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AUTHOR Perkins, Linda Marie
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ABSTRACT

In spite of lack of support from white women, educated black women concentrated their efforts on better conditions for the uneducated and the poorer among them during the late 19th century. Their primary concerns were education and employment opportunities, suffrage, the defense of black female morality, and the condemnation of lynching. The philosophy of black female leaders was that they received their education for the elevation of the race. They believed in the moral superiority of women, that the degraded state of the black race was a result of the degraded state of its women, and that only through the actions of black women would their lot improve. Few white women were supportive of black causes. Even suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton placed color above principle in an attempt to gain support of southern white women. Thus, black women either formed organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women or worked independently on behalf of their race, often condemning the actions and attitudes of white women. Although the 20th century saw an increased interracial cooperation among women, distrust of white women still prevailed. (Author/KC)

RADCLIFFE INSTITUTE WORKING PAPER

BLACK FEMINISM AND "RACE UPLIFT," 1890-1900

Linda Marie Perkins

Institute for Independent Study
Radcliffe College
3 James Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Prior to Emancipation, black women of all classes participated in a myriad of activities for the abolition of slavery and the eradication of racism. After Reconstruction, while race discrimination remained a foremost concern of black women, sex discrimination also became an issue of great importance. The passage of the fifteenth amendment in 1870 granting black men the franchise signaled the first major gender distinction made among blacks by the American society. By 1900, twenty-two black men had served in the nation's Congress and scores of others held State and local government posts.[1]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the influx of fourteen million immigrants in the nation since 1865 and the withdrawing of federal troops in the South resulted in the collapse of the economic, political and social gains of blacks obtained during Reconstruction. In the North, blacks were closed out of skilled as well as menial occupations forcing many educated blacks to migrate South. Southern blacks were virtually reenslaved as a result of the crop-lien system, the instituting of black laws and the disenfrancisement of the black male. Black women in the South experienced frequent physical and verbal assaults by white men and the rise in the Ku Klux Klan resulted in lynching of blacks reaching its peak during the 1890's.[2]

This period, described by historian Rayford Logan as the "nadir" for blacks coincided with one of tremendous and educational opportunities and civic and political activity for white females.[3] By 1900, thousands of white women were members

of suffrage, professional, educational and working-women's associations. [4]

Throughout the entire century, black women remained the most economically depressed and educationally disadvantaged of all groups and reaped little from either the black or women's movement. By the 1890's, a small cadre of educated black women began to express specific feminist concerns to black men and specific concerns to white women regarding the exclusion of blacks from the larger women's movement. In 1892, black D.C. educator, Anna J. Cooper, published a book entitled A Voice from the South and addressed both issues. Cooper wrote that the black woman was voiceless and although "confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, is as yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both."[5] Another black woman during the 90's also noted with bitter irony that although the period was frequently termed the "woman's century", "colored women come last in the American scheme of life." [6]

This essay discusses the efforts made by educated black women at the end of the nineteenth century to combine forces with white women in an attempt to improve the lives of both blacks and women. Optimistic in these endeavors initially, as the lives of blacks - particularly black women - worsen by the mid-90's, black women began to view white women as part of their problem rather than solution. As a result, interaction with black women towards white women shifted from one of conciliation to confrontation. The growing militancy and outspokenness of black women collided with the rise in prominence of

Booker T. Washington, the accommodationalist. The impact of his racial philosophy upon the activities of the black women will be briefly examined.

Blacks walked out of slavery into the Victorian age. Standards of morality and femininity never accrued the black woman were suddenly placed upon her. Because the chastity of black women was disregarded during and after slavery, they experienced widespread sexual abuse by white men. As these assaults intensified by the 1890's, black women fled the South by the thousands to northern cities in hope of better job and educational opportunities. The women were primarily unskilled, uneducated and homeless. In Philadelphia by 1895, fifteen thousand blacks migrated to the city since 1880, most of them females. In his study of the Philadelphia Negro in 1897, W.E.B. DuBois was struck by the disproportionate number of single and destitute black women in the city's black seventh ward and noted the seriousness of this phenomenon.[7]

Unlike the years prior to the Civil War when single and poor black women as well as the few middle-class women of the race orgainzed to aid themselves, during the 90's, educated, middle-class and primarily married black women moved into the forefront to labor on behalf of the uneducated and poorer women among them. Educational and employment opportunities, suffrage and lynching were among the primary concerns of the black women and by the mid-90's, the defense of black female morality became an all-consuming interest.

