1968

A Comparative Analysis of the Rhetoric of Two Negro Women Orators-Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper

Janey Weinhold Montgomery
Fort Hays State University

fort hays studies

literature series no. 6
december 1968

FORT HAYS STUDIES—NEW SERIES

1960

Science Series

No. 1. Distribution of Native Mammals Among the Communities of the Mixed Prairie by Edward Perry Martin. March 1960.

History Series

No. 1. San Martin—One Hundred Years of Historiography, by Katharine Ferris Nutt. June 1960.

Economic Series

No. 1. The Long-Run Supply Curve; Some Factors Affecting Its Shape, by Eugene Darrel Pauley. September 1960.

Art Series

No. 1. Search and Research: An Approach, by Martha Dellinger. December 1960.

1961

History Series

No. 2. The United States and the Independence of Buenos Aires, by Eugene R. Craine. March 1961.

Bibliography Series

No. 1. Henry Miller: An Informal Bibliography, by Esta Lou Riley. June 1961.

In 1961 two issues of the Fort Hays Studies—New Series were not issued but a history of the college was published.

Wooster, Lyman Dwight. A History of Fort Hays Kansas State College—1902-1961. 200 p.

1962

Economic Series

No. 2. Women's Contribution to Industrial Development in America, by Hazel M. Price. March 1962.

Literature Series

No. 1, English Literary Criticism 1726-1750, by Samuel J. Sackett. June 1962.

Bibliography Series

No. 2. Bibliography of Master's Theses: Fort Hays Kansas State College 1930-1962, by Paul K. Friesner. September 1962.

History Series

No. 3. Fremont's Expeditions Through Kansas, 1842-1854, by Lilburn H. Horton, Jr. December 1962.

1964

Science Series

No. 2. A Preliminary Survey of the Algae of the Cheyenne Bottoms in Kansas, by Henry J. McFarland, Edward A. Brazda, and Ben H. McFarland. October 1964.

Literature Series

No. 2. A History of the Hays, Kansas, Daily News, by Robert J. Spangler. December 1963.

Science Series

No. 3. Euphthiracaroidea of California Sequoia Litter: With a Reclassification of the Families and Genera of the World, by Neal A. Walker. June 1964.

Science Series

No. 4. Dry Plains Conservation: An activity or experimental method of teaching soil and water conservation in Southwestern Dry Plains natural science classrooms, by David W. Pierson. September 1964.

1965

Literature Series

No. 3. Frontier Army Life Revealed by Charles King, 1844-1933, by Hazel M. Flock, March 1965.

Literature Series

No. 4. Mrs. Underwood: Linguist, Literateuse, by Carol Ward Craine. June 1965.

(Continued on inside back cover)

Janey Weinhold Montgomery

A Comparative Analysis of the Rhetoric of Two Negro Women Orators–Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper

fort hays studies—new series
literature series no. 6
december, 1968

Fort Hays Kansas State College

Hays, Kansas

Fort Hays Studies Committee

THORNS, JOHN C., JR.

STOUT, ROBERTA C.

WALKER, M. V.

HARTLEY, THOMAS R.

MARC T. CAMPBELL, *chairman*

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 68-65768

Janey Weinhold Montgomery

Biographical Sketch of the Author

Janey Weinhold Montgomery graduated from Fort Hays Kansas State College in 1963. She toured Europe as a student ambassador representing the People-to-People organization. Mrs. Montgomery began her graduate work at Southern Illinois University and completed her Master of Science degree from Fort Hays Kansas State College in 1968. After teaching Speech and Debate four years in the Goodland, Kansas, Public Schools, Mrs. Montgomery joined the Fort Hays Kansas State College Faculty in 1968 as Instructor in the Division of Language, Literature and Speech.

A Comparative Analysis of the Rhetoric of Two Negro Women Orators— Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper

Acknowledgments

The writer wishes to express sincere appreciation to Mr. L. Mac Reed, Forsyth Library, Fort Hays Kansas State College, for his cooperation in acquiring valuable materials essential to the study via Inter-library Loans. To Mr. D. L. Miller, Assistant Professor of Speech, Fort Hays Kansas State College, I am indebted for his encouragement and guidance throughout this study.

Table of Contents

Chapter I.

Introduction

Of the Negro race in the United States since 1620 there have appeared but four women whose careers stand out so far, so high and so clearly above all others of their sex, that they can with strict propriety and upon well established ground be denominated great. These are Phillis Wheatley, Sojourner Truth, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Amanda Smith.[1]

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Interest in the public speaking activities of women was stimulated by a research project, "An Investigation of Prominent Women in Public Address," submitted for a graduate course. As a result the writer concluded that for years this area of public speaking has been slighted by students of public address. The oratory of Negro women has been virtually neglected. Therefore, an interest in examining the speeches of Negro women orators developed.

Upon further examination of Franklin H. Knower's article, "Graduate Theses: An Index to Graduate Work in Speech," the writer compiled a list of twenty-eight women who have been individual subjects for theses and dissertations. An investigation of biographical details indicated that none of these women were of the Negro race. Therefore, rather than limiting the scope of this study to one woman, or even one phase of her speaking, the writer has chosen a comparative analysis approach to present an overview of the rhetoric of two prominent Negro women and to indicate the need for future research in this area.

The purpose of this study was to compare the rhetoric of two

1. Dr. Marshall Taylor, cited by Monroe A. Majors, *Noted Negro Women, Their Triumphs and Activities* (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, 1893), p. 25.

Negro women orators—Sojourner Truth and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper as shown by a critical analysis of selected speeches from 1851 to 1875.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although a Negro woman has not been an individual subject for a thesis or dissertation, several Negroes have been mentioned primarily in two existing studies.[2] In 1935, Doris Yoakam devoted Chapter XX of her dissertation to "Negro Women Orators." In this twenty page chapter Yoakam listed nine Negro women: Maria W. Stewart, Nancy Prince, Sojourner Truth, Francis E. Watkins Harper, Sarah P. Remond, Ellen Craft, Mrs. Williams, Barbara Stewart, and Lizzie Holland.[3]

The Yoakam study proved valuable to the writer not only as a starting point in naming significant Negro women in public address, but also in giving speech titles, dates, and places of speeches given by both Sojourner Truth and Mrs. Harper. In addition to this information, valuable primary sources were cited. One such source for accounts of their public speaking efforts was *The Liberator,* a weekly newspaper printed by William Lloyd Garrison in Boston from January 1, 1831, to December 31, 1859. In review, the Yoakam study was beneficial to the writer because it encouraged further investigation.

The second dissertation of significance dealt with rhetorical proof of women orators.[4] The microfilm of this dissertation was examined in addition to a later book version of the study.[5] Mrs. O'Connor abstracted her own dissertation for *Speech Monographs,* by stating:

> A search was made of contemporary publications and periodicals, and more than one hundred and twenty-five texts of speeches delivered by twenty-seven different women were collected and analyzed.[6]

When analyzing the speeches, O'Connor examined the modes of proof used, specifically: *ethos, pathos* and *logos.* In this study she made only a few references to Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper; Maria Stewart was the only other Negro woman named in this study.

This dissertation was valuable to the writer because it provided

2. Doris G. Yoakam, "A Historical Study of the Public Speaking Activities of Women in America from 1828 to 1860," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1935. Lillian O'Connor, "Rhetorical Proof in the Speeches of Women of the Reform Platform, 1828-1861," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

3. Yoakam, *op. cit.,* p. 502.

4. O'Connor, *loc. cit.*

5. Lillian O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

6. Clyde W. Dow, ed., "Abstracts of Theses in the Field of Speech," VIII. *Speech Monographs.* (August, 1953), pp. 165-166.

the reference to the primary source of the only extant speech of Frances Harper before 1861.[7] In addition the bibliography contained many valuable primary and secondary sources with which the writer could investigate regarding the two women and the issues of the reform movement—anti-slavery and woman's rights.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

In analyzing the nine names listed in the Yoakam study as possible subjects the writer of this paper considered three criteria: (1) the extent of their speaking career, (2) the significance of their speech topics and (3) the geographic area of speaking which might influence the accessibility of speech texts.

