

KIM Q. BOYD

"AN ACTRESS BORN, A DIPLOMAT
BRED": MARGIE L. WALKER,
RACE WOMAN

M. A., HOWARD C. MAY 1947

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

"AN ACTRESS BORN, A DIPLOMAT BRED":
MAGGIE L. WALKER, RACE WOMAN

*

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty
of the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences

of

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

by

Kim Q. Boyd

*

Washington, D.C.
May 1987

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents through whom the spirit of Miss Maggie lives and has been passed on to me. It is hoped that her story will touch the lives of those who read these pages. In her words, "have faith, have hope, have courage, and carry on."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God first and foremost for His guidance in this research over the last three years. My sincere gratitude is extended to Dr. James F. Scott, my thesis advisor, for his constant guidance, support, suggestions, and understanding throughout the course of this work. My thanks also go to Dr. Walda Katz Fishman and Dr. Ralph C. Gomes, the other members of my thesis committee. The encouragement of Dr. Norma Nager is also appreciated.

My gratitude is also extended to the staff of the National Park Service who have been invaluable in this project. This research was supported by Cooperative Agreement number CA-4000-4-0015 between the National Park Service and Howard University. The statements, findings, conclusions, recommendations, and other data in this report are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

I cannot thank the members of the Maggie L. Walker Biography Project enough for their friendship and serving as my constant support system. To Mark Mack, Gail Bowman, Fitsroy Thomas, Dr. Lillian Williams, and Dr. Beverlee Bruce I will always be grateful. A special thanks goes to Arnold "Weedy" Layne, our administrative assistant and my

friend who not only served as proofreader but as a walking thesaurus as well.

The Richmond community was extremely helpful in this research, not only providing information but warm hospitality as well. My thanks goes to Mrs. Dorothy Turner, Executive Secretary, and the staff of the Independent Order of St. Luke for their assistance. Mr. Daniel R. Perkins, Jr. was an absolute inspiration. The assistance of the Maggie L. Walker Historical Foundation is also appreciated.

I could not have come this far without the support of so many colleagues, professors, and staff members in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and to them I owe a great deal. To all my friends and family members who have long tired of hearing the latest in the Maggie Walker saga, thanks for holding out just a little while longer.

My parents, Mr. and Mrs. Henry T. Boyd, have always been my source of strength and inspiration, and to them my thanks knows no bounds. I would also be remiss if I forgot the warm affection of Baby Awol just when I needed it most. And to Terence Leathers, words cannot express my appreciation for your friendship and love.

Finally, I cannot begin to repay the debt of gratitude I owe Dr. Gertrude W. Marlowe, the director of the

Maggie L. Walker Biography Project who has served as friend and teacher. This could not have been accomplished without her assistance and constant support. It is my hope that I will be able to do as much for a student one day as she has done for me.

To all of you once again, my sincere thanks.

ABSTRACT

Maggie L. Walker (1867 - 1934) was fortunate to have been highly regarded and recognized for her leadership and work in the early twentieth century as an advocate for the rights of Black Americans. She is often referred to by contemporary Richmonders as a "race woman," a woman who steadfastly worked for the advancement or "uplift" of the race regardless of personal sacrifice. The purpose of this study is to explore the utility of personal documents for an examination of role behavior using the life and career of Maggie L. Walker of Richmond, Virginia as a case study.

Using the dramaturgical perspective of symbolic interactionism and role analysis as conceptual tools by which to gather insight and data, a survey of literature pertinent to that time period reflects the racial climate of the era, the factors which determined Black leadership style, and the emergence of Black women as social advocates. This allowed a greater understanding of the behavior and actions of Black leaders during this time period.

The material was collected over approximately two years and included a search of primary and secondary sources in various libraries and archival collections. In addition to this, a great deal of information came from

sources such as the census, birth, death, and marriage records, newspapers of the era, church records, diaries, oral histories and interviews, photographs, city directories, speeches, cemeteries, and programs. The Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site in Richmond, Virginia and the state itself provided most of the information. Effort was taken to insure reliability and validity of the study by cross-checking information.

The voluminous material was organized in a manner so as to facilitate writing. Three annotated bibliographies of secondary sources, newspaper articles, and manuscripts were developed and computerized, using key words. An extensive filing system supplemented cross referencing of data. Chronologies and tables proved to be an invaluable method of data management, organizing areas such as family composition and dates and specific events.

The data were formulated into those aspects of Maggie Walker's life and career which characterized her purpose and efforts. It was determined that she was a self-made woman, developing skills and qualities which became her personal front. Through these personal assets she was able to manage the impression she gave others. She also determined and "built" the setting in which her efforts would take place. These skills also gave her the strength to deal with conflicts between the roles she voluntarily

or involuntarily accepted, and the ability to decide which role would dominate her life.

The role of "race woman" was ultimately that of a teacher in the deepest sense of the concept. Teaching took on many forms -- in the classroom, the church, meetings, organizations, and family life. Most lessons did not come from textbooks, but rather from experience. Thus, a greater understanding of the socialization of present and future Blacks of that time period has been gained.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	vi
 CHAPTER	
ONE	
INTRODUCTION	1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	2
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	3
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MAGGIE LENA WALKER	6
THE MAGGIE L. WALKER NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE	9
THE MAGGIE L. WALKER BIOGRAPHY PROJECT	11
PLAN OF THE PRESENT STUDY	12
TWO	
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	14
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	14
DRAMATURGY AND ROLE ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS	17
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: THE ART OF BECOMING A RACE WOMAN	19
WASHINGTON - DuBOIS DEBATE: THE CLIMATE OF RACIAL OPINION	21
BLACK LEADERSHIP STYLE	24
THE EMERGING LEADERSHIP ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN	26
SUMMARY	28

CHAPTER		Page
THREE	THE USE OF LIFE DOCUMENTS: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	30
	LIFE DOCUMENTS IN ROLE ANALYSIS	30
	DATA COLLECTION	34
	MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA	41
	LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY	44
FOUR	"AN ACTRESS BORN, A DIPLOMAT BRED": DATA ANALYSIS	47
	TEACHING, MAGGIE WALKER STYLE	47
	EDUCATION AND BLACK WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP	53
	EDUCATION AND RACIAL PRIDE AMONG BLACK WOMEN	58
	A SELF-MADE WOMAN	62
	PERSONAL ASSETS	65
	CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK WOMEN	76
FIVE	CONCLUSIONS	79
	ROLE ANALYSIS THROUGH THE USE OF LIFE DOCUMENTS	79
	FUTURE RESEARCH ISSUES	86
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	89

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A Great Woman

The greatest woman in this or any other country among the negroes and equal to any white woman, is Mrs. Maggie Walker, president of St. Luke's Bank, in Richmond, Va., and the organizer of the St. Lukes, an organization that is an honor to the colored people. Mrs. Walker is not only a business woman, but a diplomat who has benefitted the lowly and struggling men and women of her race, by organizing them into a society which will be a monument to posterity. She has made intellegent men and women out of the ignorant. She has taught the negro aristocracy that there is true manhood and true womanhood among the working classes of her people. The convention that met in this city is a living example of the worth and value of this great and noble woman. Long live St. Lukes (Washington Bee, August 20, 1904, 4).

While the life and work of a person is often valued in various ways after death, it is truly a privilege to be highly regarded and recognized during life. Such was the case for Maggie L. Walker, an outstanding Black woman whose mark on the lives of Black Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was significant. Hers was a labor of love, born out of the desire to help others and the determination to achieve against all odds. By providing a means of employment, organization, and a strong financial base she united Blacks across the country

in a single effort to help themselves and their race. The techniques used were not new, but they were implemented with precision and constant determination for improvement and perfection. For these efforts and her leadership, Maggie Walker is remembered today.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to explore the utility of personal documents for an examination of role behavior using the life and career of Maggie Lena Walker of Richmond, Virginia (1867-1934) as a case study.

Older contemporary Richmonders refer to Maggie Walker with great pride as a "race woman." Considering the time period concerned, "race" defined one as Black and "woman/man" as a leader. Thus, an individual so considered was a Black person recognized as being a leader in the community or on a national scale often by whites as well as Blacks. Theirs was the responsibility to serve as role models for Blacks on a major level, and to establish standards of behavior by example. As role models for the Black community, they were representatives of that community for whites who controlled their lives through segregation, economic power, and other legal inequities. Afro-American leaders hoped that, by setting an excellent example and

fighting for race interests, those conditions which unfairly existed such as Jim Crow laws and disfranchisement would be changed to create a better, more equal society. Race women and men, then, were the instruments of protest. Above all else, race women and men consciously sought to "uplift" the race (as the vocabulary went) at all times, regardless of the personal sacrifice involved.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has methodological and practical importance. From a methodological perspective, the study demonstrates the value and importance of using qualitative methods of data collection in sociology. The uses and analyses of life history sources such as interviews, oral histories, diaries, letters, contemporary newspapers, church records, and biographies are more common today in anthropological studies, but have been used historically in sociology and are easily applied to sociology today. They include analyses of real life events (Plummer, 1983, 27) -- as well as analyses of artifacts and memorabilia. The result, then, is a reasonably complete picture of a life and the climate in which the individual lived. These sources allow one to see the patterns of human relationships, their sources, consequences, and dynamics from an

historical perspective.

The sociologist's skills in interviewing can be strengthened through informal interviewing and recording of oral histories. Data from these must be carefully collected and analyzed. Having a firm background in the communication skills and analysis used in qualitative research, the sociologist will be as careful as when collecting data for a quantitative study where the responses are usually more structured. Searching archival records, newspapers, and life history sources also strengthens an individual's research ability as it requires diligent, careful effort to be most effective. The care taken in this effort will carry over into less specific research. The independence required in this type of study is important in further developing the capabilities of a professional researcher.

Because the general research from which this study is extracted is still in progress, the likelihood of gaining more material to support the study is great. A deeper understanding of the material is inevitable through the perspectives of individual members of the research team who can add the expertise of their fields. Knowledge of planning and executing a research project, selecting appropriate personnel, and presenting research findings are invaluable skills.

From a more practical perspective, the realm of Black women's history has only found extensive, significant recognition in recent years. The accomplishments of many Black women have been noted, but not to the full extent necessary. Part of this information void is being filled by Black women themselves who have begun to delve into their past individually and collectively. Evidence of this effort is the formation of the Association of Black Women Historians, an interdisciplinary organization which recognizes the importance of studying and presenting Black history by Black women in all fields. Public attention to the place of Black women in history has been increased by exhibits such as the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service's "Black Women: Achievement Against the Odds" and those found in the few national historic sites, landmarks, and museums.

This study also reflects the investigator's personal family tradition which has emphasized the value and importance of Black history and the Black family. It was selected to not only instruct in the methods of qualitative and historical research but to increase the author's own awareness and knowledge of Black American history, especially that of the southern United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is important, then, that research be done in this

relatively new area, especially when such sources as Maggie Walker's house and documents are available. This study will shed additional light on the role of Black women especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The expectation of national leaders was to be "race men or women," signifying additional responsibility to their race and whites, and it is primarily these leaders who are remembered in the annals of history. An understanding of their responsibilities and the many roles they took on may help explain how and why national Black women leaders could build such a strong, effective network.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MAGGIE LENA WALKER

Maggie Lena Mitchell said she was born on July 15, 1867 in Richmond, Virginia, although other evidence indicates she may have been born in 1864 or 1865 (1880, 1900, and 1910 U.S. Census Reports). According to family lore, her mother, Elizabeth Draper, worked for Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union spy and postmistress of Richmond. It is also believed that her natural father was Eccles Cuthbert, a white reporter for the New York Herald in Richmond from 1881 to 1889 and news editor for the Richmond Dispatch from 1891 to 1898. Her mother married William Mitchell, a waiter in the St. Charles Hotel, then the most fashionable

hotel in the city. A son, John, was born to them. William Mitchell, her stepfather, was found dead in the James River in 1876, the first of many tragic events in Maggie Walker's life. She assisted her mother in taking in laundry as a means of income for the family.