The black women leaders during the decade of the 90's were primarily the fair-skinned elite who were more educationally advantaged than the darker members of the race prior to Emancipation. These women were also normally married to prominent professional men of the race and resided in the major cities of the nation. They include: From Boston, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, wife of the nation's first black judge, George Ruffin. Ruffin's daughter, Florida Ruffin Ridley. In New York City, Victoria Earle Matthews, the journalist. In Philadelphia, Fanny Jackson Coppin, the principal of the Institute for Colored Youth (ICY) and one of the nation's earliest black female college graduates; Dora Cole, and ICY graduate and clerk in the Philadelphia pensions office; Frances E.R. Harper, the poet and temperance worker. Washington, D.C. constituted the largest group of black women. Among the noted Oberlin graduates were: Mary Jane Patterson, Mary Church Terrell and Anna J. Cooper. In addition, Josephine Bruce, wife of Reconstruction Senator Blanche Bruce of Mississippi; Charlotte Forten Grimke, educator and member of the wealthy abolitionist Forten family; educator Helen H. Cook, wife of alderman and tax collector John F. Cook; and Rosetta Douglass Sprague, daughter of Frederick Douglass. In Chicago, the highly vocal Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Fanny Barrier Williams, both the wives of law partners Ferdinand Barnett and S. Laing Williams. In the South, Margaret Murray Washington, the wife of Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee; and, Alice Ruth Moore of New Orleans (later the

wife of poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar.)[8]

It was no accident that the black female leaders were among the most educated women of the race. The primary purpose of education as viewed by nineteenth century blacks was for the "uplift" and "elevation" of their race. Although this educational and race philosophy had been espoused by blacks for nearly a century, it later became most associated for the educational thought of black scholar W.E.B. DuBois, who in 1895 became the first black to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard.[9]

In addition to race "uplift", several other reasons attribute to the activities of educated black women during this period. First, most of the women accepted the prevailing notion of the moral superiority of women and therefore believed women better qualified to aid the race. Secondly, because women were held responsible for the development of the race, the often described degraded state of the black race was seen as a result of the degraded state of its women. Thus, by "uplifting" black women, the race was "uplifted." Lastly, there was an increased belief by many of the black women leaders that black male leaders insensitive and/or non-responsive to the needs of black women and that it was only through the actions of black women that their lives would improve. In addition, black women often felt the burden of the race solution was placed upon them.

On this final point, black Episcopal Priest Alexander Crummell published an essay in 1881 entitled, "The Black Woman of the South." Crummell placed the fate of the race in the

hands of "colored" women - whom he distinguished from "black" women. "Colored" women were primarily educated, middle-class and racially mixed women while "black" women were the uneducated, degraded ones living in the South.[10] Educated black women accepted this charge. The first chapter of Anna J. Cooper's book, Voice from the South reflected this view and was entitled, "Womanhood: A Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race."[11] The Hampton Negro Conferences began in 1896 devoted considerable attention to the moral development of black girls and women and in 1899, a southern educator spoke of the dilemma of middle-class black women in an address entitled, "The Burden of the Educated Colored Woman."[12]

Protection from physical assaults and lack of jobs were among the greatest concerns of black women. As mentioned earlier, a significant proportion of black women of the North were single. Unlike white females who normally terminated employment after marriage, married black women shouldered a sizeable burden in the economic survival of their families. Ten times as many married black women than married white women worked by 1900. Also, by this year, white women were employed in 295 of the 303 occupations listed by the United States Census Bureau while 96 percent of black women were employed either as domestics or agricultural workers.[13]

As early as 1878, Fanny Jackson (later Coppin) started a newspaper column in the Christian Recorder, the newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, to give career tips to black women. An ardent feminist, from the 60's Coppin always

advocated that blacks should be economically independent of whites and that women should be economically independent of men. After the instituting of her column, Coppin formed an organization to appeal to factories, public libraries, department stores, etc. for employment for black women.[14]

Throughout the nation by the 1890's, black women in urban areas sought to assist unemployed women of the race. Mary Church Terrell, a member of the Colored Women's League in D.C. established in 1892, reported in 1894 that in that city, "the situation for women laborers of the race is becoming very serious." DuBois also noted the seriousness of this problem in Philadelphia during the late 90's writing, "the question of employment for Negroes is the most pressing of the day."[15]

As employment opportunities for blacks deteriorated, the same soared for white females. The advent of the commercial typewriter in the 1870's created many stenographic positions and the number of bookkeeping and telephone operator positions escalated. By 1890, there were over 100,000 white women employed as salesclerks. And, by the turn of the century, over half of all business schools students were women. Even in the South, Anne Firor Scott reports that by 1900, large numbers of single white females of all classes were employed.[16]

Black women were virtually eliminated from all of the above occupations and their appeals to white workingwomen's clubs and unions were unsuccessful. The largest labor union of the nineteenth century, the Knights of Labor, who had included black women into memberships as domestic workers and

seamtresses in the 70's, by the 90's, the organization had completely retreated and barred black membership.[17] The Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia established a course in Typing and Stenography in 1892, however, by 1896 the class had to be discontinued because only one of the 90 students who had completed the course found employment.[18] So complete was the rejection of black employees in the North that hundreds of educated black women were forced to migrate to rural areas of the South to teach.[19]

The education of black females was another vital concern and black female clubs sponsored scholarships and established night classes for working black women. In addition, kindergartens were also established for the benefit of working mothers. By 1890, only 30 black women possessed a baccularеate degree compared to over 300 black men and 2,500 white women. In this same year, white females constituted 35 percent of the undergraduate collegiate student bodies.[20] Eleanor Flexner also reports that by 1890, white women had made such great strides in medical fields since the Civil War that they were no longer a rarity in this area and numbered almost 4,500.[21]

The first opportunity for black women to speak to a large body of white females came in 1893 at the World Congress of Representative Women convening in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition. Fanny Jackson Coppin, Anna J. Cooper, and Fanny Barrier Williams all spoke on the subject, "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Woman." Informing their audience of

the many advances made by black women since Emancipation, the speakers also stated that black women desired better educational opportunities and that they viewed the woman's cause as merely a woman's cause and not a white woman's cause. Despite the topic of the lecture, the women took advantage of the opportunity to address issues of burning importance to black women: employment opportunities, social purification and the need for protection.

