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ABSTRACT

The purposes of black feminist Pauli Murray in her feminist discourse are to help individuals gain self-awareness about their personal and social histories and about their potential for action, and to direct the energies of all oppressed people toward working together against oppression. Murray's discourse is addressed to successful professional women as well as to nonprofessional women; it provides a common arena in which black power and feminism can meet and focuses on past and potential accomplishments of oppressed groups working together. Among Murray's symbolic strategies are the use of supporting materials, including personal references that convey the improvement in women's condition, illustrative statistics, and citations of the testimony of experts. Murray's style supports her basic purposes in its compatibility with her message content; its optimistic tone; its establishment of personal experience as a valid means of support for her arguments, as well as its transcendance of the personal; and its interaction with the message to activate the audience. The structure of Murray's discourse is based on a variation of the problem-solution pattern. It appears that Murray's discourse increases her audience's capability to act, establishes her as a potential leader in both the black power and feminist movements, and contributes the vital theme of the affirmation of all human beings as a step toward universal liberation. (GT)

The Discourse of Pauli Murray: Rhetoric of Process

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I have been enslaved, yet my spirit is unbound.
I have been cast aside, but I sparkle in the darkness.
I have been slain but live on in the rivers of history.
I seek no conquest, no wealth, no power, no revenge;
I seek only discovery
Of the illimitable heights and depths of my own being.1

These lines, from a poem called "Prophecy," were written by black feminist Pauli Murray; they capture not only the kernel of much of her discourse, but the flavor of her life and what she has tried to accomplish as well. She graduated from Yale Law School and has been a law professor. She has been admitted to practice law in New York, California, and before the United States Supreme Court and has written on the subjects of states' laws on race, the constitution of Ghana, and human rights.[2] She is a civil rights and a feminist activist. She spent several days in jail for protesting segregated seating on interstate buses, was a leader of the sit-ins in Washington restaurants, and has worked in the Martin Luther King, Jr. Institute for Social Change. She was a founding member of the National Organization for Women and has been active in organizations such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the President's Commission on the Status of Women. She was a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, and for the twenty-two years of that friendship, she urged Roosevelt to run for political office herself and to speak out strongly for the rights of blacks.[3] She is also a poet and author, having published a book of poetry and an autobiography of her childhood, which tells of being raised in the south by racially-mixed grandparents.[4] And on January 8, 1977, she added a religious career to her many others when she was ordained a priest in the Episcopal church after completing a

Master of Divinity degree.

Despite her varied interests, her writings on a number of topics, and her own belief that all that she does is designed to further the goal of "universal liberation,"[5] this study will focus on samples of Murray's discourse that are specifically feminist in an attempt to begin to discover whether there are characteristics in feminist rhetoric that constitute a genre. Four discourses will be used to examine purpose, context, symbolic strategies, and effects in her feminist rhetoric: (1) "The Women's Revolution--Prologue to a Golden Age in Human Relationships," a speech presented in 1971 to the annual convention of the Professional Women's Caucus, an ad hoc group formed to provide an informal clearinghouse for women involved in various feminist organizations;[6] (2) "The Future of Black Women in America," a public lecture presented in 1976, sponsored by the Fort Wayne (Indiana) Urban League and the Urban League Guild as part of a series on "Black Women in Perspective;"[7] (3) "Black Theology and Feminist Theology: A Comparative View," an essay published in the Anglican Theological Review in 1978; and (4) Poems from her volume of poetry, Dark Testament, published in 1970.

Purpose

The function of feminist rhetoric for Murray is conscientization, a term she borrows from the writings of feminist theorist Letty Russell.[8] Conscientization is the process through which individuals come to a self awareness that helps them shape their personal and social history and learn their own potential for action in shaping the world of the future. Murray's major purpose in her discourse, then, is audience acceptance of and involvement in a process, not a particular belief or policy.[9] This

function requires Murray to do two things in her discourse. First, she must direct the audience to look at its past in order to discover usable elements from it--elements of pride and elements that will enable it to "gird . . . for the coming struggles to eliminate the remaining barriers of sexism"[10] and to "recognize the changing nature of our struggle and the more sophisticated tools it requires than those we have used in the immediate past."[11] In other words, a knowledge of the past is essential for liberation because it creates an awareness of conditions that can no longer be endured and the resources that can be used to overcome those conditions.

