William & Mary
CHARTERED 1693

W&M ScholarWorks

Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects

Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects

1994

African American Professional Women Active from 1920-1960: An Historical Analysis

Crystal Marie Lyles
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd

 Part of the African American Studies Commons, African History Commons, and the Women's Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

Lyles, Crystal Marie, "African American Professional Women Active from 1920-1960: An Historical Analysis" (1994). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects.* William & Mary. Paper 1539625935.
https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-bv9j-tn24

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

AFRICAN AMERICAN PROFESSIONAL WOMEN ACTIVE FROM 1920-1960
AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Crystal Marie Lyles

1994

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Crystal Marie Lyles

Author

Approved, April 1994

John H. Stanfield II

Edwin H. Rhyne

R. Wayne Kernodle

Beverly M. John

DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Wellington and Alfreida Robinson, for their continuous sacrifice for my education.

To Dr. Holmes and Dr. John, of Hampton University, for my sociological grounding, often needed encouragement, and private "pep" talks.

To Kenneth M. Smith, for his continuous, unconditional love and support.

And last, but certainly not least, to my God, for without her none of this would be possible.

They are all undeniably a part of this thesis.

WHO IS THE BLACK WOMAN?

She is a college graduate. A drop-out. A student. A wife. A divorcee. A mother. A lover. A child of the ghetto. A product of the bourgeoisie. A professional writer. A person who never dreamed of publication. A solitary individual. A member of the Movement. A gentle humanist. A violent revolutionary. She is angry and tender, loving and hating. She is all these things - and more.

- Toni Cade, 1970

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Professors John H. Stanfield, Edwin H. Rhyne, R. Wayne Kernodle and Beverly M. John for their patience and guidance during the writing of this manuscript.

The author would like to thank the Schlesinger Black Women Oral History Project for providing crucial information for this study. The author would also like to thank Diane M. Roy, for giving constructive comments and criticisms of this thesis. A final thank-you to Fredi Epps Jackson for lending a helpful hand when it was needed throughout my graduate career.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to discover specific experiences of African American women who entered into the professional fields of higher education (teaching), law, and medicine. These women entered the professions during the period of 1920-1960. The study is exploratory in nature and describes the experiences of African American women from the perspectives of education and professional experiences.

The information gathered on these women is based on an availability sample of interviews, oral narratives, and auto-biographies found through extensive research. Nine women were chosen as the focal birth cohort of women, all of whom were born between 1892-1908. The date at which these women were born, the critical historical transitions these women experienced, and the years in which they entered the labor force full time each emphasizes how the birth cohort record is not merely a summation of a set of individual histories. The women in this cohort represent a distinctive composition and character reflecting the circumstances of their unique origination and history.

The African American woman who entered into the professions during this period was likely to have grandparents born as slaves; parents who were freed from slavery before their 10th birthday, later becoming educated; siblings who were also educated; married with at least one child; education paid for by extended family and other organizations; is a member of a Black Greek Organization and is in better economic and social conditions than most Blacks of her generation.

The results suggest that the African American women who entered into the fields of higher education, law, and medicine during this period were from diverse backgrounds. In many instances these women represented 'firsts' in many of their accomplishments. They are from a birth cohort which grew up during many social, political and economic disasters in history. These women entered into the professions after the turn of the 20th century with racial and gender obstacles to overcome. It is the philosophy of many of the women that education is the key to gaining success for Black people.

AFRICAN AMERICAN PROFESSIONAL WOMEN ACTIVE FROM 1920-1960

An Historical Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The historical study of the American woman is a relatively new area of scholarly inquiry. While an unprecedented number of books detailing the lives of American women have become available in the past decade, the record of the experiences of the masses of African American[1] women continues to remain inadequately represented in American historiography. Walker (1990) argues that "even in the absence of substantial documentation, we know more about the history of Black women before the Civil War than in the period following the Emancipation Proclamation's promise of freedom (p. 660)". She further asserts that as the Black historical experience has moved into the mainstream of American historiography, the Afro American woman's history too often parallels white women's history in conceptualization, emphasis, and interpretation. There is only limited documentary information available that depicts the tough humanity and social realism in the lives of the masses of Black women. This is particularly true of the lives of professional African American women.

This study is based on a cohort of African American women who were born during specific historical, educational, and social events in United States history. Adopting the definition provided by Norman Ryder (1965), "a cohort may be defined as the aggregate of individuals (within some

---

[1]Throughout this paper African American and Black will be used interchangeably.

population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval" (p. 845). These women were socialized during a particular epoch in history and share common characteristics because of common experiences. Ryder (1965) mentions that birth cohorts are meaningful in a sociological study because successive cohorts are differentiated by the changing content of formal education, by peer-group socialization, and by idiosyncratic historical experience. He argues that since cohorts are used to achieve structural transformation and since they manifest its consequences in characteristic ways, sociological research should be designed to capitalize on the congruence of social change and cohort identification (Ryder, 1965).

C. Wright Mills pointed out that: "When sociologists are being good sociologists they are also being good historians; and, when good historians are being good historians they are also being good sociologists". The study of African American professional women is not only important to sociology as a discipline, it is important in history. By studying the gender, racial, educational, and social experiences of these women we also learn the ways in which their socialization had an impact upon their beliefs, values and status dilemmas. By studying the historical relevance of their presence in the past, we can begin to appreciate their experiences in the annals of history.

The study and interpretation of African American women's lives typically has been subsumed under African American issues and women's issues. Although Black professional women share certain problems specific to women, such as the problems of maternity leave and its ramifications for professional advancement. Black women cannot be subsumed under the category "female professionals." Crucial differences exist between Black

and White professional women which should not be obscured. Black female professionals share certain problems with professionals in general, for example, obtaining degrees, meeting licensing requirements and meeting professional standards. But in addition, they share concerns specific to Blacks - that is, the problems of racial discrimination in hiring and professional advancement.

Although African American female professionals share certain problems specific to Blacks, this does not mean that Black women can be subsumed under the category "Black professionals." To do so would obscure crucial differences between Black male and Black female professionals.

Because African American women are members of two oppressed groups and they encounter double discrimination, their experiences set them apart from other groups who do not have this dual status. So what is true for African American men and white women is not invariably true for African American women.

Despite the range and significance of African American women's history, they have been perceived as token women in Black texts and as token Blacks in feminist ones (Giddings, 1988). However, African American women's unique experiences in history, language, and culture suggest otherwise.

The cohort studied are African American women professionals with a focus on three specific areas of professionalization: law, medicine, and teaching in higher education from 1920-1960. These three occupations were selected because: (1) they are consistently highly ranked on prestige-ranking scales (See Blau, 1967, Davis and Smith, 1987, and National Opinion Research Center (NORC), 1990); (2) entrance into each of these professions

began from the late 19th century to the early 20th century; and (3) these positions represented some of the more difficult professions for African American women to enter.

The study of African American professional women affords an unusual opportunity to examine a variety of dilemmas and contradictions of status. It is often difficult to separate the influence of race from that of sex. The combination of the two levies a heavy toll on the Black professional woman.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RELEVANT LITERATURE

A quick review of cohort research reveals that the idea of using birth dates to study social changes or events in history is not new. Cohorts may be defined in terms of the year in which they completed their schooling, the year they married, the year in which they migrated to the city, or the year in which they entered the labor force full time. Ryder (1965) states that:

> In almost all cohort research to date the defining event has been birth, but this is only a special case of the more general approach. Cohort data are ordinarily assembled sequentially from observations of the time of occurrence of the behavior being studied, and the interval since occurrence of the cohort-defining event. For the birth cohort this interval is age (Ryder, 1965:845) Emphasis mine.

Berger (1960) argues that the cohort is a structural category with the same kind of analytic utility as a variable like social class. In essence, such structural categories have explanatory power because they are surrogate indices for the common experiences of many persons in each category. Conceptually, the cohort resembles most closely the ethnic group: membership is determined at birth, and often has considerable capacity to explain variance, but need not imply that the category is an organized group (Ryder, 1965).

Though the professional African American women being studied represent the same ethnic background, the cohort is not homogenous in characteristics, but the distribution of their heterogeneity tends to be fixed throughout their life in a shape which may differ from those of

preceding and succeeding cohorts. With each new cohort the opportunity for social change occurs. The new cohorts do not cause change; they permit it. In other words, cohort differentiation is not confined to characteristics fixed at birth. For example, the experience of a cohort with employment and labor force status begins with the character of the employment market at the time of entry. Ryder (1965) argues that the cohort is distinctively marked by the career stage it occupies when prosperity or depression, and peace or war, impinge on it. I would argue that in the case of the African American women being studied, ***opportunity*** also impinges on the employment and educational experiences of a cohort.

Historical Overview

It is essential to have an understanding of what was going on historically in the United States at the time this cohort of professional women embarked upon and carried out their careers. The African American professional women studied all represent a birth cohort of women who were professionally active during the period of 1920-1960. These women have four things in common: (1) they are African American; (2) they are professionals; (3) they are women; and (4) they were born between the years of 1892-1908.

Karl Mannheim (1952) in his study of Hitlerian peers invented the term "Generations-lagerung" ("generational setting") to refer to the sense of common historical location shared by a well defined cohort-group. This generational setting represents a "common location in the historical dimension of the social process" in which a generation encounters "the same concrete historical problems" (Strauss and Howe, 1991). The African

American professional women in this study have a commonality in which they not only encountered the same obstacles, but many of those obstacles were related to their race and their sex.

Strauss and Howe (1991) argue that in order to find boundaries between generations it is important to look closely at the history surrounding two moments: birth and coming of age. It is also important to realize that as a generation ages its inner beliefs retain a certain consistency over a life cycle. However, the beliefs and behavior of a generation never show up uniformly across all of its members. But even those who differ from the peer norms are generally aware of their nonconformity. For example, the professional women in this study represent historical firsts, seconds, and thirds in terms of their achievements. Because of this representation, it is clear that they are rare in terms of academic and professional achievements of other African-American women in their generational cohort.

In the mid-1890's when many of these women were born, there were missionary causes going on from child labor and woman's suffrage, to Prohibition and immigration. When these women were toddlers and young children, newly synthesized and unregulated drugs were entering the marketplace. During the period of 1900-1920, America's homicide rate rose by 700 percent and America's biggest-ever crime kingpins were controlling the "underworld" (Strauss and Howe, 1991). These women were coming of age when the "Progressive Era" was ending and a Missionary Awakening in youth was beginning. The Great Depression of the thirties and the World War II Crisis of the middle forties was occurring; and, after growing up during the rise of Jim Crow and coming of age during the Wilson-era job boom, the first Black "Great Migration" out of the rural South and into the urban

North was transpiring. With this migration from 1910-1930 came about 1.5 million Black Americans, nearly three times the prior number of Black migrants from the South since the Civil War.

While all of these historical events were occurring, the universities played a crucial role in almost all of the social movements. Wiebe (1967) argues that "since the emergence of the modern graduate school in the seventies (1870's), the best universities had been serving as outposts of professional self-consciousness, frankly preparing young men for professions that as yet did not exist" (p. 121). He further states that,

> By 1900 they held an unquestioned power to legitimize, for no new profession felt complete-or scientific- without its distinct academic curriculum; they provided centers for philosophizing and propagandizing; and they inculcated apprentices with the proper values and goals. Considering the potential of the universities for frustration, it was extremely important that higher education permissively, even indiscriminately, welcomed each of the new groups in turn (p. 121).

During this period a select group of women entered into public arenas, and a boisterous drive for women's suffrage ensued. Wiebe (1967) states that during this time there was also a trickling admission of women into such professions as law and medicine. However, the most important advances occurred in the few professions which women slowly and quietly came to dominate; nursing, teaching and social work. Wiebe (1967) argues that men usually did not feel threatened until women's activities pushed past the traditional gender stereotype, which they seldom did. Even the few women in law and medicine specialized to an exceptional degree in such fields as juvenile crime, pediatrics, and humane extensions of public health. Wiebe notes that these tacit, mutually accepted limits accounted for women's

remarkably smooth arrival into a professional middle-class.[2]

The perusal of historical accounts of African American professional women shows clearly that these women were not only under-represented, but essentially ignored. Aptheker (1982) states that achievements of Black women in the professional world were frequently erased from historical records which otherwise noted the work of Black men or White women. For example, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* has had two articles in its history on Black physicians, one in 1942 and one in 1969; neither contained <u>any</u> references to women (Aptheker, 1982).

The first Bachelor of Arts degree was not awarded to a Black woman until 1862, when Mary Jane Patterson (1840-1894) graduated from Oberlin College (Aptheker, 1990). Julia Cooper, principal of the Colored High School in Washington, D.C., conducted a survey in 1890 to determine the number of Black women who had graduated from universities known to admit female students (Cooper herself was a graduate of Oberlin College). She found that only thirty Black women had completed the B.A. degree in the entire history of these universities (Aptheker, 1990). She also found that "in June 1890 a colored woman was graduated from Cornell University with the first Bachelor of Science degree" (Ibid, p. 28).

Very few African American women received college degrees in the late 19th century. As the 20th century began, more African American women did begin to receive college degrees, not only in the arts, but in the sciences

---

[2] Though Wiebe does not differentiate between Black American women and White American women in his analysis, I would argue that this growing professional middle class of women were predominantly White Americans. Though there were a few Black physicians and lawyers, the "colored" physician or lawyer did not comprise in mainstream America what is considered a "professional" class.

as well. W.E.B. Dubois and Augustus Dill (1910) found in their study of Negro college graduates that:

> "107 "non-Negro colleges" had graduated 114 Negro women in their collective histories, with the largest number (66) coming from Oberlin. Of the Negro colleges, Howard and Fisk led the way, having graduated 514 women by 1910 (p. 17).