Fanny Williams tactfully told the huge body of women that, "in the item of employment colored women bear a distressing burden of mean and unreasonable discrimination...colored women can find no employment in this free America...Can the people of the country afford to single out the women of a whole race of people as objects of their special contempt?"[22] Williams delicately raised the question of the need for protection for black women against the assaults of white men. She stated, "I do not wish to disturb the serenity of this conference by suggesting why this protection is needed and the kind of men against whom it is needed."[23]

The black women soon learned that their words fell on deaf ears. Their speeches coincided with a wave of lynchings and an era described by one historian as the "betrayal of the Negro." Whites previously supportive of black causes found it politically or financially expedient to divorce themselves from them or remained silent.[24]

Leading suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady

Stanton fell solidly into the "betrayal" category by the 90's. Believing that the passage of the nineteenth amendment was imminent, the women placed color above principle in an attempt to woo the support of southern white women. The National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA), headed by Anthony and Stanton, held conferences in southern cities that prohibited black participation, backed avowed racists for national offices and hedged on making public statements protesting segregation.

Blacks were somewhat prepared for the actions of Anthony and Stanton considering the fact the the two women campaigned against the passage of the fifteenth amendment.[26] However, Francis Willard, the influential president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), sent shock waves throughout the black communities of the nation when she not only refused to denounce lynching during a 1893 in England but basically became an apologist for the white South. Willard had an abolitionist background and had previously been active in causes on behalf of blacks.[27] The WCTU was the largest organization of women in the nation with a membership boasting over 200,000.[28] Thus, Willard's influence was considerable.

The anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells was also in England during the time of Willard's lecture. Outraged, Wells sent off a scathing letter to the editors of British newspapers denouncing Willard. Wells bitterly wrote that Willard was no different from the average American white when it came to the question of race and pointed out that the WCTU barred black women from membership in the South and segregated them in most chapters

elsewhere in the nation.[29]

The refusal of white women to speak out against lynching was seen as unforgivable by black women because of the hundreds of innocent lives lost as a result of these murders. Further, black women were especially embittered because as they were frequently being assaulted by white men who received no punishment, black men were murdered under the guise of the protection of white womanhood.

The Willard incident served as a turning point in black-white female relationships and resulted in black women becoming more indignant and outspoken towards white women. In 1894, the first black female owned and edited newspaper, The Woman's Era began publication in Boston. The paper's editors were Josephine Ruffin and her daughter Florida Ruffin Ridley. The paper was the organ of a Boston black female club of the same name.[30]

Geared primarily towards middle-class black women, the monthly paper became radical in tone after its first issue. In May of 1894 the paper published an open letter to the English feminist Laura Ormiston Chant condemning her for succeeding in having a resolution by the National Conference of the Unitarian Church denouncing lynching defeated. The letter was widely reprinted in American and British newspapers. The Era continued this concern in its next issues and featured an article entitled, "Apologists for Lynching." The editors angrily wrote that instead of condemning white men "who have

never spared the honor and virtue of Negro women [and] whose hands are dripping with blood of their own illegitimate children...Francis Willard of American and Laura Ormiston Chant of England have entered the lists of apologists. These two defenders of the right would let no liquor dealer escape but would apologize for the white criminal, if the victim be Negro man, woman, or child."[31] Although the black women were in essence defending black men who were the largest victims of lynching, their deaths left black women widows and unprotected and further increased the number of black orphans.

The Era frequently cited white females believed friends to blacks. Lucy Stone's picture was on the front page of the paper's first issue in a memorial tribute. Stone had addressed the Woman's Era Club prior to her death and her last words, "make the world better" was the newspaper's motto. Ednah Dow Cheney, a prominent white Bostonian and one of the founders of the New England Women's Hospital was thanked by the editors for her willingness to employ black nurses and interns at the hospital. Cheney occasionally submitted articles to the paper.[32]

By November, the Era had correspondants from the major cities of the nation who reported monthly on the status of black women and efforts made on their behalf.[33] The comments in the paper indicate that educated black women tended to be in agreement that suffrage would emancipate the race. In several western States all women had obtained partial suffrage

by the 90's. In 1894, black Colorado correspondant Elizabeth Ensley reported that a black women, a Mrs. Olden, was one of fourteen black delegates to the Republican County Convention and was elected third vice-president of the Republican State Convention.[34]

As optimism regarding the franchise increased, black women discussed preparing for the anticipated ballot. Fanny Barrier Williams published a lengthly article entitled, "Women in Politics" stating that by obtaining the vote, black women could significantly improve their lives as well as the condition of the race.[35] Developing this point, Williams bluntly wrote that neither black men nor white women could be counted upon to improve the lives of black women. In her opinion, black men placed self before race, and white women simply could not be trusted. Of course, white men were completely dismissed from the discussion since most were not interested in either blacks or women obtaining the ballot.