The last four names of Craft, Williams, Stewart (Barbara), and Holland were not elaborated on by Yoakam. Her only mention of them was a one sentence citation. Maria W. Stewart, who was the first Negro woman to speak publically, gave four speeches in Boston between 1831 and 1833.[8] Her attempts to lead her people were not kindly received, and in a "Farewell Address" to her friends she admitted failure.

> I find it is no use for me, as an individual to try to make myself useful among my color in this city. . . . I have made myself contemptible in the eyes of many.[9]

Although Maria Stewart was the first Negro woman to speak publically and all four of her speeches are extant,[10] she was not selected because her speaking career was so short-lived and confined to the city of Boston. In addition, thorough analysis of her "Rhetorical Proof" is presented in the O'Connor study. Sarah Remond, a sister to abolitionist Charles Remond, worked with the anti-slavery cause [11] and traveled extensively in Great Britain. Since she worked as a speaking team with her brother and since her lecturing was not confined to the United States, she was not selected. Mrs. Nancy Prince was excluded because she usually gave informative and entertaining speeches regarding her experiences in Russia as servant to the Emperor Alexander [12] rather than speeches on issues significant to the reform of the era. The remaining two, Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper, were equally impressive, each in her

7. *National Anti-Slavery Standard.* May 23, 1857.
8. O'Connor, "Rhetorical Proof in the Speeches of Women of the Reform Platform 1828-1861" *op cit.*, p. 64.
9. Maria W. Stewart, *Meditations of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (Washington: 1879), p. 58. cited by Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 44.
10. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 49
11. Yoakam, *op. cit.*, p. 504.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

own way giving more speeches over a longer period of time on the crucial issues of anti-slavery and woman's rights, than did any of the other women previously mentioned. Therefore, these two Negro women orators were selected.

This comparative analysis is justified in that both women had equally impressive careers in public speaking, yet the background of the two was so vastly different. Sojourner Truth was born a slave. She was illiterate and did not begin her speaking career until after she had reared her family and was well into her forties.[13] Frances Harper was born free, had unusual schooling for the period, and became a writer, teacher and lecturer early in her twenties. Although married, she had no children. If orators are born, Sojourner Truth is the epitome of natural and untrained talent, and if orators are made, then Frances Harper demonstrates the influence of education.

A comparative analysis of these two women is justifiable not only to public address but to American history as well. The Ante-bellum period "around 1850 was extremely rich in public address, North and South."[14] The history books remembered Webster, Clay and Calhoun, but to what extent did they record the speaking efforts of the women of the period? Did many women engage in public speaking at this time? Doris Yoakam related that,

> Modern historians tend to minimize the public speaking activity of women in America during the middle period. It is safe to say, at the present writing, at least one hundred women participated as public speakers during the years between 1830 and 1860. And this estimate is conservative.[15]

Yoakam pointed out that of this one hundred probably fifty were outstanding, and of the fifty, fifteen to twenty were renowned orators. Therefore, a significant group of women were expressing their views in public during the Ante-bellum period. But what of the Negro woman? With slavery in the foreground, did she express her sentiments publically? Eleanor Flexner stated,

> Neglect was the usual lot of the Negro abolitionist, particularly the women; while Harriet Tubman and her great contemporary Sojourner Truth are dignified with an occasional mention in the history books, nothing whatever appears of the many other Negro women whose names at the time were known far beyond the confines of the abolition movement. Outstanding among these was Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, noted as a poet as well as an anti-slavery lecturer of national repute.[16]

13. Depending on which birth date is used, 1797 or 1800, Sojourner was either forty-three or forty-six.

14. Dallas Dickey, "What Directions should Future Research in American Public Address take?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech.* Vol. XXIX. (October, 1943), p. 303.

15. Yoakam, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

16. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

Thus, Negro women did relate their views to society in a period when slavery overshadowed all other reform issues [17] and at least two Negro women pursued a career in speaking, traveling throughout the nation. From a small hut of slaves in New York to an impressive interview in the White House with President Lincoln,[18] Sojourner spoke the "truth" as she knew it. Frances Watkins gave up a career in school teaching in the hope that she could accomplish more for her people by lecturing throughout the nation.[19] Accordingly, an analysis of these two women can help to put them in their proper perspective in history.

The final justification remains in the neglect of researchers in Speech for study of the Negro woman. A society that values freedom of speech and realizes the powers of persuasion should not neglect any influential force, individual or group, when recording history via the great issues and speakers of the times.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM DEFINED

The method used in this study was the historical-critical method, as defined by J. Jeffry Auer.

> Defined formally, historical research is the study of a period, person, or phenomena in human development, in order to record discovered facts in an accurate, coherent, and critical narrative that posits causations and probabilities.[20]

Auer listed six specific steps of this method, which were followed by this writer: (1) Problem, (2) working hypothesis, (3) research design, (4) the collection of evidence, (5) analysis of data and (6) generalization.

The problem isolated in this Thesis was twofold: (1) Historically, these two women were studied to indicate their comparative influence on the great issues of the day, namely anti-slavery and woman's rights. (2) Rhetorically, this study was designed to evolve their theories of rhetoric as influenced by their diverse backgrounds and to evaluate their relative effectiveness as shown by selected speeches from 1851 to 1875.

The speeches of Sojourner Truth analyzed were (1) 1851, Address to the Women's Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio.[21] (2) 1853,

17. *Ibid.*

18. Mrs. Frances W. Titus, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth.* (Boston: published for the Author, 1875), p. 130.

19. L. A. Scruggs, *Women of Distinction.* (Raleigh, North Carolina: By the Author, 1893), p. 11.

20. J. Jeffry Auer, *An Introduction to Research in Speech* (New York: Harper & Brother, 1959), p. 28.

21. Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and M. J. Gage, *The History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1881), Vol. I., pp. 115-117; also cited in Titus, *Narrative, op cit.*, pp. 131-136.

Address to the Mob Convention, New York City, New York.[22] (3) 1867, Address to the American Equal Rights Association Convention, New York City, New York,[23] and (4) 1871, Address of Commemoration to the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States, Boston, Massachusetts.[24] The speeches of Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper analyzed were (1) 1857, Address to the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, New York City, New York,[25] and (2) 1875, Address to the Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[26]

Investigations into authenticity of texts are of two principal types.[27] The first attempts to answer this question, "Did the specified orator actually deliver this speech? The second type admits that the speaker gave the speech, and asks, "Is this the way he said it?"

Since the O'Connor study was aimed in part at locating extant speeches, this comment on authenticity seemed relevant.

> There is little reason to doubt the authenticity of texts. On the contrary the prevailing public opinion against women speaking in public is almost certain evidence that all of the addresses were given by the individuals as named. Certainly the women who had the temerity to speak in public, also possessed the courage to face the ignominy attached to their action.[28]

Adding to this comment the factor of race, it was assumed that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper gave the speeches cited for investigation.

The actual text of the speech was more difficult to evaluate. The first three speeches of Sojourner Truth were found in *The History of Woman Suffrage*, a reputable source. The speeches were recorded by eye witnesses at the various conventions. For example, Mrs. Frances Gage was presiding at the Akron, Ohio, Convention when Sojourner asked permission to speak. In addition this account was later published in Sojourner's *Narrative* which was published during her lifetime. The fourth speech delivered in Boston was also recorded in her *Narrative*. Therefore, the writer assumed these speeches were included with the approval of the speaker. It should

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 657-658.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.
24. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, pp. 209-216.
25. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 23, 1857.
26. Alice Moore Dunbar, *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence*. (New York: The Bookery Publisher Co., 1914), pp. 101-106.
27. Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, *Speech Criticism*. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 305.
28. O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators, op. cit.*, p. 131.

also be noted that the co-authors of *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Elizabeth C. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were contemporaries of both women and probably witnessed their speeches on more than one occasion.