Most of these African American women went on to careers in teaching. There were a few Black physicians and dentists, but, as Kelly Miller of Howard University observed, "the colored physician had appeared as an occasional or exceptional individual" and did not constitute a professional class (Aptheker, 1990, p. 28).

What is a professional?

The professions are at the top of the American occupational hierarchy in terms of the power and prestige they confer on their practitioners. In the United States, the major professions of medicine, law and teaching in higher education have been in existence for centuries, yet they have remained bastions of male dominance.

There are many characteristics used to describe people with professional status. These characteristics have as much to do with formalized privilege and power as with the type of training or work involved in the professions. The "professionalization" of an occupation allows practitioners to lay claim to an exclusive market for their particular service.

Some traditionally accepted characteristics of professions are: a basis of systematic theory and intensive training (Goode, 1969); authority based on this knowledge and recognized by both the clientele of the professional group and the larger community (Greenwood, 1957); autonomy (based on the claim of unique expertise) in the exercise of the skills, in the training of new entrants, and in the evaluation and control of practice of the profession (Gross, 1958); a code of ethics and professional culture developed by formal professional associations, inculcated by professional schools, and regulating the relations of professionals based on the required long investment in professional training and on a strong sense of identification with the work (Perrucci and Gerstl, 1969).

These definitions of a professional are based on what Klegon (1978) has labelled the 'taxonomic approach' to the professions. This approach is built on the tenet that professions both possess some unique

characteristics which set them apart from other occupations and play a positive and important role in the division of labor in society. This approach can be usefully divided into two distinct and well known forms; namely, those based on trait and functionalist models of professions (Johnson, 1972). The trait account is the least abstract of the two, centering as it does on the formulation of a list of attributes which are not theoretically related but which are held to represent the core features of professional occupations. For example, within the trait model, the most frequently mentioned attributes of a profession, such as high levels of skill based on theoretical knowledge, altruistic service and adherence to a code of conduct maintaining integrity, were often assumed to determine independently the high rewards and institutional forms of occupational control associated with professions[3] (Wilensky, 1964).

In contrast to this view, the functionalist model of the professions are restricted to those felt to be of functional relevance for either the social system as a whole or the professional-client relationship. Among sociological theories structural functionalism has been particularly important in attempting to give the professions a distinct role within the social structure. Emile Durkheim, attempting to cope with one of the major questions of sociology and social philosophy, how is order maintained within the social structure, suggested that the division of labor in society was itself functional for the maintenance of social cohesion (Elliot, 1972). He contrasted the mechanistic solidarity of pre-industrial

---

[3]Such a view was frequently linked to the tenet that there was a 'natural history' of professionalism based on a determinate series of stages through which every occupation undergoing professionalization must pass.

communities in which the social institutions and the economic conditions together ensured that society was maintained through the similarity of life available to the people, with the scope for individualism and difference which had developed with industrial change and the division of labor. Division of labor had replaced a social order based on 'resemblances' and the all-pervasive enforcement of the 'collective-type', with another form of social solidarity, the organic, based on the interdependence of different functions.

It is possible to dispute the detail of Durkheim's historical account of social change, but nevertheless his analysis raises important questions about the maintenance of society in spite of the divisions between specialized functions. Although Durkheim argued that organic solidarity was the normal consequence of the division of labor, he also recognized that abnormal forms might develop which would turn the division of labor into a divisive rather than a cohesive force. One of these in particular, the anomic form of the division of labor, he saw as a real threat to the social structure of his time.

The anomic form of the division of labor is a state of social conflict in which stability is maintained only by the interplay of power and interest groups within society. For Durkheim, the family seems to have been the paradigmatic social institution in which both organic solidarity and the division of labor were to be found. His hope was that the occupational group would develop a form like the family, but on a larger scale. It was to occupy a mid-point, between the State and the family, in the social structure (Elliot, 1972).

Notwithstanding these divergences of style, the trait and

functionalist variants of the taxonomic approach were extremely influential in Britain and the United States up until the late 1960's in macro-sociological work on the nature and role of professions in society (Saks, 1983). But it was at this time that the perspective began to wan in popularity in face of a range of critics. Trait and functionalist contributors laid themselves open to the charge, which was repeatedly made from the late 1960's onwards by critics like Elliott (1972) and Daniels (1975), of taking professional ideologies on trust without systematically examining their validity - and thus of legitimating professional privileges in advance of careful appraisals of the function and behavior of professions in society.

The question now becomes, where do women on the whole, and African American women in particular, fit in these frameworks of the 'professional'? Clearly, there are problems in any sociological study of women, because sociology has been predominantly that of male society (Acker, 1973). This is as true of the study of work in general, as well as any other particular area of sociology. Theoretical analyses of societal structure such as the previous trait and functional analyses, are supposedly sex-neutral; however, on close examination they usually refer only to the role dimensions of men (Acker, 1978). Females are often absent from empirical work that is presumably about "people" or "workers". Perhaps the greatest difficulty in studying women is that many sociological concepts simply do not fit well with the facts when those facts begin to include information about the female half of humanity (Acker, 1973).

It has long been recognized that there is an important relation between gender and professionalization, and indeed this was a focus in the

now displaced functionalist paradigm of profession. However, mainstream sociological renderings of this relationship have rarely gone beyond a simple equation between gender and the status, rewards or degree of autonomy enjoyed by practitioners. The overall trend, even in the newer more critical approaches such as those of Friedson (1970, 1986) and Rueschemeyer (1986), has been to rely on explanations which refer to gendered attributes (such as women's association of 'caring' work) in order to read off the subordinate relation of for example, nursing to medicine. There are two problems that Witz (1992) sees with these existing approaches. One is that they are static analyses which take the gender of the practitioner as 'already given' and resort to un-theorized notions of supposed gender-specific attributes, attitudes and 'problems' which women 'bring to' professional employment. The other problem is that they operate with fairly unreconstructed notions of 'women's role' and have no theory of gender relations beyond a basic, taken for granted 'sex role theory'.

Feminist historians have provided new understandings in the importance of the process of sex-role differentiation and how it was rooted in the separation of the home and the world of public affairs, produced by the rise of capitalist industrial production (Gordon, Buhle, and Schrom, 1972). The world of public affairs was a male domain, and it was there that the critical events transforming the society seemed to take place. Confined largely to the home, women were easily defined as irrelevant to the important questions about society. It is not surprising that as the new sciences of society were defined, the questions raised and the concepts used reflected the reality of the public domain, and thus reflected a male reality.

When looking at the different models of professionals, trait and functionalist models are rooted in male biases about who a professional is and what characteristics they hold. Therefore, the new orthodoxy in the sociology of professions in the contemporary Anglo-American context is now rooted in the contribution of neo-Weberian and Marxist writers. But have such contributors succeeded where their taxonomic and interactionist predecessors failed - namely, in developing and adequately applying a suitable theoretical framework for the analysis of the function and behavior of professions in modern Western societies? Also, do African American women fit in these declared new and improved models of professionals?

Most of the contemporary neo-Weberian and Marxist literature on the nature and role of the professions seems to have taken its lead in the 1950's and 1960's from symbolic interactionism - a school of thought normally associated with micro-sociological endeavors and frequently castigated for concentrating on issues of a social psychological kind in face of the broad spectrum of problems arising from changes in the occupational structure at this time (Barber, 1968).

The neo-Weberian approach attempts to apply the Weberian concept of social closure to the consideration of professional occupations in society. The notion of closure, introduced by Weber in Economy in Society, broadly refers to the process by which given social collectivities seek to regulate market conditions in their favor, in face of actual or potential competition from outsiders, by restricting access to specific opportunities to a limited group of eligibles (Saks, 1983).

The Marxist approach has provided a major alternative focus for the

contemporary analysis of professions. The Marxist view of the professions is centered on the relations of production as opposed to those of the market as in the neo-Weberian perspective. Much of the academic interest which this approach to the professions has attracted in the last few years has arisen from a general concern of Marxist writers to locate the position of the middle strata in the class structure under conditions of monopoly capitalism (Saks, 1983). Certainly, Marxist authors can scarcely be accused of failing to consider the relationship between profession and the wider social structure; they do indeed link professions to the broader distribution of power in society (See Parkin, 1979; Braverman, 1974; and Carchedi, 1975).

However, Marxist studies of the professions to date, like those of the neo-Weberian school, have proved largely deficient - again mainly because we end up without a theory that systematically conceptualizes society as containing both sexes as equally significant participants. These sciences are based on the idea that there are regularities in human behavior and that it is possible to discover the "laws" of these regularities; knowledge of the laws is supposed to enable us to explain and to predict behavior (Shanley and Shuck, 1974). What exists is studied and then generalized as a description of behavior in general.

Acker (1978) states that "the effort of social scientists to develop predictive theories based on what presently exists is related to the discipline's overwhelming emphasis on models that can be dealt with in quantitative terms, in 'hard data'" (p. 137). Jessie Bernard points out that this represents a "machismo element in research" (Ibid, p. 138). Acker further argues that this approach is concerned with control, mastery,

and predicting, with the construction and manipulation of variables. What this approach ignores is the living, moving actuality of human experience. There is no question about the effectiveness of this approach for answering certain kinds of questions - (for example what are the social characteristics of women in the labor force; what variables explain the wage gap between women and men?). Regardless of what theoretical framework is used to study the professions, what is clear is that the work experiences of women and men differ. Therefore, it is invalid to study men and then generalize to women by implication.

While researching the professional experiences of the African American women being studied, there were many topics that the women touched upon in their interviews, oral histories, and narratives. Some of the topics explored included family background, education and training, employment, voluntary activities, religion, racial identity, and the effect of the women's movement. The data base used to research these women depicted the personal life of the memoirist. In their own words, the women were given the opportunity to explore and reflect on the influences and events that shaped their lives and to give their point of view on historical events. While doing so, there were certain subjects and general experiences that the women had more to say about than others. After researching the data for this study and going over the notes taken from each interview, four key social attributes dominated: family, education, and gender and racial identity. These four social attributes became chapter topics for this study of professional African American women.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The past is often viewed through the lens of the present. The life history, life story, biographical method presents the experiences and definitions held by one person, one group, or one organization as this person, group, or organization interprets those experiences. In order to study African American professional women, I used life histories and other biographical data to document and study this group. Denzin (1989) states that, "life history materials include any record or document, including the case histories of social agencies, that throws light on the subjective behavior of individuals or groups (p. 193)." He further maintains that these materials may range from letters to autobiographies, from newspaper accounts to court records, as well as transcription of interviews, as long as it does not intermix the interviewer's own interpretations.

The method of research used to study the life histories and biographical data of Black professional women is grounded theory. Grounded theory is an inductive, theory methodology that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Preferably, a social researcher would like to approach an area of inquiry with a prior, well-formulated theory that so accurately describes it that the research can concentrate on the accumulation of information

applicable to the existing theory. However, it is frequently the case that no relevant theory exists at all, and even when theories concerned with a topic do exist, they may be too remote or abstract to offer much detailed guidance and assistance. Under these conditions, the researcher has to develop a theoretical account that facilitates discussion of the general features of the topic under study. This topic should be firmly based or grounded in the data collected - or what Glaser and Strauss calls 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 1). Researchers thus generate grounded theory when they are concerned with the discovery of theory from data, rather than with the testing or verification of existing theories.

In order to put the grounded theory into perspective, Martin and Turner (1983) suggest that once an adequate stock of accurate descriptions of relevant social phenomena has been piled, the researcher should begin to perceive or hypothesize about relationships among them, relationships that subsequently may be tested using other portions of the data. From the growing accumulation of data indicating the relationships, the researcher develops or "discovers" the grounded theory (p. 143).

An emerging grounded theory primarily justifies itself by providing a detailed and carefully crafted account of the area under investigation. This allows the researcher to communicate their findings to those in the area studied, either as a basis for discussion or as a vehicle for change. In order to utilize grounded theory in my study of African American professional women, I used the biographical method of study to analyze the general lives of these women.

This study focuses on three specific areas of professionalization: higher education (teaching), law, and medicine. As mentioned earlier,

these three occupations were selected for examination because they are highly ranked on prestige ranking scales. This type of research is based on qualitative research methods; therefore, grounded theory was very useful in my analysis. Turner (1983) notes that grounded theory does not offer a solution to all research problems. For instance, grounded theory has limited usefulness for dealing with large scale structural features of society, such as demographic trends or systems of social stratification. But, grounded theory is particularly well suited to dealing with "qualitative data of the kind gathered from participant observation, from the observation of face-to-face interaction, from semi-structured or unstructured interviews, from case study material or from certain kinds of documentary sources" (Turner, 1983, p. 227).

Some of the autobiographical, biographical and life history data resources used while researching this thesis topic came from two major Black women oral history projects: The Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College Black Women Oral History Project, and The Carlson Publishing series on Black women in United States history. Both of these projects have an enormous amount of autobiographical and biographical data about Black women in general, and Black professional women in particular. Also used were Oral Narratives such as the work by Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis (1993) My Soul Is My Own: Oral Narratives of African American Women in the Professions, as well as, personal biographies by African American women such as Ida B. Wells, Fannie Lou Hammer, Mary Church Terrell and others. In addition to these resources, autobiographies of African American women such as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's (1990), "My statute, My self: Autobiographical Writings of African American Women", Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1991), Bearing

Witness: Selections from African-American Autobiography in the Twentieth Century (Ed.), and Pauli Murray's (1989), The Autobiography of a Black Activist, Feminist, Lawyer, Priest and Poet were utilized.