Black women were convinced by the mid 90's that their greatest opposition in economic and educational advancement was white women. Williams' article elaborated this point and advised her readers that after the vote was obtained to expect white women to seek their friendship merely for political reasons:

> The sincerity of white women, who have heretofore so scorned our ambitions and held themselves aloof from us in all our struggles for advancement, should be to a degree questioned.

> It would be much more to our credit if we would seek, by all possible uses of our franchise, to force these ambitious women candidates and women party managers to relent their cruel opposition to our girls and women in the matter of employment and the enjoyment of civil privileges. We should never forget that the exclusion of colored women and girls from nearly all places of respectable employment is due mostly to the meanness of American [white] women, and in every way that we can check this unkindness by the force of our franchise should be religiously done.[36]

Williams' suggestions were pre-mature. As history has shown, women did not obtain the vote in the nineteenth century. However, her statements clearly indicate the growing resentment by many black women towards white women.

By the mid-90's, charges of immorality of black women escalated and Booker T. Washington rose to power making "moral development" a major component of his educational and race philosophy. These events diverted black women's efforts towards interracial harmony with white women. A letter from a white male editor of a Mississippi newspaper sent to England in 1895 characterizing all black women as being "precocious" and having low morals prompted Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin to call a national conference of black women in Boston.[37]

An announcement of the conference in the Woman's Journal reveals the level of importance that morality became to educated black women. Of the many issues listed to be discussed at the conference, the paper noted, "the great question of social purity" would have a special session with the black

women affixing their signatures to the social purity pledges.[38] For the remainder of the century and thereafter, most educated black women were obsessed in proving and improving the morality of the women of the race.

The conference was extremely successful, attracting middle-class black women from throughout the nation. Several men - black and white - addressed the conference (Alexander Crummell, T.Thomas Fortune, Booker T. Washington, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Blackwell), but no white women did. The move to form a national orgainzation of black women resulted in regional factions emerging. Southern black women, headed by Margaret Murray Washington insisted on the thrust of the organization being "industrial training and practical housewifery" while the New Englanders and northerners stressed black women pursuing the same interests and field as whites; and, the mid-western delegation viewed temperance as their priority.[39]

The southern group was able to persuade the majority of the body that the area where the masses of black women resided should be in the leadership. Margaret Murray Washington was elected as president of the newly formed National Federation of Afro-American Women. The D.C. delegation refused to become a part of the organization, and not until a year later did the two groups reach a compromise and unite. The move towards national organization was the beginning in the protest-accommodationalist struggle that intensified among educated blacks by the turn of the century. The purposes of the newly formed group reflected

a watered down, conservative and narrow focus: "the upbuilding ennobling and advancement for black women and awaking the women of the race to the great need of systematic effort in homemaking and the divinely imposed duties of motherhood." These objectives eroded the vision of the New England and northern black women's desire to develop a black political female leadership into one of black women becoming socialized into the Victorian mode of "helpmeets."[40]

By July 1896, after great deliberation and compromise, the D.C. Colored Women's League joined the National Federation of Afro-American Women and elected Mary Church Terrell president of their newly formed National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Margaret Murray Washington was elected as Executive Chairman. The northern educated Terrell was an excellent compromise president. She reflected the educational and cultural orientation acceptable to the black women of the North and New England areas and was also sympathetic towards the efforts of Booker T. Washington to make her acceptable to the Tuskegean.[41]

The objectives of the National Association of Colored Women were essentially the same as the National Federation of Afro-American Women: "the elevation of the race, the ennobling of womanhood and the concentrated effort towards improving the standard of home life of the masses." Although the women's interest in education and employment was not completely thwarted, the major thrust was placed upon moral and social improvement. In this aspect, black women of the nation

made a significant contribution. Orphanages, homes for the elderly, and shelters for homeless women were established by local affiliates of the NACW.[42]

While it is generally acknowledged that the "moral uplift" self-help philosophy of Booker T. Washington permeated the NACW, a recent study of the organization states, "the protest/accommodation debate never paralyzed the NACW as it did other Black orgainzations."[43] This is essentially true because by 1900, black women of the protest persuasion were no longer active or members of the Association.

In 1899, after Mary Church Terrell was re-elected (allegedly illegally) for the third term as president of the NACW, the entire seventy-five member Women's Era Club of Boston withdrew its membership from the organization.[44] Although personality conflicts entered into the Boston club's split from the Association, philosophical differences also accounted for this decision. The Boston group controlled and edited the Association's organ, the Era. This paper was known for its caustic attacks upon whites, emphasis upon full citizenship rights for all blacks, and feminist tone. In the age of Booker T. Washington, such tactics and views were forbidden.

