“A TORCH IN THE VALLEY”: THE LIFE AND WORK OF MISS HALLIE QUINN BROWN

by

DALEAH B. GOODWIN

(Under the Direction of Diane Batts Morrow)

ABSTRACT

“‘A Torch in the Valley’: The Life and Work of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown, 1849-1949,” examines the challenges and accomplishments of a professional elocutionist, educator, and a founding member of the black clubwomen’s movement. Hallie Quinn Brown campaigned for equal access to education for African American women and political representation for women to reveal the vast intellectual possibilities of black womanhood. Her numerous short stories, lectures, and speech and rhetoric textbook demonstrate the power of language in effecting social change. Her edited encyclopedia *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (1926), the first black women’s biographical encyclopedia by black women, set a precedent for including African American female voices in history narratives. Brown’s innovative performance style merged recitation, lecture, song, and poetry in a manner that preserved African American cultural art forms while captivating national and international audiences. Although she lived and worked among a number of African American women and men now renowned for their work in black racial uplift, contemporary histories often fail to recognize her contribution. Building on biographic narrative and black feminist theory, I analyze the academic, social, theological, and political importance of Brown through a synergistic examination of her educational pedagogy and her involvement with the black women’s club movement. I document the public work and

activism of Brown to reveal the ways black women maneuvered and positioned themselves to secure social equality and political enfranchisement, all while “uplifting the race.” This study of Brown’s life and work, a woman who worked, fought, and stood in the margins, will offer a nuanced portrait of not only black women but of black life at the turn of the twentieth century.

INDEX WORDS: Hallie Quinn Brown, African American women, African Methodist Episcopal Church, National Association of Colored Women, Elocution

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DEDICATION

To my parents Ronald E. and Virginia R. Goodwin

and for Miss Hallie Quinn Brown.

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If I was a doctor, I would use my research
A prolific dissertation, if I was a speaker
I would use my hands, if I were a potter
No matter who or what we are, we must praise

If I were an eagle, I would use my wings
Since I'm a believer, I use everything…

With our gifts we exalt Thee
Merciful, wonderful God
We must praise
~J.Moss~

I give all glory, honor and praise to The Most High God for seeing me through this portion of my educational journey. It is my hope to always use my skills, education, and talents to advance Your will.

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INTRODUCTION AND PROLOGUE: "A TORCH IN THE VALLEY"[1]

"'A Torch in the Valley': The Life and Work of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown, 1849-1949" examines the challenges and accomplishments of a professional elocutionist, educator, and a founding member of the black clubwomen's movement. Hallie Quinn Brown campaigned for equal access to education for African American women and political representation for women to reveal the vast intellectual possibilities of black womanhood. Her numerous short stories, lectures, and speech and rhetoric textbook demonstrate the power of language in effecting social change. Her edited encyclopedia *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (1926), the first black women's biographical encyclopedia by black women, set a precedent for including African American female voices in history narratives.[2] Brown's innovative performance style merged recitation, lecture, song, and poetry in a manner that preserved African American cultural art forms while captivating national and international audiences. Although she lived and functioned among a number of African American women and men now renowned for their work in black racial uplift, contemporary histories often fail to recognize her contribution.

Building on biographic narrative and black feminist theory, I analyze Brown's contributions to the art of elocution, the significant role spirituality played in her life, her

[1] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Our Women: Past, Present, Future," 7, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC) (Wilberforce, OH), Box 1, Folder 8. Hereinafter cited as *HQB Collection*.

[2] Hallie Q. Brown ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: Aldine Publishing Company, 1926).

philosophy of education, her organizational activism, and her relation to African American women. In this dissertation, my examination of these five pillars details Brown's involvement with each pillar individually, as well as how these pillars interact with one another to inform, support, and make sense of Brown's overall life and work. The theoretical models of "pivoting the center" as used by Bettina Aptheker and "gumbo ya ya" as explained by Elsa Barkley Brown demonstrate the importance of valuing voices/experiences individually while exposing how those voices/experiences interact with and inform one another. The first model, pivoting the center, "avoids the dualistic opposition of center/margin and allows everyone constantly to be at the center of their own experience. [It requires the historian] to look out from numerous centers and thus to maintain the reality that all these centers exist simultaneously." Likewise, "gumbo ya ya," the second model, operates in a similar way. Taken from the Creole term meaning "everyone talks at once," Brown uses the concept of "gumbo ya ya" to reveal a "nonlinear, polyrhythmic way of understanding history." She contends, "If we analyze [people] and actions by linear models, we will create dichotomies, ambiguities, cognitive dissonance, disorientation, and confusion in places where none exist." [3] This study of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown, a woman who worked, fought, and stood in the margins, moves us toward a more complete understanding of her life and work and offers a nuanced portrait of not only black women but of black life at the turn of the twentieth century.

The pioneering studies of Brown primarily emphasize her work as a professional elocutionist. To date, one unpublished biography chronicles Brown's life. "Hallie Quinn Brown:

[3] See for example, Elsa Barkley Brown, "African-American Women's Quilting" *Common Grounds and Crossroads: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in Women's Lives* (Summer, 1989): 922, 929; Bettina Aptheker, *Tapestries of Life: Women's Work, Women's Consciousness, and the Meaning of Daily Experience* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 12, 20; Patricia Hill Collins, "Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 568 (March 2000), 543.

Black Woman Elocutionist, 1845(?) – 1949" by Annjennette Sophie McFarlin rescued Brown from relative obscurity. McFarlin noted that despite recognition as "one of the greatest elocutionists on two continents," none of Brown's speeches or literary pedagogies appeared in any speech anthologies when McFarlin wrote her dissertation in 1975. [4] Drawing primarily from Brown's unpublished diary and autobiography, McFarlin reconstructed many of Brown's life experiences. Susan Kates' *Activist Rhetorics and American Higher Education 1885-1937* and Faye Spencer Maor's dissertation "Lifting Word by Word: Ideologies of Literacy, Education and Feminism in the Rhetoric of Two Nineteenth Century African American Women," added in-depth analysis of Brown's writings and exposed Brown's use of African American history and social responsibility. Their respective works reveal how Brown's pedagogy used elocution as an instrument for racial uplift.[5]

While this dissertation celebrates Brown the elocutionist, it also exposes other aspects of Brown's life that have been previously unexplored or underexplored such as Brown's position in the black women's club movement. Dorothy Salem, Floris Cash, Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, and Deborah Gray White, respectively, point to black women's rejection of social, political, and economic affronts to their personhood and citizenship.[6] In particular, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and their affiliates denounced racism and racist acts that rejected their

[4] Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown--Black Woman Elocutionist: 1845(?)-1949" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975), iv.

[5] Susan Kates, *Activist Rhetorics and American Higher Education 1885-1937* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001); Faye Emily Spencer Maor, "Lifting Word by Word: Ideologies of Literacy, Education and Feminism in the Rhetoric of Two Nineteenth Century African America Women," Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004).

[6] See generally, Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishers, 1990); Floris Loretta Barnett Cash, *African American Women and Social Action: The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal, 1896-1936* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001); Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

claims/rights to citizenship, debased their personhood, and negated their womanhood. NACW histories by Elizabeth Davis, Charles Wesley, Maude Jenkins and Tulia Hamilton describe accounts of the battles as they reveal countless grassroots women who fought for the betterment of black life.[7] These texts highlight Brown's legacy as NACW president (1920-1924) and demonstrate her commitment to black female education.

Brown's work in the black women's club movement overlaps her involvement in other organizations. In addition to the NACW and the Ohio State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Brown affiliated with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the International Council of Women, Anti-Lynching Crusaders, and the Colored Republican Women to name a few. Her vast organizational involvement reflects important aspects of her political agenda. Brown became an advocate for woman suffrage while a student at Wilberforce and later the Director of the Colored Women's Department of the Republican National Committee (1924).[8] Yet, limited accounts of Brown's political activities in advocating woman suffrage or voting appear in literature. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Bettye Collier Thomas, and Ann Gordon illuminate black women's complex and ambiguous participation in suffrage campaigns.[9] Terborg-Penn contends that while woman suffrage emerged as an issue for black women, it was not the primary issue for black women.

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[7] See, Elizabeth Lindsay Davis and Sieglinde Lemke, *Lifting as They Climb* (New York: Prentice Hall International, 1996); Charles H. Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service*. (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1984), 188 and 212; Maude Thomas Jenkins, "The History of the Black Woman's Club Movement in America." Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University Teachers College, 1984); Tullia Kay Brown Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women, 1896-1920." Ph.D. diss. (Emory University, 1978).

[8] McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown," 97-98.

[9] Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, eds., *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997).

Brown called for unmediated universal woman suffrage, but woman suffrage overlapped other issues such as education and employment, and reflected her advocacy of anti-lynching and other anti-violence legislation as well.[10] In each organization, Brown used her skill as an elocutionist to promote women's political and social equality and advance black racial uplift.

Brown's organizational work and professional performances also provided a platform to promote positive and unconventional images of black women. Guided by a moral calling, many black female leaders insisted that "respectability," the critical component of black female uplift, would lead to overall black race uplift. [11] Respectability advocated a lifestyle free from sexual immorality, alcohol, gambling, and cursing, and required a commitment to spiritual development, and home, family and community building. Notwithstanding the intra-racial class complexities of respectability, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham holds that adhering to respectability offered black women a "weapon" against racist discourses and a "weapon" in defense of their selves.[12] Pamela Klassen in "The Robes of Womanhood" argues that as an educator, author, and performer, the types of periodicals and books Brown chose to publish, the location of her public speeches as well as her clothing contributed to Brown's specific discourse of respectability and coincided with acceptable modes of women's behavior.[13] Respectability, Victorian standards of

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[10] Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "African American Women and the Vote: An Overview" in *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, 12. See *National Notes*, October/November/December 1920, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence*, ed. Lillian Serece Williams and Randolph Boehm (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), microfilm copy available on Reel 23:796-801.

[11] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 14-15.

[12] Ibid., 192-193.

[13] Pamela E. Klassen, "The Robes of Womanhood: Dress and Authenticity among African American Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 14, no. 1 (2004): 41.

domesticity and "home uplift" helped unify black and white women along the lines of wives, mothers and homemakers.[14] However, navigating interracial cooperation remained a struggle for Brown. She made certain compromises that might indicate that she concurred with racist and classist assumptions about black women. In other instances, her actions denounced any negative postulations about black women. Black female leaders, such as Brown, constantly positioned and repositioned themselves in order to realize larger goals for women and the race.

Throughout her life Brown elucidated a consciousness of her racial, gendered, and class identities. In doing so, she participated in activities that fit into what we today understand as black feminism.[15] In black feminist thought, as well as with this study, the universal assumptions and base questions focus on the intersections of race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality. This framework demonstrates the sophistication of advocating for women generally, while maintaining both a calculated agenda that focuses specifically on the rights and representation of black women. For black women individually and collectively, their race and gender locations position them in a way that always forces them to navigate systems of oppression.[16] Black feminist frameworks examine how institutionalized racism operates in gender-specific ways leading to a clearer understanding of how gendered oppression works in tandem with racial oppression. In this dissertation, I use black feminist frameworks to examine Brown's life.

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[14] Ibid., 97-101.

[15] For a discussion of black feminist thought, see Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2009) and Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology" *Signs* 14, no. 1 (Autumn 1988): 42-72.

[16] Email conversation with Chana Kai Lee on May 16, 2010.

Situating Brown within feminism is a rather delicate task, however. I have not found any information to suggest that Brown referred to herself as a "feminist" in any way. In fact, Brown and most of her contemporaries did not use "feminist" or "feminism" as a language to explain how they understood their philosophies and political intentions.[17] Yet, bell hooks explains, "the possession of a term does not bring a process or practice into being; one may practice theorizing without ever knowing the term, one can live and act in feminist resistance without ever using the term. It is the "privileged act of naming that affords those in power access to modes of communication that enable them to project an interpretation of a person's work, actions, etc. that may not be accurate and obscure what is really taking place." In this dissertation, I use feminist/feminism, and in particular black feminist frameworks to foster a clearer understanding of how Brown understood her own life and what fueled her politics. Brown's life and work take on new and unexplored meanings when considered in the context of black feminism. As an elocutionist and author, she mastered the power contained in words. Her words became action and practice, and bell hooks reminds us that "to discuss issues of gender and blackness without censorship is subversive."[18] Her work was political and linked to the social and economic plight and representation of black Americans. Analyzing why and how she used her spirituality, elocution, and educational pursuits demonstrates her contribution to a social practice that sought to inform, heal, and liberate and identifies Brown as an active participant in the long history of black feminism.

[17] See chapter one, Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven CT.: Yale University Press, 1987).

[18] bell hooks, "Theory as Liberatory Practice," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 4, no.1 (Fall 1991), 3, 6.

In spite of her numerous efforts and the efforts of her niece Frances Hughes, Brown's autobiography was never published. In *As the Mantle Falls*, Brown carefully constructed her self-image for public consumption and for posterity. She divided her life story into four parts and shared her life experiences as a young girl, as a student at Wilberforce University, and then her life as a teacher and work fundraising as a traveling elocutionist. As discussed in this dissertation Brown worked closely with black women's clubs and served as president of the NACW from 1920-1924. Clubwomen held her in high esteem, even naming their Scholarship Loan Fund in her honor. Her peers and colleagues knew her national and international acclaim as an elocutionist and a fierce fundraiser for black colleges and black female education. The library at Central State University bears her name to symbolize her commitment to education. However, in her autobiography she remained silent about her work for black female education and political work. It is possible that at the time of her writing, Brown believed her NACW work and educational philosophy to be sufficiently well known and efforts such as the Scholarship Fund and library named in her honor would preserve her story. It is equally plausible that parts of her autobiography may be missing or perhaps Brown did not finish her autobiography.[19] Despite the silences within her autobiography, Brown revealed the inspiration for her life's work. In the text of *As the Mantle Falls*, I argue, Brown takes the reader on the journey of her spiritual self. She shares spiritual awakenings, tests to her obedience, and the development of her personal relationship with the Creator, whom Brown referred to as God. She reveals what it means to live a life consecrated before the Lord.

Brown constructed a vague, yet distinct separation between religion and spirituality. Religion represented the administrative aspect of divine worship. It bound an individual to an

[19] In April 1974, a devastating tornado destroyed the library at Central State University. Brown's collection suffered serious, and in some cases irreparable damage.

institutional doctrine constructed by human congregants. Spirituality allowed an individual to develop a direct relationship with God. For Brown, God manifested (in part) in the form of the Holy Spirit and served as the supernatural medium between an individual and God. I argue that Brown experienced several "spiritual watersheds." These intimate and defining moments guided her through life and ordered her personal and professional relationships, activism, and work. In this dissertation I identify four watersheds within her autobiography *As the Mantle Falls* that uncover her personal theology and provide a framework for understanding Brown's motivation. These watersheds also aid in understanding how Brown's spiritual consciousness merged with the social and economic realities of African American life at the turn of the twentieth century. Brown believed the Spirit prompted her to teach and educate those in areas of academic knowledge, as well as in faith, temperance, and morality. Brown articulated her beliefs through an educational paradigm that advocated physical educational for women, demanded equal educational access and opportunities across genders, and insisted upon moral education for everyone to save their souls. Through the black women's club movement, Brown secured a platform to execute her agenda.

This dissertation concentrates on specific moments in Brown's life post-1873. However, several events and relationships during Brown's formative years before her graduation from Wilberforce University in 1873 informed these spiritual watersheds. Brown's parents, community, and church functioned as cornerstones in her life. Furthermore, certain treatises of the late 1840s pointed to the moral responsibility of each person in eradicating injustice. Using Brown's consciously constructed self-image, I situate her as part of the momentum of this 1840s ideological moment. Over the next century, Brown developed a vigorous lecture, educational, and leadership campaign constructing her ideal model citizen and government similar to the

beliefs reflected in Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *The Declaration of Sentiments,* which detailed the relations between woman and man that led to woman's deteriorated quality of life; *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, which sought to address and explain the "awakening" of the socio-economically exploited masses; and Henry David Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, which explained the duty of individuals in rejecting unjust laws.[20] Brown's constructed citizen subject—motivated by a belief in her moral responsibility, advocated for access to and quality education for African Americans, made space for women's opportunities, denounced lynching and preserved African American history. Like her citizen subject, Brown did not only want to make the world better, she believed she was supposed to make the world better.

Hallie Quinn Brown was born on March 10 about 1849 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the fifth of six children born to Thomas and Frances Brown.[21] Her father worked as an express agent and steward aboard steam riverboats that traveled from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati and St. Louis to New Orleans while her mother oversaw the affairs of the home. The family had private tutors, governesses for the children, and they amassed a considerable amount of property in Pittsburgh. Their home on Hazel Street housed six children: Jeremiah Arthur, Belle Jane, Annie Ellen, Mary Frances, Hallie Quinn and John Gibbons.

Some of Hallie's fondest experiences during her early years occurred at Wylie Avenue African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. The Brown family endeavored to live godly—that is a life free from immorality, showing kindness to their fellow neighbor, and humility before

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[20] *The Declaration of Sentiments* (1848); Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto (Manifesto of the Communist Party)*, (1848); Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience (Originally titled Resistance to Civil Government)*, (1849).

[21] Brown maintained a high level of secrecy surrounding the date of her birth. Existing studies report her birth ranging from 1845, 1849, 1850, and her passport records her birth as 1860.

God. They were committed members of their local congregation and desired to do the work of the gospel. The Brown's home served as a haven for traveling AME ministers. Mrs. Brown often spearheaded local fundraisers with the other churchwomen to support church activities.[22] Mr. Brown traveled with AME bishops to raise funds, build congregations, and spread the gospel. The Browns' church reputation and property holdings facilitated their emergence as one of the leading black families in Pittsburgh. They prided themselves on advocating abolition, antislavery, and temperance movements.[23]

Although the Brown family lived as free black persons, Mr. and Mrs. Brown remained cognizant of their enslaved past and never forgot or fully escaped the realities and closeness of slavery. Brown and her siblings knew the privilege of living as free persons in a slave-holding society, and participated with their parents in the abolitionist cause. Their home functioned as a "station" for runaway slaves enroute to Canada on the Underground Railroad; consequently, local fugitive slave patrols kept them under constant surveillance and often raided their home.[24] It became clear, especially by 1863, the results of the Civil War would mean either total freedom

[22] McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown,"14.; Hallie Quinn Brown, *Hallie Quinn Brown Autobiography: As The Mantle Falls*, 8, 9, *HQB Collection*, NAAMCC, Box 1, Folder 4. Hereinafter cited as *As the Mantle Falls.*; Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 75.

[23] Laurence A. Glasco, ed. *The WPA History of the Negro in Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), 55, 56, 96.

[24] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 72-74; Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 2, 6. Brown's father, Thomas Arthur Brown, was born in 1808 in Frederick County, Maryland. Thomas worked odd jobs and by 1834, he purchased his freedom. A short time thereafter he secured freedom for his father, sister Ann, and three brothers, William, Jere, and Charles. Brown's mother, Frances Jane Scroggins, was born in Winchester, Virginia. Her slaveholding grandfather, Clifton Scroggins, freed his daughter Ellen Anne and, his grandchildren Frances and her four sisters while she was a child. [24] [24] [24]

or enslavement for black people. The Brown family relocated to Chatham, Ontario, a thriving center of black population in Canada in 1864.[25]

The Browns erected a dwelling in Canada as stately as their Pittsburgh home. Mr. Brown converted a log house into a dining room and kitchen then added a white two and one half-story home with green shutters to the front. A young Hallie boasted of having the only piano in the countryside. On May 31, 1866, a tragic house fire destroyed the Brown's Homewood Cottage and took the life of Mary, the fourth child. Brown remembered, "It seemed the whole community shared our grief. The city and the country-side expressed sympathy. Prayers were offered in all churches. The result was contributions of money, lumber, and other building materials. Workmen offered their services." Together with the help of the community and the churches, the Brown family rebuilt a new Homewood Cottage in a matter of months. Brown's memories of black and white race relations in Chatham in this instance may be the exception. Nonetheless, this situation proved to Hallie that individuals from different religious affiliations or racial identities could work together for a common cause and succeed. Even with community help, the fire and death of Mary, along with the aftermath of the Civil War left the Brown family financially expended and to the point of "financial embarrassment." Yet, Brown believed their faith and spiritual strength left them hopeful of better days ahead.[26]

Her father remained employed on the steamboats around Pittsburgh after their move to Canada. Because her eldest brother and sister, Jere and Belle, had married and moved away and her youngest brother John was very sickly, Hallie had to manage the farm. She oversaw many of

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[25] For discussion of black life in Chatham see, Donald G. Simpson, *Under the North Star: Black Communities in Upper Canada* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005); Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 245, 395.

[26] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*," 15, 18, 19, 20, 22.

the farm chores and developed into "a strong, sturdy country girl." Working the farm was necessary, but it was not the career, goal, or purpose Mrs. Brown had envisioned for her daughter's life.[27]

In addition to working the farm, Brown attended a local school in Chatham. The public school system reflected Canadian prejudices toward the black population. Despite the fact that all Chatham residents paid school taxes, black children could not attend the common (public) school. One community's remedy allowed black children to attend school, if they sat on separate benches. Conditions worsened so much that in 1856 Chatham teacher Amelia Shadd held school in her home and provided her own supplies for the black students. Unable financially to support employing two teachers, the white residents of another community "proposed to build a second school adjacent to the first, so that one teacher could move between them."[28] When told she would have to sit in the lean-to on the back of the log cabin so as not to offend white students, young Hallie refused even to enter the lean-to/school building.[29]

When not fighting segregation, Brown found herself fighting the big boys to keep them from disturbing her and her younger brother John as they went to school. Concerned for her daughter's future, Mrs. Brown concluded, "Hallie must be sent away to school, for she will never have a chance here." Brown decided then to attend Wilberforce College, a school built for black

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[27] Ibid., 28, 34.

[28] Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 370-371.

[29] McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown," 19, 26. McFarlin recounts the following story from a private interview with Frances Hughes. "Hallie was sent to school in Canada. The school house was no more than a log cabin. On the back of this log cabin was a lean-to, this was to be Hallie's private classroom, away from the White students. Hallie stood in the doorway and braced herself by holding to each side so to prevent the teacher from forcing her into the lean-to. Hallie's father went to the school and the immediate situation was rectified, but many others followed. Hallie would often relate this incident to her niece and then she would state, 'I held my hands on the door and she couldn't put me in there. I was eight years old then and I have been fighting prejudice ever since I was eight.'"

people. Traveling with her mother, they were the guests of free black families from Chatham to Detroit to Wilberforce, Ohio. Upon her arrival in Wilberforce, Brown took up residence with Bishop and Mrs. Daniel Payne in 1868.[30]

Wilberforce College, begun as Union Seminary in 1847 and chartered by the Methodist Episcopal Church, garnered the distinction of being the first institution of higher learning for black people founded by black people. Wilberforce offered two curricula: Normal School and the College Department. The College Department's curriculum offered courses for ministerial preparation deemed too difficult for women and thus intended for men. The Normal School's basic literacy courses seemed the more appropriate curriculum for women.[31] Brown, however, began the classical scientific course of study in the College Department. She soon regretted her decision to attend college. Her inability to answer the questions in her Humanities and Latin courses indicated she lagged behind her classmates and reflected the poor public school system in Chatham. Bishop Daniel Payne, then president of Wilberforce and her host family, took interest in Brown and worked with her. His daily reading assignments trained her in the skill of "articulation, enunciation, and pronunciation." She recalls he "guided me in speech, taught me to be articulate, how to pronounce, to modulate, taught me to read."[32] Hallie began to enjoy her college experience, but Mrs. Brown's failing health required her daughter to return home.

Once Brown returned to Chatham she began to manage the household and farm chores while nursing her mother back to health. She longed to return to Wilberforce. Her prayer was simple, "Oh, Lord, please send me back to Wilberforce." One night in particular as she prayed

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[30] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 28, 34, 35.

[31] Julianne Dodson, *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the A.M.E. Church* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 71-72.

[32] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 35.

Brown recalled sensing someone in the room with her, only to find that she was alone. "In less than a month from [that prayer session]," Brown wrote, "I was again at Wilberforce."[33] The next year, in 1870, the entire Brown family relocated to Ohio and Brown re-enrolled at Wilberforce College. Brown completed the classical scientific course of study in 1873 and graduated as the class salutatorian.[34]

Brown reflected**:**

> Indeed it was not until some years later that I fully appreciated the circumstances. I am not psychic or given to wild imagination, but throughout my life I have [been] guided by the Infinite Spirit. My prayers have been heard and subtle restraining influences have saved me. It is easy to trace the Good Hand of God in my experiences.
>
> The night I fled from the bedroom in fright, I saw nothing, and yet felt the Presence which I am constrained to believe was a manifestation of the Spirit in answer to my humble, child-like prayer, "Oh, Lord, please send me back to Wilberforce."[35]

Brown's identification and understanding of the Spirit constitute her first spiritual watershed. Under the study of Bishop Daniel Payne of the AME Church and then president of Wilberforce University, Brown came to identify "the working of the Holy Spirit" in her life. Brown accepted a Trinitarian doctrine of God. That is, Brown believed God existed in three related, but distinct personalities: God the Father, God the Son (Jesus Christ), and God the Holy Spirit. God the Father reigns supreme and administers blessings, justice, and vengeance. God the Son serves as the mediator between God the Father and human beings. God the Holy Spirit is the energizing presence of the living God in the life of the believer. Thus, it is the character of the Holy Spirit that Brown believed inhabited her, guided her decisions, and filled her.

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[33] Ibid., 37-38.

[34] McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown," 22.

[35] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 38.

Three theological concepts, the indwelling of the Spirit, the fruit of the Spirit, and the unction of the Spirit, explain how Brown identified "the working of the Holy Spirit" in her life. Biblical scholars contend that the Holy Spirit entered the heart of a person during their water baptismal and conversion experience.[36] The indwelling of the Spirit produces "fruit of the Spirit" expressed as love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control. This "fruit" or graces of the Spirit manifest in the character of the believer. It caused the believer to have a disposition and philosophy distinct from the layperson. At its own discretion, the Spirit also imparts "gifts" to believers for use to enhance the church, reveal and confirm God's will. When believers received one of the various special gifts of the Spirit, it enabled them to complete an activity or endowed them with a skill that exceeded 'normal' ability. The unction or special anointing of the Holy Spirit took spiritual control of a believer's mind and understanding. When this happened, the believer receives direct revelation in the form of dreams, visions of future events, or hearings. This results in a personal, unique, undetectable, immeasurable, highly subjective experience and relationship. [37]

Brown submitted her life and work to the Spirit and the three remaining spiritual watersheds demonstrate Brown's involvement in different projects or missions as an inspired agent of God by the Holy Spirit. While the unction of the Spirit compelled her, the graces and gifts of the Spirit fortified her in her work. [38] They allowed her to recognized an individual's humanity and encourage their self-actualization. Anti-racism, anti-sexism, and economic justice

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[36] In *As the Mantle Falls*, Brown does not disclose any details regarding a water baptism or conversion experience in her autobiography, but the first spiritual watershed provides evidence of the "indwelling of the Spirit" within her.

[37] See generally, Wallie A. Criswell, *The Baptism, Filling & Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: The Zondervan Corporation 1973).

[38] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls,* 38, 39.

allowed Brown to uproot institutions that objectified a person, subsequently denying the individual's humanity and preventing or thwarting their self-actualization. Not only did that eliminate oppression, but it also gave the oppressor an opportunity to stop participating in oppressive acts and work in conjunction with the Holy Spirit. Brown, like the Holy Spirit, then, existed in the world as a source of good against the force of evil, as an expression of love in opposition to hate, and as "a torch in the valley."[39]

Chapter two examines Brown's work as a professional elocutionist. Brown developed an innovative performance style merging recitation, lecture, song, and poetry that captivated national and international audiences. Her elocutionary style not only entertained, but it illuminated class and labor struggles, social uplift, and basic public political participation. As a noted elocutionist, Brown used her voice to master the power contained in the spoken word; her words became action, and her language a political weapon. This chapter examines the content, purpose, and location of Brown's tours, the site of her performances. I argue Brown used elocution—the paradigm of deliberate and forensic speech— as a way to exercise her public political participation in the context of the new political climate that shaped post-Reconstruction America. [40] Her tours allowed her to construct a public image of black women, share black literary culture and spirituals, present religious messages, and raise international awareness about the quality of life for black Americans.

Chapter three analyzes Brown's educational philosophy. Brown articulated a specific philosophy of education, centered on themes of Christian/moral education and equal educational

[39] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Our Women: Past, Present, Future," 7.
[40] Ronald L. Jackson and Sonja M. Brown Givens, *Black Pioneers in Communication Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 7, 73, 77. I use the term tour to refer to a schedule of 4 or more consecutive performances during a single trip outside Brown's home in Xenia, Ohio.

opportunities for each gender, which she believed would lead to black racial uplift.[41] Her educational paradigm reflected social advancements of the coming twentieth century and presented new, varied, and necessary opportunities to women outside of domesticity and increasingly separate from motherhood/wifedom as well. Brown became an early proponent of school curricula endorsing women's physical development and education. Brown believed cultivating physical frailty ensured women remained weak, exhausted, immobile, unable to move, and dependent. It was an effort, socially and politically, to immobilize women. Brown's demand for women's physical education represented part of her larger fight for women's political rights, beginning with their person. I use her pedagogy as a lens to explore ideological consistencies and points of departure between Brown and other African American racial uplift activists. Analyzing Brown's educational philosophy—the ultimate articulation of her particular brand of black racial uplift—in concert with four of her contemporaries in black racial uplift, Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny J. Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune, illustrates the fluidity of black female intellectual and political thought in black racial uplift.[42]

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[41] The term black racial uplift or race uplift represents the efforts and self-help ideologies of African American women and men to positively change the social, political, and economic direction of black people. This collection of goals and philosophies for African Americans included education, equal opportunities, health reforms, political representation, community development, and business ownership, to name a few. A distinct group of African American women and men, known as race women and race men, led the movement and distinguished themselves from the masses through their financial wealth, educational attainment, and scrupulous virtue. They saw their interventions as a positive force in shaping the destiny and common collective of black people. For a discussion of race uplift see, for example, Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1996).

[42] For biographies of Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny J. Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune see, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols.(New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Chapter four focuses on Brown's presidency of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the leading black women's organization of the era. Brown desired to reconcile the realities of black women's past and present lives and construct an acceptable model of black womanhood consisting of academic preparation and black female governmental political involvement. Her presidential platform from 1920-1924 considered the emergent gender consciousness among women triggered by their access to co-education and suffrage alongside ideologies of race progress influenced by African American patriotism and cultural movements that celebrated black aesthetics and analyzed the complexity of black life in America. I examine key events and initiatives during Brown's presidency that articulate the goals of her woman-centered race progress agenda. Brown drew upon the entitlements and privileges of American citizenship to support her claims for black female education. In a free and just society, education was the practice of freedom. I also use Brown's woman-specific anti-lynching advocacy and protests of "Black Mammy Statues" to analyze her efforts to correct ahistorical imaginings of black women and create dignified lives and representations for black women.

Chapter five examines how the publication of *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* set a precedent for including African American female voices in history narratives. Not only did this text correct ahistorical imaginings of black women that emphasized white benevolence and black dependency, but it also celebrated the tenacity, resiliency, and hope of black women. I explore the political legacy of *Homespun Heroines*, and her other works, as she spearheaded efforts to bring black women into historical conversations on their own terms and became a leading voice on what people should know about black women as they transitioned from slavery to freedom.

CHAPTER 2

THE NOTED ELOCUTIONIST

> *An Apology. [sic] Dear Journal,*
> *For several months my thoughts to you may be very disconnected. I greatly regret that I did not keep a daily diary while in the South and East. As it is you will bear, I know with all my little [foibles] considering them of the head and not the heart. During the Fall of '81 my health failed me to such an extent that I was compelled to quit the school room. Possessing a nature that "can't be still' I naturally sought other work. Hearing my friends say I had a little talent for "elocuting" I determined to direct my endeavors in that line. Cleveland, Urbana, Springfield, Indianapolis, Terre Haute and etc. were visited. My success was greater than I had ever dared to hope. Bishops Payne, Senior Bishop of the AME church and our honorable educator, hearing of my efforts requested me to accompany him through his diocese reading at some of the principal cities… Accordingly with a somewhat shattered constitution, plenty of fears and hopes; [amidst] the protestations of friends and parents I started "for better or for worse" to the charming Sunny South. And now begins my story where will it end?*[1]

After Brown graduated from Wilberforce University in 1873, she taught in Mississippi and South Carolina as discussed in Chapter 3. By 1877 Brown had returned to Ohio and began teaching classes in the Dayton school system. In Dayton "the school buildings were altogether inadequate and for two years I taught six grades in one large room, over the [Fire Station]." Brown recalled, "This was most annoying for whenever a fire occurred, the prancing of the horses, the ringing of the bells and blowing of the whistles and rattling engines caused great commotion, and neither teacher nor pupils could settle to routine." The principal and superintendent "came often to lend encouragement to the trying situation" and on one occasion "commended [her] method of teaching reading." A few months into her first year teaching, about 300 black Mississippians migrated to Dayton. The local AME church, in which Brown held membership, immediately worked to provide clothes and food for the new residents. Soon the

[1] Hallie Quinn Brown, *Diary*-1881, undated entry, Hallie Quinn Brown Collection, Central State University, Box 45, Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library. Hereinafter cited as Brown, *Diary*-1881.

children attended school in the Dayton school system, but Brown observed that "the adults were quite illiterate, none among them being able to read or write his name. They were beyond school age, and yet something must be done toward their enlightenment."[2] Brown petitioned the Dayton school board to establish a night school for adults and she began holding [night school for adults] evening adult classes during the winter months.

In addition to teaching, Brown took continuing education programs from the school district for instructors in the Art of Speech and Oratory.[3] These courses fueled her interest in the subject, but the intense schedule of teaching and coursework led to personal illness for Brown and during the fall of 1881, Brown stopped teaching. However, Brown revealed in her diary that she "[possessed] a nature that can't be still [and] naturally sought other work. Hearing my friends say I had a little talent for "elocuting" I determined to direct my endeavors in that line."[4] Brown received her first invitation from T. McCants Stewart, of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in New York City. "The audience was large and enthusiastic, and this gave me self-assurance," wrote Brown. Her second invitation to speak came from Fannie Jackson Coppin and Mary Elizabeth Lee in Philadelphia for the Academy of Music. Brown performed to a "packed" audience and to her delight received her "first large fee - $100.00!" After a few local presentations she received reviews "greater than [she] dared to hope" and so Brown began an intense academic and personal commitment to elocution or what she called "the Art of Arts."[5]

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[2] Hallie Quinn Brown, *Hallie Quinn Brown Autobiography: As The Mantle Falls*, 57, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC) (Wilberforce, OH), Box 1, Folder 4. Hereinafter cited as *As the Mantle Falls.*

[3] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 57-58. Professor Robertson taught these courses from the Boston School of Oratory.

[4] Brown, Diary-1881, undated entry.

[5] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 58. For biographies of Coppin and Lee see, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

This chapter examines the most widely celebrated part of Hallie Quinn Brown's life—that as an elocutionist. Elocution's primary function was a paradigm of deliberate and forensic speech. By the late 1800s elocution as an academic discipline appeared in the formal academy, and increasingly as a form of entertainment for elite and middle classes.[6] It provided "an indispensible skill in professional and social life" as evidenced by the "wide variety of texts offered instruction in breathing, gesture, pronunciation, and other elocutionary principles. [Collections] of short stories, poems, and speeches for practice and performance…were found in many homes where individuals sought to enhance their rhetorical expertise."[7] Indeed, excellence in elocution highlighted the art of discourse and became a science of body control and mental discipline. Brown mastered this form and toured the United States and Europe performing as an individual reader or lecturer and with concert companies speaking in behalf of organizations and colleges. Her distinct techniques and style drew diverse crowds and garnered thousands of dollars to finance and promote her causes. She authored textbooks in elocution and demonstrated its function in exhibiting "morally upright, principled, transformative speech."[8] In this chapter, which pays homage to the noted elocutionist, I build on the existing analysis of Brown's elocution and rhetoric use and examine the purpose, motivation and importance of Brown's elocutionary praxis in her life and for black women.

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[6] Nan Johnson, "The Popularization of Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric: Elocution and the Private Lerner" in *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Transformation in the Theory and Practice of Rhetoric*, Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran, eds. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 141.

[7] Susan Kates, "The Embodied Rhetoric of Hallie Quinn Brown" *College English* 59, no.1 (January 1997): 59-71. See also Susan Kates, *Activist Rhetorics and American Higher Education 1885-1937* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001).

[8] Ronald L. Jackson and Sonja M. Brown Givens, *Black Pioneers in Communication Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 7.

Brown's career as an elocutionist took two forms: teacher and performer. While employed with the Dayton city schools, Brown began teaching the students the lessons in elocution that she was learning in her continuing education courses. Once she turned her attention to higher education at Allen, Tuskegee, and Wilberforce Universities, respectively, she taught courses in speech and elocution, oversaw the annual performances, and prepared the student speakers for commencement.[9] In his study of Melvin B. Tolson from Wiley College, David Gold reports that "the role of what we have come to call current-traditional rhetoric was complicated by both the unique mission of private black colleges and the constituencies they served." At schools like Allen and Wilberforce, "the classical liberal arts tradition persisted well into the 1920s, with Latin and Greek retained as part of the standard curriculum long after such courses had been dropped from the requirements at elite white schools. Oratory, moved to the periphery of the curriculum elsewhere, continued to play an important role; speechwriting was frequently incorporated into freshman composition courses, and debate and drama were enormously popular campus activities." Gold states that black colleges served civic purposes and followed "tropes in African American political discourse that emphasized the role of education and literacy in promoting citizenship and community strength."[10] As Professor of Speech and Elocution at private black colleges, Brown participated in this tradition and established a novel and innovative style of her own.

[9] See, for example, *The Cleveland Journal*, 27 May 1905 and "Along the Color Line," *The Crisis*, 1 January 1916, 112.

[10] David Gold, "Nothing Educates Us like a Shock": The Integrated Rhetoric of Melvin B. Tolson *College Composition and Communication* 55, no. 2 (Dec., 2003): 226-253.

