

University of Puget Sound

The Diary of a White Ally in the Pacific Northwest

Sloan Sidney Strader

Professor Tiffany Aldrich MacBain

September 21, 2016

In 1902, Tacoma landscape artist Abby Williams Hill attended the Tuskegee Negro Conference at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Her diary entries detail her experience and interactions with Booker T. Washington and the southern black community. The opinions Hill recorded in her diary suggest not only that she was a progressive supporter of the black community, but also that the type of support she offered may allow us to consider Hill as an early ally. Hill visited the Tuskegee Institute during the Progressive Era, a time period of intense political and social reform that emerged in response to government corruption and issues of morality within American culture. Unfortunately, this time period was regressive for the black community, as the legislation enacted failed to address the needs of the black community or, “The Negro Problem.” Activists and scholars like Booker T. Washington sought to address this issue through education, creating schools like the Tuskegee Institute and other opportunities for the black community to learn and create better lives for themselves. This was not an easy quest on account of many white citizens’ firm belief in the superiority of their own race and the inferiority of black Americans. This white supremacy justified for the whites’ maltreatment of members of the black community, and even among forward thinking white individuals, cultivated a mindset that favored assimilation to white American culture over appreciation of black culture. As a result of this pattern of thought and behavior, the advocacy of many white supporters amounted to paternalism and self-aggrandizing philanthropy. Abby Williams Hill’s diary entries detailing her trip to the Tuskegee Institute, however, do not reflect this disposition. Instead, her writing indicates a willingness to learn and an appreciation for the black community’s culture and the progress they had made despite the hostile environments in which they lived. In

extending her progressive attitude outside of the needs of her own identity as a white woman, Hill may be considered an early ally of the black community.

Upon first glance, Abby Williams Hill's visit to the Tuskegee Institute seems out of place. She was a celebrated landscape artist who spent a majority of her life in the Pacific Northwest and California, two areas removed from what was considered to be the epicenter of racial tension in the early twentieth century, the South. Hill's life began in the Midwest. She was born in 1861 in Grinnell, Iowa where she lived until the age of twenty-seven, at which time she moved to Chicago to study art. A talented painter, Hill worked as a teacher in New York and Quebec, learning many languages and perfecting her art, and working under famous teachers such as William Merritt Chase and H.F. Spread, who later founded the Chicago Art Institute (Fields 10). Hill moved to Tacoma, Washington in 1889, the same year Washington was admitted into the Union as the forty-second state. Washington State was an ideal place for Hill to pursue her career as a landscape artist on account of the vast mountain ranges and deep forests that she would later paint in service of the Northern Pacific Railway Company. In addition to her artistic career, Hill was also involved in philanthropy and community outreach. According to scholar Ron Fields, "For the first twenty years of her married life, any time spent away from her painting was likely to be given to progressive causes," such as her service as the founder and first president of the Washington State chapter of the Congress of Mothers (now the Parent Teacher Association) (Fields 8). The Congress of Mothers was an organization that sought to "serve the interests of young children and their mothers" (Grady 2). This type of philanthropic involvement reflects the typical progressive mindset during this era, as many people were highly interested in pursuing causes that would

directly benefit their communities. Hill's involvement with the Congress of Mothers is not a surprise as the work of this organization provided direct benefits to her and her children.

Hill's interest in the improvement of the black community differs from her work done in Washington State. While her involvement with the Congress of Mothers was directly connected to the needs of her community as a mother of four children, Hill's visit to Tuskegee and advocacy for the black community addressed the needs of black individuals. Therefore, as a white woman Hill had no evident personal stake in the support she offered. In this way her visit was an opportunity for her to consider the experiences and struggles of a community that she did not identify with. In order to do so, Hill was forced to challenge the culture of white supremacy that was considered normal during the Progressive Era, thereby setting her apart from many white supporters of the black community during this time.