This evaluation was included in Eleanor Flexner's, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States.*

> These women [Stanton, Anthony and Gage] were not professional writers but they were inveterate hoarders of newspaper clippings, speeches, and letters. What they lacked in literary craft, objectivity, and style they made up by creating an immense grab bag of source materials, much of which would otherwise have been lost or remained difficult of access to the later writer. The women made some mistakes and omissions, but no scholar has done better up to now.[29]

The two accounts of Sojourner's speeches included in *The History of Woman Suffrage* only attempted to suggest her ideas through the use of Negro dialect. The speeches included in her *Narrative* were recorded in dialect. Therefore, it was assumed that the speeches found represented the best available materials on Sojourner Truth.

The first printed speech of Frances Harper appeared in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 23, 1857. The recorder claimed only to represent part of the entire speech. This speech compared favorably to the style of another reported in Alice Moore Dunbar's *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence.* Mrs. Dunbar relied heavily on manuscripts and books from the Negro Society for Historical Research. The writer has not found any account of her speaking recorded in dialect, but rather in proper and conventional English of the period. Therefore, it was assumed that these speeches represented the most accurate accounts of Frances E. W. Harper found to date.

THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

In this study the working hypothesis was designed in two parts. To determine the historical value of these two women, it was the working hypothesis that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were influential forces in molding public sentiments toward reform issues during the Ante-bellum and Post-bellum periods of American history, specifically anti-slavery and woman's rights.

In the second area, to evaluate them as public speakers, it was the hypothesis that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper developed effective theories of rhetoric, which were probably influenced by their diverse backgrounds.

29. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was divided into five chapters, each having a specific goal. Chapter one, INTRODUCTION, explained the origin and purpose of the study, review of literature, significance of the study, research problem, working hypothesis, research design, and the criteria for rhetorical analysis.

Chapter two, RHETORICAL SETTING 1850-1875, expounded upon the political, economic, social and intellectual development of the Antebellum, Civil War and Reconstruction periods to better explain the atmosphere and attitudes of the times.

Chapter three, RHETORICAL BIOGRAPHIES OF BOTH WOMEN, consisted of biographical details of Sojourner and Frances that possibly have shaped their theories of rhetoric and suggested the extent of their speaking careers.

Chapter four, ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES FROM 1851 to 1875 considered invention, logical proof, emotional proof, ethical proof, structure, style, delivery, and effectiveness of both speakers.

Chapter five, CONCLUSIONS, presented conclusions drawn from the materials presented in this thesis and also indicated several future areas of research for the student of public address.

The Appendixes included copies of the speeches analyzed because they were difficult to locate and for future reference by readers of this study.

THE CRITERIA FOR RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

The criteria or standards of judgment used in this study were defined by Thonssen and Baird: (1) Integrity of Ideas (2) Emotion (3) Character of the Speaker (4) Structure (5) Style (6) Delivery and (7) Effectiveness.[30]

To evaluate integrity of ideas, as defined by Thonssen and Baird, three tasks were suggested—first to determine intellectual resources of the speaker, secondly to determine the severity and strictness of the argumentative development and thirdly, to determine the "truth" of the idea in functional existence.[31] To accomplish these tasks the writer asked the following questions: To what extent did the speaker demonstrate powers of observation, alertness, and ability in independent thinking? To what extent did the speaker recognize a pressing problem of the times? To what extent were the speaker's ideas consistent with her knowledge and experience in life?

To attest the logical appeal of the arguments the following ques-

30. Thonssen and Baird, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-461.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

tions seemed pertinent: Did the speaker use logical forms of argumentation? What type of evidence was used? Was the reasoning valid or specious? Were conclusions warranted? The next two questions evaluated the "truth" of the idea in functional existence. Did the speaker's ideas take root in society and result in good for a group as a whole? Have the speaker's ideas been morally approved by society from an appeal to historical reality?

Emotional proof or *pathos* in Aristotelian terms occurred "when they [the audience] are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, and liking or hatred." [32] Analysis of emotional proof involved the three steps: Analysis of the audience prior to delivery of the speech, adjustment during the speech, and analysis of emotional appeals.[33] The following questions examined this criteria: Was there evidence to indicate any analysis of the audience by the speaker before delivery? Was there evidence in the speech text of adjustment during the delivery of the speech? What emotional appeals did the speaker use? Did these appeals enhance the ideas of the speaker or detract from the speech?

Ethical proof relates to the acceptance of the speaker by the audience.

> As for the speaker, the sources of our trust in them are three apart from the argument (in the speech) there are three things that gain our belief, namely, intelligence, character and good will.[34]

To evaluate intelligence or wisdom these questions seemed relevant: Did the speaker demonstrate common sense, tact and moderation in dealing with various topics? Did she use good taste in handling arguments? To what degree did the speaker demonstrate first hand knowledge of the current national issues? Character was revealed by these questions: Did the speaker associate her message with what was virtuous and elevated? Did the speaker attempt to minimize unfavorable impressions of herself and her cause? Good will was established by these questions: Was there evidence of praise for the audience? Did the speaker attempt to identify herself with the hearers and their problems?

Structure or arrangement involved "the right ordering of the several divisions of the whole." [35] To evaluate structure, these questions posed significant ideas: Were the main points arranged in any organizing pattern? How effective was the introduction; did

32. Lane Cooper, trans. *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), i. 2. 1356a. 8-10.

33. Thonssen and Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

34. Cooper, *op. cit.*, ii. 2. 1378a. 2-3.

35. *Ibid.*, iii. 1. 1403b. 4.

it capture attention? Was there evidence of previews and internal summaries? Was the total organizational plan consistent with the existing audience conditions?

Style traditionally poses problems of classification. Style, according to Hugh Blair, "is the peculiar manner in which man expresses his conceptions, by means of language." [36] Accordingly, Thonssen and Baird have described several qualities of the language of style, namely: correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and ornateness.[37]

For classification purposes the writer has used three traditional divisions of style—grand, middle, and plain. For purposes for this investigation, the "grand" style will be characterized by high connotative value in words, clearness, simplicity in sentence composition, and much embellishment and ornateness. "Middle" style will include stylistic devices, but the word choice will depend more on denotation rather than on connotation for effect. Embellishment and ornateness will be at the minimum, and mainly these characteristics will appear only occasionally in "flights of oratory" and not consistently. "Plain" style is devoid of embellishment, relies completely on denotative value of words, and sentence construction becomes vague.

To aid the writer in evaluating style these questions were answered: Was the speech gramatically correct? Did the words have high connotative as well as denotative meaning? Were the words arranged to express clear, coherent ideas? Were descriptive passages vivid and full of imagery? Was the language appropriate for the audience and occasion? Was there evidence of figures of speech and other stylistic devices, and were they used effectively?

Delivery related to five areas of consideration: (1) The orator's methods of preparing for her speeches (2) her method of delivery (3) the physical factors conducive to her effectiveness as a speaker (4) her bodily action in delivery and (5) her use of voice as an instrument of persuasion.[38] Evaluation of delivery utilized these questions: Was there evidence of speech preparation prior to the occasion? Did the speaker's delivery enhance or detract from the speech? Were the speaker's physical characteristics conducive to her effectiveness? Did the speaker use bodily action and gestures in the delivery of the speech or refrain from such actions? Was the speaker's voice an influential factor that enhanced her presentation?

36. Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), Vol. I., p. 183.

37. Thonssen and Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

In measuring effectiveness Thonssen and Baird pointed out that "response is the key to oratory." [39] Effectiveness was judged by the following criteria: The nature of the immediate surface response of the audience, the readability of the speech, the technical perfection, the orator's wisdom in judging trends of the future, substantial changes in belief or attitude and the long-range effects of the speech upon a social group.[40]

In this evaluation process these questions seemed appropo: What was the nature of the immediate surface response to the speech? Did the speech read well? Was it technically perfect? Did the orator effectively judge trends of the future? Did the speaker incite substantial change in belief or attitude? What were the long range effects on the social group? It should be noted that none of these criteria alone can sufficiently measure effectiveness, but together they can help in evaluation of the overall impression of the effectiveness of a particular speech or speaker.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, Chapter One has presented (1) origin and purpose of the study (2) a review of literature (3) significance of the study (4) the research problem defined (5) the working hypothesis (6) the research design (7) the criteria for rhetorical analysis and a summary.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 448.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 445-458.

