

Fighting a Double Jubilee

How Mary Eliza Church Terrell pushed boundaries on frontiers of race, gender, and class

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Senior Division

Historical paper

Length: 2,493

Process paper: 426

When I saw the theme “Frontier in History” I immediately thought of the women's suffrage movement and how the movement challenged traditional gender roles. I knew the topic was too broad and decided to focus on certain suffragists in the movement. After researching online, I came across African-American suffragists, and one stood out in particular, Mary Church Terrell. After looking into her life and writing, I saw how she challenged not only gender norms during the suffragist movement but also racial and class norms relating to Black women during this time period. I realized that Black women had, and still have, overlapping challenges – race and gender discrimination – and that Terrell’s insights are still essential to understand.

To begin my research, I came up with three main categories where I believed Terrell pushed boundaries: the frontiers of gender, racial, and class change. I then searched for as many primary sources as I could find, including speeches from Terrell herself and other women suffragists. I found Terrell’s autobiography at the library, and a new biography of her life which included valuable information about Terrell’s background, including her family’s wealth, and her friendship and work with Ida B. Wells, a better known activist. I supplemented these sources with online research at the Library of Congress and other online archives. I found writings by Frederick Douglass, an early Black male suffragist, as well as scholarly articles on Black suffragists and activists, to provide context for Terrell’s speeches and writing and background on the suffrage movement.

To create my project I first outlined my paper. I made an argumentative essay explaining the reason I believe Terrell is important. I talked with my history tutor about why Terrell was not as well known as other Black activists and wondered if her family wealth and education made a difference. My tutor gave me an essay about gender studies by Joan W. Scott that combined race

and gender with class and political power. I realized that Terrell did not talk about class or privilege herself, but used her position of privilege to challenge racial and gender norms. This became part of my historical argument.

African-American women are underrepresented in the history of the women's suffrage movement. I think it is important to educate people on the discrimination Black women faced during the suffrage movement and the fight for civil rights. Mary Church Terrell was a renowned educator and speaker who campaigned fearlessly for women's suffrage and the social equality of African-Americans. She is still underappreciated, and relevant to the struggles of Black women today.

A white woman has only one handicap to overcome - that of sex. ...Colored men have only one - that of race. ...I have two - both sex and race. – Mary Church Terrell (1890)¹

[T]his new history ...suggests that gender must be redefined and restructured in conjunction with a vision of political and social equality that includes not only sex, but class and race. – Joan W. Scott (1986)²

At the beginning of her autobiography published in 1940,³ Mary Church Terrell described the “double-burdens” of an African-American woman’s daily reality, burdens she had been describing since her speech at the National Women’s Suffrage Association Conference in 1890.⁴ Her approach to these burdens reflected her emphasis on individual action to change the white supremacist world she experienced as a Black woman. Nearly a century after Terrell’s speech, feminist historian Joan W. Scott linked the burdens of sex and race with class in a paper that became the basis for the field of gender history. Though Terrell rarely mentioned class along with race and gender, or her own advantages as a college-educated person from a wealthy family, her work for political and social equality anticipated Scott’s analysis. Terrell’s life spanned nearly a century of change in American civil rights, from 1863, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, until her death just after the *Brown v The Board of Education* decision in 1954. By being a strong leader, through public speaking, writing, and eventually self-publishing her autobiography, Terrell created a public voice that not only taught people about her journey but shaped the way African-American women’s lives would be interpreted. As an educator and activist for suffrage and racial equality, she brought to light the stories and experiences of women and African-Americans, founded and led key organizations, and helped change laws and policies.

¹ Terrell, Mary Church. *Solving a Colored Woman's Problem* Speech at the National Women’s Suffrage Association Convention, 1890.

² Scott, Joan W. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5. (Dec., 1986), 1075.

³ Terrell, Mary Church. *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 1940

⁴ Terrell, Mary Church. *The Progress of Colored Women* Speech at The National American Women’s Suffrage Association

Until recently, Terrell has not been widely celebrated, overshadowed by her Memphis contemporary, Ida B. Wells, and others. But as an advocate and organizer for Black women, Mary Church Terrell deserves a prominent place in the gallery of civil rights heroes. She fought for social justice on two frontiers, race, and gender, by using the third frontier of class: she used her privileges to fight for power for others.