In order to understand how Hill's support for the black community was different, we must consider the customary social and political climate during the early twentieth century. The Progressive Era emerged in response to national corruption in both the public and private sectors, a condition described by historian Walter McGee as "the seeming deterioration of American culture" as a whole (McGee 49). Government corruption, monopoly control of the economy, and family violence were some of the major problems social progressives worked to resolve during the early twentieth century. Their response to the crisis was to advocate for and enact legislation that sought to restore social and political order within this country. The Temperance Movement is one example of a social progressive group who sought to address the problem of alcoholism and the

consequences it had on families. Prohibition was a measure to protect and assist those who suffered in homes of alcoholic abusers. The Progressive Era was a time period of identifying national problems, and seeking legislative measures to resolve them. Yet, not all problems were addressed equally. In fact, the needs of the white community were prioritized. As a result, the black community suffered immensely during this time, as the solutions to what was considered the “Negro Problem” reinforced racial inequality and unequal treatment. The failure of the Reconstruction left freed slaves with little education or job resources, despite the Federal Government’s attempts to provide support and resources for freed slaves. Their endeavors were ultimately unsuccessful because of a lack of manpower in the Southern states to enforce new laws. Plans to support southern states in the absence of slavery, as well as build communities for freed slaves, were virtually ineffective without the physical presence of federal government officials to see these plans into fruition (Downs 99). The majority of the white southern community did not abide by the Reconstruction laws because they still strongly believed in the moral tenets of slavery and treated members of the black community as if they were inherently inferior or savage on account of their race.

This patronizing mentality remained a popular belief even after the failure of the Reconstruction into the Progressive Era. The Progressive Era is known as a time of progress, as strides were made to end government corruption and rebuild a sense of morality in the public and private sectors of American society. Unfortunately, the needs of the black community were not addressed during this time, as progressive legislation was almost exclusively designed to benefit the needs of white Americans. In other words, Progressivism, ostensibly concerned with the social betterment for all, was defined and

practiced primarily in the context of the white community's needs and efforts to resolve problems within American culture. The seemingly forward-minded legislation passed during this time was created within a political sphere that the black community was excluded from. The legislation that did involve the black community was regressive. For instance, the creation of literacy tests was a deliberate manipulation of the legal system to disenfranchise the black community as the illiteracy rates among black males were nearly triple that of their white counterparts (Berg 15). Jim Crow laws are yet another example of the legal reinforcement of racial inequality and mistreatment, as this legislative act promised equal treatment of black Americans but instead enforced segregation. Progressive Era legislation suggested that the mentality of white racial superiority and black racial inferiority was alive and well years after slavery was abolished, a reality also borne out in social attitudes regarding race relations.

Exploring the attitudes toward and opinions about race relations during the Progressive Era offers insight into why such harmful policies were enacted during this time period. Ideas of white supremacy not only fueled resistance to civil rights but also infiltrated and tainted the work of those who considered themselves to be white allies. American Progressives tended to identify the conflict of race relations as "The Negro Problem," a term which defined the plight of the black community as separate from the needs of what was considered the "general," or white populous. In separating and defining the needs of the black community as a problem in need of support or a solution, the term "Negro Problem" perpetuates a culture of white supremacy, which recognizes the black community as inherently problematic. The term suggests either that the 'Negro' has a problem or that white America has a problem with or involving the 'Negro'. In

either case, the suggestion is clear: it was up to the white progressives to contend with the problem.