Like many of her contemporaries in elocution, Brown wrote three books on elocutionary practice—*Bits and Odds: A Choice Selection of Recitations* (1880), *Elocution and Physical Culture* (circa 1910) and *First Lesson in Public Speaking* (unpublished manuscript, 1920).[11] Susan Kates concludes that Brown's manuals (or reciter texts) "altered traditional elocution pedagogy" and reveal a new elocutionary theory of "embodied rhetoric" that is, "rhetoric located within, and generated for, the African American community." Kates further argues, "[Brown's] work embodies pedagogical features that stress the situated nature of the curriculum she promoted in order to recognize the cultural identity of African-Americans in the post-civil war era." Brown's reciter texts "offered important lesson in African American history," "engendered pride in language of the black community," and "championed elocution for the [individual's and community's] moral transformation."[12]

An examination of the selections Brown included in her texts corroborates Kates' conclusions. Eight selections in *Bits and Odds* "[reclaim] many moments marginalized within American history, [and allow Brown to position] herself ideologically against white editors who simply erase African Americans from American history." [13] Of the eight selections, four of these pieces are fictionalized accounts of aspects of African American culture. "Uncle Daniel," "Brother Watkins," and "Apples" each points to the mannerisms and dialect of black ministers and the making of black church experiences. In "Aunt Jemima's Courtship," the only selection in

[11] Hallie Quinn Brown, *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* (Xenia, OH: 1880); Brown, *Elocution and Physical Culture: Training for Students Teachers Readers Public Speakers* (Wilberforce, Ohio: 1910); Brown, "First Lessons in Public Speaking" (sample from unpublished manuscript) in Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown--Black Woman Elocutionist: 1845(?)-1949" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975).

[12] Kates, "The Embodied Rhetoric," 59, 61, 62.

[13] Ibid., 62. These selections appear in their entirety in Appendix A.

Bits and Odds with an African American female lead, Aunt Jemima explains to her nieces that she conceded to marriage because she "didn't know what else to say." Although marked as a comedy, this piece illustrates the importance of words and voice as well as marks the vulnerability of those who do not or cannot speak. The remaining four pieces not only reveal African Americans in history, but also construct a specific image of African American men in history. "The Last Words of John Brown," "How He Saved St. Michaels," "The Dying Bondsman," and "The Black Regiment" do not conjure passive black men, but rather these pieces communicate armed, bold, brave, ethical, and loyal black male citizens.[14] For instance, the actions of white abolitionist John Brown and his commitment to abolishing slavery in behalf of African Americans signified sacrifice and heroism of the highest form. His methodology of armed resistance furthermore contributed to the construction of a true masculine image. In "How He Saved St. Michael's" a 'male slave' extinguished a church fire in Charleston, South Carolina while "men stared in each other's faces." The male slave would not accept the monetary award, he said "You may keep your gold; I scorn it! —but answer me, ye who can/If the deed I have done before you be not the deed of *a man*?" "The Dying Bondsman," a selection from Brown's colleague Frances E. W. Harper, and "The Black Regiment" depict the noble actions of soldiers in defense of democracy and America. In these selections, black men's willingness to sacrifice their lives not only for their freedom, but also for the freedom and safety of others and their desire to stop, by any means necessary, individuals or laws that impeded their freedom attested to the subjects' masculine moral character and validated their manhood. These and other character qualities positioned them as the ideal type of masculine subject within a patriarchal

[14] For a discussion of patriarchy see Allan Johnson, *The Gender Knot: Unraveling Our Patriarchal Legacy* (Temple: Temple University Press, 2005).

society and America. Brown consciously chose selections for her texts and performances that identified and demonstrated model citizenship.

Faye Maor examines the potential implications of Kates' use of "embodied rhetoric" to situate Brown's use of elocution. In "Lifting Word by Word," Maor claims Kates' definition makes it appear as if "Brown herself was located outside the community, determining from some unknown distance, what the community needed."[15] To the contrary, Brown's use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in *Bits and Odds*, Maor contends, indicates Brown's location inside and intimately involved in the community. For example, the selection "Brother Watkins" follows preaching styles and mannerisms of African American ministers as illustrated by words elongated with an extra syllable 'ah' such as congregation-ah, church-ah, bretherin-ah, Sabbath-ah, and Israel-ah. To be sure, Kates contends that Brown's use of AAVE "suggests that Brown valued her linguistic heritage in ways that white elocutionists did not or could not and that she believed it was important to instill linguistic pride in the African-American community."[16] Maor holds that it is not only the literacy of language that Brown emphasizes, but that Brown's use of AAVE "forces the reader to enter into an aspect of African American *culture*."[17] David Gold, Geneva Smitherman and other scholars note "it is in the discourse features [of AAVE] where the richest divergences (and perhaps correspondences) lay." In other words, to learn the "rhythmic, dramatic, evocative language; sermonic tone reminiscent of black

[15] Faye Emily Spencer Maor, "Lifting Word by Word: Ideologies of Literacy, Education and Feminism in the Rhetoric of Two Nineteenth Century African America Women," Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004), 94-100. I do not intend to suggest that there is a singular black church experience. I agree with Maor who suggests that there are mannerisms, syntax, and intonation used predominately in African American churches.

[16] Kates, "The Embodied Rhetoric," 62.

[17] Maor, "Lifting Word by Word," 94-95.

church rhetoric; cultural references; ethno linguistic idioms; verbal inventiveness" etc. located within and implied by AAVE forced the reader and audience "to go beyond his/her culture to an awareness and feel for the cultures and experiences of other Americans."[18] This too applies to the other pieces Brown included in *Bits and Odds* that required the reader to enter into Native American, Irish, and German cultures and adopt Yiddish dialects. "Dot Baby of Mine," for instance, required a German immigrant woman's voice.

Just as Brown's reciter texts seemed to counter the prevailing elocutionary theory and discourse, so did Brown's performance style. At the 1903 meeting of the National Association of Elocutionists (NAE), Brown participated in the voluntary recital portion of the program. Brown chose to recite and perform "When Malindy Sings" from her "Paul Laurence Dunbar Program."[19] Professor Adrian Newens of Iowa State University and Chairman of the Nominating Committee took issue with Brown's reciting a piece that contained a male character lead. Newens questioned "whether or not it is advisable for a man to take a woman's part or a woman to take a man's part." NAE President Henry Gaines Hawn directed his critiques towards Brown's use of Negro dialect. In addition to the fact "you cannot possibly write this dialect," a most certain attack on the styling of Paul Laurence Dunbar, Hawn stated he believed Brown mispronounced Negro dialect. "The negro says 'ain' [not ain't]. I heard 'ain't' three or four times in the reading. I heard careful initial and final t's." He went on to say "no negro, man or woman, would sing descriptive phrases." Brown addressed Newens and Hawn individually. To Newens

[18] Gold, "Nothing Educates Us like a Shock," 233; Maor, "Lifting Word by Word," 95.

[19] This selection appears in its entirety in Appendix A. Brown's "Dunbar Program" consisted of "The Boogah Man," "Angelina," When de Co'n Pone's Hot," "Dat Ol' Mare O' Mine," Po' Li'l Lamb," "Mammy's in de Kitchen," "De Pahty," "Lil' Brown Baby," "Itching Heels," "Candle-lighting' Time," "Encouragement," "Two Little Boots," "A Negro Love Song," "Lif' up Yo' Haid," "In de Mo'nin," and "Black Simpson of Brandywine." Press Packet, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC) (Wilberforce, OH), Box 1, Folder 4.

she indicated that if a woman did not perform a man's part she would lose over half her repertoire. As for Hawn, Brown politely challenged his knowledge of "the Negro." Despite Hawn's Alabama birth, Brown explained that no single Negro dialect exists, those of "Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina are as different as day and night. When you get one, you haven't got the other." Before Brown took her seat she contended "when people are deeply interested in, they sing out their words and when they are dead in earnest." In addition to Brown's irritation with their narrow view of black experiences and veiled attempts at excluding/limiting women's participation, Brown's comments underscore elocution's investment in total culture.[20] Maor rightly concludes that Brown's use of multiple types of vernacular English contributes to new epistemologies of language and community.

Brown's skill as an elocutionist set her on a level far above her peers. Her colleagues celebrated her for being "of rare power and skill," American journalists esteemed her as a woman "with few superiors and no equals," and internationally, European newspapers lauded her as "one the finest female elocutionists in the world."[21] In *A Voice from the South*, Anna Julia Cooper placed Brown on her list of eight "chieftains in the service" for black women and distinguished her as a charming reader, earnest, effective lecturer and devoted worker of unflagging zeal and unquestioned power."[22] Gertrude Mossell's text *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* acknowledged Brown's talent as well. Mossell listed Brown first among eight

[20] *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Elocutionists*, Denver, June 23, 1903, 57-60.

[21] "Sketch of the Life of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown," *AME Church Review* 6, no. 3 (January 1890); *The Cleveland Gazette*, 7 February 1891 and *The Christian Recorder*, 20 March 1890 and 23 October 1890 heralded Brown "Queen of Elocutionists." To date, I have been unable to locate any audio recordings of her performances or lectures.

[22] Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, Reprint (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 140-142.

elocutionists who not only "rank[ed] among the finest elocutionists of the United States" but also "[i]n many cases not only delight[ed] the millions of the common people, but receiv[ed] marked tokens of appreciation from the crowned heads of European nations."[23] The First Colored Catholic Congress invited Brown to give a recitation at their conference and reported, "she did most acceptably."[24] In *Noted Negro Women*, editor Monroe A. Majors quotes Faustin Delany in stating that "Miss Brown may be thought to gesticulate too frequently in some of her didactic selections; but right here is shown that she discards the rigid rules of the books and follows nature, for she possess an ardent temperament, and nearly every sentence she utters in private conversation is made emphatic or impressive by a gesture or variation of the facial expression." Even AME Bishop Henry McNeal Turner once publicized to *AME Church Review* that Brown's elocutionary skills waned and a "Mrs. Stewart" has taken her place. Turner would later apologize to Brown, admitting that he acted spitefully in response to her rejection of his courtship advances.[25] The *Miami Helmet* (OH) reported Brown rendered "Fifty Miles an Hour," a piece depicting Lucretia Garfield's car ride to Washington after her husband, President James A. Garfield, had been shot, "with that generous touch of womanly feeling that made it the gem of the entertainment."[26]

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[23] Mrs. N. F. Mossell, *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* [1894] (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 22.

[24] Congress of Colored Catholics of the United States, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 55.

[25] Henry McNeal Turner, "Second Letter," *AME Church Review* 8, no.4, (April 1892); Henry McNeal Turner to Hallie Q. Brown, 5 May 1899, CSU in Folder, Correspondence, Personal, Bishops, Correspondence from Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, dated May 5, 1889 in Correspondence to Hallie Q. Brown from Personals with last names beginning with O through Z, box 37, Central State University, Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library.

[26] Monroe Majors, *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893), 232-233.

Brown's innovative performance style incorporated the oral traditional of African American storytelling that she learned from her father as well as the technique and rhythm associated with African American preaching and congregational singing. While an undergraduate student at Wilberforce University, AME Bishop and College President, Daniel Payne "guided [Brown] in speech, taught [her] to be articulate, how to pronounce, to modulate."[27] Her involvement in literary and debate societies, lyceums and at the Chautauqua perfected her skill.

Brown spoke fondly of the Chautauqua not only in terms of enhancing her studies in elocution, but for the overall education program it offered. In 1874, John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller began a movement to make education "not the peculiar privilege of the few, [but] the valued possession of the many." Vincent stated "Chautauqua has therefore a message and a mission for the times. It exalts education,--the mental, social, moral, and religious faculties; of all, everywhere, without exception. It aims to promote a combination of the old domestic, religious, educational, and industrial agencies; to take people on all side of their natures, and cultivate them symmetrically, making men, women, and children everywhere more affectionate and sympathetic as members of a family; more conscientious and reverent, as worshippers together of the true God; more intelligent and thoughtful as students in a universe of ideas; and more industrious, economical, just, and generous, as members of society in a work-a-day world. The theory of Chautauqua is that life is one, and that religion belongs everywhere."[28] The

[27] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 35 and 15. Of her father, Brown stated "How we delighted to hear father's voice reporting his experiences. He had a compelling manner. Self-educated, he was a great reader and well versed in American history."

[28] John Heyl Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Freeport: NY, Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 2, 4. See also, Jeffery Simpson, *Chautauqua, An American Utopia* (New York, NY: Harry Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1999).

mission of the Chautauqua Scientific and Literary Circle parallels Brown's educational philosophy as discussed in Chapter 3. Education was open to "all classes and all conditions of men." It merged industrial and classical education with domesticity and Christian/moral education. Brown shared with readers of *The Christian Recorder* that the Chautauqua provided the "soul that is thirsting for a broader, deeper culture of the head and heart" an opportunity for "nobler thoughts, higher aims, and heights of power."[29] Although Brown did not complete the four-year program herself until 1886, she was selected to teach elocution at the Monona Lake Assembly Northwest Chautauqua in Wisconsin during the summer of 1884. She beat out the five other white applicants making her the first African American to hold this position. The *Madison Daily Democrat* reported Brown "brought down the house on various occasions and had to respond repeatedly to the spontaneous calls of the vast audience." Her term met "great success" and Brown was offered the position for the following year as well.[30]

Historian David H. Jackson, Jr. notes that many African American leaders conducted speaking tours. Men like Frederick Douglass, John Mercer Langston, and Booker T. Washington, Jackson argues "engaged in a systematic effort to vindicate the race and helped undermine at least a part of the American system of racial oppression." In his specific study of Booker T. Washington, Jackson examines five state tours of Washington and contends these tours did more than bolster Washington's following and his agenda. Washington, Jackson argues, "used [the tours] to address the "Negro problem" and to counter white racist notions about blacks degenerating and retrogressing into barbarism since emancipation from slavery." Jackson states that as Washington spoke on education, land ownership, and business

[29] Hallie Q. Brown, "Chautauqua Callings," *The Christian Recorder*, 14 October 1886.

[30] *The Christian Recorder*, 26 June 1884 and 2 October 1884; Majors, *Noted Negro Women*, 235.

development, Washington constructed an image of "black manliness" that projected worth, patriarchal authority, and civility onto black men. Jackson's study invites investigation into the tours of not only black men, but black women as well.[31]

Brown devoted over half of her autobiography, *As the Mantle Falls*, to documenting her tours. [32] Her tours took her across the country and to England, France, Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland. Most of her performances took place in performance halls, churches, schools, at club meetings, and in private homes. Often billed as a "concert" it is easy to dismiss Brown's performances as sheer entertainment, but these performances provide evidence of a strategic plan to discuss issues of gender and blackness without censorship, and bell hooks reminds us that "to discuss issues of gender and blackness without censorship is subversive."[33] While on tour Brown used elocution to merge recitation, song, poetry, lecture and history and make her words a political weapon. In ways similar to Washington, Brown's tours embodied not only her personal but also by extension women and African Americans exercising and expanding their public political participation in post-Reconstruction America.[34]

Overwhelmingly, Brown embarked on tours to solicit funds in behalf of the AME church, the schools where she taught, and the National Association of Colored Women. In March 1881

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[31] David H. Jackson, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle Against White Supremacy: The Southern Educational Tours, 1908-1912* (New York: Palgrove Macmillan, 2008): 5-6, 97, 177 and 179. In addition to Brown, black women such as Maria Stewart, Sojourner Truth, Frances E. W. Harper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Margaret Murray Washington traveled the world for many of the same reasons as Washington.

[32] I use the term tour here to refer to a schedule of 4 or more consecutive performances outside of Brown's home in Wilberforce, Ohio.

[33] bell hooks, "Theory as Liberatory Practice," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 4, no.1 (Fall 1991), 6.

[34] Jackson and Givens, *Black Pioneers in Communication Research*, 73, 77; Shirley Wilson Logan, "By the Way, Where did you Learn to Speak?: Black Sites of Rhetorical Education," 216-218, in *Calling Cards: Theory and Practice in the Study of Race, Gender, and Culture,* eds. Jacqueline Jones Royster and Ann Marie Mann Simpkins (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2005).

Brown set out on her first tour throughout the South to accompany AME Bishop Daniel Payne in the interest of Wilberforce University. In inviting Brown to accompany him on this tour, Payne acknowledged not only Brown's ability, but also the following she had begun to amass who would certainly attend their events. Already parishioners and ministers alike wrote *The Christian Recorder* strongly requesting Brown's presence in the East. A graduate of Wilberforce University, "a devoted daughter of the church, and one of the finest elocutionists of the race," Brown personified what R. H. Hamilton called "a living illustration of the capacities of the negro race." [35] The intense power and range of her voice stunned the audiences. Glowing reports of Brown's performances appeared in *The Southern Workman*, *The People's Advocate* and *The Christian Recorder*. The highlight of her trip came at their final stop in Hampton, Virginia when Brown met the young Booker T. Washington.[36] Brown accompanied Bishop Payne for several months before returning to Ohio and joining the Wilberforce Grand Concert Company as a dramatic reader. [37]

By the late-1880s Brown had accompanied other concert troupes such as Selika Concert Company and had acquired a solid repertoire.[38] She accepted a new job as Lady Principal at

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[35] *The Christian Recorder*, 13 January 1881; "At Hampton, Virginia," *The Christian Recorder*, 12 May 1881.

[36] *Peoples Advocate*, 11 June 1881; "A Visit from Bishop Payne," *The Southern Workman*, 1 May 1881; Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 58.

[37] J.G.B, "Wilberforce Concert Company at Litchfield, ILL," *The Christian Recorder*, 31 December 1885. The Wilberforce Grand Concert Company, later known as the Stewart Concert Company, traveled in behalf of Wilberforce University much like the acclaimed Fisk Jubilee Singers did at Fisk University. As one of the few acts featuring black people in a non-minstrel performance, The Company attracted a lot of attention. However, financial expenses under the direction of S.T. Mitchell forced The Company to disband. Brown performed with The Company from 1881 to about 1887.

[38] The Selika Concert Company consisted of Madame Marie Selika a noted soprano and her husband S. W. Williams. Madame Selika, called "the queen of staccato" emerged as an opera singer in the 1880s. See Darryl Glenn Nettles, *African American Concert Singers Before 1950*. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co,

Allen University and the Board of Trustees elected Brown a field agent for Allen University. In this position, Brown promoted and fundraised for Allen University. She also reported to the AME church on the general condition of black people across the country. In 1890 Brown took on a specialized mission to finance the erection of a ladies dormitory at Allen. Brown delighted audiences in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and South Carolina with dramatic readings and raised over $1500.00.[39] During this tour Brown continued to perform recitations, but increasingly she began to lecture on social problems and issues. She stressed the importance of Christian education as "the only power to lift our people from the benighted condition to the loftier plains of light and intelligence." At the same time, she explained how the tenant farming and share-cropping system impeded education, kept people in perpetual debt and hostage to the land. After visiting the Georgetown district of South Carolina Brown stated "I should be glad, however, to see twenty thousand of our people go to Kansas and the great, free north-west where a man is a man." [40]

Several times on her AME sponsored tours she appeared on programs with Frances E.W. Harper who spoke on the temperance movement. Brown noted "A lady lecturer and elocutionist is something entirely new under the sun among the masses in these parts, therefore Mrs. F.E.W. Harper and your humble servant have attracted considerable attention."[41] Unlike when she was at the plantation school in St. George, the attention Brown drew was not only about her being a

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(2003); Michael Saffle, ed., *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).

[39] *Huntsville Gazette*, 6 December 1890.

[40] Brown, "On the Wing," *The Christian Recorder*, March 6, 1890; "Miss Hallie Q. Brown's Two Successes**,"** *Cleveland Gazette*, February 7, 1891; Brown, "On the Wing," *The Christian Recorder*, March 6, 1890.

[41] Brown, "On the Wing," *The Christian Recorder*, 3 April 1890.

woman and with the ability and skill to lecture and elocute, but it was also about a woman lecturing and elocuting as a representative of Allen University, a property of the AME church. Certainly women could financially support the church, teach children, perform domestic duties, and fulfill roles as wives and mothers, but the late 1880s AME church leadership vacillated on women performing in other capacities. For example, in 1885, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner ordained Sara Hughes the first woman deacon of the AME church, but the AME governing council of Bishops, quickly reprimanded Turner and stripped Hughes of her title. A woman serving with the official title of Minister, Preacher, and Evangelist was still in flux with church officials, but that did not stop women from performing these duties. "Brown was not a preacher," observers reported, "but she selected a standard from the Scripture for the basis of her address."[42] Brown's talk on 'Character Building' on Sunday evening "was like nails driven in sure places by some master builder."[43] On one occasion, a full week before she arrived in Robertsville, South Carolina, *The Christian Recorder* notified the community that Brown "will speak at Mt. Zion church next Sunday morning. The pastor will preach in the evening."[44]

In 1894 Brown experienced her second spiritual watershed and by inspiration set out on her first European tour.

> There was no library building at Wilberforce University. The few books we had were collected and placed on improvised shelves in a small room in Shorter Hall. One night I dreamed I was to go to England and get money to erect such a building. I put it aside as only a dream. But the thought persisted and finally I

[42] "Miss H.Q. Brown Delivered A Wonderful Address," *The Negro Star* (KS), 15 June 1923. Brown's promotional flyers distinguish "Character Building" and "A Call to Arms" as her lecture repertoire "For Sunday." Press Packet, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC) (Wilberforce, OH), Box 1, Folder 4.

[43] *The Christian Recorder*, 20 November 1902.

[44] *The Cleveland Gazette*, 21 February 1891.

> determined to go. Yes, I would get the building and it should be
> The Frederick Douglass Library.[45]

This watershed coincides with how Brown believed the Spirit worked. At this point in Brown's life, most people, including herself, believed that her skill as an elocutionist exceeded 'normal' ability. Brown knew this was a gift or talent from God given to her by the Spirit. Brown also indicates that she dreamt she should complete a special task. In other words, Brown received direct revelation, and therefore became an inspired agent of God by the Holy Spirit to build a library. Since Wilberforce University existed as a beacon of hope for African Americans it reflected the work of the Spirit.

Brown left Wilberforce in November 1894 with credentials from the AME church, Wilberforce University, a five dollar donation from the student body, and her three most valuable assets: a letter of introduction from Frederick Douglass, along with "faith in God and confident of success." After arriving in London, Brown took board with the Sharp Family.[46] Brown had no known contacts in England and received no invitation to lecture or perform prior to her departure. She attempted to network, but failed to secure an audience or receive a donation. One evening the following spring, the Sharps invited Brown to an evening concert of Negro melodies. She wrote, "when the curtain lifted, however, imagine my surprise to see four white girls who announced that they were from Georgia, United States of America. For one and a half hours they sang "Go Down, Moses," "Way Over Jordan," "Steal Away to Jesus," "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" and other beloved spirituals born of an oppressed people." Not only were "they singing the songs of those whom their ancestors, not too far removed, once held in bondage," but also

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[45] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 72.

[46] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 84. Brown stated "Mr. Sharp had been the advance agent for the Fisk Jubilee Company under Mr. Frederick Loudin's management."

"they were drawing large audiences for such entertainment." [47] The cultural appropriation both enraged and invigorated Brown. She recalled her thoughts in her autobiography.

> I could sing. I knew every song they had sung. I would sing and I could tell these English people the stories behind my songs. I could depict for them the native settings of each selection – cotton field, auction block, slave mart, yes, all. I could further tell of the two hundred and fifty years of bondage and toil without recompense. I could sing. I would sing.[48]

Immediately following the concert, Brown contacted local philanthropist and magazine editor W. T. Stead. A frequent visitor to America and "acquainted with [negro] conditions," Stead agreed to assist Brown in securing an audience. Brown's first performance took place at Exeter Hall in London before a crowd of ministers and social workers. "I sang, recited and lectured. That night was the turning point of my career in Great Britain," Brown remembered. Performances, readings, and lectures with churches, religious organizations, and private families soon filled her calendar.[49] Her performance repertoire included "over ninety selections from which she could perform at a moment's notice" her most popular being Negro spirituals such as "Steal Away to Jesus" or "Go Down Moses" and the recitation of "Creeds of the Bells" and "The Last Hymn."[50] Brown even agreed to provide entertainment at library openings and coffee houses established to persuade individuals from frequenting the saloons. She did refuse an invitation to perform at the Vaudeville Theatre in London. Brown believed the Vaudeville

[47] Ibid., 86.

[48] Ibid., 86.

[49] Ibid., 87, 88, 95, and 102.

[50] Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown--Black Woman Elocutionist: 1845(?)-1949" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975), 58. "Creeds of the Bells" and "The Last Hymn" appear in their entirety in Appendix A.

association with minstrel shows would harm her reputation and cause individuals to question the worth of Wilberforce University.[51]

In addition to the fundraising, Brown understood these tours as an opportunity to give her audiences hopeful, affirming, and realistic knowledge of African American history. At each appearance Brown spoke from her lecture entitled "The Progress of Negro Education" which stressed Christian education and the work done by schools built for black education with special attention to Wilberforce and the cause of the Frederick Douglass Library for which she had come. Brown's lectures stimulated increased interest in the condition of black people in America. In her lecture "The Progress of the Negro Race" Brown pointed to the failure of the American government in ensuring equality. "America had become what it was through the energies of the Negro, who was therefore deserving of some consideration," she concluded. Another lecture "Has America a Race Problem?" analyzed the racial condition in America. *The Portsmouth Evening News* reported Brown as stating "although slavery is buried without a chance of resurrection, caste, based on color, survives. The struggle would not cease till the Negro has been accorded the rights of a citizen of holding office, of traveling in the same conveyance, of worshiping in the same church, of position in the community with those of lighter skins."[52]

As a staunch temperance crusader, Brown decided to attend the Woman Christian Temperance Union's (WCTU) Convention in London during June 1895. At the final session of the convention, Lady Henry Somerset, president of the British WCTU proposed a resolution denouncing the lynchings in the southern part of the United States. During her remarks on the

[51] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 88.

[52] "Miss Hallie Quinn Brown's Tour of England," *Indianapolis Freeman*, 2 February 1895.

resolution Lady Somerset used the opportunity to condemn Ida B. Wells "for having made unfair attacks upon Miss Frances E. Willard [American WCTU president] and other temperance leaders in America, charging them with being unsympathetic with the negroes of the United States." Florence Balgarnie, temperance leader in England and secretary of the London Anti-Lynching Committee stood to defend Wells. Balgarnie stated that she supported the resolution, but "thought that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of America had acted the part of an apologist for, rather than that of a denouncer of, the outrages perpetrated upon the Southern negroes." The audience turned hostile against Balgarnie and she returned to her seat in tears. Willard spoke next. She, too, was in favor of the resolution, but thought "Miss Wells by her attitude toward the whites had stirred up the black blood to strife. [Wells had been] unwise and indiscreet." Reportedly, Brown "spoke in a similar strain."[53] When these accounts made it to the United States, the black news media nearly came undone. "O, Shame!!!: Miss Hallie Q. Brown, Lady Somerset and Miss Willard Attack Ida B. Wells" led the headline for *The Cleveland Gazette* and demanded Brown explain her actions.[54] *The Cleveland Gazette* called into question Brown's character and worded the account as though Brown led the attack. If Brown responded to the *Gazette* or ever explained her actions, it went unreported.

[53] "British Women's Council," *New York Times*, 19 June 1895, 5. According to Paula Giddings, Wells took issue with Frances Willard's "disparaging comments about black voters, calling them great dark-faced mobs" and her "silent indifference" to the lynching epidemic. Wells believed "Willard had unhesitatingly slandered the entire Negro race in order to gain favor with those who are hanging, shooting, and burning Negroes alive…Miss Willard," Wells stated, "is no better or worse than the great bulk of white American on the Negro Questions. They are all afraid to speak out." Giddings, *Ida: A Sword Among Lions* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008), 266-67, 303.

[54] "O, Shame!!!: Miss Hallie Q. Brown, Lady Somerset and Miss Willard Attack Ida B. Wells," *Cleveland Gazette*, 29 June 1895.

Prior to this debacle, Brown stood "among the foremost in her warm endorsement of Miss Wells…and loudest in her praise."[55] Brown supported Wells' anti-lynching work. Brown, too, denounced lynching as well and appealed to the British sense of justice on her European tours, just as Wells had. Brown called white women on their intentional ignorance and held them accountable for their role in the lynching epidemic. It seems inconsistent with Brown's character to believe that Brown participated in aggressively interrupting Balgarnie and creating a "hostile" audience. Brown did not publically rebuke the audience for their behavior towards Balgarnie, but rather once Balgarnie took her seat and after Willard spoke, Brown requested the floor. The "similar strain" with which Brown spoke then dealt with reprimanding the manner that Wells used to confront Willard and Lady Somerset. Wells' desire to publically expose Willard's inconsistencies and racist statements as WCTU president could have had disastrous consequences. It could have harmed the relationship between black women and the WCTU, at a time when the WCTU was the only national women's organization that welcomed black women. Moreover, the social and political connections that Willard offered provided black women, like Brown, Frances Harper, Lucy Thurman and other temperance organizers access to important international and financial networks. Certainly Wells' principle remains true. If Willard did have such power to influence the lives of black Americans, she should be held accountable for her statements and be forced to stand against all lynching, one of the leading acts of terrorism impeding African American quality of life.

Unfortunately, this difference in methods between Brown and Wells that led to the Brown-Somerset-Willard-Wells-Balgarnie debacle, haunted Brown for the remainder of her career. Some individuals believed Brown should have defended Wells and chastised the audience

[55] *Cleveland Gazette*, 29 June 1895.

for attacking Balgarnie. When Brown did not, the editor of the *Cleveland Gazette* and others, felt Brown eternally turned her back on the race. Thirty years later the *Cleveland Gazette* editor continued to doubt Brown's race loyalty and her intentions by calling her "Aunt Dinah" and one of the "white men's n----s."[56]

Brown returned to the States in the summer of 1896 and departed a few months later once again on a European tour in behalf of Wilberforce University, the AME church, and to attend conferences. For the next few years Brown continued her same performance and lecture repertoire, visiting England, Scotland, Wales, Switzerland, and Germany. She enjoyed sightseeing and documented her impression and awe at the historic sights of Europe. In 1899 Brown returned to London with plans to attend the International Council of Women conference. Brown called it "providential" that in the sectional meeting she attended a woman from New Orleans would speak on "Underprivileged Races." Unimpressed by her talk, Brown remarked that "she spoke in feeling terms of the immigrants who came to America and of their pitiable plight—the Italians, the Germans, the Jews, the Poles and others. She took her seat without having made the faintest mention of the Negro's condition." During the comment session, Brown took the floor for "my opportunity had come to tell of the Negro's sufferings, his daily contact with injustice of the harshest kind, to tell of brutal lynchings, of the convict lease system, of the barbarity of constant discrimination." Afterwards a reporter told her she spoke for thirty minutes. Brown enjoyed great success abroad and returned to the States in 1900. [57]

In addition to her work with Wilberforce University, Brown toured in behalf of the black women's club movement as education fundraiser and Ohio state and NACW national president.

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[56] "Miss Hallie's Forty-Two Speeches," *Cleveland Gazette*, 3 February 1923; *Cleveland Gazette*, 19 July1924.

[57] Brown**,** *As the Mantle Falls*, 89, 90.

Her presidential tours from 1920-1924 reveal the extent and intensity of these tours. Between January and June 1923, for example, a 73-year-old Brown visited ten states, made eighty formal addresses and held numerous small group talks and round table discussions.[58] She gave public lectures on education, voting, and black womanhood. Her lecture entitled "Our Women—Past, Present and Future," became a particular favorite during her presidential tours, evolved into a booklet of the same name, and eventually became the encyclopedia *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*.[59] Local papers reported that audiences "received a wonderful inspiration and the people of the community generally were uplifted by the addresses of this national character."[60] Brown likely performed dramatic and interpretive readings during these tours, in which she donated her performance fee or "offering" to the NACW's Scholarship and educational program. She directed most of her attention towards meeting local clubwomen and discussing the work of local clubs. For instance, in Charlotte after Brown led a roundtable discussion with the local clubwomen, the women reported "a greater vision of service and renewed inspiration to work." [61] While in South Carolina, Brown met with clubwomen and then "[lent] a hand in lifting the standard of excellence among the juvenile element of our race."[62]

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[58] *National Notes*, June 1923, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence*, ed. Lillian Serece Williams and Randolph Boehm (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), microfilm copy available on Reel 23:878, hereinafter cited as *NACW Records*.

[59] *National Notes*, January 1925, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:936.

[60] *National Notes*, May 1923, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:875.

[61] *National Notes*, May 1923, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:875.

[62] *National Notes*, April 1923, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:863.

In the nineteenth century excellence in elocution marked "the well-educated and thoughtful citizen."[63] This attribution aptly describes Brown. Her three reciter texts and manuals used elocution as a pedagogical tool that distinguished her from other elocutionists of her time. Her incorporation of multiple types of vernacular English allowed her students to experience and develop an appreciation for other cultures. Brown found her passion in elocution and put it to her advantage. Whether it was fundraising for libraries, ladies dormitories, scholarships, or supplemental income for her personal finances, her numerous tours and countless appearances economically sustained Brown and her causes. In addition to the economic motivation and benefit, these tours enabled Brown to get a first-hand account of the condition of black people across America, and the world. It provided her a vantage point from which she could appropriately assess the condition of black people, and especially see the needs of black women. While touring Brown took notice of the need for sisterly affections, or camaraderie among women, which bolstered her opinion that black women needed a national organization and local conferences of women. Moreover, her international tours gave her perspective, and I believe renewed her hope in humanity. European audiences engaged Brown in ways that American audiences did not. The peculiarity of American racism, Brown learned, was unnatural. America, generally speaking, consciously chose to disenfranchise black people. Since it was a socially constructed, produced and cultivated behavior, it could therefore be socially unproduced and uncultivated. Her content and specific style of recitation, song, poetry, lecture and history, contributed to world-wide awareness of issues affecting black people. Elocution became a way for Brown to break down racism and sexism systematically. In elocution, Brown found a social practice that informed, healed and liberated.

[63] Nan Johnson, "The Popularization of Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric," 139.

This chapter discussed parts of Brown's life as a noted elocutionist. Through elocution Brown came into her own as a political woman. Her tours demonstrate one way that she participated in challenging ideas of uncivilized, overbearing, hyper-sexualized, black women. Pamela Klassen in "The Robes of Womanhood" argues that Brown's public performances contributed to a specific discourse of respectability and coincided with acceptable modes of women's behavior.[64] Indeed, Brown used her public performances and her choice selections to engage in public negotiations of racial, gender, sexual and national identities. Her presence as a representative of AME schools certainly challenged the AME leadership's beliefs. Brown, believing she had divine orders, did not see this as a challenge. By the 1900s the design of Brown's tours and appearances become woman-centered. The noted elocutionist represented Christian education, virtuous womanhood, and unsurpassed skill. Brown presented herself to the world as "a living illustration of the capacities of the negro race." [65]

[64] Pamela E. Klassen, "The Robes of Womanhood: Dress and Authenticity among African American Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 14, no. 1 (2004): 41.

[65] *The Christian Recorder*, 13 January 1881; "At Hampton, Virginia," *The Christian Recorder*, 12 May 1881.

CHAPTER 3

"THE HIGHEST LEARNING IS TO BE WISE. THE GREATEST WISDOM IS TO BE GOOD:" THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MISS HALLIE QUINN BROWN[1]

Brown's first teaching assignment brought her to the Sonora Plantation owned by the Dubuisson family ten miles outside of Yazoo City, Mississippi.[2] Upon arrival, Brown's heart sank at "the log enclosure called a schoolhouse." She quickly resolved to fix the schoolhouse herself, and with two sturdy boys began work chopping trees and securing tools from the Big House. Once the news of her school building endeavor spread, people living on the plantation donated whatever help and supplies they could offer.[3] After they had a real schoolhouse where Brown could teach, she decided it was time to rebuild the shed that the freed people used as a church. Brown found the quarterly visit from the traveling preacher insufficient and began her own spiritual instruction on the plantation. She established a weekly Sunday meeting and organized erecting a building to use as church. In her words, "I called the people together, had

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[1] *National Notes*, March 1926, *Records of the National Association of Colored Women Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence*, ed. Lillian Serece Williams and Randolph Boehm (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), microfilm copy available on Reel 24: 57, hereinafter cited as *NACW Records*.

[2] Charles L. Dubuisson moved to Mississippi during 1833 and served as president of Jefferson College in Washington, Mississippi from 1835-1838. He and his wife, Delia Sessions, had five children. Dubuisson served as probate judge, and also helped found the first public school—Natchez Institute—in Natchez, Mississippi. He also enslaved at least 100 men and women on the Sonora Plantation located on the Yazoo River in Yazoo County, Mississippi. Upon his death in 1870, Dubuisson's son, Charles J. (C.J.), and two daughters----oversaw plantation affairs. From Mississippi Department of Archives and History Finding Aid, Charles L. Dubuisson and Family Papers.

[3] Hallie Quinn Brown, *Hallie Quinn Brown Autobiography: As The Mantle Falls*, 41, *HQB Collection*, NAAMCC, Box 1, Folder 4. Hereinafter cited as *As The Mantle Falls.*

Sunday School, read a chapter from the Bible, [explained] it as best as I could, or told a bible story." She addressed the evils of snuff and tobacco among the residents living on the plantation and led them in a "bonfire of snuff boxes and corncob pipes." She worked closely with the women, strengthening them in areas of knitting, sewing, and cooking, often spending part of her own salary to furnish the supplies. Impressed with her secular and religious teaching, plantation owner Mr. Dubuisson sent books and magazines to Brown for the school. She sensed her possible influence and told Mr. Dubuisson "the tenants' cabins could be more habitable." A few days later, Brown received word from a resident that Mr. Dubuisson was fixing up the cabins. Brown remained on the plantation for eight months teaching and seeking to affect the quality of life for the tenants on Sonora Plantation.[4]

Her teaching stint on Sonora Plantation over, Brown commenced teaching in the Yazoo City public school system. Immediately upon her arrival, she joined the local AME church, began teaching Sunday School, and singing in the choir. Planning to return in the Fall, Brown went home to Wilberforce for summer break. At the news of the lynching of several of her friends and community leaders, Brown's parents pleaded with her not to return to Mississippi.[5]

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[4] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 42-44. From Brown's accounts of the Sonora Plantation, the residents were fond of Dubuisson. It appears that Charles Dubuisson needed assistance in managing the plantation and the employees. He reveals in personal correspondence his struggle to implement the new labor practices instituted by the Freedmen's Bureau and complained of the unreliable work habits and shifting loyalties of the freed persons. By the time Brown arrived, Dubuisson's brother in law oversaw the daily plantation activities. Perhaps his kind gesture to upkeep the cabins and support the school were efforts to appease the workforce.