At the 1897 NACW conference held in Nashville, Mary Church Terrell stressed moral and social purity as the most important aspects in uplifting the race and the Era was replaced as the organ of the Association by National Notes edited by Margaret Murray Washington.[45] The above statements and moves indicate

a shift from the protest tactics of the New England women. The accomodationist stance was confirmed at this conference when Margaret Murray Washington moved that a letter of appreciation be sent to Francis Willard for her work with the WCTU. This act served to eradicate pervious criticism of Willard by Ida B. Wells and her supporters of the North.[46]

Other women solidly in the anti-Washington camp were also conspicuously absent from the Association by 1900. Throughout the inception of the orgainzation, black women of Philadelphia, the home of the largest black population in the North, were not involved. Although Fanny Jackson Coppin of Philadelphia addressed the 1896 D.C. convention and was elected a vice-president, she never attended another meeting. Coppin's interest was primarily in the economic and educational advancement of black women and these areas received little attention in the organization's program. Further, Coppin's base was primarily religious rather than secular. Unlike many of the women of the Association, Coppin understood the importance of not only working for poor black people but with them.[47]

The extremely active Trotters of Boston, Maude and Geraldine never had any relationship with the Women's Era Club or the NAWC. Geraldine, the wife of the radical journalist William Monroe Trotter, worked with her husband on their anti-Washington paper The Guardian until her death in 1918. And Maude, the sister of Monroe, was the only woman arrested during the 1903 demonstration against the appearance of Booker T. Washington at a Boston black

church. She continued the editorship of the Guardian after her brother's death in 1934.[38]

Likewise, the outspoken Ida B. Wells and Fanny Barrier Williams of Chicago never held any office within the Association. After Terrell's reelection in 1899, Wells focused her activities upon local and State concerns. And, feminist Anna J. Cooper, who by all accounts gave the most powerful and moving address at the 1895 Boston conference on the "Need of National Orgainzation" was no longer active with the Association by 1900. Interestingly, by this time, Copper remarked that she believed individual rather than group efforts would best benefit blacks.

All of the above women labored independently of the NACW on behlaf of the race. Ida B. Wells in her anti-lynching campaign continued her public criticisms of whites who professed to be friends of blacks yet betrayed them by their actions. Fanny Williams urges political action for black women. Fanny Jackson Coppin, after years of unsuccessful attempts to persuade white women to accept black women as fellow workers, publicly stated by the late '90's that she considered white women in a sense murderers when she thought of the black women who died throughout the rural South, destroying their health as teachers, because of their inability to obtain jobs in the North. And, Anna J. Cooper bitterly commented by the end of the century that she had little compassion for the plight of working white women when she remembered the status of black women in the country. These comments and activities were the antithesis of the

Washington accommodationist strategy. Although several of the above women experienced reprisals from the "Tuskegee Machine" by the turn of the century, they represented the most vocal members of their race on behalf of full citizenship rights for black women and men in the 1890's.[50]

The 90's, however, were not conducive to interracial cooperation. Blacks discovered that anti-slavery did not mean pro-black. Missionaries who educated blacks refused to hire them; Quakers, one of the earliest groups to work on behalf of blacks during the pre-Civil War era, embraced Booker T. Washington by the end of the century, and retreated in the efforts on behalf of blacks; and, even Oberlin College, who gained notoriety in the 1830's for opening its doors to blacks on an equal basis with whites, by the 90's segregated and barred blacks from many of the campus' activities.[51]

Educated primarily for the purpose of race "uplift", nineteenth century blacks blindly, and perhaps naively, believed that if they demonstrated their intellect, "culture, refinement," and moral integrity, racism would decrease. Joel Williamson points out the fallacy in this view and the paradox of white attitudes towards blacks after Emancipation. While they deplored and rejected unacculturated blacks, whites also deplored and rejected blacks who resembled them either biologically or culturally.[52] These sentiments crossed gender lines among whites. This is born out in the rejection of Terrell, Cooper and Ruffin - all physically and culturally white - from white female organizations. The

comment of Rebecca Lowe, president of the white General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1900 after the rejection of Josephine Ruffin's attempt to join the organization, crystalized the prevailing thought of whites in the 90's and was reinforced by Booker T. Washington: "it is the high caste negroes who bring about all the ill-feeling. The ordinary colored woman understands her position thoroughly."[53]

As the races were in general, black and white women remained polarized by the turn of the century. By this time, white supremacy had even become the rationale for the women's franchise. At the NAWSA conference in New Orleans in 1903, the keynote speaker Belle Kearney of Mississippi told her audience:

> The enfranchisement of women would insure immediate and durable white supremacy... of all the women in the South who can read and write, ten out of every eleven are white...Just as surely as the North will be forced to turn to the South for the nation's salvation, just so surely will the South be compelled to look to its Anglo-Saxon women as the medium through which to retain the supremacy of the white race over the African. 54