I also used various archival records, articles, books and journals to document the life histories of these women. In order to research a great deal of my data, I used computer resource information such as Socio-file and The Readers Guide to Periodicals. After reading the autobiographies, biographies, oral narratives and life histories of African American women, there were three themes that became more prevalent than others: family, education, and gender and racial identity. These themes have become chapters 3, 4, and 5 in the historical segment of the thesis. These themes relate to the overall life style development of the African American professional women researched.

While my research of African American professional women is based on an availability sample of professional Black women, the focal group of women studied were born between 1892-1908, were professionally active during the period 1920 to 1960, and had careers in higher education, medicine and law. While much of the literature researched is based on African American professional women in general, there are nine women who are the focal point of this study. These women represent a generational cohort that is specific to the focal group of women being studied in this paper.[4]

Throughout the historical section of this paper, these nine women are mentioned, discussed and referred to in order to draw some correlations

---

[4]See Appendix A for the Biographical Vignettes of these nine women.

with the three themes of the research: family, education, and gender and racial identity. These women are all from the professional fields of higher education (teaching), law, and medicine. The data gathered on these women are based on transcripts of interviews provided by the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College Black Women Oral History Project and an oral history found in Etter-Lewis's Oral Narratives of African-American Women in the Professions (1993).

These women represent only a sample of the African American professional women studied for this research endeavor. However, because this is a study to ***understand*** and ***not to predict***, the nine women I used as the focal cohort will represent examples of the larger array of African American professional women. These data are broad in scope and are applicable to almost any cohort of Black professional women active from 1920-1960 who were born in the United States and worked in the fields of higher education (teaching), law, and medicine.

The thesis utilizing a historical perspective, illustrates how so many Black professional women sustained a strength and resiliency that allowed them to conquer a terrain otherwise forbidden to them.

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY

For the women in this study, the family was the main source from which the women got their desire to pursue higher education. Eight out of the nine women studied stressed strongly that their parents, particularly their mothers, were role models in their lives. The values, attitudes and behavior development which these women received stemmed from the family unit. For the nine women, family meant not only the mother and father, but extended family as well.

The principal socialization agency in every society is the family. Family socialization is adequate to the extent that the structure of relationships portrayed and utilized in family life resembles that of the society into which the young adult functions. Ryder (1965) states that when a society breaks out of a static familistic mold, the family no longer suffices for the tasks of socialization. He further asserts:

> Socialization is a process of committing an individual to a term of service in a group, by progressively confining his behavioral potentialities within an acceptable range and by preparing him for the types of role he will be expected to play. Far from being monopolized by the parents, socialization is a continuous process throughout life, shared in by every group of which a person may become a member (Ryder, 1965:852).

The role that the parents and other family members expected many of the women studied to play was opposite to the role that "society" expected them to play. For many of the women studied, the family represented the first step to believing that their professional status could be achieved. Given

that *family* furnishes the context within which the concept of 'self' relative to 'others' first arises, this social attribute is vital when investigating the cohort of women in this study.

Although the nineteenth century was a period of reform movements and organized struggle for human rights on a variety of fronts, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were disillusioning years for most Blacks. The South, home for the majority of Blacks, had been devastated by the Civil War, embittered by the demands of Reconstruction, and plagued by the fate of four million ex-slaves still in its midst. The obstacles facing Blacks, only twenty years out of bondage, were tremendous, for the majority were impoverished, landless, and illiterate. For the nine women studied in this paper, five of the nine were from the north and four from the South. Though their experiences were not the same as most Blacks during this time because they were educated, they still faced tremendous obstacles while reaching their goals. The last decade of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth "marked the nadir of the Negro's status in American society" (Logan, 1954: p. 62).[5]

The 1890s was an especially dismal decade for Blacks as they witnessed the defeat of the Blair Bill for federal aid to public education and the Lodge Bill for federal supervision of federal elections. In addition, the South amended their constitutions, starting with Mississippi in 1890, and the disfranchisement of Blacks was accomplished by 1910. The Supreme Court in the famous 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case gave legal sanction to the already widespread practice of Jim Crow when it ruled that separate but

---

[5]See The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir, 1877-1901).

equal public facilities were constitutional. Blacks' were being lynched in record numbers, and between 1900 and 1910, six major race riots occurred throughout the nation, which signaled growing racial hostility in the North and South.

Furthermore, despite rapid industrialization and urbanization throughout the rest of the nation, the former slaves and their children remained concentrated in the rural South, unable to extricate themselves from the exploitative labor system of sharecropping. By 1900, nine out of ten Blacks still lived in the South, primarily in the Cotton belt, eighty percent of whom resided in rural areas (Guy-Sheftall, 1990). Black women, the majority of whom were sharecroppers, lived in a quite different world from both White upper-class women and those in the urban working class. The wives of businessmen and other professionals, freed from the need to earn a living, their household chores lightened considerably by store-brought products and domestic servants, had leisure time to spend as they wished. Philanthropy, education, and social reform often engaged their interest.

Guy-Sheftall (1990) argues that before marriage, native-born and immigrant White women worked to support themselves and other family members and were employed in offices, factories, and sweatshops. In 1910, 95 percent of Black women aged sixteen and over were field workers on farms, laundresses, or domestic servants; whereas, only half of all White women employed were in these categories (Jones, 1981: p.62).

Role of "The Family".

Billingsley (1968) set a theoretical framework for studying Black families. His use of the social systems approach emphasizes the interdependence of Black families with other institutional aspects of society - the variability of Black family norms, the subsystems of the larger society that affect family life, the subsystems of the Black community, and the subsystems of the Black family. This significant work has helped a number of social scientists in their perspective of the Black family and roles within that system.

If, as Sarbin (1954:224) says, "a role is a pattern of attitudes and actions which a person takes in a social situation," then one would expect a general acceptance of variance in role within Black families. The social situation of Black people in America has been of such a nature as to demand role variability for the sake of stability and survival. African Americans were not in the same social situation as the definers of the norm. Although variability of role is regarded as legitimate in the larger society (Parsons and Shils, 1954:24), both early and also some current writings of social scientists, historians, and social workers reflect little understanding of this fact in relation to the Black family and more specifically in relation to the role of the Black woman within that system. As Ladner (1973) says, "Blacks have always been measured against an alien set of norms. As a result, they have been considered to be a deviation from the ambiguous white middle-class model, which itself has not always been clearly defined (p. xxiii)." The ability of the Black woman to adapt to roles traditionally thought of in this society as male roles should have been viewed by social scientists as a positive strength necessary for

survival. Instead, it led to negative labeling of the Black female as deviant from acceptable role performance. Ladner (1972), states that "the highly functional role that the Black female has played historically has contributed to an erroneous stereotype as a matriarch; and, this label has been quite injurious to [both] Black women and [Black] men" (p. 41).

When studying Black professional women, the role of the family becomes very important. African American professional women active during the periods of 1920-1960 represent a cohort of women who quite often had to make decisions about career and family choices. This was particularly true of African American women who were in a status position of "double jeopardy". As mentioned earlier, there is the prevailing stereotype of the Black woman as a matriarch; and therefore, the woman who is both Black and also professional is taking on traditional male roles within the family. For some of the professional women studied, their professional status was thought of as "peculiar". After all, a woman's primary goal in life was to marry and have children, not to become a professional. For example, Sadie Alexander (one of the first three black women in the United States to be awarded a doctorate) mentions two aunts and other women who became annoyances while she was pursuing her graduate degrees, asking her mother: "What is Sadie studying now? She will only marry and never use it." Another one of the professional women studied had similar experiences. Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, a distinguished physician, recalls how her husband, a dentist, began to complain about her professional status. When discussing her husband's feelings about her being a mother and a professional she states,

> He was becoming more and more resentful of everything I was doing as a woman. After the first year or so, I knew what was on his mind. The

> fact that I became busier and had perhaps a larger group of patients, that didn't set too well with him. And for that reason, he became very, shall I say, not disgruntled, but unhappy and uncooperative, and insisted that I give up my work. Of course, I wasn't going to do that (p. 452).

For others, it was not unusual for them to go to college with family and spouse support. For example, when Sadie Alexander's family made negative comments in reference to her continuing education, her mother replied: "You cannot receive too much education to be a helpful mate and mother (p. 77)." Sadie Alexander's husband later paid for her to go to Law School. When discussing her family and relationship with her husband she states,

> ...We got along well, because the children were well taken care of. And my husband of course respected me no end. Otherwise I would never have been a lawyer. He sent me to law school one year after we married.

After getting her law degree, she and her husband shared a law office together. Alexander later mentions,

> He sent me to law school, and then I went right in his office. One of the lawyers in his office was going to leave when I came in, and he told him to leave. He had great respect for women. His sister, Virginia Alexander, studied medicine. I think that had something to do with it. Very protective of women in the professions (p. 80).

For many of the Black professional women studied, the supportive bonds that the family provided helped them to get through their educational hardships, both financial and emotional. Within the African American family, many professional Black women have been able to find support and encouragement to continue with their education.

Epstein's 1972 study of professional African American women found that the professional women she studied grew up in the care of mothers who were "doers". These mothers worked outside of the home at various points in their lives, held professional or semiprofessional positions, and were

"aggressive" in seeking out the best for their families. Although Etter-Lewis' (1993) study of African American professional women did not match Epstein's profile exactly, she did indeed find that the mothers of the women she studied were "doers" in every sense of the word. Some took active roles in their respective communities, and many explored their own talents while providing nurturant and supportive home environments for their children (Etter-Lewis, 1993). One of the women Etter-Lewis studied was named Sidney, a university professor. Born in 1909, Sidney was a professor of Romance languages. She received her B.A. in 1931, M.A. in 1935, and Ph.D in 1942. When discussing her mother's influence on her life and her role in the community, she recalled,

> Well, my mother was such a kind person and so beloved by everyone who knew her...People of distinction, mostly whites...who had seen her in civic service and seen her in educational circles, a devoted worker with parent-teachers organizations and so on...came as a committee and asked her if she would allow them to run her name as candidate for the board of education...She was elected the first, second and third times...She was the first Negro to be elected to the board of education (Etter-Lewis, 1993, p. 89).

Ladner (1971), in her study of 30 Black adolescent teenage girls, found that career pursuits are not regarded by Black girls as unfeminine, primarily because an employed mother is normative. In terms of marriage, Kandel (1971) found that although Black women would often prefer to marry men for support and protection, they cannot rely on marriage for security. The career aspirations of Black girls may also be explained in part by the high educational aspirations Black families have for their daughters.

Sadie T. Alexander, an African American professional lawyer noted the significant influences which her family had on her development. Ms. Alexander states that she would have never been able to receive the education she got if it were not for her grandparents. When asked the

question of what role her family played on her education she stated that:

> Now as parental views... I didn't know anything from my family, not my mother and my grandparents, but my aunts and my uncles, but get an education. The fact that I was a girl...Well, I will say that I had two aunts, that I think they were a little bit jealous. They thought my grandfather was doing more for me than he did for their children, but they had husbands who were successful, and all I got was tuition, which was very meager in those days. The rest of it--by the time I finished undergraduate school, I got the rest from the university (p. 77).

While growing up it was assumed in her family that she would go to college. Ms. Alexander was not the only professional woman in this study cohort whose extended family paid for her education in order for her to go to school. After completing undergraduate school, Eva Beatrice Dykes wanted to continue her education and her uncle played a significant part in her ability to do so. While at Radcliffe she states that she went straight through. Ms. Dykes states,

> I received my master's, and then I decided to work on...well, my uncle wanted me to work for a Ph.D., so I entered the last stage, and worked on the Ph.D. (p. 196).

While discussing her education at Radcliffe she mentions that,

> I had five scholarships; they were semester scholarships, and they were very helpful. That, in addition to the fact that my uncle sent me money, enabled me to finish successfully as far as finances were concerned. So I didn't have to worry about how I was going to get my money. But my uncle made a deep sacrifice himself to send me through school (p. 196).

Collins (1989) argues that in traditional African American communities, Black women find considerable institutional support for education. Black extended families and Black churches are two key institutions where Black women are able to find support in terms of continuing their education.

May Edward Chinn was another woman whose family, particularly her mother, played vital roles in her getting an education. She states that

her mother was most remarkable,

> She was a person of very few words, but she planned ahead, and if we had a problem, she just sort of....Finally, came to the conclusion that the better thing to do would be...'cause there were problems all along. For instance, like the problem that my father, being weak and alcoholic, the living through that was a horrible thing for a child. So that is why my mother thought getting me into a boarding school, getting me out of that environment, would help me (p. 427).

While her mother was working for a wealthy White family, Ms. Chinn was able to learn the classics, French and German. Her mother worked very hard for her to receive an education even though her father was not as optimistic about her continuing her education. She later states that,

> My father objected to me going to college, number one, as I think you read here in this book [an autobiography about her life]. His idea of a girl was that you got married and had children. See, he was a different generation. A girl that went to college became a queer woman. She didn't act like a woman. And he didn't want to be the father of a queer girl. So he gave nothing toward me going to college. So that after I got a taste of this thing of college, then I had to have more of the same. I had to work, you see (p. 445).