Maggie Mitchell attended the Richmond Colored Normal School and graduated in 1883. She taught for the next three years, took business courses and worked for an insurance company. On September 14, 1886 she married Armstead Walker, Jr., a brick mason who later became a postal carrier. They had three sons, one of whom died in infancy.

Walker's involvement in the Independent Order of St. Luke began at the age of 14 when she joined Good Idea Council #16. In 1883 she was a delegate to the annual convention, and was elected to a national (although minor) office the following year. She first organized a St. Luke council, Magdalena Council # 125, on June 1, 1888 in Richmond. She was also instrumental in the establishment and reformation of the juvenile division which began in 1895. In 1899 she was elected to the position of Right Worthy Grand Secretary. In 1911 she became the Right Worthy Grand Secretary-Treasurer, the office she held until her death. She took over an organization in debt and facing dissolution and soon began the slow process of

rebuilding. In a short four years the organization was solvent once again and looking forward to the opening of its own bank, the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, in November 1903. The bank, now the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company, survived the depression and absorbed two banks in 1930 and 1931, making it the oldest currently existing Black bank in the United States.

The St. Luke Herald, the organization's official organ, was established in 1902 under the guidance of Walker. It claimed over 25,000 readers by 1930 and featured national and local events as well as fraternal news. In 1905 the St. Luke Emporium, a department store, opened. This was the only venture that failed despite Walker's efforts (due in part to outside pressures) after a few years' struggle. A regalia department and a printing department were also established under her leadership. The juvenile department was also reinforced and reorganized. In addition to these, Walker established an endowment fund and an emergency loan fund which helped to insure that the organization would remain on a sound financial basis. An educational loan fund was also inaugurated to enable its younger members to attend college.

Walker's complete loyalty to and support of St. Luke saw her through much personal tragedy. A fall in 1908 fractured her kneecap. She was eventually bound to a

wheelchair. The accidental shooting of her husband by her eldest son left her a widow in 1915. Even through these adversities she managed to remain actively involved in a number of national organizations such as the National Urban League, NAACP, National Association of Colored Women, and Negro Organization Society of Virginia until her death in 1934.

THE MAGGIE L. WALKER NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

An effort was begun to formally preserve Maggie Walker's home as a museum and tribute to her memory by interested citizens of Richmond in the early 1970s. Instrumental in the process was her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Hattie N. F. Walker, who maintained the home in virtually the same condition from the time of Walker's death in 1934. Having approximately eighty-five percent of Walker's possessions intact made the home an exceptional legacy. The artifacts included her furnishings, clothing, silver and china, and St. Luke memorabilia. Her extensive library of over 800 books dating from approximately 1847 is also quite impressive.

The home was designated a National Historic Landmark on May 15, 1975 by the Secretary of the Interior. In July

of the same year, the Maggie L. Walker Historical Foundation was formed and incorporated as a non-profit corporation to acquire and preserve the house as well as to gain recognition for the neighborhood, better known as Jackson Ward. The Foundation secured funding for emergency repairs during this time and provided a caretaker for the home as well. In June of 1978, Jackson Ward was designated a National Historic Landmark District by the Secretary of the Interior, becoming the largest Black National Historic Landmark District in the United States. It is now listed on both the state and national registers of historic landmarks (Hall, 1980, 5-6, 225-6,).

On October 13, 1979, the Maggie L. Walker House was formally designated a National Historic Site as a result of the passage of Omnibus Bill HR 12536 by the United States Senate. As a National Historic Landmark -- a site recognized as being nationally significant in a certain area or theme -- the house could remain under private ownership. Funding became available for repairs and maintenance of the site upon its promotion in status, and the formal purchase of the house from Dr. Maggie Laura Walker Lewis -- Walker's granddaughter -- culminated in a ceremony on July 15, 1979 (the one hundred and twelfth anniversary of Maggie Walker's birth) at which time the lease was turned over to the National Park Service.

Since 1979 the home has undergone extensive renovation and repairs. The interpretation of the site has taken on many shapes, including numerous studies completed and in progress to understand Walker's life and to place her in the proper historical context. Although all work has not been completed, the home was opened to the public in an impressive dedication ceremony on July 14, 1985, making it only the eighth National Historic Site honoring the accomplishments of a Black American.

THE MAGGIE L. WALKER BIOGRAPHY PROJECT

The Maggie L. Walker Biography Project funded by the National Park Service began in December 1984 to prepare a comprehensive, scholarly biography on the life and public career of Maggie L. Walker. The biography will be used in the interpretation of the Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site and will be completed by August 1987.

The project, under the direction of Dr. Gertrude W. Marlowe, is an interdisciplinary study combining history, anthropology, religious studies, and sociology to understand the complicated background of Walker's life -- the historical context of Richmond, Virginia, the national scene, and the status of Afro-Americans during her lifetime. The research training for students has been

invaluable, combining the use of qualitative data collection methods with administrative duties associated with executing the project.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This thesis draws on selected aspects of the larger project. Chapter 2 presents a brief overview of the dramaturgical perspective of symbolic interactionism and is followed by theoretical definitions of role analysis. A review of the pertinent literature outlining the social climate of the time period and the development of the Black women's club movement follows. Chapter 3 describes the value of using archival data and life history sources for sociological research. Also discussed are the various methods used in the research, the collection and management of the information obtained, and the analysis of the data. The limitations of the study are also pointed out. Chapter 4 will present examples of the role equipment Maggie Walker used to prepare herself for her various roles and work based upon education, a major tool used by Black women to delineate their position as social reformers. Their contributions are also noted. Chapter 5 summarizes the value and available information resulting from the use of life documents in sociological research as a

means of role analysis. Final remarks pertaining to the research and suggestions for further research will then be given.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to understand the basis of role analysis it is necessary to briefly examine dramaturgy as an outgrowth of symbolic interaction and the theoretical definitions based in dramaturgy and role analysis. This will be followed by the review of literature which discusses the social climate and emerging Black leadership styles considered in this study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Role analysis can be based on the dramaturgical approach of symbolic interactionism developed in the United States under the influence of pragmatic philosophers such as William James and John Dewey. Sociologists Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead (whose book Mind, Self and Society is recognized as one of the most important works in the field) further refined the theory.

Three basic principles of symbolic interactionism are summarized by Herbert Blumer (Vander Zanden, 1981, 11). First, people act towards things based on the meanings the things have for them. Second, the meaning of these things

is derived from the social interaction that one has with others. Finally, these meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things s/he encounters. Interaction is defined by symbolic interactionists as the process in which the ability to think is developed and expressed.

The dramaturgical perspective of symbolic interactionism focuses upon the presentation of one's self to an audience. The techniques used in controlling or maintaining the audience's perception, and alleviating problems which may arise are known as **impression management** (Ritzer, 1983, 173). In defining one's performance, Erving Goffman (1959) suggests three parts -- the **front stage**, the **back stage**, and the **outside**. The **front**, the most important of these, is that part of the performance that functions in fixed and general ways to define the situation for observers of the performance. As actors take on established roles, particular fronts are often already in place, making them selected rather than created.

Within the front stage are the **setting** and the **personal front**. The **setting** refers to the physical scene for the performance. The **personal front** consists of the items the audience identifies with an individual and comes to expect the actor to have with her/him in the setting. This consists of one's **appearance** -- items that define the

actor's social status -- and one's manner -- the delineation of the role the actor expects to play. Manner and appearance are generally expected to be consistent. Its inconsistency is evident when roles conflict.

Facts suppressed in the front stage or informal actions may appear in the **back stage**, the area where the performance of a routine is prepared. Members of the front audience do not appear in the back and actors employ some form of impression management to insure this. The performance is challenged when actors cannot control the entry of the audience into the back stage, i.e., the audience is aware of those facts being suppressed. The **outside** is neither front nor back, but serves as an intermediary. The setting is generally in this realm when it is not being used for a performance. A given area can occupy either of the domains at a given time.

The actor presents the idealized self in the front, hiding those aspects of life which are incompatible with the particular performance. Errors made in preparation for the performance are concealed as are the corrective measures taken. To insure the stability of the role, the actor may have to let other standards slide and will conceal any unfavorable activities undertaken in order to preserve the integrity of the performance.

In addition, the performer will convince the audience

that the particular performance is the most important one if not the only one. Audiences are often segregated from each other so the falsity of the performance (if extant) is not discovered. The audience may cope with the falsity if it is discovered so as not to shatter the idealized image of the performer. A successful performance depends upon the involvement of all parties, and it is the responsibility of the actor to make sure that all parts of the performance blend together.

Actors may resort to **mystification**, or generating social distance between themselves and audiences, creating a sense of awe in the audience and thus making it less likely that the performance will be questioned. Hence, there is cooperation between the actor and audience wherein each depends on actions of the other. Each is aware that the other is putting on an act and is not only instrumental in sustaining the interaction but is also capable of disrupting the performance.

DRAMATURGY AND ROLE ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS

Dramaturgy forms the basis of **role analysis** -- the study of the effects of fairly-well established social structures and their accompanying role relationships on the behavior of participants (Wiseman and Aron, 1970, 83).

As a conceptual and analytic instrument role analysis sets limits on the data to be gathered and provides particular directions to the analysis. Role analysts believe that the internalization of role obligations can explain a great deal about people's motivations and behavior since society is assumed to be possible because of the conformance with the role expectations associated with various positions individuals occupy.

There are a number of concepts which govern role analysis. **Position** is one's location in the social structure. A **role** is the dynamic or behavioral aspect of one's location in the social structure. In any given situation individuals occupy a number of positions and perform numerous roles. Just as the role is the dynamic or behavioral aspect of position, the position itself is the more evaluative dimension of social relationships. A position is always relative and roles are complementary to other roles. The shared expectations or ideal patterns of one's own and counter role enactments are referred to as the **rights** and **obligations** of a role, i.e., certain actions owed by and to others. Personal characteristics which permit a person to perform a role are considered **role equipment**. These may include knowledge, skills, physical objects, and other persons.

An individual's **role perception** -- how s/he thinks of

her/his social role -- influences the role behavior -- the actual performance in the role. Role conflict occurs when the demands of one role the individual has clash with the demands of another role. This may be due to an unsuccessful attempt to balance the demands of the roles or simply the incompatability of them. In either case the performer usually experiences some degree of guilt (Wiseman and Aron, 1970, 85; Benderly et al, 1977, 122-5).

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: THE ART OF BECOMING A RACE WOMAN

Maggie Walker's lifetime (1867-1934) roughly encompassed the period from Emancipation to the Depression, one which saw a great deal of change for all Americans, but especially Blacks, who found themselves in a new position -- free but considered by some unnecessary in American society. Black leadership had the awesome responsibility of teaching and guiding the masses of Blacks into an unsure future under the constraints of racism, segregation, and ignorance.

The South was unique in that it was home to the majority of Blacks in the country during the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. It was the hub of slavery as well as home to most antebellum free Blacks. The Civil War which resulted in the emancipation of slaves

also freed racism. Joel Williamson (1984, 5-6) points out that Southern white thinking about Blacks was contained by the needs of slavery, but Emancipation freed these racial attitudes. Southern leadership changed its focus from a liberal one (Blacks had untapped potential) to a conservative one (Blacks were inferior and had their place) to a radical way of thinking, the most dangerous of all. This mentality saw a "new Negro" who, after being released from slavery, would return to his primal behavior and there was no place in future American society for such a person. Furthermore, the "demise" of Blacks was assumed to be imminent because they could not assume responsibility for themselves.

Those who were pushed to the front line to fight for the rights of Blacks had the major task of first neutralizing the racial attitudes which now permeated society. It was up to them to prove that Blacks were men and women rather than animals and that they were capable of existing in the society. Their strategy was to set examples of civic and moral responsibility for whites and Blacks, while constantly encouraging self-help and self-worth among their own people. The uplift of the race literally became their life, regardless of the personal sacrifice.