The culture of white supremacy was particularly dangerous during this time, not only because it supported and justified the beliefs of those who disliked the black community, but also because it polluted the work of those who considered themselves to be supporters or allies. Early twentieth century rhetorical samples suggest that these supporters believed that education could uplift the black community from lives of poverty, and they supported schools like the Tuskegee Institute, which scholar Booker T. Washington founded to support the project of providing industrial education for the black community. However, it is important to recognize the themes of white supremacy that remain in the rhetoric of even such white advocates as these. Scholars Robert E. Terrill and Eric King Watts identify this problematic support as “paternal,” finding error in the fact that white supporters were not “explicitly interested in the problems of African Americans to define their own issues and plans of action” (Terrill, Watts 284). Those in the white community who chose to support the plight of the black individual did so in a way that reinforced racial stereotypes and ideas of white supremacy that categorized the black community as underdeveloped. In his essay “Rhetoric and Race in the Progressive Era,” scholar Brian R. McGee draws from the rhetoric of white supporter and minister John Carlise Kilgo to demonstrate the duty that some Americans felt in assisting the black community (McGee 316). Kilgo makes the argument that “for a superior race to hold down an inferior one simply so that the superior may have the services of the inferior was the social doctrine of medievalism” (McGee 316). Although Kilgo agrees that the black community should not be subjugated, his rhetoric is ultimately destructive,

for his argument is based upon the idea that black people are “inferior.” Kilgo also defines the white community as superior, suggesting that black Americans should learn from white Americans as opposed to developing their own culture and progress, as was seen in Booker T. Washington’s founding of the Tuskegee Institute. Kilgo’s imposition of his white identity on the black community and his failure to recognize the value in black culture exhibits the flaw Terrill and Watts identify in their argument. Ostensibly forward reaching, the period was an extremely regressive time period for the black community. For this reason, despite immense radical social and political changes that were made, the black community continued to suffer on account of the consequences of a culture in support of white superiority.

If progressivism was often confined to improvements made by white Americans for the white community, and ideals and principals of white supremacy separated and justified the needs of the black community as separate from the “general population,” Abby Williams Hill’s diary entries detailing her trip to the Tuskegee Institute do something different. Her entries indicate that Hill challenged racial stereotypes and, rather than confirm her own superiority through contact with the black community, she sought to learn about and from them. For this reason Hill is more than just a progressive figure in support of the black community during this time. Hill’s diary entries exhibit personal growth. She begins as a somewhat ignorant tourist of Tuskegee, but over the course of her visit —and well after—shows signs of improved recognition of the experiences and needs of the black community and, moreover, a commitment to unselfish advocacy on behalf of that community. The journals’ evidence of this growth suggests

that Hill's time at Tuskegee inspired in her an outlook and set of behaviors that identify her as an early example of what today we call an "ally."

According to the *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, allyship is a type of support involving "people willing to take action, either interpersonally or in larger social settings, and move beyond self-regulation and prejudice" (Brown, Ostrove 2212). Author Cynthia Stokes Brown's definition of allyship speaks to a similar theme of taking action, for she urges all allies in the white community to "choose antiracist elements of their culture as the foundation of a new identity and take active responsibility for eliminating racism" (Brown 5). Over time, Hill exhibits nascent behaviors of this sort through her writing. Her rhetoric reflects her appreciation of black culture on the detailed accounts of the speeches she attends, a feature which suggests she was engaging with the material she was learning and developing a firm understanding of the importance of education in the black community. By carefully reading through Hill's diary entries and examining these transitions, we can identify the ways in which she develops into an ally

Prior to her journey to the Tuskegee Institute, Hill appears not to have known much about the importance of the school or the work of Booker T. Washington. Coincidentally, Tuskegee was the best place for Hill to visit, learn, and eventually grow into an ally. The visit was prompted by the recommendation of a friend while Hill was in Washington D.C. during the yearlong tour of the U.S. she took with her children between 1901-1902. On this tour Hill visited historic sites as well as "institutions to combat the social ills of industry," like Hull House, juvenile court, schools for the deaf, mute, and blind, and child-care centers (Fields 25). Hill's prior interest in social justice indicates that she was most likely aware of what the Tuskegee Institute was, but her failure to write

of her plan to visit or to save a fair copy of her letter to Booker T. Washington regarding the details of her visit forces us to guess about her motivations and perhaps even to question her early understanding of the significance of the visit. For these reasons, we might best consider Hill and “accidental ally,” for she did not arrive at the Tuskegee Institute with noteworthy expectations or an agenda to support the black community. Yet Hill arrived at Tuskegee during a time when there was much to learn, as her trip coincided with the annual Tuskegee Negro Conference, a gathering of black farmers from all over Alabama as well as wealthy patrons who supported the school.