Later Ms. Chinn mentions that her father became proud of her. In fact there was a fascinating story that she told to demonstrate this,

> Interesting thing, my father finally got to be proud of me. That's another long story. He ignored the fact that he was my father, although we lived together. You know, because he still had that idea that a woman that was not married, that was in medicine, was an odd woman. And he did not want to be known as the father of such a child. Now, when he got to recognize me was in a very strange way. My father finally got a job as a watchman in one of the banks in New York....I had been practicing about two years when one of my father's friends, who worked also with the bank, said to me, "Have you met the president of the bank, the chairman of the bank?" And I said, "No, I haven't." And he said, "Well, you know, he's been after your father to bring you to town so he could meet you." And so I finally said to my father, "I understand that the president of the bank wants me to come down, and he's asked you"....So he decided he would take me down. Now, as we walked over the man's doorstep, the president of the bank got up and came to me and shook my hand, and he says, "I'm so proud of you." And he said to my father, "Why didn't you let me know that you had a daughter in medical school?" He said, "I'm on the board of two or three medical schools and hospitals, and I could have been...We have funds so that we can do things for a deserving student." Well, my father was speechless (p. 451).

During the time period that these women were "coming of age", this perception of a professional woman as "odd" was not only felt by African American women, but women in general. Conflict between traditional notions of femininity and occupational or intellectual achievement is experienced by many girls and women. Careers and occupational achievement is highly valued and rewarded in American society, yet are often viewed as unfeminine. This culturally induced conflict, buttressed by various social institutions, may partially account for women's limited success in the world of paid employment.

While the prevailing attitude about women during the nineteenth-century was that social stability could be maintained only if women confined themselves to the home, women became more visible in the public sphere during the latter quarter of the century as educational and job opportunities for them expanded. The involvement of Black women in certain areas of the public sphere (mainly the labor force) was never questioned since the slave system had demanded that Black women work alongside men in the fields. Even after slavery, Black women were expected to stay in the work force and perform similar tasks as domestic servants, agricultural laborers, and laundresses, to name a few occupations relegated to Black women. In fact, an essential aspect of the lives of Black women is a historical tradition of working. It is one of the variables that distinguishes them from White native-born women of the same age cohort. The African American woman has been aware for a long time that the life-style of the ideal American woman has been inaccessible to her.

> Nothing else was expected of me but to get an education. My entire family assumed that I would get an education and go on to have a career.

> My education was paid for through my parents sacrificing, other family members like grandparents, people in the community and scholarships. My sense of family went beyond those that lived in my household.
>
> Once I got a taste of this thing called knowledge. I was determined not to let it go.

These three basic ideas repeat themselves over and over throughout the study in the respondents' comments. The idea of family and the necessity of receiving an education were very strong in the women's lives. Some of the women mention that their fathers, not their mothers, were against their receiving an education. When reaching adulthood, they were expected to get married and have children. This prominent theme is a type of inter-generational conflict. Most of the women found that this fatherly belief was merely the sign of the times. They expressed that the negativity only made them want more.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

This chapter will present the major aspects of the educational experiences of Black professional women in the study cohort. Each of the women in the cohort of this study expressed how education was the one thing that no one could take away from her. It was during the early years of the cohort's lives that African American people were beginning to be accepted into mainstream academic institutions of higher education. The focus of this chapter will be on women in law, higher education, and medicine. But in order to assess each of these professional areas, it is important to understand the history of education for Black Americans.

Education was widely recognized as an important tool in times of slavery, despite the fact that it was perilous for Blacks to be caught in the pursuit of learning to read and to write. Education was recognized as an important tool in the struggle for equality. Slave owners had been against education for Blacks because it increased the risk that Blacks would become aware of incendiary abolitionist literature and would acquire the skills to forge passes. After the Civil War, education presented the possibility of untold advances in the separate but equal world of Reconstruction America. Education was one way the Black community found to help itself.

Prior to 1930, most Black women could not expect to see their children go far in school. Most did not attend school beyond the fifth grade, and

many children did not go that far in school since Black children were forced to work the land with their mothers and fathers. In the South, White children went to school for nine months during the year, while Black children went to school until it was time to harvest the crops. Even when they attended school, Black children learned under inadequate conditions: buildings were substandard; schools were overcrowded and inadequately staffed.

Although girls engaged in some types of field and domestic labor at an early age, some research suggests that parents excused them more often and for longer periods of time (compared to their brothers) to attend the neighborhood school (Jones, 1985). In 1910 the Bureau of the Census remarked upon higher female literacy rates among the younger generation by observing, "Negro girls and younger women have received at least such elementary school training as is represented by the ability to write, more generally than have Negro boys and men" (Jones, 1985:p. 97).

Some sociologists attribute the phenomenon of Black families educating the girls in the family to the "farmer's daughter effect" (Bock, 1969: 17-26). That is, like farm families, Black families choose to spend their limited resources to educate daughters rather than sons because, since girls tend to do better than boys in school,[6] they have a better chance of going on for further training, which improves their chances of getting jobs and/or marrying well when they migrate to urban areas. In addition, given the limited financial resources of the family, the male children are often pressured to contribute to the family resources, which usually leads to

---

[6]Much of the earlier sociological and social psychological literature on women documents this. For example, see Komarovsky (1945, 1950).

their dropping out of school. Another explanation offered by Jackson (1973) seems more plausible: this theoretical tendency among Black families to educate their daughters at the expense of their sons[7] may be interpreted as an effort to keep Black women away from domestic work which is and has been, in addition to being a position in which Black women could "learn the ropes" of White society, a position of sexual vulnerability (Epstein, 1973: 917).

However, during this time there were clearly differences between the education of women in the South and women in the North. In the early twentieth century, Black Northern women retained a deep and abiding faith in the value of formal education. Although they failed to receive the financial rewards commensurate with their schooling, Black Northerners sent their children to classes in the same proportion as White parents. In fact by 1930 Black women, forty-four years and younger, were literate to the same degree as Northern White women and Black men their age, though fully one-third of all Black women in the ghetto over sixty-five still could not read and write (Jones, 1985). Black women in the South were left far behind, with illiteracy rates five times higher than those of women living in northern urban areas (Ibid). Certainly these statistics indicate that northern Black women had a chance to become more fully aware of the contemporary political debates that raged around them; the fact that they could vote after 1920 meant that they were free to participate in the political process, an opportunity that their southern sisters would not

---

[7]Jackson (1973) maintains that there appears to be no evidence supporting the systematic preference of Black parents to educate their daughters at the expense of their sons' education or their sons at the expense of their daughters'.

have until the 1960's (Baxter and Lansing, 1983).

Entering the professions

The teaching profession was initially dominated by males. With so few professional opportunities available to them, Black men gravitated towards preaching and teaching (Collier-Thomas, 1982). But as the century wore on, the number of women teachers rose dramatically as educational opportunities became available to them. In fact, Black women became instrumental in the education of their race, opening up schools throughout the nation. By the early twentieth century, the small Black public teaching force had been feminized. At the national level, women in the professions outnumbered men by a ratio of about five to one (Jones, 1985).

However, even Black female high-school graduates could find few positions commensurate with their formal education. Stories of highly educated Black women condemned to a lifetime of menial labor were renowned. For example, the lot of the Black teacher was a particularly difficult one, for she relied upon either White administrators or poverty-stricken Black parents for her livelihood. Historian Louis Harlan has documented in detail the maldistribution of southern county school funds that worked to the detriment of Black pupils. Compared to her White southern counterpart, the Black instructor taught more children (an average of ninety-five as opposed to forty-five) in a smaller school. She had to make do with less in the way of essential equipment (books, pencils, and slates) and classroom time (a three-to-four-month rather than five-to-six-month school year). She made less money - usually no more than $25 or $30 per month - compared to White male, White female, or even Black male teachers, in that order. On the average, Black teachers' salaries were only 45 percent of

Whites'.[8]

Jones (1985) points out that in Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans, northern-sponsored normal schools and colleges prepared young Black people - by the turn of the century, a majority of them women - to be teachers and community leaders. These students then taught in nearby schools during the summer vacation or settled permanently near their alma mater after graduation. In 1910 fully three-quarters of all Atlanta Black teachers had graduated from prestigious Atlanta University. Barred from pursuing careers in other professions (including the clergy), highly educated Black women channeled their talents and energies into neighborhood schools (Jones, 1985).

The vast majority of Black teachers remained dependent upon willful White school boards for their salary, equipment, and job security. For women, teaching paid no better on a monthly or even annual basis than tobacco stemming (Dubois and Dill, 1910). Like northern school reformers, southern administrators took advantage of the fact that single women would work for less pay compared to men; Black female teachers were penalized for their marital status as well as their race and sex (Jones, 1985). Predictably, many had to work as laundresses or seamstresses in order to tide themselves over during the long school "vacations". Yet their rewards cannot be measured strictly in financial terms, for this work spoke to the aspirations of Black people all over the south.

---

[8]For more information on these statistics see Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915 (New York: Athenaeum, 1969), pp. 109, 168, 245, 257-58, 260-263. See also Niels Christensen, Jr., "The Negroes of Beaufort County, South Carolina," Southern Workman (October 1903):483.

In terms of professional status, schools such as Bryn Mawr, as well as coeducation universities, cleared the way to professional careers for women, in general, between 1900 and 1920. During that period the number of professional women increased 226 percent, almost triple the rate of male advancement (Guy-Sheftall, 1990). While the majority of all professional women were teachers at the elementary school level, some women made substantial inroads into traditionally male spheres. By 1920, 5 percent of the nation's doctors, 1.4 percent of the lawyers and judges, and 30 percent of the college presidents, professors, and instructors were women (Aptheker, 1982).

The African American female physician

The first medical schools in the United States which opened their doors to African American women were Howard University's medical school in 1868 and Meharry Medical College in 1876. Following these institutions were Shaw University's Leonard Medical School in 1880 and New Orleans University's Flint Medical College in 1889 (Aptheker, 1990). Rebecca Lee was the first Black woman doctor in the United States. She was graduated from the New England Female Medical college in 1864. Dr. Rebecca Cole (1846-1922) was the second Black woman to receive a medical degree in the United States, graduating from the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia (Aptheker, 1990).

While pursuing a degree in medicine appeared to be a huge obstacle for African American women, receiving internships at established hospitals was an even bigger hurdle. Though internships were a prerequisite to certification, most African American women found it nearly impossible to receive one. As a medical historian explained:

> Practically all the male dominated institutions barred women from their internship programs. One female medical school graduate became so desperate in 1857 that she volunteered to enter Boston Hospital as a patient in order to gain clinical training, but to no avail (Walsh, 1977, p. xi).

In addition, Black women faced racial discrimination which sometimes barred them even from women's hospitals. For example, the NAACP reported in 1915, that the well known case of Isabella Vandervall who led her class during her coursework at the Women's Hospital, New York City, illustrates this situation. Vandervall was appointed intern at the Syracuse Hospital for Women and Children and then the hospital unequivocally refused to fulfill its contract when they discovered that Isabella was of Negro

descent (Aptheker, 1990).

However, this thesis research investigator found that some of the female doctors did not feel as though they had experienced any racial incidents which would have hindered them from getting a medical education. Both Ruth Temple, and May Chinn were illustrations of these women. Ruth attributed her positive experiences of not facing any racial discrimination to God, while May gave other reasons. When interviewing May Edward Chinn, a medical doctor educated in New York and New Jersey, the researcher asked if at any point in medical school she felt as though she experienced any discrimination as a woman and as a Negro. Chinn replied,

> I don't remember that I had any. Now Maynard did, because he was very, very dark, and he had trouble. But as I can remember, I had no trouble at that time (p. 464).

She mentions further that she did not feel as though she was denied access to assignments because she was a Negro. Nevertheless, Chinn did mention the difference from her experiences and the experiences of a Black male colleague who had a darker skin complexion. May Edward Chinn had very fair complexion, straight hair and blue eyes. Chinn's father was an escaped slave of Caucasian and African descent, and her mother was of Native American and African descent. There is research that supports the idea that lighter skinned blacks, female or male, experienced more acceptance during this time period in the White community.

After the Civil War freed men began to be welcomed into mission schools. Bond (1972) points out that as a result of economic and social selection, "In some of these institutions the larger number of light-complexioned students was so noticeable as to arouse the curiosity of visitors (p. 22)." Reuter (1918) found the 3,820 (89.5% of the 4,267

successful Blacks he studied were mulattos. In his study of the history of mulattos, Williamson (1980) found that the leaders of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920's were predominantly of lighter skin. Thus, there is considerable evidence that being of lighter skin continued to be an advantage for at least one hundred years (Frazier, 1940; Warner, Junker and Adams, 1941; Dollard, 1962; Davis, Garden and Gardner, 1965; and Drake and Cayton, 1962). Blackwell (1985) sees the importance of color lightness declining as educational opportunities increased. Edwards (1959) also notes that more recent members of the Black professional class were slightly darker than older members.

This information does not negate the fact that for many Black women and men entering the field of medicine during the early 1900's, racial discrimination was a very significant obstacle to face. Lena Edwards, a physician who spent many years of medical practice in New Jersey, had an extremely difficult time getting residency. While discussing her residency at Margaret Hague Maternity Hospital she states,

> ...By the time 1936 came around, the assistant attendings were being dropped, the clinical attendings did not have their boards. So I applied for a residency so that I could be classified, and was refused. And was refused every year.....I was told that I had two handicaps. First, I was a woman and that was worse than being a Negro woman, but I finally got in in 1945. So I did my residency at the Margaret Hague Hospital in obstetrics and gynecology. And went ahead and took my boards, and was also put on the staff of the surgical department as a gynecologist at the hospital. Both of these were kind of unusual, because there were not many black women, and possibly only two or three at that time that had this opportunity (p. 351).[9]

Additionally, women and Black people were barred from membership in

---

[9]Lena became the first Black woman to complete residency in obstetrics at Margaret Hague Hospital in New Jersey. I might add that at the same time she raised six children, one of whom was a daughter who became the first Black to be admitted in Cornell University Medical School.

established professional associations. Women gained admission into the American Medical Association in 1915, but maintained their own professional association as well. Black physicians were barred from any local chapters of the AMA (especially in the South) under the guise of "home rule" authority, until the late 1960's. In response to this, Black professionals formed their own associations shortly after the turn of the century.