A second requirement of conscientization is to portray a vision of the future in which women's potential to contribute to and to benefit from society is achieved. She must visualize utopia, provide the audience with a glimpse of the "new creation,"[12] and invite her audience members to join her in "a daring leap of imagination" and to visualize black women on the Supreme Court, as members of the U. S. House of Representatives, and in varied respected and well-paying professions.[13]

To achieve her purpose of conscientization, then, Murray's rhetoric creates a tension between the past--disturbing because of the oppression it contains but not without gifts of knowledge and strength, and the future--optimistic because of its capacity to encourage and activate. This tension between past and present is evident in Murray's poetry as well. In "Youth to Age," she writes:

Aged one and wise,
Were you twenty-two again
Would you risk all for fame?
Conform?
Or go your way alone?

But how can you reply, being seventy-two?
Your path is fogged with memories
As mine with fears.14

A secondary purpose in Murray's discourse is to expand the confines of the feminist movement into a movement that is relevant for all oppressed people--not simply white women. It is a "mistake," Murray asserts, for black women "to hold aloof from the Women's Movement . . . and to submerge their problems of sex status in their preoccupation with racial status."[15] The ultimate goal, Murray believes, is "universal liberation and salvation," and when specific theologies such as the black and feminist movements "compete with one another in defining a particular form of oppression as the 'source of all evil,'" achievement of this goal becomes difficult.[16] This need for unity is also stressed in her poetry:

I was an Israelite walking a sea bottom,
I was a Negro slave following the North Star,
I was an immigrant huddled in ship's belly,
I was a Mormon searching for a temple,
I was a refugee clogging roads to nowhere--
Always the dream was the same--
Always the dream was freedom.17

In her discourse, then, Murray attempts to unify, to gain acceptance of a common vision, and to direct energies toward working together against a common enemy of oppression regardless of the specific characteristics of the oppressed.

Context

Murray is able to balance between the past and the future and to remain optimistic in part because of the nature of the audiences she addresses. Because she is a professional person who has accomplished much, because her level of language tends to be more technical and academic, her discourse, to a degree, selects a professional audience,[18] one whose

members have "competence" and "technical expertise."[19] That is, she tends to speak to and be read by women who are well on their way to success, women who are beginning to see that the future she envisions can become a reality. These women are well acquainted with the feminist movement--their personal feminist awakenings took place long before, and they have spent time developing their skills and competencies, formulating ideas and plans about what they can achieve, and traveling the road to the achievement of their goals. This type of audience does not require that Murray discuss the personal aapects of liberation; rather, the audience members want ideas about what they can do to further the feminist revolution not only for them but for all women. In response to this demand, Murray does not use confrontative, non-adjustive strategies that violate the reality structure as much feminist rhetoric does; rather, she advocates that women participate in political processes to "destroy injustice and misery,"[20] knowing that the women in her audience are ready for the politicizing of the personal feminist conversions that they already have experienced.

Murray's adaptation to achieving, competent, professional women may seem to ignore a major portion of the audience that she seems likely to want to reach--black women. Because of the added discrimination of race, these women often are unable to achieve as quickly as white women, and they tend to be found less in professional positions. She reaches the non-professional black woman, however, with her pleas that she needs to become a part of the women's movement in order to take advantage of what it can offer her--additional support for achieving her goals. The distance between the past and the future is greater for these black women

than for the already-successful professional woman--particularly if she is white--but Murray's discourse, poised between these two states, gives pride and hope to all women.