The conference was significant because it embodies and celebrates Washington’s vision for his school and for the uplifting of the black community. The purpose of the conference was to serve as an educational resource for the impoverished southern black community, offering guidance and advice regarding starting a farm and achieving economic success (tuskegee.edu, “Annual Farmers Conference”). It would have exposed Hill to the needs, experiences, and accomplishments of the thousands of black farmers who attended the conference. In meeting, participants were able to exchange ideas and create systems of support among the southern black community and the nation as a whole. The black attendees of the conference were not the only students at this event, as Hill had much to learn from the black community in this instructional setting. At the conference, she was able to witness the culmination of Washington’s goals for the black community and observe the work of Tuskegee in one space. Hill might have initially attended the event as a tourist not expecting the educational experience, but she received it once she arrived.

The journals suggest that, in spite of Hill's possession of a relatively open and inquisitive mind, she possessed certain racist outlooks endemic to the turn-of-the-twentieth-century United States. For one, she demonstrates colorism, a tendency to favor light skin over dark skin (Cortés 19). This descriptive pattern is present throughout the entirety of Hill's diary entries during her trip. Early on, Hill makes note of how surprised she is by the diversity of skin tones she encounters during her visit: she is amazed by the light skin tone of black individuals in the "Jim Crow" car of the train whom she describes as being "of decided refinement and as white as" her (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 47). Hill is equally impressed by the darker skinned individuals she meets, such as Mr. Burrow, who travelled "1000 miles" to attend the conference: "He is coal black and I am always more interested when there is no white blood[;] that is[,] I find it intensely interesting to note how much coal black ones can do" (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 62). This description is incredibly demeaning, as her amazement is based upon the hierarchy of color that both the black and white community prescribed to. According to the ideals of colorism, light skinned black people were favored by virtue of the fact that their skin tone was "closer" to the white standard of perfection, a bias still evident today. Hill's colorist descriptions may prevent her easy categorization as an "ally"—after all, colorism is but one form of racism. Yet when we consider the norms of thought and behavior of the era in which she wrote, and the fact that both the black and white communities held a colorist outlook, we understand Hill's prejudice to complicate but not entirely to compromise her characterization as an "ally."

Most of Hill's diary entries reveal her to be an ally-in-the-making. During her stay at Tuskegee, she changes her rhetoric and the way she engages in conversations about the

black community, this growth signals her transition from ignorance to understanding to advocacy. Her diary entries begin in the same state of ignorance she has before her visit, as noted in her initial descriptions of her arrival to the South. Hill's first encounter with race is described in the same way she talks about the nature around her. From the boat Hill sees that "old buildings topple about the wharf, Negroes tote great burdens of freight and are often followed by the Boss with a whip to spur on the laggard" (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 45). This scene is important in understanding Hill's journey to allyship because of her failure to address the racism she witnesses. Hill describes this mistreatment of the black community in the same way she writes of the old buildings on the wharf. In fact, both incidents are simply listed within this instance, separated only by a comma, implying a sense of normalcy as Hill records her observations. She does not draw any conclusions from them. This writing style is appropriate when speaking about the color of the Savannah River, or other scenery she observes from the boat, but is problematic when discussing the brutal race relations between white overseers and black laborers. Hill's failure to address how the "Boss' with the whip" treat the "Negroes [who] tote great burdens" suggests that she does not identify this incident as a problem, but instead rhetorically categorizes the instance with her other descriptions of the scenery around her (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 45). This passage offers insight to Hill's racial awareness prior to her arrival to the Tuskegee Institute. Hill recognizes the racial divide between the workers and their boss, but her writing does not indicate that she understands the significance of this relationship as an example of the black community's mistreatment. Hill writes from a place of ignorance.