African American women teaching in higher education

The participation of African American women in higher education has been highlighted by exceptional individuals who were active in their communities and major contributors in their respective fields. These women have been entering American higher education since Mary Jane Patterson became the first African American woman to earn a baccalaureate degree (Aptheker, 1990). Fanny Jackson Coppin (Oberlin, 1865), Anna Julia Cooper (Oberlin, 1884), Mary Church Terrell (Oberlin, 1884), Lucy Laney (Atlanta University, 1863) and others followed Patterson's lead with admirable success.

While more African American women were beginning to enter college and receive bachelors degrees, there were very few who went on to receive advanced degrees, especially the doctorate. The first African American woman to receive a Ph.D. was Sadie T.M. Alexander from the University of Pennsylvania, and that was as late as 1921. Ms. Alexander later went on to receive a law degree. There were two other African American women who received the Ph.D. the same year (1921), but in different months, Georgiana Simpson from the University of Chicago, and Eva B. Dykes from Radcliffe. There has been much discrepancy about who actually received their degree first, but it does not really make that much difference because they are all important African American women in history.

Many of the African American women went on to teach other eminent African Americans. For example, when interviewed, Eva Dykes recalls her experiences as a teacher and explains,

> Some of the students I taught in Dunbar High School. At that time it was known as M Street High School, and many of them have become famous. I taught Hastie, who became a governor of the Virgin Islands. I also taught Charles Drew, who did so much work on blood plasma

(p.203).

Eva also published a substantial number of articles. When discussing some of her publications Eva states,

> Well, I wrote an article for Crusader. It was one of the earliest articles that I wrote. That magazine is no longer in existence, but it was published in New York City. At the present time, I am writing articles for the Message magazine. Now the magazine, the Message magazine, had a "Council Corner" when I first wrote for that. Then I also wrote a series of articles called "Morning Meditations," which consisted of writing a composition or a paragraph on certain versus in the Bible. Then, I also am writing not "This Morning with God," which consists of a number of articles dealing with the verses in the Bible on various topics. And that has been changed now to "Your Bible Speaks." That is one of the current columns in the Message magazine. I also wrote an article for the Youth Instructor, entitled "Diadems and Fagots," which was later followed by "A Light Beautiful," concerning Mother Isabel Cunningham, who was considered as a mother of all the students here at Oakwood College (p. 204).

These are just a few of the articles she has written in her lifetime. She has also written some books; The Negro in English Romantic Thought, which was published by Harcourt Brace and Company, and Readings for Negro Schools and Colleges which was co-edited with a colleague from Howard University.

Another one of the women who was interviewed was Zelma George. She was a sociologist who received her B.A. from the University of Chicago in 1924 and her Ph.D in Sociology from New York University in 1954. While at the University of Chicago she studied with some of the luminaries in the field of sociology, and with fellow students E. Franklin Frazier, Sadie Gray, and Carter G. Woodson, among others. When discussing her experiences as a Black graduate student at Chicago she says,

> I would say there was a great fellowship among the sociology students. At the time I was there there was Charles Johnson and E. Franklin Frazier and Carter G. Woodson and Charles Thompson at Howard and oh, what's his name who was head of the dental school -- David, who was head of German at Howard University -- spoke German perfectly. Most of them were older than I in graduate school when I was in undergraduate. But, we were all Black and in sociology. We were thrown together a lot. And taking some of the same courses, because

> University of Chicago was a graduate school, mostly. Another classmate was Sadie Gray. She and Benjamin Mays (later the President of Morehouse College) married on the day of our graduation. She was in school, and I kept friendship with her until she died. Lorraine Green and her illustrious husband Attorney Wendell Green were very close friends of mine (p. 262).

However, in the beginnings of American history, society viewed women as homemakers and African Americans as servants. This societal view constituted a difficult path for African American women who desired to seek a degree in higher education. Solomon (1985) observed that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, "the black college woman was the exception of the exceptions" in that neither Black nor White colleges wanted her (p. 76). According to Perkins (1988) only thirty African American women had completed B.A. degrees by 1890 compared with more than 300 African American men and 2,500 White women (pp. 77-78). The trend began to change in the early 1900's. Noble (1988) found that African American women earned more college degrees than African American men in the twentieth century with the exception of the decade between 1920 and 1930 (p. 89). Nevertheless, the cadre of Black professional women were still facing combined effects of racism and sexism.

The African American female lawyer

In addition to the medical profession and its allied field, Black women were also among the first of any race to practice law. The first woman to argue before the United States Supreme Court was Black. Her name was Lucy Terry Prince (1730-1821). The case involved efforts from a White Colonel to steal land from the Prince family. The Prince family was an unusually well-to-do Black family who had hired an attorney, but Lucy Prince opted to argue the case herself, and won (Aptheker, 1990).

However, the legal profession was extremely difficult to penetrate, and most sources indicate that as late as 1910 there had been only two practicing Black women lawyers in the United States: Charlotte E. Ray (1850-1911) and Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823-1893). Ray, the daughter of the New York abolitionist leader Charles B. Ray, graduated from Howard University Law School in February 1872. Cary graduated from Howard Law School in 1884, at the age of sixty-one. Following these women, Miss Ida B. Platt graduated from the Chicago Law School in 1892 with high honors, but was denied admission to the Illinois bar (Aptheker, 1990).

For many African American women entering law, their educational experience was one of benefits and drawbacks. Elmira, who entered law school in 1928 remembers:

> Oh, it was a very interesting experience. It so happened that I was the first American black woman to enter the university law school and I was pretty much a curiosity ah...but the dean of the law school was very interested and very helpful. The rest of the staff had a sort of hands off policy... (p. 78).

Etter-Lewis (1993) argues that accompanying the feeling of being on display was the benign neglect, " a sort of hands-off policy," treatment that was common to many African American students, especially women. Elmira,

however, was able to discern who was helpful (e.g., "the dean of the law school") and who was not, and she acted accordingly.

In Etter-Lewis's oral narratives of professional women she found that a more direct form of discrimination was in university housing. On most campuses, African American students were prohibited from living in dormitories. Elmira observed that:

> No, ah...we were not given any residential privileges. We took gym, but we didn't get to use the swimming pool. And ah...we were pretty much on the peripheral except for the way we made a life for ourselves together (p. 78).[10]

There were some actions on campus that were even more conspicuously biased. Elmira never forgot a talk with one of the deans:

> All the [Black] girls were called in ... to the Dean's office and we were all told that we should be as unobtrusive as possible on the campus. That we were members of the subject race, the university did not really want us, but as it was a city university it had to take us (p. 80).

Singling out women in the first group of African American students to enroll at this university sent a clear message. African American women were the most undesirable of the undesirable. They were expected to be grateful for being there and to keep quiet. They did neither:

> And we left that interview just about in a state of shock because we hadn't been prepared for that and we immediately met with the young men [black] on campus and told them about it. And we all decided that we're going out for everything. That everybody in that freshman class is gonna come away with some distinction. We didn't burn any buildings or anything like that, we just decided we were gonna show them. And we all did. Every member of that freshman class had some distinction. And the success of it was that the next year, the same official who had spoken to us called us back and apologized. He said, 'I made an error and I want you to know that you are a credit to your race' (p. 80).

---

[10]Several of the professional women, in various fields, mentioned not being able to swim in the pool while in college. They mentioned going to the nearest YMCA to get credit for gym.

Upon getting her law degree and working in an office, Elmira knew that there were always difficulties that accompanied each new rung on the ladder of success:

> That office was a tremendously interesting experience. There was an elderly man who had been with several administrations and I think that he was annoyed for several reasons: that I was a woman and that I was a black. There was only one other woman, a Jewish lady from another part of the state. And he went out of his way to help the men, but when we asked him a question he was very short and acted as if he really didn't want to be bothered. So I only asked him a question once. After that, I decided I'd have to educate myself. So I did some research and then I prepared my assignment. And when I submitted my first opinion as a result of a request, it went through...My assignment passed and I was very glad I hadn't asked for any help see...and it was the same sort of experience in a sense that law school was. You worked and you made it and then you got confidence that you could do it, you see (pp. 100-101).

Many of the women studied who were in Law mentioned that they came to the realization early in their law school career that they had to do the work themselves, without any assistance. They realized in advance, that though many of the White male students had family members and professors who would assist them, they did not have this advantage.

The African American professional women studied are from a birth cohort that had many obstacles to overcome and many questions about what was to become of their future. They faced social, political, and economic ills. The Black women who entered into the professions at the turn of the twentieth century were acutely conscious of themselves as representatives of a race scarcely a generation removed from slavery.

CHAPTER V

GENDER AND RACIAL IDENTITY

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the views that the birth cohort studied had on the women's movement and racial identity. This cohort was entering the professions with two important movements facing them. As women, they were faced with the new Women's Liberation Movement which was fighting for economic equality. As Blacks, they were faced with the Racial Uplift Movement's fighting for these same things, as well as, social and racial equality. Throughout the oral histories, narratives and interviews, this cohort expressed strong views on each movement. This chapter will discuss these views, as well as the "double jeopardy" status of Black women.

The history of Black women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be seen as a reflection of the paradoxes that are apparent in an analysis of Black and women's history. While Black women experienced all of the hardships that beset their race during the period, they were also affected by what was taking place in the women's movement. This is apparent in several key ways. First, their involvement in racial uplift activities can be viewed not only as a manifestation of their obligations to their race, but also an indication of the extent to which they had taken quite seriously their obligation as women to join the women's movement.

Guy-Sheftall (1990) argues that the habit of many women's studies

scholars to think of Black women mainly in racial terms and to fail to recognize their gender identity causes them to ignore significant aspects of the history of American women. Similar interpretations of the organizational work of Black women, especially their club activity, are also absent from traditional Black history texts, which tend to include the involvement of Black women in the race uplift movement only within a racial context.

A consideration of the Black woman's awareness of her gender obligations would render obsolete such a narrow view of, for example, the Black women's club movement in the 1890's. One of the most articulate spokeswomen for the peculiar burdens of the Black woman, given her race and her gender, was Anna Julia Cooper. She revealed on many occasions her awareness that being Black and female dictated a dual set of responsibilities. In fact, the grandiose statements that many Black female writers made can be seen as examples of what Ryan (1982) has observed among White women writers of an earlier period. Ryan depicts them as "the literary generals of the domestic crusade". Their role was to inspire wives to "send forth living and refreshing streams to fertilize and make beautiful the moral wilderness of the world" (p. 40). The following statement by Cooper illustrates her acceptance of her role as a literary general of both the domestic crusade and the race uplift crusade, which for her were inseparable.

> To be a woman in such an age carries with it a privilege and an opportunity never implied before. But to be a woman of the Negro race in America, and to be able to grasp the deep significance of the possibilities of the crisis, is to have a heritage, it seems to me, unique in the ages....What a responsibility then to have the sole management of the primal lights and shadows. Such is the colored woman's office. She must stamp weal or woe on the coming history of this people. May she see her opportunity and vindicate her high

prerogative (Cooper, 1892:pp.144-145).[11]

Cooper argued that Black women should work within the domestic sphere to upgrade the quality of the home and the family. This would improve the moral fiber of the race. However, she felt that Black women must also become involved in the public sphere, but not just as wage earners.

> No plan for renovating society, no scheme for purifying politics, no reform in church or in state, no moral, social, or economic question...is lost on her...no woman can possibly put herself or her sex outside any of the interests that affect humanity. All departments in the new era are to be hers (Cooper, 1892: p. 142-143).

This desire to purify the home and society was seen by Cooper and other Black women to be a part of their definition of race uplift, but it was also consistent with efforts on the part of reform women in general to uplift the entire society.

The Black woman's club movement that emerged on the national level in the 1890's must also be seen as a manifestation of Black women's race and gender obligations. Black women's clubs were established not only because White women's clubs excluded them from membership (except in New England), but also because Black women felt they had special and unique problems to solve.

While researching the education of the professional women in this thesis cohort group, it was found that for women who were educated in historically Black universities, race was not a problem , on the other hand, sex and gender biases did become a significant problem. For instance, when Inabel Burns Lindsay assumed the chair of the School of

---

[11]See A Voice from the South by Anna J. Cooper. Cooper's book is a collection of her speeches and essays and is the first book-length black feminist analysis of the Black woman's situation in America.

Social Work at Howard University, she found that sex biases were a bigger problem for her and other women to overcome. She recalls,

> I think that sex was a much bigger barrier to acceptance and opening of opportunities than race, because, in the first place I was in a predominantly Negro institution, so that race was secondary. Sex, however, was not. There were women on the faculties, of course, many of them, very fine outstanding ones who were recognized and accorded to a degree the same academic opportunities of promotion and tenure, although there again I think the bias of sex operated for all of the women. They didn't get promoted as readily, nor to as high rank as a man. But when it came to administration--outside of home economics, nursing, or physical education, which, of course, had a woman head of the physical education department for women, corresponding to the physical education program for men with a male head--but to move into the general administration of a school was something that just hadn't gone on in the university, I think... (pp.324-325).