WASHINGTON - DuBOIS DEBATE: THE CLIMATE OF RACIAL OPINION

The debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois characterizes the struggle which engulfed Black leaders during the first two decades of this century -- how exactly to demonstrate that Blacks had a rightful claim to equal treatment in American society. Subtle acceptance of their place in society by Blacks meant an apologetic attitude for their heritage and race instead of pride. Washington began his promotion of self-help and self-respect by reinforcing practical experience with academics at Tuskegee Institute. He quickly became known as a race leader, and as such was able to influence the many Blacks with whom he came into contact during his travels and continuous fundraising, especially from white philanthropists. His promotion of the subservient but self-sustaining Black led to growing opposition from his own race since it did not aid those who had no skills or whose skills were no longer needed (Logan and Winston, 1982, 636). That Blacks could provide for themselves was not questioned by the growing Black intellegensia, however docility and acceptance of an inferior position was.

Whatever his personal motives, Washington realized that the survival of Blacks in the United States depended upon their integration into a white-dominated society by

whatever means necessary. His emphasis on Blacks working hard and proving their worthiness to be full-fledged members of society met with sharp criticism from some quarters. His belief that assimilation would inevitably follow from such efforts justified this position in his own mind. Washington failed to realize that just as the Civil War had left no place for Blacks, these same people and their offspring faced similar risks if they were not prepared when other major changes in economic conditions occurred. This preparation was a formal education which Washington felt Blacks would tend to use as an excuse for escaping hard work.

Booker T. Washington's knowledge of intellectual development was narrow as was his promotion of it. His critics emphasized that the educational system he promoted would perpetuate the Black's inferior position in American society instead of improving it, and his accommodationist attitude would cause even more problems for Blacks (Toll, 1979, 99-103). W.E.B. DuBois, who once favored Washington's position, quickly became his major opponent.

DuBois realized that as skilled laborers, Blacks would be able to make a living but that these skills would soon be unnecessary due to technological advances of the northern-based industrial revolution and the influx of immigrants who provided cheap labor. Self-help and self-

respect were important but the argument that Blacks had to prove themselves to whites to be accepted into society was refuted. DuBois felt that Washington's apologetic and accomodationist view could no longer be tolerated and the changing attitude this debate created helped to fragment the Black population (Toll, 1979, 104-12).

DuBois set out to dispute the widely-held racial stereotypes of Blacks by employing a group effort. As his base he used intellectual growth (a basis that was most acceptable to whites), suggesting that the study, appreciation, and understanding of Blacks' culture would instill in them the qualities necessary for success. Those who had been able to aquire an education or who had marked achievements -- the "talented tenth" -- were responsible for helping others.

The "Tuskegee Machine" was DuBois' major concern with Washington because it controlled Blacks' advancement to a great extent. Washington was considered the leader of Black Americans by whites who favored his cautious, subservient stance. This was epitomized by his now famous speech delivered at the opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta on Spetember 18, 1895. The privileges and courtesies which were accorded him because of his status as an advisor to Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Taft were also denied his people at his

suggestion because he felt they had not proved worthy of them. His advisement of limited voting rights for Blacks which he saw as unnecessary provided justification for excluding Blacks from the decision-making processes. This resulted in apathy among Blacks, who believed that voicing their opinion would have unfavorable results (Williamson, 1984; Logan and Winston, 1982, 194-5).

Such was the social climate of Maggie Walker who knew and interacted with both leaders. The debate resulted in the formulation of Blacks' own racial attitudes. The new-found freedom and opportunity to learn and develop later resulted in a deep sense of racial pride, a tool used to motivate people to action by the leaders. The realization of Black intellect by whites caused a fear of loss of white power and a growing awareness of the positive and negative positions of Blacks in the United States. Such awareness became a major concern and a driving force in efforts to maintain the status quo. Black leadership, then, faced an uphill struggle.

BLACK LEADERSHIP STYLE

The leaders employed a number of styles and methods in their work, but their common goal was to motivate Blacks to action:

All of the individuals...were propagandists, in that they sought through their speeches, writings, and other activities to mobilize blacks to struggle harder for racial freedom and -- except for the nationalists Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X -- to win white allies and support in the crusade for Negro rights (Franklin and Meier, 1982, x).

Black leaders needed power, most of which was sought from Black constituencies and reinforced by white support. A powerbase was necessary and was often found in an organization or government position. A network of leaders provided the means of promoting common goals and purposes and thereby expanding the base of support. Within this network competition as well as substantial conflict often occurred when issues or events were perceived differently. Such conflict often worked to the detriment of the overall group purpose. By setting an example or becoming a role model for the race and bringing to their work certain personal characteristics, the careers of these early leaders were not only shaped but validated by the masses they tried to influence. Entrance into the American mainstream afforded these leaders the white support they needed (Franklin and Meier, 1982, ix-xi).

THE EMERGING LEADERSHIP ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN

No matter how racist American society was, men were still accorded privileges not granted the gentle but ignorant creatures known as women. The racial issue became a cloak for feminine inferiority, and the role of social reformer that Black women carved out for themselves was a cloak for gender identity, thus making the purpose of their fight two-fold: equal rights for Blacks and equality for Black women in the eyes of Black society.

In order to motivate Blacks to action, Black women first needed power -- the ability to control others and achieve one's goals in the face of opposition (Spencer, 1979, 609). Its primary source, according to Franklin and Meier (1982, x) was from an organizational base or government position. Surprisingly, the limits of the power gained by prominent Black women during Walker's lifetime were not as constricting as might be expected, partially because of the national scope of the work these women undertook. Many found their initial niche in voluntary associations and the church which served as the only means of social service and social control for the Black community. Their relationship with these organizations helped sustain them throughout their lives, providing steady support to their development (Yearwood, 1978).

The women formed an intricate network from the local level to the national level, creating a powerful organizational base from which to work. Each woman had her personal base -- a club, an organization, a school, a business, etc. -- which was connected to other groups and their leaders not only out of necessity and purpose but through common organizations. The largest and most influential of these was the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) organized in 1895 to pull local Black women's clubs into a single working unit (Wesley, 1984). Their motto "lifting as we climb" epitomized their purpose. These women usually cooperated to promote common interests but competition for membership, recognition for their particular groups' work and differences of opinion as to the course of action to be taken often caused internal friction as well.

When it was felt that an objective was not being met, a new organization was formed, such as the National Council of Negro Women founded by Mary McLeod Bethune in 1935. The organization served to unify national Black women's organizations becoming a clearinghouse for the activities of over one million Black women. Its scope was broader than the NACW, which had begun to focus on local issues that its membership -- constituted of local clubs -- could handle (Collier-Thomas, 1980, 135-143). The

National Association of Wage Earners was founded by Nannie Helen Burroughs in 1921 to bring attention to the situation of working Black women (primarily as domestics) after minimum wage laws were enacted. The nine-point program advocated the development of efficient workers, standards of living, and legislation affecting wage earners. In addition to this, one of its purposes was to make and supply appropriate uniforms for working women through a profit sharing enterprise operated by the Association (Barnett, 1978, 102).

SUMMARY

The role which Maggie Walker undertook as a Black woman leader was defined by the social climate of America as much as the necessity of the work. The role of social reformer Black women chose for themselves was a means of both gender and racial identity. Their work sought to strengthen relationships between men and women through cooperative efforts for the benefit of the entire Black community. In doing so, they established not only a strong network of women but a steady means of employment for women and role models for both children and adults when few Black ones existed. Maggie Walker's involvement in the network allowed her to make a major impact across

the country thereby contributing to the development and acceptance of Black Americans in society.

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF LIFE DOCUMENTS: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter focuses on those methodolgical considerations which were of primary importance. After the methodological and practical value of life documents in role analysis is considered, the methods of data collection used will be presented. This is followed by the procedures used for management and analysis of the data. Limitations of the study are then presented.

LIFE DOCUMENTS IN ROLE ANALYSIS

The use of life documents in role analysis is valuable for methodological and practical reasons. From a methodological perspective, life documents such as those used in this study -- diaries, letters, oral histories, interviews, newspapers, the literature of fact, speeches, photographs, possessions, books, memorabilia, and tombstone inscriptions -- provide an invaluable source of information focusing specifically on an individual's life. The potential sources of life documents are significant in that the material available to the researcher is virtually unlimited by defined boundaries. It thus becomes necessa-

ry for the investigator to select from this body of information that considered most relevant for the study.

Because role analysis is considered a conceptual and analytic tool rather than a method of data collection, several qualitative approaches were employed in gathering material for this study. As cited by Jacqueline Wiseman and Marcia Aron (1970, 84), role analysis "...is an excellent illustration of the interplay between theory and method in research, because its concepts circumscribe the data to be gathered and direct the analysis." As a case study, this investigation uses a holistic approach to understand the elements which defined and redefined the role of race woman for Maggie Walker, thus preserving the integrity of the unit under study by considering action and attitude development over time (Wiseman and Aron, 1970, 74).

In order to understand Maggie Walker's position in society it is necessary to consider the times to which she belonged -- late nineteenth and early twentieth century Black America and Richmond, Virginia -- and to do so from the unique perspective of its members, especially those who shared a subculture and thus some general behavior patterns and attitudes. This is reflected in the numerous accounts of her life, career, and activities. The necessity, then, of considering the study as an ethno-

graphy as defined by Wiseman and Aron (1970, 239-244) is clear.

In addition to archival research, observation -- both participant and nonparticipant -- and interviewing were employed on a limited basis. Because it is impossible to know directly the world of Maggie Walker during her lifetime, indirect means involving conversations and activities with members of the Richmond community were used for insight. Since the contemporary Richmond community shows significant continuities with Maggie Walker's Richmond, this was especially helpful. Banquets honoring outstanding fraternal members and church activities are examples of this.

A major concern in using a qualitative methodology is how to insure the validity of the study. Life documents provide "an account of individual experience which reveals the individual's actions as a human agent and as a participant in social life" (Blumer, 1939, 29). As is the case in this study, the approach and analysis are interdisciplinary, attempting to establish general criteria for the appraisal of a life history which crosses academic boundaries (Plummer, 1983, 13). Life documents attempt to present the subjective world of individuals, providing first-hand, involved accounts of life. This is revealed in as full a view as possible; any analy-

sis must take this into account, considering each source individually and collectively. It is acknowledged that some forms of life documents (especially life and oral histories and diaries) will yield more detailed accounts and information from the individual's perspective. The use of numerous forms of life documents to cross-check facts is then a way of increasing validity and clarifying current and historical data provided by members of the community. The flexibility of life documents is important in this project since the methodology employed can be adjusted to meet the needs of the data source without impairing the overall research design.

Life document research can also suggest more specific areas for further investigation by identifying patterns and trends and raising unanticipated questions. In role analysis, its use can provide the intensity of investigation and analysis necessary for a clear understanding of the roles which may become apparent and the conflicts which may exist between them.

From a practical point of view, the development of expertise in using personal documents can further demonstrate the value of qualitative research in sociological study. After the presentation of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki between 1918 and 1920, sociologists (especially those at the Uni-

versity of Chicago) applied this method to their research. Its use became less frequent as more quantitative methods were developed. The concern of qualitative research is that the assumptions of reliability, validity, and sampling cannot easily be met. Plummer (1983, 3) points out that there is a central contradiction in the discipline: an interminable tension exists between the subjectively creative individual human being acting upon the world and the objectively given social structure constraining him or her. He further explains that the problem of reconciling human creativity with a coercive, dehumanizing social order is usually solved by giving in to social structure over human agency. Quantitative analysis, then, fulfills the needs of the social structure.

DATA COLLECTION

The material used in this study was collected using a number of methods over a period of approximately two and a half years. Some of the initial search of primary sources was conducted from January to June of 1984 for an annotated bibliography documenting the public career of Maggie L. Walker for the National Park Service also under the direction of Dr. Gertrude Marlowe. The data search included material from collections of personal papers in the

Library of Congress and Howard University, archival material in the National Archives and material in the house collection, and secondary sources from various libraries. Because of the scope of the current project, a team of four student research associates and three professors as well as a clerical assistant were necessary to collect, manage, and analyze the data and plan the course of the research.