This speech was received enthusiastically and endorsed bv letter by former abolitionists Carrie Chapman Catt, Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, Alice Stone Blackwell and Laura Clay.[55]

The impact of the historic differences in the status of black and white women upon their relationship still demands further exploration. In an essay entitled, "Black and White

Women in Interaction and Confrontation", Gerda Lerner observes that the relationship between the two groups of women in the nineteenth century was complicated, ambivalent and often hostile. Tullia Hamilton's study of the National Association of Colored Women also notes the undercurrent of resentment against white women by black women. Lerner points out and the women discussed above as well that the status and many of the privileges white women enjoyed in society were at the expense of black and working-class white women. Even this latter group was hostile to associations with black women and refused to work with them.[56]

While Booker T. Washington frequently spoke of "quality white people" being the best friends of blacks, in reality, racism crossed geographical and class lines. During the 90's, black women frequently expressed the belief that they were singled out by white women of all classes as a despised group. A black woman at the turn of the century wrote to a newspaper that "a colored woman, however respectable, is lower than the white prostitute." Mary Church Terrell, who in 1895 became the first black woman to serve on a Board of Education in the nation, wrote of her apprehension of receiving the appointment stating: "even if white men could be found who would be willing to work with a colored woman, it would be hard, if not altogether impossible, to find a white woman who would agree to do so." Although she received the appointment, Terrell's remarks indicate how ingrained the belief was that white women were perceived as a deterrent to the progress of black females.[58]

This was to a large extent true. DuBois noted with curiosity in 1900 that it was more difficult for a black woman to gain entrance into a white woman's college than it was for a black man to gain entrance into a white man's college.[59]

Although the twentieth century brought about increased interracial cooperation between black and white women, the element of distrust for white women still remained. Token black women occasionally spoke and participated at various white female sponsored events, but there is little evidence to support the notion that there was a genuine concern for the improvement of the lives of black women as a whole. Even on the eve of the passage of the nineteenth amendment, black women campaigned for recognition at suffrage meetings. Terrell wrote Carrie Chapman Catt in 1919, "I am writing this letter, not only to give vent to my personal feelings to you, but to ask you whether it would not be a good thing to recognize colored women in you last suffrage meeting which will soon be held in Chicago. It seems to me it would be a gracious, broadminded thing for white women to do."[60]

The events of the final decade of the nineteenth century between black and white women set the tone for their continued strained relationship into the next century. In an analysis of the literary works of black women, Mary Helen Washington finds that white women are almost always depicted negatively and without exception, condescending towards black women. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, provides excellent documentation of the continued

discrimination towards black women into the twentieth century in the women's movement.[61]

Dissatisfied with their status as blacks and women, black women voiced their concerns to the men of their race and women of the larger society at the end of the nineteenth century. The announcement by the black women of New England in 1895 that: "the time for resistance has come, our hope for creating public sentiment grows dimmer and dimmer, and patience and humility have ceased to be virtues," collided with the ascension of Booker T. Washington as the white appointed leader of blacks.[62] In Washington's program of race relations, patience and humility were essential, thus, many of the efforts of the more outspoken black women were diffused.

Although black women were no longer "voiceless" as Anna J. Cooper wrote in 1892, by the twentieth century, they still remained "unacknowledged". The 1860's and 70's had been termed the "Negro's hour" with black men briefly enjoying political power and prestige and the 1890's became the "woman's century" with white women increasing their educational, political and economical status, however, for the nineteenth century black woman, her time did not come.

NOTES

1. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 3rd edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), pp.317-320.

2. For a discussion of the status of blacks at the end of the nineteenth century see Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. "The North and the Negro, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation: Harvard University, 1953); and Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (New York: Collier Books, 1967).

3. Logan, Betrayal of the Negro.

4. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), chapter 13.

5. Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice From the South (Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Printing House, 1892), p. 134.

6. The Woman's Era (Boston), December, 1894.

7. W.E.B.DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 73.

8. For more detailed biographical information on these women see Sadie Daniel, Women Builders (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1931); Monroe Majors, Noted Negro Women (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, 1893); Mrs. N.F. Mossell, The Work of the Afro-American Woman (Philadelphia: George Ferguson, 1908); Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, eds. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971).

9. See W.E.B. DuBois, The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906-1960, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

10. Alexander Crummell, The Black Woman o. the South: Her Neglects and Her Needs (Washington, D.C.: published by the author, 1881).

11. Cooper, A Voice from the South, p. 9.

12. Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference, number three, July 1899 (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Institute Press), p. 37.

13. David Katzman, Seven Days a Week (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 80; Shelia M. Rothman, Woman's Proper Place (New York: Basic Books, 1978), pp. 42-48; Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, We Were There: the Story of Working Women in America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), p. 195.

14. Christian Recorder, June 27, 1878; Ibid, July 25, 1978.

15. The Woman's Era, December, 1894; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, p. 97.

16. Wertheimer, We Were There, p. 159; Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 129.

17. Philip Foner, Women and the American Labor Movement (New York: the Free Press, 1979), p. 210. Woman's Era, March 1894; The New York Age, May 4, 1889, November 8, 1890.