[5] Ibid., 46-48. Brown's autobiography describes several of the riots and mass killings of black Mississippians beginning in 1874 through 1876. Most studies focus on the riot that took place in the fall of 1875, a year after Brown left Mississippi. However, her account reveals the multiple and reoccurring violence directed towards black officials and white liberals during the Reconstruction Era. For a detailed discussion on the Reconstruction era violence in Mississippi, see George Rable, *But there was no Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 154-159 and Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 12-14.

Brown secured a position at a plantation school about 100 miles south of Columbia, South Carolina in St. George during the fall 1874.[6] Brown's experience here was quite different from in Mississippi. "The people on that plantation were ill fed and poorly clothed," she reported. "They worked from dawn until dark. They never saw a penny. Their supplies came from "The Store" under the "check system" that existed. No one on the plantation could read or write." She went on to note the plantation owner did not allow the children or adults to attend school. She could only teach those children too young to pick cotton (babies). Although Brown struggled to establish a school program on the South Carolina plantation, she did manage to start a Sunday School like the one in Mississippi. While teaching in South Carolina, a resident from a neighboring plantation asked Brown "to speak, because they had never heard a woman speak before." Brown did not record the content of her speech, only that "the people were encouraged."[7]

Historians such as James D. Anderson, Ronald E. Butchart, and Jacqueline Jones document the work and lives of teachers of freed people in the Reconstruction South. Brown's experiences in South Carolina and in Mississippi mirror the circumstances and conditions facing teachers throughout the South. Teachers lived with uncertainty, poor or no school buildings, supplies and resources. In many cases, teachers often held evening classes for adults, community activities, Sunday schools and lectured about the responsibilities of citizenship. Christina L. Davis argues that, "in many cases, the non-academic lessons teachers imparted through their extracurricular and community-wide labor proved more important than

[6] Brown, "On the Wing," *The Christian Recorder*, 3 April 1890. Brown writes "I had the pleasure of visiting St. George's station, the place where I taught my first school in South Carolina." This is the only evidence of where she taught in South Carolina.

[7] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 53-55.

the reading, writing, and numeracy skills that dominate the literature on southern black education."[8]

After a short time at the plantation school outside of Columbia, the South Carolina school board relocated Brown to "a well-equipped school building in Columbia with beautiful well-dressed boys and girls." While in Columbia, Brown experienced the grandeur of the plush life. After returning home from a legislators' ball, Brown has what I identify as her third spiritual watershed. In her autobiography, *As the Mantle Falls*, Brown wrote

> I stood; it seemed, on the old plantation recently left. It was night. Myriads of stars blazed with radiance that silvers the sky. When, lo! Hundreds of little black children came out of the swamp, their large, sad eyes looking into mine, their small baby hands stretched to me. Not a word was said, not a sound was heard except the sighing and moaning of a cold wintry wind. Whether mine had a seen dream or a vision, whether I been asleep or awake, I know not. But that morning, I made a vow to consecrate the remainder of my life to God and humanity." [9]

The existing interpretation of Brown's experience describes this event as a "nightmare." [10] I agree this experience elicited a strong emotional response from Brown that fundamentally changed the course of her life. However, the negative implication associated with "nightmare" does not coincide with the remaining context of this moment. Instead, I offer the following reinterpretation. Once Brown began teaching, she realized that racism and economic injustice covered her missionary field. Extreme economic deprivation and dependency, insufficient

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[8] Christina L. Davis, "The Collective Identities of Women Teachers in Black Schools in the Post-bellum South," (Seminar Paper, University of Georgia, 2010). For studies on teachers of freed people, see, Ronald Butchart, *Schooling the Freedpeople: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010), Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1980).

[9] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 54-56.

[10] Annjennette Sophie McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown--Black Woman Elocutionist: 1845(?)-1949" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975), 35.

material resources (i.e.: food and housing), violence and the threat of violence, illiteracy, and political insecurity cast a depressing haze over Brown's spiritual light. Not only did black codes and Jim Crow thwart black peoples' most basic and fundamental attempts toward achieving a satisfactory quality of life, but they also impeded Brown's proselytizing. While spiritual lessons provided hope and salvation, the exigencies of the Reconstruction Era South illuminated the equally urgent physical needs of black America. At this moment, Brown's spiritual consciousness merged with the social and economic realities around her. With the resources available to her, Brown sought to meet both the spiritual *and* physical needs of black Americans.

This chapter examines how Brown met the spiritual and physical needs of black Americans. For Brown, education most logically addressed the concerns facing African Americans. Institutions, access to institutions, program curricula, and teachers worked together to serve as the foundation for enhancing the quality of life for African Americans. Brown articulated a specific philosophy of education, centered on themes of Christian/moral education and equal educational opportunities for each gender that she believed would lead to black racial uplift. I show her development as an educator and investigate how she implemented her pedagogy. Brown spent the majority of life as an educator within AME church related schools, and subsequently the majority of her conversations on educational progress occur among her AME peers. Brown also participated in other national conversations on African American and women's education with contemporaries in black racial uplift such as Anna Julia Cooper, Frances J. Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune.[11] These conversations consisted of multiple, contested, and complementary visions for African Americans. I use the AME church, along with the agendas of four of her colleagues to demonstrate if, why, and how

[11] For biographies of Cooper, Coppin, Burroughs, and Bethune see, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols.(New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Brown's agenda for African American education aligned with or deviated from that of her contemporaries.

When Brown's spiritual and social consciousness merged, she adopted what scholars refer to as a black liberation theology.[12] James Cone explains that "at the core of black liberation theology is an effort — in a white-dominated society, in which black has been defined as evil — to make [Christianity] relevant to the life and struggles of American blacks, and to help black people learn to love themselves." In practice this meant to use religion, religious discourse, and sacred texts to affirm black humanity. For it to be applicable, Brown's gospel message could not merely point to an individual's sin, but had to offer hope and inspiration to live. This approach made justice and equality the benchmark of Christian faith and conduct. Brown learned that she best served her spirituality and religious fervor when she considered the experiences and concrete needs of specific communities. Indeed, transforming social existence and improving the quality of life became a religious quest.

Brown's religious quest occurred as technological developments propelled the United States to the forefront of world political and economic markets and social reform began to characterize American society. Urbanization, immigration, pollution, labor laws, and other by-products of industrial capitalism introduced changes to American life. Reformers, many with religious motivations, rose to address these issues and ensure American progress. This era of massive social reformation designed to assist and enhance all of society, also marked the nadir—the lowest point in African American history. On the one hand, these social reformations allowed African Americans to witness the possibilities of American life and even benefit from them in a

[12] Anthony Pinn, "Black Theology" in *Liberation Theologies in the United States: An Introduction* edited by Stacey M. Floyd-Thomas and Anthony B. Pinn (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 1, 19-20. For a discussion of liberation theology see Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation, Revised Edition* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988) and James Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power, Second Printing* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999).

small way. On the other hand, calculated efforts to thwart African American economic independence, political enfranchisement, and social equality characterized the turn of the twentieth century for most African Americans and outweighed potential progress. Hence, African Americans increasingly turned inward to defend and preserve African American life and culture.[13]

The term black racial uplift (or race uplift) represents the inward turn, efforts and self-help ideologies of African American women and men to change positively the social, political, and economic direction of black people. This collection of goals and philosophies for African Americans included, among others, education, equal opportunities, health reforms, political representation, community development, and business ownership. A distinct group of African American women and men, known as race women and race men, led the movement and distinguished themselves from the masses through their financial wealth, educational attainment, and scrupulous virtue. They saw their interventions as a positive force in shaping the destiny and common collective of black people.

Historian Kevin Gaines states that race women and race men believed "that the improvement of African Americans' material and moral condition through self-help would diminish white racism, [and] they sought to rehabilitate the race's image by embodying respectability, enacted through an ethos of service to the masses." The ideology, he argues, emphasized "self-help, racial solidarity, temperance, thrift, chastity, social purity, patriarchal

[13] Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 11 and 13. Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier Books, 1965).

authority, and the accumulation of wealth."[14] Advocates of black racial uplift often appropriated the language of the middle-class to identify themselves and express their sentiments. Middle-class rhetoric emphasized material wealth stratification, as well as indicated the possession of cultural capital.[15] Cultural capital allowed a person to have the social standing and hold accouterments of a middle-class or elite lifestyle, if not the actual life itself. Race women and race men's application of cultural capital's celebration of educational attainment, superior values, morality, and compassion for their less fortunate sisters and brothers, for example, provided them with resources that could work as material currency does. Clubwoman Josephine Bruce in a commentary for *Voice of the Negro* observed, "This educated class are in every way people of exemplary lives. They form the highest of the three social strata which are distinctly marked in this community, moral first, and then education and means being the lines of cleavage. They possess and practice the highest virtues. They own their own homes and farms, carrying on in many instances independent business, and are thrifty, aspiring and progressive."[16] Individuals not possessing material wealth, like Brown, relied on their character and education to provide them with the cultural capital that elevated them into not only the middle-class, but also into "the better class." "The better class" consisted of those race women and race men not set on personal celebrity or fame, but motivated by a dutiful spiritual mission to live well and help the less fortunate. Members of the better class also understood the mercurial state of affairs for African

[14] Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1996), xiv, 2.

[15] For a discussion on social and cultural capital, see Michele Lamont and Annette Lareau "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments" *Sociological Theory* 6, no. 2 (Autumn 1988): 153-168.

[16] Josephine Bruce, "What has Education Done for Colored Women," *Voice of the Negro* 1, no.7., 294-298.

Americans meant that their influence could not depend upon economic security alone. As much as possessing cultural capital and material wealth allowed race women and race men to align themselves as a particular social group, it also served as the parameters for exclusion. [17]

To the same degree that race women and men identified and reaffirmed middle or better class hierarchy through their philosophies, they also instituted a set of appropriate behaviors for each of the genders. Black women embraced beliefs of gender moral superiority and in some cases a racial superiority. Anna Julia Cooper, for instance, claimed black women possessed racial and gender superiority. Cooper held Southern white women, in particular, responsible for the barbaric actions of Southern white men.[18] The continued violence perpetrated against black people reflected poorly against white women's claims of gendered moral superiority. As women, they failed to use their influence appropriately and demonstrated no redeeming or honorable qualities of womanhood. Black women in contrast did demonstrate redeeming and honorable qualities.

Influenced by tenets of "true womanhood," a nineteenth-century paradigm for female decorum, black women in race uplift stressed Christian living, sexual purity, domesticity, and cleanliness. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham terms the approach employed by black women "the politics of respectability." Black women used their adherence to respectability to support their moral claims of racial and gender superiority. Through respectability black women intended "to

[17] For a discussion on "the better class", see, Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes" in Charlotte, 1850-1910* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[18] Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007) 182; Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, Reprint (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 99-100.

counter racist images and structures" and "refute the logic behind their social subordination."[19] While respectability redeemed black women, Stephanie Evans notes race uplift implied "because of women's moral superiority, black women were the only ones capable of affecting social change in the black community; [and] black women of low moral standing were responsible for the degradation in the black community." In other words, the gendered implications of race uplift levied the success or failure of black racial uplift upon black women. Ula Taylor argues that it was not only the stress that made this ideology problematic, "it blamed the victims of American capitalist culture and held the socially disadvantaged responsible for improving disintegrating conditions."[20] Still, race women concluded no one cared for black women as did black women and it was up to them solve "the woman question and race problem" that confronted them.[21]

Brown accepted a position as Lady Principal at Allen University in 1885. The AME church founded Allen University in 1870 for the purposes of educating freed persons and expanded to include a teacher training school and ministerial preparation. The AME church began as an institution committed to black racial uplift and operated using a liberation theology framework. The church held the position that knowledge and education translated into power and ignorance yielded disastrous effects. Joseph W. Morris, President of Allen University, explained, "Education is the normal function of the church. The school and church are in conjugal

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[19] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 193, 187; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood" *American Quarterly*18, no. 2 (Summer 1966), 151-174.

[20] Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower,*192, 64.

[21] Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: Norton, 1998), 60, 52.

relation."[22] The AME church truly intended to have a successful marriage of school and church. At the AME General Conference Meeting in 1842, a little over 25 years after the AME's founding, Bishop Daniel Payne raised the issue of education before the Conference and passed a resolution on education. Years later the General Conference of 1884 reorganized the education directive and established an Education Department with a Secretary of Education to align secular educational training with the spiritual mission of the church.[23] Brown whole-heartedly endorsed the moral and religious instruction of Christian education that the AME church advanced. Other AME educators also supported Christian education. G. M. Elliot, for example, wrote "to educate the intellect and not train the heart is to make a monster of a man, and fit him to be a dangerous weapon in society." E. Moore concluded "If moral and religious training should not be the primary and principal duty in all schools, then education itself is of no effect."[24] Beyond Christian education, the AME church did not take a stand for or against any other type of

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[22] Joseph W. Morris, "Rise and Progress of Education in South Carolina" by President of Allen University" in *Proceedings of the Quarto-Centennial Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina 1889*, 80 (microfilm copy available Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

McFarlin wrote the registrar of Allen University to confirm Brown's appointment. Allen University "did not have evidence of her appointment with Allen University." The oldest college catalog of 1888-1889 does not list her as faculty either. See, McFarlin, *Hallie Quinn Brown*, 50. McFarlin and other biographies restrict Brown's employment to 1885-1887, but newspaper reports, AME conference proceedings indicate that her professional relationship with Allen University extended to 1892. In 1890, for example, the *Christian Recorder* published a report Brown wrote documenting her work in behalf of Allen University. See, Brown, "On the Wing," *Christian Recorder* 6 March 1890 and 3 April 1890. I also believe that between 1885 and 1892 she worked as a traveling agent for Wilberforce University as well. In 1888, Brown went to Europe to secure funds to build a library for Wilberforce University. See, Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 72.

[23] Daniel A. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville: A.M.E. Sunday-School Union, 1981), 141-142; Charles Spencer Smith, *A History of African Methodist Episcopal Church being a Volume Supplement etc.* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 1922), 345.

[24] G. M. Elliot, "We Must Educate," *A.M.E. Church Review* 1 (April 1885); E. Moore, "Education for the Masses: A Symposium," *A.M.E. Church Review* 9, no. 2 (October 1892).

education. All other types of education, that is industrial or classical education, were secondary in terms of teaching an individual how to live upright lives.

Brown did not waver in her commitment to Christian education, but appeared to shift in her views of industrial and classical education. Early in her career, while Lady Principal at Tuskegee Institute, Brown emphatically supported industrial education. In fact, she argued that industrial education provided more opportunities for black people. She observed "the girls of the south are realizing that with a common education and a trade they are superior to the girl who completes the academic course and neglects the training of her hand."[25] Later in her career, while at Wilberforce University, Brown's lecture on education seemed to clarify her views. "Give that boy, that girl the specific kind of Industrial Education best suited for his or her condition in life" she lectured, "let them remember that it is no shame to work with the hands if one puts brain in the palm; for manual training does not reside in the hands but primarily in the brain and in the mind."[26] Although classical education and industrial education were interdependent, it seems then that for Southern black women, Brown concluded, an industrial education proved more beneficial for their lives. Nannie Burroughs and Mary McLeod Bethune, both dubbed the "female Booker T. Washington" for their industrial/vocational education curriculum for black women, established schools dedicated to women's vocational education training. They, too, believed the industrial approach reached more black women and better equipped them with a skill set for employment. Training black women in the areas of domestic science garnered dignity for vocational work that more closely mirrored the type of employment most black

[25] "Discussion of the Same Subject by Hallie Quinn Brown of Alabama" in *The World's Congress of Representative Women: A Historical Résumé for Popular Circulation of the World's Congress of Representative Women, convened in Chicago on May 15, and adjourned on May 22, 1893, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary,* vol.2 , May Wright Sewall, ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1894), 726.

[26] "Brown's lecture notes" in McFarlin, "Hallie Quinn Brown," 179.

women performed.[27] Schools like Burroughs' and Bethune's taught women how to manage the home, educate and train children, and cook healthy meals more efficiently. While Burroughs subscribed to industrial education, she did not believe that industrial education was the only answer for African Americans. For Burroughs industrial education proved to be the best answer for African Americans at that time. Burroughs argued "that the measure of black progress rested not upon the Talented Tenth, but upon the economic and moral status of the great mass of laboring people—especially black women. Teachers, preachers and 'leaders' cannot solve the problems of the race alone. The race needs an army of skilled workers, and the properly educated Negro woman is the most essential factor."[28] Despite their different approaches, each of these women wanted education to have utilitarian and practical purpose for their lives. Cooper held "all forms of education, be they classical, professional, or vocation, full-time or part-time, should be sites of liberation."[29] Coppin believed as much, adding that whatever the educational need or type, it must not exclude girls and women. [30]

While the primary goal of Christian education instructed people on God, Brown used it to address other utilitarian needs as well. For example, the AME church believed that the Bible was the inspired book that outlined acceptable behavior and offered inspirational messages. People who read the Bible demonstrated spiritual obedience and faith. Illiteracy, however, interfered

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[27] Bethune founded Daytona Educational and Industrial Schools for Negro Girls in 1904 eventually becoming co-ed Bethune-Cookman University and Burroughs established the National Industrial Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C. in 1909. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 213; Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World, Essays and Selected Documents* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 3; Opal V. Easter, *Nannie Helen Burroughs* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 4.

[28] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 213.

[29] Vivian A. May, *Anna Julia Cooper: Visionary Black Feminist* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 63-64.

[30] *Frances Jackson Coppin, Reminisces of School Life, and Hints of Teaching* (Philadelphia, PA: A. M. E. Book Concern, 1913), 25.

with this outward expression of inward obedience. It retarded parishioners' relationships with God because it made them dependent on someone else to tell them what the Bible stated. In addition to compromising a person's spiritual well being, illiteracy affected material life. It limited employment opportunities and contributed to exploitation, for example. Brown's support of Christian education achieved both of her goals. Teaching people to read from the Bible in school or church, aided in spreading the gospel message (spiritual need) and rectified illiteracy (physical need).

Brown used Christian education to offer hope to African Americans and a framework for living. Any optimism that existed among African Americans following Emancipation, Jim Crow laws, disenfranchisement, and social vulnerability slowly and mechanically chiseled away. Brown witnessed the rising frustration and disillusionment among African Americans. She observed, "As a race we are apt to grow discouraged. [The] present is full of difficulty and danger. Hearts are beginning to fail [for fear]… Let us not lean to human wisdom nor the arm of man that faileth, but seek wisdom from above."[31] A Christian education with a liberation theology influence attempted to make sense of the oppression African Americans experienced and offer an alternative coping mechanism. Frances Coppin called Christian education the tool that removed ignorance associated with racism and bigotry and Bethune called it the "tool of encouragement."[32] G. M. Elliot, of the AME church, championed Christian education because it "[d]estroys prejudice. It removes enmity. It strains jealousy. It rectifies the biased judgment. It provides a shelter for the outcast. It raises up the fallen. It protects the defenseless. It redresses

[31] *National Notes*, March 1929, *NACW Records*, Reel 24:414-417.

[32]Shelley P. Haley, "Introduction" in Frances Jackson Coppin, *Reminiscences Reminisces of School Life, and Hints of Teaching*, Reprint (New York: G.K. Hall, 1995), xxi. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*, 152, 165.

the wrongs of the oppressed. It directs the poor in the way to wealth, and strengthens his arm for the great battles of life."[33] As much as Brown and her colleagues used Christian education to offer hope, they believed that Christian education was their only hope. They invested their lives in the idea of upright moral teaching leading to African American equality and relied on past histories to do so. Brown confidently maintained, "The histories of ancient republics demonstrate that without universal, Christian education, that is, a sufficient and intelligent virtue among the people—there cannot exist true liberty."[34] In other words, Christian education led to and maintained freedom. Insisting upon Christian education worked both ways. On the one hand, living in a democratic society entitled a person to an education and the only acceptable type of education a democratic society offers is a Christian education. On the other hand, Christian education's focus on moral values and leadership trained individuals in model citizenship. Moral character led to progressive democratic societies. Brown believed Christian education facilitated black racial uplift, but she also believed that the act of participating in education, teacher or student, exercised citizenship and made a meaningful contribution to society. It gave African American's "the opportunity to make real what the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and Bill of Rights said."[35] Education became the means for African Americans to access promises and privileges due them. Education was the practice of their freedom.

If education is the practice of freedom, then it must be available to everyone. Brown sought to ensure this goal. Her framework for Christian education largely coincided with her AME peers, but deviated in terms of who could access Christian education. When the AME

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[33] G. M. Elliot, "We Must Educate," *A.M.E. Church Review* 1 (April 1885).

[34] *National Notes*, March 1929, *NACW Records*, Reel 24:414-417.

[35] Mary McLeod Bethune, "Unalienable Rights" in Rayford Logan, ed., *What the Negro Wants* (New York: Agathon, Press, Inc., 1969), 253

Church held their Quarto-Centennial Conference in South Carolina in the spring of 1889, Brown distinguished herself as an advocate "for the better education of our girls."[36] Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, who presided over the conference, introduced AME Secretary of Education Rev. Dr. William Decker Johnson stating, "Dr. Johnson is the Doctor of all the education interest of our Church. Boys, rise and receive him." The Conference minutes report the young men stood to acknowledge him. Brown, still Lady Principal of Allen University, said: "Girls, arise and receive him. He is our Doctor as well as the boys." The minutes report "and the young ladies did the same."[37] The omission of the female students in Bishop Arnett's request symbolized the disproportionate focus on male training, education, and presence. Calling the female student body of Allen University to their feet, Brown expressed her belief in the equal worth, opportunity, access, and ability of young black women in education—and in life.

What Brown observed with the AME church, Cooper and Burroughs noticed as well. Religious institutions insufficiently worked in the interest of women as compared to men. Cooper criticized the church for its shortcomings in female education, believing a direct correlation existed between Christian education and race uplift. She believed it was "the church's mission to prepare our girls in head, heart and hand for the duties and responsibilities that await the intelligent wife, the Christian mother, the earnest, virtuous helpful woman, at once both the lever and the fulcrum for uplifting race." In a similar manner, Burroughs argued to the Baptist Board "...The greatest thing any Christian School can render our women is to give them thorough training in the fundamentals of education through High School and Junior College and then give them courses in Bible Missionary Training, Business, homemaking and social welfare. If we do

[36] Editorial, *A.M.E. Church Review* 6, no. 3 (January 1890).

[37] "Addresses at Columbia Conference," *Proceedings of the Quarto-Centennial Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina*, 99.

that, we will be doing for Negro homes, Church and community life, the thing that we need above everything else."[38]

Brown and her colleagues believed education prepared women for their spiritual missions and purposes in life namely, motherhood, as well as the gendered specificity of race uplift. Education, she wrote, enabled women "[to] cleave to those things which enlarge her sphere and tend to uplift, which make for better citizenship; for child welfare legislation; health and sanitation; to work for higher standards in art and literature; for improvement in moral, social, and industrial conditions and World Peace."[39] She understood the education of women to be essential to society's most fundamental unit—the family. In a very matter of fact manner, Brown stated at the AME conference "Men expect to see something more than dressed dolls in their parlors in these progressive times. If a man is educated and his wife is not, he will soon outgrow her. He will be seeking the society of some higher educated woman." At one point during the same AME conference, Brown suggested that the husband go to school for six months and then the wife attend school for the other six months "to equaliz[e] [*sic*.] the matter." Brown called it "a scientific accomplishment to know how to bring on dinner."[40]

Women's education did more than make wives more compelling for their husbands, it taught black women the skills they needed to contend in the twentieth century. At the turn of the century America repositioned itself within international economic and political frameworks, while immigration, industrialization, urbanization, and capitalist expansion proliferated. Brown's

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[38] Johnson, *Uplifting the Women and the Race*, 109-110.

[39] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Negro Womanhood's Greatest Needs: A Symposium, "*The Messenger* (June 1927): 198-199.

[40] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Addresses at Columbia Conference," *Proceedings of the Quarto-Centennial Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of South Carolina*, 102, 143, 145.

educational philosophies reflected these advancements and presented new, varied, and necessary opportunities to women outside of domesticity and increasingly separate from motherhood/wifedom as well. Equal educational opportunities for women enabled women to lessen or end their dependency on men. Brown knew this, but her colleague Anna Julia Cooper captured the essence of this idea in her essay "The Higher Education of Women." Cooper wrote "the intellectual development, with the self-reliance and capacity for earning a livelihood which it gives, renders woman less dependent on the marriage relation for physical support. Neither is she compelled to look to sexual love as the one sensation capable of giving tone and relish, movement and vim to the life she leads. Her horizon is extended."[41]

Including women in higher education proved to be only part of the issue. Brown expressed several concerns over school curriculums that confined the female students to a "Ladies Course" and restricted their development. Anna Julia Cooper called this course of study "inferior in scope and in aim to the regular classical course."[42] During Brown's college matriculation, she refused to follow the Normal School's curricula designed for women. Instead, Brown began the classical scientific course of study in the College Department deemed too difficult for women and thus intended for men. [43] Women increasingly opted for the "Gentlemen's Course." Frances Coppin and Anna Julia Cooper decided to take the "Gentlemen's Course" while at Oberlin College which ensured their receipt of a Bachelor of Arts degree rather

[41] Cooper, *Voice from the South*, 68,69.

[42] Ibid., 50.

[43] Julianne Dodson, *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the A.M.E. Church* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 71-72.

than the certificate offered by the "Ladies Course." Her successful completion disproved race and gender stereotypes and "bent the gender specificity of a classical education."[44]

Brown also endorsed women's physical education as part of school curriculums. Recalling an episode from her own life after she enrolled in college, a professor Rev. John G. Mitchell told Brown "You must not do so and so-you must be still-you must be ladylike-you must not act like Tommy-you must learn to be refined-you must not romp and skip."[45] Initially she seemed to struggle with this chastisement, but ultimately resigned herself to the sedentary refined lady, or what scholar Colette Dowling refers to as "the cult of frailty."[46] Physicians of the era believed that human bodies contained a finite amount of expendable energy. Women's bodies harnessed energy for reproduction. Many doctors and other specialists believed educational pursuits, mental or physical activities interfered with women's primary focus and thus, depleted women's energy supply. Years after the incident, Brown began politely debunking the idea that excess physical activity harmed women's genitals, hindered their reproductive ability, and made then unladylike; in fact, she argued such exercise helped women. While she does not use the medical terminology commonly associated with the connection between motor development, cognitive development, and hormonal release, Brown believed "Brain power will never attain its highest possibilities unless there is healthy and complete physical development. Girls may jump and skip and play and develop muscle, and get health and vigor." The path toward "a grand and

[44] Shelley P. Haley, "Introduction" in Frances Jackson Coppin, *Reminiscences*, xxvi.

[45] Brown, "Addresses at Columbia Conference," 101. John G. Mitchell was one of the founding members of Wilberforce University and Dean of Payne Theological Seminary.

[46] Colette Dowling, *The Frailty Myth: Women Approaching Physical Equality* (New York: Random House, 2000), 3.

noble womanhood" required them "to be physically strong."[47] Women needed exercise and physical activity as if their life depended upon it. Women's rights advocates supported this notion and encouraged women to reject the "cult of frailty" and embrace the "cult of ability."

The "cult of ability" faced many detractors like AME minister James Johnson who insisted women's efforts "to masculinize herself, lessens her modesty and damages her standing as a woman. She was not made to show the brawny arms of Vulcan, nor the ponderous proportions of the Atlantes." Despite the bicycle's—a new exercise and leisure machine of the late 1880s—promises to help women strengthen their abdominal muscles, develop strong leg muscles to improve pelvic tone, and help make childbirth—women's primary duty—easier, Johnson thought women did not "look right" on it. He chastised women for "drafting on manhood." Their behavior "subverted the natural order," they failed as "true women" and instead succeeded as a "monstrous outgrowth of the coarser elements of female nature."[48]

Arguments endorsing women's physical activity occurred alongside arguments to eliminate restrictive physical clothing imposed upon women, such as corsets and girdles. Brown urged women to rely on their natural muscle and backbone, rather than those artificial supports.[49] One woman claimed that long skirts and corsets perpetuated women's weakness "by literally so tying ourselves up in clothing that the muscles in some parts of the body dwindle till they become useless." Early woman's rights advocate Mary Wollstonecraft insisted that preventing girls and young women from physical activity and exercise kept them from full development,

[47] Brown, "Addresses at Columbia Conference,"143; Dowling, *The Frailty Myth,* 58, 82, 86.

[48] James H. A. Johnson, "Woman's Exalted Station," *A.M.E. Church Review* 8, no. 4 (April 1892).

[49] Brown, "Addresses at Columbia Conference,"143.

and made women "weak. Unnaturally weak." [50] Cultivating physical frailty ensured women remained weak, exhausted, immobile, unable to move, and dependent. It was an effort to immobilize women socially and politically. Brown's endorsement of women's physical activity and the success of womanhood asserted women's political rights, beginning with their person.

Brown's advocacy for physically strong women seems inconsistent with her endorsement of genteel women. When black women appropriated respectability as women's redeeming feature, it apparently required them to avoid unfeminine images of vigorous women and physical strength. Scientific racism supported beliefs that stripped black women of womanhood and humanity and classified them as breeders and laborers only. The sensationalized physical strength of black women then justified their physical and sexual exploitation. On a personal level, Brown wanted very much to embrace the totality of respectability, but the realities of her life never allowed her to access that particular type of womanhood. Brown learned early on in life that women needed physical strength and must participate in physical activity to function. Growing up on a farm in Chatham, Brown oversaw most of the labor-intensive farm maintenance. Later as a teacher in Mississippi and South Carolina, she had to haul logs, chop wood, pull mules, and literally erect the school buildings. In other cases, Brown knew the hard physical labor of other black women who took in washing. The idea of a woman, especially a black woman, not exercising, sweating, or engaging in physical activity was preposterous to Brown, and certainly other women. Brown's educational philosophy negotiated between the esoteric ideals of Victorian womanhood and the realities of black women's lives. She reconciled physical strength and respectability to offer an expanded version of femininity and specifically

[50] Dowling, *The Frailty Myth,* 13.

notions of black femininity. The black woman she constructed for racial uplift had upstanding moral character, academic preparation, domestic training, and the stamina to survive.

As Brown continued to work diligently on behalf of Allen University, she became convinced that the educational model of Allen and the entire AME church needed new direction. The AME's Board of Education oversaw the educational direction of the entire denomination as well as the funding for the church's educational endeavors.[51] Brown saw this as the platform she needed to enact her educational agenda in the church's "Sunday School" program and secular schools. The Bishops' Council appointed one representative from each Episcopal district to the Board and the General Conference elected a Secretary of Education to the Board. Brown submitted her name for Secretary of Education 1894.

Many AME clergy members supported her nomination. Writing to *The Christian Recorder* in April 1894, M.R. Mitchell, a minister from Bartow, Florida, subscribed to "the liberal views of Bishops [Abraham] Grant and [Henry McNeal] Turner upon the importance of a broader field to be laid out by the Church for the intellectual and Christian activities of our women."[52] He outlined Brown's credentials and appealed to the AME Church to let her run. In May the *Christian Recorder* published Mrs. Alice Felts reprimand of Mitchell's endorsement "even though she be so gifted a person as Miss Hallie Quinn Brown." Felts emphatically held "The custom [is] that no woman is allowed a representation as a church member except the per capita in payment of members' dues."[53] Mitchell's reply appeared the next month. Felts dissent caught Mitchell off guard. Apparently, he anticipated male dissent over the nomination, but not

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[51] Richard R. Wright, et.al., *Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, *1816-1916* (Philadelphia, PA: Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 1916), 306.

[52] M. R. Mitchell, "A Lady for Secretary of Education," *Christian Recorder*, 26 April 1894.

[53] Mrs. Alice Felts, "A Timely Reminder" *Christian Recorder*, 24 May 1894.

dissent from another woman and certainly not dissent that confined women to the role of a financial donor. Ironically, Felts had publically supported the short-lived ordination and deaconship of Sarah Hughes by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner calling the AME church to task for what she viewed as a double standard in its treatment of women.[54] In his reply, Mitchell sought to restore his character. He accused Felts of deliberately insinuating that his blind infatuation, or as she wrote "enthusiasm" for Brown, caused him to withdraw reason and nominate a woman to Secretary of Education. Mitchell wrote "[Felts] is mistaken as to my motive of writing; there is nothing spasmodic about it. What I have said is the result of careful consideration of the history, character and peculiar fitness of the individual to fill the position."[55] Mitchell again listed some of Brown's credentials. To be sure, Brown's qualifications far exceeded those of the current Secretary. Yet Felts, and those not supporting Brown because of her gender, would rather risk the integrity of the education department, jeopardize the education of the entire race, and halt black racial uplift before breaking with custom. The record proves unclear at this time if Brown ran at the 1894 General Conference Meeting. AME records do not mention if an election occurred, but do continue to show William Decker Johnson (appointed in 1884) as Secretary of Education until 1896 when John Russell Hawkins succeeded him.[56]

In 1899 a somewhat apprehensive Brown asked Bishop Henry McNeal Turner his thoughts on the Secretary of Education. Turner told her "run, and you will get a big support. You can tell the church that the women pay in more money than the men, that but for the class dues of the women half of our ministers would starve to death. You will be able to show that you have done more in person, to give character to our church and to build up our educational interest,

[54] Alice S. Felts, "Women in the Church," *Christian Recorder*, 18 February 1886.

[55] Henry Turner, "Who is to Blame?" *Christian Recorder*, 21 June 1900.

[56] Wright, *Centennial Encyclopaedia*, 306.

than any secretary of education in the history of the church."[57] Despite the truth of Turner's comments, the conservative church leadership and black male authority reigned. The General Conference re-elected Hawkins.[58]

Brown's celebrity was not lost on her unsuccessful bid for Secretary of Education. Booker T. Washington, founder and principal of Tuskegee Institute, began seriously recruiting Brown for a job at Tuskegee. Tuskegee's previous Lady Principal, Olivia Davidson Washington, and Washington's second wife, had passed in 1889 vacating the position. Washington knew exactly what to say to secure Brown's services. "There is no better place where your life can be given in a way to better lift up those, who in time will lift thousands of others up than at Tuskegee," he wrote in a letter.[59] He offered her a $60.00 salary, as well as plenty of time for elocution courses. This satisfied Brown and she took the position as Lady Principal at Tuskegee Institute in September 1892.

Brown stepped into a very important role as Lady Principal of Tuskegee. Washington credited his second wife Olivia with establishing Tuskegee as a powerhouse. Brown inherited her legacy, as well as the job requirements. Washington bestowed upon Brown "control of the girls in all that pertains to their school life—that is their physical, mental, moral and religious training,…control of the class work for both sexes and for the cleanliness of the class rooms."

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[57] Henry McNeal Turner to Hallie Q. Brown, 5 May 1899, CSU in Folder, Correspondence, Personal, Bishops, Correspondence from Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, dated May 5, 1889 in Correspondence to Hallie Q. Brown from Personals with last names beginning with O through Z, box 37, Central State University, Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library.

[58] Julius H. Bailey, *Around the Family Altar: Domesticity in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1865-1900* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 99-100.

[59] Booker T. Washington to Hallie Quinn Brown, 10 August 1892 in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 13 vols., Louis Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 255-256.

She had two assistants and "the authority to demand whatever assistance she thinks best" of the female instructors.[60]

Among her contemporaries, positive affiliation with Booker T. Washington elevated a person's credibility. Washington was in the process of establishing himself as the dominant representative of black racial uplift at the turn of the twentieth century. He mastered the ability to acquire the financial support of philanthropists to promote his industrial model of education—a necessary component of his philosophy of economic self-reliance as a path to social and political equality.[61] Washington knew that Brown's talent for elocuting would make her a positive addition to the faculty of Tuskegee and a potential fundraiser for his political agenda. Washington's own sister, Mary, told him that he would be "lucky" to secure her services. The current faculty members were "enthusiastic" about Brown's arrival as well.[62]

Brown's professional and social promotion did not last long however. After only one year at Tuskegee, Washington told Brown "there is a want of confidence and respect for you and your work." He was not impressed with Brown's scholarship and stated she displayed a superficial knowledge of the subject matter. Washington also expressed concerns about Brown's social interactions with other faculty and the students. He accused Brown of using "unbecoming language" in the presence of students and participating in "personal and disgraceful wrangles." Her behavior, he believed, compromised the integrity of the entire school. In Washington's

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 254. This philosophy of black economic viability became the mission of his "Tuskegee Machine" an "intricate, nationwide web of institutions in the black community."

[62] Booker T. Washington to Hallie Quinn Brown, 10 August 1892 and Mary A. Elliot to Booker T. Washington, 8/30/1892 in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 13 vols., Louis Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 256, 261.

words, Brown "failed to come up to the standard of leader and example for other teachers."[63] Washington did not call for Brown's resignation, but believed she could overcome these difficulties.

Everything about Brown's time at Tuskegee does not fit her adult character and begs for more study. Brown's appointment as Lady Principal coincides with a larger national conversation on how to meet the needs of the rising number of female students at coeducational schools. The Lady Principal primarily provided moral guidance and chaperoned the living quarters and activities. As women increasingly entered higher education, women attending coeducational institutions needed more than a chaperone, but a champion for their academic needs.[64] This new style administrator—the Dean of Women—focused on standardization, administration, and scholarship. The Dean of Women advocated for women's scholarly and professional development on and off campus. She approached her position as an expert through meticulous study and research of other female deans across the country. She published her research on women's education.[65] Although hired as a Lady Principal, it appears that Washington wanted the new style of female administration for Tuskegee Institute. Brown, however, was either unable or unwilling to do it. It is possible that Brown was not prepared for the shift in educational environments from the liberal arts preacher preparatory schools like

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[63] Booker T. Washington to Hallie Quinn Brown, 31 October 1893 in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 13 vols., Louis Harlan and Raymond Smock, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 369.