In order to make the most efficient use of time and funding available during the current project, the location and collection of pertinent material were of greatest importance. The amount of material found in Richmond, Virginia was more than originally expected, and frequent trips to Richmond were necessary. In light of this discovery and after assessing the needs of the project, the work was divided into four segments: the religious and social service milieu of Richmond, Virginia; the historical background of Richmond and its context; and an extensive newspaper and periodical search. The fourth segment with which the author is primarily involved includes a survey of biographical, personal, and career data of Maggie Walker. This module is also responsible for analyzing books, manuscripts, personal belongings, and memorabilia in the Maggie L. Walker House.

In order to understand the historical background of

Richmond and its context in the national scope, a search of relevant historical accounts primarily found in books and articles was necessary. As more insight was gained into the culture of Black Richmond and the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, further investigation was possible. To add to this understanding, a search of periodicals and newspapers was necessary. Accounts of Maggie Walker's activities as reported in both the Black and white press were sought, but because most accounts of events and activities of Blacks were confined to their own publications during the time period concerned, particular emphasis was placed on these as a primary source. The Peabody Clipping Books at Hampton University proved to be a rich source of material. The church was an integral part of Black life and the limited social services available for Blacks were often rooted in or connected with it. Insight was gained in this area through material found in the records of the First African Baptist Church (the church to which Maggie Walker belonged), manuscript collections, dissertations and theses, and interviews. Photocopies were made of much of the material found in repositories, libraries, and the house for later analysis and documentation.

Extensive notes were taken for each item of interest or importance, especially those which were not or could

not be copied due to restrictions imposed by the repositories. A constant exchange of information between the researchers on an informal basis and through weekly staff meetings assisted each in maintaining a focus on the progress being made and what to keep in mind during their search. In this way, the needs of each module could be met and confirmed by work done within another realm. In addition to this, quarterly reports were compiled by each module, summarizing the progress made during the previous three months and outlining the research for the next three months. Even though a general plan of research for the immediate future was established, the flexibility of the study was reinforced as sources of information were accessed which became available or called for immediate investigation based on the information obtained. Many informal conversations and interviews added to the realm of information on Maggie Walker and her career. For official interviews and oral histories, a consent form was developed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of Howard University. Along with the consent form interviewees were sent questions or topics of discussion prior to the interview. This served as a tool for recall for both the interviewer and the subject. In addition to taking extensive notes, the interviews were taped when possible and transcriptions were made. Oral histories

were previously conducted with family members by the National Park Service and these offered insight into Maggie Walker's personal and family life.

The advisory board of the project met at regular intervals to go over the progress made, assess work currently being done by the staff, and make suggestions for future work. In addition to this, any problems which may have come up during the course of the research are discussed and solutions for them are suggested. Each meeting focused upon a certain topic of particular interest. The members of the board -- experts in the areas of oral history, Black women's studies, and the social sciences, as well as representatives from Richmond, Virginia, Howard University, and the National Park Service -- are able to lend their special expertise to the project. Special events such as the opening of the site, professional meetings and conferences were attended by the project staff for enjoyment and further training. These events provided opportunities for the exchange of information with professionals in the areas of museum research, planning and management, Black history, religious studies, anthropology and sociology, and oral history.

A search was also made of miscellaneous sources of data. The title, date of publishing or copyright, author, and any inscriptions or notes were recorded for most of

the approximately 800 books in the library at the house. Notes were also taken on diplomas and certificates of family members which are also located in the library. An effort was made to identify some of the numerous photographs of unknown individuals located in the room using photographs in books and programs as well as the skills of a physical anthropologist to determine the persons who were important in Maggie Walker's life and home.

A number of Walker's speeches were either preserved or reported in newspapers, and notes were taken on their general content and subject matter. In one instance, the author recorded herself reading a speech that was particularly impressive because of its theme, and it has served as a tool for further study of the speeches. Of personal interest has been the genealogical background of the Walker family. Information was obtained from the 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 U.S. Census Reports (the 1890 Census Report was destroyed by fire in 1921), the family Bible, tombstone inscriptions, and interviews. In addition a search was made of the Richmond City Directories compiled from 1866 to 1935. The Washington, D.C. City Directories were searched from 1894 to 1901. This search was undertaken after some indication in the Richmond City Directories that Eccles Cuthbert, reputed to be Maggie Walker's natural father, had resided in the District of

Columbia. Five families associated with Walker -- the Cuthberts, Drapers, Mitchells, Van Lews, and Walkers -- were traced throughout the years in chart form, carefully recording all information given for known or suspected individuals. The information presented included name, spouse's name, address, and the individual's occupation. This task was made easier by first having an idea of the individuals to trace and by the designation of Blacks by an asterisk, the letter C or a separate list.

Another important source of information was the family burial plot in Evergreen Cemetery. Initial visits provided the names and dates of individuals buried there, giving some indication of the scope of Maggie Walker's extended family and persons who played a major role in her life. On subsequent visits to the plot additional graves which had been obscured by overgrowth were located in the plot, the information from which was useful in developing conclusions on the personal life of the subject.

The author has also frequently played "shutterbug," often photographing various sources of information such as the house and its contents, the cemetery plot, the St. Luke building, and special events. The photographs have unexpectedly served as a source of confirmation of notes taken on the subject matter. They have also been used for comparison with pictures taken of the same subject in

previous years, especially those taken during Maggie Walker's lifetime, to note the changes which have occurred over time. This adds to an understanding of the material from a historical perspective.

MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The organization and management of the data have been a major concern for the project simply because of the vast amount of material and the number of researchers involved. Retrieval of material and information by researchers was a significant concern as staff meetings and informal conversations do not give the full scope of the information found on a continuous basis. To remedy this, a detailed filing system, annotated bibliography, and computerized data base were established.

For each piece of information, an annotated bibliographic card is made, giving the bibliographic reference as well as a short summary of the material. Key words are listed as well, and may include names of prominent persons, organizations, places, events, or subjects. Two file words are also given to the entry. The first is a general topic, and the second is more specific, so that the material will be filed appropriately within a major category. The files have been broken into major subject

areas such as organizations, individuals, and general research information. Larger subject areas such as the NAACP or the I.O. of St. Luke for which a great deal of material was found also constitute a major subject area. Within these areas, material is placed according to its content as well as the key words on the bibliographic cards written for each piece of material.

So that each researcher is aware of current material available, a list of file titles is maintained and updated as needed. This serves as a guideline for the assignment of file and key words to information they have obtained. In addition to this, a card file is also used to summarize information on individuals or organizations.

Because of the complexity of certain areas in Maggie Walker's life and career, it was necessary to use chronologies as another source of data management. Certain events such as the trial of her son following her husband's death and the probate of her will covered several months and the use of a summary in a chronological form is best. The amount of information already obtained and gaps within a time frame were easily identified, so that further information could be sought. One major chronology summarizes the genealogical and personal data on Walker and her family compiling information gathered from census data, the family Bible, newspaper reports, and other sour-

ces such as letters and diaries. A table compiling the birth and death dates from family members from tombstones, the family Bible, and the census reports preceded this. In addition to this an overall chronology of Maggie Walker's life is maintained, noting events and information obtained as well as the correspondence found to or from Walker. Because of the complexity of the material retrieved from the city directories, a separate chronological chart for each individual found was plotted, noting the person's residence and occupation for each year found. It was also noted that members of the Draper family moved in and out of households throughout the years. After compiling the twenty-seven individuals according to addresses, households were developed and possible connections were made among them. This analysis showed the changes in occupation and residence for the individuals over time.

Each researcher is responsible for summarizing material found concerning a specific subject area s/he may be covering, and these summaries are also placed in the appropriate file. Even as this serves as an initial analysis, a computerized data base (using dBase II) is now being established for management of the material. This will be useful in the overall organization and content analysis of the information and will eventually be given

to the Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site for use by other researchers as well as those persons developing and interpreting the site.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

There are a number of limitations of the study which should be kept in mind, the foremost being that it is an exploratory study. The emphasis is on subject matter, data collection, and analysis of the results. Although this type of study generally does not stress sampling, validity, and reliability, its value lies in citing those elements which necessitate further investigation and refining the research design for future use. Validity was an important issue, however, and steps were taken to assure this. Each fact was checked against several other sources or accounts for factual accuracy. Some information was verified by Maggie Walker's personal accounts. Previous work on the subject (especially that done during her lifetime by her contemporaries) also provided an accuracy check.

The subjective nature of life history techniques is one which raises questions again as to the validity and reliability of the methods used. In this case the researcher has had to rely heavily on previous accounts of

events and activities in the life and career of Maggie Walker without the confirmation of the subject herself. Persons whose memory of such activity would generate a greater understanding are older or deceased, and thus the possibilities are limited. Retrospective data used in a case study also has the possibility of being distorted because people selectively remember information the way they wish to. Insightful hunches ("verstehen") reached in an ethnography are questionable. The documentation of facts that is available is therefore the most reliable source of information and when checked against other sources, gives reasonable insight into the era considered.

It is believed that, under the same general circumstances and using the same methodology and research design, one would at least be able to obtain much of the same information; but because life documents allow the reader to make her/his own interpretations, the same conclusions may not be reached. It must be noted that the amount of material on Maggie Walker is relatively extensive, although spotty, and that a number of persons are currently investigating her life and career. Some sources of information may not have been searched because of their unavailability and limitations of time, distance, and money. The priorities of the project were taken into consideration and the work proceeded according to the needs

determined for the project.

It should be noted that other sources of data may be found or become available in the future (including work done by other researchers). At this time some material in the archival collection at the Maggie Walker House has not been released for use by researchers, and this material is not presented. Material from the Independent Order of St. Luke and the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company was unavailable.

CHAPTER 4

"AN ACTRESS BORN, A DIPLOMAT BRED": DATA ANALYSIS

In order to appreciate the work which Maggie Walker accomplished it is first necessary to investigate and understand her preparation for the various roles she undertook. The preparation was based, in turn, upon Walker's perception of the role and the work. Because education was the major tool which determined the actions of Black women in leadership roles, it is necessary to consider the racial pride which was coupled with educating the masses. The literary contributions which have enhanced the understanding of the development of Black women in America are finally considered.

TEACHING, MAGGIE WALKER STYLE

Walker attended the Richmond Colored and Normal School in Richmond and graduated on June 15, 1883 (Richmond Daily Dispatch, June 16, 1883, 1). A year of study had been added to the curriculum (which was quite comprehensive) before her graduation. A normal degree was equivalent to two years of college and prepared one to teach. She was appointed to teach at the Valley School the fol-

lowing September where she remained for the next three years (Richmond Daily Dispatch, September 16, 1883, 1; Annual Report of the Superintendent, 1885-86).

The normal preparation Maggie Walker received which had enabled her to teach for three years could not be used in the conventional manner -- a lifetime of teaching -- once she married, but her love of children and appreciation of education surpassed that block. The Independent Order of St. Luke became a major vehicle to educate Blacks as did numerous fraternal and benevolent societies. The members were taught through example. Meetings of the councils, while taking care of business, taught organizational skills, financial management, public relations, and parliamentary procedure. This program extended to the juvenile circles which, under the leadership of matrons, learned early how to conduct themselves. These practical lessons reinforced those taught in the schools and in the churches -- cooperation and common interests for the good of all.

Moral values and thrift became a major focus for all members of the Order, which stood for love, peace, and charity using the teachings of St. Luke the benevolent physician as an example. Honesty, loyalty and integrity were all undergirded by faith in God that justice would prevail. By caring for the sick, underprivileged and

orphaned and burying the dead, they were following Jesus' commandment -- love thy neighbor as thyself. Thus, the fraternalists sought to be a persuading force as well as a social outlet in the lives of Blacks.