The Challenge of the Double Jubilee

White women and Black men set the stage for Terrell. White suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who organized the first American convention on women's rights at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, kept a scrapbook of the convention. In it, she included a pamphlet that first appeared as an editorial in *The North Star*, an abolitionist newspaper whose founder Frederick Douglass was the only African-American to attend the Seneca Falls Convention. Entitled "The Rights of Women," Douglass's editorial supported the "infant movement" for women's suffrage. It held that the rights of female, male, and Black Americans were equal. "However," he added, many who "have at last made the discovery that negroes have some rights...have yet to be convinced that woman is entitled to any." As a Black man, and later as Terrell's friend and mentor, Frederick Douglass described the twofold challenge of being a Black woman in America. That challenge would define Mary Church Terrell's life and work.

Mary Church Terrell was by birth an unlikely leader in the fight for equal rights. She was born in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1863, to former slaves. Despite their disadvantaged beginnings, her parents both became successful business owners. Her mother, Louisa Ayers Church, owned a hair salon, and her father, Robert Reed Church, was one of the South's first African-American millionaires. Due to their success, young Mary's parents were able to send her to Oberlin College in Ohio, where she received her bachelor's and master's degrees. She moved to Washington,

D.C., to teach at the M Street Colored High School. There she met, and in 1891 married, Robert Heberton Terrell, a Harvard-educated teacher who became a prominent Washington, D.C., judge.⁵ As Mary Church, the “only colored girl” in her Ohio secondary school class, she said she strove to “hold high the banner of [her] race;” As Mary Church Terrell she gained a high social platform to do that.⁶

In 1892, Terrell’s life took a dramatic turn. A White mob in Memphis lynched Thomas Moss, a successful grocer whose business was outperforming a local White-owned grocery. Moss and two of his workers were mutilated and left in a railroad yard. The murders changed the lives of two African-American women, both Moss’s friends. One was Ida B. Wells, a Memphis journalist and civil rights activist who aroused White anger by speaking out against the lynching. She feared for her life, bought a pistol, and fled to Chicago.⁷ The other friend was Mary Church Terrell. For the next sixty years, Terrell would use her connections, education, and wealth to bring about what she called the “double jubilee,” a time when she could rejoice “not only in the prospective enfranchisement of my sex but in the emancipation of my race.”⁸

Knocking at the Bar of Justice

Sparked into action, Terrell organized anti-lynching campaigns alongside Ida B. Wells. She focused her life’s work on racial uplift, the belief that Blacks would help end racial discrimination by advancing themselves through education, work, and community activism. She believed that Black women would lead that effort. During this fight, Terrell began to understand

⁵ Pilatte, Malaurie. “*The Life and Work of Mary Church Terrell*,” posted in *Black Perspectives*, African American Intellectual History Society, March 25, 2021.

⁶ Terrell, Mary Church. *A Colored Woman in a White World*, 20 - 21.

⁷ Parker, Alison M. *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), ch.2, web preview <https://flexpub.com/preview/unceasing-militant>

⁸ Terrell, Mary Church. *Solving the Colored Woman’s Problem*, Aug. 30, 1933

the intersectionality of race, class, and gender discrimination and threw herself into two forms of activism.

First, Terrell spent much of her early years organizing and representing Black women. She was the first African-American to serve on the Washington, D.C., Board of Education and became heavily involved in the Black women's club movement. She was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women, an organization she co-founded with Ida B. Wells, Harriet Tubman, and writer and activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper in 1896. The NACW focused on fighting for voting and equal rights for African-American women, under Terrell's motto, "lifting as we climb," words that emphasized the effort and agency of Blacks and women. Terrell was neither waiting nor expecting to be rescued. With "a keen sense of responsibility which we shall continue to assume," she wrote in "The Progress of Colored Women" in 1898, "onward and upward we go, struggling and striving... [s]eeking no favors because of our color, nor patronage because of our needs." She believed that Blacks would advance with education, activism, and hard work: "We knock at the bar of justice, asking an equal chance."⁹ Her father's financial support enabled her to knock loudly at that bar. She studied languages abroad, traveled, and lectured about what Black women were facing. In 1904, she was invited to speak at the International Congress of Women in Berlin, Germany. The only Black woman to attend this conference, she dazzled her audiences by delivering her speech in French and German. She celebrated the role of Black women, progressing, she said, despite "relentless...opposition" and "almost insurmountable...obstacles." Handicapped "on account of their sex" and "almost everywhere baffled and mocked on account of their race," she said, African-American women were nevertheless doing the work "to regenerate and uplift the race."¹⁰ Class privilege played an

