds of their parents, if they were women and domestic workers, they were too vulnerable to sexual exploitation on their jobs. If they were black women domestic workers and a transgression occurred, they would have little or no redress. The combination of economic class, gender, and "race" in this case held too many negative possibilities. On the other hand, education, a social class value, could remove them from some of those dangers. The economic-class result, presumably, a better paying job, helped to buttress and even to raise the social class by allowing the kinds of experiences (travel, more education, etc.) that only money could buy. With their economic and social status in place, these women were looked to, encouraged to, and expected to "take up the crosses" of the less-articulate masses. They consequently became political and social leaders in the organized movements of the larger group.

A second example concerns the influence of the caste

system. Caste factors often determined where the women could go to school, live, work, and recreate. The result was the formation of group consciousness and caste networks that might never have materialized otherwise. The caste system determined wages and consequently how they could or could not live. The caste system created social conditions that, in general, even determined how the women worked in their attempt to compensate their clients for inadequate facilities and unequal opportunities. The caste system affected their family lives as many of the women as children had to leave their families just to attend school.

The primary, public identity of these women concerned their caste membership. Beyond their homes, the caste factor was so important that it impinged on practically every aspect of their lives. Yet while recent scholarship has the importance of "identity" to a person, that literature, sociological, psychological, and historical rarely demonstrates the potential diversity of identities that might be important for a single individual.[10] Much of the recent historical literature appropriately points out the significance of worker consciousness, or ethnic identity among groups and individuals. But this study of lower-level professional black women workers reveals how it was possible, while having a primary identification with one

membership group, to make decisions based on identification with several groups. Black nurses could take a position on pending legislation based on their multiple identities as women, blacks, nurses, and middle-class persons. The few materials that are available on the classroom activities of the public school teachers clearly indicates that their "lessons" resulted not simply from the subject-content area but from the teacher's own class and caste background. Undoubtedly, this is not a surprise.

One of the major goals of "the new social history" has been to explain the complexity of historical experiences. And while it is admittedly impossible to write, literally, "total history" as Zeldin called it, this study has been an attempt to examine, as much as possible, a history of a small group, so as to consider economic, political, and social changes taking place among the individuals, within the group, and within the society while showing the role of the individuals and the group within their own institutions as those institutions fit into even larger socio-cultural models.

Notes

Introduction

[1] Theodore Zeldin, "Social History and Total History," Journal of Social History 10 (1976):237-245.

[2] See, for example, Author Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family (New York, 1917-1919); Virginia Yans McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 2 (1971):299-314; Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1960); and Herbert Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976). On the family as a developmental institution, see Tamara K. Hareven, "The Family as Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycles," Journal of Social History 7 (1974): 322-392; and Modernization and Family History: Perspectives on Social Change," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 2 (1976):190-206.

[3] For a recent, broad treatment, see Peter Calvert, The Concept of Class: An Historical Introduction (London, 1982), and on black groups, see, for example, John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, (1937; rpt. New York, 1957).

[4] As a representative of the earlier type of labor history, see the labor studies by John Commons, Selig Perlman and Phillip Taft. Later studies, which focus on workers include David Montgomery, Workers Control In America (Cambridge, 1979) and Michael H. Fricsh and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds., Working Class America (Urbana, IL, 1983).

5New studies on the professions include Jethro K. Lieberman, The Tyranny of the Experts: How Professionals Are Closing the Open Society (New York, 1970); Margali S. Larson, The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis (Berkeley, California, 1977); Terence James Johnson, Professions and Power (London, 1972); and Thomas L.

Haskell, ed., The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory (Bloomington, Ind., 1984).

6
Compare, for example, the biographical articles of Jane Addams, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in Elmer Cleveland and Warren D. Foster, Heroines of Modern Progress (New York, 1913) with recent biographical interpretations of the same women. An example of a more recent biographical treatment is Gerda Lerner, The Grimke Sisters From South Carolina (New York, 1975). An example of a recent study of the feminist movement in Aileen Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920, (New York, 1965).

7
Classic works include, Oliver Cox Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics (1948; rpt; New York, 1959) and John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town.

8
See J. Clyde Mitchell, "Social Networks," Annual Review of Anthropology 3 (1974):279, and "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," in Mitchell, ed., Social Networks in Urban Situations (Manchester, 1969); and Jeremy Bossevain, Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulations, and Coalitions (Oxford, 1974).

9
"Books, Blacks Beautiful to Her," The Dallas Morning News, June 23, 1971, Clara Jones Papers, Black Librarians' Archives, North Carolina Central University School of Library Science, Durham, N.C. (Hereafter cited as NCCU-BLA.)

Part I

Introduction

[1] William Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in America," <u>American Quarterly</u> (1965):3-11.

Chapter 1

[1] Older, traditional works in family history include Arthor Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family (New York, 1917-1919); Willystine Goodsell, The Family as a Social and Educational Institution (New York, 1915); and more recently in a similar tradition, Edmund Morgan, The Puritan Family: Essays on Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century Virginia (New York, 1966).

[2] Phillip Grevin, Jr., "Family Structure in Seventeenth Century Andover, Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly 23 (1966):234-256 and Bernard Farber, Guardians of Virtue: Salem Families in 1800 (New York, 1972).

[3] Virginia Yans McLaughlin, "Patterns of Work and Family Organization," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 2 (1971):299-314 and, "A Flexible Tradition: South Italian Immigrants Confront a New Work Experience," Journal of Social History 7 (1974):427-445; Tamara Hareven, "Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town, 1900-1924," Journal of Urban History 1 (1975):365-389; John Bodnar, "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America," Journal of Social History 10 (1976):44-71; John Bodnar, Michael Weber, and Roger Simon, "Migration, Kinship and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1930," Journal of American History 66 (1979):548-565; and Elizabeth Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household: Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth Century Boston," Journal of Social History 6 (1972): 3-31.

[4] William Goode, World Revolution and Family Patterns (New York, 1963); Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1960); William Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in America, 1825-1875," American Quarterly 17 (1965): 3-7; John Bodnar, "Immigration and Modernization," ibid; John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York, 1970); Bernard Farber, Guardians of Virtue, 191-205; John Bodnar, "Immigration, Kinship, and the Rise of Working Class Realism

in Industrial America," *Journal of Social History* 14 (1980): 45-59; and John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960* (Urbana, Illinois, 1982).

5
Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, 25 and John Bodnar, "Materialism and Morality: Slavic-American Immigrants; Education, 1890-1940," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 3 (1976): 1-19.

6
Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th Century America," *Social Research* 39 (1972): 652-678; and Virginia Yans McLaughlin, "A Flexible Tradition: South Italian Immigrants Confront a New Work Experience."

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W.E.B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899, rpt. Millwood, N.Y., 1973); W.E.B. DuBois, ed., *The Negro American Family* (1909, rpt. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970); W.E.B. DuBois, *The Black North in 1901: A Social Study* (1901, rpt. New York, 1969). See also, Hortense Powdermaker *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (New York, 1939); Robert A. Warner, *New Haven Negroes: A Social Study* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1940); Allison Davis, et al., *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago, 1941); St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1948); and John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Garden City, New York, 1957).

8
See Herbert Gutman, "Persistent Myths About the Afro-American Family," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1975): 181-210 and *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York, 1976).

9
E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York, 1957). For a similar discussion, see Nathan Hare, *The Black Anglo Saxons* (New York, 1965).

[10] Robert Hill, _The Strengths of Black Families_ (New York, 1971). See also, Warren TenHouten, "The Black Family: Myth and Reality," _Psychiatry_ 33 (1970), 145-173; Andrew Billingsley, _Black Families in White Amerca_ (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968); Robert Staples, ed., _The Black Family: Essays in Modern Society_ (Belmont, California, 1971); John Scanzoni, _The Black Family in Modern Society_ (Boston, 1971); Susan Lebsock, "Free Black Women and the Question of Matriarchy, Petersburgh, Virginia, 1784-1820," _Feminist Studies_ 7 (1982): 271-292; Richard A. English and Walter R. Allen, "Beyond Pathology: Themes in Historical and Contemporary Research on Afro-American Families," _The Committee for Gender Research_ (1983), 2-4; and Robert Staples, "Towards a Sociology of the Black Family: A Theoretical and Methodological Assessment," _Journal of Marriage and the Family_ 33 (1971): 119-138.

[11] Mary Church Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_ (Washington, D.C., 1940), 59. Terrell became a teacher despite her father's disapproval. But even though her father was concerned about his daughter's image, he also expressed concern that his daughter, who did not need to work, would be taking a job that some woman who did need to work might otherwise obtain. Terrell was later a very popular lecturer in the U.S. and in Europe on several circuits, including the Chautauqua.

[12] Julia Smith, interview transcript, Black Women's Oral History Project, (Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 1980), ii, 4. (Hereafter cited as BWOHP).

[13] Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, (1981), 2-3, 5.

[14] Ruth Ann Stewart, _Portia: The Life of Portia Washington Pittman, The Daughter of Booker T. Washington_ (Garden City, New York, 1977), 68.

[15] Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, (1980), 2, 5.

[16] For examples of the significance of life-cycle analyses, see Tamara Hareven, "Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town, 1900-1924," Journal of Urban History 1 (1975): 365-389; Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England and Industrial Community (Cambridge, 1982); and "Family Forces: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle," Journal of Social History 7 (1974): 322-329; and Laurence Glasco, "The Life Cycles and Household Structure of American Ethnic Groups: Irish, Germans and Native-born Whites in Buffalo, New York, 1885," Journal of Urban History 1 (1975): 339-64.

[17] Stewart, Portia, 19.

[18] Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP 27. Julia's Aunt Florence (paternal), a public school principal, lived with Julia's family.

[19] Frances Grant described her (father's) house as a "do drop in" for relatives en route to New Jersey from North Carolina. Two of Grant's aunts also lived with her family: one until her husband finished medical school and, the other until she got married.

[20] Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 18-39.

[21] Stewart, Portia, 29-45 passim.

[22] Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP (1979), 2-3.

[23] Septima Clark with Legette Blythe, Echo in My Soul (New York, 1962) 23.

[24] Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, interview by Patricia E. Sloan, June 22, 1976, transcript, Mary Elizabeth Carnegie Black Nurses Archives, Hampton University Hampton, Virginia, 1-2. (Hereafter cited as MEC-BNA.)

25 Ophelia Settle Egypt interview, Fisk University Library Black Oral History Project, Fisk University Library Special Collections, Nashville, Tennessee. (Hereafter cited as FUL-BOHP.)

26 Henrietta Smith-Chisholm, interview by Patricia Sloan, July 17, 1976, transcript, MEC-BNA, 5.

27 Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 6-38, _passim_.

28 Stewart, _Portia_, 101-141, _passim_.

29 Septima Clark, _Echo in My Soul_, 70-85.

30 See various tax receipts in b. 8, f. 126. Angelina Grimké Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Manuscript Division, Howard University, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC).

31 All financial correspondence to Grimké after 1930 was addressed to a different address. See b. 7, especially f. 113, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

32 Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 8, 28, 39.

33 Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 41, 113. The conclusion that she lived with her parents all of their lives is based on negative evidence in the transcript.

34 See Bernard Bailyn, _Education in The Forming of American Society_.

35 Stewart, _Portia_, 17-23 and Margaret James Murray to Booker T. Washington, November 1, 1891, _The Booker T. Washington Papers_, ed. Louis Harlan and Raymond Smock (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 3: 177-78.

36
Stewart, Portia 31-38; Booker T. Washington to Portia Marshall Washington, March 12, 1904, 7: 466 and Portia Marshall Washington to Booker T. Washington, October 23, 1904, Booker T. Washington Papers, 8: 107-108. Also, in Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, April 25, 1895, Archibald Grimké reminded his daughter that her uncle and aunt, Frank and Lottie (Charlotte Forten) Grimké, were in loco parentis and that she should talk with them about any of her troubles and seek their advice whenever necessary. See b. 4, f. 66, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

37
Booker T. Washington to Portia Marshall Washington, November 15, 1906, Booker T. Washington Papers, 9: 127.

38
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 15-16. For similarly revealing examples, see Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 2, 16. One of the examples concerns Smith's traveling alone during her childhood. Smith traveled by train from Washington, D.C., to visit her grandmother in Massachusetts. Her parents instructed her to remain in her seat until her aunt or grandmother came for her, but she was left in the care of a Pullman porter who was a family friend. At some point in the trip, the railroad car was transferred to a ferryboat. The porter, in whose care Smith was left, tried to persuade her to come out with him to see the water. She politely reminded him that her instructions were to stay in her seat. She added that while everyone else was out of the car on the deck of the boat, she sat in her seat with her packed lunch, doll baby, and name/destination tag. See other examples of such training in Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, (1981), 2, and Clark, Echo in My Soul, 13-14, 29.

39
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, February 7, 1895; April 25, 1895; and March 7, 1895, b. 4, f. 66 and October 6, 1897, f. 68, Angelina Grimké Papers. In Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, March 18, 1898, the elder Grimké informed Angelina that Anita Hemmings wrote to him that she was going to write Angelina. He instructed Angelina to write Anita back and to be friendly to her if Anita wanted to be her friend. Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

40
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, June 19, 1895, b. 4, f. 66, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Angelina subsequently went to Cushing Academy.

41
"Mama Day" to Angelina Grimké, August 3, (1898), b. 1, f. 4. The relationship between Angelina and "Mama Day" is not clear. But in Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, April 25, 1895, he instructed her never to neglect their dear friend "Mama Day." In Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 29, 1895, he wrote that Mama Day was "the dear, dear friend who has indeed been a mother to you." See b. 4, f. 66, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Angelina's transgression was never revealed.

42
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 29, 1895, b. 4, f. 66; December 1, 1898, f. 68; February 15, 1899; and February 25, 1899, f. 69; and February 4, 1900, f. 70, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Concerning a memo that Booker T. Washington sent to his daughter, Portia, detailing the amounts of money he had sent to her at various places see Stewart, Portia, 67. See also Portia Washington to Booker T. Washington, June 27, 1906, 9:36-37; and Booker T. Washington to Portia Washington, June 9, 1904, 7:526, Booker T. Washington Papers and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 6.

43
Stewart, Portia, 74.

44
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, January 29, 1899, b. 4, f. 69, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

45
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, September 7, 1897; November 4, 1897, b. 4, f. 67; January 4, 1899; February 8, 1898; and March 18, 1898, f. 68, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

46
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 5. Matthews noted that the Armenians subsequently became good neighbors.

47
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 2.

48
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, June 25, 1902, reel 2, Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress. (Hereafter cited as MCT-LC.)

49
Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, September 25, 1913, r. 2, MCT-LC.

50
Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, November 20, 1913, r. 2, MCT-LC.

51
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, August 18(?) 1900; July 24, 1910; and August 7, 1910, r. 2, MCT-LC.

52
"The Emancipated Librarian," McCalls, April 1971, p. 46, Clara Jones Papers, Black Librarians' Archives, North Carolina Central University School of Library Science, Durham, North Carolina. (Hereafter cited as NCCU-BLA.) Manuscript collections at this newly-created archives were only partially processed at the time of this research.

53
Fostine Riddick, interview by Patricia E. Sloan, April 26, 1976, transcript, MEC-BNA, 16.

54
Joseph Rollins to Charlemae H. Rollins, July 17, 1958, Charlemae H. Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

55
Joseph Rollins to Charlemae H. Rollins, November 26, 1962; December 1, 1962; and December 3, 1962, Charlemae H. Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

56
Rudy (R. A.) Delaney to Sadie Delaney, n.d., vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture, New York, New York. (Delaney had organized her papers in several bound notebooks. The volume numbers represent her volumes. The notebook pages were not numbered.)

57
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 61 and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 28, 77-78.

58
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 8.

59
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 113-114.

60
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 10-12; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 10; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 2, 52-57; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 7; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 78ff; and Mary Brinkerhoff, "Books, Black, Beautiful to Her," Dallas Morning News, July 23, 1971, vertical files, s.v. Women/Biographical--Clara Jones, Walter P. Reuther Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. (Hereafter cited as Labor Archives.) See also Maggie Kennedy, "A Librarian Who Speaks Her Mind," Dallas Times-Herald, October 21, 1976 and Mary Brinkerhoff, "Fine Fabric Measure of These Two," Dallas Morning News, October 22, 1976, NCCU-BLA; Paulette Bracey, "Charlemae Hill Rollins and Her Peers," Public Libraries 21 (1982), 104-105; and Mabel Northcross interview, Meharry Medical College Department of Nursing Education. (Hereafter cited as MMC-DNE.) When Northcross' aunt died, her cousins brought their widowed father to live with Northcross's parents until he adjusted to his loss. Northcross, then working at Homer G. Phillips Hospital in St. Louis, worked there from 1921 until 1970, when her sister (who had never married and who lived with and cared for their parents until they died) became ill and had no one to care for her. Northcross cared for her sister until she died. For historical interpretations of the role of the black grandmother in the black family, see E. Franklin Frazier, "Granny: The Guardian of the Generations," in The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago, 1939), 146-159 and Faustine Jones, "The Lofty Role of the Black Grandmother," Crisis 80 (1973):19-21.

61
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, March 22, 1915, r .2, MCT-LC.

62
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, November 5, 1911, r. 2, MCT-LC. (original emphases)

63
Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, August 1, 1915; October 22, 1920, r. 2, MCT-LC.

64
Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, July 24, 1915, r. 2, MCT-LC.

65
Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, (1979), 21. Laurie was a nurse in a rural area. Her husband accompanied her on all the house calls that she had to make at night.

66
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 23.

67
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 25, 39.

68
Ophelia Settle Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP.

69
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 78ff. It is also interesting to note that Mitchell's mother and her mother-in-law lived with her family at the same time. (See Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP 23.)