18. Institute for Colored Youth (Philadelphia) 1896 Annual Report.

19. The plight of black female teachers in the South was an issue of great concern to black female leaders. Josephine Ruffin's address at the 1895 conference pleaded "for the sake of the thousands of self-sacrificing young women teaching and preaching in the lonely southern backwoods" (Ruffin's Address to the 1895 Boston Conference); and Mary Church Terrell in an address entitled, "The Progress of Colored Women" stated in 1904: "in the backwoods, remote from the civilization and comforts of the city and town colored women may be found courageously battling with those evils which such conditions always entail. Many a heroine of whom the world will never hear has thus sacrificed her life to her race amid surroundings and in the face of privations which only martyrs can bear." in The Voice of Black America: Major Speeches by Blacks in the United States, 1797-1973, 2 vols., Philip S. Foner, ed., (New York: Capricorn Books, 1975) 2:29.

20. Cooper, A Voice from the South, p. 174; Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education" Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 1978, vol. 3, no. 41, p. 766.

21. Flexner, A Century of Struggle, p. 182.

22. May Wright Sewall, ed., "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation," World's Congress of Representative Women (Chicago, 1893).

23. Ibid.

24. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro.

25. Mari Jo and Paul Buhle, eds. The Concise History of Woman Suffrage (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1978), p. 312.

26. Flexner, A Century of Struggle, p. 188.

27. On Willard see Notable American Women.

28. Flexner, A Century of Struggle, p. 188.

29. Alfreda M. Duster, ed. Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 209.

30. The Woman's Era, May 1894.

31. Ibid. June 1894.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. November 1894.

34. Ibid. December 1894.

35. Ibid. November 1894.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. June 1895; Booker T. Washington was an 1875 graduate of Hampton Institute (Va.) and founded and became the first principal of the manual training school, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. His educational ideology stressed moral philosophy and the dignity of labor. Washington became known early in his career as an accommodationist on civil rights for blacks. His folksy and humble manner, darkey jokes and advocacy of blacks remaining in the South, being apolitical and aspiring to occupations that he termed "honorable" (although menial), won him widespread financial support from northern philanthropists. Washington's speeches confirmed the belief of black inferiority and immorality and stressed that blacks needed a special type of education because they were not "morally nor mentally" capable of filling the positions that they aspired. He continued this theme and in his infamous Atlanta Compromise Speech of 1895 (the year of the death of Frederick Douglass and the awarding of the Ph.D. from Harvard of his later ideological foe, W.E.B. Dubois), he was thrust into national prominence. Washington's thoughts were

compatible with that of Social Darwinism, academic and scientific racism that emerged in the 90's. By 1896, the year of Plessy v. Ferguson (the separate but equal doctrine articulated by Washington the year before in Atlanta), Harvard University awarded Washington an honorary degree, the first to a black person in the nation (Dartmouth so honored him later). He was consulted by Presidents, congressmen, philanthropists, and scholars. During the height of segregation, Washington dined with President Roosevelt and was received by Queen Victoria. As he grew in influence and blacks of the protest philosophy became more vocal in their criticism of the Tuskegean's policies, he sabataged and infiltrated their orgainzations; bought black newspapers and controlled their editorial point of view; and controlled and/or sought to destroy members of the "talented tenth." No black presidential appointment between the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft was made without the approval of Washington, and by the end of the century Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute were the two most endowed black educational institutions. Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: the Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Hugh Hawkins, ed. Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955).

38. The Woman's Journal, July 27, 1895.

39. Report of the 1895 National Conference of Colored Women in Boston by Richard T. Greener, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, Boston Public Library.

40. The Woman's Era, August 1895.

41. Ibid. July 1896; Mary Church Terrell understood the importance and power of Booker T. Washington and manipulated her relationship with him for political gain. Her husband, Robert Terrell secured a federal judgeship in 1901 as a consequence of Washington's influence. Of this appointment, Washington's biographer, Louis Harlen writes: "Mary Church Terrell was more sharp-witted and ambitious than her easy-going husband, but 1901 was no year for a woman, least of all a black woman, to aspire to a high station except through her husband." However, Terrell straddled the protest-accommodationalist line during the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1906, she worked with Washington to block the appointment of W.E.B. DuBois as assistant superientendant of of the D.C. schools - a position given to a Tuskegee supporter, Roscoe Conkling Bruce - and in the same year Terrell was also on the D.C. Board of Education when Anna J. Cooper was was removed from the principalship of the prestegious M Street High School because Cooper advocated college prep courses for

the school. Yet, several years later, Mary Church Terrell became a charter member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Harlen, Booker T. Washington, p. 311; August Meier, "Booker T. Washington and the 'Talented Tenth'" in Meier's Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966), p. 240.

42. The Woman's Era, October-November, 1896.

43. Tuillia Kay Brown Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women, 1896-1920", (Ph.D. dissertation: Emory University, 1978), p. 135.