Chapter II.

Rhetorical Setting 1850 to 1875

MID-NINETEENTH century America was characterized by an expression of "rights." Continual controversy over slavery involved the right of the federal government to prohibit slavery, and the right of the states to protest in defense of their sovereignty. Added to this political sphere were the social and humanitarian reforms of the century inherited from the continent.

> This was the era of the Reform bill in England. All Europe was swept with the rising tide of nationalism and of democratic revolution. . . . It was a political and social manifestation of the age of romanticism.[1]

This concern with the "natural rights of man" stimulated many women to express their opinions in public meetings and conventions. Their requests included freedom of speech, property rights, and probably most important suffrage. A group not to be excluded were Negro women.

Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper gave numerous speeches in the North during the twenty-five year period from 1850 to 1875. When evaluating their speeches it was essential to relate their ideas to the overall social setting in which these ideas were originally presented. Thonssen and Baird stated,

> Since every judgment of a public speech contains a historical constituent, the critic is peculiarly concerned with determining the nature of the setting in which the speaker operated. Although almost a truism, it cannot be overemphasized that speeches are events occurring in highly complex situations; that responsibility of critical appraisal depends heavily upon the critic's ability to effect faithful reconstructions of social settings long since dissolved.[2]

Hence, to better understand the social setting of the several speeches given by Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper, it was necessary to

1. Robert T. Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965), p. 226.
2. Thonssen and Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

reconstruct the general rhetorical atmosphere as demonstrated by the political, economic, social and intellectual aspects of life in the Ante-bellum, Civil War and Reconstruction years. However, it should be noted that the speeches evaluated in Chapter IV of this thesis were delivered in the Ante-bellum and Reconstruction periods.

THE ANTE-BELLUM PERIOD

The Ante-bellum period up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 was politically characterized by sectional controversy. The debates over expansion were closely aligned with the controversial challenge to the old and established system of slavery.

> Expansion was ardently championed in the South for only in such a fashion could new lands suited to slave labor be obtained; but expansion was quite as heatedly denounced in the North where it was correctly regarded as a thinly veiled disguise for the acquisition of more slave territory.[3]

In addition to the debates over expansion, Congress found that "efforts to enforce the newly enacted Fugitive Slave Law added to the difficulties of the situation." [4] Free Negroes were being kidnaped from their northern homes and sold into slavery, and simultaneously anti-slavery men in the North were assisting runaway slaves to escape from the South over the Underground Railroad to Canada.

These sectional problems brought men like Webster and Hayne, and Clay and Calhoun into the limelight. The early years began with the compromise of 1850, promoted by Henry Clay, but as the decade passed greater friction developed and made civil conflict virtually inescapable.

One group fostering the uncompromising position in the North was the abolitionists. While the political ramifications of slavery dealt with the state's right to choose "free" or "slave" status, abolitionism, which began in the North, was an "effort to effect the immediate emancipation of slaves, since holding them in bondage was contrary to the law of God." [5] William Lloyd Garrison, a friend of both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper, was an editor of an early abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator.* It was Garrison who came forward with the idea that

> . . . slavery was contrary to the natural rights of humanity, and bad effects upon the southern whites, and handicapped the whole Union, not only as an evil, but as a sin.[6]

---

3. John D. Hicks, George Mowry and Robert E. Burke, *The Federal Union. A History of the United States to 1877* 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 599.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Negro in our History* (Washington: Associated Press Inc., 1927), p. 306.
6. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 615.

Carter Woodson commented that the above philosophy was particularly effective "coming at a time when the world was again stirred by the agitation for the rights of man in Europe." [7] Accordingly, the abolitionist movement grew with great leaps and bounds. The first society was established as early as 1832, and by 1840 there were 2,000 auxiliary or local societies with between 150,000 and 200,000 members.[8]

Abolitionism not only interested a significant number of Northern whites, but the Negroes themselves became articulate and expressed their views through a variety of media. Conventions beginning in 1831 as well as newspapers and books spread the work of abolition from a Negro point of view. Many of the free Northern Negroes had been set free by their masters, had purchased their freedom themselves, were born of free mothers, or were legally freed by the state in which they resided.

Thus, in 1850 there were 196,016 free Negroes in the northern states.[9] Among this group of free Negroes, John Preston Davis related,

> Perhaps the most important work performed by free Negroes was the general assistance they gave to the anti-slavery movement as it increased in intensity after 1830. Frederick Douglas was merely the best known of a larger number of writers and speakers in the anti-slavery cause. Others were Charles Remond, Charles B. Ray, Henry Highland Garnet, David Ruggles, Sarah Remond, Frances Harper, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubnan. In their militant bitterness the Negro abolitionists equaled and sometimes surpassed their white colleagues.[10]

Both Negro women and men were actively participating in the controvery over abolition during this era of social and political reforms.

Another issue that closely paralleled abolition was women's rights. Conventions and public meetings sprang up in the fifties in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Maine and Massachusetts, just to name a few. Although many women struggled for opportunities to be heard in public, it was not until 1848 that the First Woman's Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York.[11]

The well-known women orators of the Ante-bellum period were Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton; but there were others who spoke for equality in the political sphere, asking for property rights as well as suffrage.

7. Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

8. John Preston Davis, ed. *The American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. 35.

9. George Washington Williams, *History of Negro Race in America 1619-1880* (New York: Putnams, 1882), p. 125.

10. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

11. Elizabeth Myette, "Convention in Petticoats: The Seneca Falls Declaration of Woman's Rights" Unpublished Thesis, Indiana University, 1963.

In general public reaction to the efforts of these women orators was hostile. The clergy and the press discouraged their efforts with sarcasm and ridicule. On several occasions men encouraged a heckling spirit during actual speeches, and frequently the meetings ended in chaos. As a result,

> There were very few women in those days who cared to "speak in meeting" and the august teachers of the people were aseemingly getting the better of us, while the boys in the galleries, and the sneerers among the pews were hugely enjoying the discomfiture, as they supposed of the "strong-minded." [12]

Complete accounts of the meetings and conventions were printed frequently in the New York newspapers and this coverage reflected the belligerent attitude of their editors.

One newspaper, however, *The Anti-Slavery Bugle,* edited by Oliver Johnson in Salem, Ohio, was one of the very few supporting Garrison. This paper took a strong stand in favor of equal rights for women, and Mr. Johnson "did all in his power to sustain the conventions and encourage the new movement." [13]

In 1850, the First Woman's Rights Convention in Ohio was held in Salem. During the first year the advocates of woman's rights tripled in Ohio.[14] Akron because the site of the second Woman's Rights Convention in 1851 and the highlight of this convention was the appearance of Sojourner Truth, a Negro ex-slave from New York. Frances D. Gage was chosen President of the Convention and in *The History of Woman Suffrage* she commented:

> This convention was remarkable for the large numbers of men who took an active part in the proceedings. . . . From Sojourner Truth's speech, we fear that the clergy, as usual were averse to enlarging the boundaries of freedom.[15]

Sojourner's appearance during one of the "most stormy sessions of the convention" [16] was probably the first appearance of a Negro woman at an Ohio convention. Many of the women felt that if Sojourner were allowed to speak it would hurt their cause. Mrs. Gage explains how she handled the situation:

> Again and again, timorous and trembling ones came to me and said, with earnestness, "Don't let her [Sojourner] speak, Mrs. Gage, it will ruin us. Every newspaper in the land will have our cause mixed up with abolition and niggers, and we shall be utterly denounced." My only answer was, "We shall see when the time comes." [17]

12. Stanton, *et al., op. cit.,* p. 115.
13. *Ibid.,* p. 101.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 111.
15. *Ibid.,* p. 114.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.,* p. 115.