70
Ibid., 79.

71
Billie Goins to Mary Church Terrell, September 30, 1920 and October 7, 1920; Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, October 6, 1920. Terrell had also supported Goins while he was in graduate/professional school. See Billie Goins to Mary Church Terrell, May 18, 1918, r. 2, MCT-LC.

72
Thomas A. Church to Mary Church Terrell, August 26, 1946; August 19, 1952; August 18, 1952; and August 19, 1952. See also, Mary Church Terrell to Phyllis Terrell Parks(?), August 6, 1952 and Phyllis Terrell Parks(?) to Mary Church Terrell, August 15, (1952), r. 3, MCT-LC.

73 Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 12 and Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP.

74 Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, August 18(?), 1900, r. 2, MCT-LC.

75 In Elizabeth Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household: Black Family Structures in Late 19th Century Boston," Journal of Social History 6 (1972): 1-31, Pleck also determined that the households and family members that accepted outsiders were quite able to do so, and that, consequently, the modifications in the structures were stabilizing rather than destabilizing.

Chapter 2

[1] John Dollard, _Caste and Class in a Southern Town_ (1937; rpt. New York, 1957); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary Gardner, _Deep South: A Social-Anthropological Study of Caste and Class_ (Chicago, 1941); and Gunnar Myrdal with Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, _An American Dilemma: The Negro Problems and Modern Democracy_ (1944; rpt. New York, 1962), 573-720.

[2] W. E. B. DuBois, _The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study_ (1899; rpt. Millwood, New York, 1973), 310-316. In this study, DuBois divided black Philadelphians into four groups. The first three ranged in economic levels from the well-to-do to the very poor. Their common denominator was their respectability or their "up-right" lifestyles. The lowest class primarily included criminals, some of whom were quite wealthy.

[3] It is very important to add here that the desire for formal education and possessing formal education are two very different phenomena. The former is clearly a social class phenomena. The latter, having education, is an economic one. Although having formal education may reflect one's parents' social class, i.e., their values, when one merely has a formal education, its connection with economic class can probably be reduced simply to the cost of the education as an indication of the wealth of the family and the earning potential it represents for the possessor. The social-class connection for the possessor is in the exposure and social training which probably accompanied the education and the general value (non-economic) which some people attach to it as a status symbol.

[4] Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, _Deep South_, 237-238.

[5] Stephen Birmingham, _Certain People: America's Black Elite_, (Boston, 1977), 94-95.

6
Clifton R. Jones, "Social Stratification in the Negro Population: A Study of Social Classes in South Boston, Virginia," Journal of Negro Education 15 (1946): 4-12.

7
Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, x.

8
Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 239-242.

9
David Gordon Nielson, Black Ethos: Northern Urban Negro Life and Thought, 1890-1930 (Westport, Connecticut, 1977), 52-54.

10
Quoted in Nielson, Black Ethos, 76.

11
The larger studies on the South include: Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South; John Dollard, Caste and Class; and Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study on the Deep South (New York, 1939). Studies on the North include: W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro and The Black North in 1901: A Social Study (1901, rpt. New York, 1969); St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (New York, 1945); John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace (1914, rpt. New York, 1969); and Robert Warner, New Haven Negroes: A Social Study (New Haven, Connecticut, 1940). Two other useful studies related to this topic are W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro American Family (1909, rpt. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970) and E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro American Family in the United States (Chicago, 1939). Hortense Powdermaker's After Freedom does not clearly define the class terms.

12
Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 244-246; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 495-506; and Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 179. By the 1930s, the black, upper class-members were becoming "brown" partially as a result of intermarriage with darker complexioned people.

13
Arnold H. Taylor, Travail and Triumph: Black Life and Culture in the South Since the Civil War (Westport, Connecticut, 1976), 190 and Frazier, The Negro American

Family in the United States, 393-419. Of all the studies consulted, only in South Boston, Virginia, in the 1940s, was there no color criterion underscoring class. See Jones, "Social Stratification in the Negro Population," 8-9.

14
Taylor, Travail and Triumph, 189; Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, ibid., Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 120-125, 498-500, 554; Dollard, Caste and Class, 88-89; and Powdermaker, After Freedom, 329. See also Emma Jones Lapansky, "Friends, Wives, and Strivings: Networks and Community Values Among Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia Afroamerican Elites," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 108 (1984: 6.

15
Taylor, Travail and Triumph, 186 and 189.

16
Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 246-67, 393-419; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 61, 63, 69, 149-51, 197, 210-17; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 531, 664-66, 557-58; Birmingham, Certain People, 65-66; and Nielson, Black Ethos, 52-53.

17
Powdermaker, After Freedom, 113; Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 144-52; DuBois, Black North, 32; and DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 319-20.

18
Dollard, Caste and Class, 88, 424, 454-58; Jones, "Social Stratification in the Negro Population," 11; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 70, 152, 286-87; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 662-665; and DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 175-177, 311-16. See also Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 433. Frazier saw the black middle class in a more negative light. He maintained that their "striving" and desire to keep up appearances left them overextended in debt for homes, furnishings, clothing, etc. He claimed that they were only copying consumptive habits of the white upper-middle classes and that culture for the black middle classes (especially the women) was only superficial. They did not read much and only occasionally went to museums, art galleries, and public lectures. Instead, most of their spare time went to social clubs, in which the chief activities were, according to Frazier, gossiping, card playing, drinking, and eating.

19
Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 245; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 65, 113; Taylor, Travail and Triumph, 185; Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 178, 181; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 102-101; Warner, New Haven Negroes, 189; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 527, 530; Dollard, Caste and Class, 85; and August Meier and David Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1958," Journal of Negro Education 28 (1959): 128-139.

20
Meier and Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 131-134; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 65, 148, 299-322, 332; Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 166, 181; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 515-16, 526, 530; and Dollard, Caste and Class, 87. The various studies seem to imply that the old elite in the South were more often college-educated than in the North, but no raw statistics were included in the works.

21
Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 393-419; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 63-64, 148-51; 197, 210-17; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 311; Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 138, 212-213; and Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 531, 665-666.

22
Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 64-667 and Powdermaker, After Freedom, 61, 150-151, 197-210.

23
Dollard, Caste and Class, 86-88, 451; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 145-154, 197-211; Jones, "Social Stratification in the Negro Population," 7-10; and Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 664-667. It is difficult to make other conclusions about the black middle class. Dollard and Powdermaker studied the same southern town at approximately the same time, but some of their conclusions are startingly different. Dollard found the family patriarchal, while Powdermaker found it matriarchal. Dollard found that middle-class women did not work outside the home. Powdermaker said they almost always did. Although Powdermaker did not explain her method for determining class, her work appears to concern primarily social class while Dollard's is social and economic. But even that is not enough to explain the differences. Because of the

confusion, the conclusions for this part of the text on the black middle class came primarily from other sources.

24 Meier and Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 130-134; Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 393-419; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 181, 227, 203-05; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 537-40, 670; Dollard, Caste and Class, 219; and Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, 230-32. Upper-class blacks in the South were probably primarily Baptists. Still, one would have to know the particular congregation to identify the status of the church.

25 Dollard, Caste and Class, 88, 219; Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 246-47; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 247; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 670-682, 714; and DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 205-07.

26 Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 215; Meier and Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 132-34; Powdermaker, After Freedom, 66-67, 151, 276-84; Birmingham, Certain People, 83, 92, 96; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, ibid., Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 531, 541-43; and Dollard, Caste and Class, 219.

27 Dollard, ibid., Powdermaker, After Freedom, 276-84; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, 320; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 531, 541-43; and Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 219.

28 Powdermaker, After Freedom, 319-20, 343-44. Emma Jones Lapansky's "Friends, Wives, and Strivings," is an excellent discussion of the "racial" consciousness of nineteenth century Philadelphia black elites.

29 Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 531, 540-43, 551-54; See also Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 249; and Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 436. Frazier maintained that the black middle class was the most racially conscious of the group. He added, they did not want segregation to end because it would threaten their status (within the black community). Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, also of the "Chicago School" (of sociology), also agreed

that black middle class persons did not try to disrupt the caste system because segregation helped to secure their position in black society. See Guy B. Johnson, "Some Factors in the Development of Negro Social Institutions in the United States," American Journal of Sociology 40 (1934): 329-37, for other explanations.

30 The two sororities usually chosen by upper-class women were Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta. There were many social clubs. In Atlanta, the elite women belonged to "The Chautauqua" and another club called "The Twelve." The most exclusive black woman's club historically has been Links, Inc. There are several dozen chapters throughout the country, but no chapter may have more than thirty members. See Meier and Lewis, History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 134 and Birmingham, Certain People, 83.

31 Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 710.

32 Powdermaker, After Freedom, 360.

33 By traditional sociologists' definitions, less than ten percent of the group fell in the lower social class.

34 Meier and Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 135-36; Taylor, Travail and Triumph, 192; and Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S., 420-446.

34 Nielson, Black Ethos, 61-69; Meier and Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia," 128, 131, 134; Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis, 543-45, 506-11; and Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Deep South, 246.

35 Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, (Washington, 1940) 7-9; Stewart, Portia: The Life of Portia Washington Pittman, the Daughter of Booker T. Washington, (Garden City, N.Y., 1977). 1-17, passim; Beulah Shephard Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 1-3, 38-39; and Angelina Grimké, "A Biographical Sketch of Archibald H. Grimké," b. 1, f. 2, Archibald H. Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Sarah Stanley Grimké to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 5, f. 92, Angelina

Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 1, 2, 5; Ethel E. M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian" (M.S. thesis, Atlanta University School of Library Service, 1959), 6-8; and Julia Smith interview transcript, ii, 18.

36
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, ii; Mabel Staupers, interview by Patricia E. Sloan, MEC-BNA, 2-3; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, ii; Charlemae Hill Rollins, Obituary, Chicago Defender, February 7, 1979; Septima Clark with Legette Blythe, Echo in My Soul (New York, 1962), 13-16; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 4-6; and Eunice Laurie interview, BWOHP, 1-2.

37
Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE. See various correspondence from Issac Fisher to Constance Fisher, Constance Fisher Papers, Fisk University Library Special Collections; Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 1; Ophelia Settle Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 5; Lula McNeil interview, MEC-BNA, 17-18; Thelma Dewitty interview transcript, (Seattle, 1976), 7-8. (Hereafter cited as Washington State Archives.)

38
Clara Jones interview and Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP; Elva Lena Jones Dulan, typed autobiography, 1, Envelope 1, f. 10a, Juanita Gray Collection, Western History Division, Denver Public Library; Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview; Barbara S. Miller interview and Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP; Gloria Smith interview, MEC-BNA; and Thelma Dewitty interview transcript, Washington State Archives, 7-8.

39
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 5-10; Angelina Grimké, "A Biographical Sketch of Archibald Grimké," 5-7 Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Gerder Lerner, The Grimké Sisters From South Carolina (New York, 1971), 359-365; Stewart, Portia, 11-12, 15-18.

40
Joyce Cooper Arkhurst's parents may not have lived together. Arkhurst did not mention her father in her interview but she talked at length about her mother, and she commented in one instance on her child-care arrangements

while her mother worked. See Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP.

41
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 18-48, 66-99; Denise Harbin, Register to Angelina Grimké Papers (1980), HU-MSRC; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, iii, 19, 205; Stewart, Portia, 31-47, 52-75; Portia M. Washington to Booker T. Washington, June 27, 1906 and June 29, 1906, Booker T. Washington Papers, 9: 37-38 and 2: 235-36, n. 2. Angelina Grimké also apparently attended Carleton Academy in Minnesota. See Gloria Hull, "'Under the Days:' The Buried Life and Poetry of Angelina Weld Grimké," in Lorraine Bethel and Barbara Smith, eds., Conditions: five, "The Black Women's Issue" 2 (1979): 17-25.

42
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii-iii, Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 9-11; and Evangeline E. M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 8-9.

43
Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," Southeastern Librarian 6 (Fall 1956): 105; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 13-16; Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3; and Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, iii, 1, 6.

44
Charlemae Hill Rollins, Obituary, Chicago Defender, February 7, 1979; Clark, Echo in My Soul, 22-23, 69, 86; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 9, 16, 25; and Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 1-10.

45
Evalyn Thomes, "Mabel Northcross: Old Miss," unpublished manuscript, 1-3; Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE; Inventory of the Constance Clementine Fisher Papers, b. 1, f. 1, Fisk University Library Special Collections; Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 1; Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 8-9, 14-16; Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 1-5; Henrietta Smith Chisholm interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3, 7; and Thelma Dewitty interview transcript, Washington State Archives, 2.

46
Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP; Leila G. Rhodes, "A Critical Analysis of the Career Backgrounds of Selected

Black Female Librarians" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1975), 111, 115; Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP; Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, interview by Patricia E. Sloan, June 22, 1976, MEC-BNA, 2, 9, 15, 16; and Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, Curriculum Vita, 1, MEC-BNA.

47
Eva Lena Jones Dulan, typed autobiography, 2-5, envelope 1, f. 10a, Juanita Gray Collection, Denver Public Library; Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP; and Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP.

48
Barbara Simmons Miller interview, FUL-BOHP; Gloria Smith interview, MMC-DNE; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 18; Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP; Mabel Northcross interview, MME-DNE; and Evelyn Kennedy Tomes and Leathia Delores Nicholson, _Black Nursing Pioneers, Leaders, and Organizers (1770-1980)_, (Washington, D.C., 1979), 7.

49
See notes 43-46 and Fostine Riddick interview transcript, 3-22 and Beulah Hester interview transcript, iii.

50
Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, February 26, 1926 and March 1, 1926 and Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, February 22, 1923, r. 2, MCT-LC.

51
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, August 12, 1907, b. 3, f. 61, Angelina Grimké Papers and Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, July 14, 1907, f. 61 and July 10, 1909, f. 63, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

52
Julia Smith, interview transcript, iii; Clark, _Echo in My Soul_, 84; and Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 12.

53
See, for example, Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE and Henrietta Smith Chisholm interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7-8.

54
See, for example, Angelina Grimké, "A Biographical Sketch of Archibald Grimké," 11-12, b. 1, f. 2. Archibald

Grimké papers, HU-MSRC; Ethel E.M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 7; and Julia Smith Interview transcript, 1-3, 6, 26).

55 Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 25, 1894, b. 4, f. 65; February 7, 1895; and October 29, 1895, f. 66; November 4, 1897, f. 67; and February 9, 1898 and January 19, 1898, f. 68, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

56 Sarah S. Grimké to Angelina Grimké, n.d. (four letters) b. 5, f. 92, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

57 S. P. Stanley to Angelina Grimké, May 9, 1887 and May 10, 1888, b. 5, f. 93, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

58 Charlotte Forten Grimké to Angelina Grimké, August 4, 1911, b. 5, f. 90, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

59 Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 6, 1905, b. 4, f. 75, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Also, see Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, June 24, 1905; October 8, 1905; October 13, 1905; and November 3, 1905, b. 4, f. 74.

60 Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, September 5, 1906, b. 4, f. 75, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

61 See, Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, July 14, 1907, b. 3, f. 61; July 18, 1913, b. 4, f. 66; August 11, 1914; Archibald Grimké Papers and Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, August 4, 1913; August 26, 1914, b. 5, f. 83, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Also see, Angelina's check stubs throughout b. 7, f. 114 and Leila Allan to Angelina Grimké (ca. August 10, 1911) b. 1, f. 11, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

62 Isaac Fisher to Constance Fisher, n.d., b. 1, f. 1, Constance Fisher Papers, Fisk University Library Special Collections. (Hereafter cited as FUL-SC). See also Isaac Fisher to Constance Fisher, Oct. 1, 1924, b. 1, f. 1. This letter is an example of how Fisher's parents encouraged, approved, praised, and rewarded her respectable behavior.

Fisher wrote:

"Your letter wrought such a transformation of happiness in your Mama and me this morning that I cannot write you a letter now. To know that you are doing so well in your work and to sense the note of happiness which you sound all through your letter . . . have just so brightened our day that we do not know what to do.

Our first reaction was to do something tangible to let you know how much we appreciate the fact that you are justifying all that we have tried to do for you in the past; and, so, here is another certified check--this time for $20.00--to get a one-piece dress. . . . You are warming our hearts by your continuance in the paths of good that we have prayed so earnestly that you would follow. God knows we are glad of you, and glad to do anything we can for you because you have always been and are continuing to be a comfort. . . .

63
Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 1-7.

64
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 19.

65
Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 7-8 and "Charlemae Hill Rollins," Obituary, Chicago _Defender_, February 7, 1979.

66
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 2, 5; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 2, 5-6; Clark, _Echo in My Soul_, 16-18, 21; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, p. 4; and Barbara S. Miller interview, FUL-BOHP.

67
See for example Miriam Matthews interview, BWOHP, 6; Julia Smith interview, BWOHP 37; and Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP.

68
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, September 25, 1907, b. 3, f. 76; May 31, 1899, b. 4, f. 69; January 19, 1898, b. 4, f. 68; February 7, 1895; April 25, 1895; and March 7, 1895, f. 66; and October 6, 1899 and March 29, 1898, f. 68. Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

69
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 18, 1898, b. 4, f. 67. Her uncle Francis, her legal Guardian, was direct with his chastisement. He ordered her "once and for all" never to leave school again without his permission. He also wrote the same to the principal of the school. Francis Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 20, 1897, b. 5, f. 91, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

70
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 18, 1897, b. 3, f. 67, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC, and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 14.

71
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 24, 60 and Clark, Echo in My Soul, 28-29, 62-63.

72
See Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, June 19, 1895, b. 4, f. 66; "Mama Day" to Angelina Grimké, August 3, (1898), b. 1, f. 4, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 4; and Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 61. See also note 70 above and corresponding narrative.