[64] For discussion on the increase of black and white women in higher education, see Stephanie Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850–1954: An Intellectual History* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008).

[65] Jana Nidiffer, "Advocates on Campus," in *Women Administrators in Higher Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 143. Lisa Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator" in *African American Fraternities and Sororities The Legacy and the Vision*, Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, Clarenda M. Phillips, eds. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 250, 257-259. See also, Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More Than Wise and Pious Matrons*.

Wilberforce and Allen Universities to agricultural and industrial Tuskegee Institute and was therefore unable to align her educational vision with that of Washington. It is also possible that personal differences interfered in the professional relationship and contributed to Washington's disappointment in Brown. Each of Washington's prior wives doubled as Lady Principal and his life partner, providing them with insider knowledge and understanding of Washington both personally and professionally. Brown indicated no interest in marriage to Washington, or anyone for that matter, and perhaps that did not coincide with Washington's vision for the person filling the role of Lady Principal at Tuskegee.[66] Certainly, Brown's struggle in camaraderie with the other faculty members added to the turbulent work environment. Finally, existing research on Lady Principals and Deans of Women show a high and quick turnover rate. Perhaps Brown's experiences at Tuskegee were common among female administrators. Whatever the case, Brown stepped down from Lady Principal of Tuskegee Institute in 1893. Margaret Murray quickly filled the position and also became his third wife. "My tenure of office was brief," Brown recalls, "but I have many pleasant memories of social life and classroom experiences."[67] Brown accepted an appointment as a traveling agent and Professor of Elocution at Wilberforce University in 1893 and remained in this position until her retirement.

Brown has her fourth watershed after Tuskegee and upon her return to Wilberforce. At the Parent Mite Missionary Convention of the AME Church Brown agreed to participate as a delegate to the World Missionary Conference held in Scotland in June 1910. Although Brown does not indicate a lecture or performance schedule, her writing suggests that she intended to seek opportunities to fundraise for Wilberforce University or the AME church while in Europe.

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[66] Jacqueline Rouse, "Out of the Shadow of Tuskegee: Margaret Murray Washington, Social Activism, and Race Vindication" *Journal of Negro History* 81, no 1(1996): 32.

[67] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls*, 56.

Aware of Brown's predisposition to fundraise, AME evangelist Amanda Smith asked Brown to inquire of E. J. Emery and speak with her about Smith's orphanage in Illinois. Smith did not know Emery, in fact as Brown wrote "she was uncertain whether the person were a man or a woman." Nonetheless, when Brown arrived in England she located Miss E. J. Emery, a noted philanthropist in London. On Smith's behalf, Brown shared the vision of Smith's orphanage and work. Brown then wrote, "When Miss Emery inquired further concerning my visit, she opened the subject dearest to my heart, a girls' dormitory at Wilberforce." [68]

Twenty years prior, while she worked as Lady Principal at Allen University, Brown began a vigorous financial campaign to erect a ladies' dormitory at Allen. Less than a year into her program, Brown already collected $1500.00 for the ladies' Hall and *The Cleveland Gazette* and *Christian Recorder* heralded her "Queen of Elocutionists."[69] As it had at Allen, erecting a women's dormitory at Wilberforce University carried special significance. Brown understood education to be a formidable medium for eradicating social and economic inequality. However, sex segregation in education stifled its promises. The AME church did not have an institution of higher education for black women like other denominations and the needs of female education often went overlooked. [70] Although Wilberforce included women in their student body, they did not include women as integral members of the learning community. The female dormitory, I argue, indicated the non-transient nature of women in higher education, provided women with a physical presence on the campus, and made them members of the learning community.

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[68] Ibid., 190. For a biography of Amanda Smith see, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols.(New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[69] *Cleveland Gazette*, 7 February 1891; *The Christian Recorder*, 20 March 1890 and 23 October 1890.

[70] Angell and Pinn, *Social Protest Thought*, 269. Baptist missionaries established Spelman Seminary in Atlanta in 1881 to address the specific concerns of female Christian education.

In her classic feminist text, *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf held that women's invisibility in the public sphere was not because they did not want to learn or contribute to society, but rather because male-dominated society deprived women of the opportunity to do so. Woolf uses a room as a metaphor throughout her text to represent opportunity, access to social and economic institutions and modes of production, and financial independence. The lack of material resources appropriated for women resulted in women's exclusion, erasure, and invisibility from public life and history. If a woman had a room of her own (or an on-campus dormitory) where she could can write, study, and create like her male counterparts, her possibilities would be limitless. The physical space of a ladies' dormitory at Wilberforce (and at Allen) physically positioned black women's bodies in education and challenged the gendered and racial assumptions of academic spaces, and the larger public sphere.

Brown and her contemporaries discussed here dedicated their lives to preparing black women for the reality of early twentieth-century life experiences. Anna Julia Cooper, Frances J. Coppin, Nannie Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune, reflecting the longevity of Brown's life and span of her interests, help put Brown's educational philosophy into a larger context. Brown knew these women as co-laborers in spiritual work, fellow academics, and through political associations. Each of these women had clear, distinct views about education and developed a model for black racial uplift that depended upon black female education. I argue for each woman these views emerged from a place of an internalized missionary zeal. Coppin wrote in her memoir "…it was in me to get an education and to teach my people. This idea was deep in my soul. Where it came from I cannot tell, for I had never had any exhortations, nor any lectures which influence me to take this course. It must have been born in me."[71] Historian Karen

[71] Coppin, *Reminiscences*, 17.

Johnson argues "they believed they had a special responsibility to their students and to their respective community, which they alone could fulfill. They often saw themselves as social and moral change agents." [72] They knew black women would face racism, sexism, poverty, and hardships. Brown, Cooper, Coppin, Burroughs, and Bethune not only wanted to prepare black women to face these struggles, but also to help black women overcome them. They constantly negotiated their education models to meet the needs of the material realties of African Americans. Stephanie Evans surmises that "though black women articulated various individual ideologies regarding the methods, goals, and outcomes of education, as a group they maintained an epistemological standpoint that assumed a connection between educational attainment and social responsibility. Their teaching, regardless of era, level, or venue, reflected perseverance, diversity of interest, community service, and social justice epistemology."[73]

This chapter analyzed Hallie Quinn Brown's philosophy of education and examined some of her experiences as an educator and administrator. I contend Brown viewed education as the best and most effective medium for spiritual development and black racial uplift. From her lecturers and writings, I constructed a model that demonstrates Brown's educational paradigm. She believed in Christian education and equal education access and opportunities for each gender. If enacted, Brown's approach produced a body of people armed with a skill set for trade or professional work. It equipped women with the science of domestic care. It enabled African Americans to be productive members and participants in a democratic society. Ensuring educational access across gender lines demonstrated the hallmark of a democracy—fair and equal access to resources. Brown's educational philosophy represents the theory and her work at

[72] Johnson, *Uplifting the Women and the Race*, 105.

[73] Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*, 178.

Allen and Wilberforce Universities the praxis of meeting the spiritual and physical needs of black America. The schools provided great opportunities for Brown to showcase her talent as an elocutor, skill as an administrator, and aptitude as an educator. But the AME leadership's refusal to appoint Brown as Secretary of Education along with the general restrictiveness towards women in leadership almost stifled Brown. Her fourth spiritual watershed symbolizes her biggest endeavor and largest mission—empowering black women. Guided by the Spirit, Brown turned her attention to black women's organizations to ensure black female education and contribute to black female empowerment.

CHAPTER 4

HALLIE QUINN BROWN, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF BLACK WOMANHOOD

The magnificence of the Columbian Exposition at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair marked the anniversary of Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of America. For many people, however, the Columbian Exposition and 1893 Chicago World's Fair signified much more. This international festival of food, culture, entertainment, and ideas would distinguish the United States from all other countries and allow the United States to position itself as a serious global superpower in the coming twentieth century. Early on, women and African Americans respectively understood the necessity of their substantive representation and participation in this signal event. Fair officials authorized the appointment of a Board of Lady Managers. This significant precedent marked the first time women participated in a World's Fair as organizers. Lady Managers collected and received woman-specific items for the Fair's Woman's Building to demonstrate female progress and to support their claims for complete equality with men. At the same time, African Americans—both women and men, struggled to receive appropriate representation. To their dismay, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and Expo ignored, marginalized, and objectified persons of color.[1]

[1] For a discussion of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and Columbian Exposition see, August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, "Negro Protest at the Chicago World's Fair, 1933-1934," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 59, no. 2 (1966): 161-171; Ann Massa, "Black Women in the 'White City'," *Journal of American Studies* 8, no. 3 (1974): 319-337; Anna R. Paddon and Sally Turner, "African Americans and the World's Columbian Exposition," *Illinois Historical Journal* 88, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 19-36; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 31-41.

The exclusion of African American officers and the proposed rudimentary display of black life raised concerns about the actual intentions of the Exposition organizers. At the onset of planning, several black men appealed to the Fair Director General George R. Davis to appoint a black person or establish a Department of Colored Exhibits. Davis refused to appoint anyone and "decided that no separate exhibit for the colored people be permitted."[2] At this point, the only way to obtain official black representation rested on black women, who could appeal to the Board of Lady Managers. Appointment of a black Lady Manager would not only ensure black women's representation, but also black men's as well. While white women participants displayed their progress independent of white men, black women's progress intimately involved black men and reflected the inextricable link of race work and gender work.

At least two local black women's groups petitioned the Board for inclusion in the planning process. The multiple requests "confused" Board of Lady Managers President Bertha H. Palmer, who thus concluded that black women "were divided into factions and it would be impolite to recognize either faction." Unsettled by this response and the lack of representation for black people, Hallie Quinn Brown wrote to each member of the Board of Lady Managers inquiring why, exactly, "no adequate opportunity is to be offered [colored people] for proper representation in the World's Fair." [3] She applied unsuccessfully for a position as "Solicitor of Exhibits Among the Colored People for the Columbian Exposition" and to the Board of Lady

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[2] For a discussion on the efforts of black men to secure positions at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and Columbian Exposition see, F. L. Barnett, "The Reason Why" in *The Reason Why The Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature*, ed. Ida B. Wells (1893).

[3] Barnett, "The Reason Why"; Hallie Quinn Brown to Mrs. John A. Logan (Mary Logan), April 8, 1892, *Logan Family Papers*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., hereafter *LFP*.; Hallie Quinn Brown to Isabella B. Hooker, February 1892, *LFP*.

Managers. Like many of the other black women applicants, Brown had plenty of experience and skill. Moreover, Brown felt particularly qualified to serve on the Board of Lady Managers and held endorsements "of unquestionable strength from all classes of American citizens."[4] She had gained recognition as an educator and elocutionist. She currently served as Lady Principal at Allen University in South Carolina. More importantly, Brown had already worked as a Lady Manager of the South Carolina Afro-American Department of the Southern Interstate Exposition in 1891.[5] Her credentials amply documented Brown's qualifications for appointment as a Lady Manager.

Brown's letter created a stir. Lady Managers asked Board President Palmer to address the Brown situation.[6] In an open response sent to black newspapers, Palmer's secretary Laura Hayes stated, "Mrs. Palmer was anxious to give Miss Brown a position in the Bureau of Publicity, but Miss Brown stated plainly that she did not wish to accept it. Miss Brown desired to travel over the state soliciting exhibits, and as no agent has been appointed to ask for exhibits from any other race it would be quite out of the question to make such a position for her."[7] The Board of Lady Managers called into question Brown's sincerity and left many wondering whether Brown cared about ensuring black representation at the Fair or seeking her own celebrity. The efforts to malign her character continued and came to a head when influential Lady Manager Mary S. Logan called Brown's inquiries "vindictive." Brown wrote to Logan "I cannot, in justice, allow

[4] Hallie Quinn Brown to Mrs. John A. Logan (Mary Logan), 8 April 1892, *LFP*.

[5] Hallie Quinn Brown to Isabella B. Hooker, February 1892, *LFP*.

[6] E. L. Thomson to Mrs. John A. Logan 25 April 1892, *LFP*.; Mary S. Logan "the formidable, reputedly liberal widow of Illinois' emancipating triumvir John A. Logan" and Lady Manager for Washington, D.C. Massa, "Black Women in White City," 320.

[7] *Indianapolis Freeman*, 14 May 1892.

the charge of vindictiveness [to] go unchallenged." In no uncertain terms, Brown illustrated the unreasonable nature of the Board of Lady Managers and their excuses. Lady Managers too eagerly took the opportunity to say that factions divided black women and it would be impolite to recognize either faction. "That two factions or local societies were opposing each other should not in all fairness have militated against the nine millions of colored people of this country," Brown wrote.[8] As to the position in the Department of Publicity and Promotion, Brown explained that the money Congress appropriated for this committee had already been spent. It left Brown with no budget and unable to do her job in an effective and representative way.[9] Additionally, many people considered the job an insult to Brown's experience. The editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman* wrote "We are not surprised that Miss Brown refused to accept a 'clerical' position at the hands of Mrs. President Palmer, nor do we think it a matter worthy the race's notice that a Negro however capable, was brought from Washington with the special duty assigned him of preparing matter to be sent to papers published by Afro-Americans."[10] Before closing her letter, Brown pointed to the racism of state committees, and more importantly, to the fact that black women had a right to be on the board, as women and American citizens. According to Brown, the Lady Managers and the officials of the entire Fair did not want to contend with the color line. The Board of Lady Managers responded to Brown's letters and inquiries with a single question: "What is the national organization that you represent?"

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[8] Brown to Logan, April 19 1892, *LFP*; Massa, "Black Women in the 'White City'", 332; Ida B. Wells exposed the United States and Fair officials' discrimination towards black Americans in "The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition." It contained sharp critiques from Frederick Douglass, I. Garland Penn, and Ferdinand Barnett, along with the letter Brown wrote to the Board of Lady Managers.

[9] Brown to Logan, 19 April 1892, *LFP*; Massa, "Black Women in the 'White City'", 332.

[10] *Indianapolis Freeman*, 14 May 1892.

Silenced by this question, in June 1892, Brown met with a group of black women in the process of organizing themselves in Washington D.C. Brown planned for the group—Colored Women's League (CWL) to declare themselves a national organization and then endorse her for position to the Board of Lady Managers as the representative for black women. Her plan failed. Neither Brown's nor the CWL's records explain why the CWL decided not to endorse Brown, but Brown did illustrate the importance of black women's local level organizing and the urgent need for a national representative organization of black women. The following year expanding the local club into a national organization became part of the CWL's agenda.[11]

Although Brown did not receive a position on the Board, she did receive an invitation to speak during the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women (ICW) held in the Woman's Building during the Fair. The plenary presentations of Fannie Barrier Williams, Anna Julia Cooper, Fannie Jackson Coppin, Sarah J. Early, and Hallie Quinn Brown considered within the entire context of the Fair demonstrated the rising development of black women's international activism, foreshadowing the platforms of the black women's club movement.[12] They used this opportunity to draw international attention to the hypocrisy of white American women and persuade women around the world of their interconnected struggles. Fannie Barrier Williams remarked "The highest ascendancy of woman's development has been reached when they have become mentally strong enough to find bonds of association interwoven with sympathy, loyalty, and mutual trustfulness. If it be a fact that this spirit of organizing among women generally is the distinguishing mark of the nineteenth century woman, dare we ask if the

[11] Massa, "Black Women in the 'White City'," 332; Wesley, *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs*, 25; Salem, *To Better Our World*, 17.

[12] For biographies of Williams, Cooper, Jackson, Coppin, and Early see, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols.(New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

colored women of the United States have made any progress in this respect?" [13] Each of the women's presentations pointed to the educational progress of black women despite access to resources and pointed to the "recuperative power" of black women despite the human degradation inflicted upon them. Brown explained that the American labor and economic progress of which Exposition organizers boasted did indeed exist but reflected the contributions of slave labor and contemporary labor policies exploiting black and Chinese American workers. Brown stated "[Negro women] enlarged his estates, heaped his coffers with shining gold, and filled his home with the splendors of the world." She concluded her remarks calling for interracial cooperation with white women. "God speed the day when the white American woman, strengthened by her wealth, her social position, and her years of superior training, may clasp hands with the less fortunate black woman of America."[14]Their plenary session offered a bold socio-political critique, highlighting the imperialism, paternalism, and white cultural supremacy informing American foreign policy. [15] As Brown and her colleagues blasted the deliberate abuse and commodification of black women's bodies in the Women's Building, the Pearl Milling Company introduced the world to Ms. Nancy Green and pancakes in the Food Building. Cast as "Aunt Jemima," Green's role personified the faithful Mammy stereotype and ushered in an era of commercializing the "Black Mammy."

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[13] "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation—An Address by Fannie Barrier Williams of Illinois" Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 701.

[14] "Discussion of the Same Subject by Hallie Quinn Brown of Alabama" in Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 724, 729

[15] Michelle Rief, "Banded close together": An Afrocentric Study of African American Women's International Activism, 1850-1940, and the International Council of Women of the Darker Races" (Ph.D. diss, Temple University, 2003), 67, 70, 76; May Wright Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women: A Historical Résumé for Popular Circulation of the World's Congress of Representative Women, convened in Chicago on May 15, and adjourned on May 22, 1893, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary,* vol.2 (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1894) 696-729., 706-7,712; Brown to Logan, April 8, 1892, *LFP*.

During the 1893 Fair and Expo two competing images of black women and models for black womanhood appeared. Brown and her panel members embodied formally educated, articulate, respectable, and professional women, who were mothers and wives. They represented the future and progress of African Americans. Wearing a gown made by the female students at Tuskegee Institute, Brown presented it as evidence of what skilled and educated labor and an equal chance could produce. The second image of black women, "Black Mammy," had no formal education, worked as a menial servant, and appeared to have no family of her own. This regressive image of black women relished black women "scarred and striped by the lash, her intellect dwarfed and sunken into piteous ignorance, without money, clothes, or home."[16] Brown found the image of "Black Mammy" problematic and added it to her growing list of disrespect encountered at the Fair, and to her longer list of affronts committed against black Americans, which included lynching, discriminatory voting practices, and Jim Crow laws.

Brown worked to combat the image of "Black Mammy" as representative of black womanhood by promoting women's education, but she believed black women also needed a forum to discuss all of the issues on her list and to foster closer relationships among women. Founded three years after the Chicago World's Fair and Columbian Expo in 1896, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) became the primary medium for black female activism, organizing, and leadership in the twentieth century. Black women's local and national clubs provided a space for black women to meet not only the needs of their communities and black America at large, but address those needs in a manner that reflected the evolving discourse of the turn of the twentieth century.

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[16] "Discussion of the Same Subject by Hallie Quinn Brown of Alabama" in Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women*, 724-729; Pamela E. Klassen, "The Robes of Womanhood: Dress and Authenticity among African American Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 14, no. 1 (2004).

Early studies of the NACW discuss the impetuses for founding a national organization, what clubwomen did as a national organization, and attempt to gauge the success of the NACW. Chana Kai Lee points out that "in 1896, the NACW became the first and only all black national organization. NACW founders were creating a much needed post-emancipation racial organization during dire times [that] reflected gender conventions and political ideology."[17] While determining the success of the NACW remains a complex task, Sharon D. Anderson identifies two distinct schools of thought that explain the NACW origins. The first contends that the NACW "formed out of protest against racism in many white organizations, segregation, lynchings and other forms of mob violence, the deterioration of interracial relations, and the proliferation of negative, stereotypical imagery of black women by white [people]." NACW scholarship underscores several major incidents to illustrate this point. These include the exclusion of black officers in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and questionable black American representation at the 1895 Atlanta Cotton States Exposition, an open letter attack on black women by Missouri Magazine editor James Jacks, the segregation and racism of white women's clubs, and the myriad problems confronting black Americans.[18]

Improving the condition and quality of life for black women was the NACW's primary concern. Relying on black men to support and protect black women proved unsuccessful. The extent of physical violence leveled at black men demonstrates the struggle for black men to protect themselves, let alone anyone else.[19] Whether a real or perceived failure on the part of

[17] Email conversation with Chana Kai Lee, 21 April 2013.

[18] Sharon D. Anderson, "To Be a Women Sublime:" The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1900-1935." (M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1994), 4.

[19] For more on this subject, see Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

black men, members of the NACW appointed themselves as the redeemers of their womanhood and assumed responsibility to "uplift the 'lowly and fallen' of the race." Clubwomen sincerely believed in the potential of their agenda for altering the quality of life for black Americans. The NACW organized a formal platform that advocated moral superiority, education, respectability, social purity, and home care to negate white beliefs of black inferiority and immorality, and then amplify claims of black political enfranchisement and social equality. [20]

The lives, work, and activism of black clubwomen became their best argument to execute an agenda for race uplift. Clubwomen strove to live lives of temperance and moral superiority manifested in respectability. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham explains "the politics of respectability emphasized reform of individual behavior and attitudes both as a goal in itself and as a strategy for reform of the entire structural system of American race relations. Through the discourse of respectability, women emphasized manners and morals while simultaneously asserting traditional forms of protest, such as petitions, boycotts, and verbal appeals to justice." As a method in the NACW, respectability gave black women a framework to address the issues disproportionately affecting black women and men, such as sexual exploitation of black domestic workers in white homes, the convict lease system, prison conditions for female prisoners, lack of public works and services in black neighborhoods, violence, and unemployment. For black women adherents, respectability "signified the search for common ground on which to live as Americans with Americans."[21] Even prior to the establishment of a national organization, black women raised serious questions about their own relationship to one another, black men, white Americans and the world. Furthermore, black female respectability

[20] Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*. (Brooklyn: Carlson Pub, 1990), 25, 30, 31.

[21] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 187, 188.

implicated white women as co-contributors to these problems because of their continued silence on these and other issues.[22] In some cases, as Higginbotham explains "adherence to respectability enabled black women to counter racist images and structures, their discursive contestation was not directed solely at white Americans; [they] condemned what they perceived to be negative practices and attitudes among their own people. Their assimilationist leanings led to their insistence upon blacks' conformity to the dominant society's norms of manners and morals."[23] Critics of the NACW charge clubwomen and their agenda with elitism and estrangement from the experiences of the majority of black Americans. For example, in *Black Ohio and the Color Line 1860-1915*, David Gerber asserts that "club women generally were not employed, so they had time to do voluntary social welfare work…suggestive of the distance from those outside their rank was the presentation at their meetings of papers like Hallie Quinn Brown's 'What to do with the Children While Mother Is at the Club.'"[24] As scholarly research on club work continues to develop, it exposes clubwomen's inner lives. While clubwomen volunteered their time to participate in social welfare work, many clubwomen such as Brown, worked outside of the home using their salary to finance their social welfare work.[25] Clubwomen's aristocratic attitudes—such as Brown's presentation at an Ohio club meeting or clubwomen's protest at the humiliation of black women forced to ride in the Jim Crow car with

[22] Jacqueline A. Rouse, "The Legacy of Community Organizing: Lugenia Burns Hope and the Neighborhood Union," *The Journal of Negro History* 69, no. 3 (1984): 129-130; Jacqueline Anne Rouse, "Out of the Shadow of Tuskegee: Margaret Murray Washington, Social Activism, and Race Vindication," *The Journal of Negro History* 81, no. 1 (1996): 37.

[23] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 187.

[24] David Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860-1915* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana: IL, 1976), 442.

[25] Most of Brown's contemporaries worked as professional educators or journalists, for example see Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, Margaret Murray Washington, Nannie Burroughs, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown.

gamblers and prostitutes while the masses of black people could not afford a ticket—persist in the literature. At times clubwomen's goals appeared not to reflect the immediate needs of the majority of black Americans. Jacqueline Rouse illustrates that over time clubwomen's goals evolved and began to reflect the vast spectrum of injustices, such as both the humiliation of Jim Crow travel accommodations as well as economic deprivation.[26] Furthermore, clubwomen knew that while most black Americans experienced economic deprivation, some did not. Clubwomen fought for the "less fortunate" and to better their own lives simultaneously. Moreover, we must examine claims of NACW elitism in context. For instance, Brown's presentation "What to do with the Children While Mother Is at the Club" during the 1903 Ohio statewide club meeting reflected the reality that clubwomen organizing a mass movement among black women needed to work out the logistics of childcare.

The second school of thought explaining the origins of the NACW Anderson identifies emphasizes the emotional and mental health of black women. Anderson states the NACW formation "was simply a recognition of the need for black women to come together for 'encouragement and inspiration'."[27] Hallie Quinn Brown viewed the NACW for this purpose. Brown's career as a professional elocutionist enabled her to travel and meet black women across the country. In addition to the material effects of racism and sexism, Brown witnessed the irreparable harm they caused to the psyche of black women. Brown believed that black women needed a conference of women both locally and nationally to foster "closer relationships between women" and "the contact of sisterly affections."[28] These women needed and actively sought the

[26] Rouse, "Out of Shadow," 34.

[27] Anderson, "To Be a Women Sublime," 5.

[28] Charles H. Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1984), 31; *National Notes*, April 1926, *Records of the*

camaraderie of women like themselves. To be sure, in-fighting, regional loyalties, political differences, church and lodge distinctions, and personality conflicts often divided the women, but historians generally contend that the common interest of black racial uplift brought women together as a group that superseded these differences. Deborah Gray White holds "race and gender united them as often as class, religion, sexuality, and ideology pitted them against one another. [Black women's association history] is about women with missions that varied and often clashed, about women who aimed for progress and unity, but who sometimes fell short, about women who sometimes found the job of representing and fighting themselves burdensome."[29]

Scholars also examine the NACW's involvement in other black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and National Urban League (NUL) and the growing disillusionment of NACW members leading to the development of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races (ICWDR) and the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). Other scholars such as Gerda Lerner, Jacqueline A. Rouse, and the most recent work of Sheena Yaa Harris and Allison Parker detail the extensive work of clubwomen on a local level. [30]

National Association of Colored Women Clubs, 1895-1992, Part 1: Minutes of National Conventions, Publications, and President's Office Correspondence, ed. Lillian Serece Williams and Randolph Boehm (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), microfilm copy available on Reel 24: 85, hereafter cited as *NACW Records*.

[29] Salem, *To Better Our World*, 25; Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 16-17.

[30] For a discussion of black women's local and national leadership and club work see, Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1984); Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (reprint New York: Prentice Hall International, 1996); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998); Gerda Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," *The Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 2 (1974): 158-167; Beverly W. Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1901," *The Journal of Negro History* 67, no. 1 (1982): 20-33; Jacqueline A. Rouse, "The Legacy of Community Organizing: Lugenia Burns Hope and the Neighborhood Union," *The Journal of Negro History* 69, no. 3 (1984): 114-133; Jacqueline

Brown became a key figure in both the local and national club movement. Like several of her contemporaries such as Mary Church Terrell and Margaret Murray Washington, Brown was quite active in her local and state club activities. She founded several local clubs such as the Neighborhood Club in Xenia, Ohio, and helped established clubs in Wilberforce, as well. Brown held reading groups to study the literary work of African American authors, set up a club home (headquarters), a girls home, and established a state educational fund. Brown served as state President of the Ohio Association of Colored Women's Clubs (OACWC) from 1905-1912. Her state club work, along with her national and international presence as a noted elocutionist, made her well known among her fellow clubwomen. In her honor, at least four clubs in Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and New Jersey named themselves "The Hallie Q. Brown Club." Clubwomen even acknowledged that "through her efforts, the National Association of Colored Women was organized."[31]

The NACW held biennial conventions to discuss areas of concern, initiatives, and progress of clubwomen across the country. Brown first appeared at an NACW convention in 1904 and became a regular participant at biennial conventions. Most, if not all public institutions formally or informally barred women—black and white. Black women's clubs, local and

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Anne Rouse, "Out of the Shadow of Tuskegee: Margaret Murray Washington, Social Activism, and Race Vindication," *The Journal of Negro History* 81, no. 1 (1996): 31-46.; Charles H. Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1984); Tullia Kay Brown Hamilton, "The National Association of Colored Women, 1896-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1978); Maude Thomas Jenkins, "The History of the Black Woman's Club Movement in America" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1984); Floris Loretta Barnett Cash, "Womanhood and Protest: The Club Movement among Black Women, 1892-1922" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1986); Sharon D. Anderson, "To Be a Women Sublime:" The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1900-1935." M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1994). Also--Allison Parker's new book and title of Sheena Yaa Harris's dissertation.

[31] NACW 1924 Convention Proceedings, *NACW Records*, Reel 1:721-722; *National Notes*, July 1924, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:903; Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs*, 31.

national, provided a space for their social development and political involvement. Historian Gerda Lerner maintains that unifying as a single national body helped club women operate "on a more business-like basis" while fostering dignity and a sense of direction for groups of local women. Most importantly, formal club organizing of the NACW provided channels for women's training and leadership.[32] In an administrative capacity, Brown held several offices: Superintendent of the Department of Professional Women's Club and Department of Suffrage, member of Resolutions Committee and Finance Committee, Editor in Chief of *National Notes*, Chair of the Executive Board, Vice President at large, and Founder and chair of the Scholarship Loan Fund. Anne Firor Scott states "Men who wished to assert themselves and to rise in the world had a wide choice of ways to do so: business, industry, government, medicine, the bench, the bar, the higher levels of the church, the university—all were possible fields of endeavor."[33] Racism often curtailed black men's involvement in such public institutions, except the church. In the black church, black male dominance reigned. As discussed in Chapter 3, the AME church did not allow women to serve as church leaders and occupy a position that resulted in authority over men. Brown and other clubwomen used the female space of the convention proceedings to circumvent these rules, not offend religious authority, and at the same time practice their spirituality by leading prayer. Sometimes Brown was on program to lead the convention in a hymn or song. As much as clubwomen appreciated Brown's spiritual and administrative leadership, they delighted in her performances. At times part of the official schedule, but usually not, Brown received and obliged requests for her to perform, during which she held the audiences captive. For instance, at the 1904 convention, Brown performed several selections

[32] Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," 162.

[33] Scott, "On Seeing and Not Seeing," 11.

from poet and author Paul Laurence Dunbar and received prolonged applause. Then again in 1908 Brown responded to several encores.[34]

As one of the few times where women engaged in large scale voting and elections ,the biennial presidential election always attracted the attention of NACW members. A reporter for *The Baltimore Afro-American* commended the women on their election process. "…it was a quiet affair compared with elections in the Daughters of the American Revolution, and one or two other bodies of white women, but it was interesting enough to those of the masculine sex sitting in the galleries."[35] Presidential elections in the NACW evolved into year long, cross-country campaigns, developing elaborate and strategic interstate alliances, and even packing the membership with state delegates. At the 1916 convention, Nannie Burroughs "made one of her characteristically forceful speeches in nominating" Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, New York for NACW president followed by [Lethia] Flemings, and Julia Snowden Porter's nomination for Hallie Q. Brown. [36] The NACW constitution required that a candidate receive two-thirds majority before declaring a final decision. After two rounds of voting, Brown withdrew her candidacy and Talbert received a unanimous vote.[37] Following this unsuccessful run for NACW presidency, Ohio clubwomen began making plans for Brown to ensure her national presidency. At the 1920 convention, presidential candidates included Nettie Napier, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Brown. Unlike the comments from the Baltimore reporter, *New York Age* columnist Lester A. Walton observed "the maneuvering for strategic positions by the candidates prior to balloting

[34] "N.A.C.W. Convention in St. Louis," *National Notes*, October 1904, " *NACW Records*, Reel 23:444; NACW 1908 Convention Proceedings, *NACW Records,* Reel 1:340.

[35] "Four Hundred Delegates Attend National Asso. Of Colored Women," *The Baltimore Afro American*, 12 August 1916.
[36] Ibid.

[37] NACW 1916 Convention Proceedings, *NACW Records,* Reel 1: 468.

reminded one of the strategy used at political conventions. As a matter of fact, the recent conventions at Chicago and San Francisco where the Republican and Democrat nominees for President were chosen had nothing on the Tuskegee gathering." Napier declined the nomination and after some time Bethune "finally convinced her supporters that she was not an active candidate." [38] Ohio Club History proudly reports in 1920 "a large delegation headed by our President [Miss C. Hughes], and Vice President, Mrs. J. Estelle Barnett, went to Tuskegee and successfully elected Miss Hallie Q. Brown as National President."[39] From 1920-1924 Brown presided over the leading national black women's organization of the era. Brown's presidential terms coincided with a period of enormous possibility for women and African Americans. *New York Age* columnist Lester A. Walton noted the intensity of clubwomen at the convention. "Unusual interest centered in the election of officers, especially that of president, as it was fully realized that at this time when white and colored women are making a sincere effort to further racial amity and when other important issues are commanding their attention that a strong executive heard be chosen to put over effectively the constructive program under consideration."[40]

Indeed the 1920s represented a new era. By 1920 most states had ratified the 19th amendment to the United States Constitution that enfranchised women and expanded women's political power. The flapper and burgeoning sexual movement among women, so often ascribed to women during the era, did not interest Brown and most of her contemporaries. Brown viewed

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[38] Lester A. Walton, "Women's National Association Holds Meeting at Tuskegee," *New York Age*, 24 July 1920.

[39] "History of the Ohio National Association of Colored Women's Clubs," *NACW Records*, Reel 22: 121-125.

[40] Lester A. Walton, "Women's National Association Holds Meeting at Tuskegee," New York Age, 24 July 1920.

"the bobbed hair, abbreviated skirts and rolled hose" of the 1920s flappers as nothing more than a passing fad that dishonored black women.[41] Sexual 'freedom' did not indicate women's progress and equality. It hijacked the discussion of women's needs and belittled women's claims of sexual exploitation. Instead, women's organizations like the NACW stressed political strategies celebrating women's redeeming features—current or potential motherhood and inherent morality—to usher in social reforms and legislation. The possibilities for women's educational attainment increased during this era as well.[42] Although pervaded with problems, industrial growth created new types of job opportunities for African Americans, who approached the era hopeful for a better future as well. Many black southerners migrated to northern cities in search of new employment. African American men's service in the armed forces and the sacrifice of black women on the home front during "The Great War" or World War I demonstrated African American patriotism, but came short of any longstanding legal changes. At the same time, African Americans of the 1920s increasingly turned away from a liberal reform method to a more revolutionary approach in the struggle for civil rights. A prolific movement among black intellectuals, poets, artists, and musicians celebrated black aesthetics and analyzed the complexity of black life in America. In this context, Brown developed a presidential agenda that considered the emergent gender consciousness among women triggered by their access to co-education and suffrage alongside ideologies of race progress.

During her presidency, Brown reinvigorated the NACW's educational mission and inaugurated a $50,000 Educational Campaign later known as The Hallie Q. Brown Scholarship

[41] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Negro Womanhood's Greatest Needs: A Symposium," *The Messenger*, June 1927.

[42] For a discussion on black women's educational attainment see Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007).

Loan Fund.[43] Black women's social and political vulnerability made black female educational access an urgent need for black women's organizations to address. Brown made her commitment to education clear to fellow clubwomen. "There is nothing save religion and worship of God that more nearly concerns us, as a people, than education," she wrote. Brown believed education most logically addressed the concerns facing African Americans and women, and as discussed in Chapter 3, she articulated a specific philosophy of education that centered on themes of Christian/moral education and equal educational opportunities for women and men. Brown outlined a nine-point plan to the NACW assured that "our earnest, staunch women will support this cause for the sake of themselves and their daughters, the future womanhood of the race."[44] She pled earnestly with her co-laborers to lay funds on the "alt[e]ar [*sic*.] of education" and transformed the educational campaign into a crusade of winning the fight for educational opportunities.[45]

Brown's presidential agenda and plan for black racial uplift pivoted around improving education for African Americans. She used two lines of reasoning to promote her educational crusade among clubwomen. Brown demonstrated to clubwomen that education prepared women for their missions and purposes in life namely, motherhood and wifedom, but also the gendered specificity of race uplift. Women learned effective home management, child rearing, and healthy meal preparation. Education equipped black women with the skills they needed to confront immigration, industrialization, urbanization, and capitalist expansion. Moreover, access to

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[43] NACW 1928 Convention Proceedings, *NACW Records*, Reel 1:830-831.

[44] Hallie Q. Brown, "Hallie Q. Brown Inaugurates $50,000 Educational Campaign by N.A.C.W.," *National Notes*, January 1923, *NACW Records*, Reel 23: 859.

[45] Hallie Q. Brown, "Our Woman's Crusade," *National Notes*, January 1925, *NACW Records*, Reel 23: 929.

education provided black women with the opportunity for women to decrease or perhaps even eliminate their dependency upon men and/or white women. Brown's other educational appeal employed liberal political thought. She used the entitlements and privileges implied by the United States Constitution to stimulate support for the Scholarship Loan Fund. She confidently maintained, "The histories of ancient republics demonstrate that without universal, Christian education there cannot exist true liberty."[46] If the U.S. Constitution granted liberty and the means to maintain liberty, then education and access to education led to and maintained freedom. The act of participating in education and preventing ignorance, as a teacher or as a student, exercised citizenship. In other words, education was the practice of African American freedom. In a letter to her clubwomen co-workers, Brown quoted 18th century political philosopher Edmund Burke stating, "[T]he price of liberty is vigilance."[47] It seemed Brown internalized that thought and worked tirelessly traveling the country and abroad to secure funds for worthy individuals who desired to attend college, even devoting half of all proceeds from her book *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* to the scholarship fund.

Brown claimed only education could combat the stronghold of ignorance that produced tyranny and a "spirit of lawlessness."[48] Similar to Brown's understanding of the Holy Spirit discussed in Chapter 1, education and knowledge revealed timeless qualities of truth and justice.

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[46] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Scholarship Fund," *National Notes*, March 1929, *NACW Records*, Reel 24: 417.

[47] Ibid. For example of tour dates: December 1923 and March 1924 in California, May 1926 in South Carolina.

[48] Hallie Quinn Brown, "Scholarship Fund," *National Notes*, March 1929, *NACW Records*, Reel 24: 415-7.