In order to care for one another, some organized structure was necessary, and these organizations became businesses, providing a means of employment for many and some financial stability by the way of insurance for illness and death. In order to do this, it was necessary to teach the members about thrift and self-reliance. Maggie Walker placed a great deal of emphasis on this.

The idea of a bank run by Blacks for Blacks was not new. The True Reformers Bank in Richmond was operated reasonably successfully for twenty years but failed and was forced to close in 1910. Maggie Walker realized that strengthening the Order would mean addressing the needs of its members. In an extract from the 1901 Right Worthy Grand Secretary's report (Fiftieth Anniversary - Golden Jubilee Historical Report of the R.W.G. Council, I.O. St. Luke, 1867 - 1917, 1917, 23-5) Maggie Walker first challenged the members as to their purpose:

Eternal vigilance is the price of success. Increasing in membership at a rate which is without precedent in the Order, bringing into our ranks men and women of the highest intelligence, standing and character, to stand still and keep in the same old rut, would be a positive crime, and a downright refusal to use

those powers, advantages, and opportunities which God has given us to make our Order the strongest, best and most beneficial.

...Shall we chill the enthusiasm by inactivity, or shall we bind still stronger and tighter the thousands we have, and unite heart, hand and head in the development of our noble Order?

What do we need to still further and prosper us, numerically and financially?

She then presented her plan for financial development:

First, we need a savings bank, chartered, officered and run by the men and women of this Order. Let us put our moneys together; let us use our moneys; let us put our money out at usury among ourselves, and realize the benefit ourselves. Shall we continue to bury our talent, which the Lord has given us, wrapped in a napkin and hidden away, where it ought to be gaining us still other talents?

...brethren and sisters let us awake. Let us have a bank that will take the nickels and turn them into dollars. Then, as our patron saint went about doing good, how easily can this great organization now start and do good in our ranks.

She challenged them again to help Black women by providing means of employment for them:

Who is so helpless as the Negro woman? Who is so circumscribed and hemmed in, in the race of life, in the struggle for bread, meat and clothing as the Negro woman? They are even being denied the work of teaching Negro children. Can't this great Order, in which there are so many good women, willing women, hard-working women, noble women, whose money is here, whose interests are here, whose hearts and souls are here, do something towards giving employment to those who have made it what it is?

Brethren and sisters, we need to start and operate a factory for the making of clothing for women and children, men's underwear and a

millinery store. We have the means, the brains; we are simply waiting for the motion to be made, seconded, put and carried, and our Order will take a new lease of life....Let us always, like St. Luke, the beloved physician, care for the sick and dying; but, at the same time, let us have a bank and factory, and let our cry be: let us save the young Negro woman; let us feed and clothe her, and give her a chance in the race of life.

Thus, the mood was set. A challenge of this magnitude had no choice but to be met. But in order for these financial enterprises to succeed, there was one more thing the Order needed, according to Walker:

What we need is an organ, a newspaper to herald and proclaim the work of our Order. No business, no enterprise, which has to deal with the public, can be pushed successfully without a newspaper, a trumpet to sound the orders, so that the St. Luke upon the mountain top, and the St. Luke dwelling by the side of the sea, can hear the same order, keep step to the same music, march in unison to the same command, although miles and miles intervene.

This paper begun small, published monthly at first, can be developed into a paper of the Order, by the Order, and for the Order. We have the men, we have the women, we have the brain. Let us form the partnership of heads and brains, and actually do something.

Recommendations were presented by a special committee on the Grand Secretary's report to begin the process necessary to start a bank, a factory, and a newspaper. The results were the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank opened in 1903, the St. Luke Emporium, a department store which opened in 1905 and the St. Luke Herald, which started in

1902 (Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Report, I.O. of St. Luke, 1917, 23-7). As a result of the newspaper, the Order gained a press. The St. Luke Press provided employment for several and was extensively used by the Black community, particularly in Richmond.

Honesty and thrift were stressed to the children in the Order. They were encouraged to do chores, run errands, or take small jobs to get a sense of moral responsibility for the wise use of their money. "We try to connect these things with everyday living and to show them that part of their duty in becoming independent is getting where they can help others." Each child was given a cardboard bank and encouraged to save money for a rainy day. When they had saved one dollar they were encouraged to open a bank account.

One of the more popular stories concerning St. Luke's young savers concerns a young bootblack who, encouraged by Walker, saved his money. When he had fifty dollars the bank helped him rent a shop with three chairs. Seven years later he had his own place with twelve chairs. He also bought his mother a home, furnished it and maintained a sizable bank account (Daniel, 1931).

This success was not limited to the younger members of the Order. Maggie Walker often recalled the development of one of the Order's employees who started as a

cleaning woman paid a dollar a week. She was encouraged to take business courses at night and worked her way up until she became the head bookkeeper with a sizable salary, a nice home and financial security (Hammond, 1922, 113-4). Self-sufficiency, pride, and thrift, then, were her "textbooks."

EDUCATION AND BLACK WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

The motivation of Blacks to fight for racial freedom and advancement took on several forms, each based on individual interest and preparation. Education was a major focus. The uplift or molding of present and future generations was imperative, it was believed, for the future position of the race in American society. Several outstanding women of the time period such as Nannie Helen Burroughs, Janie Porter Barrett, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Mary McLeod Bethune devoted their lives to this task, catering especially to the development of young Black women. The emphasis on the importance of education can be seen as early as 1873 when twelve of the fourteen members of the first class which graduated from the Richmond Colored Normal School were women (Owens, 1947). Burroughs, who was elected president of the National Training School for Women and Girls in June 1908 (an institution

she conceived and founded), had to push the idea of a school for girls in the National Baptist Convention with which she was affiliated through the Women's Auxiliary:

Despite the history of the National Baptist Convention in support of black education, the men did not immediately endorse a school for girls. Criticism focused primarily on its training women to be workers and breadwinners, rather than missionaries exclusively. By the 1905 convention, however, the men had become more amenable to this idea and recorded that "each succeeding year has given greater emphasis to the importance of having skilled labor which will ever remain the basis of real progress in a material way" (Barnett, 1978, 98).

The school sought to address the conditions surrounding Black women and trained women from the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean on the high school and junior college level. American society demanded that Black women provide a source of income equal to that of the Black man, a reality their male counterparts did not want to acknowledge. Often the only jobs available to Blacks were those in domestic positions, and Black women often took on the responsibility of supporting the family through this source of income.

The National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C. prospered under the guidance of Nannie Helen Burroughs who used her resources to keep the school open. Among her most valuable resources were her friends and co-workers in the numerous Black women's organizations

to which she belonged. Through this network she was able to solicit funds and material goods to keep the school functioning. Maggie Walker, a close personal friend, was recognized for her business ability and her skills were called upon by Burroughs. Walker became a member of the Board of Trustees of the school, traveling to Washington frequently not only for the Independent Order of St. Luke (which had a strong membership in the city) but to see her friend and offer advice and assistance to the school, serving at one time as chairman of the Investment and Advisory Board.

Maggie Walker's interest in the education of Black women was not confined to Washington. In an appeal to Baptists of Virginia in 1913, Janie Porter Barrett (at the time the president of the Virginia State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs) continued the drive for an Industrial School for Wayward Colored Girls in Virginia, citing the need for such an institution:

Dear Friend: The women of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Virginia have taken as their special work the establishing of an Industrial Home School (a Reformatory) for wayward colored girls from twelve to eighteen years old, who cannot be managed at home. There is no place for these delinquent colored girls now except the jails. Such a home, if established in the right way, will train many of these girls to be useful women, while, if left to pursue their own sinful way, they will be a menace to the homes of our Commonwealth.

Through our Federation Clubs we have collected \$1,000 to make the first payment on a farm of 140 acres, which has been chosen for the site, in Hanover county, near Richmond....The farm alone will cost \$5,500. In order to get the buidings and to start the Home as it should be, we will need at least \$10,000. It will be impossible for the colored women, with their limited means, to raise this amount without the help of their friends, so I an earnestly appealing to you to help us to make it possible to establish this reformatory for colored girls, which is one of Virginia's greatest needs (The Religious Herald, May 22, 1919, 11).

By appealing to the public's sense of moral responsibility and the practicality of reducing the risk of personal harm, Barrett and the State Federation were able to establish the school in 1914. Barrett became resident superintendent of the school.

Maggie Walker was a member of the Board of Managers when the school was run by the Federation and was later appointed by the Governor of Virginia to the Board of Directors of the school after it was taken over by the state (Marlowe, 1984; Governor's Appointment, June 9, 1920; Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Virginia Manual Labor School for Colored Boys, September 7, 1927). Having served as auditor of the Federation from 1926 to 1934 and supporting the school through the organization she founded, the Council of Colored Women, Walker was justifiably proud of its progress. She frequently attended directors' meetings and programs

and made donations of money and material goods to the school (Diaries, 1914, 1920, and 1923). Hallie Q. Brown, the former president of the National Association of Colored Women, visited the school in 1925 as a part of her visit to Richmond, and, arriving at the dinner hour, Maggie Walker noted how lovely the tables looked set with linen and silver. Walker resigned from the Board of Directors in October 1934 for health reasons (Minutes of Board of Directors of Virginia Industrial Schools for Colored Children Meeting, October 10, 1934) and the vacancy was filled interestingly enough by Miss Virginia Randolph. Randolph, a graduate of the Richmond Normal High School, established the "Virginia Randolph School for the education and training of under-privileged Negro children" in Hanover County, Virginia in 1891. Her appointment continued "the established custom of having a Negro woman on the board" (Norfolk Journal and Guide, January 19, 1935, 11).

Maggie Walker also served on the Board of Trustees of Hartshorn Memorial College from 1928 to 1932 and Virginia Union University from 1929 until her death in 1934. She had been reappointed for another three-year term until 1937 (Hartshorn Memorial College Catalog, 1929-1930; Virginia Union University Catalogs, 1927-1928 to 1935-1936). Hartshorn Memorial College, a private Baptist college

founded by Joseph C. Hartshorn in memory of his wife in 1883, educated young Black women. The college, located next to Virginia Union, merged with Union in 1932.

EDUCATION AND RACIAL PRIDE AMONG BLACK WOMEN

Closely coupled with education was the importance of racial history and pride, a common thread found throughout the efforts of Black women. Many of the prominent Black women had training in education (especially since Southern high schools for Blacks were normal schools), and used this skill to influence their people. Self-preparation was imperative and opportunities to gain more knowledge of Black history were never passed up. The formation of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races of the World (ICWDRW) under the initiative of Margaret Murray Washington (Mrs. Booker T.) in 1920 was an effort among "strictly prominent" women (associated through the National Association of Colored Women) to exemplify their commitment to the serious study of conditions historically confronting the race and women. The object, according to the organization's constitution, was:

The dissemination of knowledge of peoples of color the world over in order that there may be a larger appreciation of their history and accomplishments, and so that they themselves may have a greater degree of respect for their own

accomplishments and a greater pride in themselves (Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress).

Each member of the organization formed a reading circle of seven women to study about other darker races. In addition, the women undertook a major project: to push for the inclusion of Black history in text books and curricula across the country (Barnett, 1978, 103-5). The organization also sponsored research in other countries and guest speakers at its meetings.