Thus, the early 1850's were years of decision for women. Not all the women approved of the new position and rights that the women orators were seeking. Only a few had the temerity to speak in public whether in their churches or the convention atmosphere.

Women continued their pursuits as public speakers and many "held out for linking the two issues of the Negro and woman suffrage believing in all sincerity that they would help, not harm each other." [18] Conventions of all kinds were popular and oratory at this time was enjoying "its heydey of glory." [19] The Yoakam study stated that oratory emerged as a form of entertainment because the public "had limited facilities for acquiring news and knowledge." [20] The opportunities for public lectures were numerous. During the 1852 lecturing season alone, New Yorkers might listen to at least thirteen different courses of lecturers.[21] Lectures and conventions were popular activities in New York City and the year, 1853, was no exception. During the first week of September, 1853, several conventions were being conducted at the same time.[22]

One of these conventions was The Mob Convention which was held in Broadway Tabernacle, September sixth and seventh, 1853.[23] The Tabernacle held approximately 3,000 people and according to *The History of Woman Suffrage,* "the tabernacle was packed long before the hour announced." [24] These comments regarding the nature of the audience were printed in *The History of Woman Suffrage:*

> Encouraged by the press, the mob element held high carnival through that eventful week. Starting in the Anti-slavery and Temperance meetings, they assembled at every session in The Woman's Rights Convention. Gentlemen and ladies alike who attempted to speak were interrupted by shouts, hisses, stamping and cheers, rude remarks, and all manner of noisy demonstrations. The clergy, the press and the rowdies combined to make those September days a disgrace to the metropolis.[25]

Lucy Stone was presiding at this convention and Susan B. Anthony attended. Other speakers included William L. Garrison, W. H. Channing, Antoinette Brown, Ernestine Rose, and Sojourner Truth. Sojourner spoke on the second day of the convention combining "the

18. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
19. Doris Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform" cited in William Norwood Brigance, *The History and Criticism of American Public Address* Vol. I. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1943), p. 154.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
22. Stanton, *et al.*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 546.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 547.

two most hated elements of humanity. She was black and she was a woman and all the insults that could be cast upon color and sex were together hurled at her." [26]

Despite the efforts of the Negro abolitionists such as Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, Charles and Sarah Remond, and Frances Harper, another popular form of entertainment in the Ante-bellum North was affecting public opinion toward the Negro.

> The minstrel shows helped to fix a public impression of the clownish, childish, and carefree and irresponsible Negro and prompted one Negro Newspaper to label these black face imitators as "the filthy scum of white society who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money and pander to the corrupt taste of their fellow citizens.[27]

Nevertheless, the minstrel shows, newspapers, and magazines combined to produce a Negro stereotype that hardly induced northerners to accord the race equal political and social rights.

In contrast, some sympathy was aroused by the literature of the period. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in 1852 and sold 3,000 copies the first day and 300,000 before the end of the year.[28] Developing a plot of great emotional appeal it was

> . . . dramatized and played before enthusiastic audiences throughout the North, it made converts for the anti-slavery cause even among those who could not or would not read.[29]

Of course, its popularity in the North was equaled by its unpopularity in the Southern states.

The abolition movement presented its uncompromising stand not only with pressures on Congress but by infiltrating public lectures, forms of entertainment, and even the literature of the Ante-bellum period.

The prominent place that the slavery dispute occupied on the political and social scene often diverts attention from other subjects of equal significance. The 1840's and 1850's were characterized by historians as years of "peace and prosperity" on the economic scene. At this time expansion of railroads, western steamboating and ocean transportation made possible greater means of getting commodities to market. Consequently, this economic growth stimulated a rapid increase in manufacturing, primarily in the industrial North, and agriculture in the cotton raising South. With the development of

26. *Ibid.*, p. 567

27. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) p. 3 n.

28. Hicks, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

29. *Ibid.*

overland roads and railroads personal travel also became easier. This element extended great opportunities for the public speakers to expand their circle of influence. It was not infrequent for prominent personalities such as Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony to attend conventions from Maine to Kansas. Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were no exception. Sojourner's lecturing career took her from Connecticut to Kansas, and Frances Harper traveled throughout the South on speaking engagements before she settled in Philadelphia. However, none of Mrs. Harper's speeches delivered in the South have been found by this writer.

The first printed speech of Frances Harper was delivered to The New York City Anti-Slavery Society on their Fourth Anniversary, Wednesday evening, May 13, 1857.[30] Miss Watkins, Ernestine Rose, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison gave ". . . stirring and eloquent speeches to a large and highly respectable attendance," [31] on this occasion.

During the mid-fifties the political problems grew more apparent to the nation. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 triggered bitter controversy both in and out of Congress, the Democratic party split.[32] The prosperous economic boom period of the early fifties ending in the Panic of 1857 added its impact to the sectional controversy. In the North its extreme effect was on industrial strength and the South suffered very little because the world demand for cotton continued to mount and the price remained high.[33] Climaxing the entire scope of problems was the election of Lincoln in 1860, the candidate of the Republican Party who were thought to have abolitionist's views. Many Southerners wondered if the election of Lincoln was a serious enough violation of "southern rights" to justify secession? In their opinion,

> . . . the North, had harbored and protected the abolitionists, it had openly flouted the Fugitive Slave Act, it had sung the praises of John Brown . . . and it proposed now through a sectional party a sectional President to subordinate the South to northern interests.[34]

After attempts at compromise failed once again, Ordinances of Secession were passed in several southern states and the Confederate States of America was established.

During this period the initial group of women orators continued their convention speaking and began infiltrating several colleges in a search for higher education. By 1859, however, it was

30. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 23, 1857.
31. *The Liberator*, May 29, 1857, Vol. XXVII, No. 22, p. 86.
32. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 604.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 615.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 630.

> . . . certain that woman had enough intelligence for all parties to agree to the necessity of her education: The Press . . . the Bar . . . and the Pulpit . . . are altogether, at last, pleading for the education of woman.[35]

But education was only the first step to the goal of suffrage for women. Eventually, as women gained more formalized education, they began to pursue professional goals in life.

Negroes, on the other hand, often found it more difficult to take advantage of increasing opportunities for adult education, particularly the popular lecture presentation of the Lyceum.[36] However, the prominent Lyceum speakers, Emerson, Sumner and Parker, often refused to speak unless the Negroes were allowed to attend. Hence, by 1859, Negroes could point not only to the frequent presence of their people at popular lectures but also to the actual appearance of Frederick Douglas and other prominent abolitionists on the Lyceum platforms.[37]

The economic discontent of the late fifties was also experienced by the free Negroes in the North. By 1860 the free Negro population had increased to 488,000,[38] only a small number compared to the 4,441,830 Negroes in the United States in that same year.[39]

> By 1860, a growing number of northern Negroes had obtained the necessary education and capital to enter the professions, small businesses, and skilled trades; but the great mass of them still labored as unorganized and unskilled workers.[40]

Employment posed a problem to most northern Negroes. If women were employed they usually washed or ironed clothes. Even with their freedom, it was still difficult for most Negroes to gain employment, let alone make a decent living in the predominately white society. In contrast, neither Sojourner Truth nor Frances Harper seemed to worry about employment. Sojourner had faith that God would take care of her needs. She worked as a domestic servant for several families before she began her lecturing career. During these years she provided not only for her own needs but completely paid off a mortgage on her home in Battle Creek, Michigan.[41] In contrast, Frances Harper was well equipped to earn a living as a teacher or a writer. But it was significant that both women had

35. *Proceedings*, Woman's Rights Convention, New York, 1859, pp. 607, cited in O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators, op. cit.*, p. 143.
36. Litwick, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
38. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
39. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
40. Litwick, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
41. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 175.

great sympathy for the unemployed and on several occasions worked in their behalf to acquire jobs and training for their friends.