"[As] all material objection according to nature's laws, must decay, and pass away," she proclaimed education and access to education for black women built an "enduring monument."[49]

While Brown endeavored to build a symbolic educational monument, she simultaneously worked to tear down another. In 1904, the *Confederate Veteran* published a plea from a North Carolina resident that suggested dedicating a monument to "faithful slaves." Subscribers to this neo-Confederate periodical offered pleasant memories of the "Old South" and those slaves who remained loyal to their owners during the Civil War. According to their biased accounts, these "faithful slaves" understood that enslavement brought order, protection, comfort, and civility. They argued that without the influence of a master (read white American) enslaved persons (read African Americans) resorted to savagery and wreaked havoc on the entire country. By 1923, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) secured Senate approval of a bill that granted a place in Washington, D.C. to erect a memorial not only to "faithful slaves," but to one of the most salient stereotypes of female slaves—"Black Mammy." [50]

The "Black Mammy" that the UDC desired to memorialize existed both as a real person and as a created figure of white Southern imagination. Deborah Gray White profiled this script in *Arn't I a Woman?: Black Female Slaves in the Plantation South.* Enslaved black women who served as domestic workers and primary caretaker of white, as well as black children during slavery received the name "Mammy." White southerners in particular perceived them as enjoying this condition of servitude, deferent and loyal. Post-slavery many black women continued as domestic workers and caretakers of white children, but sought to define these

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[49] Hallie Q. Brown, "Scholarship Fund," *National Notes*, February 1926, *NACW Records*, Reel 24:45.

[50] Micki McElya, *Clinging to Mammy: The Faithful Slave in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Joan Marie Johnson, "Ye Gave Them a Stone: African American Women's Clubs, the Frederick Douglass Home, and the Black Mammy Monument" *Journal of Women's History* 17, no.1 (Spring 2005): 62-86.

conditions on their own terms causing many white Southerners to long for "Black Mammy."[51] Historian Catherine Clinton argues this specific image of "The [black] mammy was created by white Southerners to redeem the relationship between black women and white women within slave society in response to the antislavery attack from the North during the antebellum era, and to embellish it with nostalgia in the postbellum period."[52] The post-slavery memory of "Black Mammy" projected myth, sentiment, labor, and white supremacy upon black women's bodies.

Choosing "Black Mammy" to immortalize also served to further the UDC's educational agenda. The UDC's mission included offering a "comprehensive educational and historical program. Monuments," the UDC believed, "would speak more quickly, impressively, and lastingly to the eye than the written or printed word—attract more attention."[53] Kathleen A. Clark in her study of memory and commemorative culture argues individuals and communities used commemorative culture to "establish and reinforce collective understandings of history." Furthermore, "commemorative celebrations persisted as sites for articulating an alternative history of the past and road map for the future." These spaces became "critical forums for constructing collective African American identities for both black and white audiences."[54] The "Black Mammy Monument" would do all of the above. It constructed and outlined black

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[51] Deborah Gray White, *Arn't I a Woman: Black Female Slaves in the Plantation South, Revised Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton: 1999); see also Micki McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*; Tera Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women 's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).; Cheryl Thurber, "The Development of the Mammy Image and Mythology" in *Southern Women: Histories and Identities*, eds. Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Purdue (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 87-108.

[52] Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 201-202.

[53] Mary B. Poppenheim, et.al, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie Incorporated, 1938), 49.

[54] Kathleen Ann Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration & Political Culture in the South, 1863-1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 2-3, 8-9, 195.

deference and white supremacy, and countered the nation's reconciliation narrative with a narrative of Southern redemption.[55]

The historical record proves inconclusive about whether Brown actually encountered this caricature of "Black Mammy" thirty years before while delivering a speech for the ICW during the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. However, ample evidence documents her 1923 response to the "Black Mammy" issue. As President of the leading organization of black women, Brown denounced the erection of such a monument. Members of the UDC wrongly assumed black women's outrage emerged from embarrassment about their past experience of enslavement. They clarified that the "Black Mammy Monument" represented a positive expression of deep appreciation for *their* Mammies and her services especially during the war. Brown did not consider it celebratory but rather a complete sham. In a letter to the press denouncing the erection of a "Black Mammy Statue," Brown acknowledged women who had to nurse white children and work as domestic laborers. Brown countered the claims of Mammy's faithful disposition by referring to "years of tortured mind and body—through generations of oppression and suppression," "through subjection, fear of the block and the lash," and through "the heartaches, the groans in the night time for her own lost babe!". Mammy remained the unfortunate "faithful victim of the white man's caprice and lust." Black women respected Mammy for maintaining moral superiority far above her oppressors, especially white women of the South who knowingly participated in black female exploitation. All of this occurred, Brown noted, while Mammy grinned and fought for the freedom of her children. Brown claimed that the erection of such a statue in the name of tribute, appreciation, and honor would cause Mammy to "break her death slumber and cry, 'I asked for a fish you gave me a serpent; I asked for bread

[55] For discussions of Southern Redemption see, Nicholas Lemann, *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).

and you gave me a stone!'." The chivalrous white South and the UDC refused black women any honor then and continued to humiliate black women.[56] Now the proposed monument of perhaps granite, literally gave black women—Mammy—a stone.

Brown resented the construction of "Black Mammy" and white southerners' selective amnesia. Brown found equally disturbing the political implications of a monument that perpetuated a false alliance between black and white women. The statue emphasized white benevolence, dependency, and narrowly confined black women's labor potential to domesticity. Micki McElya observed

> In commemorating mammy, the UDC retained the maternal, feminine construction of domesticity through which "progressive" women's organizations had long articulated a gendered notion of political power in the United States while at the same time distancing white womanhood from private labor and the responsibilities of daily household upkeep. The UDC's construction of loving, servile blackness "emancipated" feminine whiteness from the domestic impediments to public activity. [The UDC] campaigned to recast the gendered dichotomy of public and private space—with public life traditionally reserved for men, and women confined to the domestic sphere—into a bifurcated, racial division. For them, black people's labors could enable a new white public, composed of both men and women unified though racial homogeneity.[57]

Feminist theorist Marilyn Frye states that gestures of this type serve as oppression indicators. The "Black Mammy Monument" pretended to be a helpful service, but had no practical meaning for black Americans and actually demonstrated the extreme detachment the UDC and its supporters had from the concrete realities of African American life. Furthermore, the UDC's insistence upon fundraising, politicking, and building a monument illuminated white

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[56] Hallie Q. Brown, "The Black Mammy Statue," *National Notes*, April 1923, *NACW Records*, Reel 23: 862-863.

[57] Micki McElya, "Commemorating the Color Line: The National Mammy Monument Controversy of the 1920s" in Cynthia Millis and Pamela H. Simpson, eds. *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of the South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 211.

superiority over African Americans' needs.[58] Brown stated it plainly: "If the Daughters of the Confederacy are actuated by any deep reverence and gratitude for the former slave…If they wish to salve their conscience and make amends for the wrongs heaped upon the black mammy let them begin to change conditions in this fair Southland." In her letter to the American press, Brown detailed a short list of meaningful contributions for the UDC including a living wage, decent accommodations for travelers, and schools. African Americans did not need a "Black Mammy Monument"; they needed food and acceptable housing, justice in the courthouse, a repeal of Black Codes and Jim Crow laws, an end to lynching, and an end to defrauding black tenant farmers. African Americans needed economic empowerment. Brown concluded that African Americans needed the entitlements of citizenship and humanity, not a "dumb statue to the black mammy."[59]

Brown's choice of words invites further investigation. Brown studied and taught elocution—a paradigm of deliberate and forensic speech. In the nineteenth century, elocution functioned as a form of entertainment. Brown, however, merged recitation, lecture, song, and poetry in a manner that not only entertained but also preserved African American cultural art forms. She articulated a "morally upright, principled, transformative speech" and illuminated class and labor struggles, social uplift, and basic public political participation.[60] Brown obtained international fame for speaking and praise as "one of the finest female elocutionist in the

[58] Marilyn Frye, *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1983), 5, 6.

[59] Brown, "The Black Mammy Statue."

[60] Ronald L. Jackson and Sonja M. Brown Givens, *Black Pioneers in Communication Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 7, 73, 77.

world."[61] Through public speaking Brown raised funds for various causes, financed much of her Scholarship Loan program, and subsidized the publication of *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*.[62] For Brown elocution meant much more than talking; she wanted to teach African Americans and women how to speak to the nation and empower them to demand and produce change. The very act and audacity of speaking became an exercise in citizenship and practice of freedom. In calling it a "dumb statue" Brown stated the obvious because statues do not speak. However, if the statue could speak, what would she say? "Black Mammy" would say nothing because the monument was of a woman who could not speak—an enslaved woman. The thought of a statue immortalizing silenced black women exacerbated the insult.

While Brown enlightened the UDC on how to show gratitude and be helpful, other clubwomen began protests as well. For example, the Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A. presented a signed resolution to Vice President Calvin Coolidge that denounced the erection of the monument. *Time* magazine referred to the women as "dignified and quiet" as if to project the historic imagination of a passive, conciliatory, non-threatening "Black Mammy" onto these women.[63] Former NACW President Mary Church Terrell penned an open letter to the American press that received wider circulation and acclaim than Brown's letter. Both correspondences expressed outrage over the proposed monument, but Terrell offered a damning warning: "If the black mammy statue is ever erected—which, dear Lord, forbid—there are thousands of colored men and women who will fervently pray that on some stormy night the lighting will strike it and

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[61] "Sketch of the Life of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown," *AME Church Review* 6, no. 3 (January 1890); *The Cleveland Gazette*, 7 February 1891 and *The Christian Recorder*, 20 March 1890 and 23 October 23 1890 heralded Brown "Queen of Elocutionists."

[62] Hallie Q. Brown ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: Aldine Publishing Company, 1926).

[63] *Time Magazine*, 3 March 1923.

the heavenly elements will send it crashing to the ground."[64] Black newspaper editorials across the country issued similar warnings about the consequences of such a statue. One warned, "Let the Daughters of the Confederacy erect a monument to the 'Black Mammies of the South' in defiance of our wishes and we will put a bomb under it."[65] These periodicals too evoked a historic imagination of Mammy—the defiant Mammy who killed her owner.[66]

Brown's disgust towards a "Black Mammy Monument" illustrates a theme of her presidency: black women's objectification. The objectification of black women by the UDC, white women, and men, separated black women's spirit from their body. It denied black women their humanity. Scholar Jean Kilbourne noted, "Turning a human being into a thing is almost always the first step towards justifying violence against a person."[67] Objectification, dehumanization, and violence, followed by a celebration of the latter settled into an all too familiar refrain for black women. Brown maintained heightened sensitivity to these facts and joined other clubwomen in anti-lynching activism.

The lynching epidemic had been a longstanding concern for black women's clubs across the nation. Prior to the establishment of the NACW, local New York clubs held a joint banquet to honor anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells and raise money to turn her *New York Age* lynching

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[64] Mary Church Terrell, "The Black Mammy Monument," *The Evening Star (Washington D.C.)*, 10 February 1923, 6.

[65] McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*, 159.

[66] For discussions of defiant "Mammy" see, Adeline Reis, "Mammy: A Story," *Crisis*, January 1917, 117-118 and Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy: A Century of Race, Gender, and Southern Memory (*Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2008), 110-112.

[67] Jean Kilbourne, *Killing Us Softly 4*, DVD, Directed by Sut Jhally (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 2010); For discussion on objectification and subject violence see Nadia Urbinati and Alex Zakars, eds., *J.S. Mill's Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 51.

editorials into a pamphlet entitled *Southern Horrors* in October 1892. Wells' aggressive anti-lynching campaign exposed the hypocrisy and indifference of white moral reform and church leaders and garnered an outpouring of sympathy and concern in Europe.[68] After the NACW's founding, resolutions against lynching and mob violence became part of the organization's platform, and NACW presidents became some of the nation's staunchest advocates against the violence.[69] Despite the plethora of information provided about the injustice, lynching victims remained figures of the American landscape.

Former NACW president Mary B. Talbert (1916-1920) spearheaded the Anti-Lynching Crusaders (ALC) as an auxiliary the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Although separate organizations—the ALC, NAACP, and NACW—clubwomen held memberships in all three organizations and reported their work in the NACW newspaper. Tiffany Player states "The ALC's primary strategies included mobilizing existing

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[68] In particular *Southern Horrors*, and Wells' second pamphlet *The Red Record* (1895) garnered support from Florence Balgarnie, temperance leader in England and secretary of the London Anti-Lynching Committee. Balgarnie openly expressed her disappointment in American policy for allowing and ignoring this tragedy and became a huge benefactor in support of Wells, anti-lynching activism, and black Americans. In a "public letter to educate" Balgarnie as to the deception of black Americans, Southern magazine editor and president of the Missouri Press Association John Jacks sought to demonize American anti-lynching lecturers touring England namely Wells. Not only did black people lack morality but also black women, he alleged, "were prostitutes, natural liars, and thieves."[68] Jacks' letter fit into the usual demeaning statements about black people common at the turn of the twentieth century. Black women refuted such ascriptions to black women as innately hypersexual, immoral, and degenerate. However, Jacks' letter occurred at a specific historic moment marked by black women's heightened social consciousness combined with access to physical resources (albeit meager) to respond with outrage and demand restoration to their reputation. Jacks' letter compounded the disrespect from the Colombian Exposition, dismissal of black women's concerns by white women, and negative issues affecting black people regarding labor and education. Boston clubwoman Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin called a meeting of representative black women from across the country to discuss these issues. At the conclusion of this meeting, with Margaret Murray Washington as President, participants voted to establish and call themselves the National Federation of Afro-American Women. See, Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," 161.

[69] For examples of clubwomen's anti-lynching work see Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "African-American Women in the Anti-Lynching Crusade," in *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era*, eds. Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 199).

black support, galvanizing white women to the anti-lynching cause, and drawing America's attention to the immorality of lynching and mob violence."[70] Talbert began an intense campaign from July to December 1922 to enlist one million women as anti-lynching supporters. NACW President Brown supported these efforts. She joined the ALC and encouraged NACW members to do the same.

Between 1889-1922, over 3400 lynchings occurred. Historian Crystal Feimster posits that "black women's personal experiences either as the relative or friend of a lynching victim, as a sexually assaulted woman, or as a sympathetic bystander, created a collective vulnerability to the capriciousness of lynch law."[71] In her unpublished autobiography, Brown shared one of her many personal experiences with lynch law. After graduating from Wilberforce University in 1873, Brown secured a teaching assignment on the Sonora Plantation ten miles outside of Yazoo City, Mississippi. While Brown went home to Ohio for summer break in 1874, several of her friends were lynched in Mississippi. The progress and appointment of several black men to political office proved to be too much of an adjustment for white Mississippi residents. "The Rebels" intended to "return order" to Mississippi and the South through the harassment, stalking, and lynching of black Mississippians. A "return to order" meant a return to the inferior economic, educational, and political status for black Mississippi residents. At the news of the lynching of several of her friends and community leaders, Brown's parents pleaded with her not

[70] Tiffany Player, "The Anti-Lynching Crusaders: A Study of Black Women's Activism" (M.A. Thesis, University of Georgia, 2008), 10. In addition to Ida B. Wells-Barnett's studies, for a discussion of lynching see, Phillip Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (New York: Random House, 2002); Stewart Tolnay and E.M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

[71] Player, "The Anti-Lynching Crusaders," 7,8; Crystal Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

to return to Mississippi for fear she may become a target. [72] Similarly, Ida B. Wells-Barnett recalled the lynching of three of her friends in *Southern Horrors* and that numerous and intense death threats forced her to leave her home in Memphis, TN. The lynching of the Turner family in 1918 exposed the individual and collective vulnerability and defenselessness of black women. In 1918 a lynch mob murdered the husband of Mary Turner. Once the vigilantes received word that she intended to press charges against them, they lynched the 8-month pregnant widow, sliced open her abdomen, and pummeled the unborn child.[73] The Turner atrocity illustrated not only women's tangential relationship to lynching, but that mobs lynched women as well. Using the editorials and pamphlets of Ida B. Wells, the Anti-Lynching Crusaders refuted charges that lynching occurred in response to black men raping white women and relied on the silenced bodies of women to press the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill making lynching a federal offense.[74]

When Brown became NACW president after Talbert, she continued the gender specific focus of anti-lynching activism and situated lynchings within the rise of memorialization and monument culture. The same concerns that buttressed her "Black Mammy Monument" protest motivated Brown's involvement in anti-lynching activism. Just like the "dumb statue to the Black Mammy," a lynching turned a person into a lifeless, mute spectacle. The ritualized

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[72] Brown, *As the Mantle Falls,* 46-48. Brown's autobiography describes several of the riots and mass killings of black Mississippians beginning in 1874 through 1876. Most studies focus on the riot that took place in the fall of 1875, a year after Brown left Mississippi. However, her account reveals the multiple and reoccurring violence directed towards black officials and white liberals during the Reconstruction Era. For a detailed discussion on the Reconstruction era violence in Mississippi, see George Rable, *But there was no Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 154-159 and Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 12-14.

[73] The Anti-lynching Crusaders pamphlet, "Shame of America" and "Lynching of Women in the United States." Available: *www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/learning.../lynching/anti_lynching1.cfm*

[74] The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, named after Congressman Leonidas Dyer (R-MO), made lynching a federal crime and held local, state, and governmental officials responsible. The Dyer Bill passed the House of Representatives in January 1922, but failed in the Senate.

pageantry of the murder represented lies, deceit, and greed and vigilante mob justice made a mockery of true American justice guaranteed to its citizens. It destroyed families and stole the opportunity from black women to be wives and mothers.

At the NACW's 1922 convention, clubwomen sent a 14-member delegation including Brown and Ida B. Wells-Barnett to President Warren G. Harding and Senator Samuel Shortridge (R-SC) to express their concern and urgency regarding the Dyer Bill.

> In the name of the National Association of Colored Women and in behalf of all of the colored women in the country we urge the Senate to pass promptly the Dyer Anti Lynching Bill which is now before this body. We urge it as women because in the last 35 years 83 women have been lynched. We urge it as American citizens because in the same period the 1,472 lynchings that have taken place shame our country before the civilized world. We urge it as voters because the Republican party in its platform adopted in Chicago in 1920 pledged itself to take steps to abolish this iniquity. President Harding made the recommendation to Congress in his first message to take steps "to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banner of a free and orderly representative democracy" and the Republican party now in power can carry out these pledges.[75]

Standing before the President of the United States and with clubwomen at her side, Brown employed a method of oppositional consciousness. In articulating the theory's praxis, Cheval Sandoval contends, "The differential mode of oppositional consciousness depends upon the ability to read the current situation of power and of self-consciously choosing and adopting the ideological form best suited to push against its configurations."[76] In other words, members of oppressed groups, Sandoval argues, occupy a continual state of privileging or deemphasizing identities as the condition of oppression or shape of power changes. Brown relied on her three most powerful and influential identities to exercise her rights and privileges of citizenship in the early 20th century. In progressive order she constructed the humanity of women, as mothers, wives, and protectors of the home. Next, she laid claim to women's citizenship and protection of

[75] Jessie Fauset, "The 13th Biennial of the N.A.C.W." *The Crisis*, October 1922: 260.

[76] Chela Sandoval, "U.S. Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World" *GENDERS* 10 (Spring 1991), 15.

civil rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. Finally, she employed her identity as a voter, which had become the bargaining tool and the ultimate representation of power and influence.

Relying on her identity as a woman Brown empathized with the 83 female lynched victims, and indirectly called masculinity into question. The 83 black *and* white women lynch victims uprooted claims of lynching in vindication of white womanhood and exposed agents of extra legal justice as both non-protectors of women and perpetuators of violence against women. As part of their plan for black racial uplift, clubwomen promoted the Victorian ideology of domesticity, children, and the home as women's center. Current or potential motherhood bolstered women's claims for the vote, protective labor legislation, and other Progressive Era reforms. Lynching and the threat of lynching infringed upon women's ability to participate in these key markers of female identity. In Brown's estimation, lynchings perpetuated evil and caused irreparable harm to the families of the lynchers as well. Brown commented that "these lynchers, with the stench of burning victims in their nostrils and garments singed by the same flames that cremated a writhing human being—these men return to their homes, functioning as fathers of families, and reproduce a blood-thirsty criminal instinct in their off-spring."[77] It created a dangerous cycle of devastation.

Women and black Americans relied upon the government not only for granting rights, but also ensuring them. Melissa Harris-Perry argues that "the social contract is the basis of democratic citizenship. Within this contract, individuals subject themselves to rules, constraints, and collective burdens imposed by the state (such as taxes and military service) in exchange for safety and services provided by the state (such as security and social programs)."[78] African

[77] Eva Wright, "Our Women Take Part in Suffrage Memorial Ceremonies," *The Competitor* 3, no.2: 30-32.

[78] Melissa Harris Perry, *Sister Citizen* , 36

Americans placed their federal confidence in the Republican Party and grew increasingly frustrated when anti-mob violence legislation did not pass through Congress. While NACW president, Brown also worked as director of the Colored Women's Division for the National Republican Campaign and campaigned fervently to elect Senator Warren G. Harding to the office of President of the United States in 1920. During his campaign, Harding promised voters "if elected [I will see that you get] justice and equal opportunities" especially in relation to anti-lynching bills.[79] After his election, Harding and the Republican Party failed to meet the expectations of their African American constituency. Brown issued the following statement to clubwomen in 1920: "We are justly concerned with the great human rights problem at our door. Our right to live, labor, and enjoy freedom under the protection of the United States Government [*sic*]. The freedom guaranteed every citizen by the Constitution who is loyal to his country and his flag [*sic*]." [80] The ritualized pageantry of the murder represented lies, deceit, and greed. The vigilante mob justice made a mockery of true American justice guaranteed to its citizens. Lynch law usurped the U. S. Constitution, invalidated the power of each elected leader, and then superimposed itself as supreme law. "Mobocracy," as Brown called it, and lynch law weakened the power of the Office of the President and made the entire nation, including the President, vulnerable to attack and destruction. Brown observed

> [the mob] is like an unchained tiger with no one to control it. The same mob that hangs the murderer today may tomorrow drag the judge from his bench or the minister from his pulpit. No man is safe when the fury of the mob is let loose. When mobs are condoned by so-called respectable men, when communities are found to justify mob violence, when the striker and the robber and all who take the law in their own hands, ignoring the laws of God and man—when that happens then may we look

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[79] "Senator Harding to Our People," *Cleveland Gazette*, 18 September 1920.

[80] Hallie Q. Brown, "Club Women Greetings," *National Notes*, October/November/December 1920, *NACW Records*, Reel 23:796-797.

> to see the foundation stone of our government crumble and the 'temple of our liberties a shapeless mass of wreck and ruin lie.' [81]

When the NACW delegation met with Harding and Shortridge, Brown emphasized that while they were women, they were also American citizens and they were voters as well. Brown strategically included her and fellow clubwomen's new identity as a voter as a subtle reminder of her previous political work for the Republican campaign and current political influence with African American voters. Prior to women's universal formal enfranchisement, the NACW created a suffrage department and Brown served as head for three terms beginning in 1912.[82] Suffrage offered very real, material, and tangible benefits for black women and black men. The institutional impact of a voting bloc equaled political power. The NACW needed a prepared and knowledgeable constituency of black women to maximize the suffrage benefit. Before the delegation left to speak to President Harding, Brown told fellow clubwomen, "This organization should be the schoolmistress to teach proper use of the ballot; to teach us to study situations and conditions that we may vote wisely for our best interests; and that those who have the ballot may help those denied this right; to this end we have organized everywhere civic clubs to combat indifference, ignorance, and exploitation of the Negro woman's vote."[83]

The 19th amendment confirmed and bestowed the rights and privileges of citizenship on women.[84] Black women exercised these rights and privileges with certainty and care. "We fight

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[81] *National Notes*, March 1929, *NACW Records*, Reel 24: 415-7

[82] For history of black woman suffrage see Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "African American Women and the Vote: An Overview" in *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965*, edited by Ann D. Gordon et.al.

[83] Jessie Fauset, "The 13th Biennial of the N.A.C.W." *The Crisis*, October 1922: 258.

[84] In *Minor v. Happersatt* (1875), the Supreme Court ruled suffrage was not a civil right, it was a political privilege.

with the forces which make for righteousness, truth and justice—the silent force of countless ballots," she told clubwomen.[85]

Aside from individual white women and a resolution from the National Women's Council, white women's organizations did not align themselves in any significant form with anti-lynching activism until the formation of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) in 1930.[86] Clubwomen knew the difficulties associated with interracial work and clubwomen attested to Brown's proficiency in interracial cooperation before and after her presidency. The major issues of the day required black and white women to rally as women working in the interest of women yet a set formula for interracial cooperation did not exist. In theory, interracial cooperation benefitted black and white women; the practice, however, required strategic maneuvering for both groups of women. Black women tried to seize this opportunity of interracial activity to express their concerns as both black persons and women, exposing the situations affecting the masses of black people on a grander scale. In general, white women maintained an indifferent and resistant attitude toward anti-lynching legislation in order to remain a beneficiary of white supremacy. Moreover, women in some cases supported lynching as a social mechanism to preserve white womanhood. Lynching punished white women who failed to adhere or participate in an acceptable form and presentation of white womanhood.

At times the racism and inconsideration of white women towards black women forced Brown to break alliances with white women. The humiliation associated with segregated seating led Brown, clubwomen and 200 performers to walk out of the International Council of Women (ICW) 1925 conference. *Notes* editor Myrtle Cook wrote, "Every line of her body tense with

[85] Hallie Quinn Brown, "War is not Ended Nor the Battle Won," *Wichita Kansas, Negro Star*, 3 December 1920.

[86] Player, "The Anti-Lynching Crusaders," 53.

indignation, her keen blue eyes snapping fire, announcing in clear-ringing tones: "I stand here as a representative of the Negro race. We have a letter of assurance there would be no segregation. There is segregation in this house tonight, and the singers refuse to sing."[87] John Milholland stated Brown "had struck the death-knell of segregation."[88] Brown explained that the American Council of Women broke their contract with black women, "We could not be humiliated in the eyes of foreign women who had come to believe that America was the land of the free and home of the brave."[89] Clubwomen sided with Brown stating "she did everything that was necessary to make it clear where the National Association stood. The Executive Board of the National Association and its President, Mrs. Bethune, were standing behind Miss Hallie Q. Brown, and that made her action doubly forceful. The whole of America is beginning to realize that the National Association of Colored Women is an element in American life that will have to be reckoned with." [90]

Other times when Brown appeared too over accommodating to white women, African Americans offered sharp commentary on her politics. Reporters with the *Cleveland Gazette* maintained a very critical eye on Brown's activity, even questioning her character and virtue. In 1922, the *Gazette* accused her of "logrolling with a white candidate and against her own" and then again in 1924, they charged her with "truckling with the white political bosses in Ohio and

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[87] *National Notes*, June 1925, *NACW Records*, Reel 24: 10.

[88] June 1925, 24:10, John Milholland, treasurer for NAACP, is father of anti-racist, suffragist Inez Milholland

[89] "Race Musicians Walk Out at Music Festival," *Wichita Kansas Negro Star*, 15 May 1925; Eva Wright, "The Insulting Segregation of our People at the Nation's Capital," *Cleveland Gazette*, 30 May 1925.

[90] Jane Porter Barrett, "Report of Chairman of Executive Board," NACW 1928 Convention Proceedings, *NACW Records*, Reel 7:781-782

elsewhere" to get the position as director of the Colored Women's Division for the National Republican Campaign.[91] Despite the inappropriateness of the *Gazette*'s comments, a consensus existed that Brown never intended her methods to be malicious and genuinely wanted the best for black women.

Maintaining interracial relationships remained a distant concern in comparison to fostering closer relationships among black women. The NACW leadership contained some of the most talented, influential, and powerful black women of the early twentieth century. A limited number of opportunities for black female leadership existed and that number dwindled even more for leadership positions outside of black female organizations. On a national level in-fighting, regional loyalties, political differences, and personality conflicts often divided Brown and the clubwomen. Brown became embroiled in a campaign fiasco at the 1906 conference that also points to the interstate politicking and campaigning that took place for NACW offices. Margaret Murray Washington asked Brown in 1905 to assist in electing Josephine Bruce for president the following year.[92] The campaign trail became intense and by the 1906 convention Brown demanded clarity. Brown charged some NACW members with using the color line against Bruce and disparaging her ability because she was not a "full-blood negro" and had a "white taint." When Brown, a very light skinned woman herself, exposed these claims the convention turned into an uproar. Brown argued that light skin discrimination occurred at the 1904 convention as well and demanded that it cease. The Executive Board went into a closed session and ultimately elected Lucy Thurman of Mississippi as NACW President.[93]

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[91] "Hallie Strikes Harding Too," *Cleveland Gazette*, 5 August 1922; *Cleveland Gazette*, 23 August 1924.

[92] Hallie Q. Brown to Margaret Murray Washington, 9 October 1905, *NACW Records*, Reel 5:934-937.

[93] "Light Color to Bar Office," *Baltimore Ledger*, 21 July 1906.

Political differences possibly interfered with relationships between clubwomen too. Brown politically aligned herself with the Republican Party. She critiqued and expressed her dissatisfaction with their policies, but she remained partial to Republican politics. At the same time growing disillusionment with the Republican Party led other black people to question their Republican allegiance and look towards the Democratic or even a separatist party altogether. For the last 10 years the NACW formally trained its members that the vote brought change, and that the institutional impact of a voting bloc equaled political power. Clubwomen did not foresee the NACW abandoning the Republican Party altogether, but Brown's Republican steadfastness prevented her from seeing the NACW's need to consider the range of political options.

During Brown's presidency, the dissatisfaction with the NACW leadership style coupled with social changes of the time led women elsewhere. Initially clubwomen's involvement in the NACCP or other organizations actually reinforced the prestige and power of the NACW. However, during the second term of Brown's presidency, clubwomen began to look elsewhere to address personal or political objectives.[94] Some clubwomen also felt that the NACW did not capitalize enough on the interconnectedness of women's struggles. Hoping to build on the conference of women in the International Council of Women, Margaret Murray Washington founded the International Council of Women of Darker Races in 1922. Michelle Rief notes the ICWDR sought "members who had an 'international outlook' and 'not necessarily club women'." However, clubwomen known for their international work, such as Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Anna Julia Cooper, and Brown were not involved nor invited to be involved. Despite Brown's experience in international work, fundraising, interracial cooperation, NACW

[94] In 1935 Mary McLeod Bethune established the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), which succeeded the NACW as the led and representative organization of black women during the mid-twentieth century.

presidency, Rief states, "correspondence reveals that the leadership of the ICWDR did not personally care for Brown and it seems these feelings were mutual." [95]

Along with their political goals for black women, clubwomen had personal agendas and it is reasonable to assume that clubwomen enjoyed public fame to some extent. Confidante of Brown, Eva Wright shared her exasperation with the parameters of Mary Church Terrell's community involvement. According to Wright, Terrell only participated in functions if she organized the event or planned to speak.[96] Even after her NACW presidency, Terrell eclipsed current NACW presidents. For instance, Terrell accepted an invitation to represent the NACW at the National Woman's Party suffragist memorial. Mary White Ovington, chairperson of the NAACP, tactfully wrote to Alice Paul that "Mrs. Terrell while not so recently in touch with the NACW, will add grace to any ceremony."[97] Brown did speak at the actual ceremony, and her friend and journalist Eva Wright made sure that the current NACW President's address received widespread coverage in the press.[98]

This chapter explored events and initiatives during Brown's presidency that articulate the goals of her woman-centered race progress agenda. Brown's work with the NACW fit into what modern scholars understand as black feminism. Black feminist thought gives scholars a framework to identify the universal assumptions and base questions that focus on the

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[95] Rief, "Banded Close Together," 190-192.

[96] Eva Wright to Hallie Quinn Brown 8 August 1920, CSU in Folder, Correspondence, Personal, Correspondence from Eva Wright in Correspondence to Hallie Q. Brown from Personals with last names beginning with O through Z, box 37, Central State University, Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library.

[97] Mary White Ovington to Alice Paul, 24 January 1921, National Woman's Party, Box I: 127, Reel 84, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[98] Eva Wright, "Our Women Take Part in Suffrage Memorial Ceremonies," *The Competitor* 3, no. 2: 30-32.

intersections of race, gender, class, nation, and sexuality. For Brown, and her fellow clubwomen, race and gender intersected in such a way that always forced them to navigate systems of oppression. As NACW president Brown focused on how best to benefit black women, how to present and represent black women, how to enhance the quality of life for black Americans, and how to lessen the overall long term negative impact of racism and sexism. Brown desired to reconcile the realities of black women's past and present lives and to construct an acceptable model of black womanhood consisting of academic preparation and political involvement. The NACW was the ideal organization for Brown to correct ahistorical imaginings of black women and to create dignified lives and representations for black women.

CHAPTER 5

"A CLASS TO HERSELF":

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF BLACK WOMEN'S HISTORY

To My Readers--Greeting:

This book is presented as an evidence of appreciation and as a token of regard to the history-making women of our race.

One chief object of these introductory sentences is to secure for this book the interest of our youth, that they may have instructive light on the struggles endured and the obstacles overcome by our pioneer women.

It has been prepared with the hope that they will read it and derive fresh strength and courage from its records to stimulate and cause them to cleave more tenaciously to the truth and to battle more heroically for the right.

The characters and facts herein set forth are veritable history.

In presenting this volume to the public, it is proper to remark that it has been prepared from a settled conviction that something of the kind is needed.

It is our anxious desire to preserve for future reference an account of these women, their life and character and what they accomplished under the most trying and adverse circumstances,--some of whom passed scatheless [*sic.*] *through fires of tribulation, only to emerge the purer and stronger,--some who received their commission even at the furnace door, the one moment thinking their all was lost forever, the next in secure consciousness of the Everlasting Arms.*

We lack a complete record of these self-sacrificing heroines, but such as we have been permitted to gather we present through this medium to the public, hoping that it may find as much pleasure in its perusal as the writer had in its making.

HALLIE Q. BROWN. Homewood Cottage, Wilberforce, Ohio. 1926.[1]

John Henrik Clarke stated, "[H]istory is a clock that people use to tell their political time of day. It is a compass that people use to locate themselves on the map of human geography. History tells a people who they are and what they are. Where they have been and what they have

[1] Hallie Quinn Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: The Adline Publishing Company,1926), vii. Hereafter cited as *Homespun Heroines*.

been. Most importantly, history tells a people where they still must go and what they still must be."[2] For Clarke, the utility of history offered groups of people an awareness of past events to help make sense of their current state and inspire them towards the future. A people's history helped foster and solidify a collective sense of identity and responsibility to one another. With the 1926 publication of *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, Hallie Quinn Brown created a cultural artifact that gave history a redemptive function. It documented the experiences, stories, and history of black women. Brown believed this historical record would empower the younger generations and encourage black women. In this chapter I use *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* to illustrate Hallie Quinn Brown's presence and role at the forefront of black women's history as a theorist, researcher, and collector. I demonstrate how *Homespun Heroines* institutionalized black women as a subject of serious inquiry in American history and argue that *Homespun Heroines* presents a precise way of viewing black women as a conscious class.

In the style of an open-letter, Brown explained to the reader "The characters and facts herein set forth are veritable history" and noted, "something of the kind [was] needed."[3] This volume of black women's history—their lives, experiences, vulnerabilities, and relationships—presented an analysis of black women that, in Brown's purview, did not exist. Her emphasis on black women allows us to situate this book in women's and African American history. Gerda Lerner described the trajectory of conceptualizing women in historical scholarship as having

[2] John Henrik Clarke, "Why Africana History"" Available: http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/afprl/clarke/why-africana-history-by-dr.-john-henrik-clarke

[3] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, vii.

moved through four stages.[4] The first stage, compensatory history, located and identified women. In this stage, a history of exceptional women emerged that did not always reflect the experiences and history of the mass of women. The next stage of historical scholarship on women simply noted women's contribution to the work and experiences of men. Although it did incorporate women, this stage determined women's worth in historical memory by their relation to a male defined norm. Modern women's historians called for a "new women's history" that asked "for deeper and more inclusive investigations of ordinary women's lives to distinguish individuals' varying experiences of womanhood."[5] By the 1970s the third stage no longer merely looked at the condition of women, but rather examined the experience of women. The new women's history "[reconstructed] many historical generalizations and [reconfigured] the historical narrative."[6] An ideal version of women's history would "bring the lives of ordinary women to the foreground to understand them in the largest context." Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck concluded "Women's history [must] consider not only what was done to women but also what was done by women often exclusively among women to see both the cultural and subcultural roles played by women is to understand the coexistence of strengths and subordination." [7]

In theory, these new questions and nuanced approaches to source materials located and captured the experiences and voices of women. The new women's history proclaimed a fresh

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[4] Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges" in *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 114.

[5] Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck, eds., "Introduction" in *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 14.

[6] Linda K. Kerber, Jane Sherron De Hart, and Cornelia Hughes Dayton eds., "Introduction: Gender and the New Women's History" in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past, Seventh Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3

[7] Cott and Pleck, "Introduction," 16.

analysis of the impact of women's domestic and paid labor, located continuities over space and time of women's collective efforts to change society and shape public policy and highlighted the development of a "woman-centered consciousness."[8] In practice, however, another singular narrative of white, heterosexual, middle class and elite women emerged and projected those experiences onto all women. Scholars of black women challenged frameworks that sought to parallel black women's experiences with white women's experiences.[9] Some of these theoretical frameworks attempted to address issues of race and ethnicity, but denied the social construction of whiteness in white women and erected an incredibly problematic binary of white women vis-à-vis *all* women of color. They suggested that the commonality of racial oppression felt by black women, Latina women, and Native American women, for example, manifests itself in ways so similar that distinction or delineation among the women's experiences proves unnecessary. Black women's historians faced their own shortcomings with frameworks that analyzed race and gender, but failed to consider how class and sexuality informed black women's lives which too created "a singular [black women's] standpoint amid diverse and conflicting positions of enunciation."[10] Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith resolved

> Naming and describing our experience are important initial steps, but not alone sufficient to get us where we need to go. "A descriptive approach to the lives of black women, a "great Black women" in history or literature approach, or any traditional male-identified approach will not result in intellectually groundbreaking or politically transforming work. We cannot change our lives by teaching solely about "exceptions" to the ravages of white-male oppression. Only through exploring the experience of supposedly "ordinary" Black women whose "unexceptional" actions enabled us and the race to survive, will we be able to begin to develop an overview and

[8] Lerner, "Placing Women in History," 121-22; Cott and Pleck, "Introduction," 17-19.

[9] For a detailed discussion of this topic see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American's Women's History and the Metalanugage of Race" *Signs* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 251-274.