So for some of the professional Black women, gender biases were just as much a problem as racial discrimination. Elmira, who had become a lawyer discovered early on that she was thought less capable of making fair judgments than her male counterparts:

> I got my first criminal case and had to go to the jail and interview the person who was in jail and find out his side of the story, what witnesses he had, then I had to go and contact all those witnesses and find out if they were willing to appear and I was just convinced that the man was telling me the truth. He was a victim of a chain of circumstances...the prosecuting attorney unloaded all they had on him...The court found against him and afterwards the judge called me up and said, "Now I want you to understand that you're not to believe everything anybody tells you. You'll have to develop the ability to know when people are lying." I was really very upset about that because I said, "Well, your honor, I believe that he was telling the truth (p. 101).

Whether this was gender bias or just plain old patronizing, it is doubtful that this judge would have approached the male attorneys in the same fashion. For African American women like Inabel and Elmira, these experiences were one of the opportunities to develop strength, insight, and a means of coping with the kinds of biases, whether racially or sexually motivated, that they would encounter for a lifetime. In summary, the dual

status of female gender and race constituted significant role dilemmas for Black females who aspired to practice professional occupations.

Black women and the Women's Liberation Movement

In order to understand effectively the dynamics of a society, one must not only consider the effects of individual processes, but the effects of general cultural processes as well. This is particularly true when studying a social movement which is an ongoing social process such as the women's liberation movement and the attitudes of Black women toward that movement. The Black woman is, like any other person, a product of her society. Her propensity to embrace or reject a social movement such as the women's liberation movement is thus fundamentally a function of the values, beliefs, attitudes and definitions which she has internalized as a member of her society and of her developed reactions to it.

The Black female in the United States has been, and still is, in a status of multiple jeopardy. In order to understand the concept of multiple jeopardy[12], it is necessary to look beyond the social structure and process of the dominant society that insidiously pervade even the movements for race, gender, and class liberation. Thus, the confrontations among Blacks about sexism and classism, among women about racism and classism, and among the various economic classes about racism and sexism compose an important feature of the context of Black feminist ideology (King, 1988). A formidable impediment in these battles is the "monist" approach of most liberation ideologies.

Albert (1986) in Liberating Theory describes monism as a political claim "that one particular domination precipitates all really important oppression's. Whether Marxist, anarchist, nationalist, or feminist, these

---

[12]Multiple jeopardy here refers to the dual status race and gender that is assigned to Black women.

ideal types represent arguments that important social relations can all be reduced to the economy, state, culture or gender" (pg. 6). For example, during the suffrage debates, it was routinely asserted that only one group might gain voting privileges - either Blacks or women (Black men or White women). For Black women, the granting of suffrage to either of these categories would still mean disenfranchisement because of either their sex or their race. King (1988) contends that, faced with this dilemma, many Black women and most Black men believed that the extension of suffrage to Black males was imperative in order to protect race interests in the historical period of postbellum America. But because political empowerment for Black women would require that both Blacks and women gained the right to vote, some of these same Black women also lobbied strenuously for women's suffrage (Davis, 1983).

The women in my cohort group had varying opinions about the women's movement. Some supported the movement and felt a definite connection to this movement, while others felt as though this movement was simply a White woman's movement that had not tried to relate to Black people's need for equality. Inabel believes that,

> In essence, I think it is striving for equality of opportunity in every way, equality of occupational outlet, equality of pay, shared responsibilities in a home where both husband and wife work together, even if they have a family. The father's supposed to wash the dishes sometimes, too, or cook. And many young fathers do, not the old ones. What I think of it, is that philosophically yes, these are all sound, but practically or operationally it hasn't done much for the middle-class or minority group woman or the older woman. It's a young women's movement, striving to put into operation very sound democratic principles, but they have neglected those who need that most...I mean they haven't reached out to bring in Negro women, for example. They don't understand that we have a double handicap and recognize that....In the first place, to me it is so evident that they could challenge the inequalities experienced by older women, many of whom have not worked. Well, they're discriminated against in the Social Security program, for example. These are poor women primarily and

> women's movement hasn't taken up the cudgels in their behalf (pp. 326-327).

Racial solidarity and race liberation have been and remain a fundamental concern for Black Americans. King (1988) maintains that historically and currently, slavery, segregation, and institutional as well as individual discrimination have been formative experiences in most Blacks' socialization and political outlook. She further asserts that the inerasable physical characteristics of race have long determined the status and opportunities of Black women in the United States. Since race serves as a significant filter for what Blacks perceive and how Blacks are perceived, many Black women have claimed that racial identity is more salient than either gender or class identity (Joseph and Lewis, 1981; Lewis, 1977; and hooks, 1984).

Diane Lewis, an anthropologist, has remarked that when racism is seen as the principal cause of their subordinate status, "their interests as Blacks have taken precedence over their interests as women" (1977: p. 343). This political importance of race is evident for other reasons as well. Certainly, the chronological order of the social movements for racial, gender, and class justice in part explains the priority given to racial interests. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the abolition and civil rights movement predate women's suffrage and the women's movements. Similarly, collective efforts that addressed economic deprivation and exploitation, such as trade unionism beginning in the late 1800's, communist organizing in the 1920's and 1930's, and the anti-imperialist activism of the 1960's were preceded by or were simultaneous with race-oriented movements. Considering the order of events, it is reasonable to expect that most Black women would have made commitments to

and investments in the race movements such that they would not or could not easily abandon those for later movements.

As mentioned earlier, the women in the generational cohort have varying opinions of the women's movement. When Zelma George was asked about the women's movement and "women's work" she was very dubious in her response, replying:

> The work of the world, whatever she feels she is fitted to do, has the talent to and the energy to do, and the will to do. I have great ambivalence about this thing because I enjoy being a girl, and I like all the differences that are there biologically. I've enjoyed them. I had a great husband and he was of the old school in his regards to me as a person in our very personal relationship, and yet he felt I should do with my life what I wanted to do and he helped me to do it. I enjoyed it. I believe that people should have the right to be what they want to be. If they want to be a masculine woman and if they want to be a homosexual, I think they ought to be that: if that's what they <u>really</u> want to be. I know that being a woman has been a real problem for me. I've had to work under men who couldn't stand women who were aggressive and confident, positive. I worked at the Juvenile Court in Chicago as a probation officer with the same duties, the same hours but with a differential scale of salaries. The men got more than the women because the men were supposed to be heads of families that they had to support. I had a family, supporting it as the oldest child, but it didn't make any difference. So I've experienced that and I know what it means and I'm against it. I think that equal work should get equal pay and I think a woman should be allowed to do whatever she thinks she can do, whether it's mechanic, driving a bulldozer, or whatever it is she wants to do. If she feels she can do it, she ought to be allowed to try to do it. I just personally hope--and here's where the ambivalence is--that she doesn't lose her femininity as she's doing it. How you can keep it and still be allowed to do all the things that many women want to do is the big problem (p. 329).

It appears that Ms. George believes that equality should be accessible to women, but while searching for this equality the hope is that the "woman" isn't lost.

One of the major issues among African American professional women is whether race, and the effects of race, has had an effect on their options. Sadie Alexander says,

> Well now, let me tell you about that. It's my opinion that white women are doing all this talk about equality and so forth, because first they don't know anything about prejudice until they have received their degrees and passed their state boards or whatever they have to take, and then the doors begin to slam in their faces. Instead of opening the door, as they have been, treated like ladies, the door slams back and forth. Now you see, I never looked for anybody to hold the door open for me....I knew well that the only way I could get that door open was to knock it down; because I knocked all of them down (p. 80-81).

Part of the problem may be that through the necessity of confronting and surviving racial oppression, Black women have assumed responsibilities atypical of those assigned to White women under Western patriarchy. Black women often held central and powerful leadership roles within the Black community and within its liberation politics. Evans (1981) argues that Black women, did not experience sexism within the race movement in quite the ways that brought many White women to feminist consciousness within civil rights. Black women founded schools, operated social welfare services, sustained churches, and organized collective work groups and unions. That is, they were the backbone of racial uplift, and they also played critical roles in the struggle for racial justice (Giddings, 1988; Harley and Terborg-Penn, 1978; and Davis 1971).[13]

Altogether, this history constitutes a powerful impetus toward a monistic race approach as the means of liberation for Black women. Michelle Wallace concludes that Black women simply lack a feminist consciousness as a matter of choice, out of ignorance, misguided beliefs,

---

[13]This is not to say that Black women during the Civil Rights movement did not experience sexism, examples of this can be seen in the small number of women who held visible leadership positions. However, their significant involvement in racial justice was of equal importance. See Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1984.

or an inability to recognize sexual domination both within and without the Black community (Wallace, 1979). Since the 1800's however, the writings of such prominent Black women as Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Frances Watkins Harper, Pauli Murray, Audre Lorde, and Angela Davis have described a broader view of Black consciousness[14]. Even among those Black women who expressed grave reservations about participating in the women's movement, most recognized sexism as a factor of their subordination in the larger society and acknowledged sexual politics among Blacks.

It is tempting to speculate about whether or not sexism or racism most influences an African American woman's life, especially a woman professional who steps outside of the boundaries of women's traditional roles. However, the underlying assumption that life can be divided into discrete components without overlap or interaction is both reductive and misleading. As the women studied have demonstrated in this research, more often than not, both factors have an impact on their lives.

---

[14]For statements by Truth, Cooper and Harper, see Loewenberg and Bogin, eds. Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976); for Murray see Pauli Murray, "The Liberation of Black Women," in Women: A Feminist Perspective, ed. Jo Freeman (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield, 1975), pp. 351-63; for Lorde see Lorde "Scratching the Surface: Some Notes on Barriers to Women and Loving," Black Scholar 13 (Summer 1982): 20-24, and Sister Outsider: Essay and Speeches (Trumansberg, N.Y.: Crossing Press, 1984); and for Davis see Women, Race and Class (1983).

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY: PROFILE OF PROFESSIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN ACTIVE 1920-1960

The African American professional women in this study represent a cohort of people who have historically faced a state of double jeopardy i.e., being Black and being female. Yet, historically and with dignity, they have coped with these dual oppression's and survived the degradations to which they were subjected.

The history of Black women from 1920-1960 is in large part the story of Black women's education, family, work, social standing, and racial pride. The grandparents of most of the professional women studied were slaves. The parents of most of the women were no longer slaves, but were just beginning to receive an education and realized its significance. All of the women studied were members of a Black Greek organization, mostly Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc. The majority of the women were married and had children. They expressed the importance of having a family and being a mother, while also having a career. The family histories of these women show that they were in large part from families who were doing better economically than most Blacks of their generation. However, most of them did not like to be called "elite" because they felt that this meant "better than others" and they strongly denied feeling this way.

Almost all of the women preferred being called "Negro" as opposed to Black, African American, or Colored. The reason for this was that no one

is actually "Black". The word Black is considered inferior to White, and they simply do not like the term African American. The word "Negro" for many of the women symbolized the realization that Negroes came from Africa. Some of the women mentioned that they would like to be identified as "human" and not as any particular color because they represent doctors, lawyers, and teachers, who just happen to be Black.

It is difficult to put into words the experience of researching and reading the transcripts of the interviews of these women. They were feisty, intelligent, funny, strong, determined and most of all, they represent a racial pride that has been a stabilizing force in the Black community through the years. The majority of these women decided to become professionals because they had the desire to be whatever they wanted to be, even if it required knocking down some doors to reach that dream. That they were able to carry out their work - which included self-improvement, race work, and women's work - under such arduous circumstances is remarkable. W.E.B. Dubois, in Darkwater: Voices Within The Veil (1920) commemorates these women quite eloquently:

> ...I honor the women of my race...No other women have emerged from the hell of force and temptation which once engulfed and still surrounds black women in America with half the modesty and womanliness that they retain. I have always felt like bowing myself before them in all abasement, searching to bring some tribute to these long-suffering victims, these burdened sisters of mine, whom the world loves to affront and ridicule and wantonly to insult...This, then-a little thing-to their memory and inspiration (pp. 185-86).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The grounded theory methodology used in this study has helped to provide a basis for discussion in this qualitative thesis paper. Grounded theory is based on data obtained by systematic social research. This methodology helped to bridge the life histories/oral narratives method of study with the birth cohort analysis in my theoretical framework.

The importance of cohort studies in order to analyze social change is significant to sociology. Cohort research provides a frame of reference within which theories can be constructed and empirical inquiry executed. If sociology is to continue to be the analysis of the structure of social relationships as constituted by social interaction, the use of historical birth cohort analysis can only improve the discipline as a whole, and historical sociology in particular.

This study of African American professional women active from 1920-1960 contributes to historical sociology by providing the life-histories of individuals in social contexts. This historical study of Black professional women is concerned with the dynamic interaction between human agency and social structure, not as an abstract problem, but as an empirical issue in world history. As Comte mentions, all sociology is historical sociology because it is inevitably concerned with change, process and development (Braudel, 1969).

While I have already discussed the strengths of my methodology and

theoretical framework, there are some disadvantages to this type of research method. Though well suited for qualitative data, grounded theory has limited usefulness for dealing with large scale structural features of society, such as demographic trends or systems of social stratification. Also, the methodology of oral history admittedly does not always produce a precise, objective, and complete factual narrative. By its very nature the oral memoir is a retrospective and personal accounting, often capturing otherwise fugitive information and revealing relationships and circumstances omitted from written records. However, oral narrative as autobiography is as complex as it is controversial. As Etter-Lewis (1994) states:

> It [oral narratives] is influenced by several factors such as the oppositional model of language (written versus spoken, orality versus literacy, literary versus non literary), canonical restrictions, and cultural biases (p. xvi).

While there may be no simple or easy solution, searching beyond the confines of "acceptable" theory and practice is critical.

Future Research

Future research on African American professional women is needed in order to understand the significance of their contributions to American history. Apart from the work of a nationally recognized few, their contributions have been neglected and undocumented.