73
Booker T. Washington to Frank W. Hale, May 23, 1902, Harlan and Smock, Booker T. Washington Papers, 6: 468. Barbara Miller, one of the youngest women, remarked that she always tried to please her parents and that all of her friends were the same way. Barbara Miller interviews, FUL-BOHP.

74
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 2.

75
Julia Smith interview, BWOHP, 16, 25-26, 65; Clark, Echo in My Soul, 18-19; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 11-12; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 14; and Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 63.

76
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, April 1, 1921, Archibald Grimké Papers; Tessa (Lee) to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 1, f. 3, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 52; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 1, 2, 22, 27, 65; and Stewart, Portia, 57.

77
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 8-11; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 12; and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 11-14.

78
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 65-66, 105 and Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers: Three Lives, (Old Westbury, New York, 1979), 137.

79
Robert H. Terrell to Robert R. Church, January 6, 1891, MCT-LC, r. 3. (Copy provided by Phyllis Terrell Langston.)

80
Ruth Ann Stewart, Portia, 78-80; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 26; and Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 10.

81
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, iii; Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 6-7; Helen King, (title missing) The Chicago Courier, February 27, 1971, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA; Clark, Echo in My Soul, 63, 69-71; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 16-18; and Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 21.

82
Ophelia Settle Egypt, FUL-BOHP; Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 19; Henrietta Smith Chisholm interview, MEC-BNA, 1, 7; Lillian Harvey interview, MMC-DNE; and Thelma Dewitty interview transcript, Washington State Archives, 33. Smith Chisholm's estimated birth year is based on her statement that she was eleven or twelve years old during World War I. See Henrietta Smith Chisholm interview transcript, 3.

83
Clara S. Jones interview, FUL-BOHP; Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP; Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 13; Elva Lena Dulan, typed autobiography, 3, envelope 1, f. 10a, Juanita Gray Collection, Western Division, Denver Public Library; Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 22; Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP; Gloria Smith interview, MMC-DNE; Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP; and Barbara Simmons Miller interview, FUL-BOHP. Mary Elizabeth

Carnegie's marriage is also noted in Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, Curriculum Vita, MEC-BNA.

84
The women who had children were Mary Church Terrell (2, 1 adopted) Portia Washington Pittman (3), Susan Dart Butler (1), Charlemae Hill Rollins (1), Septima Clark (1), Lucy Mitchell (2), Ophelia Settle Egypt (1), Henrietta Smith-Chisholm (1), Lillian Harvey (3), Thelma Dewitty (1), and Clara Jones (3). Four of these women in the first cohort, three in the second, three in the third, and one in the last cohort.

85
Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, July 24, 1910; August 7, 1910; and August 21, 1911, r. 2, MCT-LC.

86
Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, August 15, 1909 and Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, November 20, 1913, r. 2; Phyllis Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, March 21, 1930; and Mary Church Terrell to Phyllis Terrell, March 26, 1930 and July 13, 1937, r. 3, MCT-LC. See also, "Charlemae Rollins: Librarian and Storyteller," American Libraries 5 (1974): 413. This article mentioned that Rollins, her husband, and their son usually spent every evening reading from the time dinner was over until the late radio news came on. And see Katharine Christinsen, "Charlemae and her Long Affair with Books," Chicago Daily News, June 7, 1974, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA. For similar reminiscences of Angeline Grimke and Susan Dart Butler, see note 54.

87
Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, March 23, 1923, r. 2; Phyllis Terrell (Langston) to Mary Church Terrell, June 23, 1946 and August 15, (1952); and Mary Church Terrell to Phyllis Terrell (Langston), July 20, 1937; and Mary Terrell (Tancil Beaudreau) to Mary Church Terrell, April 17, 1914, r. 3, MCT-LC. Robert and Mary Church Terrell adopted Mary when she was a child when her father, Thomas Church (Mary Church Terrell's brother) could no longer keep her. Mary Terrell also took Thomas Church's son around 1946 after her brother died. Mary was seventy-three years old at the time and Thomas, Jr., was only nine. He also wrote letters to Terrell while he was away at school reassuring her that he was behaving well to make her proud of him. See Thomas A. Church to Mary Church Terrell,

September 23, 1943, r. 3, MCT-LC and Sterling, Black Foremothers, 133, 151.

88
Grace [Hooks] to Sadie P. Delaney, telegrams, July 9, 1948 and January 13, [ ], vol. 2, May 12, 1951 and May 9, 1954, vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers Schomburg Center.

89
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 76; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 20. Suggestive that some of the women practiced what they preached, see Dorothy Lymas to Mary Church Terrell, (January 7, 1954), r. 2, MCT-LC. Terrell had recently returned home from a visit with her cousin, Dorothy Lymas. In this letter, Lymas sent the names of all those who provided courtesies (flowers, candies, invitations, meals, etc.) with their names and addresses. Presumably, this allowed Terrell to express her gratitude to each individual.

90
Terrell, A Colored Woman, 31 and Stewart, Portia, 93-94, 105-107.

91
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, 21-25 and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, 79-81. Of the remaining women who had children only three mentioned where they went to school. Lillian Harvey had three children between 1948 and probably the late 1950s. She did not mention where the oldest daughter went to college. But of her two younger sons, at the time of her interview (1976) one was a graduate student at Wayne State University and the other was an undergraduate at Morgan State University. Clara Jones had three children, but there was no information available on where they attended school. Barbara Pickett had two sons. One was a graduate student at the University of Illinois and the other was in school in Kentucky. See Lillian Harvey Interview, MMC-DNE, Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP, and Barbara Pickett interview FUL-BOHP.

92
On Terrell's travels to Europe see: Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, July 23, 1930, MCT-LC, r. 2 and Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 558. On her inherited property, see: Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, March 6, 1922 and Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, March 21, 1922, December 1, 1922, r. 3. On independent ownership of property see: Robert Terrell to

Mary Church Terrell, October 10, 1920, r. 2. In this letter, Robert inquired about organizing a meeting among "you who are property holders in Anne Arundel County." See also Sterling, Black Foremothers, 150, for a description of the house that she bought after her husband's death. For other references to her property at Highland Beach and Arundel-on-the-Bay, see the following letters to and from relatives regarding her invitations to them to come to her summer homes: Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, August 12, 1917, r. 3 and Anna Wright Church to Mary Church Terrell, August 16, 1927, and Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, July 22, 1927; August 30, 1937; and July 26, 1941; reel 2, MCT-LC. On possibility of Mary Terrell's domestic servants, see, Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, August (18?) 1900, in which she told him to tell Floy that she (Floy) forgot to pack some of Terrell's things.

93
See various financial documents in boxes 7 and 8, folders 113, 126, and 128, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

94
Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, July 18, 1913, b. 4, f. 66 and August 11, 1914, b. 4, f. 67; and August 31, 1907, b. 3, f. 61, Archibald Grimké Papers and Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké August 31, 1907, b. 4, f. 76; August 4, 1913, b. 5, f. 82; August 26, 1914, b. 5, f. 82; and Kate Brown to Angelina Grimké, July 14, 1920, b. 1, f. 2, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

95
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 6-22 and Ethel E. M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 8-9, 23.

96
See, Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 18.

97
Frances Grant interview, BWOHP, 4, 9-10, 29-32. See also T. P. Sevensma to Delaney, November 14, 1934, vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center and Joseph Rollins to Charlemae Rollins, November 26, 1962; December 1, 1962; and December 3, 1962, Charlemae Rollins papers, BLA-NCCU.

98
See Constance Fisher Papers, passim, FUL-SC and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 69-75.

99
See Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP and Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP.

100
It is not evident in Beulah Hester's interview that her parents owned any property other than the property on which they lived. They did, however, run an orphanage and may have owned the property and/or buildings it encompassed. All of the other women commented on the property their parents owned. For references to some of Archibald Grimké's property holdings and/or investments, Angelina Grimké Papers, 1932 Tax statement for Archibald Grimké and Swartzell, Rheem and Hensey Co. to Archibald Grimké, February 24, 1928, b. 1, f. 13, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. And see Ophelia Settle Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP.

101
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 31; Beulah Hester interview transcript, 254-55; Stewart, Portia, 34; "An Interview with Portia M. Washington in the Birmingham Age-Herald," December 1, 1901, 6: 322-27 and Mary Caroline Moore to Booker T. Washington, February 10, 1899, 5: 29, Booker T. Washington Papers; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 82; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 8, 20; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 5, 8, 28-29; Frances Grant interview transcript BWOHP, 10-11; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 8, 9, 21; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 61; Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 11; Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3; Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 11; Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE; and Jean Arkhurst interview, Barbara Pickett interview, Clara Jones interview, and Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP.

102
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 77; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 58-64, 78; Clark, Echo in My Soul, 90-91, 110; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 43; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 42-45; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 12-13, 24; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 34-35; Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 397-400; Tessa [Therese Lee] to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 1, f. 3 and Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 8, 1905, b. 4, f. 74, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Mary E. Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 19; and Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP.

103
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 37, 42, 44; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 14; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 58-62; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHF, 13; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 26, 43; Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 148-56, 397-401; Fostine Riddick interview, MEC-BNA, 10; Ethel E. M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 11; and Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP. Also of interest, in 1985, Links, Inc., completed a one-million dollar gift to the United Negro College Fund. It was the first time in history that a black organization had made such a sizable grant.

104
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 400-401.

105
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 34-35 and Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7.

106
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 9; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 31-35, 47-48, 66-67; Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, June 25, 1902; July 3, 1902, r. 2, MCT-LC; and Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, July 14, 1907, b. 3, f. 61, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

107
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii.

108
Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 50, 51, 110-112, 143-147, 164-182, 189-196, and 209-220; Mary Church Terrell to Phyllis Terrell, July 13, 1937 and July 20, 1937, r. 3; Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, October 6, 1920; Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell May 12, 1935, r. 2, MCT-LC; and Carrie Chapman Catt, "Mary Church Terrell: An Appreciation," (1936, rpt. The Oberlin College Alumni Magazine), f. 1, Mary Church Terrell Papers, HU-MSRC.

109
See Meta Vaux Warwick Fuller to Angelina Grimké, May 25, 1917 and May 31, 1917, b. 1, f. 6; Georgia (Douglass-Johnson) to Angelina Grimké, December 9, 1955, f. 9; and Langston Hughes to Angelina Grimké, May 8, 1927, f. 8. For

examples of publishers' letters to Angelina, see, n. 122 and Otelia Cromwell to Angelina Grimké, March 5, 1931, f. 3, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. See also Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 25 and Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, June 25, 1902, r. 2, MCT-LC.

110
Portia M. Washington to Booker T. Washington, October 25, 1902, 6: 559-560, Harlan and Smocks, _Booker T. Washington Papers_; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 4; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 1; Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 4; and Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 32.

111
Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, March 21, 1922, r. 3, MCT-LC. See also Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP, in which Miller recalled that her mother often had to instruct their white insurance agent to remove his hat in their home when he came to collect the premiums.

112
Charles S. Johnson to Angelina Grimké, April 21, 1925, b. 1, f. 9, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Johnson was the editor of _Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life_, the organ of the National Urban League.

113
Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, October 6, 1920, r. 2; Phyllis Terrell (Langston) to Mary Church Terrell, October 31, 1932 and [ca. November 9, 1932]; Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, September 28, 1929; Mary Church Terrell to Phyllis Terrell, January 20, 1930 and February 11, 1930, r. 3; and Dorothy Lymas to Mary Church Terrell, May 31, 1948 and May 5, 1952, r. 2, MCT-LC.

114
"CFC" to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 1, f. 3; Mary Kaubaucle to Angelina Grimké, May 7, 1920 and September 20, 1920, b. 1, f. 10; and Katherine E. Conway to Angelina Grimké, April 18, 1902, b. 1, f. 3, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

115
See, for example: Anna J. Cooper to Angelina Grimké, October 24, 1936 and "Easter Day," 1930; Ellen Gates Star to Angelina Grimké, March 14, 1925; and Lillie B. C. Wyman to Angelina Grimké, October 10, 1928, b. 2, f. 22. Wyman wanted Angelina or her father to try to get "Mr. Woodson"

(Carter?) to return several manuscripts that she sent to him earlier. Starr informed Angelina that she wanted to meet Archibald Grimké. Cooper was an old friend of Archibald and Francis Grimké and Francis' wife, Charlotte Forten. Most of Cooper's letters are in reference to them, especially Charlotte who asked Cooper before her (Charlotte's) death to be her biographer. It is not clear whether or not Cooper ever finished the biography, but _The Journal of Charlotte Forten_ has subsequently been published by several presses. The most recent one is Ray Allen Billington, ed., _The Journal of Charlotte Forten_, (New York, 1981).

116
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 54-55; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, iv; and Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, ii.

117
Mary Church Terrell to Thomas Church, January 10, 1926, r. 3, MCT-LC; Sterling, _Black Foremothers_, 140-42; and Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_, 193-95.

118
Sterling, _Black Foremothers_, 153-55 and Gladys Shepperd, _Mary Church Terrell, Respectable Person_, (Baltimore, 1959) 39-92. See also, Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, October 27, 1911 and October 27, 1912; and Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, May 12, 1935, reel 2, MCT-LC.

119
Angelina Grimké to Mr. Ogden Porden, n.d., b. 1, f. 15, Angelina Grimké Papers.

120
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 64-69, 79, 91.

121
A. D. Williams to "whom it concerns," October 1, 1919, b. 2, f. 1919, Neighborhood Union Papers, Atlanta University Center Archives.

122
Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, May 12, 1935, R. 2, MCT-LC and Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_, 287-294.

Part II

Introduction

[1] See Talcott Parson, "The Professions and Social Structures," Social Forces 17 (1939):457-467; Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work 2 (1957): 457-467; and A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford, 1928). Carr-Saunders is considered to be the first social scientist to systematically examine the process of professionalization. See also, T. H. Marshall, "The Recent History of Professionalism in Relation to Social Structure and Social Policy," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 5 (1939): 325-340.

[2] See note 1.

[3] See, for example, Allan Millett, The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881-1925, (Westport, Connecticut, 1975); William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" The Library Quarterly, 31 (1961): 306-318; and Howard M. Volmer and Donald Mills, eds., Professionalization (Oxford, 1966).

[4] See, for example, Gerald L. Geison, ed., Professions and Professional Ideologies in America (Chapel Hill, 1983).

[5] See Amitai Etzioni, ed., The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers (New York, 1969).

[6] Eliot Freidson, ed., The Professions and Their Prospects, (Beverly Hills, California, 1973). Freidson maintained that control over work is the distinguishing characteristic. In that volume, Lionel S. Lewis, "The University and the Professional Model," 267-288 and Joseph Vigilante, "The Future Dour or Rosy?" Social Work 17 (1972):3-4, 102 sees behavior and/or attitude as more important factors in classifying occupations as professions.

In a similar manner, several scholars have examined sex-segregated work places and attempted to determine what prevents an occupation from obtaining professional status. Nina Toren in "Semi Professionalism and Social Work: A Theoretical Perspective," 141-195 and Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson in "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," 196-265 in Amitai Etzoni, ed., The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations, claim that gender is the distinguishing characteristic of the so-called semi-professions. See also William Goode, "'Professions' and Non-'Professions,'" in Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, 33-43, in which he claims that social work, librarianship, and nursing are not professions. He adds that nursing and librarianship will probably never become real professions because they will probably never possess the kind of self-control that distinguishes professions from non-professions.

7
See, for example, Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and The Development of Higher Education in America (New York, 1976); Margolie Sarfatti Larson, The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis (Berkeley, 1977); and Terence Johnson, Professions and Power (London, 1972). Several recent collections of essays provide good examples of the new and diverse ways of examining professions. See, for example, Geison, Professions and Professional Ideologies in America; Etzioni, The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations; and Thomas L. Haskell, ed., The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory (Bloomington, Indiana, 1984).

8
Thelma D. Perry, History of the American Teacher's Association (Washington, 1975): 372-73. According to Perry, between 1904 and 1967 there were only six women presidents of the ATA. Five of them served one year and one, Mary McLeod Bethune, served four, consecutive, one-year terms. For every decade between 1900 and 1950 at least 74% of all black teachers were women. See Changes in Women's Occupation, 1940-1950, Women's Bureau Bulletin, no. 253 (Washington, 1954), 57-61, b. 5, Record Group 86, National Archives.

Chapter 3

[1] William Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" The Library Quarterly 31 (1961):306-18; Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools (Chicago, 1962); Richard Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," and Fred Katz, "Nurses," in Amitai Etzioni, ed., The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations, 54-81; and Barbara Melosh, "The Physicians Hand": Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing (Philadelphia, 1982):19-20.

[2] Joseph Vigilanti, in "The Future Dour or Rosey?" Social Work 17 (1972):3-4, 102 maintains that behavivor is the primary factor that determines professional status.

[3] See chapter five for a detailed analysis of the work culture of these women that was partly determined by the work ethic.

[4] Portia Washington Pittman held the equivalent of an associate (two-year) degree and had completed other college-level work. Charlemae Hill Rollins, Lugenia Burns Hope, and Susan Dart Butler held no earned degrees.

[5] Septima Clark, Echo in My Soul, 75, 83, 86 and Norma Boyd interview, FUL-BWOHP.

[6] Evalyn Thomes, "Tribute to Dr. Mabel Northcross," unpublished manuscript, 1-2 and Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE.

[7] Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 26.

[8] Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7-22.

9
Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 11-15. Robert July, a GEB administrator at the time, wrote in his interview notes that he did not believe that Carnegie had much leadership potential, but that if he had to, he would support her application but "without enthusiasm." See Robert W. July, notes from interview with Mary E. Carnegie, b. 548, f. 5866, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archives Center. (Hereafter cited as RAC.)

10
Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, curriculum vita, 1 and Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview, MEC-BNA, 8-16, passim.