[10] Ibid., 255, 271-274.

an analytical framework for understanding the lives of Afro-American women."[11]

Nearly sixty years prior to the revelations and theoretical shift of the new vanguard of women's historians, Hallie Quinn Brown and twenty-eight women documented and "[explored] the experience of [over sixty] supposedly 'ordinary' Black women whose 'unexceptional' actions enabled us and the race to survive."[12] Each biography offered a "lens through which one can assess the relative power of political, economic, cultural, social and generational processes on the life chances of individuals'…[it provided] a prism which enabled later historians to see how particular individuals understood and constructed themselves and made sense of their lives and their society."[13] Brown used a style called prosopography or collective biography to present these accounts of her subjects. Lawrence Stone defines prosopography as "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives."[14] Robert Lanning further describes collective biography as "the biography of many individuals in relation to many social institutions, in relation to the ideology of the time, and in relation to the contingencies of their own lives as 'proof' of the viability and legitimacy of the social order in which they existed."[15] In other words, collective biographies provide both the

[11] Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith, "Introduction: The Politics of Black Women's Studies" in *All the Women are White, Are the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave: Black Women's Studies* edited by Patricia Bell Scott, Gloria T. Hull, and Barbara Smith (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), xxi.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Barbara Caine, *Biography and History: Theory and History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 23.

[14] Alison Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 11. For a detailed discussion on collective biography, see Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman* and Barbara Caine, *Biography and History: Theory and History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[15] Robert Lanning, *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class*, (Ontario: Carleton University Press, 1994), 2, 39. I employ Robert Lanning's understanding of collective biography in this study of African American collective biography.

scholar and the general public with historical and biographical information of several people connected through blood relations, friendship, social organizations, or ideology.

The earliest collective biographies for African Americans included Abigail Mott's *Biographical Sketches and Interesting Anecdotes of Persons of Colour* [*sic.*] in 1826. A devout Quaker from New York, Mott worked as an educational reformer. She wrote this text for her personal abolitionist work and used it in her classes at the New York Manumission Society's Free School. Calling for the end to slavery she hoped this text "[brought] into view the effects which a system of slavery has on the human mind, and the dreadful consequences of that arbitrary power invested in the slave-holder over his fellow being; to show how it hardens the heart and petrifies the feelings."[16] Mott's text represents the early efforts of white abolitionists to document and preserve African American history in the form of collective biography during the nineteenth century. To be sure, African Americans contributed to the growing body of literature as well.[17] William Wells Brown's *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863) stands as the first existing example of collective biography by an African American. Although Brown used the word "man" as a generic pronoun, his text offered life sketches of black men *and* three women to refute conventional stereotypes of black inferiority. Brown's text contributed to a larger conversation concerning how to incorporate four million enslaved persons into wage-laboring, law-abiding productive members of American society. In

[16] Abigail Mott, *Biographical Sketches and Interesting Anecdotes of Persons of Colour, To Which is Added, a Selection of Pieces in Poetry* (New York: Mahlon Day, 1826). For brief biography of Mott, see John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 185.

[17] For the most complete listing of collective biography written by African Americans see, Randall K. Burkett, ed., *Black Biographical Dictionaries, 1790-1950* available on microfiche. Allison Booth, *How to Make it As a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004) offers the only and most complete study of collective biography written by women.

documenting how black people, and in particular formerly enslaved black persons lived, Brown believed this text "showed that [black people are] endowed with those intellectual and amiable qualities which adorn and dignify human nature."[18] William J. Simmons authored one of the largest biographical catalogs of African Americans during the nineteenth century *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* in 1887. Although Simmons did not include any women as his subjects of influential African Americans, he did understand the importance of women in shaping black history. He credited his subjects' existence and ethical drive for race uplift to "the women of our race, and especially to the devoted, self-sacrificing mothers who moulded [*sic.*] the lives of the subjects of these sketches, laboring and praying for their success."[19]

In February 1891, Susie Isabel Lankford Shorter presented a paper on women in the AME church to AME Bishop Daniel Payne in honor of his eightieth birthday. Shorter's work, *The Heroines of African Methodism*, received such acclaim that the AME church decided to publish it as a booklet. In part historical and in part inspirational, Shorter's work described the importance and necessity of women's involvement in the professions and in the home. Herself a minister's wife, Shorter gave special attention to the encouragement of clerical spouses and mothers. Shorter also spoke passionately of women's collective potential. She wrote "women can do anything when they set their heads together. No difference how difficult, how grand and elevating, no difference how base, how low and degrading; thus we see the all necessity of our

[18] William Wells Brown, *The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius and His Achievements* (New York: 1863). *The Black Man* included sketches of three women: Phillis Wheatley, Frances Ellen Watkins, and Charlotte Forten.

[19] William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (Cleveland, OH: George M. Rewell and Company, 1887).

women."[20] *The Heroines of African Methodism* stands as the first collective biography of black women by a black woman.

Other examples of collective biography of black women include a segment of Anna Julia Cooper's *A Voice From the South* (1892) where Brown numbered among the brief "list of chieftains in the service."[21] Monroe Majors' *Noted Negro Women* and Lawson A. Scruggs's *Women of Distinction*, both published in 1893, represent some of the early examples of collective biographies of women written by men. Both Majors and Scruggs noted their desire to inspire young women with a history of black women and expressed gratitude to women's involvement in each aspect of life.[22] Majors, for example, applauded independent thinking women like Brown. Despite criticisms that Brown gesticulated too frequently, Majors states "[Brown] discards the rigid rules of the books and follows nature, for she possess an ardent temperament, and nearly every sentence she utters in private conversation is made emphatic or impressive by a gesture or variation of the facial expression."[23] In 1894, Gertrude E. H. Bustill Mossell published *The Work of the Afro-American Woman,* "a historical and contemporary assessment of black women intellectuals' and activists' monumental accomplishments since the era of the American Revolution." [24] Providing a little more than her subject's name, occupation, and location,

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[20] Susie I. L. Shorter, *The Heroines of African Methodism* (1891), 46.

[21] Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice From the South by A Black Woman of the South* (Xenia, OH: The Adeline Printing House, 1892), 140-142.

[22] Monroe Majors, *Noted Negro Women: Their Triumphs and Activities* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893); Lawson A. Scruggs's *Women of Distinction*: Remarkable in Works and Invincible in Character (Raleigh, NC: L.A. Scruggs Publisher, 1893).

[23] Majors, *Noted Negro Women*, 232-233

[24] Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *African American History Reconsidered* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 108-109.

Mossell's attention to black women's industriousness in the professions and in domestic labor attested to the collective contribution of black women to race uplift.

By the turn of the twentieth century, African American collective biography proliferated. Scholars presented updated and revised lists of noteworthy individuals and distinguished their volumes by church affiliation, organization, and geography. [25] Examples of this include, John E. Bruce, *Short Biographical Sketches of Eminent Negro Men and Women* (1910), Richard R. Wright, *Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1916), Delilah Beasley, *The Negro Trailblazers of California* (1919), and Elizabeth Lindsey Davis *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs* in 1922.[26] In addition to books, collective biography appeared in monthly periodicals such as the series "Famous Women of the Negro Race" along with a parallel series "Famous Negro Men" by Pauline Hopkins in *The Colored American*.[27]

Hallie Quinn Brown's publication, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, in 1926 mirrors the other historical works as collective biography, yet remains recognizably different in that it was a collaborative collective biography of black women written by multiple black women who acknowledged the spiritual and civil personhood of black women. As demonstrated by the examples here and from other historiographical studies of African American

[25] See James T. Haley, *Afro-American Encyclopaedia* (Nashville, TN: Haley & Florida, 1895); John E. Bruce, *Short Biographical Sketches of Eminent Negro Men and Women In Europe and the United States, With Brief Extracts from their Writings and Public Utterances* (Yonkers, NY: Gazette Press, 1910); , Frank Lincoln Mather, *Who's Who of the Colored Race* Vol.1 (1915); Richard R. Wright, *Centennial Encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, (Philadelphia, PA: Book Concern of the AME Church, 1916); Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trailblazers of California* (Los Angeles, CA: 1919); Benjamin Griffith Brawley, *Women of Achievement* (Chicago, IL: Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1919).

[26] Elizabeth Lindsey Davis, *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs* (Chicago, IL: 1922).

[27] See, generally, *The Colored American,* 1901 and 1902.

texts, few collective biographies devoted completely to the experiences of black women existed, and women authored only a handful of those.[28] To be sure, I do not intend to suggest that you must be a member of a particular group to write a history, that is to say that only black women can write black women's history. However, the black women authors examined in this study asserted a particular insider knowledge that authorized and emboldened them as a group to document the experiences of black women. Randall Burkett contends "*Homespun Heroines* is a collaborative effort by a group of self-confident and historically self-conscious black women who were determined to preserve the stories of sacrifice and struggle that their forbearers had endured."[29]

Homespun Heroines records the life moments of over sixty women. Chronologically ordered by the subjects' dates of birth, the sketches begin with Martha Payne, mother of AME Church Bishop Daniel Payne, and conclude with Eliza Fox, former president of The Women's Baptist Association of Virginia. At the time of publication some of the women had already achieved national and international acclaim and posthumously retained celebrity, such as Phillis Wheatley, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Most of the women included in *Homespun Heroines* achieved national prominence at the turn of the twentieth century, such as former presidents of the National Association of Colored Women Mary Talbert and Margaret Murray

[28] The works of Earl Thorpe, Stephen Hall, August Meier, Elliott Rudwick offer detailed historiographies of African American historical texts documenting the African American experience. These studies reveal the proliferation of emancipation narratives, race textbooks, biographies and encyclopedia used to commemorate and remember the past. In many cases, as these historiographies reveal, the efforts to tell, retell, learn and conceptualize the experiences of African Americans resulted in androcentric histories with masculinist rhetoric. See, Earl Thorpe, *Mind of the Negro: An Intellectual History of Afro-Americans*, Second edition (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press,1970); August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, *Black history and the historical profession* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Stephen Hall, *A faithful account of the race: African American historical writing in nineteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[29] Randall Burkett, "Introduction" in Hallie Quinn Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction*, Reprinted (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), xxxiv.

Washington, business mogul and entrepreneur Madam C.J. Walker and temperance crusader Lucy Thurman. Other women held local standing such as Dr. Susan Steward, a physician in Wilberforce, Ohio and Anna Hudlun who "would have been called one of the foremost social workers of the day had her work been classed."[30]

In describing the commitment, character, and legacy of these women, some authors included descriptive phrases such as "our Joan of Arc," a French heroine who lead an army, sustained a cannon ball blow to her helmet, and still carried on.[31] Another author described a subject as "Molly Pitcher," the Revolutionary War heroine and folk legend who assisted male soldiers during battle and began firing her husband's rifle after he had been shot.[32] Other authors used phrases like "a faithful and devoted wife," "a mother," "the gifted woman," "an all-around woman," "the teacher." One woman even retained "Spartan-like qualities." Many of the subjects held the distinct honor of being called "a Mother in Israel."[33] This phrase referred to the Old Testament Biblical prophetess Deborah known for her legal discernment, wisdom and military strategy.[34] All of the women, however, held the title of either a "homespun heroine" and/or a "woman of distinction."

In Brown's encyclopedia, the actual phrase "homespun heroine" appears only once. Brown wrote, "Harriet Tubman may be justly styled a Homespun Heroine. This historic character is in a class to herself. She had the skill and boldness of a commander, –the courage

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[30] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 143

[31] Ibid., 55

[32] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 63, 109; Ray Raphael, *Founding Myths: Stories that Hide Our Patriotic Past* (New York, NY: The Green Press, 2004).

[33] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 88, 91, 162, 10, 134, 167, 248.

[34] Herbert Lockyer, *All the Women of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1967), 40-42.

and strategy of a general."[35] In literature, the phrase "homespun heroine" or the more common "homespun hero" refers to a person involved in a war or some sort of military campaign. Two works of the era, *Heroes in Homespun: Scenes and Stories from the American Emancipation Movement* (1894) by Ascott Moncrieff and *A Hero in Homespun* (1897) by William Barton offer additional insight into the hero in homespun character.[36] Their protagonists receives the title hero for either surviving or contributing to the survival of the unit/community when by all accounts they/community should not have survived. Everything was set against them. They exhibit no special skills nor possess formal equipment. It was, however, their daily activity, the seemingly mundane, and the "regular" or generic behavior they displayed or provided in the face of incredibly adverse circumstances which made them heroic.

Tubman's everyday activity and character fit the description of a homespun heroine. Tubman believed in a basic and fundamental right—a right to one's person—and assisted at least 400 people in securing their freedom under adverse and hostile circumstances. She traversed the swamps and tangled brush under the veil of darkness with multiple bounties on her life and even died in a destitute condition.[37] Yet, she survived and contributed to the survival of a community when by all accounts they should not have survived. Furthermore, Joan of Arc, Molly Pitcher, Deborah ("A Mother in Israel") and even the "Spartan-like" qualities point to a martial leadership model of an ordinary woman's skill in ensuring the welfare of her people.

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[35] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 55.

[36] Ascott Robert Hope Moncrieff, *Heroes in Homespun: Scenes and Stories from the American Emancipation Movement* (London: Wilson and Milne, 1894); William Barton, *A Hero in Homespun* (Boston: Lamson, Wolffe and Company, 1897).

[37] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 55-68.

The homespun heroine also emerged as a character-type and model of womanhood during the 1770s.[38] Unlike Molly Pitcher fighting on the battlefield, the homespun heroine contributed to the fight for American independence and freedom from British tyranny through domesticity. This script parallels the model of republican motherhood that situated women's importance through their reproductive labor and simultaneously undergirded claims for women's political equality. Republican motherhood stressed that since women were primary caretakers of children, women had a special role in ensuring that the nation's future citizens received proper democratic training. When women rejected imported fabric from Britain and wove cloth for their families—homespun—they demonstrated republican virtues of patriotism and sacrifice to their children. Women became exemplary not only to their families, but to the entire community as well. Though unable to participate in battle, wearing the rough, prickly, unprocessed cloth still allowed women to sacrifice their bodies for the cause. To endure homespun cloth proved an arduous task. Even Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee University, recalled

> I can scarcely imagine any torture, except, perhaps, the pulling of a tooth, that is equal to that caused by putting on a new flax shirt for the first time. It is almost equal to the feeling that one would experience if he had a dozen or more chestnut burrs, or a hundred small pinpoints, in contact with his flesh. On several occasions when I was being forced to wear a new flax shirt, [My brother John] generously agreed to put it on in my stead and wear it for several days, till it was broken in."[39]

The women in Brown's study reveal their experiences with "homespun clothing." Once hearing of their emancipation, Dinah Cox reportedly quickly made up clothes for the children before leaving.[40] In a metaphoric sense, wearing homespun clothing and enduring what felt like

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[38] Emily Matcher, "A Brief History of Domestic Goddesses," *The Hair Pin*, 9 August 2012; Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment - An American Perspective," in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 43.

[39] Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (New York: Double Day, 1901), 11-12.

"a hundred small pinpoints" represent what scholar Derald Sue identifies as microaggressions "the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership."[41] An isolated incident or single prick may be irritating, but not debilitating. An onslaught of pricks or a continual prick on already raw skin undermined a person's strength and resolve. In spite of slavery, lynching, violence, economic exploitation, racism, sexism, classism, disrespect, misrepresentation, and marginalization, to get up and cook breakfast for your children as Susan Vashon "the mother" did is heroic. To start your own hair care line and confront ideals of beauty as Madam C. J. Walker did is heroic. To establish safe spaces for women as Victoria Matthews or Fanny J. Coppin did is heroic. I contend Brown implies that the social, economic, and political climate for black women forced them to wear "homespun clothing," and as the biographies also demonstrate, black women often "broke in" homespun for others, a heroic duty.[42]

The figures and tables in Appendix B provide a glimpse of the family relationships, careers, organizational work, and residence of the subjects and authors in *Homespun Heroines*. The sheer expanse of their activities and interests makes it difficult to categorize them, as Randall Burkett noted.[43] I present the tables here to demonstrate the extensive nature of the work which these women undertook and also to point to the potential of Brown's encyclopedia as a research archive. For example, the network map (see Figure 5.1) demonstrates one way to define

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[40] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 30.

[41] Derald Sue ed., *Microaggressions and Marginality: Manifestation, Dynamics, and Impact* (Hoboken, NJ, Wiley Inc., 2010), 3.

[42] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 119-126, 133-134, 170, 208-216, and 220-221.
[43] Burkett, "Introduction" in Hallie Quinn Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines*, Reprinted, xxx.

each woman involved in the project in relationship to Hallie Quinn Brown and one another. The women of *Homespun Heroines* represent the members, connections, and locations of the dynamic network of African American power brokers at the turn of the twentieth century. These connections are intricate, overlapping and represent ideological, geographical and familiar relationships, making a socially constructed "imagined community" at once a reality.[44]

Several overarching themes emerge from the lives of these women. The most apparent theme is the primacy of women as mothers, wives, and homemakers. Black feminist scholars show how racism produced an economic consequence that necessitated the division of black women's labor, albeit unequally, between their home/family and paid labor. As discussed in Chapter 4 the labor opportunities afforded most black women placed them in domestic work and responsible for the well being of another family and children. Black women then faced charges of deficient mothering of their own children. These biographies aim to dispel that notion and capture women performing what Brown, and many of her contemporaries believed to be, women's most important function. In the biographical sketch of Sarah Elizabeth Tanner, her daughter Mary Mossell wrote "[Tanner] was in the truest sense of the term a home-maker, devoting her whole time to the welfare of her family." Brown observed that Catherine Delany "willingly sacrificed for the good of her family as well as for the community in which she lived."[45] As much as Delany, Tanner, Frances J. Brown, Susie I.L. Shorter and others took pride in raising their own children and families, the ability "to mother" provided women with a social currency that empowered them and validated their authority. Unmarried women with no biological children like Hannah McDonald or Margaret Reid served as surrogate mothers and

[44] For a discussion of imagined community see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[45] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 32, 91.

became affectionately known amongst the college students at Wilberforce University as "Aunt Mac" and "Auntie Reid."[46] In *Pen Pictures of Pioneers of Wilberforce*, a history of Wilberforce University, Brown recalled how "women of the community were known as "Mother," "Ma," or "Aunt." Every woman felt it her bounded duty to mother, to cheer, to restrain, to admonish, and no student questioned her authority."[47]

The biographies also uncover the silent partnership between wives and their husbands. In several cases the successful, prolific and expansive careers of husbands depended on the work and support of the wife. Sara Allen worked so much to ensure her husband AME Bishop Richard Allen's success that Brown claimed "The life of Sara, his devoted wife, is indissolubly linked with that of her husband." Subject of another sketch Jane Roberts, wife of Joseph Jenkins Roberts and first lady of Liberia "ably assisted" her husband.[48] Catherine Delany's accomplishments included being "a faithful and devoted wife."

Brown recognized that for most women their most important function and role of greatest impact was in their capacity as a wife and/or mother. To be certain, for some women, including Brown, their most important function was not as a wife or mother. In fact, their impact would be stifled by the marriage and mother relationship. Maritcha Lyons wrote "[Henrietta Ray] being however unmarried…decided to take up a life for which she felt most fitted. … an arrangement was made to enable her to do a comparatively rare thing, to live tranquilly and pursue unhampered her literary work...her work grew in value and her inner vision become more

[46] Ibid., 50, 154.

[47] Brown, *Pen Pictures*, 23, 48.

[48] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 12, 47, 91.

distinct and clarified."[49] In confidence, AME Bishop Henry McNeal Turner told Brown "Your worth to the race will never be known in this life. I am glad now while I was mad then that you snubbed me a couple of years after the death of my first wife when I felt that a sufficient time had elapsed to turn my attention toward another; for you are too great to marry, too gifted too intellectual and indeed too mighty to be tied to a man and restricted to any home circle." [50]

Tables 5.6 through 5.19 indicate that certain careers did not interfere with women's family devotion and occurred in tandem with professional activities, careers, and women's public participation. Expanding educational initiatives and access to civil resources for women in general increased this dual option for black women as well. These women engaged in several occupations with the majority working as educators or authors and their biographies do not indicate a struggle to maintain work-life balance. In fact, author Maritcha Lyons observed that the subjects did not "[allow] the confines of the hearth to limit the extent of their reasonable ambitions."[51] Brown notes that "As a home maker [Frances E.W. Harper] was compelled to give up her travels, but did not cease from literary and Anti-Slavery labors." Anna S. Jones wrote that Josephine S. Yates "never allowed the duties of the home to encroach upon the time set apart for study or literary work."[52] Future research must examine the extent to which the women in this volume maintained a work-life balance and how they negotiated their personal and public lives.

Many of the biographies spoke to the experience of slavery. At least thirteen of the

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[49] Ibid., 170, 173.

[50] Henry McNeal Turner to Hallie Q. Brown, 5 May 5 1899, in Folder, "Correspondence, Personal, Bishops, Correspondence from Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, dated May 5, 1889" in Correspondence to Hallie Q. Brown from Personals with last names beginning with O through Z, box 37, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, Central State University, Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library.

[51] Brown, *Homespun Heroines* ,170.

[52] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 101, 180.

women experienced life as an enslaved person. Of these women Harriet Tubman and Lucretia Simpson, for example, escaped slavery. Other women such as Elizabeth Gross and Matilda Dunbar received their freedom following the Civil War. Charlotta G. M. Pyles and Dinah Cox's manumission stories uncover deceit and a long-fought legal battle to secure their freedom.

Amy Logan submitted the story of her great-grandmother Dinah Cox's emancipation from slavery. Cox lived on John Randolph's Virginia planation with over 400 other enslaved persons. Randolph struggled with slavery just like his first cousin Thomas Jefferson, former president of the United States, slaveholder, as well as the father of many slaves. He did not espouse equality between black and white people, but he ensured that enslaved persons he owned were somewhat literate and most had trade skills. In 1833 after Randolph's death, his will bequeathed freedom and a portion of money to purchase supplies and land in Ohio for all of "his slaves." Randolph's extended family contested the terms of his will for fourteen years. Once the court ruled in favor of the slaves' freedom, Cox commenced to making clothes for their journey. As they left the planation, Cox recalled the song they sang. "Don't weep, don't cry, I shall never turn back any more."[53] A few works examined the Randolph slaves' emancipation story, but most of these accounts examine John Randolph's alleged drug problem, preserve the activities of the family patriarch Clem or document instances of alleged criminal behavior after settling in Ohio. *Homespun Heroines* contains one of the few humanizing accounts, albeit scant, of the role and memories of Dinah Cox. [54]

While some biographical sketches conveyed the vulnerability of Dinah Cox, Lucretia

[53] Ibid., 30-31.

[54] For information on John Randolph see Aaron Scott Crawford, "John Randolph of Roanoke and the Politics of Doom: Slavery, Sectionalism, and Self-Deception, 1773-1821" (PhD. diss., University of Tennessee, 2012).

Simpson, and Charlotta G.M. Pyles, others attest to the anti-slavery activism of Sojourner Truth and Frances E. W. Harper. Maritcha Lyons believed "colored people in the free states had the condition of their brethren in bondage very near to their hearts and thought but little of the trouble and nothing at all of the risk and cost involved in making their oppressed fellow creatures objects of solicitude and devotion." She then explained how the "countless obscure, though loyal adherents [to the cause of slavery] worked differently."[55] For example, when discussing Sarah Harris Fayerweather, Lyons outlines the gender distinctions of the work of the Underground Railroad. Women secured clothing, disguises, food and personal care items, performed medical care, and assisted in finding hiding places for runaway slaves. Men led the groups on trips and held watch. Fayerweather, like many, undertook both roles. The urgency of the situation required everyone to be able to perform all duties.[56]

In many ways the authors reconstructed the public images of their subjects. One of Brown's close friends, Eva Wright, authored the selection on the celebrated dressmaker Elizabeth Keckley, who came to prominence as the stylist for First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln and other Washington, D.C. dignitaries. Shortly after the release of her memoir, *Behind the Scenes: Or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (1868), Keckley's reputation and business prospects suffered irreparable damage. Lincoln felt betrayed by Keckley's decision to disclose details of their personal conversations and quickly severed all contact with Keckley, whose white Washington DC clientele soon followed Mrs. Lincoln's example. Keckley took small jobs until she received a position at Wilberforce University as Professor of Domestic Arts and Sewing in 1892, where she likely met Brown. Although white sources had branded Keckley

[55] Brown, *Homespun Heroines* 23, 25.

[56] Ibid., 27.

as unrefined and an untrustworthy gossip, Wright presents a redeeming reflection of Keckley as a compassionate friend. She wrote "it was after the death of a beloved mother that the writer met Madam Keckley. The tender expression of sympathy, cheery smiles and final charge when departing for Philadelphia are now cherished memories."[57]

For white readers, these biographies may have appeared exceptional and not reflective of everyday black women's experiences. Indeed, these biographies did not fit into the popular historic narrative about black women then and certainly challenge that narrative now. These sketches did not perpetuate negative myths of black women. Historian Nell Painter argues that these types of accounts of black women "forced the public to reevaluate their stereotypes about black women because they lacked 'otherness'."[58] *Homespun Heroines* identified stable black families with loving, supportive, and present black mothers. It demonstrated their successful balance of domesticity and professional activities and careers. It located thriving communities of free black people in pursuit of education or landownership in the early 1800s. The authors in *Homespun Heroines* confirmed the horror and evil of the institution of slavery and added women's emancipation narratives to the body of literature on the institution of slavery. The roles of women in religion, as prolific writers, and as activists highlight some of the other themes in the subjects' lives.

Equally as fascinating as the heroines are the twenty-eight authors who contributed to this collection. Possibly only a handful of these women received formal training as historians. Despite being unlettered, these women produced what Dagbovie called "innovative, polemical,

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[57] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 149. Marie Garrett, "Elizabeth Keckley" in *Notable Black American Women*, ed. Jessie Carney Smith (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Inc., 1992), 616-621.

[58] Nell Irvin Painter, "Sojourner Truth in Life and Memory: Writing the Biography of an American Exotic" in *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History*, eds. Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1995), 359-369.

and vindicationist" as well as "insightful, accessible, and practical" historical scholarship.[59] In June 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois reviewed *Homespun Heroines* in *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP. "There is a good deal of information thus made available concerning the work of colored women in the United States which hitherto has been difficult to find." Though modest in his review, DuBois referred to *Homespun Heroines* as "the best book on the work of colored women." [60] He told one inquirer "You will find the best recent collection of biographies of colored women in Hallie Q. Brown's "Homespun Heroines," which can be ordered through this office. The price is $3.50."[61]

Certain critics denigrated the scholarly importance of *Homespun Heroines* because of the amateur status of it authors. A 1927 review of the work in *The Messenger*, a popular 20th century African American periodical, regarded *Homespun Heroines* as "fulsome praise of mere nobodys [*sic.*]" and so "silly [that] to intelligent grown-ups it appears ridiculous."[62] At the time of its publication only one African American woman held the Ph.D. in History, Anna Julia Cooper, who had earned the degree from the Sorbonne in Paris in 1925.[63] Dagbovie reports "black women were widely and often systematically excluded from participating in mainstream U.S. and African American academic culture," which required black women to develop "a

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[59] Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *African American History Reconsidered* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 103.

[60] W. E. B. Du Bois to L. R. Reynolds, 6 February 1929. *W. E. B. Du Bois Papers* (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

[61] W. E. B. Du Bois to Mrs. C. A. Hathaway, 15 September 1928. *W. E. B. Du Bois Papers*.

[62] James Ivy, "Book Bits" *The Messenger*, August 1927.

[63] For history of black women and education see Stephanie Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*. Only four black women held PhDs in 1926. Georgiana Simpson, PhD German (1921), Sadie T. M. Alexander PhD Economics (1921), Eva Dyke PhD English (1921), and Cooper PhD History (1925).

range of coping strategies, survival mechanisms, and alternative ways to approaching and writing history."[64]

Earl E. Thorpe contends "from the late 1890s until the civil rights movement, there existed a significant group of black 'historians without portfolio,' a 'group of non-professional persons ... who have a fondness for the discipline of history, feeling that their life experiences peculiarly fit them for chronicling some historical events.'" [65]Delilah Beasley, author of the selection on "California Colored Women Trailblazers," provides one such example. Unsolicited and unaffiliated with an academic institution or organization, Beasley moved to California with the intention of writing a history of African Americans in California in 1910. Beasley analyzed all existing California newspapers identifying pertinent facts and events related to African Americans and conducted oral interviews with the descendants of early California residents. When her book came out in 1919, the academic community berated her efforts. *Journal of Negro History* editor Carter G. Woodson remarked "It is much hodge podge that one is inclined to weep like the minister who felt that his congregation consisted of too many to be lost but not enough to be saved."[66] Brown obviously felt differently because an excerpt from Beasley's *The Negro in California* appeared in *Homespun Heroines*.

In addition to "historians without portfolio" Pero Dagbovie identifies, "accomplished and professionally trained scholars who, though not formally trained in history, published historical

[64] Dagbovie, *African American History Reconsidered*, 101.

[65] Ibid., 103.

[66] Robert L. Johns, "Delilah Leontium Beasley," in *Notable Black American Women*, 72-74.; Carter G. Woodson, "Review of The Negro Trail Blazers of California by Delilah L. Beasley," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan., 1920): 128-129.

scholarship or engaged in rigorous historical research."[67] Brown, of course, held a bachelor and master degree from Wilberforce University. Josephine Turpin Washington held a degree from Howard University. Charlotte Stephens attended Oberlin University and became the first African American teacher in Little Rock, Arkansas school system. Maritcha R. Lyons graduated from Providence High School in 1869 and took private classes in language and music at the Brooklyn Institute. She taught and served as an assistant principal in the Brooklyn Public School System, even training Ida B. Wells-Barnett in the art of debate and speaking.[68]

These two categories most aptly characterize Brown and her colleagues: "historians without portfolio" and professionally trained scholars not formally trained in history. "This group of under-acknowledged black female intellectuals" created the field of black women's history. Dagbovie further asserts that "The history of black women historians [especially during the Progressive Era] constitutes a dynamic narrative, challenging us to revisit the lives and works of lesser-known black women scholars, reconceptualize conventional definitions of what makes one a historian, and rediscover valuable scholarly insights."[69] Specifically, I contend that *Homespun Heroines* created the space for modern black women's history canonical standards, such as Darlene Clark Hine's three-volume *Black Women in America* and Jessie Carney Smith, *Notable Black Women*, and others.

While Brown devoted her life to memorializing black women, black women's history has occasionally misrepresented and forgotten Brown. In *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves* Deborah Gray White offers a candid, critical, and one of the most

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[67] Dagbovie, *African American History Reconsidered*, 103

[68] Robert L. Johns, "Maritcha R. Lyons" in *Notable Black American Women*, 419-420.

[69] Dagbovie, *African American History Reconsidered*, 102.

comprehensive studies of the black women's club movement. However, White attributes an instance of in-fighting to the wrong Ms. Brown.[70] White states Alice Dunbar-Nelson called "Brown a 'dirty little rat' for using unscrupulous methods to gain office." Dunbar-Nelson instead disparaged *Charlotte Hawkins* Brown, an educator from North Carolina who had no relation to Hallie Quinn Brown. To be sure, Brown did maneuver in the NACW, as I discuss in Chapter 4, but White's editorial oversight and misrepresentation of Hallie Quinn Brown as a wretched in-fighter and instigator in *Too Heavy a Load* damages Brown's historical image.[71] Another example occurred in 1996 when the *African American Writers 1910-1940* series republished *Lifting as They Climb* by Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, a book which compiled the local and national histories of all black women's clubs in the United States through 1934. With its re-printing, non-NACW members now had access to these histories and the potential for expanded and detailed studies of individual women and black women's grassroots and national activism grew tremendously. In the introduction to the republished text, Sieglinde Lemke summarizes Davis' history of the NACW and unfortunately, omits Hallie Quinn Brown's presidency and credits it to Margaret Murray Washington.[72] This omission of Brown's important place as a leader in the nation's most prominent black women's organization demands redress.

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[70] Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 108.

[71] Gloria T. Hull, ed., *Give Us Each Day: The Diary of Alice Dunbar-Nelson* (Norton, 1986), 250. Alice Dunbar Nelson from Friday, August 3 reads: "… [National Federation of Colored Women] Executive Board meeting lasts until 10:30. Then the tedious day session until 2:30. Charlotte Hawkins Brown [founder and president of Palmer Memorial Institute, North Carolina] won out over Mrs. Burnett. Dirty little rat! She used unscrupulous methods. And a respite all too brief for luncheon—which I find in the neighborhood. Then a story and bitter Executive Board session from 3:30 to 7:00. Terrible. Lots of dirty linen washed. Tears. Undercurrents that I knew not of. Realized sharply that I am an "out." Rebecca Stiles Taylor canned by Mrs. [Sallie] Stewart for Executive Secretary and a bitter war precipitated thereby. Too exhausting to think of…"

[72] Sieglinde Lemke, "Introduction" in Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting As They Climb* (Reprint G.K. Hall, 1996), xxv.

I certainly do not believe White or Lemke intentionally misrepresented these issues, but these mistakes negatively impact the way that people remember Brown. Brown dedicated a good portion of her life to recording the histories of black women, not just through oral retelling, but also in writing. Ironically, the very tool that she used to change the presentation of black women and foster an area of studying black women worked against her.

I contend *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* indicates a strategic step in Brown's plan of black racial uplift and specifically black women's empowerment. *Homespun Heroines* became part of a structured and well-established canon used to affirm identity, personhood, and patriotism. As a text, it institutionalized black women as a subject of serious inquiry in American history, ensuring that the practice of the idea or behavior becomes a standard and familiar way of life. In order for the recognition of black women to take place, Brown needed to demonstrate that black women lived, worked, and loved like all people, but that the conditions under which black women did so situated them uniquely. Brown captured "the ways that race and gender intersect that forced black women to always negotiate dual systems of oppression, in ways that black men and white women did not."[73] The biographical sketches in *Homespun Heroines* highlighted "the struggles endured and the obstacles overcome by our pioneer women."[74] The sketches reveal the gender specific ways vulnerability and exploitation manifested for black women. The authors revealed how black women navigated oppressive structures and barriers via education, work, service, and respectability, enabling Brown to identify these women and others like them as a specific and independent class. The type of class Brown constructed does not follow a true Marxian economic class formation model, but rather a

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[73] Email conversation with Chana Kai Lee.

[74] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, vii.

social and cultural formation model as expressed by Robert Lanning. Lanning surmised "a class is comprised of people in similar social circumstances, such as living conditions, the kinds of work they do, their comparable position on the larger, social division of labor."[75] Class formation allows individuals to develop a class-consciousness that is an awareness of their place in the system.

Many of Brown's contemporaries examined varying ideas of consciousness. For example, in 1892 Anna Julia Cooper in *A Voice From the South* articulated black women's consciousness as double consciousness of invisibility for women and black people. Cooper wrote "The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country…She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem and as yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both."[76] Several years after Cooper, in 1903 W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* noted "this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."[77] Both Cooper and DuBois reveal that all black people experience double or multiple consciousnesses. The social awareness of a black woman's gender and race or race and nation naturally produce double consciousness, but not necessarily class-consciousness. Class-consciousness must be formed. In *Dialectical Investigations*, Bertell Ollman argues that true class consciousness exhibits a sense of solidarity with other class

[75] Lanning, *The National Album* 9.

[76] Cooper, *A Voice From the South*, 134.

[77] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Bantam, 1903), 3.

members, expresses a "rational hostility toward the opposing class," and holds a "vision of a more democratic and egalitarian society that is not only possible but is a condition individuals can help bring about."[78]

Homespun Heroines is the history of a distinct class-consciousness predicated on membership in three separate classes—woman (gender), black (race), and American (nation). The text presents a precise way of viewing black women as a conscious class. Black American women's triple consciousness produced a specific reality that necessitated strategic maneuvering to ensure black women's empowerment. Brown's decision to organize the biographies chronologically according to the subject's date of birth demonstrates her acknowledgement of the historical tradition of black women's activism and support for women, black people, and the United States. The organizational involvement, multiple careers and roles performed by these women demonstrate their efforts to promote an affirmative vision of black women. "The ultimate result," Maritcha Lyons held "was the formation of a sisterhood. This included the establishment of reforms, the cementing of bonds of unity, the defense of dignity of our women."[79] Furthermore, the familiar ties and "spiritual kinship" forged between the subjects and biographers in *Homespun Heroines* confirm the existence of a collective commitment to black women by black women. As the document and textual representation of black women's class consciousness, *Homespun Heroines* used black women's lives and relationships to politicize their identity as a "class for itself"—one conscious of its social role.

Brown's strategic use of collective biography made the lives and history of black women assessable and meaningful. Stephen G. Hall argues that collective biographies of African

[78] Bertell Ollman, *Dialectical Investigations* (New York : Routledge, 1993).

[79] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, 203.

Americans offered tangible meanings of racial possibility from within the black community without merely "mimicking" white American beliefs of progress/possibility or showing African Americans in an "accommodationist act." [80] The collective biographies became a powerful, efficient tool for disseminating life sketches and "stately portraits" of leading, successful, and representative women and men. It presented the reader with "a familiar, approachable reference group against whom character and success may be measured."[81] In presenting multiple accounts of heroines and "history-making women," Brown aimed to remedy the psychological effects of racism and sexism on black people's self-esteem and sense of worth. She hoped that the lives of these women provided "fresh strength and courage to stimulate and cause them to cleave more tenaciously to the truth and to battle more heroically for the right." Lyons echoed Brown. "The immediate purpose of this book is to be something beyond a vehicle for information or a source of casual enjoyment. It is designed to arouse that admiration that leads to emulation to emphasize the doctrine of personal responsibility." [82] Essentially, this collective biography operated as "a map to follow with examples of choices made at particular junctures which the reader might apply to his or her own life situations."[83]

Brown produced a cultural artifact that placed black women in the historical conversation using their voices. *Homespun Heroines* elevated her into a leading voice determining who and what people should know about black women as they transitioned from slavery to freedom. *Homespun Heroines* shared the voices and lives of prominent black women and it also

[80] Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race*, 170.

[81] Lanning, *The National Album*, 29.

[82] Brown, *Homespun Heroines*, vii, 174.