44. Report of the Woman's Era Club for 1899, Boston Public Library.

45. Nashville American, September 16, 1897, p. 8; Report of 1897 Convention at Nashville, Tennessee, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Washington, D.C., Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress, hereafter referred to as Terrell Papers.

46. Ibid; Margaret Murray Washington worked behind the scenes to influence the attitudes of prominent white women towards black women. Writing to Edna Dow Cheney in late 1896, Washington asked her to influence other civic white women regarding speaking out against segregated railroad cars specifically and racism in general. Washington stated that southern white women fanned the flame of racism due to their limited education. Also, these women felt comfortable only in company of black female servants but could not tolerate educated black women according to Washington. She skillfully shifted the focus of her letter to the discrimination of white women of the North. Assuring Cheney that northern white women were viewed as friends by black women, however they wondered if groups headed by these women as the WCTU, the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Council of Women, "could do more in the direction of correcting evils or indignities against colored women than they [do] . " Politely wrting, "I do not belong to the agressive [sic] class" of black women but stated her disappointment in Frances Willard and other prominent white women who "overlooked" black women. Mrs. Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Cheney, November 23, 1896. Edna Dow Cheney Papers, Boston Public Library.

47. The Woman's Era, October-November 1896; Throughout the '80's and 90's, Coppin was President of the Women's Home Foreign Missionary Society of the AME Church and was active with the Women's Union Missionary Society. See flyer, A Call to Women, in Leon Gardiner Collection, miscellany

folder six, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

48. For more on the Trotters see Stephen Fox's The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

49. On Wells see Duster, Crusade for Justice; For reports of Cooper's address see Greener's Report of the 1895 National Conference and Minutes of the First Conference of Black Women, July 1895, Boston in Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library; Like Mary Church Terrell, after the rise to power of Booker T. Washington, Fanny Barrier Williams and her attorney husband S. Laing Williams "assiduously cultivated" the Tuskegean. Attorney Williams served as ghost-writer for Washington's biography of Frederick Douglass and by 1904 was rewarded for this deed by receiving the post of federal assistant district attorney. Like many of the "talented tenth", political rather than philosophical reasons accounted for their friendship with Washington. By 1913, the Williams were active members of the Chicago NAACP. Meier, "Booker T. Washington and the Talented Tenth", p. 259

50. Reprint of Colored American article in Majors, Noted Negro Women, p. 173; Cooper, A Voice from the South, p. 254; Wells, Coppin and Cooper remained anti-Washington throughout their lives. Coppin and Cooper as heads of the two oldest and elite black private and public high schools (ICY of Philadelphia and M Street High School of Washington D.C.), were removed from their principalship by the turn of the century as a result of their emphasis upon classical as well as technical education. Linda M. Perkins, "Quaker Beneficience and Black Control: the Institute for Colored Youth, 1856-1902" in Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson, eds. New Perspectives in Black Educational History (Boston: G.K. Hall Company, 1978); Cooper biography in Notable American Women, p. 164; Pauline Hopkins, a member of the Boston Woman's Era Club was also a victim of the "Tuskegee Machine". Hopkins, as a protest journalist became editor of the 1900 established Boston monthly, Colored American Magazine. Continuing the style of the Woman's Era, Hopkins protested lynching, rape, Jim Crow laws and white racists. By 1904, Washington found Hopkins "embarrassingly outspoken" and abruptly dismissed her from her editorship. Abby Johnson and Ronald Maberry Johnson, Propaganda and Aesthetics: The Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Amherst: the University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), p. 8.

51. Even by 1895, of the 110 faculty members of the five American Missionary Association, only four were black. And, of the organization's seventeen secondary schools for blacks only twelve of the 141 teachers were black. James M.

McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 273; Philip S. Benjamin, The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age, 1965-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), p. 142 ; William E. Bigglestone, "Oberlin College and the Negro Student, 1865-1940", Journal of Negro History, 1971, 56, 198-219; The Cleveland Gazette.

52. Joel Williamson, "Black Self-Assertion Before and After Emancipation" in Nathan J. Huggins, Martin Kilson and Daniel M. Fox, eds. Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1971), p. 225.

53. Quoted in Logan's Betrayal of the Negro, p. 241.

54. Belle Kearney, "The South and Women Suffrage" address given at the National American Women's Suffrage Association Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 15-25, 1903 in Buhle's The Concise History of Woman Suffrage, p. 349.

55. Ibid.

56. Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds its Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 95; Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women", p. 133.

57. The Independent, September 18, 1902.

58. Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. 1968) p. 127.

59. W.E.B. DuBois, "The College Bred Negro", Proceedings of the Fifth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, May 29-30, 1900 (Atlanta University Press, 1900) p. 34.

60. Mary Church Terrell to Carrie Chapman Catt, January 9, 1919. Carrie Chapman Catt Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

61. Mary Helen Washington, ed. Black-Eyed Susan: Classic Stories by and about Black Women (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1975) xviii. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement, 1830-1920" in Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1978), pp. 17-27.

62. The Woman's Era, July 1895.