Many of the activities of these leaders were geared towards children. A major project was the preservation of the Frederick Douglass Home undertaken by the National Association of Colored Women in 1916. By an act of Congress the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association (FDHMA) was incorporated in 1900 in response to Mrs. Douglass' desire to have the home as a national monument and memorial to him. In order to maintain the property she had to take out a \$10,000 mortgage. She left the home to the FDMHA in her will but at the time of her death a mortgage of \$5,500 remained on the property which the FDHMA managed to reduce to \$5,000. The Association sought the help of the NACW through its president, Mrs. Mary B. Talbert. After deliberation at the 1916 biennial meeting and subsequent inquiry, the NACW assumed the majority of positions on the board of trustees of the

FDMHA. In order to pay off the mortgage by the one hundredth anniversary of Douglass' birth on February 14, 1917, a national campaign was launched to preserve the home (as a monument to Douglass and to the anti-slavery movement as well). Calling upon the loyalty of the race to accomplish this goal, Talbert stated:

We purpose to enlist the largest possible number of people, especially the boys and girls, in this part of the work of our Association, relying upon race loyalty and pride as the energizing force...The public schools are asked to observe the one hundredth anniversary of Douglass' birth... by a short program, and each child is asked to contribute one penny on that day toward paying for the renovation of the Douglass home. ...For who can measure the far-reaching results of this great work and the inspiration that will be given to the boys and girls of our race? Will it not stir their hearts to greater race pride for them to know that they will have a hand in it and thus directly express their gratitude to the silent memory of the great Douglass (Crisis, February 1917, 174-6)?

Thus, DuBois' premise of understanding a race's culture and history was reinforced as was the importance of racial pride, education, and children.

The network of Black women leaders not only provided a means of interaction but helped to carve out the careers of several who may not have otherwise gained the level of prominence and success they obtained. Since each woman had a primary interest and a sense of loyalty to each other, they usually stayed within that field or area with which they were affiliated. If a woman was recognized for

her expertise in an area, she was called upon to lend those skills to the organization.

Educators were called on to plan programs to educate the public, especially children. Maggie Walker was always recognized for her business acumen and served as treasurer or chaired finance or budget committees in the NACW, the ICWDRW, the National Association of Wage Earners, and the FDMHA. The necessity of proper business management and fundraising was evidenced in her very successful Independent Order of St. Luke and may have been a reason for her being named to the boards of several schools that were strictly supported through donations.

Others such as Mary Talbert and Mary Church Terrell were recognized as great club women who motivated their membership to greater efforts. They possessed extraordinary oratorical abilities and solicited the support of white women's organizations, traveling around the world to attend international women's conferences and becoming active in the suffrage movement in the United States. Because most of the women belonged to the same organizations, meetings of the smaller groups were planned to occur before or after the meeting of the larger organization, much as they are today. This strategy enabled them to travel in groups, thus saving expenses. They held many of their meetings in local churches, the YWCA, or the

schools operated by one of the members (where they were frequently housed as well) not only out of necessity but out of economic consideration. This allowed them to consider issues pertinent to all of the groups. The meetings were held all over the country giving them the chance to travel and gain access to wider Black and white audiences.

A SELF-MADE WOMAN

Maggie Walker was a self-made woman. Like many of her day such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Nannie Helen Burroughs, self-preparation and determination were the key to escaping a life of almost certain poverty. Education was the key for Blacks and whites alike in an era when public education as it is known now was in its infancy.

Walker's library reflects the wide realm of knowledge necessary for a life of public service. Although books are found throughout the house, the library houses most of the 839 books and pamphlets. The books encompass an array from reference to nursery rhymes. "How-to" books on subjects such as advertising, public speaking, business success, accounting, organization, and life insurance are abundant. What Every Club Woman Ought to Know, The Fraternal Salesman's Tool-Kit, The Art of Public Speaking, and Everyman's Guide to Business Success are but a few of

these. A volume on homes of the rich and famous is even found here. Numerous books on health care reflect her concern about her own health as well as trends in health care, an area of importance in the insurance industry. The shelves hold numerous classics as well: The Count of Monte Cristo, Kenilworth, A Princess of Fiji by William Churchill dated 1892, works by Robert Louis Stevenson, Charles Dickens, and Rudyard Kipling and a complete set of Harvard Classics dated 1910.

Of great significance are the number of books by and/or about Blacks, many of which were first editions. W.E.B. DuBois' Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil (1920), Lifting as they Climb by Elizabeth Lindsay Davis (1933), A Short History of the American Negro by Benjamin Brawley (1927), Women Builders by Sadie Daniel (1931), In the Vanguard of a Race by L.H. Hammond (1922), Howdy, Honey, Howdy by Paul Lawrence Dunbar (1905), and bound volumes of the Journal of Negro History are some in the collection.

The earliest book in the collection (according to known information), a Book of Common Prayer, is dated 1847. An added attraction of the books is that many are inscribed by Walker (noting the date of acquisition), the author, or those who gave them to her. From the dates of publication and acquisition it is clear that these books

were collected over a lifetime. Compiling a collection of this magnitude in both subject matter and number reflects Maggie Walker's thirst for knowledge and racial pride. Much of the material was incorporated into her speeches and is shown in her everyday activity, reflecting her intent of performing to set, accepted standards. If she did not know about it, it is clear she sought the answer.

The library also houses numerous photographs, a testimony to the importance she placed on Black history and the contributions of Black leaders. Nannie Helen Burroughs, Marcus Garvey, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and Robert Moton are immediately noticed. Because of her personal relationship with many of these leaders, it is possible that the photographs were the result of gifts. Although not as famous on a national scale, numerous collages of members of the Independent Order of St. Luke are included as well. A framed copy of Marcus Garvey's "African Fundamentalism," considered radical for its day, is also found there. In addition to these, diplomas and certificates of family members reflecting their academic accomplishments join her own governor's appointments and honorary Master of Science degree from Virginia Union University.

PERSONAL ASSETS

Although an individual may have been trained or gained knowledge and skills through personal experiences and opportunities, a certain amount of charisma was needed in order to really be productive and influential. Such was the case with most race women, and in an exceptional way, Maggie Walker. Her identification with her organization was certainly reflected in her following and influence, this being a form of race pride as well as a means of education. In Maggie Walker's case, the identification was complete and absolute.

Oratorical skill during this era was an absolute for Black leaders because it was the most immediate form of publicity and education. Accounts of Maggie Walker's oratory recall that it was powerful and moving beyond the norm of most speakers. She spoke primarily in regard to the Order during fundraisers, programs, and membership drives, but her skills were also used by churches, women's and fraternal organizations, and leaders of the time. Her voice, recalled as being deep and rich, used to enthrall and entrance crowds. She tailored her speech for its audience, moving between adults and children with the greatest of ease.

Maggie Walker's speeches were colored by numerous

analogies (as are most speakers), but most had Biblical undertones. Themes for her speeches were taken primarily from the Bible and used or reincorporated repeatedly into later remarks. Those that survive in the site's collection and in various newspaper or personal accounts have a serious, sometimes somber feeling. This, however, was characteristic of the time -- Blacks felt that they had to be serious in order to set the proper tone for the race. This seriousness is also witnessed in photographs of the period.

Along with using Biblical stories and references, she used the plight of the Negro woman as her major focus, either directly or indirectly in almost every speech, for this was her major concern. It cannot be seen more clearly than in "Woman in the Business World," an address delivered in North Carolina in 1909 (1909 Addresses). Her opinion (and that shared by many women then and now) of men is explicitly stated:

We hear much and read much in these days about woman's place; and many have adopted the old maxium (sic) which we have applied to our children - "children should be seen and not heard" - and have changed it to "women should be seen and not heard;" and then some attempt to give force to this doctrine by quoting Paul - saying, "Let your women keep silence, and if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home." In the days of Paul, when we supposed that husbands actually stayed at home, this doctrine might have had some force - but in these days when some few husbands come home at

night, bolt their meals, and then go out to return in the wee small hours of the morning or eat and drop in bed and conduct a snoring match till time to arise and go hence, if they can learn anything from such husbands, the thing which they learn will be of little service.

She also did not appreciate the inaccurate, demeaning opinion of men about women, and set the record straight as to whom was being considered:

I am not before you, to-day, advocating the cause of - something which men, in their ridicule, have seen fit to call "the new woman." I am not before you advocating the masculine woman, I am not here to say one word in behalf of the woman who wishes that she was a man and wants to indulge in all the sports and fashionable dissipations of men.

I am talking about women, noble and true and clean. Women that God made, who respect God and bow before him and try to obey his laws. Women who love their homes, their husbands, their children, and who strive for the uplift and betterment of that home. In these years of fierce competition for something to eat, and where withal (sic) to be clothed, the growth of the family, and in a great many cases the complete and absolute worthlessness of the man who calls himself husband, women have been forced to leave the fireside and turn their attention to some kind of work to better support themselves and in many instance to support children, mother and father and too often a great big, good for nothing, lazy man - called husband.

Having probably made the men quite angry, she further challenges them to prove her wrong:

But what are the colored men doing to encourage and assist the colored woman in her struggle to feed and clothe herself, so that she may be sweet and clean and maintain her good

name? What are the men, into whose faces I'm now looking, doing to assist their own women?

...Are you going to stand by and see your own women sink into the mire of sin and degradation, when united effort on your part would save them? Instead of scoffing at the efforts of your women, instead of criticizing them, every Negro man, every Negro newspaper, every Negro preacher should be extending the hand which helps and giving forth the words which encourage - for the path of the colored woman is dark and thorny.

Our men, in no way, measure up to the opportunities for business. They seem, in but the slightest degree, to recognize the old worn out saying, that in union there is strength. They fail to patronize each other, they discourage and under rate each other. Supposing the Negro business concern in Raleigh had the patronage and financial support of the great number of Negroes? We would soon be in a position to overthrow all the ill treatment which we are receiving every day of our lives.

If men were not going to stand up for the race, then it was up to women:

If our men can't see, can't hear, can't understand these and won't take advantage of golden opportunities by which God surrounds them - then, my dear sisters, we must unite, we must put our feeble selves together, we must gather in our dimes and our nickels to do the work which the race must do.

What women of other nationalities can do, we can do. The fact that we are at the very bottom of the ladder should not dishearten us. Faith in God and faith in ourselves can work miracles. Sisters, let us join hands. Let us trust each other, let us believe in each other and half of the battle is won.

In this speech she challenged the women to start a henery or duckery, realizing the money in the egg crop of

the country. Was not it possible to buy hats and shoes from women of their own race? Did they know that a colored woman with a good education could be a phramacist or a doctor? She only hoped that she "could arouse you and imbue you with the spirit of push and energy that would awaken your dormant powers!"

According to most biographical sources, Maggie Walker was born on July 15, 1867, the same year the Order was founded. Although census material is not considered a conclusive source of information because of inconsistent data collection methods, the census reports examined show her year of birth to be either 1864 or 1865 (1880, 1900, and 1910 U.S. Census Reports). This of course would make her two or three years older than reported, a possibility reinforced by the ages of her high school classmates. Her class was the first to graduate after an additional year of study had been added to the curriculum, making them older upon their graduation (Dabney memoirs). It is also supported by her husband's age, which, also inconclusive, was supposedly but a few years more than her own. The fact that Walker's birth and the Order's founding were in the same year was used extensively not only by the Order (for publicity and promotion) but by the public and many biographers as well.

A major continuity from the past which is easily

evidenced in the Black community at the present time is that of attire, especially in religious and fraternal experiences. A person's attire was as important if not more so than manner because it embodied not only the representation of the organization but the hopes and aspirations of the race. The general population was able to "participate" vicariously in the honor, esteem, wealth, and power through an individual, gaining a status they would not normally have in their everyday lives. Walker was thus noted for her appearance as much as for anything else. A reasonably tall, large, buxom woman (as was the case for many of her day), she was often photographed and mentioned wearing either white or black, colors associated with the Order (Kuyk, 1983, 564-5). This pride in appearance was handed down to the clerks in the St. Luke office who Walker liked to wear white blouses (Washington Afro-American, December 24, 1935). With this she usually wore a strand of pearls and a cross on a cord. A diamond brooch in the shape of a cross eventually became her trademark (along with the pearls). This is believed to have been a gift from the Order. From her personal artifacts that remain in the National Historic Site's collection and her will, it is apparent that she owned and wore a great deal of jewelry. The collection and her will also include a number of furs.