In addition to adapting to her audience in her discourse, Murray must deal with certain cultural conditions concerning the relationship between the black power and feminist movements. Because she seeks to expand the influence of the feminist movement to include blacks, she must acknowledge and resolve the tensions between these two movements. Most of the earliest women's rights leaders began their work in the abolition movement, but they were alienated when black men, but not women, were given the right to vote after the Civil War. Similarly, in the civil rights movement of the early 1960s, women joined organizations dedicated to ending discrimination such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and discovered that they were treated as second-class citizens. They were relegated to kitchen work, typing, mimeographing, and providing sexual services for the men in the organization, a position explicitly described in a classic statement by Stokely Carmichael: "the only position for women in SNCC is prone."[21] Willing to help in the fight to gain equality, these women found themselves being treated within organizations in the same way that oppressed groups were treated by the larger society.

The formation of the contemporary women's movement as separate from the black power and New Left movements met with resentment from many black activists. Many blacks do not believe that the feminist movement addresses itself to the concerns of black women; rather, it focuses on issues that are relevant only to white, middle-class women. They feel, too, that a feminist movement detracts from and diminishes the potential

effect of the black power movement. This is not to say that there are no black women involved in the contemporary feminist movement--Murray herself confirms that there are. But many blacks believe that they owe their primary allegiance to the black power movement.

As a black and a woman who has been actively involved in both movements, Murray is forced to deal with the tension between black power and feminism. And as a religious leader, the audience expects, too, some concern for and perhaps a utilization of religious thinking to resolve the conflict. To mend the strained relations between the two groups, Murray does deal with their relationship in essentially religious terms, providing a common arena in which they can meet. She considers "sin" to be corporate oppression of women, blacks, or any group that faces discrimination. Sin is not individual transgression which can be cured by individual repentance; it is the institutional structures of oppression in society.[22] Because sin is structural rather than personal, "salvation," or the solution to the problem of sin also must be structural.[23] It is obtained by participating in political processes to destroy the oppression and injustice, by making "effective use of political power."[24]

The "heaven" or reward for the acts required for salvation, of course, is universal humanity--humanity for all people, not just the oppressors or the oppressed. She makes clear that to gain access to heaven, blacks and women must not limit themselves to a process of self affirmation at the expense of others; they must avoid "particularizing" their liberation. She makes this point in her speeches and her poetry: "Because we represent more than half of the human race, we have it within our power to dictate the terms upon which we come into the system and

share the reallocation of power in decision-making--We have the capacity to hold this power in sacred trust for all the people."[25] In a prayer/poem, she reiterates this notion:

> Give us courage to stand firm against
> our tormenters without rancor--
> Teach us that most difficult of tasks--
> to pray for them,
> to follow, not burn, thy cross![26]

Failure to reach heaven, as Murray sees it, is the result of particularization, division, a focus only on the self, and the projection of all evil on another group without regard for their humanity as well as one's own. In her discourse, then, she does not place blame on anyone for the conditions of women and blacks. She focuses instead on what has been accomplished and what can be accomplished--emphasizing again her primary goal of conscientization--with all oppressed groups working together. It is only through "interchange and cooperation" that the "new human being" will emerge.[27]

Symbolic Strategies

In her discourse, Murray tends to employ a particular type of style and particular types of supporting materials that are designed, as we shall see, to reinforce her basic purposes. These include:

(1) Words and metaphors that focus on process and change--usually from a past of oppression to a future of opportunity. For example, she speaks of entering "the doors of opportunity,"[28] "the road to equality,"[29] "new paths of human endeavor,"[30] "transformation,"[31] "growth,"[32] "advances,"[33] "rising up,"[34] and the "process of becoming."[35]

(2) Personal references that convey in vivid, dramatic terms the improvement of conditions for women. She mentions in her speeches, for

example, her graduation from professional school,[36] the refusal of the Harvard Law School to admit her because of her sex and her consequent admittance to the Yale Law School,[37] her memories of and conversations with Eleanor Roosevelt,[38] and her application to the President of the United States to become a Supreme Court justice.[39]