[83] Lanning, *The National Album*, 4.

introduced the voices and experiences of everyday and lesser-known black women. It countered the singular narrative of black women and illustrated the heterogeneity of black women. It sought to correct ahistorical imaginings of black women that emphasized white benevolence and black dependency. The authors re-constructed historical memory and combated the continual omission and misrepresentation of black women in history. This revisionist history preserves black history but more specifically, black women's history.

While *Homespun Heroines* demonstrated black women's class consciousness, community, and education, its purpose was to inspire people, especially "homespun" black women. Brown documented the history of struggle and triumph to celebrate the tenacity, resiliency, and hope of black women. *Homespun Heroines* illustrated our common humanity as parent, child, sibling, spouse, or more specifically, mother, wife, daughter, sister, lover, and friend.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: "AS THE MANTLE FALLS"

This dissertation explored key moments in the life of Miss Hallie Quinn Brown that contribute to the overall understanding and recognition of her life and work. Brown penned her autobiography *As the Mantle Falls* for public consumption and for posterity. In this self-conscious reflection of her spiritual life, social interests, and historical events, Brown took the liberty of disclosing those ideas and experiences she determined most important in her life. Unfortunately, she never published this work. In "A Torch in the Valley" I (re)introduce Brown to a modern audience and use her autobiography to present a more complete account of her life and work.

In a letter to her niece Frances Hughes, Brown wrote "Did I tell you I decided [the title]? Well, it is 'As the Mantle Falls.' Do you like it?"[1] Brown's enthusiasm over her chosen title radiates from the page. Her title, taken from an Old Testament bible story, aptly describes how she views her work in relation to the world around her. In the Biblical story about the prophet Elijah's final moments on earth, Elijah praises Elisha, his protégé and chosen successor, for his loyalty and asks if he desires anything. Elisha responds, "Let a double portion of your spirit be upon me." In an incredibly dramatic scene, a heavenly chariot and horses of fire take Elijah up into the heavens. As Elijah ascends, he releases his outer mantle or cloak, fulfilling Elisha's request for a double portion of his spirit. As the mantle fell, Elisha picked it up. When Elisha

[1] Hallie Quinn Brown to Frances Hughes, 16 March 1948 "Our Women: Past, Present, Future," 7, *Hallie Quinn Brown Collection*, National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (NAAMCC) (Wilberforce, OH), Box 4, Folder 4. Hereinafter cited as *HQB Collection*.

returned to the city of Jericho with Elijah's mantle, the people immediately recognized him as the preeminent prophet among all the prophets until his death.[2] Like Elisha, Brown picked up the mantle of those who came before her. She recalled biblical women such as Esther, Ruth, Deborah, and Jael who inspired her, along with her own mother Frances Brown, and Jarena Lee, Harriet Tubman, Phillis Wheatley, Sojourner Truth, Frances E. W. Harper, Amanda Smith, "the negro mother," and "the woman who stepped forth scarred by slavery's relentless lash, her intellect dwarfed and shrunken into piteous ignorance, without money, without clothes, without a home, without a name, but a free woman. The great hearted women of generations ago have passed the thread of warp and woof to the women of today who weave the patter**n** that shall be revealed to the women of tomorrow."[3] Brown's life and work exist as part of a larger continuum of black women working for equality, justice, and a spiritual crown.

I identify four spiritual watersheds from *As the Mantle Falls* that uncover her personal theology and provide a framework for understanding Brown's motivations following her college graduation from Wilberforce University in 1873. In Chapter one, I reveal Brown's identification and understanding of the Spirit. Brown believed the Spirit guided her and dwelled within her. On at least two occasions Brown recorded dreams in which the Spirit revealed a mission to her. Her first dream, as discussed in chapter three, caused Brown's spiritual consciousness to merge with the social and economic realities around her. Immediately, she "made a vow to consecrate the

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[2] 2 Kings 1, 2, and 13: 20, *The Holy Bible* (KJV). The word "mantle" is transliterated from the Hebrew word *'addereth* meaning "mantle – cloak made of fur or fine material; prophet's garment."

[3] "Miss H.Q. Brown Delivered A Wonderful Address," *Negro Star (Wichita, KS)*, 15 June 1923; Hallie Quinn Brown, "Our Women: Past, Present, Future," 6, *HQB Collection*, NAAMCC, Box 1, Folder 8; Other women named in "Our Women" include Sarah Jane Woodson Early, Mary Ann Shad Carey, Susan M. Stewart, Ida Gray Nelson, Frances J. Coppin, Sarah Garnet, Maria Baldwin, Edmonia Lewis, Madam Selika, Elizabeth Greenfield, Patti Brown, Florence Talbert, and Emma Hackley.

remainder of [her] life to God and humanity."[4] The second dream Brown recalls compelled her to establish a library for Wilberforce University and to embark on a European tour. Brown believed the Spirit prompted her to teach and educate those in areas of academic knowledge, as well as in faith, temperance, and morality. Brown articulated her beliefs through an educational paradigm that advocated physical educational for women, demanded equal educational access and opportunities across genders, and insisted upon moral education for everyone to save their souls. The final spiritual watershed, the establishment of a ladies dormitory at Wilberforce University, incorporated women into the academic community, but it also indicated Brown's political and professional focus on black women. On September 16, 1949, Brown died at the age of 99. Her life's work, as illustrated in these watersheds, prepared a class of educated black women, politically organized and equipped, armed with their common history, set to continue working for equality, justice and a spiritual crown, and ready to pick up her mantle.

The style Brown used to document her life in *As the Mantle Falls* epitomizes the genre of "spiritual autobiography." Spiritual autobiography, scholar Richard Peace notes, "reveals unnoticed but foundational aspects of our lives; it draws the strands of our lives together in a creative way that points us to the purpose and meaning of our lives…[it] is a chronicle of our pilgrimage as we seek to follow after God. "[5] In the spiritual autobiographies of Jarena Lee, a preacher, Amanda Smith, an evangelist, and Maria Stewart, an abolitionist, respectively, they identify formative and life changing spiritual experiences and use language similar to Brown that confirms the power and presence of the Holy Spirit as a direct agent in their lives. Jarena Lee

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[4] Hallie Quinn Brown, *Hallie Quinn Brown Autobiography: As The Mantle Falls*, 54-56, *HQB Collection*, NAAMCC, Box 1, Folder 4.

[5] Richard Peace, *Spiritual Storytelling: Discovering and Sharing Your Spiritual Autobiography* (Colorado Springs: NAVPress, 1996), 9-11.

described holding meetings for families who had not had access to a preacher or service. She also shared her experience when she "received sanctification" and being "filled with the power of the Holy Ghost." Lee's reflection regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in her life mirrors Brown's. She wrote how "the Spirit of God moved in power through my conscience […] wishing to know much of the way and law of God, have therefore watched the more closely, the operations of the Spirit, and have in consequence been led thereby. But let it be remarked that I have never found that Spirit lead me contrary to the Scriptures of truth, as I understand them." [6] Amanda Smith's autobiography follows a similar pattern as well. Smith shares several of her direct and intimate conversations with the Holy Spirit. She describes how the Holy Spirit "came" and her desire to submit to the Holy Spirit. Smith noted "…it was not the will of the Lord for me to confine myself as a servant in any family, but to go and work in His vineyard as the Spirit directed me."[7] When Maria Stewart "was brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus," her life changed. She observed, "From the moment I experienced the change, I felt a strong desire, with the help and assistance of God, to devoted the remainder of my days to piety and virtue, and now possess that spirit of independence, that, were I called upon, I would willingly

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[6] Jarena Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel* (Philadelphia, PA: 1849), 1, 9-10,12,17, 97.

[7] Amanda Smith, *An Autobiography The Story Of The Lord's Dealings With Mrs. Amanda Smith The Colored Evangelist Containing An Account Of Her Life Work Of Faith, And Her Travels In America, England, Ireland, Scotland, India And Africa, As An Independent Missionary* (Chicago: Meyer & Brother, Publishers, 1893), 77-78, 79, 80, 81-82, 103-105, 121, 148-149; Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Daughters of Thunder: Black Women Preachers and Their Sermons, 1850-1979 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 42, 47, 48.* Collier-Thomas identifies numerous other women with experiences that parallel Brown's experiences. For example, a preacher named Elizabeth believed an "invisible power" sustained her. Zilpha Elaw received an unction to preach. Rebecca Cox Jackson professed "direct personal communication with the Holy Spirit."

sacrifice my life for the cause of God and my brethren."[8] For Brown and her peers, the Holy Spirit inspired their work, validated the importance of their contributions, and thus, emboldened them.

Given the significant role spirituality played in her life, Brown's life contributes to the growing body of literature on black religious women. Bettye Collier-Thomas observes "few perceive religion or spirituality as a significant factors in the shaping of women's thought and actions."[9] Collier-Thomas, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Chanta Haywood, Delores Williams, Jacquelyn Grant, for example, illustrate how black women used their spirituality, along with "religious rhetoric and discourse as a protest against and a response to their situation as blacks and women" throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[10] Collier-Thomas demonstrates the social and political organizing of black women often emerged from their religious organizations. In some cases, black women, like Brown, used social and religious sentiments to develop interracial cooperation and further their gender specific causes. The discussion of spirituality in this study builds on these ideas and invites further study into the ways spirituality manifested in individual black women's lives.[11]

Brown devoted over half of her autobiography, *As the Mantle Falls*, to documenting her international tours. As such, this study examines the purpose of Brown's elocutionary praxis in her life and for black women. Brown used her public performances and her choice selections to

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[8] Chanta Haywood, *Prophesying Daughters: Black Women Preachers and the Word, 1823-1913* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 5; Maria W. Stewart, *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (Washington, DC: Enterprise Publishing Company, 1879), 3.

[9] Bettye Collier-Thomas, *Jesus, Jobs, Justice: African American Women and Religion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), xvii.

[10] Haywood, *Prophesying Daughters*, 24.

[11] Ibid., 26.

share black literary and musical culture. Her content and specific style of recitation, song, poetry, lecture and history contributed to worldwide awareness of issues affecting black people. In particular, her tours provided a vantage point from which she could appropriately assess the condition of black people, and especially see the needs of black women. Through elocution, Brown engaged in public negotiations of racial, gendered, sexual, and national identities. Selections such as "How He Saved St. Michael's or "The Black Regiment" depicted a noble, moral, masculine character, while Brown herself showcased a positive, moral image of black womanhood that directly challenged the hypersexual, overbearing, or deferent images of black women.

Brown's autobiography also demonstrates her commitment to education. Beginning with her first job teaching, Brown began crafting a philosophy of education that ultimately centered on themes of Christian/moral education and equal educational opportunities for each gender. Brown believed education most logically addressed the concerns facing African Americans. The act of participating in education exercised citizenship and made a meaningful contribution to society. Education was the practice of African American freedom. Many of Brown's contemporaries, such as Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny J. Coppin, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune developed educational philosophies to facilitate black racial uplift. Unequivocally, these women advocated "for the better education of our girls," but differed on the exact way to execute girls' education. [12] Brown distinguishes herself amongst her colleagues as an early proponent of school curricula endorsing women's physical development and education. Brown believed cultivating physical frailty (and corsets) ensured women remained weak, exhausted, immobile, unable to move, and dependent. It was an effort, socially and politically, to

[12] Editorial, *A.M.E. Church Review* 6, no. 3 (January 1890).

immobilize women. The extent to which black women and educational curricula encouraged physical education invites further investigation.

For Brown, race and gender have always been at the forefront of historical inquiry, economic analysis, political representation, and social recognition. This dissertation demonstrates that black women constantly maneuvered and positioned themselves to secure social equality and political enfranchisement. For example, most of Brown's work in behalf of black women occurred through the AME church, but by the 1890s that did not appear to be the best place for Brown's woman-specific activism. Brown turned her attention to the newly created National Association of Colored Women (NACW) to ensure black female empowerment. Her "woman-centered race progress" presidential platform from 1920-1924 consisted of education and civic involvement. To accomplish this mission, Brown relied on her three most powerful and influential identities—woman, citizen, and voter—and in the process corrected ahistorical imaginings of black women and created dignified lives and representations for black women.

Brown celebrated the lives and representations of black women in her 1926 publication of *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction.* As the first collaborative collective biography of black women written by multiple black women, it set a precedent for documenting the experiences, stories, and history of prominent and ordinary black women. As a text, it institutionalized black women as a subject of serious inquiry in American history and black women's class consciousness. Through *Homespun Heroines* Brown became a leading voice on what people should know about black women as they transitioned from slavery to freedom. In particular, Brown wanted to illuminate the gender-specific ways vulnerability and exploitation manifested for black women and how black women navigated oppressive structures and barriers via education, work, service, and respectability. The social and familiar ties along with the

"spiritual kinship" forged between the subjects and biographers in *Homespun Heroines* confirm the existence of a collective commitment to black women by black women.

This dissertation highlighted the accomplishments and challenges of Brown to aid in our understanding of Brown, as well as contribute to the burgeoning field of scholarship on black women. In "Our Women: Past, Present, Future," one of her most widely enjoyed lectures later published as an inspirational pamphlet, Brown observed**,** "When discouragements come; when cruel prejudices chill your aspirations; when difficulties beset your pathway; stand firm, your courage and integrity will shine forth with an undimmed lustre [*sic.*]. Our women have lighted a torch in the valley that shows the weakness and defects of the Castle on the Mount."[13] I believe Brown's life and work represent a torch in the valley. Through her autobiography, elocution, educational philosophy, and organizational activism, Brown offers "instructive light on the struggles endured and the obstacles overcome by our pioneer women."[14]

[13] Brown, "Our Women," 7.

[14] Hallie Q. Brown ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: Aldine Publishing Company, 1926), vii.

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APPENDIX A

UNCLE DANIEL[1]

Uncle Dan'l was a colored man, and belonged to a family who were emigrating from East Tennessee to Arkansas. They reached the Mississippi late in the evening, and after supper, Uncle Dan'l and his wife, Aunt Jinny, and the children of the party, ranged themselves on a log to contemplate and discuss this wonderful river.

" Chil'en, dah's sumfin a comin'!"

All crowded close together, and every heart beat faster. Uncle Dan'l pointed down the river with his bony finger.

A deep, coughing sound troubled the stillness way toward a wooded cape that jutted into the stream a mile distant. All in an instant a fierce eye of fire shot out from behind the cape, and sent a long, brilliant pathway quivering athwart the dusky water. The coughing grew louder and louder, the glaring eye grew larger and still larger, glared wilder and still wilder. A huge shape developed itself out of the gloom, and from its tall, duplicate horns dense volumes of smoke, starred and spangled with sparks, poured out and went trembling away into the farther darkness. Nearer and nearer the thing came, till its long sides began to glow with spots of light which mirrored themselves in the river, and attended the monster like a torchlight procession.

"What is it? Oh, what is it, Uncle Dan'l?"

With deep solemnity the answer came:

" It's de Almighty! Git down on yo' knees!"

It was not necessary to say it twice. They were all kneeling in a moment. And then, while the mysterious coughing rose stronger and stronger, and the threatening glare reached farther and wider, the negro's voice lifted up it's supplications:

" O, Lord, we's ben mighty wicked, an we knows dat we 'zerve to go to de bad place, but good Lord, deah Lord, we ain't ready yit, we ain't ready— let dese po' chil'en hab one mo' chance, jes' one mo' chance. Take de ole niggah, if you's got to hab somebody. Good Lord, good deah Lord, we don't know whah you's gwine to, we don't know who you's got yo' eye on, but we knows by de way yo's a comin', we knows by de way you's a tiltin' along in yo' charyot o'fiah, dat some po' sinner's a gwyne to ketch it. But good Lord, dese chil'en don't b'long heah, dey's f'm Obedstown, whah dey know nuffin, an' you knows, yo' own self, dat dey ain't 'sponsible. An' deah Lord, good Lord, it ain't like yo' merey, it ain't like yo' pity, it ain't

[1] Mark Twain, "Uncle Daniel," 29-31, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

like yo' long-sufferin' lovin'-kindness for to take dis kind o' 'vantage o' sich little chil'en as dese is when dey's so many ornery grown folks chuck full o'cussedness da' wants roastin' down dah. O, Lord, spah de little chil'en, don't tar de little chil'en away f m dey frens, jes" let em off dis once, and take it out'n de old niggah. HEAH I IS, LORD, HEAH I IS! De ole niggah's ready, Lord, de ole-- "

The flaming and churning steamer was right abreast the party, and not twenty steps away. The awful thunder of a mud-valve suddenly burst forth, drowning the prayer, and as suddenly Uncle Dan'l snatched a child under each arm, and scoured into the woods with the rest of the pack at his heels. And then, ashamed of himself, he halted in the deep darkness and shouted, (but rather feebly.)

"Heah I is, Lord, heah I is!"

There was a moment of throbbing suspense, and then, to the surprise and comfort of the party, it was plain that the august presence had gone by, for its dreadful noises were receding. Uncle Dan 1 headed a cautious recon-noissance in the direction of the log. Sure enough, " the Lord" was just turning a point a short distance up the river, and while they looked the lights winked out, and the coughing diminished by degrees, and presently ceased altogether.

" H'wsh! Well, now dey's some folks says dey ain't no 'ficiency in prah. Dis chile would like to know whah wed a ben now if it warn't fo' dat prah? Dat's it. Dat's it!"

" Uncle Dan I, do you reckon it was the prayer that saved us?" said Clay.

" Does I *reckon?* Don't I know it! Whah was yo' eyes? Warn't de Lord jes' a comin' *chow! chow!*CHOW! an' a goin' on turrible—an' do de Lord carry on dat way dout dey's sumfin don't suit Him ? An' warn't he a lookin' right at dis gang heah, an' warn't he jes' a reachin' for 'em. An' d'you spec' he gwyne to let 'em off "clout somebody ast him to do it? No indeedy!"

" Do you reckon he saw us, Uncle Dan'l! "

" De law sakes, chile' didn't I see him a-lookin' at us!"

" Did you feel scared, Uncle Dan'l? '

"No sah! When a man is 'gaged in prah, he ain t fraid o' nuffin—dey can't nuflin tech him."

" Well, what did you run for?"

" Well, I—I—Mars Clay, when a man is under the influence ob de sperit, he do-no what he's 'bout—no, sah ; dat man do-no what he's 'bout. You might take an' tah de head oft n dat man an' he wouldn't scarcely fine it out. Dah's de Hebrew chil'en dat went trough de fiah; dey was burnt considera-bl—ob *cease* dey was; but *dey* didn't know nuflin 'bout it—heal right up again; if dey'd ben gals dey'd missed dey long haah (hair,) maybe, but dey wouldn't felt de burn."

" I don't know but what they were girls. I think they were."

" Now Mars Clay, you knows better'n dat. Sometimes a body can't tell whedder you's a-sayin' what you means or whedder you s a-sayin' what you don't mean, 'case you says 'em bofe de same way."

" But how should I know whether they were boys or girls?"

" Goodness sakes, Mars Clay, don't de good book say ? 'Sides, don't it call 'em de *He*-brew chil en? If dey was gals wouldn't dey be de she-brew chil'en? Some people dat can read don't pear to take no notice when dey *do* read."

"Well, Uncle Dan'l, I think that-- My! here comes another one up the river ! There can't be *two!*"

" We gone dis time—we done gone dis time, sho'! Dey ain't two, Mars Clay—dat's de same one. De Lord can 'peah eberywhah in a second. Goodness how de fiah'an'de smoke do belch up ! Dat mean business honey. He comin' like he fo'got stimfin'. Come long, chil en, time you's gwyane to roos .
Go 'long wid you—ole Uncle Dan 1 gwyne out in de woods to rastle in prah—de old niggah gwyne to do what he kin to sabe you again."

He did go to the woods and pray ; but he went so far that he doubted, himself, if the Lord heard him when He went by.

BROTHER WATKINS[2]

An old southern preacher, who had a great habit of talking through his nose, left one congregation and came to another. The first Sunday he addressed his new congregation he went on about as follows :

My beloved brederin before I take my text, I must tell you of parting with my old congregation-ah, on the morning of last Sabbath-ah I entered into my church to preach my farewell discourse-ah. Before me sat the old fadders and mothers of Israel-ah. The tears course down their furrowed cheeks, their tottering forms and quivering lips breathed out a sad fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

Behind them sat middle aged men and matrons, youth and vigor bloomed from every countenance, and as they looked up, I thought I could see in their dreamy eyes fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

Behind them sat the little boys and girls I had baptised and gathered into the Sabbath school. Oftimes had they been rude and boisterous; but now their merry laugh was hushed and in the silence I could hear fare-ye-well BrotherWatkins-ah.

Away in the back seats and along the aisles stood and sat the colored bretherin with their black faces and honest hearts, and as they looked up I thought I could see in their eyes fare-ye-well Brother Wilkins-ah.

When I had finished my discourse, and shaken hands with the bretherin-ah, I went out to take a last look at the church-ah. and the broken steps-ah, the flopping blinds-all, and the moss-covered roof-ah, suggested fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

I mounted my old gray mare with my earthly possessions in my saddle-bags, and as I passed down the street the servant girls stood in the doors-ah and waved their brooms with a fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

As I passed out of the village, I thought I could hear the wind-ah moaning through the waving branches of the trees, fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

I came on to the creek, and as the old mare stopped to drink 1 thought I could hear the water rippling over the pebbles, fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah. Even the little fishes-ah, as their bright fins glistened in the sunlight-ah, gathered round to say as best they could, fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

I was slowly passing up the hill ineditating-ah on the sad vicissitades of life-ah, when out bounded a big hog from the fence corner-ah with an a-boo a-boo and I came to the ground-ah, with my saddle bags-ah by my side-ah, and as theold mare ran up the hill-ah, she waved her tail

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[2] John B. Gough, "Brother Watkins," 34-35, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

back at me-ah seemingly to say-ah, fare-ye-well Brother Watkins-ah.

APPLES[3]

An Original Negro Lecture
"A little more cider do."

BRETHERN AN' SISTERN :
I'se gwine to gib you what I hope will prove to you a *fruit*ful discoarse,—de subject am dat ob APPLES. Dem ob my hearers dat only look upon de apple wid an eye to apple sass, apple fritters, apple pies, apple dumplins, an' apple toddies, will hardly be able to comprestand the *apple*cation ob my lectar,—to dem I leab de pcelins, an' direct de *seeds* of my discoarse,—-to such as hab souls above apple dumplins an' taste above apple tarts.

Now de apple, accordin' to Linnaeous, the Phlea-botanist am a Fruit originally exported from Adam's apple-orchard in de Garden ob Eden, and made indiggenous in ebery climate 'cept de north pole an' its neighboren territory de
Roily bolly alis.

De apple, accordin' to those nenowned Lexumcographers, Samuel Johnson, Danuel Webster, an' Doctor Skeleton McKensie, am de *py-rus molus*, which means : "To be molded into pies."

Well you all know dat do apple tree was the sacred vegetable ob de garden ob Eden till de sly an' insinuvating sea-serpent crawled out ob de river on Friday mornen, bit off an apple, made " *apple-jack*," handed de jug to Eve, she took a sip, den handed it to Adam,—Adam took anocler, by which bofe got topseycated an' fell clown de hill ob Paradise, an' in consequence darof, de whole woman race
an' human race fell down casmash, like speckled apples from a tree- in a storma-do. Oh ! what a fall war dar, my hearers, when you an' me. an' I, an' all drapt down togedder, an' de sarpent flapped his forked tongue in fatissaction.

But arter all, my hearers, dat terrible fall was not the fault ob do fruit ob de apple, but de abuse ob it; for de apple am a very great wegetable, corden as we use it or abuse it. De apple has been de fruit ob great tings, an' great tings hab been de fruit ob de apple. It was an apple dat fust suggested to Sir Humphrey Gravy Newton de seeds ob de law ob *grabitation*, dat wonderful, inwisible, an' unfrizable patent leber principle by which all dem luminous an volumuinous
planets turn round togedder, all-apart in one *E pluribus* unum ob grabity, hence de great poet Longfellow, in de fifiy-'leventh canto ob Lord Byron absarves,—

" Man fell by apples, an' by apples rose."

Sir Humphrey Gravy Newton was one day snoozen fast asleep under an apple tree, when a large sized Kentucky Pippen grabitated from de limb, struck him in de eye, an' all at once his eye was suddenly opened to the universal law

[3] W. B. Dick, "Apples," 92-94, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

of grabitation,

He saw de apple *downward*s fell,
He thought, " Why not *fall* up as well,"
It proved some telegraphic spell,
Pulled it arthwise,
I wish he"d now come back an' tall
Why apples RISE.

so high to a half peck in de bushel.

But, my hearers, to come to de grand point ob my larned disquisition on apples. Reasoning ap-priori, I proceed to dis grand fromologico-physiological phreenomenon, dat eber since our great-grand-nuidder Eve and our great-grand-fader Adam fust tasted *apple-jack* in de orchard ob Eden, de entire human race an' woman race in particlar, has been impregnated wid de spirit ob de apple, an' dat all men an' women, an' de rest of mankind, may be compared so some *Genus of de* APPLE. Dars de Philanthropist he's a good meller pippen—always ripe an' full ob de seeds ob human kindness. Dars de Miser, he's de "grindstone" apple —rock to de very core. Dars de Bachelor, he am a rusty coat, an' like a beefsteak widout gravy— dry to de very heart. Dars de Dandy, he's a long slim, all peelen. Dars de Fanner, he's de cart-horse apple—a leetle rough on de peelen, but juicy wid feelen. De Fashionable gent am a French pippen, an' de fashion-able young lady am de Bell-flower—an' when two sich apples am joined togedder, dey become a pear (pair). De Pollytician am a Specked apple—little foul sometimes at de core. De young Misses am de "Maiden's Blushes." De Widder she am a *Pine*apple—pine-en an' sprouten in de dark leaves to blossom once more. De good Wife she am de Balsam apple of human life, an'—an' in finis, deck old Maid she am (*bitterly*), a CRAB APPLE,—a fruit never known in de appleorchard of Paradise, an' only fit for Sourland—put her in de cider press of human affection, an' she'll come out forty-'leventh proof VINEGAR, enough to sour all human creation—even as de loud thunder ob de hebens sours de cowjuice in de milk-house.

Lastly, and to conclude, Brederen and Sisteren, let it be our great aim, how-somever we may differ in our various apple species, to strive to go in to de great cider press of human trial widout a speck in de core or dee peelen, so dat when de juice of our mortal vartues am squeezed out, de Angels when dey fust put dar lips to dc cider trough, may exclaim wid de poet,

" A leetle more Cider do."

AUNT JEMIMA'S COURTSHIP[4]

Waal, girls—if you must know—reckon I must tell ye. Waal 'twas in the winter time, and father and I were sitting alone in the kitchen. We wur sitting thar sort o' quiet like, when father sez, sez he to me, "Jemima;" And I sez, sez 1, "What, sir?" And he sez, sez he, " Wa'nt that a rap at the door?" and I sez, sez I, "No sir." Bimeby, father sez to me again, sez he, "Jemima! " And I sez, sez I, "What sir?" and he sez, sez he, " Are you sure?" and I sez, sez I, " No sir." So I went to the door, and opened it, and sure enough there stood—a man. Well he came in and sat down by father, and father and he talked about almost everything you could think of; they talked about the farm, they talked about the crops, and they talked about poli*tics*, and they talked about all other *ticks*.

Bimeby father, father sez to me, sez he, "Jemima!" And I sez, sez I, "What, sir?" And he sez, "Can't we have some cider?" And 1 sez, sez I, " I suppose so." So I went clown in the cellar and brought up a pitcher of cider, and I handed some cider to father, and then I handed some to the man; and father he drinks, and the man he drinks, and father he drinks, and the man he drinks, till they drink it all up. After awhile father sez to me, sez he, "Jemima!" And I sez, sez I, " What, sir?" And he sez, sez he, " Ain't it most time for me to be thinking about going to bed?" And I sez, sez I, " Indeed, you arc the best judge of that yourself, sir." "Waal, he sez, sez he, "Jemima, bring me my dressing-gown and slippers." And he put them on and arter awhile he went to bed.

And there sat that man; and bimeby he began a hitching his chair up toward mine—oh my ! I was all in a flutter. And then he sez, sez lie, "Jemima?" And I sez, sez I, "What, sir?" And he sez, sez he, "Will you have me?" And I sez, sez I, " No, sir! for I was most scared to death. Waal, there we sat, and after awhile, will ye believe me, he began backing his chair closer and closer to mine, and sez he, " Jemima ?" And I sez, sez I, " What, sir ?" And he sez, sez he, " Will ye have me?" And I sez, sez I, " No, sir!" Waal, by this time- he had his arm around my waist, and I hadn't the heart to take it away 'cause the tears was a-rollin' down his cheeks, and he sez, sez he, "Jemima? " And I sez, sez I, " What sir? ' And he sez, sez he, " For the third and last time, I shan't ask ye agin, will ye have me?" And I sez, sez I, "Yes, sir,"—fur I didn't know what else to say.

[4] Anonymous, "Aunt Jemima's Courtship," 56-57, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

THE LAST WORDS OF JOHN BROWN[5]

When brave old John Brown, whose fame is now immortal, stood on the gallows with the cap drawn over his eyes, a handkerchief was tendered him which
he was told to drop when ready. He indignantly refused it, saying sternly:
"John Brown is always ready—Virginia drops the handkerchief."

A stern brave man of iron nerve,
Stood on the gallows tree,
A martyr to the noble thought
That all mankind are free.
For three-score years that thought had burned
Into his soul so brave,
Till *he* believed it came from God,
That lie should free the slave!
He passed through trouble, grief, and woe—
No murmuring word he spoke;
Stern in his purpose, firm he stood,
As stands the mountain oak.
Nor friend nor foe could move his soul
To swerve from his intent;
The time, he thought, at last had come—
Bold to his work he went.
Alas! that arm, though nerved with truth,
Essayed too great a deed;
It bravely struck, and boldly too!
It battled but to bleed!
The *man*, borne down and overcome.
Was forced at last to yield:
But the brave soul, defiant still,
Its mighty strength revealed ;
And e'en the bravest cowered and quailed
Beneath the eagle eye,
Which all the petty tyrant's rage-
It did in scorn defy!
A trial!—t'was a mockery—
Condemned this man to death !
With cheek unblanched he scorned their power,
E'en with his latest breath;
And when upon the gallows-tree
This brave old hero stood,
Prepared in Freedom's holy cause
To sacrifice his blood;

[5] Benjamin B. French, "The Last Words of John Brown," 15-16, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

When asked the sign of death to give,
Replied, in accents steady;
" Virginia drops the handkerchief—
John Brown is always ready!"

Virginia dropped the handkerchief,
And brave John Brown is gone!
But, ah! she finds her ruin, while
"His soul is marching on!"
The man whom all'men thought was crazed
When tyrants he defied,
Saw the great future deeper far
Than all the world beside!

HOW HE SAVED ST. MICHAEL'S[6]

So you beg for a story, my darling, my brown-eyed Leopold,
And you Alice, with face like morning, and curling locks of gold,
Then come, if you will, and listen; stand 'neath this hawthorn tree,
To a tale of the Southern City, Proud Charleston by the sea.

It was long ago, my children, ere ever the signal gun,
That blazed above Fort Sumter had wakened the North as one;
Long ere the wondrous pillar of battle cloud and fire,
Had marked where the unchained millions marched on to their hearts desire.

On the roofs and the glittering turrets, that night as the sun went down,
The mellow glow of the twilight shown like a jeweled crown ;
And, bathed in the living glory, as the people lifted their eyes,
They saw the pride of the city, the spire of St. Michael's rise.

High over the lesser steeples, tipped with a golden ball,
That hung like a radiant planet caught in its earthward fall,
First glimpse of home to the sailor, who made the harbor round,
And last slow fading vision, dear to the outward bound.

The gently gathering shadows shut out the waning light;
The children prayed at their bed sides, as you will pray to-night;
The noise of the buyer and seller from the busy mart was gone;
And in dreams of peaceful morrow the city slumbered on.

But another light than sunrise aroused the sleeping street;
For a cry. was heard at midnight and the rush of trampling feet;
Men stared in each other's faces through mingled fire and smoke,
While the frantic bells went clashing, clamorous stroke on stroke.

By the glare of her blazing roof-tree the houseless mother fled,
With the babe she pressed to her bosom shrieking in nameless dread,
While the fire king's wild battalions scaled wall and capstone high,
And planted their flaring banners against an inky sky.

For the death that raged behind them and the crash of ruin loud,
To the great square of the city were driven the surging crowd;
Where yet firm in all the tumult, unscathed by the fiery flood,
With its heavenward pointing finger the Church of St. Michael's stood.

But e'en as they gazed upon it there rose a sudden wail,

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[6] Mary A. P. Stansberry, "How He Saved St. Michael's," 16-18, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

A cry of horror, blended with the roaring of the gale,
On whose scorched wings up-driven, a single flaming brand
Aloft on the towering steeple clung like a bloody hand.

"Will it fade?" The whisper trembled from a thousand whitenting lips;
Far out upon the lurid harbor they watched it from the ships,—
A baleful gleam that brighter and ever brighter shone,
Like a flickering, trembling will-o'-wisp to a steady beacon grown.

"Uncounted gold shall be given to the man whose brave right hand,
For the love of the periled city, plucks down yon burning brand!"
So cried the mayor of Charleston, that all the people heard;
But they looked each one at his fellow; and no man spoke a word.

Who is it leans from the belfry, with face upturned to the sky,
Clings to a column, and measures the dizzy spire with his eye?
Will he dare it, the hero undaunted, that terrible sickening height?
Or will the hot blood of his courage freeze in his veins at the sight ?

But see! he has stepped on the railing; he climbs with his feet and his hands;
And firm on a narrow projection, with the belfry beneath him he stands;
Now once, and once only, they cheer him,—a single tempestuous breath,—
And there falls on the multitude gazing a hush like the stillness of death.

Slow, steadily mounting, unheeding aught save the goal of the fire,
Still higher and higher, an atom, he moves on the face of the spire.
He stops! Will he fall? Lo! for answer, a gleam like a meteor's track,
And, hurled on the stones of the pavement, the red brand lies shattered and black.

Once more the shouts of the people have rent the quivering air :
At the church-door mayor and council wait with their feet on the stair;
And the eager throng behind them press for a touch of his hand,—
The unknown savior, whose daring could compass a deed so grand.

But why does a sudden tremor seize on them while they gaze ?
And what meaneth that stilled murmur of wonder and amaze?
He stood in the gate of the temple he had periled his life to save;
And the face of the hero, my children, was the sable face of a slave ?

With folded arms he was speaking, in tones that were clear, not loud,
And his eyes ablaze in their sockets, burnt into the eyes of the crowd:
"You may keep your gold; I scorn it!—but answer me, ye who can,
If the deed I have done before you be not the deed of *a man?*"

He stepped but a short space backward; and from all the women and men
There were only sobs for answer; and the mayor called for a pen,

And the great seal of the city, that he might read who ran:
And the slave who saved St. Michael's went out from its door, a man.

THE DYING BONDMAN[7]

Life was trembling, faintly trembling,
On the bondman's latest breath,
And he felt the chilling pressure
Of the cold, hard hand of Death.

He had been an Afric chieftain,
Worn his manhood as a crown ;
But upon the field of battle
Had been fiercely stricken down.

He had longed to gain his freedom,
Waited, watched and hoped in vain,
Till his life was slowly ebbing—
Almost broken was his chain.

By his bedside stood the master,
Gazing on the dying one,
Knowing by the dull grey shadows
That life's sands were almost run.

" Master," said the dying chieftain,
" Home and friends I soon shall see;
But before I reach my country,
Master write that I am free ;

" For the spirits of my fathers
Would shrink back from me in pride,
If I told them at our greeting
I a slave had lived and died ;—

"Give me the precious token,
That my kindred dead may see—
Master ! write it, write it quickly!
Master! write that I am free! "

At his earnest plea the master
Wrote for him the glad release,
O'er his wan and wasted features
Flitted one sweet smile of peace.

Eagerly he grasped the writing;

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[7] Frances E. W. Harper, "The Dying Bondman," 33-34, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

"I am free'. " at last he said.
Backward fell upon the pillow,
He was free among the dead.

THE BLACK REGIMENT[8]
Port Hudson, *May 27,* 1863

Dark as the clouds of even,
Ranked in the western heaven,
Waiting the breath that lifts
All the dead mass, and drifts
Tempest and falling brand
O'er a ruined land;—
So still and orderly,
Arm to arm, knee to knee,
Waiting the great event
Stands the black regiment.

Down the long dusky line
Teeth gleam and eye-balls shine;
And the bright bayonet,
Bristling, firmly set
Flashed with a purpose grand,
Long ere the sharp command
Of the fierce rolling drum
Told them their time had come—
Told them what work was sent
For the black regiment.
" Now," the flag-sergeant cried,
" Though death and hell betide,
Let the whole nation see
If we are fit to be free
In this land ; or bound
Down, like the whining hound—
Bound with red stripes of pain
In our cold chains again !"
Oh ! what a shout there went
From the black regiment!

" Charge!' Trump and drum awoke;
Onward the bondman broke:
Bayonet and sabre stroke
Vainly opposed their rush.
Through the wild battle's crush,
With but one thought aflush;
Driving their lords like chaff,
In the guns' mouths they laugh;

[8] George H. Baker, "The Black Regiment," 90-92, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

Or, at the slippery brands
Leaping with open hands,
Down they tear man and horse,
Down in their awful course;
Trampling with bloody heel
Over the crushing steel,—
All their eyes forward bent,
Rushed the black regiment.

" Freedom! " their battle-cry,—
" Freedom! or leave to die!"
Ah ! and they meant the word ;
Not as with us 'tis heard,
Not a mere party shout:
They gave their spirits out;
Trusted the end to God,
And on the gory sod
Rolled in triumphant blood,
Glad to strike one free blow,
Whether for weal or woe;
Glad to breathe one free breath,
Though on the lips of death,
Praying—alas! in vain!—

That they might fall again,
So they could once more see
That burst to liberty!
This was what "freedom" lent
To the black regiment.
Hundreds on hundreds fell;
But they are resting well;
Scourges and shackles strong
Never shall do them wrong.
Oh, to the living few,
Soldiers be just and true!
Hail them as comrades tried;
Fight with them side by side;
Never in field or tent,
Scorn the black regiment.