In summary, the Ante-bellum years from 1850 to 1861 were politically characterized by sectional controversy, agitated both in and outside Congress by the abolitionists. Abolition drew into its grasp northern whites including women orators as well as a number of free Negroes. Gradually the decade gave its approval to the public speaking efforts of women and realized their need for education. Free Negroes in the North gradually were allowed to attend public meetings, and a growing number were entering professions while a greater number remained unskilled.

THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

> Whatever the reasons, the North hated the South, and the South hated the North. Two different ways of life, involving two different concepts of right and wrong were already at war. All that was needed to precipitate armed conflict was an incident, such as the bombardment of Sumter proved to be.[42]

For all practical purposes the Civil War began with the bombardment of Sumter, April, 1861. Although no one had been killed on either side, it was definite that the North would fight to preserve the Union.

During the war Ladies Aid Societies in nearly every village sewed, knitted, and made bandages for the "boys in blue."[43] A group of humanitarians organized the United States Sanitary Commission to aid the sick and wounded.[44] "Sanitary fairs" were held throughout the nation to help raise money. From New York to California the North reflected its humanitarian concern. The United States Christian Commission and the Freedman's Bureau both sought to promote the spiritual well being of the soldiers by holding religious services. On many occasions Sojourner Truth gave inspirational talks to the northern soldiers during the war.[45]

Of greater significance to the rhetorical setting of the period were the effects of the war; because these effects included the abolition of slavery by the 13th Amendment,[46] one of the basic tenets of the abolition movement. Both speakers witnessed the end of slavery; however, the end of slavery did not signalize the end of the ever increasing economic and social problems of their race.

42. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 641.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 684.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 173.
46. Hicks, *et al., op cit.*, p. 698.

Thousands of Negroes migrated to Washington, D. C., to enjoy their new found freedom. During the war years poverty was noticeable in Negro districts, the crime rate was high, and poor living conditions compounded the Negroes' problems. Most Negro families relied on government supplies for what little food they received. Most of the Negro men were unemployable and unskilled.

> The imagination can scarcely conceive a more harrowing spectacle than the vast multitude, composed of both sexes, and all ages from helpless infancy to tremulous senility, roaming about, having no possessions but the bodies which had recently been given them by a dash of Abraham Lincoln's pen.[47]

With slavery ended, the Negro was just beginning to face the new problems of economic support of himself and his family. Sojourner Truth spent many years in and around Washington working with the unemployed and helping them find jobs. She was employed by the Freedman's Bureau and held inspirational meetings and encouraged education for the youngsters in the Washington area.[48]

One of the prime reasons for the unemployment problems after Negro freedom was that "many of the ex-slaves had little thought but to enjoy their freedom which to them at first meant primarily freedom from work." [49] This expression of freedom prevailed throughout the South and on several occasions Frances Harper commented on the need and benefits that employment would bring to her race.

In striking contrast to the economic problems of the Negroes, the northern farmer prospered during the Civil War. With millions of men under arms, the government became a dependable and generous purchaser of every kind of foodstuff.

In conclusion, the Civil War years brought prosperity to the northern farmer. In dire contrast the newly freed Negro struggled to maintain a living for his family. The main triumph of the war was the 13th Amendment with the abolition of slavery, a triumph for the abolitionists.

RECONSTRUCTION

> With the end of the war new interests, new influences, new personalities and new stype came to dominate the American scene. A Golden Age of Oratory was ended; the Age of Tinsel came to take its place. The new age was one of skill, not sagacity; of proficiency rather than prophecy, often with profit looming more importantly than patriotism.[50]

47. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 191.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
49. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 722.
50. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

On the political scene "union and liberty" were replaced as dominant themes by dissension over the distribution of property and allocation of power. Many problems faced both the North and South in the aftermath of war and disagreement. How were the Southern states to be reconstructed? How could the freed Negroes, the industrial workers, the women, and the farmer get their just shares of privileges and prosperity?

In March, 1867, when Congress took over the President's task of Reconstruction, it reimposed military rule on the South, disfranchised all former Confederates who had taken up arms, called for new governments based on suffrage of all loyal men, regardless of race, and required the ratification of the 14th Amendment as a condition for re-admission to the Union.[51]

Also in 1867 the First Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association was held in New York City.[52] *The Call*, a publication of the association, advertised the convention as early as March, 1867. The object of this new organization was to ". . . secure equal rights to all American citizens, especially the right of suffrage, irrespective of race, color or sex." [53] It was significant to note that Sojourner Truth was listed in *The Call* as one of the guest speakers at the May convention.

The abolitionists and supporters of woman's rights continued in their fight for suffrage. The 14th Amendment granted civil rights to Negroes in 1868. It read in part, ". . . nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." [54] However in practice this amendment did not change the plight of the Negro significantly.

By 1870 all the states were back in the Union. The real key to the new systems of Reconstruction was Negro suffrage granted to Negroes by the 15th Amendment, 1870.

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color or previous conditions of servitude.[55]

However, it should be noted that the word "sex" was not included along with race and color. Although some states had provisions for women suffrage, most women were still denied the privilege of voting. In fact, the vast majority of women in America were not given this privilege until the 19th Amendment was finally ratified on

51. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
52. Stanton, *et al.*, *Ibid.*, p. 182.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Hicks, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 708.
55. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

August 26, 1920.[56] Thus, many of the woman orators including Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper witnessed the "rights" of race granted; but they did not live to witness the same "rights" granted to their sex.

Throughout the seventies "freedom" remained a cause for great celebration. In 1871 an enthusiastic audience gathered in Boston to commemorate the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States on January first. The Boston papers reported:

> The eighth anniversary of the emancipation of Negro slaves in the United States was commemorated in Tremont Temple last evening by a large gathering and eloquent speeches, under the auspices of the National Association for the Spread of Temperance and Night Schools among the Freed People of the South. The admission was free and at a comparatively early hour the Temple began to be filled. . . . seldom is there an occasion of more attraction or greater interest. Every available space of sitting or standing room was crowded.[57]

The speakers on this occasion consisted of the Rev. J. D. Fulton, Rev. Gilbert Haven, and Sojourner Truth.

On the economic scene the Panic of 1873 ended the boom and began a depression.[58] Throughout the dreadful decade of the seventies, unemployment was rife and labor difficulties were frequent. Despair and discouragement were issues of the day. These issues frequently found their way into the speeches of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper where they encouraged a strong Negro working force as a realistic solution for improving the conditions of their race.

On the social and intellectual plane, Reconstruction was perhaps more difficult. Even though the South was defeated it was not necessarily convinced that there had been anything wrong with its stand. This view stimulated the growth of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, which made its impact through vigilante methods. Murders, lynchings, and drownings were the hazards facing Negroes and whites who played any part in the Reconstruction.[59]

The seventies also introduced the theory of Social Darwinism which influenced both the North and the South in regard to the Negro, although Darwin's publication, *On the Origin of the Species,* had been printed as early as 1859.[60]

> It was the Darwinian mood that sustained the belief in Anglo Saxon superiority and obsessed many American thinkers in the last quarter of

56. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
57. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 209.
58. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 726.
59. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
60. Elizabeth W. Miller, *The Negro in America: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. vii.

> the nineteenth century. Whites were in a dominant position because they were the superior race; they were the fittest. Primitives such as Negroes were in an arrested stage of childhood or adolescence and could never gain the full stature of manhood. Distinguished white scholars argued that it was absurd to attempt to change the natural order of things.[61]

Hence, in spite of political rights of citizenship, due process of law and suffrage, the Negro still had to combat white prejudice.

In 1875 Pennsylvania celebrated one hundred years of anti-slavery crusades. It seemed hardly possible that in 1875 any state could be celebrating a centennial anniversary of this nature. However, Pennsylvania, largely influenced by the Quakers organized the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1775. The Society directed its efforts to securing an abolition law in Pennsylvania and protecting the free Negro from being kidnaped and sold into slavery.[62] After completing their work of emancipation, the Quakers shifted their attention to improving the educational and economic level of the Negro population.