Yet in Hill's next entry regarding race, she draws a different conclusion from an incident she witnesses and participates in. Hill records a conversation in which white southern women try to convince her of the main principles of white supremacy, that the black community is inherently inferior. They argue that black individuals "only have half the brains we have [;] they are not capable of becoming anything," as if this were common sense (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 47). Hill does not buy into this sentiment and begins to deconstruct the women's belief, by asking questions and thereby challenging the normative order of white supremacy. For instance, when the white women discuss the employment of black people to watch their children, Hill makes the argument that if she "considered anyone so beneath [her] she would not let them associate with [her] children" (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 47). This is the first moment in her diary entries where we see Hill step out of her role as a white woman, to defend and argue for the black community. Her conversation with these wealthy women forces her to pursue a form of social justice that she has nothing to personally gain from. In fact, she recognizes how she is ostracized as a result of her criticism of segregation, or as she writes, "'Poh white trash' I was because I did not hate black or brown" (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 48). Hill uses black vernacular to announce her status as a black- or brown-sympathizer in the eyes of the women, a rhetorical choice that simultaneously separates her from the women's unexamined racism, and announces her own. Therefore, while she removes herself from the comfort of her identity as a white woman—something she does not have to do— she also reveals the extent to which she must grow to become what we might recognize as an ally.

Notwithstanding the few racist assumptions Hill possesses and fails to interrogate, her diary entries from the Tuskegee Institute and the Farmer's Conference set her apart from stubbornly racist whites, certainly, and also from progressives who, on the whole, based their politics on attitudes of white superiority and self-aggrandizing illusions of paternalist responsibility. The diaries suggest that Hill recognized and appreciated the value of black culture and felt that she and her children had much to learn from even the humblest members of the black community. Instead of writing about her experiences through the standard of whiteness, Hill identifies why Tuskegee is an important space for members of the black community to pursue social and economic equality and for the white community to support their endeavors.

Upon her arrival at Tuskegee, Hill is in awe of Booker T. Washington and his students. Her initial impression of the school serves as a critical moment of growth in her journey to allyship. She writes:

When they began singing the plantation melodies[,] I was moved to tears 'that ole time religion' was one of them— the song connected so closely the past with the company before me[,] I thought of all those young people in bondage of stripes and indignities and then they march past us two and two to music metre [,] hundreds of them. I was filled with the thought of them marching out of slavery into freedom and what it meant not only to the south, but to us that they should not be left in ignorance but should be educated and trained. What one sees here proves that they can be lifted and must be... (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 48).

Hill's emotional first impression of the Tuskegee Institute is a turning point in her identity as a supporter of the black community. The songs of the choir move her to tears as they remind her of the hardships of slavery that the black community once faced. According to a program from the 14th annual conference, the songs sung during this event were most likely hymnals like "I Will Trust in the Lord," songs written during slavery that symbolized not only hope, but also rebellion (Washington, Programs, Fourteenth Annual Session of the Tuskegee Negro Farmer' Conference: Tuskegee Annual Negro Conference, 1902-1912. p. 1). Slaves used songs to communicate with each other without their masters knowing while working as a tool to plan escapes. Although Hill does not explicitly acknowledge that she recognizes the precise history behind black hymnals, she does understand the songs' relation to slavery and bondage. While her tone is sentimental, Hill recognizes that these songs are more than just emotional ballads; to her these songs recall a national memory of the struggles of slavery. Hill understands that in their bondage, members of the black community have been deprived of basic civil rights, including education, and opines that not only the South, but also the entire nation should help educate and train them. The slave hymnals not only teach Hill about the historical struggles and mistreatment of the black community, but also signal the black community's need for assistance during the Progressive Era. Hill understands that as a result of this long history of oppression schools like the Tuskegee Institute were an important factor in black America's shift to racial equality. Hill's recognition of this struggle is a moment of growth towards allyship, as she not only understands the suffering of a group outside of her own identity, but also articulates their struggle within her writing. In this moment, Hill draws a significant conclusion as a result of this feeling.