FIFTY MILES AN HOUR[9]
Mrs. Garfield's Ride to Washington, July 2, 1881

"Clear the track to Washington ! "
Flashed the order from New York.
Commerce, travel, all must wait;
Business, pleasure, play or work !
"Clear the track to Washington!
Fire the steam to lightning power
Engineer, your orders are :
Fifty miles an hour ! "

"Bring out 'Long-legged Tom,
Stride eight yards at every round!
Let them burn along the steels !
Make that splendid engine bound!
Like a fiery dragon's flight,
Let the train the road devour!
Engineer, your orders are :
Fifty miles an hour ! '

"Why?" "A mad assassin's hand
Shot our President this morn.
Garfield's wife to Garfield flies,
Like an angel, whirlwind borne!
Engineer, be bold and true !
Test your arts consummate flower!
Put this little woman through,
Fifty miles an hour ! "

" Fifty million patriot hearts
Weep, and rage, and curse, and pray:
'Save, O God, our President!
Shield his wife and speed her way!'
Engineer, not this for you ;
Yours to stand a brazen tower
And put this one weak woman through,
Fifty miles an hour! "

"Ten hour's time to Washington.
You must cut it down to six!
For our Garfield's hero soul
Trembles on the shores of Styx,

[9] George Lansing Taylor, "Fifty Miles An Hour," 90-92, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

Grim Charon's bark grates on life's strand,
But love shall snatch his lifted oar,
For Love can bear the fearful strain
Of fifty miles an hour!"

Strong men, bare-browed, cheer the train,
Like a thunder-bolt hurled past!
Women's tears fall thick as rain
Shook from rose-trees by the blast.
O, Wedded Love! ne'er angel flew
From Heaven to earth with richer dower!
Angels! waft this true wife through,
Fifty miles an hour !

Philadelphia hails the car,
Like a meteor on its road;
Baltimore, thrilled at its jar,
Waves it on with prayer to God!
Venus's chariot, drawn by doves,
Fluttering from Love's myrtle bower,
Changed to steed of steel and flame,
At fifty miles an hour!

Aye, 'twere need! The Nation's choice
Bleeding lies at point to die!
Aye, 'twere need! The Nation's voice
Burst to God in myriad cry:
"Save, O God, our President!"
Dash aside this tearful shower;
Love is life and Love comes flying,
Fifty miles an hour!

The true wife comes! Love fights with Death !
The Nation's prayer is heard!
E'en Shylock Wall Street's "bulls" and "bears'
With a human throb are stirred,
And a million, gold, were not too much
To make that brave wife's dower,
Who rode six hours to save her lord,
At fifty miles an hour!

MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT BY L. N. D. P.

The scene is changed—Hark! at the midnight hour, borne on the gentle breeze, from an hundred belfries high, listen to the mournful—" toll!" "toll!" "toll!" Ring out ye solemn bells, chant your s.id farewell! Garfield's gone!

A nation's prayers; a mother's love; a wife's tender devotion—.stayed not thy hand, O, Death! Our hero martyr, stricken in thy prime, we deeply mourn our loss, but feel tis thy ne'er unending gain, and thou, eternal God, we turn to thee, O, may our hearts be bowed submissively to thy unerring will. And tho' we cannot pierce the cloud of thee—O, God, the blest, let this assurance give us peace—Thou knowest best!—[H. Q. B.]

CREEDS OF THE BELLS[10]

In rendering this selection endeavor to give a different tone of voice for each church bell.

How sweet the chime of Sabbath bells,
Each one its creed in music tells,
In tones that swell upon the air
As soft as song, as pure as prayer ;
And I will put it in simple rhymes,
The language of the golden chimes,
My happy heart with rapture swells
Responsive to the bells, sweet bells.

" In deeds of love excel, excel"
Chimed out from ivied towers a bell
"This is the church not built on sands,
Emblem of one not made by hands
Its forms and sacred rites revere,
Come worship here, come worship here
In rituals and faith excel"
Rang out the EPISCOPALIAN bell.

"Farewell, farewell, base world farewell"
In solemn tones exclaimed a bell,
" Life is a boon to mortals given
To fit the soul for bliss and heaven:
Do not invoke the avenging rod
Come here and learn the way to God,
Say to the world, farewell, farewell,
Rang out the PRESBYTERIAN, (or Congregational) bell.

" O swell, ye rising waters swell "
In mellow tones exclaimed a bell,
"Though faith alone in Christ can save
Ye must be plunged beneath the wave
To show the world unfaltering faith
In what the holy scriptures saith,
Oh swell, ye rising waters swell"
Rang out the clear toned Baptist bell.

"All hail, ye saints, the chorus swell,
Close by the cross " exclaimed a bell

[10] George W. Bungay, "Creeds of the Bells," 45-46, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

Lean o'er the battlements of bliss,
And deign to bless a world like this,
While angels kneel before the shrine
Adore the water arid the wine,
All hail, ye saints, the chorus swell"
Rang out the clear toned CATHOLIC bell.

" Ye workers who have toiled so well
To save the race,"' said a sweet bell
With pledge and badge and banner come
Each brave heart beating like a drum,
Be loyal men of noble deeds,
For love is holier than creeds,
Drink of the well, the well, the well"
In accents rang, the TEMPERANCE bell.
To all, the truth we tell, tell, tell"'
Shouted in ecstaciesa bell,
Come all ye weary wanderers see
The Lord has made salvation free;
Repent, believe, have faith, and then
Be saved and praise the Lord; amen!
Salvation is free, we tell, tell, tell"
Shouted the METHODISTIC bell.

THE LAST HYMN[11]

The Sabbath day was ending in a village by the sea,
The uttered benediction touched the people tenderly,
And they rose to face the sunset in the glowing, lighted west,
And then hastened to their dwellings for God's blessed boon of rest.

But they looked across the waters, and a storm was raging there ;
A fierce spirit moved above them—the wild spirit of the air,
And it lashed, and shook, and tore them till they thundered, groaned, and boomed,
And, alas! for any vessel in their yawning gulfs entombed.

Very anxious were the people on that rocky coast of Wales,
Lest the dawns of coming morrows should be telling awful tales,
When the sea had spent its passion and should cast upon the shore
Bits of wreck and swollen victims, as it had done heretofore.

With the rough winds blowing round her, a brave woman strained her eyes,
As she saw along the billows a large vessel fall and rise.
Oh! it did not need a prophet to tell what the end must be,
For no ship could ride in safety near that shore on such a sea.

Then the pitying people hurried from their homes and thronged the beach,
Oh, for power to cross the waters and the perishing to reach!
Helpless hands were wrung in terror, tender hearts grew cold with dread,
And the ship urged by the tempest to the fatal rock-shore sped.

" She has parted in the middle! Oh, the half of her goes down!
God have mercy! Is His heaven far to seek for those who drown ?"'
Lo! when next the white, shocked face looked with terror on the sea,
Only one last clinging figure on a spar was seen to be.

Nearer to the trembling watchers came the wreck tossed by the wave,
And the man still clung and floated though no power on earth could save.
" Could we send him a short message? Here's a trumpet, shout away!"'
"Twas the preachers hand that took it, and he wondered what to say.

Any memory of his sermon? Firstly? Secondly? Ah, no.
There was but one thing to inter in that awful hour of woe.
So he shouted through the trumpet, " Look to Jesus! Can you hear?"
And " Aye, aye, sir! " rang the answer o'er the waters loud and clear.

Then they listened, " He is singing, "Jesus, lover of my soul,"

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[11] Marianne Farningham, "The Last Hymn," 31-32, in *Bits and Odds—A Choice Selection of Recitations for School, Lyceum and Parlor Entertainments* by Hallie Quinn Brown, (Xenia, OH: 1880).

And the winds brought back the echo, "While the nearer waters roll."
Strange indeed it was to hear him, " Till the storm of life is past,"
Singing bravely o er the waters. " Oh, receive my soul at last."

He could have no other refuge, " Hangs my helpless soul on thee."
" Leave, oh ! leave me not"—the singer dropped at last into the sea.
And the watchers looking homeward, through their eyes by tears made dim,
Said, "He passed to be with Jesus in the singing of that hymn."

WHEN MALINDY SINGS[12]

G' WAY an' quit dat noise, Miss Lucy—
Put dat music book away;
What's de use to keep on tryin'?
Ef you practise twell you're gray,
You cain't sta't no notes a-flyin'
Lak de ones dat rants and rings
F'om de kitchen to de big woods
When Malindy sings.

You ain't got de nachel o'gans
Fu' to make de soun' come right,
You ain't got de tu'ns an' twistin's
Fu' to make it sweet an' light.
Tell you one thing now, Miss Lucy,
An' I'm tellin' you fu' true,
When hit comes to raal right singin',
'T ain't no easy thing to do.

Easy 'nough fu' folks to hollah,
Lookin' at de lines an' dots,
When dey ain't no one kin sence it,
An' de chune comes in, in spots;
But fu' real melojous music,
Dat jes' strikes yo' hea't and clings,
Jes' you stan' an' listen wif me
When Malindy sings.

[12] Paul Laurence Dunbar, *The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1913).

APPENDIX B

Table 5.1
Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction
Subject and Author Listing (as appears in text)

Subject	Author
Foreword	Josephine Turpin Washington
Author's Introduction	Hallie Quinn Brown
Ode to Women (Poem)	Sarah G. Jones
Martha Payne	Hallie Quinn Brown
Catherine Ferguson	Mrs. Dovie K. Clarke
Phillis Wheatley	Hallie Quinn Brown
Sara Allen	Hallie Quinn Brown
Sojourner Truth	Hallie Quinn Brown
Elizabeth N. Smith	Maritcha R. Lyons
Sarah H. Fayerweather	Maritcha R. Lyons
Dinah Cox	Amy Logan
Sarah E. Tanner	Mary T. Mossell
Charlotta G. M. Pyles	Mrs. L. C. Jones
Jane Roberts	Hallie Quinn Brown
"Aunt Mac"[1]	Hallie Quinn Brown
Harriet Tubman	Hallie Quinn Brown
Harriet Tubman	Maritcha R. Lyons
"Grandmother" Gross[2]	Mrs. John Brown
Frances J. Brown	Hallie Quinn Brown
Eliza Anne Clark[3]	Willie A. Wagner
Lucretia H. Simpson	Hallie Quinn Brown
Sarah G. Lee	Mary E. Lee, Sr
Catherine A. Delany	Hallie Quinn Brown
Mary A. S. Cary	S. C. Evans
Frances E. W. Harper	Hallie Quinn Brown
Caroline S. A. Hill	Charlotte E. Stephens

[1] Hannah McDonald

[2] Elizabeth West Gross

[3] Eliza Anne Clark by Willie A. Wagner is listed in the Table of Contents, but the biography that is in the text of *Homespun Heroines* is Eliza Ann Scroggins written by her niece Hallie Quinn Brown. Eliza Clark was Daniel Payne's wife known in the Wilberforce, OH community as "Ma Payne." See Hallie Quinn Brown, *Pen Pictures of Pioneers of Wilberforce* (Xenia, OH: The Aldine Publishing Company, 1937), 49-51.

Mary C. Windsor	Hallie Quinn Brown
Sarah J. S. Garnet	Maritcha R. Lyons
Sarah J. S. Garnet	Hallie Quinn Brown
Eliza A. Gardner	Sarah L. Fleming
Fannie J. Coppin	Hallie Quinn Brown
Anne E. Baltimore	Her Daughter[4]
Amanda Smith	Hallie Quinn Brown
Susan P. Vashon	Emma V. Gossett
Georgiana F. Putnam	Maritcha R. Lyons
Anna E. Hudlun	Joan S. Porter
Mary J. Patterson	Anna H. Jones
Elizabeth Keckley	Eva N. Wright
Josephine St. P. Ruffin	Sarah L. Fleming
Margaret E. Reid	Ernestine W. Green
Matilda J. Dunbar	Hallie Quinn Brown
Susan S. McK. Steward	Maritcha R. Lyons
Susan S. McK. Steward	Hallie Quinn Brown
Henrietta C. Ray	Maritcha R. Lyons
Lucy S. Thurman	Anna H. Jones
Josephine S. Yates	Anna H. Jones
Maria L. Baldwin	Hallie Quinn Brown
Mary E. Mossell	Mary M. Lee
Agnes J. Adams	Maritcha R. Lyons
Susie I. L. Shorter	Pearl S. Smith
Victoria E. Matthews	Frances R. Keyser
Mary B. Talbert	Nettie L. Napier
Madam C. J. Walker	Nettie L. Ransom
Susan E. Frazier	Hallie Quinn Brown
Margaret M. Washington	Jennie B. Moton
Emma A. Hackley	M. M. Marshall
Laura A. Brown	Hallie Quinn Brown
California Colored Women Trail Blazers[5]	Delilah L. Beasley
Sarah G. Jones	Ora B. Stokes
Marietta Chiles	Ora B. Stokes
Eliza P. Fox	Ora B. Stokes

Source: Hallie Quinn Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: The Adline Publishing Company,1926).

[4] Government name unknown

[5] The section on *California Women Trailblazers* did not appear in the original edition. The date when it first appeared remains elusive. Due to its presence in subsequent editions of the book, I have included the women in my analysis: Elizabeth Thorn Scott, Priscilla Stewart, Cecilia Stewart, Lucy Sessions, Kate Bradley Stovall, Mary Ann Israel Ash, and Biddy Mason.

Table 5.2[6]
Married Women

Adams, Agnes J.	Hudlun, Anna E.	Smith, Amanda
Allen, Sara	Jones, Sarah G.	Smith, Elizabeth N.
Baltimore, Anne E.	Keckley, Elizabeth	Steward, Susan S. McK.
Brown, Frances J.	Lee, Sarah G.	Stovall, Kate Bradley
Brown, Laura A.	Matthews, Victoria E.	Talbert, Mary B.
Cary, Mary A. S.	McDonald, Hannah	Tanner, Sarah E.
Coppin, Fannie J.	Mossell, Mary E.	Thurman, Lucy S.
Delany, Catherine A.	Payne, Martha	Truth, Sojourner
Dunbar, Matilda J.	Pyles, Charlotta G. M.	Tubman, Harriet
Fayerweather, Sarah H.	Reid, Margaret E.	Vashon, Susan P.
Ferguson, Catherine	Roberts, Jane	Walker, Madam C. J.
Fox, Eliza P.	Ruffin, Josephine St. P.	Washington, Margaret M.
Garnet, Sarah J. S.	Scott, Elizabeth Thorn	Wheatley, Phillis
Hackley, Emma A.	Scroggins, Eliza Anna	Windsor, Mary C.
Harper, Frances E. W.	Shorter, Susie I. L.	Yates, Josephine S.
Hill, Caroline S. A.	Simpson, Lucretia H.	

Table 5.3
Women with Children (Biological and Adopted)

Adams, Agnes J.	Hudlun, Anna E.	Smith, Elizabeth N.
Allen, Sara	Keckley, Elizabeth	Steward, Susan S. McK.
Baltimore, Anne E.	Lee, Sarah G.	Stovall, Kate Bradley
Brown, Frances J.	Mason, Biddy	Talbert, Mary B.
Brown, Laura A.	Matthews, Victoria E.	Tanner, Sarah E.
Cary, Mary A. S.	Mossell, Mary E.	Thurman, Lucy S.
Cox, Dinah	Payne, Martha	Truth, Sojourner
Delany, Catherine A.	Pyles, Charlotta G. M.	Tubman, Harriet
Dunbar, Matilda J.	Reid, Margaret E.	Vashon, Susan P.
Garnet, Sarah J. S.	Ruffin, Josephine St. P.	Walker, Madam C. J.
Gross, Elizabeth West	Scroggins, Eliza Anna	Washington, Margaret M.
Hackley, Emma A.	Shorter, Susie I. L.	Wheatley, Phillis
Harper, Frances E. W.	Simpson, Lucretia H.	Yates, Josephine S.
Hill, Caroline S. A.	Smith, Amanda	

[6] This table does not reflect the nature or duration of the subjects' marriage.

Table 5.4
Family Relations

Mother	Daughter
Baltimore, Anne E	Her Daughter
Brown, Frances J.	Brown, Hallie Quinn
Cary, Mary A. S.	Evans, S. C.
Cox, Dinah	Logan, Amy[7]
Hill, Caroline S. A.	Stephens, Charlotte E.
Hudlun, Anna E.	Porter, Joan S.
Lee, Sarah G.	Lee, Mary E.
Mossell, Mary E.	Lee, Mary M.
Pyles, Charlotta G. M.	Jones, L. C. [8]
Shorter, Susie I. L.	Smith, Pearl S.
Tanner, Sarah E.	Mossell, Mary T.
Vashon, Susan P.	Gossett, Emma V.

Subjects' names appear in **italicized bold print.**
Authors' names appear in standard print.

Table 5.5
Women who Participated in the Underground Railroad

Brown, Frances J.	Gardner, Eliza A.	Scroggins Eliza Anna
Cary, Mary A. S.	Harper, Frances E. W.	Tanner, Sarah E.
Delany, Catherine A.	Putnam, Georgiana F.	Tubman, Harriet
Fayerweather, Sarah H.	Pyles, Charlotta G. M.	Windsor, Mary C.

Table 5.6
Occupation – Authors

Baldwin, Maria L.	Ray, Henrietta C.	Truth, Sojourner
Coppin, Fannie J.	Ruffin, Josephine St. P.	Walker, Madam C. J.
Delany, Catherine A.	Shorter, Susie I. L.	Washington, Margaret M.
Hackley, Emma A.	Smith, Amanda	Wheatley, Phillis
Harper, Frances E. W.	Stewart, Priscilla	Williams, Cecilia
Keckley, Elizabeth	Talbert, Mary B.	Yates, Josephine S.
Matthews, Victoria E.	Thurman, Lucy S.	

[7] Great-granddaughter

[8] Granddaughter

Table 5.7
Occupation – Founders of Industrial School and Home

Coppin, Fannie J.	Matthews, Victoria E.	Smith, Amanda
Ferguson, Catherine	Scott, Elizabeth Thorn	

Table 5.8
Occupation – General

Ferguson, Catherine (Food Service)
Reid, Margaret E. (Boarding House Operator)
Walker, Madam C. J. (Business Owner/Entrepreneur)

Table 5.9
Occupation – Homemaker

Allen, Sara	Lee, Sarah G.	Scroggins, Eliza Anna
Brown, Frances J.	McDonald, Hannah	Shorter, Susie I. L.
Brown, Laura A.	Mossell, Mary E.	Steward, Susan S. McK.
Delany, Catherine A.	Payne, Martha	Tanner, Sarah E.
Harper, Frances E. W.	Ray, Henrietta C.	Vashon, Susan P.
Hill, Caroline S. A.	Roberts, Jane	

Table 5.10
Occupation –Health Care

Gross, Elizabeth West (Nurse)
Jones, Sarah G. (Physician)
Mason, Biddy (Nurse)
Steward, Susan S. McK. (Physician)

Table 5.11
Occupation – Journalist

Delany, Catherine A.
Ruffin, Josephine St. P.
Stovall, Kate Bradley

Table 5.12
Occupation – Performer

Baltimore, Anne E.
Hackley, Emma A.
Williams, Cecilia

Table 5.13
Occupation – Seamstresses

Cox, Dinah
Gardner, Eliza A.
Keckley, Elizabeth

Table 5.14
Occupation – Social Workers

Adams, Agnes J.
Gardner, Eliza A.
Hudlun, Anna E.

Table 5.15
Occupation – Teachers/Educators/Principals

Adams, Agnes J.	Keckley, Elizabeth	Smith, Elizabeth N.
Baldwin, Maria L.	Lee, Sarah G.	Stewart, Priscilla
Cary, Mary A. S.	Matthews, Victoria E.	Talbert, Mary B.
Chiles, Marietta	Patterson, Mary J.	Tanner, Sarah E.
Coppin, Fannie J.	Putnam, Georgiana F.	Thurman, Lucy S.
Ferguson, Catherine	Ray, Henrietta C.	Vashon, Susan P.
Frazier, Susan E.	Scott, Elizabeth Thorn	Washington, Margaret M.
Garnet, Sarah J. S.	Sessions, Lucy	Windsor, Mary C.
Hackley, Emma A.	Shorter, Susie I. L.	Yates, Josephine S.
Harper, Frances E. W.		

Table 5.16
Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction
Organizational Affiliation – National Association of Colored Women

Adams, Agnes J.	Hackley, Emma A.	Talbert, Mary B.
Baldwin, Maria L.	Harper, Frances E. W.	Thurman, Lucy S.
Brown, Laura A.	Jones, Sarah G.	Vashon, Susan P.
Coppin, Fannie J.	Matthews, Victoria E.	Walker, Madam C. J.
Frazier, Susan E.	Ruffin, Josephine St. P.	Washington, Margaret M.
Gardner, Eliza A.	Sessions, Lucy	Yates, Josephine S.
Garnet, Sarah J. S.	Steward, Susan S. McK.	

Table 5.17
Organizational Affiliation – Woman Christian Temperance Union

Brown, Laura A.	Harper, Frances E. W.	Steward, Susan S. McK.
Coppin, Fannie J.	Smith, Amanda	Thurman, Lucy S.

Table 5.18
Religious Affiliation – African Methodist Episcopal

Allen, Sara	McDonald, Hannah	Smith, Amanda
Brown, Frances J.	Mossell, Mary E.	Steward, Susan S. McK.
Coppin, Fannie J.	Ray, Henrietta C.	Tanner, Sarah E.
Delany, Catherine A.	Reid, Margaret E.	Thurman, Lucy S.
Harper, Frances E. W.	Scroggins, Eliza Anna	Windsor, Mary C.
Hudlun, Anna E.	Shorter, Susie I. L.	Yates, Josephine S.
Lee, Sarah G.		

Table 5.19
Religious Affiliation – African Methodist Episcopal Zion

Gardner, Eliza A.
Matthews, Victoria E.
Walker, Madam C. J.

Table 5.20
Religious Affiliation – Baptist

Cox, Dinah
Fox, Eliza P.
Pyles, Charlotta G. M.
Talbert, Mary B.[9]

Table 5.21
Religious Affiliation – Congregational

Fayerweather, Sarah H.

Table 5.22
Religious Affiliation – Episcopal

Garnet, Sarah J. S.
Ruffin, Josephine St. P.
Hackley, Emma A.

[9] Mary Talbert identified with the Congregational and Methodist churches as well.

Table 5.23
Religious Affiliation – Methodist

Adams, Agnes J.
Hill, Caroline S. A.

Table 5.24
Religious Affiliation – Methodist Episcopal

Brown, Laura A.

Table 5.25
Religious Affiliation – Orthodox

Wheatley, Phillis

Table 5.26
Religious Affiliation – Presbyterian

Ferguson, Catherine
Simpson, Lucretia H.

Table 5.27
Religious Affiliation – Protestant Episcopal

Frazier, Susan E.

Table 5.28
Religious Affiliation – Unitarian

Baldwin, Maria L.

Table 5.29[10]
Regional Residence – Northeast

District of Columbia –
Cary, Mary A. S. (Delaware, Canada, Michigan)
Keckley, Elizabeth (Missouri, Ohio)
Patterson, Mary J.

Massachusetts –
Adams, Agnes J. (Maryland)
Baldwin, Maria L.
Gardner, Eliza A. (New York)
Maryland – Mossell, Mary E. (Haiti)
Putnam, Georgiana F. (New York)
Ruffin, Josephine
Wheatley, Phillis

New Jersey –
Lee, Sarah G.

New York –
Ferguson, Catherine
Frazier, Susan E.
Garnet, Sarah J. S.
Pennsylvania - Allen, Sara
Brown, Laura A.
Coppin, Fannie J. (DC, Rhode Island, Ohio)
Matthews, Victoria E. (Georgia)
Ray, Henrietta C.
Talbert, Mary B. (Ohio, Arkansas)
Tanner, Sarah E.
Hackley, Emma (Michigan, Colorado, Tennessee)

Rhode Island –
Fayerweather, Sarah H. (Connecticut)
Smith, Elizabeth N.

Table 5.30
Regional Residence – Southeast

Alabama –
Washington, Margaret M. (Mississippi, Tennessee)

Arkansas –
Hill, Caroline S. A. (Tennessee)

Florida –
Smith, Amanda (Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland)

South Carolina –
Payne, Martha

[10] States in parenthesis indicate where subject also resided.

Virginia –
Chiles, Marietta
Fox, Eliza P.
Jones, Sarah G

Table 5.31
Regional Residence – Mid-West

Illinois –
Hudlun, Anna E. (Pennsylvania)
Windsor, Mary C. (Virginia, Pennsylvania)
Indiana – Walker, Madam C. J. (Louisiana, Colorado, Indiana, New York)

Iowa –
Pyles, Charlotta G. M. (Kentucky)
Missouri - Vashon, Susan P. (Massachusetts, DC)
Yates, Josephine S. (Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Missouri)

Michigan –
Simpson, Lucretia H. (Kentucky, Ohio)
Thurman, Lucy S. (Ohio)
Truth, Sojourner (New York, Connecticut)

Ohio –
Baltimore, Anne E.
Indiana)Cox, Dinah (Virginia)
Delany, Catherine (Pennsylvania, Canada)
Dunbar, Matilda J. (Kentucky)
Harper, Frances (Maryland, Pennsylvania)
McDonald, Hannah (Virginia, Kentucky,
Reid, Margaret (Kentucky)
Scroggins, Eliza Anna (Virginia, Pennsylvania)
Shorter, Susie I. L. (Indiana)
Steward, Susan S. McK. (New York)

Table 5.32
Regional Residence –Southwest

California –
Ash, Mary Ann Israel
Mason, Biddy (Georgia)
Scott, Elizabeth Thorn (Massachusetts)
Sessions, Lucy
Stovall, Kate Bradley (Texas)
Stewart, Priscilla
Williams, Cecilia (Massachusetts)

Table 5.33
International Residence

Liberia, Africa –
Roberts, Jane (Virginia)

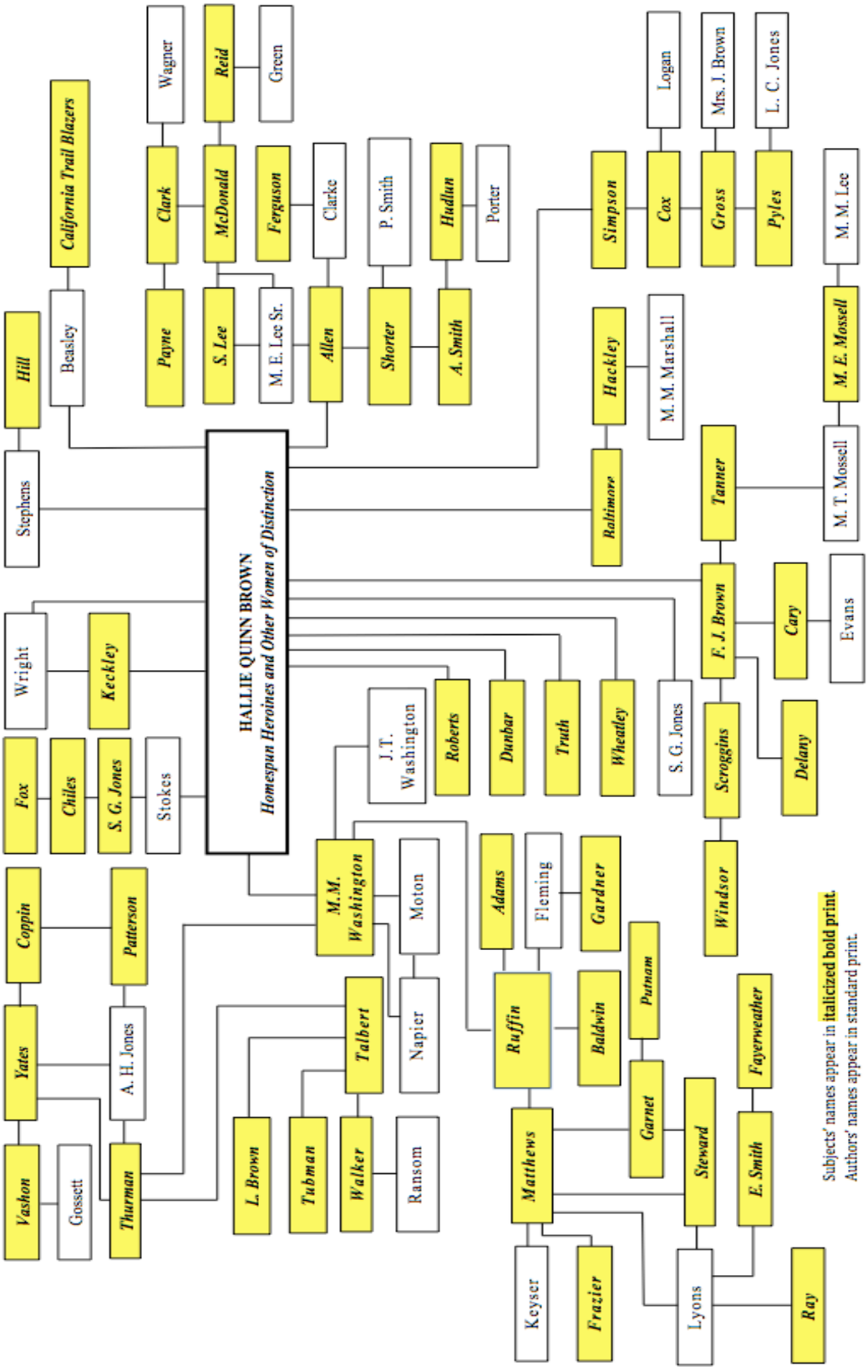


Figure 5.1
Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction
Social Network

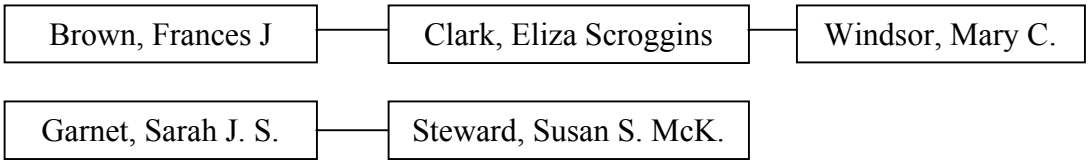
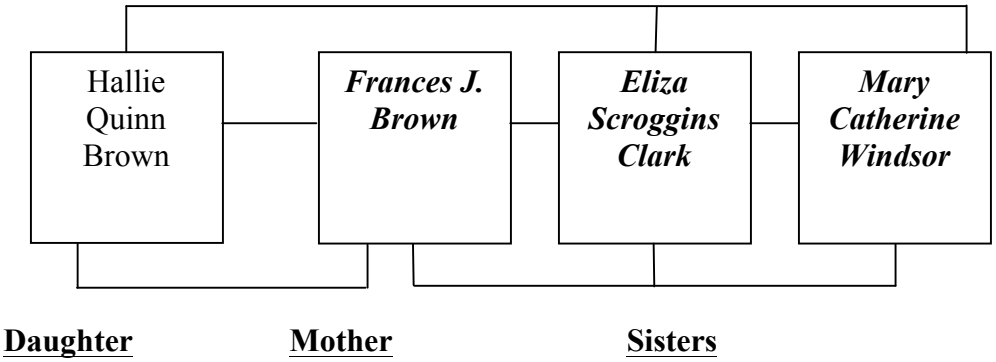
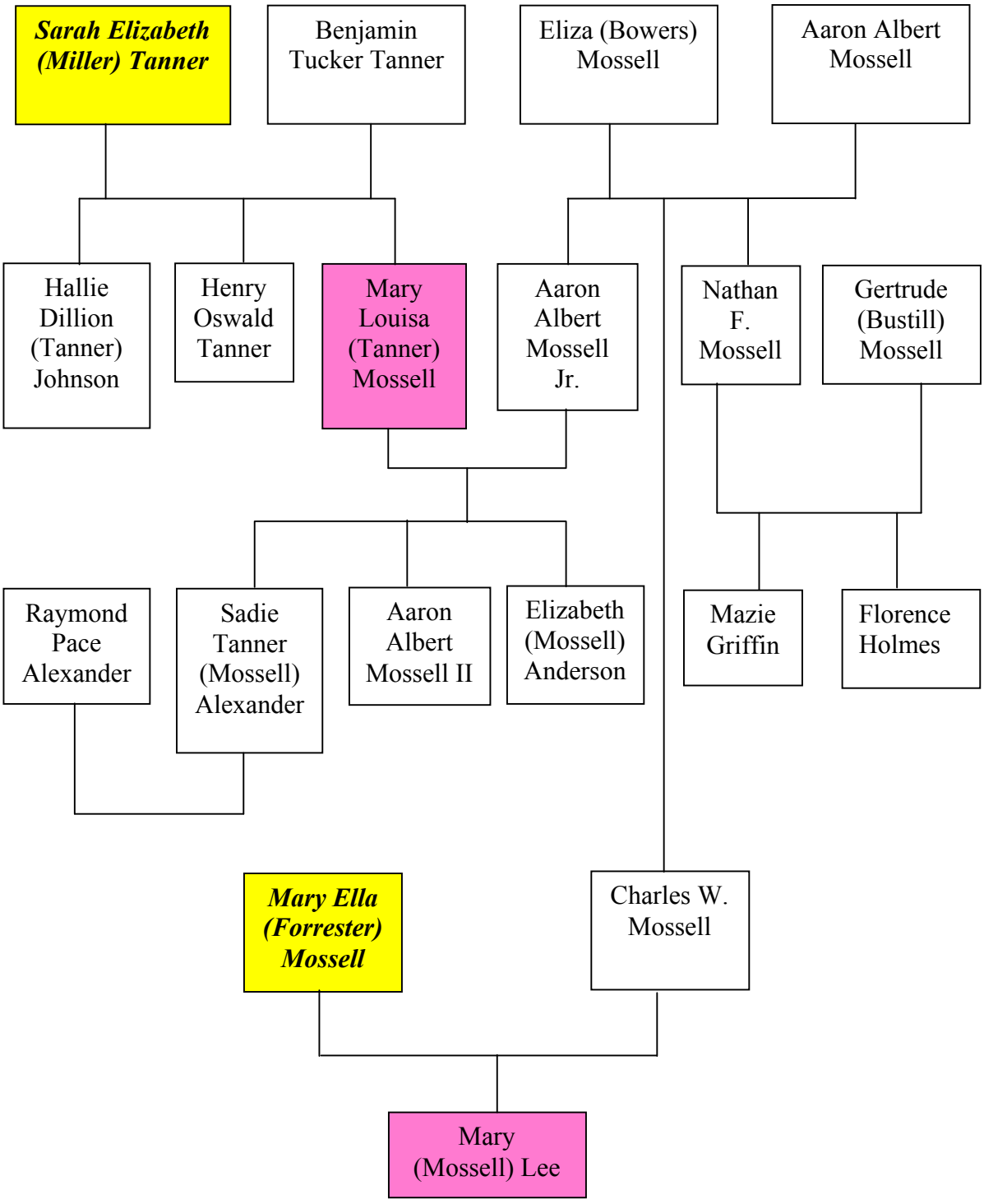


Figure 5.2
Family Relations – Sisters



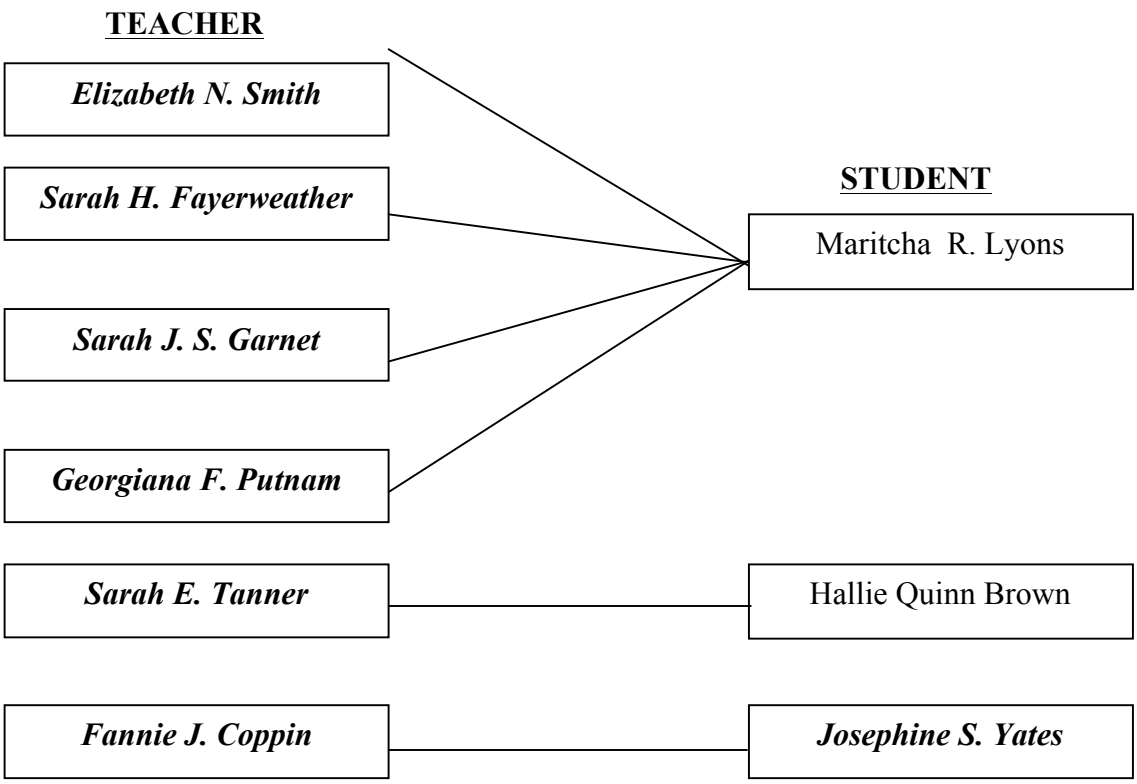
Subjects' names appear in **italicized bold print.**
Authors' names appear in standard print.
Relation appears in **underlined bold print**.

Figure 5.3
Family Relations



Subjects' names appear in **italicized bold print.**
Authors' names appear in standard print.

Figure 5.4
Family Relations – Tanner and Mossell Families



Subjects' names appear in **italicized bold print.**
Authors' names appear in standard print.
Relation appears in **underlined bold print**

Figure 5.5
Student/Teacher