11
Estelle Massey Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 1.

12
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 7.

13
Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_, 67-99; Lillian Harvey interview transcript, MMC-DNE, 1-3; Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, July 14, 1907 and July 10, 1909, b. 3, f. 61, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 16; Rhietta Hines Herbert Papers, b. 2, f. 3 and 4; and Elva Lena Jones Dulan, typed autobiography, 4, Juanita Gray Collection, envelope 1, f. 10a, Denver Public Library.

14
Mabel Staupers to L. M. Favorot. [February 16, 1937], b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, J. R. E. Lee to M. O. Bousfield, October 28, 1938, b. 217, f. 7 and Staupers to Bousfield, March 13, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC; and Staupers to Bousfield, August 1, 1945, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN) Papers, MEC-BNA. (unprocessed)

15
Scholarship application of Latis Melba Caver, 1, b. 381, f.1, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

16
For one example of a detailed discussion of education for middle class women during the late nineteenth century,

see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, (New York, 1910).

17
For examples of other areas, see William Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," American Sociological Review 25 (1960):902-914; James G. Burrow, Organized Medicine in the Progressive Era: The Move Toward Monopoloy (Baltimore, 1977); Robert E. Kohler, From Medical Chemistry to Biochemistry: The Making of a Biochemical Discipline (Cambridge, 1982); Eliot Freidson, Profession of Medicine (New York, 1970); and Jeffrey Berlant, Profession and Monopoly (Berkely, CA, 1975).

18
Thelma D. Perry, History of the American Teachers' Association, (Washington, D.C., 195) 19-23 and Ernest J. Middleton, "The Louisiana Education Association, 1901-1970," Journal of Negro Education 47 (1978):373.

19
Harriet Hill, "The Division of Librarians of the Virginia State Teacher's Association," in E. J. Josey and Ann Allen Shockley, eds., Handbook of Black Librarianship (Littleton, Colorado, 1977), 64.

20
Laura Lewis, "The Librarians' Section of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association," 52 and Carrie C. Robinson, "The Alabama Association of School Librarians, 19, in Josey and Shockley, Handbook of Black Librarianship.

21
Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 9; Estelle Massey Riddle Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 2-5; Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 19; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHHP; iii, and Gloria Smith interview, MMC-DNE.

22
Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP; Evalyn Thomes, "Tribute to Dr. Mabel Northcross," 3 and Mabel Northcross interview MMC-DNE.

23
Ethel Saunders to Sadie Delaney, April 7, 1954 and Ellenor G. Preston to Sadie Delaney, August 29, 1956, vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center;

24
Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 17; Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 12-14; Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 22; and Clark, Echo in My Soul, 77.

25
Estelle M. Riddle to Naomi Deutch, October 27, 1937, b. 711, f. 4. 16. 0. 4; Mabel Staupers to Katharene Lenroot, March 14, 1939, b. 685, f. 4. 9. 0. 5. 3 and, see also, Lenroot to Staupers, December 13, 1939, b. 685, f. 4. 9. 0. 5. 3, Children's Bureau Records, Record Group 102, National Archives; L. M. Favorot, notes from interview with Mabel Staupers, January 19, 1937, b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC; and Estelle Massey Riddle [Osborne] to M. O. Bousfield, January 28, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Papers, FUL-SC. See also Chapter four of this study.

26
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 62.

27
Application of Ollie Jewell Sims for Rosenwald Scholarship, May 15, 1936, b. 381, f. 1, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC; Mabel Staupers interview, MEC-BNA, 5; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 28; and Janie Porter Barrett to Hollis P. Frissell, December 25, 1915, Janie Porter Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives, Hampton University.

28
Clara Hamilton to Robert w. July, February 16, 1951, b. 548, f. 5866, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

29
Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and The Community, (New York, 1969), 141; Mabel Staupers, No Time for Prejudice: A Story of the Integration of Negroes in Nursing in the United States (New York, 1961), 5-14; and "A Tribute of Love and Appreciation to Lugenia Hope, Honoring Her on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Neighborhood Union," b. 3, f. 1932, Neighborhood Union Papers, Atlanta University Center Archives, Woodruff Library, Atlanta, Georgia. (Hereafter cited as AUCA.)

[30] Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 31-39; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 41; and Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 11-15, 14.

[31] Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 28. Also see chapter six of this study on work culture.

[32] Isabel Sidney to Mary Church Terrell, September 9, 1909, b. 1, f. 37, Mary Church Terrell Papers, HU-MSRC; George Davis to Angelina Grimké, May 21, 1932, b. 1, f. 4; "CFC" to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 1, f. 3, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; and Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE.

[33] "BTWBA to Honor Three for Top Achievement," Michigan Chronicle, July 1, 1961 and "Honored for Service" Michigan Chronicle, December 1, 1956, vertical files, Women-biographical, "Clara Jones" Labor Archives; Lugenia Hope to Neighborhood Union, July 8, 1935; Minutes of The Executive Board of the Neighborhood Union, July 19, 1935, b. 4, f. 1935, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA; and Mabel Staupers to Francis Gaines, November 17, 1943, NACGN records, MEC-BNA. On Staupers' earlier attempt to retire see M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, March 11, 1935 and Bousfield to Staupers, March 11, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers. Clara Jones was also honored as "Woman of the Year" by Zeta Phi Beta sorority and Norma Boyd received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Bowie State College in Maryland. See "Sorority to Honor Mrs. Clara Jones," January 23, 1971, Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA and Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, iii.

[34] Prince P. Barker to Sadie Delaney, November 16, 1953; James T. Williams to "Whom it May Concern," July 27, 1954; Harry C. Bauer to Sadie Delaney, July 9, 1954; Ruth M. Tews to Sadie Delaney, February 16, 1955; T. P. Sevensma to Sadie Delaney, November 14, 1934, vol. 5; Joan Cloke to Delaney, July 21, 1951, vol. 4; and Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," Southeastern Librarians 6 (1956):108, in vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

35
L. B. C. Wyman to Angelina Grimké, March 31, 1928, b. 2, f. 22, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC and Fostine Riddick interview transcript, BWOHP, 10. For the details on Charlemae Rollins' contribution to the publication of children's books as author, editor, and consultant, see chapters four and seven. And, of course, this was Riddick's understanding of when the clinic closed and, presumably, what she was told.

36
S. L. Smith to Sadie Peterson [Delaney], April 21, 1927, vol. 1; John W. Lockett to Sadie Delaney, March 12, 1949, vol. 2; Joanne Dann to Sadie Delaney, August 9, 1950; Felix Jager to Sadie Delaney, September 7, 1950 and (Mrs.) N. M. G. Prange to Sadie Delaney, October 19, 1936, vol. 3; H. O. Teets to Sadie Delaney, February 21, 1957, vol. 6, Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center; Herbert Hoover to Lugenia Hope, telegram, May 28, [1927], b. 2, f. 1927, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA; and R. W. Fleming to Clara Jones, February 12, 1975 and "Detroit Library Director to Get Three Honorary Degrees," DPL news release, n.d., Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA.

37
Walter Chivers, "A Biographical Sketch of Mrs. John Hope: Founder of Neighborhood Union and Pioneer Social Worker," 3, b. 1, f. A-2, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA; Estelle Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 12, 17; Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 12; Barbara Simmons Miller interview, FUL-BOHP; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, iii, 6, 63; Hospital Division of ALA to Delaney, telegram, July 3, 1947, vol. 2, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center; and Robert Olmos, "Hospital Aide Named Social Worker of the Year," The Oregonian, March 13, 1965, 15, Constance Fisher Papers, FUL-SC.

38
Paulette Bracey, "Charlemae Hill Rollins and Her Peers," Public Libraries 21 (1982):105, Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA; Elva Dulan typed autobiography, 6, envelope 1, f. 10a, Juanita Gray Collection, Denver Public Library; Lillian Harvey interview, MMC-DNE; Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 15-16; and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 37-40.

39 Clark, Echo in My Soul, 57; Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 10; "The Neighborhood Union: A Survey," 7, b. 2, f. 1925-26; and Eugene K. Jones to Lugenia Hope, May 15, 1916, b. 1-a, f. 1908-12, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA.

Chapter 4

[1] See, for example, Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *The Emergence of Modern Nursing*, (London, 1969), 148-181 and Eliot Freidson, *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge* (New York, 1970)

[2] Mabel Staupers, *No Time for Prejudice: A story of the Integration of Negroes in Nursing in the United States* (New York, 1961), 1-6. The first nursing school for blacks was formed in 1881 at Spelman College. Dixie Hospital Training School in cooperation with Hampton Institute opened in 1891. The John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital School in cooperation with Tuskegee Institute opened in 1892. In 1898, Lincoln Hospital in New York City started a training school for blacks. For details on nurse training institutions, see Patricia Sloan, "A History of the Establishment and Early Development of Selected Nurse Training Schools for Afro-Americans: 1886-1906 (Ed. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978). The original 1908 meeting of the NACGN included fifty-three women. Of that fifty-three, twenty-six became charter members.

[3] Staupers, *No Time for Prejudice*, 15-17.

[4] Ibid. and "National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc.," pamphlet, b. 3, f. 18, Carrie Burton Overton Papers, Labor Archives. See draft of the same in b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

[5] Minutes of the NACGN, August 25-26, 1908; August 24-25, 1909; August 16-17, 1910; August 15, 1911; August 17, 1918; August 13, 1935; and 349, NACGN Papers, Schomburg Center. The 1936 meeting appears to be the first at which a specific position was taken on racial discrimination. The resolution opposed discrimination against black nurses in hospitals and called for the employment of black administrators in black nursing schools and the establishment of post-graduate school courses for black nurses. They recommended that local and regional offices

take up the matter but to return it to the National if they were unsuccessful. Black male physicians, also experiencing discrimination and simultaneously organizing the National Medical Association (NMA) came to the NACGN meeting, to encourage the nurses and to offer their support. Daniel Hale Williams, the Chicago heart surgeon attended. E. P. Roberts, the first black physician in the New York City Health Department was there. John Hall of Boston was another physician who attended. Although there was some talk of merging with the National Medical Association, the nurses agreed that they should be affiliated with but not a part of the NMA. They insisted on maintaining their own identity. See Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 18, 22-23 and Adah Thoms, _Pathfinders: A History of the Progress of Colored Graduate Nurses_, (New York, 1929), 203-04.

6
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 19, 21 and NACGN Minutes, August 16-17, 1910 and August 18-19, 1931, NACGN Papers, Schomburg Center.

7
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 23, 27, 31, 39; Michael Davis to Mabel Northcross, May 7, 1934; M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, July 31, 1935; Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, September 13, 1935; NACGN records, MEC-BNA; Estelle Riddle to Bousfield, May 6, 1935; Staupers to Bousfield, December 6, 1935, b. 225, f. 9; and Bousfield to NACGN members, April 21, 1941, b. 225, f. 11 Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. See also in f. 11, letters dated between April and November 1935 between Staupers Pinn, and Elvidge in the same collection and L. M. Favorot notes from an interview with Staupers, January 17, 1937, b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

8
"Big Membership Increase Reported at Negro Nurse Association," August 31, 1939, NACGN Scrapbook, vol. 5, NACGN Papers, Schomburg Center and Mabel Staupers to [NACGN members?], January 14, 1943, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

9
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 29-31, 35-37, 39-44, 59-67 and National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth, "The Report of the Committee on Health and Housing," b. 464, f. 4.1.1.5, Children's Bureau Records, Record Group 102, National Archives. Also see notes 39-45.

10
Staupers to Bousfield, n.d., b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Fund Papers, FUL-SC. The stated year, 1935, is based on the fact that this letter was attached to a 1934-35 NACGN expense report and the 1935-36 proposed budget.

11
Estelle Massey Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 1; Mary E. Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 10-11, 15, and Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 22.

12
Mary Elizabeth Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 11 and Jackson Davis, notes from interview with Estelle Massey Riddle Osborne, September 13, 1943, Series 1, Subseries 3, b. 549, f. 5877, General Education Board Papers, RAC. Among the librarians, Susan Dart Butler arranged for her co-worker, Mae Purcell, to go to library science school. Butler founded the library branch but did not have a degree herself. After Purcell finished her bachelor's degree in library science, she became the head librarian. See Ethel E. M. Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," (M.S. thesis, Atlanta University School of Library Service, 1959), 19.

13
Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 4.

14
For good, brief accounts of some of their work, see Gwendolyn Safier, Contemporary American Leaders in Nursing: An Oral History, (New York, 1977), 293-261 and Darlene Clarke Hine, "Mabel K. Staupers and the Integration of Black Nurses into the Armed Forces," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier, eds., Black Leaders in the Twentieth Century (Urbana, Illinois, 1982), 241-58.

15
Mabel Staupers to Francis P. Bolton, November 28, 1940, NACGN records, MEC-BNA. For another similar example, see Staupers to Bousfield, (February 16, 1937), b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC. This letter indicates that on one field trip that began on January 15, 1937 and ended on January 31, 1937, Staupers left New York, spent that day in Washington, D.C., the next two days in Tuskegee, Alabama, then went to Durham, Greensboro, and High Point, N.C., Washington, D.C., or Baltimore, then to Philadelphia, New York, and back to Washington before returning to New York on the thirty-first.

16
M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, March 11, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers. See also Bousfield to Estelle M. Riddle, March 13, 1935, and Staupers to Bousfield, March 13, 1935. Bousfield was the Associate Director for Negro Health with the Rosenwald Fund.

17
Estelle M. Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, December 17, 1934, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Fund Papers. It is possible that Riddle traveled to Calhoun, Louisiana, before or after an NACGN regional meeting held in New Orleans that year.

18
Estelle M. Riddle, "Education for the Negro Nurse," typewritten manuscript, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers and "The National Health Act of 1939: Special News Bulletin," June 1939, NACGN Papers, MEC-BNA.

19
S. S. Goldwater to Florence Laskar, May 18, 1937; Staupers to Goldwater, June 18, 1937; and Goldwater to Staupers, June 22, 1937, NACGN Papers, Schomburg Center.

20
Estelle Massey Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 1.

21
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 23, 25, 27, 39; Staupers to Edwin Embree, March 18, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers; Michael Davis to Mabel Northcross, May 7, 1934; and Dorothy Elvidge to Mabel Staupers, May 6, 1935, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

22
M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, February 4, 1935; Anne Hutchinson to Estelle Riddle, May 17, 1935; Estelle Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, May 20, 1935; and Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, December 6, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

23
See Dorothy Elvidge to Mabel Staupers, July 17, 1935; Elvidge to Staupers, August 12, 1935; Elvidge to Staupers, September 13, 1935; Staupers to Elvidge, September 15, 1935; Petra Pinn to Elvidge, September 17, 1935; Pinn to Elvidge, September 18, 1935; Staupers to Bousfield, October 2, 1935; Elvidge to Pinn, October 25, 1935; Elvidge to Staupers,

October 25, 1935; Elvidge to Pinn, November 22, 1935; and Staupers to Elvidge, December 18, 1935, b. 225 f. 9, Rockefeller Foundaton Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

24
Petra Pinn to Mabel Staupers, April 27, 1935 and Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, May 6, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, n.d., b. 225, f. 9 appears to be a copy of the 1934-35 expense report. Copies of the 1935-36 report exist positively in b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

25
Dorothy Elvidge to Mabel Staupers, April 21, 1936, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

26
M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, June 4, 1936 and Estelle Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, June 10, 1936, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers.

27
Mabel Staupers to Edwin R. Embree, March 10, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

28
M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, March 21, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

29
M. O. Bousfield to [?], April 21, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers. Also see Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, January 22, 1941.

30
Mabel Staupers to Frances P. Bolton, October 31, 1941, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

31
Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, December 3, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers.

32
Mabel Staupers to [NACGN members?], January 14, 1943, NACGN Papers, MEC-BNA. Earlier, Staupers even donated part of her salary to pay for secretarial assistance. See Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, n.d., b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

33
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 57-59.

34
M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, February 4, 1935 and Estelle Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, February 14, 1935, b. 225, f. 9; M. O. Bousfield to Thelma Gibson, n.d. (probably ca October 1937 when the hospital opened), b. 225, f. 7; M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, October 15, 1937 and October 21, 1937, b. 225, f. 10; (illegible) to Mabel Staupers, January 18, 1945, b. 225, f. 11; and see also Mabel Staupers to M.O. Bousfield, December 3, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-Sc.

35
M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, September 28, 1938, NACGN Records, MEC-BNA; Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, September 28, 1938; T. Edward Jones to Mabel Staupers, May 2, 1938; and Mabel Staupers to T. Edward Jones, May 4, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

36
Thoms, Pathfinders, 202 and Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 17.

37
NACGN Minutes, August 22, 1917, NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

38
M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, March 21, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

39
Thoms, Pathfinders, 202, 213-215; Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 33; Estelle Massey Riddle, "Education of the Negro Nurse," typed ms, b. 225, f. 9; Mabel Staupers to Richard Mackenzie, January 25, 1938, b. 225, f. 10; and Estelle Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, October 17, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

40
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 12, 20-22, 93-94. On the over-all effort for state licensing in N.Y, see Nancy Tomes, "The Silent Battle: Nurse Registration in New York State, 1903-20," in Ellen Cundliffe Lagemann, ed., Nursing History: New Perspective, New Possibilities (New York, 1983), 107-132.

41
Mabel Staupers to Katherine Lenroot, March 14, 1939, b. 685, f. 4.9.0.5.3., Children's Bureau, Record Record Group 102, National Archives.

42
Estelle M. Riddle to Naomi Deutsch, October 27, 1937 and Naomi Deutsch to Estelle Massey Riddle, October 28, 1937, b. 711, f. 4.16.0.4., ibid.