Of course, with the study of any category of people who have been absent from major studies in a variety of disciplines, there are many issues, or in this case, themes that become important. The notion that African American women are an invisible cohort on the sidelines that easily can be combined with other cohorts is a convenient fiction that conceals

their power and importance. They have played major roles in all of American culture and continue to do so in spite of resistance.

Future research might include studies of the importance of religion in the lives of these women. Some of the women studied mentioned their religious affiliation and quite often mentioned that "God", gave them many opportunities in life. Other issues were children and marriage. Some of the women mentioned that it was either/or for them, in terms of their professional career. It appeared to many women that they could not juggle being a professional, a wife, and a mother at the same time. It would also be quite interesting to see a comparative analysis of professional Black women in the past, and the dilemmas of the present Black professional woman. Has anything changed? If so, how?

These women have demonstrated repeatedly that change requires nothing less than the complete alteration of what we do and believe. While researching the information for this thesis I found some women were beginning to write and research more about various aspects of the Black woman. At some point in the future, perhaps many disciplines will begin to include more information about these women in their analyses. The full contribution of the Black people to American history can only be understood with the further documentation of the contributions of all Black Americans, male and female. This paper is intended as one of many steps toward knowledge and understanding.

APPENDIX A (BIBLIOGRAPHICAL VIGNETTES)[15]

RUTH JANETTA TEMPLE (1892-1984)

A long-time physician in Los Angeles, Ruth Temple specialized in obstetrics and gynecology, but found her life work in the field of preventive medicine and public health through the Total Health Program which she developed. As the second eldest of six children, she cared for the younger four children while her mother worked. A man who heard her say that she wanted to become a doctor paid her way through Loma Linda University School of Medicine. After she graduated in 1918, Dr. Temple was first a general practitioner, but in 1923 began to specialize in obstetrics and gynecology. In 1941 the Health Department paid her scholarship to Yale University School of Public Health where she received a master's degree in Public Health.

Appalled at the conditions in southeast Los Angeles she and her husband, Otis Banks, used their own funds to start Health Study Clubs with parents, slowly involving the whole community. From the clubs in 1928 came Community Health Day, Community Health Week (which began in 1945), and Health Information Centers--all part of the Total Health Program of the Community Health Association. Dr. Temple was district health officer in southeast Los Angeles, assistant city health officer, and director of the division of Public Health Services. She was a member of the American Medical Association, the California Congress of Parents and Teachers, and Alpha Kappa Alpha.

---

[15]The following appendices are paraphrased from The Black Women Oral History Project (1987).

EVA B. DYKES (1893-1986)

Born in Washington, D.C., Eva Dykes graduated from the M Street High School and Howard University. With the encouragement of her uncle, Dr. James Howard, she continued her education at Radcliffe College where she received an A.B. and A.M. as well as a doctorate in English philology. She was, with Sadie Alexander and Georgiana Simpson, one of the first three Black women to earn Ph.D. degrees in the United States (1921). She taught at Walden University, Dunbar (formerly M Street) High School, then at Howard University for 15 years, where she was voted the best all-around teacher in the university by the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts. Having become a Seventh-Day Adventist, she combined her religious conviction and her academic interests by accepting an invitation in 1944 to teach at Oakwood College, a Seventh-Day Adventist school in Huntsville, Alabama. She played a significant role in the college's efforts to achieve accreditation and expand its curriculum. In 1973 she was honored by having the college library named for her. She studied music from the age of five and was pianist, organist, and choir director, as well as the author of several books, including The Negro in English Romantic Thought.

MAY EDWARD CHINN, M.D. (1896-1980)

May Chinn was a physician in Harlem for more than 50 years. She was born in Massachusetts, the only child of LuLu Ann and William Lafayette Chinn. At age three, she and her parents moved to New York City. She was educated in New York and New Jersey, partially at the Bordentown Manual Training and industrial School. Dr. Chinn studied piano as a child and taught piano to children when she dropped out of high school before her last year. Although she never completed high school, she was admitted to Columbia University Teachers' College in 1917; she intended to pursue a degree in music, but in her second year changed her program to science. To earn money for her studies, she continued to play piano for students in the music department. In the 1920's she accompanied Paul Robeson, and sang and played for herself, at concerts which they gave in churches in Harlem. In 1926, she was the first Black woman to graduate from Bellevue Hospital Medical College. She was also the first Black woman to serve as an intern at Harlem Hospital; and, for many years, the only Black woman to practice medicine in Harlem, where she had an office at the Edgecombe Sanitarium. As her work in cancer was recognized, she began to send patients to Memorial Hospital, and in 1944 she joined the staff of the Stang Clinic, helping to devise methods leading to the early detection of cancer. Although she retired from private practice in 1977, she continued to work in three Harlem day care centers sponsored by the New York State Department of Health and as a consultant for the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

SADIE TANNER (MOSSELL) ALEXANDER (1898-

In 1921 Sadie Alexander was one of the first three Black women in the United States to be awarded a doctorate; she was also the first Black woman to earn a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Her father, Aaron Mossell, had been the first Black graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and her mother, Mary Tanner Mossell, was the fourth generation of the Tanner family recorded as "free negroes" in the U.S. Census. After earning B.S., M.A., Ph.D., and LL.B. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, she engaged in private practice with the Philadelphia firm of her husband, Raymond Pace Alexander, until his death in 1974. Subsequently, joining another firm Dr. Alexander worked as an attorney in Philadelphia for more than 50 years. She participated in numerous civic organizations, including the National Urban League and Delta Sigma Theta, which she served as first national president.

DOROTHY (BOULDING) FEREBEE, M.D. (1898-1980)

Dorothy (Boulding) Ferebee was a distinguished physician and humanitarian who served the Howard University community for more than 40 years. The only daughter of Benjamin Richard and Florence Ruffin Boulding, she was born in Norfolk, Virginia, and received part of her education in Boston at Girls' High School. She graduated from Simmons College in 1920 and from the Tufts University School of Medicine in 1924. After internship at Freedmen's Hospital and postgraduate training, she became an instructor in obstetrics at Howard University Health Services until her retirement in 1968. A tireless worker, Dr. Ferebee was an active participant in dozens of organizations; most notably she was founder of Southeast Neighborhood House in Washington, D.C., which provides day care for infants and toddlers of working mothers, and recreational facilities for young people. From 1935 to 1941, she was medical director of the AKA (Alpha Kappa Alpha) Mississippi Health Project, an innovative plan to bring health care to tenant farming families. The project initiated the first mobile health clinics in the United States as a workable way of teaching the rudimentary principles of health care and nutrition. She was national president of AKA (Alpha Kappa Alpha) and of NCNW (National Council of Negro Women), president of the Howard Faculty Women's Club; served on the boards of the Girl Scouts of America and the National YMCA; and was a medical consultant to the Peace Corps and the Department of State. Other memberships were AAUW (American Association of University Women), D.C. Commission on the Status of Women, and National Council of Administrative Women in Education.

LENA FRANCES EDWARDS, M.D. (1900-1986)

Lena Edwards had a tireless commitment to her profession as a physician and to her community. A daughter of Marie Coakley and Thomas W. Edwards, a dentist who taught at Howard University, and younger sister of another project interviewee, May Edwards Hill, she was born and educated in Washington, D.C. She attended Howard University, where she earned her B.A. and M.D. degrees. After an internship at Freedmen's Hospital, she became the first Black woman to complete a residency in obstetrics at Margaret Hague Hospital in New Jersey. After many years of medical practice in New Jersey, while also raising six children, Dr. Edwards joined the faculty of Howard University in 1954 where she taught obstetrics and gynecology.

She left Howard University in 1960 to live and work for five years in a migrant labor camp in Hereford, Texas, where she established a maternity clinic and used her own savings to open a health clinic serving 5,000 laborers and their families. In recognition of her work, she was presented with the Presidential Freedom Award in 1964. A devout Catholic, Dr. Edwards was a pioneer in advocating natural childbirth and throughout her career has been instrumental in setting up programs for unwed mothers, for alcoholics, and for the poor and aged. She was a fellow of the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology and of the International College of Surgeons; other memberships included the American Medical Association, American Medical Women's Association, and Delta Sigma Theta.

INABEL (BURNS) LINDSAY (1900-1983)

For 22 years, Inabel Burns Lindsay served as dean of the Howard University School of Social Work, which she helped to establish in the late 1930's. The youngest in a family of six children, Inabel Burns was encouraged to attend Howard University by her mother, Margaret Hartshorn Burns, and her brother Ocie. After graduating in 1920, she was awarded an Urban League fellowship to the New York School of Social Work. She returned home because of her mother's failing health and taught in the public schools until her marriage in 1925 to Arnett Grant Lindsay, who had studied Negro history under Carter G. Woodson.

The Lindsays moved to St. Louis, where Mrs. Lindsay worked as a case worker and later as district superintendent. In 1937 she received her master's degree in social work from the University of Chicago, and was asked to come to Howard University to teach and to assist in establishing a school of social work. The new school was approved in 1944, and she was made Dean the following year. She received a doctorate in social work from the University of Pittsburgh in 1952. After her retirement from Howard in 1967, Dr. Lindsay acted as a special consultant to DHEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and to the Senate Committee on Aging, and was a board member of the National Council on Aging and the National Urban League. In 1974 the Metropolitan Washington chapter of the National Association of Social Workers named Inabel Lindsay "Social Worker of the Year."

ZELMA (WATSON) GEORGE (1903-

A sociologist, diplomat, and opera singer, George graduated from the University of Chicago in 1924. Before her father, the Reverend Samuel Watson, died in 1925, he asked her to help educate the five younger children; this took close to twenty years. She held positions as a social worker, probation officer to the juvenile court in Chicago, dean of women and director of personnel administration at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University, and executive director of Avalon Community Center in Los Angeles. After she married Clayborne George in 1944, he encouraged her to sing the title role in a Cleveland production of Menotti's The Medium, thus launching her career as an opera singer. She sang this role on Broadway and over the years has appeared in a number of opera productions in Cleveland and elsewhere. She received her Ph.D. in sociology in 1954 from New York University, with her dissertation, A Guide to Negro Music.

In 1960 she was appointed a member of the United States delegation to the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations. On December 16, 1960, she rose alone among the United States delegation with spontaneous applause for a resolution recommending a "speedy and unconditional end to colonialism." The resolution had passed with a vote of 89 to 0, with nine abstentions, including the United States. From 1968 to 1974, Dr George was executive director of the Cleveland Job Corps Center, operated by AKA (Alpha Kappa Alpha). She was honored in 1974 by an Ohio Zelma George Day, and received the United Nations Dag Hammarskjold Award in 1961, the Dahlberg Peace Award in 1969, and the Mary Bethune Gold Medallion in 1973.

ELMIRA[16] (1908-

Elmira received her B.A. in 1928, her J.D. in 1930, and two honorary doctorates in 1939. Elmira's maternal grandfather was a member of the state legislature, elected during reconstruction. He was also a minister. Her maternal grandmother opened the first school for Black children, in her home. Her paternal grandfather was a coachman for a wealthy family in Kentucky. Her paternal grandparents belonged to a family given manumission by their owner in his will at his death. The owner left them money to leave the state and go to a free area. Elmira's mother was a teacher and her father was in military service most of his life. Her father died a 'major' (non sequitur) and met a lot of discrimination. Elmira has a letter from President Harding stating that although her father had all the qualifications for 'major' ten years before he was granted it, it was the policy of the United States Army not to commission any more Negro officers. Her mother was a graduate from Tuskegee Institute. While at Tuskegee, Booker T. Washington gave Elmira a job at the school.

Elmira was the first American Black woman to enter her university's law school. She entered law school in 1928 while completing her B.A. work and allowed her first year of law school act as her last year for the baccalaureate degree. She graduated with the L.L.B. in 1930, which is now Doctorate of Laws Degree. She was also the first Black assistant attorney general in her state.

---

[16] The name Elmira is used as a fictional name in My Soul Is My Own: Oral Narratives of African American Women in the Professions by Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis. Etter-Lewis states that several women requested anonymity, therefore fictional names were used for persons and places.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1982 Abrahms, Philip. Historical Sociology. Cornell University Press: Ithica, New York.

1978 Acker, Joan. "Issues in the Sociological Study of Women's Work" (ed) Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective, pp. 134-161.

1988 Aisenberg, N. and M. Harrington. Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove. The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

1986 Albert, Michael et al. Liberating Theory. Boston: South End Press.

1979 Allen, Walter. "Family Roles, Occupational Statuses, and Achievement Orientations Among Black Women in the United States." **Signs**, Vol. 4; No. 4 (Summer).

1988 Anderson, Margaret. Thinking About Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender. 2nd edition, New York: Macmillan.

1982 Aptheker, Bettina. Woman's Legacy: Essays on Race, Sex, and Class in American History. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

1990 Aptheker, Bettina. "Quest for Dignity: Black Women in the Professions, 1865-1900) in Black Women In American History (ed.) Darlene Clark Hine.

1977 Axel, H. (ed.) A Guide to Consumer Markets: 1977-78. New York: The Conference Board, Inc.

1990 Babbie, Earl. Survey Research Methods. Wadsworth Publishing Co.; Belmont, CA.

1968 Barber, B. "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions" **Daedalus**. vol 92, no. 4, (pp. 669-88).

1983 Baxter, Sandra and Marjorie Lansing. Women and Politics: The Visible Majority. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2nd ed.