Thus, in 1875, Frances Harper was selected to speak at the Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Philadelphia, Wednesday, April 14th.[63] It was a proud occasion with the recent amendments for civil rights and suffrage for the Negro, but Mrs. Harper was also cognizant of economic problems and personal prejudices that existed in society.

The year, 1877, can generally be taken as the end of the military and political reconstruction including, for much of the South, Negro suffrage.[64] During the final years of Reconstruction, practical efforts were made to extend the rights of citizenship, due process and suffrage to the Negroes. Many such attempts ended in law courts. The process of Reconstruction certainly was not easy, the main problems being economic and intellectual indoctrination of the new classes of free Negroes as well as acceptance of them by a predominantly white society.

The Negro women as well as the men faced these difficulties and prejudices. Before examination of the biographies of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper it was necessary to clarify the role of Negro women. This explanation allowed for a clearer understanding of the specific problems that faced these two Negro orators as they grew to womanhood.

61. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
62. Litwick, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
63. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-106.
64. Hicks, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 721.

THE ROLE OF NEGRO WOMEN

Like her white sisters, the Negro woman was generally considered subservient to men. However, in the early days of slavery, the Negro women were treated equally to their men in terms of labor. Even small children, as soon as they were capable, were expected to work in the fields. Young girls were no exception and in addition they were responsible for household duties after the work in the fields was completed. In order to get work out of the slaves the lash was frequently used. Women were not excluded from punishment. They were bought and sold at the whims of their masters. They had to prepare themselves for the day when they would witness their own children being sold on the auction block. These women knew virtually no "rights" or privileges of life—even that of choosing a mate.

As early as 1798, a separate school for Negro children was established by a white teacher in Boston,[65] and Negro schools were generally open to girls although very few attended.[66] Prior to emancipation at least one school was founded for Negro girls specifically. In 1858, Myrtillia Minor built a schoolhouse for the higher education of Negro girls in Washington, D. C., and ". . . clearly intended that her girls be equipped to participate in the world of work." [67] Negro women were usually educated to teach school or do some domestic trade.

The first Negro woman to be graduated from a college was Mary Jane Patterson, 1862, graduate of Oberlin College.[68] However, by 1890 there were only thirty women of the Negro race in the entire United States who had received a college degree.[69] Negro women during the mid-nineteenth century were just beginning to seek formalized education, and the college educated were in a small minority.

Tremendous obstacles faced the Negroes emerging from bondage and Sojourner Truth was no exception.

> They were free predominantly in a white society which regarded them as enemies, except as they were essential to it as low-paid unskilled labor. They were for the most part illiterate, and still considered incapable of rising above the status of slaves. They needed work, but lacked training.[70]

65. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
66. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
67. Jeanne L. Noble, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Bureau of Publication, Columbia University, 1956), p. 18 cited by Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
68. Robert S. Flether, *A History of Oberlin College* Vol. II. (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943), p. 534 cited by Davis, *Ibid.*, p. 535.
69. Flexner, *loc. cit.*
70. *Ibid.*

These same handicaps faced the Negro woman. This comment by Frances Harper described the Negro woman's activities during this period.

> The mothers are the levers which move in education. The men talk about it, especially about election time . . ., but the women work most for it. They labor in many ways to support the family while the children attend school. They make great sacrifices to spare their own children during school hours. . . . In some cases the colored woman is the mainstay of the family, and when work fails the men in the large cities, the money which the wife can obtain by washing, ironing, and other services, often keeps pauperism at bay.[71]

The first loyalty of the Negro woman, then, was to the home and family. Even if she were free, her opportunities for education and advancement were severely limited; and if a slave, her energies were directed toward survival for herself and her family, manumission or flight.

Free Negro women in the North and West, while they came together for common purposes, had other motives as well.

> There were Female Literary Societies of colored women in Philadelphia, New York and Boston and other eastern cities in the 1830's. But the powerful incentive of getting an education for their children also brought about such organizations as the Ohio Ladies Education Society, which probably did more toward the establishment of schools for the education of colored people, at this time in Ohio than any other organized group.[72]

Despite the efforts of those in educational endeavors, by 1870 there were still eighty percent of the Negroes that were illiterate.[73]

In an age when public lectures were popular, the Negro woman also made her views heard to society.

> And the Negro women, who while their first interest invariably was in the anti-slavery struggle consistently pointed out the relationship between freedom for the slave and equality for women of any color. . . . They were Sojourner Truth, Frances E. W. Harper and Sarah Remond.[74]

In conclusion, the role of the Negro women in the nineteenth century America was also revolving around the theme of "rights." She had few rights as a slave, and if she were lucky enough to be granted freedom or born of a free mother her chances of acceptance in society were limited. Her loyalty remained in the home; but she chose to promote anti-slavery crusades as well as to speak for woman's rights. Chances were that the typical Negro woman

71. Frances E. W. Harper, "The Colored Woman of America" *Englishwoman's Review*, n. s. (January 15, 1878), p. 10.

72. Dorothy Parker, "Organized Activities of Negro Literary Societies 1828-1846" *Journal of Negro Education* (October, 1936), p. 572.

73. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

74. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

of the 1850's and 1860's would be illiterate or have little training or education since only a handful had the opportunity for formalized education.

SUMMARY

In the twenty-five year period from 1850 to 1875 the United States was anything but "united." Sectional controversy aroused by the political and economic debate over slavery and its expansion drew the nation into a devastating Civil War. The Ante-bellum years were characterized by reforms, not only for the slaves but for women as well. The abolitionists in the North were strong agitators for the abolition of slavery and their uncompromising attitude triumphed with the 13th Amendment. The Negro abolitionists played an active role in speaking against slavery and not to be excluded were Negro women orators. This comment by the Negro historian, George W. Williams, summarized the contribution of these Negro orators in the Ante-bellum period:

> The colored orators wrought a wonderful change in public sentiment. In the inland white communities throughout the Northern states Negroes were few. The majority of them were servants, some of them indolent and vicious. From these few the moral and intellectual photograph of the entire race was taken. So it was meet that Negro orators of refinement should go from town to town. The North needed arousing and educating on the anti-slavery question and no class did more practical work in this direction than the little company of orators, with the peerless Douglas at its head, that pleaded the cause of their brethren in flesh before the cultivated audiences of New England—yea even in the capital cities of Europe.[75]

The oratory of these colored speakers carried into the war years. Sojourner Truth traveled among the soldiers at Camp Ward, talking and holding inspirational prayer services.[76]

Even in the Reconstruction period Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper became interested in the tools of Reconstruction, namely: education and employment. The road to Reconstruction was difficult. Several provisions for the "natural rights of man" were written in law, but few had effect in practice.

The role of the Negro women centered in the home. Her rights came into view only after those of men and other white women. It appeared that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper broke this traditional pattern as they pursued extensive careers by lecturing for the reform issues of anti-slavery and woman's rights.

In review of the rhetorical setting this chapter suggested that

75. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
76. Titus, Narrative, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Sojounrner Truth and Frances Harper broke the traditional ties of the Negro woman and traveled extensively as public lecturers. Consequently, this writer concluded that there is a high degree of probability these women were also influential forces in shaping public sentiment along with the other colored orators of their time.

Chapter III.

Rhetorical Biographies of both Women

An investigation of biographical details, according to J. Jeffry Auer, should include a review of the ". . . main facts concerning the life, character and works of an individual." [1] By isolation and evaluation of these three criteria the critic can more clearly comprehend the background and environmental factors which helped to shape the orator's skill. Rhetorically, it was important to center attention on those biographical details that most significantly effected their development as platform speakers. Therefore, it was the purpose of Chapter Three to analyze and compare the lives and backgrounds of Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper, as they related to their development as public speakers. More specifically, this chapter investigated the family background, early influences on character and intellectual development and the extent of the lecturing careers for both women.