Maggie Walker's likeness became the center of St. Luke publicity. Conventions and membership drives presented the opportunity for regalia and memorabilia. She was usually photographed in the center of or prominently with committees and groups. Hers was usually the largest photo in collages of committees, especially those which were used in publications for the organization. Walker's image was on buttons, pins, calendars, reports, and switchblade combs. There was even a Maggie Walker doll, complete with pearls and cross.

Her image was also used for inspiration. Children were challenged to bring in new members with the prize of a photograph of "Grandmother Walker" which they had to win because everyone "should" have one for their grandmother. The most popular item was a plaster bust, created by P. Beneduce of New York (An Occasional Bulletin, April 1976, 32). They were distributed for "Maggie Walker Month" in October 1934, a national celebration which included a full page spread of her accomplishments in the Richmond Planet (October 27, 1934, 2). Many of the busts still exist in private homes and collections in reasonably good condition, serving as a continuing reminder of her work and the high esteem in which she was held.

One of the most memorable, impressive tributes to Maggie Walker's work, dedication, and accomplishments was

the Quarto-Centennial Service Celebration tendered her by the Order on November 30, 1924. The program celebrated her twenty-five years of service to the Order as Right Worthy Grand Secretary-Treasurer. The City Auditorium in Richmond was filled to capacity despite a threatening snowstorm. Speeches of praise were given by members of the Order and prominent Black public figures of Virginia. Congratulatory messages were received from numerous persons and organizations, among them the New York Age, the Southern Aid Society of Virginia, the Women's Benefit Association of the Maccabees in Port Huron, Michigan, Robert M. Bagnall of the NAACP, and James Weldon Johnson. To their credit, members of the planning committee headed by Mrs. Lelia Bankett had a souvenir book of the occasion printed afterwards by the St. Luke Press, including the remarks of all for posterity. This, then, is a rich source of information and inspiration.

At the time of her death, the media coverage was extensive, not just because of the loss of an organizational leader, but because of the personal loss felt by so many. Articles appeared in Black and white publications alike, with numerous editorials to her worth being featured several times. It was primarily here that she was referred to as the "Lame Lioness" because of the physical challenges she had faced in her later years (Richmond

Planet, December 22, 1934, 1). Although she had been referred to as "Our Inspiration" previously, it was at this time that the title became more meaningful. Since her death, both have been used in literature or programs of the Order and other organizations with an interest in her life.

Maggie Walker's personal success was further reflected in her home. Purchased in 1904, the house was originally built in 1883 as a two-story, red brick structure. Renovations to the home included the addition of electricity, a furnace and radiators, the enclosure of porches, and an addition which increased it to twenty-two rooms, primarily providing housing for both of the Walker sons and their families (NPS Pamphlet, 1986). In 1909 the home's front yard was "ornamented with granolithic pavement and an iron fence" and a brick stable was erected, "one of the handsomest...owned by any private family of color in Richmond" (Richmond Planet, January 23, 1909, 1). In 1922 the mansion was remodeled under the guidance of contractor Robert Archer according to plans made by Charles T. Russell, one of the most prominent Black architects of his day (Richmond Planet, June 17, 1922, 1). A self-operated elevator was installed between the house and the carriage house in 1928 to allow Walker access to the second floor because of her incapacity. The home was

featured in The Crisis in a "Portrait of 16 Negro Homes" (October 1920, 281), an article probably quite similar to the books in her library on homes of the rich and famous.

During the day of horse and buggy, Miss Maggie set the pace. She received a victoria (a low carriage seating four people with a folding top and a high seat in front for the coachman) and a pair of matching coal black horses as a Christmas gift from the Order in 1903. It was provided with "robes and coachman's livery, plated harness and whip," making her "the luckiest Negress in town" and "one of the few colored women in this country able to drive in her own carriage with liveried coachman" (Newport News, December 24, 1903). She later owned at least two Packard "touring cars" (Richmond Planet, June 17, 1922, 1) and a Packard special sedan limousine was altered and refitted with an invalid chair in 1930, allowing her to continue travelling in the style to which she and the public had become accustomed. Several Richmonders and numerous accounts of her activities recall the lasting impression she made in her chaffeur-driven limousine.

Much of the grandeur of the era in which Maggie Walker lived is gone. Jackson Ward is no longer the center of Richmond's Black community, but it is still valued by Blacks in the city who have sought to have it revitalized. The St. Luke building now stands as a memory

and a curiosity for many, a shadow of what it once was. Aside from the modern Consolidated Bank and Trust Company and Maggie Walker's home, there is one last monument to her that is relatively obscure. In Evergreen Cemetery, the Black segment of the larger Oakwood Cemetery on the outskirts of Richmond, one is shocked by the condition of what was once apparently a beautiful place. Many of Richmond's most prominent Black citizens were buried here, as is Maggie Walker and her family. The Walker marker, a large white granite cross with the family name engraved on it, serves as a towering, powerful reminder of the life and legacy which is coming forth once again. A feeling of awe, hope, and sadness permeates the area where, according to photographs, family members had picnics and visited, paying respect to the dead. Through the overgrowth, one can read the inscription on both sides of Maggie Walker's stone: "R.W.G. Sec[retary]. Treas[urer]., I.O. St. Luke, Founder of Juvenile Department and Grand Matron; Founder and President, Consolidated Bank & Trust Co., Organizer and President, Council of Colored Women." For those race men and women who rest there now, one can only hope that future generations will prove that their living was not in vain.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF BLACK WOMEN

Numerous studies and analyses of Black women, their organizations and the roles they played in history have been done, citing their contributions as well as their challenges. Bettina Aptheker (1977) examines the work of Ida B. Wells Barnett, one of the first Black women to edit and publish her own newspaper. After a particularly strong editorial in 1892 condemning the injustice and brutality of lynching, the offices of the newspaper were sacked and her life was threatened if she returned to Memphis, Tennessee. Aptheker concludes that Wells was a key person in the emergence of the modern civil rights movement and the chief architect of the anti-lynching crusade in the United States.

It should be noted that Black women sought to spread their work, purpose, and history through the printed media. Woman's Voice and the NACW's National Notes (both magazines) circulated nationally as did the Crisis, Opportunity, and Southern Workman (journals of the NAACP, National Urban League, and Hampton Institute respectively). The college-based sororities founded between 1908 and 1922 soon followed these early organizations in establishing publications for the same reasons; these publications are still in existence today.

Several of Maggie Walker's contemporaries, both Black and white, compiled anthologies citing the work of these women, hoping that these accounts would serve to inspire the public, especially the young. Even the titles were challenging: Lily Hammond's In the Vanguard of A Race (1922) and Women Builders (1931) by Sadie I. Daniel. Hallie Q. Brown's Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction (1926) and Mary White Ovington's Portraits in Color (1927) are accounts of strong Black women who achieved in spite of the odds. These are among the major references used in Black women's studies today. As a strategy to instill racial pride and to motivate to action, these accounts achieved their purpose. The same strategy is currently employed as evidenced by The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service by Charles Wesley (1984); Alpha Kappa Alpha: In The Eye Of The Beholder by Marjorie H. Parker (1979); and The Dictionary of American Negro Biography by Rayford Logan and Michael Winston (1982). Paula Gidding's book When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America published in 1984 serves as one of the most comprehensive works on the activities of Black women from a historical perspective and is widely used as a current source of information.

Betty Collier-Thomas (1980, 140-1) probably best

summarizes the role that Black women played in the development and maintenance of Black organizations, noting that it should be evaluated in three ways: 1) as functionaries outside of the legitimate membership of Black organizations which were strictly male; 2) as functionaries excluded from the legitimate power structure within traditional heterogenous (male and female) organizations and institutions; and 3) as founders, organizers and developers of powerful networks of strictly female organizations. In the first two instances, women functioned mainly as fundraisers or workers, providing the essential support necessary to maintain the organizations' existence. In the last, they contributed to the development of Black leadership and an extensive social welfare system, the elimination of racial practices, and, most importantly, the creation of a meaningful structure of role models to inspire young girls and women with confidence and ambition.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the value and available information which have resulted from the use of life documents as a means of role analysis. Suggestions for future research will also be presented.

ROLE ANALYSIS THROUGH THE USE OF LIFE DOCUMENTS

This study has explored the utility of personal or life documents in the examination of role behavior as evidenced in the life and career of Maggie L. Walker. In doing so, steps were taken not only to understand the material presented in these documents, but to gain an overall understanding of the social climate that is indirectly presented. This understanding brought greater insight into the rationale for actions and preparation for different or overlapping roles. The research ultimately provided a view of the unique socialization process of Black Americans, young and old alike. The socialization of present and future generations emphasized and expressed the common problems and needs of Blacks, using education in its most fundamental form as a means of adapting Blacks

to a common purpose. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this process was unusual in Richmond, Virginia, as it resulted in dynamic, charismatic figures who served and continue to serve as "race men and women," those who strive for the advancement of the Black race despite great personal sacrifice. Many of these individuals who had roots in Richmond were later found across the country, imparting the same knowledge and purpose to others; later generations have maintained to some degree the intensity of purpose felt by their foreparents.

From a theoretical perspective, this research has been outlined with those concepts which govern role analysis and the dramaturgical perspective of symbolic interactionism as presented by Erving Goffman. The primary concepts which have been addressed include impression management, the front stage (which include the setting and the personal front), and mystification.

It is clear that Maggie Walker sought to use impression management, those techniques which controlled or maintained the audience's perception of her. This was initially done through becoming the personification of the dreams, hopes, goals, and aspirations of the race, especially those in Richmond. This was achieved in the front stage, the arena which encompasses the setting and the personal front. Her use of the personal front allowed her

to manipulate the audience's identification with her through appearance and manner -- regalia, "white blouses," pearls and the diamond cross brooch, and later (although wheelchair bound) in her chauffeur-driven limousine. This was also done through her speeches emphasizing self-determination, self-worth, racial pride, and women's rights; public appearances for the Order, women's and fraternal groups; her image as "Our Inspiration," the Lane Lioness, and grandmother; and her personal manner -- a gracious lady who sacrificed for others. An emphasis was placed on settings which Maggie Walker used to display her personal assets. The sets were to her specifications because she designed, implemented, and "built" them herself -- the Bank, the Emporium, the St. Luke building, her home, (remodeled to her specifications), and even the family cemetery plot. The City Auditorium in Richmond was used often as were various churches in Richmond and across the country. Mary Church Terrell reflected the epitome of this grandeur in a biographical account of Miss Maggie's work, stating:

When one sees Mrs. Walker sitting in a solid mahogany chair in her bank it is hard to visualize her as the daughter of a washerwoman carrying clothes which she and her mother had laundered to the aristocracy of the capital of the Confederacy. Yet this woman's early life was passed amid humble and unpromising surroundings (Unknown, undated newspaper, vertical files, MSRC)

It was in these settings that she could not only present her idealized self, but the idealization of Blacks as a race as well. She could, through her actions, convince the audience that the particular performance was the most important one if not the only one.

Maggie Walker perceived her role as being integral to the uplift of the race, especially those in Richmond, Virginia. It was the personal challenge Christians face -- to do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Thus, her behavior was based upon this belief. Her actions and implementation of programs sought to educate primarily those in the St. Luke world, depending upon them to spread this knowledge to others by means of St. Luke. Her personal assets, or role equipment, prepared her for this work, and again the base was education.