1968 Billingsley, A. Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

1985 Blackwell, James E. The Black Community. New York: Harper and Row.

1967 Blau, Peter M. The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley.

1971 Blitz, R.C. "Women in the Professions". **Monthly Labor Review**, 96: 34-39.

1969 Bock, W.E. "Farmers daughter effect: the case of the Negro female professional." **Phylon**, 30: 17-26.

1972 Bond, Horace Mann. Black Scholars. Detroit: Balamp.

1974 Braverman, H. Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, Monthly Review Press, New York.

1969 Braudel, F. On History. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

1987 Carby, Hazel. Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist. Oxford University Press; New York, Oxford.

1975 Carchedi, G. "On the Economic Identification of the New Middle Class", **Economy and Society**, vol. 4, no. 1, (pp. 1-86).

1975 Centra, J.A. "Women with doctorates". **Change**, 7(1): 48-61.

1903 Christensen, Niels Jr. "The Negroes of Beaufort County, South Carolina," *Southern Workman*. (October: 483).

1980 Coles, Robert and Jane Hallowell Coles. Women of Crisis II. Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence.

1982 Collier-Thomas, B. "The impact of black women in education: An historical overview". *Journal of Negro Education*, 51, (pp. 173-180).

1983 Collins, N. Professional Women and Their Mentors. Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

1989 Collins, Patricia Hill. "The Meaning of Motherhood in Black Culture and Black Mother/Daughter Relationships," *Sage* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2-9).

1892 Cooper, Anna J. A Voice from the South. Xenia, Ohio.

1988 Coyle, A. and J. Skinner. Women and Work: Positive action for change (ed.) New York University Press, N.Y.

1975 Daniels, A. K. "Professionalism in Formal Organizations", in J.B. McKinlay (ed.), Processing People: Cases in Organizational Behavior. Holt, Rinehart and Winston: London.

1965 Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Garden and Mary R. Gardner. Deep South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1971 Davis, Angela. "Reflections of the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *Black Scholar* 3 (December:2-16).

1983 Davis, Angela. Women, Race, and Class. Vintage Books: New York.

1987 Davis, J.A. & Smith, T.W. General Social Surveys, 1972-1987: Cumulative Codebook. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

1989 Denzin, N. The Research Act. Prentice Hall; Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

1979 Dill, Bonnie T. "Dialectics of Black Womanhood." **Signs**, Vol. 4; No. 3 (Spring).

1962 Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton. Black Metropolis. New York: Harper.

1910 Dubois, W.E.B. and Augustus Dill, eds., The College Bred American Negro. Atlanta University Press.

1920 Dubois, W.E.B. Darkwater: Voices Within The Veil.

1962 Dollard, John. Caste and Class in a Southern Town. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

1974 Edler, Glen H. Children of the Great Depression. The University of Chicago Press.

1959 Edwards, G.F. The Negro Professional. New York: Free Press.

1972 Elliott, P. The Sociology of Professions. Macmillan, London.

1973 Epstein, C.F. "Black and female: the double whammy." **Psychology Today** (August): 57-61,89.

---- (1973b) "Positive effects of the multiple negative: explaining the success of Black professional women." **American Journal of Sociology** (January): 913-995.

1993 Etter-Lewis, Gwendolyn. My Soul Is My Own: Oral Narratives of African American Women in the Professions Routledge, New York - London.

1981 Evans, Sara. Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left. New York: Vintage.

1990 Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. "My Statute, My Self: Autobiographical Writings of Afro-American Women." In Reading Black, Reading Feminist: A Critical Anthology, ed., Henry Louis Gates, Jr. New York: Meridian.

1940 Frazier, Franklin E. Negro Youth at the Crossroads. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

1949 Frazier, Franklin E. The Negro in the United States. The Macmillan Company: New York.

1970 Friedson, E. Professional Dominance: The Social Structure of Medical Care. New York: Atherton Press.

1990 Gatewood, Willard B. Aristocrats of Color. Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis.

1988 Giddings, Paula. When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America. Bantam Books, New York.

1967 Glaser, B. G. and A. L. Strauss. The Discovery Of Grounded Theory. Chicago: Aldine.

1991 Golden, Marita. "Migrations of the Heart." In Bearing Witness: Selections from African-American Autobiography in the Twentieth Century. ed., Henry Louis Gates, Jr. New York: Pantheon Books.

1969 Goode, William J. "The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, (ed.) Amitai Etzioni, New York: Free Press (pp. 266-313).

1972 Gordon, Ann D., Mari Jo Buhle, and Nancy E. Schrom. "Women in American Society," **Radical America** 5 (pp. 4-66).

1958 Gross, Edward. Work and Society New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company p. 77.

1957 Greenwood, E. "Attributes of a Profession," **Social Work**, July: pp. 44-45.

1975 Gurin, Patricia and Edgar Epps. Black Consciousness, Identity and Achievement. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

1976 Gutman, H.G. Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York: Pantheon.

1990 Guy-Sheftall, Beverly. Daughters of Sorrow: Attitudes Toward Black Women, 1880-1920. Carlson Publishing Inc.: Brooklyn, NY.

1978 Harley, Sharon and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds. The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.

1969 Harlin, Louis R. Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915. New York: Atheneum.

1988 Harper, Frances E.W. Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted. The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers - Oxford University Press; New York, Oxford.

1965 Hernton, C.C. Sex and Racism in America. New York: Grove Press.

1987 Hill, Ruth Edmonds and Patricia Miller King (ed.) The Black Women Oral History Project. (Volumes I-X) The Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College; Meckler: Westport, London.

1990 Hine, Darlene Clark (ed.), Guy-Sheftall, B. and Jones, A.L. Black Women in United States History. Volumes I - XVI. Carlson Publishing Series: Brooklyn, NY.

----Black Women in American History: From Colonial Times Through The Nineteenth Century, in Four Volumes.

----Black Women in American History: The Twentieth Century. in Four Volumes.

----Black Women's History: Theory and Practice, in Two Volumes.

----Daughters of Sorrow: Attitudes Toward Black Women, 1880-1920. by Beverly Guy-Sheftall, in One Volume.
----Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950. by Adrienne Lash Jones.

----Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954. by Beverly Washington Jones, in One Volume.

1981 hooks, bell. Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism. Boston: South End Press.

1984 hooks, bell. Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center. (Boston: South End Press).

1945 Hughes, E.C. "Dilemmas and contradictions of status." **American Journal of Sociology** 50: 353-357.

1971 Jackson, Jacqueline. "But Where are the Men?" **Black Scholar**, (December) 4: 30-41.

1973 Jackson, J.J. "Black women in racist society," in C. Willie (ed.) Racism and Mental Health. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

1993 James, Joy and Ruth Farmer. Spirit, Space and Survival: African American Women in (White) Academe (ed.) Rutledge; New York and London.

1972 Johnson, T. Professions and Power. Macmillan, London.

1981 Jones, Jacqueline. A Bridge of "Bent Backs and Laboring Muscles": Black Working Women in the Rural South, 1880-1915. Wellesley, 1981.

1985 Jones, Jacqueline. Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, From Slavery to the Present. Vintage Books: New York.

1981 Joseph, Gloria and Jill Lewis. Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives New York: Avon.

1971 Kandel, D. "Race, Maternal Authority and Adolescent Aspirations." **American Journal of Sociology** 76: 999-1020.

1977 Kanter, Rosabeth M. Men and Women of the Corporation. Basic Books: Chicago, Harper Collins.

1988 King, Deborah K. "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," in Black Women in America. (ed.) pp. 265-297.

1978 Klegon, D. "The Sociology of Professions: An Emerging Perspective", **Sociology of Work and Occupations**, vol. 5, no. 3, (pp. 259-83).

1945 Komarovsky, M. "Cultural Contradiction and Sex Roles'. **American Journal of Sociology** 52: 184-189.

1972 Ladner, Joyce. Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman. Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y.

1979 Leggon, Cheryl B. "Some negative effects of the multiple negative." Chicago Circle: Univ. of Ill.

1980 Leggon, Cheryl B. "Black Female Professionals: Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status", in Rodgers-Rose (ed.) The Black Woman Sage Publications; Beverly Hills, London.

1973 Lerner, G. (ed.) Black Women in White America: A Documentary History. New York: Random House.

1977 Lewis, Diane K. "A Response to Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism," *Signs* 3:339-61.

1976 Loewenberg and Bogin, eds. Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

1954 Logan, Rayford W. The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901. New York: Dial Press.

1982 Lorde, Audre. "Scratching the Surface: Some Notes on Barriers to Women and Loving," *Black Scholar* 13 (Summer: 20-24).

1984 Lorde, Audre. Sister Outsider: Essay and Speeches. Trumansberg, N.Y.: Crossing Press.

1952 Mannheim, Karl. "The Problem of Generations," in Paul Kecskemeti (ed.), Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge.

1990 Malson, Micheline R., Mudimbe-Boyi, E., et al. Black Women in America: Social Science Perspectives. The University of Chicago Press; Chicago and London.

1986 Martin, Patricia Yancey and Barry A. Turner. "Grounded Theory and Organizational Research", **The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science**, vol. 22, no. 2, (pp. 141-157).

1979 Moore, K. and P. Wollitzer. Women in Higher Education: A Contemporary Bibliography. The National Association of Women Deans, Washington, D.C.

1975 Murray, Pauli. "The Liberation of Black Women," in Women: A Feminist Perspective, ed. Jo Freeman, Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield, 1975.

1989 Murray, Pauli. Pauli Murray: The Autobiography of a Black Activist, Feminist, Lawyer, Priest and Poet. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

1988 Noble, Jeanne. "The Higher Education of Black Women in the Twentieth Century." In Women and Higher Education in American History, ed. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe New York: W.W. Norton.

1978 Patterson, M. and L. Engelberg "Women in Male-Dominated Professions", in Stromberg and Harkess (ed.) Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective.

1979 Parkin, F. Marxism and Class theory: A Bourgeois Critique, Tavistock, London.

1954 Parson, T. and E. Shils (eds.) Toward A General Theory of Action. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

1988 Perkins, Linda. "The Education of Black Women in the Nineteenth Century." In Women and Higher Education in American History, ed. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe New York: W.W. Norton.

1969 Perrucci, Robert and J. Gerstl. Professions without Community: Engineers in American Society New York: Random House, pp. 10-14.

1918 Reuter, Edward Byron. The Mulatto in the United States. Boston: Badger.

1980 Rodgers-Rose The Black Woman (ed.) Sage Publications; Beverly Hills, London.

1989 Rosen, Bernard C. Women, Work and Achievement: The Endless Revolution. Macmillan Press.

1983 Rueschemeyer, D. "Professional Autonomy and the Social Control of Expertise" in R. Dingwall and P. Lewis (eds) The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others. London: Macmillan.

1965 Ryder, Norman B. "The Cohort As A Concept In The Study of Social Change." **American Sociological Review** (30:843-861).

1982 Ryan, Mary. Women and History. "The Empire of the Mother, American Writing About Domesticity, 1839-1869)" (Summer-Fall).

1983 Saks, Mike. "Removing the Blinkers? A Critique of Recent

Contributions to the Sociology of Professions.", **Sociological Review**, 31, 1 (Feb., pp. 1-21).

1954 Sarbin, T. "Role Theory," in G. Lindzey (ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

1974 Shanley, Mary L. and Victoria Shuck, "In Search of Political Women," **Social Science Quarterly**, 55 (pp. 632-44).

1985 Solomon, Barbara Miller. In The Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America New Haven: Yale University Press.

1993 Stanfield, John H. and Rutledge M. Dennis. Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods, ed. Sage Publications.

1991 Strauss, William and Neil Howe. Generations: The History of America's Future 1584 to 2069. William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York.

1978 Stromberg, A. and S. Harkess. Women Working: Theories and Facts in Perspective. (ed.) Mayfield Publishing Co.

1971 Theodore, A. The Professional Woman. New York: Schenckman Publishing Co.

1981 Turner, B.A. "Some practical aspects of qualitative data analysis", **Quality and Quantity**, 15, (pp. 225-247).

1983 Turner, B.A. "The use of grounded theory for the qualitative analysis of organizations behavior". **Journal of Management Studies**, 20, (pp. 333-348).

1976 Vetter, B.M. "Women in the Natural Sciences". **Signs**, 1(3): 713-720.

1990 Walker, Juliet E. "The Afro-American Woman: Who Was She?" in Black Women's History (ed.) Darlene Clark Hine (pp. 659-669).

1979 Wallace, Michelle. Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman. New York: Dial.

1977 Walsh, Mary Roth. "Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975. New Haven: Yale University Press.

1941 Warner, W. Lloyd, Buford H. Junker and Walter A. Adams. Color and Human Nature. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

1970 Watkins, Mel and Jay David (ed.). To be a Black Woman: Portraits in Fact and Fiction. William Morrow Inc., New York.

1967 Wiebe, Robert H. The Search for Order. Hill and Wang, New York.

1964 Willensky, H. "The Professionalization of Everyone?" **American Journal of Sociology**, vol. 70, no. 2, (pp. 137-58).

1980 Williamson, Joel. New People: Miscegenation and Mulattos in the United States. New York: Free Press.

1990 Yellin, Jean Fagan. "Afro-American Women, 1800-1910: Excerpts from a Working Bibliography" in Black Women's History (ed.) Darlene Clark Hine (pp. 671-694).

1979 Yohalem, Alice M. The Careers of Professional Women: Commitment and Conflict. Universe Books, New York.

VITA

CRYSTAL MARIE LYLES

Born in Washington, D.C., January 24, 1970. Graduated from Fairmont Heights High School, Capitol Heights, Maryland, May 1988. B.A. in Sociology, Hampton University, in Hampton, Virginia, May 1992. The author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate student in Sociology in August, 1992.

The author is currently applying to Sociology and Family and Human Development Programs to pursue the Ph.D. The author hopes to become a college professor and teach Sociology.