(3) Statistics: Murray cites statistics to demonstrate how often women are oppressed and how much they have been able to accomplish as well as to assist the audience in envisioning the future. She notes, for example, that for "the six-year period 1968-1973, 2074 Black men were awarded Doctor's degrees while only 566 Black women, or 21.4% of the total, received Doctor's degrees."[40] But she also shows through statistics that advances are being made: "We recall that in 1940, 60 per cent of all Negro women workers were employed in private household service. By 1974 that proportion had declined to 11% and among younger Black women under 35, it had dropped to 6%."[41] And finally, she employs statistics to portray a vision of the future. She asks the audience to imagine a scene in which black women share in national life in numbers that correspond to their proportion of the population. The result would be 5 black women in the United States Senate, 416 state legislators instead of the present 35, 60 or more elected or appointed state cabinet members, and 7,500 city or town council members, including about 500 mayors.[42]

(4) Expert testimony: Although Murray herself has credentials that would make her an expert on discrimination in the eyes of many because of both her race and her sex, she sometimes quotes other sources that share her views and that are known to most members of her audience. These sources are frequently women or groups of women. In one instance,

she quotes a description of Eleanor Roosevelt's appointment to head the President's Commission on the Status of Women by Margaret Mead.[43] At another point, she quotes from the objectives adopted by the International Women's Year conference in Mexico City.[44] These citations of others, however, seem to be used not so much to identify herself or others as experts, but to establish a unity between all women because of the common experiences they share.

(5) Examples: To concretize her central theme that women are making progress, Murray cites examples of women who have been successful in various areas and, of course, she herself serves as such an example. She notes that "there appeared in the newspapers the pictures of two women among those being actively considered for appointment to two vacancies to the Supreme Court"[45] and rejoices that "in some political circles at least, there has been serious mention of the possibility of a woman--a Negro woman--as vice presidential candidate of one of the two major political parties in 1972."[46] Barbara Jordan, too, is cited as an example of what women have attained: "Few of us could have envisioned ten years ago that Barbara Jordan, a Black woman Representative in Congress from Texas, would deliver the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention of 1976."[47]

Murray's style, characterized by her use of these supporting materials, enables her to meet her goal of conscientization and to create in the audience a willingness and the capability necessary to undergo the process of liberation. Her use of these supporting materials contributes to this basic purpose in four major ways.

First, her style is compatible with her message content. She

emphasizes her purpose at both the substantive and stylistic levels of the discourse. Her focus on process in her style as well as her substance is evident in the greater proportion of the discourse dedicated to describing a vision of the future and ennobling the past; she spends proportionately less time on the problems faced by oppressed groups such as women in the present. The result is a focus on process, on change, on movement toward universal humanity.

Her view of sin as corporate oppression rather than individual transgression is also reinforced through the types of devil terms she uses in her discourse. Although she prefers to focus on an optimistic vision of the future, she mentions briefly current evils in her speeches. These are not caused by individuals, but exist at the corporate or social level: "bad housing,"[48] "drug abuse,"[49] "crime,"[50] "economic exploitation,"[51] "dehumanism,"[52] "sexism,"[53] and "racism."[54] Although, of course, an individual can work to correct these problems and attitudes, one person alone would have difficulty ridding a society of these evils. Thus, just as her content emphasizes that sin is corporate oppression, her choice of words to portray evil also focus on corporate attitudes and actions that oppress.

Her presence serves to reinforce the secondary purposes of her discourse--to expand the feminist movement to include all oppressed people. Because she is herself both a woman and black, she is able to lend support to her argument on a stylistic level that blacks and other oppressed individuals can find the feminist movement relevant to them.