The roles which Maggie Walker undertook voluntarily or involuntarily -- daughter, wife, mother, grandmother, teacher, civil rights leader, fraternalist, friend, church member, and role model -- often overlapped, and the personal assets which she possessed prepared her to take them on. She was not, however, always prepared for the conflict which these roles and their overlap would provide. The primary example of this is that of mother, wife, and fraternal leader as evidenced in the accidental shooting death of her husband by her son. Maintaining the support

system for her family and St. Luke and the loyalty to her husband's memory and St. Luke became difficult. This was made especially trying by the coroner's inquest, murder trial, and insurance challenge which ensued. According to her biographer Wendell P. Dabney (1927, 49-51), a group of St. Luke members challenged her leadership capabilities at the annual convention in August, 1915. She was required to call upon all of her strength and previous preparation to be a public figure. The group did not love her any less, but they loved St. Luke more. "'Twas the welfare of the grand old Order that they wished to safeguard." The audience was astounded by the remarks they had just heard and waited in silent anticipation of the Grand Secretary's report. "...The very atmosphere was charged with some subtle, some indefinable feeling of expectancy, some premonition of coming tragedy" (Dabney, 1927, 50). Just two months after the death of her husband, Maggie Walker showed her strength and skill. She slowly walked to the front of the stage, facing the audience which had just betrayed her. After her salutations and financial report, she stated:

In 1899 a man or woman could not be found willing to take the organization that was said to be dying. I took it; I nursed it; I have suffered for it; I have given it the best I had -- the most active years of my womanhood. I have given up health, home, children, all, for this great and growing organization, and while I have no regrets today, I want you, the I.O. of

St. Luke, to foster and hold what has been brought, and for which such a price has been paid (Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Report, I.O. of St. Luke, 1917, 55).

Dabney states:

Her eloquence, sublime in its simplicity, touched the hearts of all loyal members and shook the souls of those who were disloyal. The report not only showed what wonders had been accomplished with the resources at her command, but showed most conclusively, the marvelous personality that could render, despite inconceivable family conditions, what signal service to an organization of such magnitude (1927, 50-1).

Her objective had always been to provide Black women with work which had dignity, regular hours, and provided a decent income. The members of St. Luke for which this had been done appreciated her efforts, and proved it at this time by giving her once again their support.

Methodologically, a holistic approach was used to gather material. The information could then be used as needed. The study combined the best methods of data collection generally used in both ethnographies and case studies.

Great care was taken to insure the validity and reliability of the study. It is recognized that life or personal documents provide an account of an individual's experience as a participant in social life. The subjective world, then, is presented, attempting to provide first-hand accounts of life. A diligent effort has been made to cross-check facts with other material for as

accurate a scenario as possible. In addition to this, a level of expertise has been developed over time, enabling the researcher to manipulate the methodology to meet the needs of the data source without impairing the overall research design. It is believed that, with the use of similar data collection methods and under similar conditions, one would be able to discern many of the same facts. Because the research is subjective, however, conclusions may be different or the rationale for role behavior could be attributed to other factors such as the community's unique structure, the time period, or peer pressure.

From a practical perspective, this study has demonstrated the use and value of those materials which are often disregarded as a source of sociological information. It should be recognized that a degree of skill and patient diligence are required in this work. One must be a "detective," putting in those pieces of the puzzle which are often difficult to find. One must also be mindful of the ethics involved in this type of research. Personal documents, probably more than any other source of data, provide a challenge to the researcher's personal code of ethics as well as that of her/his discipline. Information which may be painful or damaging to the subject, family and community members must be carefully considered before

being used. The researcher should use her/his judgement and discretion in disclosing facts which would be harmful and would damage her/his credibility as well. This information, in some instances, must remain known only to the investigator. One should, therefore, consider accepting this burden before engaging in this type of data collection and analysis.

The conceptualization of an individual as a "race woman/man," the title attributed to Black leaders by their contemporaries and by present members of the Black community, has brought with it a deeper understanding of the work done by these persons. The actual role that has surfaced is that of teacher in the deepest sense of the concept. Teaching took on any and all forms -- in the classroom, the church, meetings, organizations, and family life. Most lessons did not come from textbooks, but rather experience. Elders taught the young, and younger members who obtained an education returned to their communities to serve others.

It should be remembered that the lifetime of Maggie Walker was indeed a time of growth and reorganization for Blacks, a people just out of slavery with little preparation. It was the responsibility of the "talented tenth" to serve and prepare the masses of the race. Those who are remembered as prominent leaders nationally and in

their respective communities did just that. Their personal sacrifice was for the benefit of the race.

FUTURE RESEARCH ISSUES

Several issues have presented themselves in the course of this research which would allow a greater, continuous understanding of the same. The initial concept considered -- "race woman/man" -- has not been traced to the necessary extent in the type of life and personal documents used in this research. Although a relatively common term, data on its origin and connotations of the term are not fully understood. This racial identification is not necessarily known or understood by today's younger Black community and would serve as enlightening information concerning Black history.

The continuance of women functioning as educators after being forced to give up their public teaching careers upon marriage should be investigated, especially from the perspective of Black women. It is known that Black women continued to serve as educators in the widest sense of the word, oftentimes filling gaps that only they were equipped to or willing to handle.

Finally, the world of Maggie Lena Walker offers more mysteries and missing pieces in the puzzle that can only

be filled by diligent research efforts. Records of the Independent Order of St. Luke, the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company, and other organizations to which she was connected offer untapped sources of material from which new insight can be gained. The work of other researchers will also add to the realm of knowledge about Maggie Walker. It is hoped that the future presents curious scholars and researchers who will pursue this work, for her story is "to be continued."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Bankett, Lelia. 1925. A Testimonial of Love Tendered Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, Right Worthy Grand Secretary-Treasurer, Independent Order of St. Luke. Richmond, Virginia: St. Luke Press.
- Barnett, Evelyn Brooks. 1978. "Nannie Burroughs and the Education of Black Women." Pp. 97-133 in The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images edited by Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press.
- Benderly, Beryl L., Mary F. Gallagher, and John M. Young. 1977. Discovering Culture: An Introduction to Anthropology. New York: D. Van Nostrand.
- Blumer, H. 1939. Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences: I: An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Branch, Muriel and Dorothy Rice. 1984. Miss Maggie: A Biography of Maggie Lena Walker. Richmond, Virginia: Marlborough House.
- Collier-Thomas, Bettye. 1980. "The Role of the Black Woman in the Development and Maintenance of Black Organizations." Pp. 135-43 in Black Organizations: Issues on Survival Techniques edited by Lennox S. Yearwood. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- Dabney, Wendell P. 1927. Maggie L. Walker and the I.O. of St. Luke: The Woman and Her Work. Cincinnati, Ohio: Dabney, 1927.
- Daniel, Sadie I. 1931. Woman Builders. Washington, D.C.: Associated.
- Franklin, John Hope and August Meier, eds. 1982. Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. 1957. Black Bourgeoisie. New York: Macmillan.

- Fredrickson, George. 1971. The Black Image in the White Mind. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Giddings, Paula. 1984. When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- Gossett, Thomas. 1963. Race: The History of An Idea in America. New York: Schocken.
- Hammond, Lily Hardy. 1922. In the Vanguard of a Race. New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada.
- Hartshorn Memorial College. 1929. Hartshorn Memorial College Catalog, 1929-1930. Richmond, Virginia: Hartshorn Memorial College.
- I.O. of St. Luke. 1917. Fiftieth Anniversary - Golden Jubilee Historical Report of the R.W.G. Council, I.O. of St. Luke, 1867 - 1817. Richmond, Virginia: St. Luke Press.
- Logan, Rayford W. and Michael R. Winston, eds. 1982. Dictionary of American Negro Biography. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Ovington, Mary White. 1927. Portraits in Color. New York: Viking Press.
- Parker, Marjorie H. 1979. Alpha Kappa Alpha: In the Eye of the Beholder. Private Printing, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.
- Plummer, Ken. 1983. Documents of Life. Boston: George Allen and Unwin.
- Ritzer, George. 1983. Contemporary Sociological Theory. New York: Knopf.
- Spencer, Metta. 1979. Foundations of Modern Sociology. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Toll, William. 1979. The Resurgence of Race. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Vander Zanden, James W. 1977. Social Psychology. 2nd ed. New York: Random House.

Virginia Union University. 1927-1935. Virginia Union University Catalogs, 1927-1928 to 1935-1936.. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Union University.

Wesley, Charles. 1984. The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.

Williamson, Joel. 1984. The Crucible of Race. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wiseman, Jacqueline P. and Marcia S. Aron. 1970. Field Projects for Sociology Students. Cambridge: Schenkman.

PERIODICALS

Aptheker, Bettina. 1977. "The Suppression of Free Speech: Ida B. Wells and the Memphis Lynching, 1892." San Jose Studies 3: 34-40.

Johnson, Guy B. 1937. "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States." American Journal of Sociology, 43: 57-71.

Kuyk, Betty M. 1983. "The African Derivation of Black Fraternal Orders in the United States." Society for Comparative Study of Society and History, 25: 559-92.

Laying, Anthony. 1978. "Voluntary Associations and Black Ethnic Identity." Phylon, 39: 171-9.

Locke, Alain and Stoddard Lothrop. 1927. "Should the Negro Be Encouraged to Cultural Equality? A Debate." Forum, 78, 500-19.

"Portrait of 16 Negro Homes." 1920. The Crisis, October, 281.

Simmons, Charles Wallis. 1974-5. "Maggie Lena Walker and the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company." Negro History Bulletin, 38: 345-50.

Talbert, Mary B. 1917. "The Frederick Douglass Home." The Crisis, February: 174-6.

Virginia Historical Society. 1976. "Maggie Lena Walker." An Occasional Bulletin, April, 32-4.

White, Alvin E. 1977. "I Remember Maggie L. Walker." Sepia, December, 56-9.

Wilshire, Bruce. 1977. "Role Playing and Identity: The Limits of the Theoretical Metaphor." Cultural Hermeneutics, 4: 199-207.

Yearwood, Lennox. 1978. "National Afro-American Organizations in Urban Communities." Journal of Black Studies, 8: 423-38.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Brooks, Evelyn. 1984. "The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church 1880-1920." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rochester.

Chandler, Sallie. 1975. "Maggie Lena Walker (1867-1934): An Abstract of Her Life and Activities." Master's Thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University.

Fleming, Jesse E. 1972. "A History of Consolidated Bank and Trust Company, Richmond, Virginia (The Beginning of Black Banking in the United States)." Master's Thesis, Stonier Graduate School of Banking conducted by the American Bankers Association at Rutgers, The State University.

Florence, Charles Wilbur. 1923. "The Training of Colored Teachers for the Public Schools of Virginia." Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh.

Hall, Anita Lovette. 1980. "An Historical Study and the Cataloging of Furnishings in Selected Rooms of the Maggie Lena Walker House at 110 1/2 East Leigh Street in Richmond, Virginia." Master's Thesis, Howard University.

Hall, Winona R. 1954. "Janie Porter Barrett, Her Life and Contributions to Social Welfare in Virginia." Master's Thesis, Howard University.

Owens, Martha Warren. 1947. "The Development of Public Schools for Negroes in Richmond, Virginia 1865-1900." Master's Thesis, Virginia State College.

REPORTS

Marlowe, Gertrude W. et al. "A Critical Review of Selected Sources Available on the Public Career of Maggie L. Walker." Prepared for the National Park Service, July 1984, RESTRICTED.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Nannie Helen Burroughs Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Wendell Phillips Dabney Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Harmon Foundation Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Archives of the Independent Order of St. Luke, Richmond, Virginia.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

National Urban League Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

George Peabody Collection, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia.

Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Mary Church Terrell Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Virginia Union University Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

Maggie L. Walker Papers, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Richmond, Virginia.

NEWSPAPERS

The Newport News, December 24, 1903.

The Norfolk Journal and Guide, January 19, 1935.

The Religious Herald, May 22, 1919.

The Richmond Planet, January 23, 1909, June 17, 1922,
December 22, 1934.

The Richmond Daily Dispatch, June 16, 1883, September
16, 1883.

The Washington Afro-American, October 27, 1934, December
24, 1935.

The Washington Bee, August 20, 1904.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

U.S. Department of Interior and the National Park Service.
1982. General Management Plan/Development Concept
Plan: Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site. Pre-
pared by Suzanne M. Stutzman, et al. Denver Service
Center, Denver, Colorado.

U. S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service.
1986. "Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site."
Brochure.

STATE AND LOCAL DOCUMENTS

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the
Public Schools of the City of Richmond, Virginia for
the Scholastic Year 1885-1886. 1886. Richmond, Vir-
ginia: Walthall and Bowles.