In the context of white supremacy, one may expect her to extend sympathy to the poor black community in need of assistance. Instead, Hill is aware of the black community's potential to achieve economic and social equality through education.

In recognizing the purpose and importance of educating the black community, Hill moves closer to an identity of white allyship. After the emotional epiphany she experiences during the songs she hears during her first night at Tuskegee, Hill's future records of the conference reflect her learning process and appreciation of the progress made by the black community. Rhetorically speaking, Hill's records of the talks at the conference for the duration of her diary entries are incredibly detail-oriented summaries of the speeches she attends. The acute details Hill provides in her entries signify that she is paying close attention to the speeches she attends and is therefore actively learning from the speakers. Hill records these speeches in great detail, directly quoting the farmers' discussions about how much money they saved to purchase their land, or the specific types of crops they grew. Hill writes of a man named Mr. Reynolds, whom she quotes at great length. According to Hill, Mr. Reynolds "earned \$875 a year [and] fertilized [his] land which first produced 5 bushels per acre and then 25 and 30" (Hill, *Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902*. p. 57). This attention to detail may seem tedious, yet it's significant in understanding Hill's appreciation for the progress the black community made thus far. In response to this speech Hill writes, "After the meeting I congratulated Mr. Reynolds [and said] that I was proud to be there for the time to lay my eyes on a man like him" (Hill, *Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902*. pp. 57-58). Hill's understanding of the black community's history of oppression suggests that she recognizes Mr. Reynolds's achievement as an extraordinary accomplishment. Instead of

writing in the paternal or condescending attitude that would have been common for white supporters at this time, Hill clearly expresses her pride and admiration in meeting a man like Mr. Reynolds. Hill expands upon this rhetoric in her passage about an unnamed farmer, who has a specific task for the white community, noting that “whites should visit colored schools, [because] there is much prejudice because of the ignorance of the work being done in them” (Hill, Journal: Abby Hill, U.S. Tour (I), 1901-1902. p. 61). This moment in particular is an important detail to Hill, as this recommendation is directed at the white community. In writing down her experience and interactions at the conference, Hill follows this farmer’s advice. Not only does she visit a black school, but while there she combats her own ignorance. Moreover, in recording the history of what happened here, she is able to discredit the racist idea that education of the black community was impractical, a sentiment expressed by the earlier mentioned wealthy women on the train. On the contrary, speaker after speaker at the conference recounted how, having applied the lessons learned at Tuskegee, they had turned their lives around.

Abby Williams Hill’s use of rhetoric as a source of credibility for the black community was the last part of her journey to allyship. In fact, her support continued years after she returned from her visit to the Tuskegee Institute. In 1904 when Hill was given the opportunity to name a mountain near Lake Chelan, amidst much controversy she chose the name Mount Booker as a tribute to the life and legacy of Booker T. Washington. In an article for the *New York Age* Hill eloquently describes her choice of name: “When we look at Mt. Booker let us be thankful for Booker T. Washington’s life, for what he did to solve seemingly impossible problems, thankful for his unselfish devotion, for his marvelous spiritual strength, for his unselfish devotion to humanity

which blessed uplifted and inspired and gave courage to all. His influence like the streams from the mountain will go on through the ages to bless mankind” (Hill, Newsclippings 1904, 1930, undated). This passage, found in a 1904 edition of *The New York Age*, is just one of several instances in which Hill expresses her deep admiration for Booker T. Washington and the work he did for the black community. This quote not only suggests that Hill greatly admired Booker T. Washington and his work, but also represents the change Hill has undergone during her trip to Tuskegee. Having arrived with only a general idea of the work done by Washington and his school, Hill comes to understand the specific importance of Tuskegee’s mission in assisting generations of black Americans in their pursuit of equality. Hill’s understanding of the importance of education in the uplift of the black community, and her advocacy of this after her trip to Tuskegee is the final stage of growth in her allyship. In advocating for Washington and his work, Hill removes herself from her white identity by focusing solely on the needs and accomplishments of the black community contextualized by the work of Booker T. Washington, as opposed to the standards of white supremacy that paternalized black Americans.