43
T. Edward Jones, to Mabel Staupers, December 7, 1937, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

44
Richard Mackenzie to Mabel Staupers, January 21, 1938 and Mabel Staupers to Richard Mackenzie, January 25, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

45
Mabel Staupers to Malvina Schneider, January 24, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. Also, see Mabel Staupers to Joseph Gavagan, January 24, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

46
E. P. Roberts to M. O. Bousfield, February 10, 1939, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. Roberts was chairman of the National Advisory Council of the NACGN and a member of the National Board of the YWCA. Bousfield, incidentally, was vice-chair of the advisory council.

47
Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, February 10, 1939, ibid. Flint-Goodridge hospital was a nurse-training institution associated with Dillard University in New Orleans. Also see Mary E. Tennant, work diary entry, May 11, 1939, b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Records, RAC. In this entry, Tennant wrote that Staupers told her that the Tuskegee school would not close "because it is the best school in Alabama and its graduates are successful and are holding important positions in southern states." Tennant pointed out that Staupers also informed her of a Birmingham school that was so unsatisfactory that it should be closed.

48
Nellie C. Cunningham to Mabel Staupers, October 4, 1940 and Mabel Staupers to Viola Ford Turner, October 8, 1940, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

49
E. B. Bouroughs to Mabel Staupers (ca. October 8, 1940), NACGN records, MEC-BNA. See also, Viola Turner to Mabel Staupers, October 30, 1940, for details about some of the conditions at the school.

50
Mabel K. Staupers to E. B. Burroughs, October 17, 1940; Nellie C. Cunningham to Mabel Staupers, October 23, 1940; Mabel Staupers to Nellie Cunningham, October 25, 1940; and Nellie Cunningham to Mabel Staupers, October 20, 1940, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

51
Mabel Staupers to Viola Turner, November 29, 1940, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

52
"Riddle Raps Politics as Found in . . ." _Michigan Chronicle_, n.d., NACGN Scrapbook, vol. 3 and NACGN Minutes, August 18-19, 1931, NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

53
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 97-99.

54
Ibid., 99-100 and Mabel Staupers to Francis P. Bolton, November 28, 1940, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

55
Mabel Staupers to Francis Bolton, November 28, 1941, NACGN records, MEC-BNA; Marion Seymor to Mary Beard, January 4, 1941; and Mary Beard to Marion Seymor, January 13, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

56
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 101-102, 109-112 and Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, January 22, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

57
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 114 and Samuel Allen to Mabel Staupers, July 18, 1944, b. 1, f. 8, Mabel Staupers Papers, HU-MSRC.

58
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 114; Mabel Staupers to Rear Admiral Agnew, March 13, 1945, Mabel Staupers Papers, b. 1, f. 8, HU-MSRC. Also see letters from U. S. Naval Officer of Procurement Kenneth G. Castleman to Mabel Staupers, February 10, 1945; February 19, 1945; and February 24, 1945, asking for her opinion of three different black nurses. Mabel Staupers Papers, b. 1, f. 12, HU-MSRC.

59
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 119-112.

60
Albert Deutsch and Tom O'Connor, "Army Nurses . . . Needed, and Badly; But Hundreds of Qualified Negroes Are Turned Down," January 19, 1942 and "Nurses . . . are Scarce, But Jim Crow Keeps Negro Girls From Serving New York Sick," January 16, 1942, newspaper not identified, in b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC; "Jim Crow Blocks Army Call for Needed Nurses" and "Negro Nurses Hit Jim Crow Policy of Army, Navy," December 30, 1944, Chicago Defender; and "Here are 20 Nurses the Army Says It Won't Use," March 22, 1941, newspaper not identified, NACGN scrapbook, vol. 8, NACGN records, Schomburg Center. Also see Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 18, 29-30, 45-46.

61
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 47-49 and untitled, typed ms on the National Advisory Council, NACGN records, MEC-BNA; Estelle Riddle to M. O. Bousfield, October 17, 1938; "Proposed Advisory Council" and "Advisory Council of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (ca. January 11, 1939), b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. Similarly, an interracial citizen's group was organized in New Jersey several years earlier in an attempt to force tax supported institutions to educate and employ black nurses. See Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, December 6, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

62
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 68-82; Staupers to Bousfield, December 3, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC; "Accomplishments of the Citizen's Committee of the Graduate Nurses' Association for Years Reviewed," New York Age, December 6, 1941, NACGN Scrapbook, vol. 5; Ruth Logan Roberts to S. S. Goldwater, April 14, 1937, NACGN records, Schomburg Center; "Problems Facing Negro Nurses in New York City," n.d., b. 225, f. 9,

Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers; and Mabel Staupers to L. M. Favorot (February 16, 1937) b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

63
Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, The Emergence of Modern Nursing, 149-153; Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 123; and Mabel Staupers to Mary Beard, April 22, 1938 and "American Nurses Association, Membership in the American Nurses Association for Colored Nurses, b. 549, f. 5876, Series 1, Subseries 3, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

64
Estelle Massey Riddle to Susan Francis, October 19, 1937, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

65
Mary Hickney to Estelle M. Riddle, March 28, 1938, NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

66
Mrs. Bedford [Estelle M.] Riddle to Mary Hickney, May 5, 1938, NACGN records, Schomburg Center and Mabel Staupers to Julia Stimson, January 12, 1942, NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

67
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 131-133 and Mabel Staupers to Julia Stimson, January 12, 1942, NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

68
Untitled typed ms., April 13, 1945, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

69
"Biennial Nurses Convention," NACGN records, Schomburg Center.

70
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 133, 136.

71
"Negro Nurses Will Disband Soon," New York Times, October 21, 1950; "Negro Nursing Unit Dissolves: Its Fight Won," N. Y. Tribune, February 11, 1951; and "The Nurses Disband," Amsterdam News, February 10, 1951, NACGN Scrapbook,

vol. 8, NACGN records, Schomburg Center and untitled ms, (January 1951) NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

72
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 128-136 and "Vote Admission of Negro Nurses: State Group Takes Action at Convention," New Orleans States, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

73
"News Release from the North Carolina State Association of Negro Registered Nurses, Inc.," (ca. June 25, 1949) and Anna Ramos to NACGN, November 18, 1946, NACGN records, MEC-BNA.

74
For reference to Osborne's being the first nurse in the District with a Master's degree, see Estelle M. Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7.

Chapter 5

[1] For a brief explanation of work culture, see Barbara Melosh, The Physician's Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing (Philadelphia, 1982), 6; Susan Porter Benson, "'The Customer Ain't God': The Work Culture of Department-Store Saleswomen, 1890-1940," in Michael H. Firsch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds., Working Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society (Urbana, Il., 1983), 184-185. For comparison to work sociology approaches, see Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York, 1954); Everett C. Hughes, ed., American Journal of Sociology 57 (1952); Curt Tausky, Work Organizations: Major Theoretical Perspectives (Itasa, Il., 1970); Louis C. Schaw, The Bonds of Work (San Francisco, 1968); and Philip Elliot, The Sociology of the Professions (London, 1972).

[2] John Fitch, The Steel Workers, (1910, rpt., New York, 1969) and Frances Donovan, The Saleslady (Chicago, 1929).

[3] E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (New York, 1969). See also Herbert Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America (New York, 1977); Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," in Milton Cantor, ed., American Workingclass Culture, (Westport, Connecticut, 1979), 121-148; Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburg, 1900-1960 (Urbana, Il., 1982) Virginia Yans McLaughlin, Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930 (Urbana, Il., 1982); and David Montgomery, Worker's Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles (Cambridge, 1979).

[4] For examples that concern white women primarily or exclusively, see Nina Toren, "Semi-Professionalism and Social Work: A Theoretical Perspective," in Amitai Etzioni, ed., The Semi-Professions and their Organizations:

Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers (New York, 1969); Barbara Melosh, "The Physician's Hand", Barbara Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History (Westport, Conn., 1978) Mary Roth Walsh, Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Professions, 1835-1975 (New Haven, Conn., 1977); and Margaret W. Rossister, Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940, (Baltimore, 1982). These studies are very useful because of the questions that they address and because of the insights that they provide regarding work culture and work ethics among professional women.

5 Daniel Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1978), 11-14. See Gerald Grob, Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900 (Chicago, 1969); and Norman Ware, The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895: A Study in Democracy (1929; rpt., Chicago, 1964).

6 Porter Barrett to [Hollis Burke] Frissell, December 25, 1915, Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives, Hampton University.

7 Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 28; Florence Lattimore A Palace of Delight (Hampton, Virginia, 1915) 19, Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives, Hampton University ; Gloria Smith interview, MMC-DNE; and Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3. For librarians' comments, see Clara Stanton Jones interview and Jean Blackwell Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 25; Clara Jones Papers, unprocessed boxes labeled "Clippings 1970-76" and "Dirctor's Folders," NCCU-BLA; "Women-Biography -- Clara Jones," Vertical files, Labor Archives; and Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books," Negro Digest 1 (1950): 29-33 in Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA. For a more detailed discussion on the work of Janie Porter Barrett, see Sadie Iola Daniel, Women Builders (Washington, D. C., 1931), 53-78.

8 Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 15-18; Norma Boyd interview, FUL-BOHP; and Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 20.

9
Septima Clark, Echo in My Soul, (New York, 1962) 39-58, 65. Estelle Osborne also attempted to change the folk ways of the rural people in the Texas community in which she first taught. It was common in the area for girls to leave school before and during their junior high years, and adolescent pregnancies were also very common. Osborne worked to change the attitudes of the adults there, who accepted these occurrences as part of the "nature" of girls. See Estelle Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 20. On the "social work" of non-social workers, see Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man, (New York, 1969), 53++.

10
See Dorothy Jones interview transcript, Labor Archives, 7-10, 20-21. Later issues that concerned younger teachers like Jones included unionization, school desegregation, and other more recent issues.

11
Janie Porter Barrett, Locust Street Social Settlement (Hampton Va, 1912) 1-5 and Lattimore A Palace of Delight 19, Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives Hampton University. See also, William Pollard, A Study of Black Self Help (San Francisco, 1978).

12
Constitution of the Neighborhood Union, 1908, b. 1, f. A-1 and "The History of the Neighborhood Union," typed ms, b. 1, f. 1911-13, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA.

13
Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives,

14
Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 1, 6, 11-13 and 18-34 passim and "BTWBA to Honor Three for Top Achievement," Michigan Chronicle, July 1, 1961, in Women-Biography, "Beulah Whitby," Vertical files, Labor Archives.

15
Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 10-12, 17 and Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 9, 18-19, 20-25. See also Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 17.

16
Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 19 and Mary E. Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7.

17
Mary E. Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 12-14; Estelle Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 8; and Lillian Harvey interview, MMC-DNE. The nurses often had to be innovative to accomplish their goals. One nurse who worked at a Winston Salem, N.C., hospital, taught hygiene and child care at Winston Salem State Teacher's College in exchange for the use of the school's labs for her nursing students. See Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, December 3, 1944, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

18
Mary E. Carnegie interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7-8 and Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 5-10. See also Clara Hamilton to Robert July, February 16, 1951, Series 1, Subseries 3, b. 548, f. 5866, General Education Board Papers, RAC. This letter also documents Carnegie's volunteer work in Tuskegee and, additionally, it documents the extensive volunteer work that Carnegie did on her own time in West Virginia.

19
Spencer G. Shaw, "Charlemae Hill Rollins, 1897-1979: In Tribute," speech delivered at the Second Annual Charlemae Hill Rollins Colloquium, School of Library Science, NCCU, April 2, 3, 1982, 2-6; A. P. Tillman to Charlemae Rollins, February 11, 1942; and Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books," Negro Digest 1 (1950): 29-33, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA. See also, Charlemae Hill Rollins, "The Role of Books in Combating Prejudice," Wilson Library Bulletin 42 (1967): 176-177.

20
Barbara Miller interview and Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP and "New Director for Detroit Public Library," news release, n.d., Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA.

21
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 22-25, 37-40; Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP; and Clara Jones, "The Urban Library Scene: Challenges and Changes," address delivered at the University of Michigan Library School Convocation Address, April 1, 1971 and "Library Services to the Disadvantaged - Means and Methods," paper presented at the American Library Association Conference, June 1973, Las Vegas, Nevada, Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA.

22
Clara Jones, "The Urban Library Scene . . . ," 1-8.

23
Katharine Faville to Mary Elizabeth Tennant, April 13, 1945, Series 1, Subseries 3, b. 549, f. 5877, General Education Board Papers, RAC.

24
Latimore, A Palace of Delight, 4-6, Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 9, 13.

25
Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," Southeastern Librarian, 81 (1956): 105, Vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

26
G. F. Tobias to Sadie M. Peterson [Delaney], November 23, 1923 and Lawrence A. Oxley to Delaney, January 19, 1924, vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. At the time, Oxley was serving as President of the National Student Council for the American Church Institute for Negroes.

27
Franklin F. Hopper to Sadie Peterson [Delaney], December 14, 1923 and June 10, 1924, vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers.

28
Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," 106-107; Benjamin Brawley to Sadie Peterson [Delaney], n.d.; Ellen Glasgow to Delaney, November 10, 1932; Mary White Ovington to Delaney, February 18, 1935, vol. 1; and William Grant Still to Delaney, December 23, 1956, vol. 6. See also James Weldon Johnson to Delaney, April 27, 1937, in which Johnson responded affirmatively to Delaney's earlier request that he try to have God's Trombone's published in braille. vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

29
Mrs. N. M. G. Prange to Sadie Delaney, October 19, 1936, vol. 3, Sadie Delaney papers, Schomburg Center.

30
Bill (Cannon) to Sadie Delaney, September 15, 1954,

vol. 5 and October 31, 1957 and November 25, 1957, vol. 7, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

31
Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," 105-106, vol. 1 and James T. Williams "To Whom It May Concern," July 27, 1954, vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

32
Van Young to Delaney, October 13, 1938, vol. 5, Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

33
R. A. Delaney to Sadie Delaney, January 7, 1954, vol. 4, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

34
Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 10-20 passim; Estelle M. Riddle interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 33; Septima Clark, Echo in My Soul, 36-38; "Annual Report of the Neighborhood Union, 1913-1914," b. 1, f. 1913-14; Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA; and Ethel Evangeline Martin Bolden, "Susan Dart Butler: Pioneer Librarian," 9, 13-18. Septima Clark recalled that she once had 132 students from six years old to eighteen years old. And she earned twenty-five dollars a month on that job. Her white counterparts taught classrooms with three to eighteen students per class, and they earned eighty-five dollars per month.

35
Clara Jones, "The Black Librarian," in Annette Phinazee, ed., The Black Librarians in the Southeast: Reminiscences, Activities, Challenge, sponsored by the School of Library Science, NCCU, Oct. 8-9, 1976, 19. Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 17; Virginia Hewett, "Special Libraries, Librarians, and Contemporary Education of Black People," in E. J. Josey, ed., What Black Librarians Are Saying, (Metuchen, N.J., 1972), 268-269; and Mary Church Terrell to Mary Tancil [Boudreaux], February 14, 1920, r. 3, MCT-LC. See also Virginia Yates, "Community and Outreach Librarians: Challenge and Change," in E. J. Josey, e.d., What Black Librarians Are Saying, 241-248. In this article, Yates described black librarians' work in part as making efforts "to achieve equal rights and equal opportunities for minority people. They work with people trapped in the ghetto, and they enlist the help of concerned, non-paternalistic community people. They symbiotically confront the business community and established agencies in an

attempt to create an atmosphere in which all human beings can turn their potential into accomplishments." In Vivian Hewett, "Special Libraries, Librarians and Contemporary Education of Black People," Hewett asserted that one person could do a lot. They can "badger with advice, letters, memos, phone calls. Join a committee. Write articles. Give lectures. Spread the word. Sponsor a library school candidate. Help a student. Direct a career. Recruit minorities." (p. 273)

Part III

Sources of Power

[1] Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Positive Effects of the Double Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1973): 912-35.

Chapter 6

[1] For a detailed explanation of this concept, see Hilda Smith, "Feminism and the Methodology of Women's History in Berenice Carroll, ed., Liberating Women's History, (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 369-384.

[2] See Joan Kelley-Gadol, "The Social Relations of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Signs 1 (1976) 809-823; Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History, (New York, 1979); and, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," Feminist Studies 3 (1975): 185-198.

[3] Angela Davis, Women, Race, And Class (New York, 1981) and Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (New Yorrk, 1984).

[4] See, for example, Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York, 1972); Frances Beal, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in Toni Cade, ed., The Black Woman: An Anthology (New York, 1970), 90-100; and Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., But Some of Us Are Brave (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1982). In Gerda Lerner's The Majority Finds Its Past, (London, 1979) Lerner begins the chapter entitled "Black Women in the U.S.: A Problem in Historiography," with the sentence: "The outstanding fact about the history of black women is that as a group they have all experienced double oppression: that oppression shared by other blacks in a racist society and that peculiar to women." (See page 63 of that study.)

[5] Septima Clark, Echo in My Soul, (New York, 1962), 63 and Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 24-60.

[6] Clark, Echo in My Soul, 28. For other observations on the dangers and possible indignities of domestic service work, see W. E. B. DuBois, "The Servant in

the House," in Darkwater (1920, New York, 1969), 16 and John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (1927, New York, 1957), 152.

7
Ruth Ann Stewart, Portia: The Life Of Portia Washington Pittman The Daughter Of Booker T. Washington (Garden City, NY, 1977), 54-68, passim.

8
Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, n.d., r. 2, MCT-LC. (These pages of this letter could be a part of letters dated October 27, 1911; October 31, 1911; November 5, 1911; or, October 27, 1912. All were on stationery from The Chittenden Hotel in Columbus, Ohio.)