⁹ Terrell, Mary Church. "The Progress of Colored Women," speech delivered to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Feb. 18, 1898

¹⁰ Terrell, Mary Church. *Tributes*, May 1908

important role in this process. She noted that her own presence among the educated elite as a "woman with African blood" was remarkable. Elsewhere, she urged her "sisters" in the NACW to "go down among the lowly, the illiterate, and even the vicious to whom we are bound" by "race and sex" in order to "uplift and reclaim them."^{11 12}

Second, Terrell joined the suffrage movement. The fight for women's suffrage in the United States began in the mid-19th century and lasted many decades to give women full participation as citizens in American society. During the battle for women's rights, White women often attempted to secure their rights above those of Black women. Among female suffragists, for example, White women often marginalized Black women, beginning in the movement's early days. At Seneca Falls in 1848, suffragists advocated for White women's right to vote. Frederick Douglass, the only African-American among middle- and upper-class White women and a few White males, had forged a strong working relationship with White women suffragists, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. But no Black women attended the convention; none were invited.

Terrell's suffragist efforts, in fact, repeated the struggles of her future collaborator Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, fifty years her senior. Harper spoke out in 1866 about the dual frontier of racism and sexism that would become Terrell's cause. "If there is any class of people who need to be lifted out of their airy nothings and selfishness, it is the white women of America," she told her audience of White suffragists.¹³ "[Y]ou...speak of rights," she said; "I...as a colored woman... speak of wrongs." Harper, from a struggling free Black family, also called out privilege, imagining an America with "no privileged class, trampling upon...the unprivileged

¹¹ Terrell, Mary Church. "Solving the Colored Woman's Problem – 30 August 1933

¹² Mary Church Terrell, "The Duty of the National Association of Colored Women," *AME Church Review* (January 1900), quoted in Callahan, Noaquia. (2021). *Heat of the day: Mary Church Terrell and African American feminist transnational activism* [University of Iowa], 69.

¹³ Harper, Francis Ellen Watkins. *We Are All Bound Up Together*, speech at the Eleventh Annual Women's Rights Convention, New York, New York, May 1866.

classes,” but “one great privileged nation” bound together as “one great bundle of humanity.” Thirty years later, little had changed. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, established in 1890, averted Black women from attending their national conventions. By 1908, despite growing numbers of African-American suffragists, Terrell was the only Black woman to attend the sixtieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention. To her White sister suffragists, echoing Harper, this woman with a master's degree made the heavy burden of race clear: “I am woman and I know what it means to be circumscribed, deprived, handicapped and fettered on account of my sex. But I assure you that nowhere in the United States have my feelings been so lacerated, my spirit so crushed, my heart so wounded... as I have been on account of my race.” Still, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony wrote the *History of Women Suffrage*, published in six volumes from 1881 to 1922¹⁴, they featured White suffragists but failed to include Black suffragists and their contributions. During organized marches across the country, Black women often suffered indignities. At the suffrage march on Washington, D.C. in 1913, which drew thousands of women, Terrell met up with 22 Black Howard University activists called the "Deltas," a group she had joined and encouraged. They marched, even though they were not listed in the program, and were told to segregate from White marchers, as was Ida B. Wells's group from Chicago (though they mingled among Whites anyway). Iconic activist W.E.B. DuBois congratulated them on holding "the courage of their convictions" in the face of prejudices.¹⁵ Terrell, Parker, Wells, and other Black voices remained outside the mainstream, not fully recognized for their work that helped to pass the 15th and 19th amendments.

¹⁴ Brewer, W. M. "MARY CHURCH TERRELL." *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1954, pp. 2–6. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44175208>. Accessed 6 Dec. 2022.

¹⁵ Trent, Sydney. "The Black Sorority That Faced Racism in the Suffrage Movement But Refused to Walk Away," *The Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 2020.