Second, her style sets an optimistic tone for her discourse.[55] Her decision to focus on the future--portrayed as almost utopian in its equality--leads the way in setting such a tone. Her use of words and

metaphors that emphasize process and its beneficial results also set a hopeful tone, as in "transformation,"[56] "successful assaults,"[57] "stunning victories,"[58] "utopian,"[59] "enter the doors of opportunity,"[60] and "Golden Age."[61] The confidence of the discourse is reinforced, too, by the way in which she has structured the rhetorical world so that feminists cannot lose. She sees women and oppressed people as the agents in this scenario--and they are competent,[62] winners,[63] and are cooperating with one another.[64] She sees them battling corporate oppression, which points to not individuals as the enemy, but rather social structures. This identification of the enemy in vague, indefinite terms allows her to dwell less on the scene of present evil and to look instead to a golden age of the future, which she views as the proper setting for women. And her details about this scene are explicit. She quotes statistics about how many women will be employed in different professions in this new setting and details the accomplishments of women to date to illustrate that the setting is becoming a reality, citing such specifics as the federal Equal Pay Act, the provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and the admission of women to state universities on equal terms with men.[65]

Because she devotes more of her discourse to describing the future rather than the present, uses terminology that focuses on process and accomplishment, and establishes a rhetorical world view in which women cannot lose, her discourse exudes confidence and optimism. This tone contrasts greatly with early feminist discourse designed to enrage, in which the tone is angry and bitter. Her tone is different, perhaps, because the discourse studied here comes from a later period; because her primary purpose is to move already-convinced feminists to political

action; or because feminist political issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment are currently coming under severe attack and are making little headway, thus demanding that Murray encourage political activism with a confident tone.

Third, the style of the discourse functions to establish personal experience as a valid means of support for her arguments as well as to transcend the personal and move it toward the structural. Campbell notes that this seems to be a characteristic of feminist discourse in consciousness raising: "As a process, consciousness raising requires that the personal be transcended by moving toward the structural, that the individual be transcended by moving toward the political."[66] Murray seems to do the same thing in her discourse through her choice of supporting materials. Her frequent use of "we" and personal examples telling of incidents in which she faced discrimination and overcame it point out to the audience how she has had to face the same problems they are confronting. This provides a means of psychological identification with Murray by both professional women and by lower-class, less-educated women. They all are helped to see that they face the same problems because they are women, although the spheres in which they live and work may be very different.

But Murray is able to transcend the personal, to convert this personal identification into political activism. Because most members of her audience would be aware of her academic and professional background, they would expect her to demonstrate some of that professionalism and expertise as she spoke. Thus, she uses statistics and expert testimony to show that she has done research on her topic, and she even uses Latin phrases on occasion to further demonstrate her knowledge and expertise.[67]

Rather than destroying the credibility she has established with the less-educated members of the audience through her use of "we" and personal references, I would argue that these techniques simply allow her discourse to move her to a broader level--a political one. She has transcended the personal and converted it into the political. She notes that she has the same problems as other women, but by demonstrating that she has prepared herself well to battle them, she encourages all women in the audience to gear themselves for the fight by developing themselves in ways that will allow them to work politically to improve their status--developing competence in their fields, working to get ahead in their professions, and demonstrating to the world that women can achieve.

Finally, her style and choice of supporting materials interact with the message to activate the audience. Her view of corporate oppression as the evil to be fought and the terms she uses to describe it demand political action; her emphasis on process and change discourages her audience members from sitting still; her optimistic tone gives hope that women can succeed in the struggle; and her political and professional expertise as well as her identification with other women provide a model for others to follow. The result, I suggest, would be an audience that is willing to take political and individual action to improve conditions for women, to take responsibility for the course of the feminist movement, and to stand up publicly for their beliefs about women's rights and capabilities.

Just as Murray's style and supporting materials reinforce the substance of her discourse, the structure of her discourse performs the same function. She employs a variation of the problem-solution pattern to

convey at a structural level what she says at a content level. She rejects the usual form of the problem-solution pattern, however, in which a problem is described and a specific solution or solutions are offered to solve the problem. Such a structure, of course, would detract from the optimistic tone she has achieved and her focus on movement toward a better world because of its emphasis on the problem. What she does instead is essentially to assume a knowledge of the problem on the part of the audience--and she can do this because her audiences tend to be women who have encountered discrimination on the basis of sex. The problem is not explicitly described in her discourse, then, but rather exists as an image in the minds of the audience members. At times, of course, she identifies the problems--racism, sexism, exploitation, etc.--but these tend to appear only in brief lists and are not emphasized. She comes closer to the traditional problem-solution pattern in discussing solutions. She stresses as solutions the need for unity of all oppressed peoples and the need for political action. But her solutions rarely are more specific than this. She does not suggest, for example, what a black woman should do to feel more a part of the feminist movement or what feminists should do to make blacks feel more comfortable in their movement.