9
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, n.d., b. 4, f. 66. Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. See also Emma Tolles to Angelina Grimké, May 7, 1900, b. 2, f. 22, in which Tolles, Angelina's maternal aunt, discussed new dressmaking patterns and Angelina's sewing abilities.

10
Therese (Tessa) Lee to Angelina Grimké, September 23, ?, b. 1, f. 3, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Lee became a schoolteacher, but she is not one of the subjects of this study because too little of her life can be reconstructed.

11
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 23.

12
Stewart, Portia, 38 and "An Article About Portia Marshall Washington in the Indianapolis Freeman," Booker T. Washington Papers, 6:361 and 2:235-36, n. 2.

13
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 6, 1905 and November 3, 1905, b. 4, f. 74, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. See also Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 13, 1905, in which he said he was anxious to receive the poems that she had written. He added, "I . . . feel confident before I have read them that they are good."

14
Isaac Fisher to Constance Fisher, October 1, 1924, Constance Fisher Papers, b. 1, f. 1, FUL-SC. For a similar example, see Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, February

25, 1899, b. 4, f. 69, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. In that letter, Angelina's father informed her that he would not send money to her for a new dress and that she had to do what "nice girls" did and take care of her things. It is not possible to say that Mr. Grimké would have said anything different to a son.

15
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 8, 1897, b. 4, f. 67, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. It should be noted here, however, that despite the sternness of his letter, the elder Grimké did say he would refer the matter to Angelina's Aunt Lottie for a final decision.

16
Stewart, Portia, 64-72.

17
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 17.

18
Stewart, Portia, 80, 84-87; Clark, Echo in My Soul, 69-73; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 21-28; Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 18-21; and Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP.

19
Henrietta Smith Chisholm interview, MMC-DNE and Barbara Simmons Miller interview, FUL-BOHP.

20
Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 7-10.

21
Ibid., 16-19.

22
Ibid., 20-21.

23
Ibid., 22.

24
Ann Hutchinson to Estelle Riddle, May 17, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers.

25
See Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers: Three Lives, 133-151; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP,

56; and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 60.

26
Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, February 3, 1908, r. 2, MCT-LC. For information on her divorce decree, see Laura Jones to Mary Terrell, June 14, 1917. Incidentally, Jones continued to teach at Tuskegee until 1935 when she was retired in the administration's effort to cut its expenses. See Laura Jones to Mary Terrell, July 26, 1935.

27
For another example of how class and gender roles intermeshed see, Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE. Northcross commented that one of her nursing classmates said she really came to nursing school at Hubbard Hospital (Meharry Medical College) to get a husband -- "a pharmacist, a dentist, or a medical doctor."

28
Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, September 25, 1934, r. 2, MCT-LC. See also Georgia Douglass Johnson to Sadie P. Delaney, February 6, 1929, vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. In this letter, Johnson wrote, "Hearty Congratulations. I am very glad to hear that you have married and insured yourself against the loneliness that comes to us all in the later years unless we are brave enough to try it again." Johnson's letter reflects some of the same concerns that Jones's above-mentioned letter reflects as well as the letter of Mary Terrell to her husband regarding Leon Tancil's proposal to their daughter (see n. 26).

29
See Wilbur Bock, "Farmers Daughters Effect: the Case of the Negro Female Professional," Phylon 30 (1969): 17-26 and Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1973): 912-35.

30
Stewart, Portia, 74; Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 4-5, 19; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 2-4, 7; and Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 12.

31
Henrietta Veronica Smith-Chisholm interview

transcript, MEC-BNA, 3; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 17, 81; and Mary Brinkerhohoff, "Books Blacks Beautiful to Her," Dallas Morning News, July 23, 1971, in Vertical Files, Biographical-Women; "Clara Jones,", Labor Archives.

32
Booker T. Washington to Portia Marshall Washington, January 9, 1906, 8:490, Booker T. Washington Papers; Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, April 8, 1919 and June 15, 1915, r. 2; Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, November 15, 1915 and May 19, 1928, r. 3, MCT-LC; and Joseph Rollins to Charlemae Hill Rollins, July 17, 1958 and November 26, 1962, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

33
Stewart, Portia, 38-40; Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 20, 1894, b. 4, f. 65 and September 5, 1906, b. 4, f. 65, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; and Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, May 10, 1928; May 13, 1928; and February 24, 1929, r. 3, MCT-LC. There are many examples of other supportive individuals, male and female, in the endeavors of these subjects, but that support that is documented seemed to be more related to professional networks and is therefore discussed in the earlier chapters related to work (3-5) and in chapter 8.

34
"The Emancipated Librarian," McCalls, April 1971, p. 46, in Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 23; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, 24; and Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 22.

35
Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, September 25, 1913; July 24, 1915; and August 1, 1915, r. 2, MCT-LC. See also another later letter from Robert on houses that he had looked at for them in, October 22, 1920.

36
Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, February 22, 1923; May 10, 1928; May 13, 1928; May 19, 1928; and April 4, 1935, Mary Church Terrell Papers, r. 3, MCT-LC.

37
Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, October 6, 1920 and Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, November 5, 1911, r. 2, MCT-LC.

38
See, for, example the limitations on white women in the professions as detailed by Barbara Harris in Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History (Westport, Conn., 1978); Mary R. Walsh, Doctors Wanted No Woman Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); and Margaret W. Rossiter, Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940 (Baltimore, 1982).

39
Beverly W. Jones, "Quest for Equality: The Life of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954 "(Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1980), 47-48, 81-90; Mary Chruch Terrell to Robert Terrell, October 27, 1911; May 18, 1919; and August 18(?), 1900, r. 2, MCT-LC; and "Educated Colored Women," N.Y. Evening Post, January 17, 1911 and "Colored Race Prefers Intelligent Interest to Funds," (Brooklyn, N.Y.) Standard Union, in "Prominent Negro Women," Hampton Institute Clipping File, Huntington Archives, Hampton University.

40
No title, Leslie's Weekly, June 23, 1900; "Woman's Work in the World," (Springfield, Massachusetts) Republican, July 21, 1901, "Prominent Negro Women," Huntington Archives; and Martha Farrington Rice to Mary Church Terrell, May 11, 1912, b. 1, f. 36, Mary Church Terrell Papers, HU-MSRC.

41
Robert Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, August 19, 1920 and October 6, 1920, r. 2, MCT-LC. Robert Terrell's letter is another example of how blacks linked gender and "racial" issues.

42
Margaret Sanger to Mary Church Terrell, n.d., b. 1, f. 37, Mary Church Terrell Papers, HU-MSRC. Because birth control was such a controversial issue, Spanger's addendum was probably more than simply a public relations statement.

43
See Mary Kaubacle to Angelina Grimké, May 7, 1920 and September 29, 1920, b. 1, f. 10 and Gertrude Hale(?) to Angelina Grimké, October 21, 1920, b. 1, f. 14, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. See also Gloria Hull, "'Under the Days': The Buried Life and Poetry of Angelina Grimké," in Lorraine Bethel and Barbara Smith, eds., Conditions: Five; "The Black Womens Issue: 2 (1979):23.

44
John T. Hutchings to Constance Fisher, August 27, 1970, Constance Fisher Papers, FUL-SC. (Hutchings was a Regional Medical Director of Maternal and Child Health Services for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.) Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 15; Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP; and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 75.

45
See note 54 and note also the work of Janie Porter Barret through the Locust Street Settlement house and Lugenia Burns Hope through the Neighborhood Union in Atlanta, Georgia discussed in Chapters five and eight.

46
Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, iv, 25.

47
Lillian Harvey interview, MEC-BNA.

48
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 21, 72-73.

49
Clark, _Echo in My Soul_, 66-68.

50
Jones, "Quest for Equality," 39-40.

51
Booker T. Washington to Mary Caroline Moore, May 17, 1909; William Sidney Pittman to Booker T. Washington, May 24, 1909; and Portia Washington Pittman to Booker T. Washington, November 3, 1910, 10:106-107, 111-112,437, _Booker T. Washington Papers_.

52
Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America," _Social Research_ 39 (1972) 652-678; Kathryn Kish Sklar, _Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity_ (New York, 1976), especially, 184-216; and Allen Davis, _American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams_ (London, 1973), 24-37.

53
Addie W. Hunton, "The Southern Federation of Colored Women," _Voice of the Negro_ (December 1905): 850.

54
Beulah Hester interview transcript, BWOHP, 5-7, 30.

55
M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, March 11, 1935 and Bousfield to Staupers, March 11, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

56
Mabel Staupers to M. O. Bousfield, March 13, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

57
Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 6-7. See also Estelle Massey interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 19-21. In Portia Washington Pittman to Booker T. Washington, October 23, 1904, Portia told her father that she would be glad when school was over because she stayed nervous all the time. 8:107-108, Booker T. Washington Papers.

58
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 112-114. There is some impressionistic information that Angelina Grimké also went through periods of illnesses (perhaps extended periods). In one instance she was taking electrical shock treatments. See Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, January 4, 1898 and January 19, 1898, b. 4, f. 68, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. See also, Hull, "'Under the Days': . . . ," 18.

59
Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 75.

60
Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, 74-75, Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 43. Interestingly, Mitchell said she did not consider herself a "women's libber" but that she would probably call herself a feminist.

61
Florence Edmonds interview transcript, 38; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, 23; Beulah Hester interview transcript, 67-68; and Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 25-26. Regarding the parallel to Catharine Beecher, see Sklar, Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity.

62
"An Interview with Portia Marshall Washington,"

Birmingham Age-Herald, November 23, (1901), 6:322-328, Booker T. Washington Papers and Stewart, Portia, 140.

63
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 53, 63-65, 71-72. For contemporary newspaper accounts of Georgiana Smith's concert performance, see Monroe A. Majors, Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities, (1893; rpt., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 123-124.

64
Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, (Washington, D.C., 1940), 9-10 and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 5.

65
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 1-2, 104; "Sketch of the Life of Mary Church Terrell," 2, 3.1, f.1, Mary Church Terrell Papers, HU-MSRC. Stewart, Portia, 8; Lerner, The Grimké Sisters of South Carolina, 359-361; and Angelina Grimké "A Biographical Sketch of Archibald H. Grimké," b. 1, f. 2, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

66
Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 2-3; Paulette Bracy, "Charlemae Hill Rollins and her Peers," Public Libraries 21 (1982) 104; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 2-6; Joyce Cooper Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP; and "Charlemae Hill Rollins" obituary, Chicago Defender, Sun Times, and Tribune, February 7, 1979, Charlemae H. Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

67
Bell Hooks, Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism, (Boston, 1981); Davis, Women, Race, Class; Giddings, When and Where I Enter and Gloria Joseph and Jill Lewis, eds., Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives (Garden City, N.Y. 1981).

68
Jeanne Noble, Beautiful Also are the Souls of My Black Sisters: A History of the Black Woman in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.Y., 1978), 299-304, 208-211.

69
Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Race, Class and Gender: Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood," Feminist Studies 9 (1983): 131-150.

70
The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement" in Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, _But Some of Us are Brave_ (Old Westbury, N.Y. 198), 13-22. See also Robert Staples, _The Black Woman in America: Sex, Marriage, and the Family_ (Chicago, 1978), 161-182. For a brief summary of the arguments on black male-female relationships and feminism, see Giddings, _When and Where I Enter_, 307-309.

71
Ideology of Inferiority: Inheritance From Europe," in Barbara Harris, _Beyond her Sphere_, 3-31.

72
As in all cases, there is an alternative interpretation possible here. The achievement-oriented socialization, the male encouragement of the subjects, etc., could have been precisely because they were female rather than in spite of their being female. And if this alternative is the case, that socialization and encouragement was in fact to protect the women because they were women. But, still, if this be the case, the desire and effect was to protect them from the public by preparing them for it rather than by keeping them from it.

Gloria Smith, the Kansas nursing educator made a remark during her interview that was probably more insightful than she realized. She said that black women were accustomed to being leaders at home, in the community, and at work. She said they learned early to fend for themselves and that they couldn't simply be "little ladies" but, rather, had to learn skills so that no one could take advantage of them.

Chapter 7

[1] William Julius Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions (Chicago, 1978). For examples of the controversy aroused by Wilson's book, see Cora Bagley Marrett, "The Precariousness of Social Class in Black America," Thomas F. Pettigrew, "The Changing -- Not Declining -- Significance of Race," and William J. Wilson, "A Response to Marrett and Pettigrew," contemporary Sociology 9 (1980) 17-24 and see Charles Vert Willie, ed., Caste and Class Controversy (Bayside, New York, 1979).

[2] W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology 42 (1936):234.

[3] Some of the studies that oppose Warner's explanation in cases where subordinate and superordinate groups were "racially" different include Charles S. Johnson, Growing up in the Black Belt (Washington, D.C., 1941), 326; Leo Kuper, "The South African Native: Caste, Class, Proletariat, or Race," Social Forces 28 (1949):146-153; Maxwell Brooks, "American Class and Caste: An Appraisal," Social Forces 25 (1946):207-211; and Ralph Pieris, "Caste, Ethos, and Social Equilibrium," Social Forces 30 (1952):409-415. The strongest rebuttals to Warner's work came from Oliver Cox. See Oliver Cox, "The Modern School of Race Relations," Social Forces 21 (1942):218-226; "Race and Caste: A Distinction," American Journal of Sociology 50 (1945):360-68; and Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics (1948 rpt., New York, 1959). See also Deborah Gray White, Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South (N.Y. 1985).

[4] See Monroe S. Edmonson, "Race" in Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, eds., A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York, 1967), 569.

[5] Quoted in Oliver Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, 507

[6] Mary Church Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_, (Washington, 1940), 7, 15-16; Eunice Laurie interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 4-5; and Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 14.

[7] Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 5. Grant's father was the inventor of the artificial palate for cleft palates, the only black president of the Harvard Odontological Society, and a member of the faculty of the Harvard Dental School for fifteen years.

[8] Thelma Dewitty interview transcript, Washington State Archives, 24-25, 44. See also Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, ii, 4-5. Smith's father was a special examiner for the U.S. Bureau of Pensions. He always obtained advance hotel reservations in the city where he had to go to work but upon arrival, had to fight (verbally) to get his room when the proprietors realized that he was black. And see Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3. Staupers' mother took her to the neighborhood Episcopal Church shortly after they arrived in New York from Barbados. She was promptly advised that "they did not take colored children."

[9] M. C. Stanley to Sara Stanley, February 27, 1879, Archibald Grimké Papers, b. 1, f. 5, HU-MSRC. See also M. C. Stanley to Sara Stanley, February 21, 1879.

[10] Sara Stanley to Archibald Grimké, April 25, 1887, b. 3, f. 79, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. (original emphases)

[11] Terrell, _A Colored Woman in a White World_, 113-119.

[12] Charlotte Forten Grimké to Angelina Grimké, September 23, 1899, b. 1, f. 1, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

[13] See Booker T. Washington to Julian LaRose Harris, October 16, 1902; "An Article About Portia Marshall Washington in the Indianapolis _Freeman_," 6:360-63, 594; "An Interview with Portia Marshall Washington in the

Birmingham Age-Herald," November 23, (1901); T. Thomas Fortune to Booker T. Washington, November 3, 1902, 6:322-28, 571; and "An Item in the New York World," October 23, 1904, 8:105, Booker T. Washington Papers. The last-cited article was actually titled and subtitled: "Leaving Booker T. Washington, Growing Opposition to Him Among Those Who Were His Surest Friends, Assert He Does Not Live Up to His Own Preaching, School He Advocates Not Good Enough for His Children -- Educated With Whites."

14 Stewart, Portia: The Life of Portia Washington Pittman, the Daughter of Booker T. Washington (Garden City, N.Y., 1977), 32-33, 41-42.

15 Ibid., 55, 63; Portia M. Washington to Booker T. Washington, June 29, 1906. In the elder Washington's letter to his daughter, he told her to forget about American prejudices and every other kind of prejudice. See Booker T. Washington to Portia M. Washington, November 15, 1906, 9:37, 127, Booker T. Washington Papers.

16 Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 85-87.

17 Florence Edmonds interview transcript, BWOHP, 13; Estelle Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 27-29; Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP; Thelma Dewitty interview, Washington State Archives, 1-2. Osborne did not explain what the "critic teaching" classes were.

18 Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 46-47.

19 Ibid., 250-256. For the impact of World Wars on the employment of American women in general, see Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II (Westport, Conn., 1981) and Maurene W. Greenwald, Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women in the United States (Westport, Conn., 1980).

20 Clark, Echo in My Soul, 27, 36-38, 56-57.

21
Ibid., 92-94, 111-117.

22
Ibid., 116-119, 180-225. The "commercial activities" involved a not-for-profit store, in which products purchased in town, where black students could not shop, were resold.

23
Elva Lena Jones Dulan, typed autobiography in Juanita Gray Papers, Denver Public Library, 2-3.

24
Ibid., 4-6.

25
Estelle Massey Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 33-34. A Black, St. Louis attorney, Homer G. Philips, obviously the man for whom the hospital was later named, was successful in embarrassing the city into eventually making some improvements at the hospital. He wrote scathing editorials in the local newspapers about the city expenditures on the zoo's new monkey house and snake pit in contrast to expenditures on the "death trap" called City Hospital #2. Phillips worked hard at exposing the city's injustice, but he paid the ultimate cost of agitating: he was assassinated.

26
Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 6-18.

27
Henrietta Veronica Smith Chisholm interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 11. In pages 12-14, Smith Chisholm commented that she only visited whites when she had to (out of necessity not desire); that she had at first refused to join the ANA because they first refused to have her; and that she would only want to mix with whites for educational reasons.

28
Lula Catherine Jordan McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 9-10.

29
See August Meier, _Negro Thought in America, 1890-1915_, (Ann Arbor, 1966), 121-157, and William L. Pollard, _A Study of Black Self-Help_ (San Francisco, 1978).