From experience, Terrell realized that regardless of her status and education, obstacles to progress could come from within the organizations fighting for change. No matter how hard Black women worked, Terrell pointed out in her 1906 speech “What It Means to be Colored in the Capital of the U.S.,” their efforts were often ignored by both White female and Black male organizers. “It matters not what my intellectual attainments may be or how great is the need of the services of a competent person,” she wrote; “if I try to enter many of the numerous vocations in which my white sisters are allowed to engage, the door is shut in my face.”¹⁶

Legacy

Terrell’s greatest political victory came not as a door she helped open for her gender, but for her race. On January 27, 1950, Terrell and three others – two African-Americans and a White civil rights activist – entered Thompson Restaurant, a popular cafeteria near the Mall in Washington, D.C., and asked to be served. Terrell was 86. She had lived in Washington for sixty years, and had spent all sixty of them fighting for social justice. After the restaurant refused to serve her and the other Blacks that day because of their race, Terrell became part of the case *District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co. Inc.* (1953)¹⁷, in which the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in Washington, D.C.’s public places were unconstitutional. It was a major civil rights victory that would change America.

Terrell’s most important legacy, however, may be her continuing influence among Black activists still beating on those same doors. Despite Terrell’s remarkable achievements, and her early voice framing the problem of dual exclusion, the “double jubilee” she imagined for African-American women remains elusive. Black women are still often left out of social justice

¹⁶ Terrell, Mary Church. “What it Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States,” speech before the United Women’s Club of Washington, D.C., Oct. 10, 1906.

¹⁷ Abbot, Franky, and Hillary Brady. “Women’s Suffrage: Campaign for the Nineteenth Amendment | DPLA.” Accessed 4 Dec. 2022.

movements. Black feminists called out the implicit racism in the pink "pussyhats" White feminists wore at the 2018 Women's March on Washington and many refused to attend, arguing that feminist movements overlook the needs of Black women, who face higher rates of police abuse, including sexual violence. Terrell has become a touchstone for many. One scholar-activist said Terrell was “schooling folks” on overlapping patriarchy, sexism, and racism before a term for it existed,¹⁸ citing legal scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, who coined the influential term “intersectionality” in 1989 to describe overlapping systems of oppression that create distinct experiences for people with multiple identity markers.¹⁹ Black women remain neglected “even though they face a unique combination of [sex and race] discrimination simultaneously,” wrote Crenshaw, describing an “intersectional invisibility” by which movements that could help Black women may be “contributing to their marginalization.”²⁰ Black women are still especially discriminated against in the workplace, with lower wages and limited mobility compared to men or White women. More than a century after her “Progress of Colored Women” speech, Terrell’s “knock at the bar of justice” remains unanswered.

“Mary Church Terrell Day”

In 2018, Oberlin College renamed its library the Mary Church Terrell Main Library,²¹ and in 2022 the U.S. Congress declared September 23 “Mary Church Terrell Day.”²² While she does

¹⁸ Extra, Naomi. “The Black Feminist Who Argued for Intersectionality Before the Term Existed,” *Vice*, May 23, 2018.

¹⁹ Crenshaw, Kimberle. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8.

²⁰ Crenshaw. *Ibid.*

²¹ Hempstead, Hillary. “Main Library Will Be Named for Activist Alumna Mary Church Terrell,” *Oberlin College and Conservatory News and Events*, May 22, 2018.

²² Press Release, Washington, D.C.. “Norton Introduces ‘Mary Church Terrell Day’ Resolution, Honoring the Life of Civil Rights and Women’s Rights Activist.” <https://norton.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/norton-introduces-mary-church-terrell-day-resolution-honoring-the-lifeand>

not yet have a Barbie doll or a national monument named after her or a Pulitzer Prize citation, like Ida B. Wells,²³ Terrell is increasingly recognized for her fight for justice. Terrell was in some ways privileged but knew that privilege alone could not create a fair society. “Money we need, the money we must have to accomplish much,” Terrell told an audience, but it is not “by the outlays of vast fortunes that the greatest revolutions are wrought.”²⁴ Terrell’s wealth and education launched her into a life and career among an educated elite, including people like W.E.B. DuBois and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but she remained an oppressed American. Not all women believed in equality for the sexes. Women who upheld traditional gender roles argued that politics were improper for women. Some even insisted that voting might cause some women to “grow beards.” In her struggle for political, economic, and social equality, Terrell challenged not only racial norms, a position threatening to Whites, but also traditional gender and class roles, a position as threatening to some women as it was to most men. Let us embody her legacy, not just on September 23rd.