If Hill’s allyship is defined primarily by taking action to move beyond the implications of white supremacy within her white identity, she is successful in fulfilling such a role. This paper means not to argue that Hill was the most important ally figure for the black community at the time, but instead seeks to focus on how Hill differed from the normal progressives at the time. Hill does not concede to the customary belief of white supremacy, or seek to impose her white wisdom or knowledge upon her visit at the Tuskegee Institute. Instead, she is interested in learning from a group of people whose

needs, culture, and history were considered to be a national problem or burden only to be addressed through the continued mistreatment and separation of races. Hill's records of the Tuskegee Negro Conference as written in her diary entry are important, as they offer insight to a part of Hill's identity as someone who not only supported the black community, but also functioned as an advocate by writing in a way that recognized and celebrated the needs and progress of the black community during the early twentieth century.

Works Cited

- "Annual Farmers Conference." *Tuskegee University*, 20 Aug.2016.
http://www.tuskegee.edu/about_us/outreach/cooperative_extension/farmers_conference.aspx.
- Baker, Bruce E., and Brian Kelly. *After Slavery: Race, Labor, and Citizenship in the Reconstruction South*. Gainesville: U of Florida, 2013. Print.
- Berg, Manfred. "Literacy Tests." Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the q Present: Oxford Univerity Press, 2009. Oxford Reference. 2009. Date Accessed 12 Aug. 2016
 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195167795.001.0001/acref-9780195167795-e-0737>
- Brown, Cynthia Stokes. *Refusing Racism: White Allies and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York: Teachers College, 2002. Print.
- Brown, Kendrick T., and Joan Ostrove M. "What Does It Mean to Be an Ally?: The Perception of Allies from the Perspective of People of Color." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* (2013): 2211-222. Web. 10 Aug. 2016.
- Fields, Ronald. *Abby Williams Hill and the Lure of the West*. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 1989. Print.
- Frankel, Noralee, and Nancy Dye Schrom. *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era*. Lexington, KY: U of Kentucky, 1991. Print.
- Grady, Marilyn L. "National Congress of Mothers." *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society*. Ed. Jodi O'Brien. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009. 594. *SAGE Knowledge*. Web. 21 Sep. 2016.

- Hill, Abby Williams. Abby Williams Hill Papers, MSS.011. University of Puget Sound Archives and Special Collections, Tacoma, WA.
- Knight, Wanda B. "Colorism." *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia*. Ed. Carlos E. Cortés. Vol. 4. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2013. 547-549. *SAGE Knowledge*. Web. 21 Sep. 2016.
- McGee, Brian R. "Rhetoric and Race in the Progressive Era: Imperialism, Reform, and the Klu Klux Klan." *Rhetoric and Reform in the Progressive Era*. Vol. VI. East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2003. 311-38. Print.
- Taylor, Ken B. "Día de los Muertos." *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia*. Ed. Carlos E. Cortés. Vol. 4. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2013. 694-695. *SAGE Knowledge*. Web. 16 Sep. 2016.
- Watts, Eric King. "W.E.B DuBois, Consciousness, and Pan-Africanism in the Progressive Era." *Rhetoric and Reform in the Progressive Era*. By Robert E. Terrill. Vol. VI. East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 2003. 269-309. Print.
- Washington, Booker T. *Up from Slavery, an Autobiography*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963. Print.
- Washington, Booker T. Tuskegee Annual Negro Conference. MSS 185.2 Booker T. Washington Collection, Tuskegee, Alabama.