If the problem and solution steps of her structure are vague, she excels at the third and often-considered optional step in the problem-solution pattern--a description of the results once the solution has been implemented. Here, of course, she paints her picture of a golden age without oppression in which women are participating as fully as men and in which universal liberation has been realized. The result of this focus on the result in her organizational structure rather than on the problem

or the solution again reinforces her message at a substantive level. She is primarily concerned with change and conveys optimism about the possibilities for change because she doesn't allow the audience to dwell on the present status of women. As a result, the audience is encouraged to act to achieve her vision of the future.

Effects of the Discourse

Although the response to her written essay and poems is difficult to determine, the speeches studied here were well-received by the audiences that heard them. Murray's "The Women's Revolution" was received enthusiastically by her audience. She was among peers and women with whom she had worked over a number of years on women's issues, and the close bond of sisterhood already established between Murray and her audience[68] was strengthened by this inspirational speech. "The Future of Black Women in America" was followed by a spirited discussion about the ideas presented and contributed to the birth of an idea by some audience members to form an organization of women who wanted to continue to examine their roles and do something about them.[69]

These responses, as well as the substantive and stylistic features of Murray's discourse suggest that it performs three basic functions for her immediate audience. First, the discourse increases the audience's capability to act--particularly in the political realm--since her focus is on corporate oppression which must be met with political activism. Second, her discourse serves to unite members of the audience with each other and with all oppressed groups. As we have seen, she stresses repeatedly the need for cooperation and unity between blacks, women, and all oppressed people. And finally, the discourse, with its focus on the

future and its glimpses to the past to see what is useful there, disperses the rage that audience members may feel about the present--rage which Murray feels is immobilizing and detrimental to the cause rather than helpful. She explains these harmful effects of rage in her poem, "Hate:"

> Heaven hates with cosmic ire,
> The star point breaks,
> The earth's core cracks
> And fire-tongued mountains
> Consume a sleeping valley.
>
> But when man hates
> His clumsy hands drip human blood,
> And where, in some quiet land
> White goats danced on a hillside
> Or children gathered flowers,
> A thousand puny skulls
> Give feast to flies and maggots.70

Murray's speeches and poetry have consequences, too, for her as a speaker. Her speeches align her both with the black power and feminist movements, making her a potential leader and speaker in both arenas. But because of her early alignment with the women's movement and her repeated suggestion that blacks should join the feminist movement because it offers hope to all oppressed peoples, she may alienate some blacks who feel that their movement should exist apart from feminism and that it is perhaps more important than the feminist movement. She thus may be selecting for the future a black audience that is already open to feminism, just as she seems to be selecting an audience that is composed of men and women who already are convinced of the need for a feminist revolution and who are seeking political expertise to help them achieve it.

And finally, Murray's feminist discourse seems to contribute one vital theme not only to feminists and oppressed persons, but to society

as a whole: Our goal should be the affirmation of all human beings as a step toward universal liberation. Contrary to the angry, vengeful discourse of many proponents of social change, Murray does not hate or blame. And perhaps, as a result of her discourse and that of others like her, the prophecy of which she writes will become a reality:

> I sing of a new American
> Separate from all others,
> Yet enlarged and diminished by all others.
> I am the child of kings and serfs, freemen and slaves,
> Having neither superiors nor inferiors,
> Progeny of all colors, all cultures, all systems, all beliefs.71

Notes

[1] Pauli Murray, "Prophecy," Dark Testament and Other Poems (Norwalk, Connecticut: Silvermine, 1970), p. 71.

[2] Her works include States' Laws on Race and Color (Cincinnati, Ohio: Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church, 1952); With Leslie Rubin, The Constitution and Government of Ghana, Law in Africa series, No. 1 (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1961); and Human Rights U.S.A.: 1948-1966 (Cincinnati, Ohio: Service Center, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, 1967).