²³ Golden, Jaimie Nesbit. “Ida B. Wells Doll Flying Off Shelves in Chicago, Delighting Family Members Who Helped Create Doll,” *Block Club Chicago*, Jan. 19, 2022

²⁴ Terrell, Mary Church. “In Union is There Strength,” presidential address to the National Association of Colored Women in Nashville, Tenn., Sept. 15, 1897, accessed on BlackPast, January 6, 2007

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Abbot, Franky, and Hillary Brady. "Women's Suffrage: Campaign for the Nineteenth Amendment | DPLA." *Digital Public Library of America*, Accessed 4 Dec. 2022.

<https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/women-s-suffrage-the-campaign-for-the-nineteenth-amendment>.

On August 18, 1920, Congress ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women across the country the right to vote. This movement was the result of activism and organizations advocating for universal voting rights. This movement faced formidable political and social opposition. This source helped me because this is a set of primary sources such as photos, maps, advertisements, etc. They all bring to light the adversities women faced in the fight for rights. They helped him understand the progress of the movement.

Douglas, Fredrick. "(1848) Frederick Douglass, 'The Rights of Women' •." *BlackPast*, 12 Mar. 2022, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/primary-documents-african-american-history/1848-frederick-douglass-the-rights-of-women/>.

In this speech Frederick Douglass believes that there is a problem going on with women besides having no rights, he says that women are ok and comfortable with prejudice against Black women. Fredrick talks about how White women had little to no sympathy for Black women and how they were universally treated during the Women's Suffrage Movement. This speech from Douglass helped me understand the idea of segregation during the Women's Suffrage Movement.

Report of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th and 20th, Proceedings and Declaration of Sentiments. John Dick at the North Star Office, Rochester, New York, July 19-20, 1848. Online Text. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/rbcmiller001106

This source is about recordings of the Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca New York. These reports consist of many well-known suffragists and abolitionists such as Susan B. Anthony, Ansel Bascom, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and many others. There also were proceedings and declarations of the conventions that were recorded.

Terrell, MaryChurch. "Gifts of Speech - Mary Church Terrell." *Gifts of Speech: Women's Speeches from Around the World*, 18 Feb. 1898, <http://gos.sbc.edu/t/terrellmary.html>.

A speech written by Terrell was about how the African American community would progress with education. Terrell also talked about the idea of racial uplift and how that would also cause progression within the African American community.

Terrell, Mary Church. "Solving the Colored Woman's Problem – 30 August 1933 | Archives of Women's Political Communication." *Archives of Women's Political Communication*, 30 Aug. 1933, <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2020/03/26/solving-the-colored-womans-problem-30-august-1933/>.

Colored Women in the United States had more, larger, and harder problems to solve than those of any other racial group. One has only to know the conditions under which they lived for 250 years during slavery and those obtained today to understand why this is so. In this source, Terrell explains why she believes that colored women have had "it" harsher than anyone. This source helped me because this speech is more opinionated.

Terrell, Mary Church. "Tributes" - Terrell - Speaking While Female Speech Bank." *Speaking While Female Speech Bank*, 27 May 1908, <https://speakingwhilefemale.co/tributes-terrell/>.

Terrell expresses her feelings on the things Fredrick Douglass has done for the African American community. Terrell explains how he has helped, for example fighting for equal political rights for women and how she is proud of him and the relationship they've built.

Terrell, Mary Church. Mary Church Terrell Papers: Speeches and Writings, -1953; Undated; Women's Debt to Frederick Douglass. - 1953, 1866. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/mss425490639/.

Numerous writings between Terrell and Fredrick Douglass about many organizations such as the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the National Association of Colored Women (U.S.). There was also mention of many white women suffragists. This source helped me because this shows how Terrell and Douglass often collaborated when fighting for civil rights.

Secondary Sources

Bailey, Dr. Megan. "Between Two Worlds: Black Women and the Fight for Voting Rights (U.S. National Park Service)." *NPS.Gov Homepage (U.S. National Park Service)*, Sept. 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/black-women-and-the-fight-for-voting-rights.htm#:~:text=They%20often%20excluded%20Black%20women,white%20women%20in%20suffrage%20parades.>

This source helped me understand the efforts Black women made during the movement but how it wasn't enough because they were always left out. Black women were always replaced by Black men and White women during the movement. White women often excluded Black women from their organizations and activities. For example, the National American Woman Suffrage Association prevented Black women from attending their conventions. This source gave me details about the universal fight black women went through.