30 Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 17-23.

31 Ibid., 26-32, 43.

32 Ibid., 31-49.

33 Ibid., 42.

34 See Introduction to Part Two, note 7 and Chapter Four note 1.

35 See Ophelia Settle Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP.

36 Faustine Jones, "Ironies of School Desegregation," _Journal of Negro Education_ 47 (1978):227 and Robert Hooker, _Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States_ (Nashville, 1970), prepared for the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In Arnold Taylor, _Travail and Triumph_, 188, he wrote that the NEA estimated that between 1954 and 1970, discrimination in integration "cost the black community 31,584 teaching positions and $250 million annually in salaries."

37 James Weldon Johnson, _The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man_ (1927:rpt., New York, 1969), 144-46.

38 Charles Chesnutt, "The Wife of His Youth" in _The Wife of His Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line_ (1899; rpt., Michigan, 1968), 1.

39 Janie Porter Barrett, _Locust Street Social Settlement: Founded and Managed by Colored People_ (Hampton, Va., 1912) and Florence Lattimore, _A Palace of Delight_ (Hampton, Va., 1915), Janie Porter Barrett Papers, Huntington Archives, Hampton University; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 11-13; Robert Kraus, "Black Library Chief Bears no Scars"; Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA; and G. F. Tobias to Sadie M. Peterson (Delaney) November 22, 1923, vol. 1, Sadie P. Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

40 Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 62; Norma Boyd interview transcript, BWOHP, 9; Elva Jones Dulan, typed autobiography, 2, Juanita Gray Papers, Denver Public Library; and Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP. Faculty members of the two Washington, D.C., schools had college degrees from Harvard, Oberlin, Yale, Radcliffe, Smith, Wellesley, Dartmouth, Amherst, Williams, Western Reserve, Columbia, Brown, University of Glasgow, and many other schools considered to be among the nation's best. See Mary Church Terrell, "History of the High School for Negroes in Washington," *Journal of Negro History* 2 (1917):252-266 and G. Smith Wormley, "Educators of the First Half Century of Public Schools in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History* 17 (1932):124-14. And one author claimed that at one time, more faculty members in the two District high schools had earned Ph.D.'s (from those same schools, incidentally) than the faculty at Howard University. The principal to whom Jones referred could have been Arthur Fauset, author of *Black Gods in the Metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1944).

41 Clark, *Echo in My Soul*, 59; Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 98-100; Clara Jones, Convocation Address Delivered at the University of Michigan Library School, April 1, 1971, Clara Jones Papers, NCCU-BLA; and Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and other American Problems* (New York, 1908), 96-108. Joyce's earlier introduction to this idea is in *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (New York, 1908), 199-248. The Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers at Fisk University also contained applications of black registered nurses for grants and fellowships to further their training. No other documentation of their lives was available, and so they are not a part of this whole study, but it is noteworthy that two of the four applicants whose files exist wrote in their applications of their desire to serve the black community. Vallateem Virginia Dudley, a 1940 graduate of Michigan State University, was a Health Counselor in the Secondary Schools of Louisville, Kentucky. She wrote: "Being in the South, my work has been limited to Negroes, which gives our community health problem a definite racial slant. Work in other communities has been proven to benefit by Negro workers among their own group, therefore if I am able to so develop myself, I will have that advantage in this or any similar community." Latis Melba Carver ended her application for a fellowship for advanced nursing training

with "I have set myself a tack which only through broader education can I accomplish! I, the Black nurse of America, wish to do my part!" The year of the application, 1936, was very early for black Americans to speak of themselves as black rather than as Negroes. See applications of Latis Melba Carver, November 21, 1936 and Vallateem Virginia Dudley, May 16, 1936, b. 381, f. 1, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. See also Esther Losh to M. O. Bousfield, October 12, 1938, b. 217, f. 15, in which she inquired about post-graduate work. Losh wrote "I am now working in a hospital where there are white supervisors and I feel that as soon as I can receive this course [in operating room work] I will be able to qualify for such a position and . . . I will be able to lead my people."

42
See Jones, "Quest for Equality," 171-72, and Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 62.

43
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 160-162; "Her Race Goes Marching On," Washington Post, October 5, 1904; "Mrs. Terrell's Presentation on Mob Law," New York Age, June 16, 1904; "Colored Race Prefers Intelligent Interest to Funds," Brooklyn (NY) Standard Union, December 13, 1911, in vol. 7, Prominent Negro Women, Huntington Archives. See also Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching From a Negro's Point of View," North American Review, 178 (June 1904):853-868.

44
Robert H. Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, April 8, 1919 and Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, May 18, 1919, r. 2, MCT-LC.

45
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, August 18, 1900; October 10, 1911; and October 27, 1912, r. 2, MCT-LC.

46
Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 185-86.

47
Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP.

48
Barbara Miller interview, Clara Jones interview, and Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP and Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 67. For a brief account of

Hackley's life, see Hallie G. Brown, Homespun Heroines (1926; rpt., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 231-236.

49

Augusta Baker, "My years as a Children's Librarian," in E. J. Josey, ed., Black Librarianship in America (Metuchen, N.J., 1970), 117-123.

50

"Charlemae Hill Rollins," Obituary, Chicago Defender, February 7, 1979; Spencer G. Shaw, "Charlemae Hill Rollins, 1897-1979: In Tribute," paper presented at the Second Annual Charlemae Hill Rollins Colloquium, NCCU School of Library Science, April 23, 1982, 3, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA; Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books," Negro Digest, 1 (1950):29; and "Charlemae Rollins: Librarian and Storyteller," American Libraries, 5 (1974):413. See also Kathryn Christensen, "Charlemae and Her Long Affair with Books," Chicago Daily News, June 7, 1974, Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA. Please also see Chapter Four on the history of the NACGN for a detailed account of the "race" work of the black nurses. The organizational history of the black nurses is not just a history of a struggling professionalizing and professional group. It is also the story of the struggle for equal treatment of black patients in segregated, underfunded, underequipped hospitals. The nurses were trying to improve health care for the black public.

51

Paulette Bracey, "Charlemae Hill Rollins and Her Peers," Public Libraries, 21 (1982):104-05; Charlemae Hill Rollins, "The Role of Books in Combating Prejudice," Wilson Library Bulletin 42 (1967):176-77; Spencer Shaw, "Charlemae Hill Rollins, 1897-1979 . . . ," 3, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA; and Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books," 30.

52

A. P. Tillman to Charlemae Rollins, February 11, 1942 and Charlemae Rollins to Elizabeth Riley, February 14, 1958, Charlemae Hill Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

53

Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books," 31. See also Florence Means to Charlemae Rollins, October 18, 1942 and June 7, 1943, Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA. In Frances Cavanah to Rollins, April 27, 1957, Cavanah thanked Rollins for critiquing her work, "Little Hiram."

And see Mary Terrell Tancil to Mary Church Terrell, January 24, [1953?], r. 3, MCT-LC, in which Tancil told Terrell to run out to get a copy of Good Housekeeping and to read "Little Hiram," which Tancil said, must have been written by a genius.

54
Helen King, (title missing), The Chicago Courier, February 27, 1971; Marjorie H. Allen to Rollins, August 23, 1944; and Paulette Bracey, "Charlemae Hill Rollins and Her Peers," 105. See also Kathryn Christensen, "Charlemae and Her Long Affair with Books," Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

55
See W. O. Brown, "The Nature of Race Consciousness," Social Forces 10 (1931):90-97.

56
Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, 230.

57
Gloria T. Hull, "'Under the Days': The Buried Life and Poetry of Angelina Weld Grimké," in Lorraine Bethel and Barbara Smith, eds., Conditions: five "The Black Women's Issue" 2 (1979):21, 23.

58
V. Lodge and Diana Lachatanere, Inventory of Layle Lane Papers; Lewis Walters to Layle Lane, n.d.; Lewis Walters to Layle Lane, December 24, 1944; and Noridge S. Maglancy to Layle Lane, June 25, 1946, b. 1, f. 1, Layle Lane Papers, Schmoburg Center. See also Layle Lane, "The Negro and War Activities," Speech delivered at the American Federation of Teachers Convention, August 18, 1940 or 1941, b. 1, f. 2.

59
Stewart, Portia, 62-63 and 2:235-37, n. 2, Booker T. Washington Papers.

60
Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP.

61
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 65-67, 80.

62
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 50-51, 66-67, 112.

63
Janie Porter Barrett, Locust Street Settlement: Founded and Managed by Colored People, 19. Also for studies concerning the impact of external conflicts on internal cohesion, see Kyriacos C. Markides and Steven F. Cohn, "External Conflict Internal Cohesion: A Reevaluation of an Old Theory," American Sociological Review 47 (1982): 88-98. And see Theodore Abel, "The Significance of the Concept of Consciousness of Kind," Social Forces 9 (1930):1-10. Among other things, Abel pointed out that group consciousness is "essentialy a conditional response." He added, "all the criteria of kind, therefore, external-physical as well as psychological, are the result of conditioning." And "[The] . . . strength and vitality [of consciousness of kind] may be said to be directly proportional to the degree to which the purposes of ideas of a group are opposed to the prevalent mores of the society of which it is a part."

64
Dorothy Lymas to Mary Church Terrell, October 26, 1944, r. 2, MCT-LC. See also a poem that a friend of Charlemae Rollins sent to her after Rollins was awarded the Brotherhood Award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. That verse read: "There is a destiny that makes us brothers/none goes his way alone/all that we send into the lives of others/comes back into our own." See Leonia (?) to Rollins, n.d., Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

65
Stewart, Portia, 81; 2:236, n. 2, Booker T. Washington Papers, Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 6; Lucy Mitchell interview transcript, BWOHP, 10; and Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE.

66
John Bodnar, "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America," Journal of Social History 10 (1976):44-71; "Immigration, Kinship and the Rise of Working Class Realism in Industrial America," Journal of Social History 14 (1980):45-66; John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, "Migration Kinship, and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1930," Journal of American History 66 (1979):548-565; and John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-

1960," (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

67
Myrtle Phyllips, "The Negro Secondary School Teacher," Journal of Negro Education 9 (1940), 494 and Walter Daniels, "Current Events and Trends . . ." Journal of Negro Education 5 (1936):655-660.

68
Josiah Royce, Race Questions and Other American Problems (New York, 1908), 66-67, 98-100.

69
Beulah Whitby interview transcript, Labor Archives, 32-34. Ruffin quoted in William Pollard, A Study in Black Self Help, 67. Also see Ruffin quote in Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, Lifting as We Climb (Washington, D.C., 1933), 19. See also "The Awakening of Woman," National Notes (January 1919):3-4, in which the author wrote in reference to the struggle for woman's suffrage: "We, the Negro women, have our eyes open, too. We know that we must stand and fight for an upward movement for the human family."

70
W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folks (1903, rpt., New York, 1968), 45-46.

71
Douglas Davidson, "Sociological Theory; Black Culture, and the Black Middle Class: A Balck Sociological Perspective" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1980.

72
Theodore Abel, "The Significance of the Concept of Consciousness of Kind."

Chapter 8

[1] J. Clyde Mitchell, "Social Networks," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1974):279.

[2] Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Networks; Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families* (London, 1947). Norman Schulman accepted that definition in his study, "Network Analysis: A New Addition to an Old Bag of Tricks," *Acta Sociologica* 19 (1976):307-323.

[3] Clyde Mitchell, "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," in Mitchell, ed., *Social Networks in the Urban Situations: Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns* (Manchester, 1969), 2.

[4] Gary Alan Fine and Sherryl Kleinman, "Network and Meaning: An Interactionist Approach to Structure," *Symbolic Interaction* 6 (1983):97.

[5] Willy Van Poucke, "Network Constraints on Social Action: Preliminaries for a Network Theory," *Social Networks* 2 (1980):181 and J. Clyde Mitchell, "Social Networks," 1-2.

[6] Willy Van Poucke, "Network Constraints on Social Action: Preliminaries for a Network Theory" and J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," 4-7. See also Robert A. Stebbins, "Social Network as a Subjective Construct: A New Approach for an Old Idea," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 6 (1969):1.

[7] J. Clyde Mitchell, "Social Networks," 288 and "The Concept and Use of Social Networks," 12-20. Elizabeth Bott, called this density, "connectedness," and she characterized it as loose knit and close knit. See Bott, *Family and Social Networks*, 59. See also Shulman "Network Analysis. . . ," 310-311. Shulman uses the terms "connections" and "clusters" to explain density and high-

density segments.

8

J. Clyde Mitchell, The Concept and Use of Social Networks, 20-30. Norman Shulman enumerates the interactional factors as durability, directedness, content, and diversity.

9

Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 1 (1975):1-29; Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity, (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy," Feminist Studies 5 (1979):512-529; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Feminism of Unionism: The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement," Feminist Studies 3 (1975):111-125; and As Equals and as Sisters: Feminism, The Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York, (Columbia, Mo, 1980); Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism," Chrysalis 3 (1977):43-61; and Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). See also Alice Rossi, "Social Roots of the Woman's Movement in America" in Alice Rossi, ed., The Feminist Papers, (New York, 1974), 241-282; and Ellen Cundliffle Lagemann. A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers, (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). See also a recent social-anthropological network study: Naomi Rosenthal, et al, "Social Movements and Network Analysis: A Case Study of Nineteenth-Century Women's Reform in the New York State," American Journal of Sociology 90 (1985):1022-1054.

10

Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World, (Washington, D.C., 1940), 49-51 and Fred Warner Carpenter to Booker T. Washington, February 22, 1909, 10:46, Booker T. Washington Papers.

11

Ruth Ann Stewart, Portia: The Life of Portia Washington Pittman, Daughter of Booker T. Washington (Garden City, N.Y., 1979), 43, 66, 77-80, 101-02, and 2:235-37, Booker T. Washington Papers. On the guardianship of the German Colonial Society see Portia, 66 and Portia Washington to B. T. Washington, June 27, 1906, 9:36, Booker T. Washington Papers. The German Colonial Society had previously engaged Booker T. Washington to send representatives and instructors to Togoland. Washington's

influence helped Sidney Pittman secure appointments as either the architect or the supervisor of construction for the black YMCA in Washington, D. C.; The Negro Building at the National Tricentennial at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1907; Garfield Public School in Washington, D.C.; and two buildings at the Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute.

12
Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, March 23, 1901, b. 4, f. 71, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

13
This can be documented by many of the letters between the father and daughter; see, for example, Angelina Grimké to Archibald Grimké, June 11, 1909. At this time she was at 1415 Corocoran, N.W., in Washington, and he was 528 Columbus Avenue in Boston. Just one month later, (July 10, 1909) she wrote to her father at 1415 Corcoran, N.W., from 528 Columbus Avenue. See b. 3, f. 63, Archibald Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC. Perhaps as many as half of the letters between the two in the Archibald Grimké Papers and the Angelina Grimké Papers document this living arrangement.

14
See Joseph Lee to Angelina Grimké, October 9, 1897; January 9, 1898; and April 19, 1898, b. 1, f. 11 and Tessa Lee to Angelina Grimké, [June 10, 1908], b. 1, f. 1. In Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 29, 1895, b. 3, f. 66, he wrote to Angelina that Tessa, "his second best girl" sent him a box of things from Boston. In his letter dated March 24, 1900, he told Angelina that he was glad that she was back at the Lees'. He asked her to tell Tessa that he was glad that his "two favorite girls" were back together. See b. 4, f. 70, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

15
The elder Grimké spoke of his friendship with Meta Warrick (Fuller) in Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, October 3, 1906. He told Angelina that Warrick wanted to be friends with her in October 19, 1906, b. 4, f. 75. And see Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller to Angelina Grimké, May 25, 1917 and May 31, 1917, b. 1, f. 6, Angelina Grimké Papers. See also Solomon C. Fuller to Angelina Grimké, October 8, 1928; March 24, 1929; and February 23, 1930, b. 1, f. 6. Fuller, a Boston area physician, was married to Meta Warrick.

16
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 16, 31-35, 47-49, and 66-67. Ellen Craft, who was fair enough to pass

for white, cut her hair and disguised herself as a white man. She feigned an abscessed tooth and wrapped her head so that she could conceal her lack of facial hair and an injured hand so that she would not have to (she did not know how to) write. Her husband accompanied her as her servant/slave. They subsequently took a series of trains and boats to Philadelphia. On the Crafts, see Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers: Three Lives, (Old Westbury, N.Y., 197), 1-59. The presumption of the relationship of Bessie Trotter to William Monroe Trotter is based on information provided by Stephen Fox in The Guardian of Boston: William Moore Trotter (New York, 1970), 9. Indicative of the rigidity of the caste system, the American Red Cross immediately began to use Drew's technique and even sent him to Europe to direct the program for preserving blood and saving lives. But the Red Cross maintained two facilities for storing the products: one for "black" blood and one for "white" blood. And the ultimate tragedy is that Drew bled to death a few years later after he was involved in an automobile accident in Alamance County, N.C., and the county hospital in the city of Burlington refused to admit him because he was black. See Roland Bertol, Charles Drew (New York, 1970).

17
Jean Arkhurst interview, FUL-BOHP; Leila G. Rhodes, "A Critical Analysis of the Career Backgrounds of Selected Black Female Librarians," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1975), 70-72; and William Goins to Mary Church Terrell, April 2, 1925, r. 2, MCT-LC.

18
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, June 25, 1902, r. 2, MCT-LC. For the other women, there were no obvious examples of their own class connections providing these types of amenities. As mentioned earlier, among the generation succeeding Terrell, there were several examples of the women benefitting similarly from their parents' (who incidentally, were often in Terrell's generation) networks. Instead the women in the middle, in age, were more often and more obviously served by caste networks. And among the youngest women it is possible to delineate a trend toward occupational networks. All of them represent caste connections in one way or another and are discussed later.