[3] The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, contains a collection of letters written by Eleanor Roosevelt to Pauli Murray, which confirms their close relationship and her attempts to persuade Roosevelt to become more politically active.

[4] Pauli Murray, Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family (1956; rpt. Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, 1973).

[5] Pauli Murray, "Black Theology and Feminist Theology: A Comparative View," Anglican Theological Review, 60 (January 1978), 8.

[6] Pauli Murray, "The Women's Revolution--Prologue to a Golden Age in Human Relationships," presented at the first annual convention of the Professional Women's Caucus, New York, New York, October 16, 1971.

[7] Pauli Murray, "The Future of Black Women in America," presented as part of the Black Women in Perspective project of the Fort Wayne Urban League, Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 29, 1976.

[8] Letty M. Russell, Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective--A Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974).

[9] Campbell notes a similar function in much feminist discourse. See Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59 (February 1973), 80.

[10] "The Women's Revolution," p. 1.

[11] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 6.

[12] "Black Theology and Feminist Theology," p. 24.

[13] "The Future of Black Women in America," pp. 2-5.

[14] "Youth to Age," Dark Testament, p. 50.

[15] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 10.

[16] "Black Theology and Feminist Theology," p. 8.

[17] Number 1, Dark Testament, p. 12.

[18] Murray confirmed that she tends to speak more to professional, well-educated groups in a letter to me dated July 23, 1979. She stated, however, that she often speaks to women's church groups and sometimes to community groups that are more diversified in background.

[19] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 6.

[20] "Black Theology and Feminist Theology," p. 7.

[21] Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 110.

[22] "Black Theology and Feminist Theology," p. 7.

[23] Campbell notes that it is a characteristic of feminist rhetoric to see the cause of women's problems in the social structure; thus, solutions must be structural, not merely personal. Campbell, p. 81.

[24] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 19.

[25] "The Women's Revolution," p. 7.

[26] "Collect for Poplarville," Dark Testament, p. 38.

[27] "Black Theology and Feminist Theology," p. 24.

[28] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 6.

[29] Ibid., p. 20.

[30] "The Women's Revolution," p. 6.

[31] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 1.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 7.

[34] "The Women's Revolution," p. 5.

[35] Ibid., p. 7.

[36] Ibid., p. 1.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 2.

[39] Ibid., p. 6.

[40] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 15.

[41] Ibid., p. 8.

[42] Ibid., p. 4.

[43] "The Women's Revolution," p. 2.

[44] "The Future of Black Women in America," pp. 1-2.

[45] "The Women's Revolution," p. 1.

[46] Ibid.

[47] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 20.

[48] Ibid., pp. 7, 10.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] "The Women's Revolution," p. 5.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 1.

[54] Ibid., p. 5.

[55] In her July 23, 1979 letter, Murray commented in regard to the title of her speech, "The Women's Revolution--Prologue to a Golden Age in Human Relationships," that "I blush at my optimism."

[56] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 1.

[57] "The Women's Revolution," p. 5.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 3.

[60] Ibid., p. 6.

[61] "The Women's Revolution," p. 7.

[62] "The Future of Black Women in America," p. 6.

[63] "The Women's Revolution," p. 7.

[64] Ibid., p. 3.

[65] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[66] Campbell, p. 83.

[67] In "The Women's Revolution" (p. 5), for example, she refers to the imaginative amicus curiae briefs of the lawyers in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

[68] In her July 23, 1979 letter, Murray notes that such a bond of sisterhood existed between her and the members of her audience.

[69] Murray's letter to me (July 23, 1979) quotes Nancy Roffey, one of the organizers of the series on Black Women in Perspective: "The response to this series has been superb and we plan to move as quickly as possible on forming an organization of women who want to continue to examine their roles and hopefully do something about them."

[70] "Hate," Dark Testament, p. 56.

[71] "Prophecy," Dark Testament, p. 71.