Brewer, W. M. "MARY CHURCH TERRELL." *Negro History Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1954, pp. 2–6. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44175208>. Accessed 6 Dec. 2022.

This source was helpful because it detailed her life teaching and being a part of the Washington educational system. Mary Church was able to give invaluable suggestions based on experiences and training and further advance the Washington education system. She went as far as submitting petitions to supreme court justices

Brown, Tammy. "Celebrate Women's Suffrage, but Don't Whitewash the Movement's Racism | News & Commentary | American Civil Liberties Union." *American Civil Liberties Union*, 24 Aug. 2018, <https://www.aclu.org/news/womens-rights/celebrate-womens-suffrage-dont-whitewash-movements-racism>.

This quote helped me understand the articulation of intersectionality. The source also introduced how Mary Church Terrell implied the idea of intersectionality to feminism for black women. Her speeches forced powerful white women attendees to reflect on the compounding oppressions and systemic violence that Black women endured during slavery.

Callahan, Noaquia. (2021). Heat of the day: Mary Church Terrell and African American feminist transnational activism [University of Iowa] <https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.wvdj-heak>

This source helped me understand the ways race, gender, and nationality intersected from 1880-1920. It does so by exploring the life, career, and networks of Mary Church Terrell, an African American feminist prominent on the international stage, as a window into the international activism of African American women.

Cooper, Anna Julia. "The Black Feminist Who Argued for Intersectionality before the Term Existed." *VICE*, 23 Mar. 2018, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/xw7xnk/anna-julia-cooper-intersectionality-black-feminist>.

This source helped highlight other black suffragists at the time of Terrell's activism. It goes into detail about how they related to Terrell.

Mary Church Terrell (2020) *Biography.com*. A&E Networks Television. Available at: <https://www.biography.com/activist/mary-church-terrell> (Accessed: January 8, 2023).

This source gives me a basic overview of Terrell's life. It breaks down into sections about her years before, during, and after activism. This source also does explaining on how she was impactful as an activist even after the death

Michals, Debra. "Mary Church Terrell | National Women's History Museum." *National Women's History Museum*, 2017, <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/mary-church-terrell>.

This source goes into detail about how Terrell fought for women's rights other than using speeches or writing. She was president of many campaigns and organizations. This source helped me understand how these organizations she was president of broke unconstitutional laws which later helped the ratification of the 19th amendment.

"Social Welfare History Project Terrell, Mary Church." *Social Welfare History Project*, 17 Feb. 2012, <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/terrell-mary-church/>.

In 1950, she and a number of colleagues became one of the earliest activist groups in a new era of civil rights. A lawsuit was filed against Washington, D.C.'s Thompson Restaurant when the establishment refused to serve them because of their race. D.C. segregation was officially challenged and declared unconstitutional in 1953, and Terrell had helped organize sit-ins, pickets,

boycotts, and surveys around the city leading up to the ruling. This source helped me understand how Terrell contributed to the civil rights movement.

Hamilton, Robin N. "Life & Achievements of Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954)." *Around Robin*, 27 Aug. 2020, <https://www.aroundrobin.com/mary-church-terrell/>.

This source helped me because it went into detail about Terrell's education and how she used that advantage to start her career. This source also helped me by going into detail about her late years and how she contributed to many racial norms being broken and how she later affected modern society.

Staples, Brent. "Opinion | How the Suffrage Movement Betrayed Black Women - The New York Times." *The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos*, 28 July 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/opinion/sunday/suffrage-movement-racism-black-women.html>.

This source helped me understand that although women were fighting for the same rights, black women were often excluded and replaced. This source explains how white women only wanted to satisfy themselves and often when fighting for women they were only fighting for white rights.

Visual/ multimedia sources

Lindsey, Treva B. "She Was a Civil Rights Activist and Co-Founder of the NAACP | American Masters | PBS." *American Masters*, 22 July 2020, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/she-was-civil-rights-activist-and-co-founder-naacp-q3ypkj/15170/>.

This video goes into detail about how Mary Church Terrell became a national leader as founder of the National Association of Colored Women, coining its motto "Lifting As We Climb," while also serving as a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and actively wrote and spoke out about lynching and segregation throughout her life.

"Woman Suffrage and the 19th Amendment | National Archives." *National Archives*, 15 Aug. 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/woman-suffrage>.

This source helped me find many pictures that help me understand how black women were oppressed during the movement by white women. There was also documentation from white suffragist organizations.