19
Mary Church Terrell to Robert H. Terrell, June 25, 1902 and July 3, 1902, r. 2, MCT-LC. For another example of how social class connections served the women, see Robert H.

Terrell to Mary Church Terrell, September 25, 1913, in which Terrell wrote to his wife about his progress in relocating the household. He told her that many people had come saying that she wanted them to have particular items. But he added that "Mrs Johnson" came to help him "keep the wolves at bay." This was probably Georgia Douglass Johnson, the prominent New York and later Washington, D.C., social worker and author.

20
Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 57-58; Frances Grant interview transcript, 7, BWOHP; and see for another example, Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, October 27, 1912, r. 2, MLT-LC.

21
"F.L." to Sadie Delaney, May 25, 1950, vol. 2, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

22
Clark, Echo in My Soul, (New York, 1962), 23.

23
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 15.

24
Jean Hutson interview, FUL-BOHP. Another interesting example is that when Beulah Hester and her husband moved to Boston from North Carolina in 1924, they sublet the home of a black couple they knew who worked during the summer months at the summer home of wealthy whites.

25
Lula McNeil interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 1-6 and Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 15. Grant was also a Radcliffe graduate.

26
Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 17.

27
Clara Jones interview, FUL-BOHP.

28
Ruth Ann Stewart, Portia, 45 and 53 and Barbara Miller interview, FUL-BOHP.

29
See, for example, Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," *Southeastern Librarian* 6 (1956):105-109, vol. 1; *Congressional Record* Appendix, January 17, 1957, vol. 6; John A. Aron to Clyde Cantrell, November 1, 1956 and Cantrell to Delaney, November 5, 1956, vol. 6; and Cantrell to Delaney, April 10, 1952 and May 9, 1952, vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. Volume numbers here represent volumes in the Delaney Papers.

30
Albert Marshall, "The North Carolina Negro Library Association," in E. J. Josey and Ann Allen Shockley, eds., *Handbook of Black Librarianship* (Littleton, Colorado, 1977), 54-57.

31
Carrie Robinson, "The Alabama Association of School Librarians," and Rossie B. Caldwell, "The South Carolina State Library Group," in Josey and Shockley, *Handbook of Black Librarianship*, 47-49 and 58-59 respectively.

32
Clark, *Echo in My Soul*, 27, 59; Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE; Miriam Matthews interview transcript, BWOHP, 3, 17-18, 22-23; Mary Chruch Terrell to Thomas Church, September 28, 1929, r. 3, MCT-LC; and Oscar DePriest to Eleanor Roosevelt, April 5, 1934, b. 4, f. 1934, Neighborhood Union Papers, AUCA.

33
Mabel Staupers, *No Time for Prejudice* (New York, 1961), 18 and NACGN Minutes, August 22, 1917, NACGN records, b. 1, Schomburg Center.

34
Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 3 and Estelle Massey Osborne interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 10. See also Staupers, *No Time for Prejudice*, 68, in which Staupers gives Wright credit for suggesting that black nurses organize a bi-racial citizens committee to help enlighten the public about segregation and discrimination against black nurses.

35
The reason for the claim that Ware was "generally" correct is based on a few documents indicating that the nurses, at least, reached New Deal women through one network or another. In one instance, nurses' conference reports

reached Naomi Deutsch (Director of Public Health Nursing, Children's Bureau) via Mary McLeod Bethune. See Mrs. E. P. [Ruth Logan] Roberts to Naomi Deutsch, March 6, 1939, b. 646, f. 4.1.1.5, Children's Bureau, Record Group 102, National Archives. See also Deutsch to Roberts, March 15, 1939. In another instance, nurses took their problems to Anna A. Hedgeman (a black civil servant), who took the problems to Eleanor Roosevelt, who subsequently met with Staupers about her concerns. See Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 116. On another occasion Staupers was in direct touch with Malvina Schneider, Eleanor Roosevelt's secretary, urging her to alert Mrs. Roosevelt about the threat of the closing of Freedman's Hospital School of Nursing. See Staupers to Malvina Schneider, January 24, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. And in yet another instance, when Staupers wrote to M.O. Bousfield of the Rosenwald Foundation for a letter of endorsement for Estelle Riddle, she told him that one was coming from Harold Ickes via Eleanor Roosevelt via Mary McLeod Bethune. See Staupers to Bousfield, September 18, 1928, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundatin Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

36

See, for example, M. O. Bousfield to Mabel Staupers, November 8, 1938; December 12, 1940; and March 22, 1942 and Bousfield to [black nurses and black nurse administrators?] April 21, 1941, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. See also Staupers to Bousfield, December 30, 1940 for her response to his ideas, and March 13, 1935, f. 9, for her recommendations to him for a scholarship.

37

Staupers to Bousfield, December 3, 1941 and Bousfield to Staupers, September 27, 1938, b. 225, f. 11, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. For information on NACGN referrals to Bousfield see Bernice E. Jones to M. O. Bousfield, May 26, 1938 and Esther Lasch to M. O. Bousfield, October 12, 1938, b. 217, f. 7. See also Bousfield to Thelma Gibson, n.d., b. 217, f. 7, in which he informed her of an opening in the nursing program at the municipal hospital of Winston Salem, North Carolina, for an Educational Director.

38

T. Edward Jones to Staupers, May 2, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

39

Ibid.

40
T. Edward Jones to Staupers, December 7, 1937, ibid., and Chapters Three through Five of this study.

41
Staupers to Jones, May 4, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

42
Richard Mackenzie to Mabel Staupers, January 21, 1938, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers; Eugene Kinckle Jones to Katharine F. Lenroot, November 21, 1933, f. 7.3.0.4; Roscoe Brown to Lenroot, January 13, 1938; Brown to Elizabeth Tandey, March 14, 1939; and Tandey to Brown, October 28, 1937, b. 599, f. 0.2.9.1.6, Children's Bureau, Record Group 102, National Archives; and Lawrence Oxley to A. F. Hinrichs, February 12, 1935 and Hinrichs to Oxley, February 18, 1935, Records of Lawrence Oxley, b. 1391, Records of the U. S. Employment Service, Record Group 183, National Archives. See also, b. 4 ("Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes"), "Survey Material" folder, Office of Education, Record Group 12. Finally, see correspondence between Willa Carter Bunch, President of the NATCS, and Harold Trigg, then in the Office of Education in b. 3, "General Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes" folder, Officer of Education, Record Group 12, National Archives.

43
On the so-called "Black Cabinet," see especially, Harvard Sitkoff, _A New Deal for Blacks_, (Oxford, 1978).

44
Estelle Massey interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 24-25 and Frances Grant interview transcript, BWOHP, 41.

45
Staupers, _No Time for Prejudice_, 52, 109; Walter Daniel, "Trends and Events of National Interests. . . ." _Journal of Negro Education_ 8 (1939), 103. See telegrams from the NCNW, Inc., to Andrew J. May, F. D. Roosevelt, James Forestal, and Henry Stimson, January 13, 1945, b. 1, f. 9, Mabel Staupers Papers, HU-MSRC; and Staupers to Bousfield, n.d., b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers.

46
Norma Boyd interview, FUL-BOHP; and Clark, _Echo in my Soul_, 110. See also Mary M. Bethune to Sadie Delaney, April

3, 1950, vol. 3, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. In this letter Bethune congratulated Delaney on her successful career and she urged, "make yourself active in the National Council of Negro Women. We need women like you. . . . Become active with us." On Delaney's organizing activities in New York, see "Records of Accomplishments of Dr. Sadie Peterson Delaney," and Georgia Douglas Johnson to Delaney, n.d., vol. 2, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

47
Laura Lewis, "The Librarian's Sectionof the Georgia Teachers' and Education Association," 51-53; Carrie C. Robinson, "The Alabama Association of School Librarians, 47-51; and Rossie B. Caldwell, "The South Carolina State Librarians' Group," 57-61 in Josey and Shockley, Handbook of Black Librarianship.

48
Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 2, 47-49, 68-94, and 112; "Advisory Council on the NACGN," January 11, 1939; and Estelle Riddle to Bousfield, October 17, 1938, b. 225, f. 10; Staupers to Bousfield, December 6, 1935, b. 225, f. 9; and E. P. Roberts to Bousfield, February 10, 1939, b. 225, f. 10, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC; untitled and undated, typed manuscript on the National Advisory Council, 1, NACGN records, MEC-BNA. See also, Augusta Baker, "My years as a Children's Librarian," in E. J. Josey, ed. The Black Librarian in America (Metuchen, N.J.,1970), 118, and Ernest J. Middleton, "The Louisiana Educator's Association, 1901-1970," Journal of Negro Education 47 (1978):322. See also Mrs. E. P. [Ruth Logan] Roberts to Naomi Detusch, March 6, 1939, b. 646, f. 4.1.1.5, Children's Bureau, Record Group 102, National Archives. Logan chaired the advisory council of the NACGN and Deutsch was, at the time, Director of Public Health Nursing in the Children's Bureau.

49
See especially, Walter Daniel, ed., "Current Trends . . ." Journal of Negro Education, vols. 1-9. One example of the editor's using the journal to further the causes of the teachers is an article, "Progress in the Elimination of Discrimination in White and Negro Teachers' Salaries," Journal of Negro Education 9 (1940), 2-4. In this article, the editor urged all the teachers to support the NAACP, which was fighting in the courts in their behalf for no pay. That article discussed several of the cases under way.

50
See Chapter Four and Darlene Clark Hines, "From Hospital to College: Black Nurse Leaders and the Rise of College Nursing Schools," Journal of Negro Education 51 (1982), 223. See letters to Staupers dated May 18, 1941; July 15, 1942; August 1, 1944; October 29, 1944; December 18, 1941; December 14, 1944, (all names removed) b. 2, f. 27, Mabel Staupers Papers, HU-MSRC. All the letters were from black military nurses informing her of conditions at their bases. And see Helen Turner to Staupers, June 4, 1945, b. 2, f. 24, Mabel Staupers Papers, and see Riddle to Bousfield, May 20, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers. This last letter concerns a request from a Detroit area nurse for Staupers to come to Detroit to help work out problems that arose between black and white nurses after a black nurse was appointed supervisor.

51
Estelle Massey interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 32 and (illegible) to Staupers, January 18, 1945, NACGN records, Schomburg Center. See also, Fay O. Wilson to Staupers, August 4, 1955, b. 1, f. 1, Mabel Staupers Papers, HU-MSRC and Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 10, in which Staupers criticized the nurses from Lincoln Hospital for letting Ada Thoms' book, Pathfinders, go out of print. The book concerned pioneer black nurses.

52
Anne Glover to Mabel Staupers, October 9, 1963, b. 1, f. 14, Mabel Staupers Papers, HU-MSRC. The details of this letter are included here because they also indicate the closeness of the family relationship of these three sisters (the Glovers).

53
Mabel Northcross interview transcript, MMC-DNE, 2; Darlene Clark Hines, "From Hospital to College," 223; Lillian Harvey interview transcript, MMC-DNE, 1-3; and Fostine Riddick interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 16. Statistics compiled in 1932 by Charles S. Johnson for the Harmon Association for the Advancement of Nursing suggest how restricted black nurses' options for schooling and working could be. In those statistics, Johnson concluded that in the United States at that time, there were 54 "Accredited Nurse Training School Admitting Colored Students" and 1,588 that did not. He noted 66 "Hospitals Using Colored Graduate Nurses" and 1,576 not using them regularly. Apparently, some of the schools that graduated these nurses would not hire them. An indication of the

possibility of black female nurse-black male intern connections can also be inferred. Only 21 hospitals in the U.S. used black interns, and 1,640 did not. See Charles S. Johnson to Samuel McCure Lindsay, May 19, 1931, b. , f. Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC.

54
Louise Giles, "The Black Libraries as Change Agent," in E. J. Josey, ed., _What Black Librarians are Saying_ (Metuchen N.J., 1972), 259-260; and E. J. Josey, "The Black Caucus of the ALA," in Josey and Shockley, _Handbook of Black Librarianship_, 67.

55
Clyde Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," _Southeastern Librarian_ 6 (1956):108; Jessie Fausett to Sadie Peterson [Delaney], October 25,1923; and William Grant Still to Delaney, December 23, 1956, vol. 6, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. Augusta Baker, "My Years as a Children's Librarian," in Josey, _The Black Librarian in America_, 119-120. Helen King, (title missing) _The Chicago Courier_, February 27, 1971; Era Bell Thompson, "Crusader in Children's Books" _Negro Digest_ 1 (1950):29-33; Gwendolyn Brooks's tribute to Rollins printed in Rollins' Memorial Service Program, February 7, 1979; and Marjorie H. Allen to Rollins, August 23,1944, Charlemae Rollins Papers, NCCU-BLA.

56
Maude Lassiter to Sadie Delaney, April 13, 1950; Mrs. Ray Moore to Sadie Delaney, May 24, 1950; and Zenophon P. Smith to Sadie Delaney, June 26, 1950. See also congratulatory notest from Lawrence Thompson (University of Kentucky Library) July 21, 1950 and Charles Johnson (Fisk University) June 15, 1950, vol. 1, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center. Also note that in Harry C. Bauer to Delaney, June 9, 1954, vol. 5, Bauer, the Director of Libraries at the University of Washington, Seattle, informed her that wrote a column called "Seasoned to Taste" for the _Wilson Library Bulletin_. He was preparing a column on outstanding black librarians and Virginia Lacy Jones recommended Delaney to him.

57
Mrs. Joseph W. [Charlemae Hill] Rollins to Delaney, February 27, 1949, vol. 2; n.d., vol. 6 and February 27, 1955, vol. 5, Sadie Delaney Papers, Schomburg Center.

58
Laura Terrell Jones to Mary Church Terrell, July 22, 1927 and May 12, 1935, r. 3, MCT-LC.

59
Stewart, Portia, 81.

60
Barbara Pickett interview, FUL-BOHP; Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE; Anna Julia Cooper to Angelina Grimké, "Easterday" 1930, b. 1, f. 3 and December 2, 1939, b. 1, f. 1, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; and Ophelia Egypt interview, FUL-BOHP.

61
Ellen B. Stebbins to Angelina Grimké, December 21, 1935 and September 5, 1942. See also December 5, 1924; February 12, 1925; January 17, 1928; September 21, 1928; December 19, 1928; and May 6, 1931, b. 2, f. 17, 18. Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC.

62
Mary Church Terrell to Robert Terrell, May 18, 1919, r. 2 and Thomas Church to Mary Church Terrell, November 15, 1915, r. 3, MCT-LC; Archibald Grimké to Angelina Grimké, November 3, 1905, b. 4, f. 74, September 25, 1907, b. 4, f. 76 and Lillie B. C. Wyman to Angelina Grimké, December 12, 1924, b. 2, f. 22, Angelina Grimké Papers, HU-MSRC; and M. O. Bousfield to Estelle Riddle, February 4, 1935, b. 225, f. 9, Rosenwald Foundation Fund Papers, FUL-SC. For the letter to Bousfield explicitly outlining connections, see Bernice Jones to Bousfield, May 26, 1938, b. 217, f. 7 Rosenwald Fund Papers. FUL-SC.

63
Mabel Staupers interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 11-12, 32; Estelle Massey interview transcript, MEC-BNA, 30; and Staupers, No Time for Prejudice, 31, 39, 47-48, and 57.

64
See Mark J. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1973):1360-1380 and Jeremy Bossevain, Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulations, and Coalitions (Oxford, 1974).

Conclusion

[1] Kronus quoted in Arnold Taylor, Travail and Triumph (Westport, Conn., 1977), 95.

[2] Stephen Birmingham, Certain People (Boston, 1977), 99.

[3] Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York, 1967).

[4] Ethel M. Albert, "Conflict and Change in American Values: A Culture-Historical Approach," Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political, and Legal Philosophy," 74 (1963):21. Albert defines these values to include "equality; liberty; justice; democracy, understood as the sovereignty of the people; the right of private property; and individual responsibility, freedom and initiative, circumscribed only by avoiding harm to others and by concern for the general welfare."

[5] See John D. Buenker, John C. Burnham, and Robert M. Crunden, Progressivism (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 3-29.

[6] Mabel Northcross interview, MMC-DNE and Julia Smith interview transcript, BWOHP, 41.

[7] For several other suggestions of questions concerning the modernization of the family, see Tamara K. Hareven, "Modernization and Family History: Perspective on Social Change," Signs (Autumn 1976):190-206.

[8] William J. Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (Chicago, 1978). It is true that blacks have more recently had more access to educational and occupational opportunities (incidentally, once again reflecting the modernization of and enforcement of laws), but within those institutions, caste factors were still of paramount importance. Were they not, there would have been no reason for black nurses and librarians to organize formally during

the 1970s after fighting for several decades in separate (black) organized groups to eliminate the separation of the groups. Nor would it have been necessary for black social workers, always included in the larger professional group, to form a separate organization for the first time.

9
The application of this "strength of weak ties" argument, would suggest that it was perhaps the density and intensity (i.e., "likeness") that sealed and continues to seal the doom of the feminist movement. The persistence of the "racial" caste system has always been accompanied by persistent, but constantly changing groups of opponents to the system. The suggestion then for feminist groups is not for recreating the strongly networked separatist groups, but instead for establishing power based on diversity rather than homogeneity. It was the diversity of support that gave these women's work groups the durability that they needed to bring about social change. By contrast, see Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," Feminist Studies 5 (1979), 512-529.

10
For an overview of recent literature that concerns identity, see Andrew Weigert, "Identity: Its Emergence Within Sociological Psychology," Symbolic Interaction 6 (1983):183-206.