SOJOURNER TRUTH

Early Years

Sojourner Truth, originally named Isabella, was "born as near as she can calculate between 1797 and 1800." [2] According to Mrs. Frances W. Titus, who helped compile and publish Sojourner's *Narrative* in 1875, Isabella's parents were slaves of a Colonel Ardinburgh in Ulster County, New York, being of low Dutch ancestry.[3] Of her parental influence there was little doubt that her mother shaped her philosophy of life to a great extent.

In the evening, when her mother's work was done she would call her children together and talk to them of a God that could effec-

1. Auer, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
2. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*

tively aid and protect them.[4] Her stories were delivered in low Dutch, her only language. In Sojourner's Boston speech she related her mother's religious ideas:

> . . . chile, he sits in de sky, an' he hears you when you ax him w'en you are away from us to make your marster an' mistress good, an' he will do it.[5]

From this advice Isabella drew the conclusion ". . . that God was a great man, greatly superior to other men in power, and being located in the sky could see all that transpired on earth." [6] Following the practice of her mother, Isabella's prayers, or more appropriately, talks with God were perfectly original and unique. For example, she often bargained with God, as in this excerpt from the Boston speech.

> I used to tell God this—I would say, Now God, ef I was you, an' you was me (laughter) and you wanted any help I'd help ye—why don't you help me? (laughter and applause).[7]

Although separated from her mother at the age of nine years Isabella was faithful to her mother's instruction. Her *Narrative* related that:

> . . . in obedience to her mother's instruction, she had educated herself to such a sense of honesty that when she had become a mother, she would sometimes whip her child when it cried to her for bread, rather than give it a piece secretly, lest it should learn to take what was not its own.[8]

Isabella continued throughout her life to be dedicated to truth and honesty, largely influenced by the early religious instruction of her mother.

She was separated from her family at the age of nine years, when she was sold along with some sheep for one hundred dollars at an auction.[9] Her new master was John Nealy, also of Ulster county, who treated her cruelly and frequently employed the whip.[10] Isabella fortunately only worked for him two years, and in 1810 she was sold to John J. Dumont of New Paltz, New York.[11]

Even at the early age of eleven or twelve, Sojourner's physical build and strength, which later were to contribute to her striking appearance as a public speaker, were among her noticeable assets. Pointing to Isabella, Mr. Dumont boasted:

4. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

> . . . that wench is better to me than a man—for she will do a good family's washing in the night, and be ready in the morning to go to the field, where she will do as much raking and binding as my best hands.[12]

Sojourner lived and worked for Mr. Dumont and his family until she was about thirty. These years included her marriage and family years.

Bernice Lowe gives 1815 as the date when "she was given as wife to Thomas, a man considerably older than she and by 1826/27 she had five children, four girls and one boy."[13] However, Sojourner related in her Akron, Ohio, speech that "I have borne thirteen children, and see 'em mos' all sold off to slavery."[14] Whether or not "borne" was the actual word Sojourner used in her speech can not be verified. She may have been referring to the number of children that she helped to deliver, rear, or even wet-nurse. If several children died in infancy, she did not record this in her *Narrative*. The only child that Sojourner was really able to rear herself was her son, Peter. The other children were all sold away from her, and after her emancipation she had no domestic ties to restrict her travels.

Maintaining her allegiance to honesty and truth, it was to be expected that Isabella might take action when her master went back on his promise to release her one year before the New York State emancipation. In one of her talks with God she decided to run away. Taking only her baby son and the clothes she was wearing, she slipped away into the early dawn hours of July 4, 1827.[15]

It was significant that she stopped at a Quaker farm house of Isaac Van Wagener and his wife, Maria, because the Quaker's religion saw all men equal in the eyes of God. Here she was warmly received and invited to stay as long as she desired. The next day when Mr. Dumont arrived to take Isabella and the boy back, Mr. Van Wagener paid Dumont twenty dollars for her and five dollars for the boy even though most Quakers opposed slavery as being inconsistent with the true spirit of Christianity.[16] Isabella and Peter remained with the Van Wageners for one year until her legal emancipation in 1828. During this year she did not serve the Van Wageners as a slave, but she worked as any maid or domestic servant receiving meager wages for her efforts. She was also taught

12. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
13. Bernice Lowe, "The Family of Sojourner Truth," *Michigan Heritage* (Summer, 1962). Vol. 3, p. 181.
14. Stanton, *et al.*, Vol. I., *op. cit.*, p. 116.
15. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 37.
16. Litwick, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

to enjoy some of the finer things in life, and it was during this year that Isabella's religious faith was enhanced when she found Jesus.

Although Isabella's early years were filled with the agony and despair of a slave, she managed to remain faithful to her mother's religious orientation. She benefited greatly from her association with the Quakers as she worked for wages, was treated as their equal, and shared their religious experiences. From this family she derived her name, Isabella Van Wagener, since legally he was her last master.[17]

New York Years

With freedom, Isabella ". . . had to learn the first elements of economy. Wages were trifling . . ., a small advance from nothing."[18] However, she was determined to make her own living, and she dreamed of owning her own home. Isabella's determination for economic advancement was a significant motivating factor during these years. Cherishing her freedom she was inspired and enthusiastic about the task of employment. Later in her life she would be instilling this same excitement by promoting employment of Negroes in and around Washington, D. C., after the Emancipation Proclamation.

She worked in Kingston and New York City from 1828 to 1843. One of the most influential experiences that likely affected her later speaking career was her association with Miss Grear, a friend who introduced her to the family of Mr. James Latourette, a wealthy merchant and Methodist.[19]

Mr. Latourette advocated free speech and frequently held free meetings in his home.[20] Isabella worked for the Latourette's and they generously gave her a home even while she labored for others. At Mr. Latourette's meetings Isabella began to talk to God in the presence of others.[21] After the Latourette's introduced Sojourner to many camp meetings, she became involved with Miss Grear and Mrs. Latourette on behalf of several reforms.

> At that time the 'moral reform' movement was awakening the attention of the benevolent in that city [New York]. Many women, among who [*sic*] were Mrs. Latourette and Miss Grear, became deeply interested in making an attempt to reform their fallen sisters, they enlisted Isabella and others, who for a time put forth their most zealous efforts and performed the work of missionaries with much apparent success.[22]

17 Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 48.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Hertha Pauli, *Her Name Was Sojourner Truth* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 53.
22. *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 86.

Mrs. Titus mentioned in the *Narrative* that Isabella accompanied the ladies ". . . to the most wretched abodes of vice and misery." [23] Thus, during the early years of the reform movement Isabella was exposed to the freedom of speech and humanitarian concerns by the Latourette home. But more importantly, she was encouraged to participate in several crusades to help other women via prayer meetings. Her relative success probably encouraged her to continue interest in reforms of this nature.

However, it was her religious convictions that caused her to become involved with a fanatic, Matthias. The only significance of this event was that she lost her savings accumulated to 1842. Thereupon, she decided that city life was no place for her.[24] "She felt called in spirit to leave New York City and to travel east and lecture." [25]

After making the necessary preparation by putting a few articles of clothing in a pillowcase, she informed her landlady that she had a new name, Sojourner. In an interview with Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sojourner explained:

> My name was Isabella; but when I left the house of bondage, I left everything behind. I wa'n't goin' to keep nothin' of Egypt on me, an' so I went to the Lord an' asked him to give me a new name. And the Lord gave me Sojourner, 'cause I was to travel up an' down the land, showin' the people their sins an' bein' a sign unto them. Afterwards I told the Lord I wanted another name, cause everybody else had two names; an' the Lord gave me Truth, 'cause I was to declare the truth to the people.[26]

With her new name she left the city on the first of June, 1843.[27] She explained, "the spirit calls me and I must go." [28] And thus, Sojourner Truth began her career as a public lecturer.

In review, the New York years exposed Sojourner to the problems she would face in society as a free colored woman. Although her wages were meager she found numerous jobs. Her association with the Latourettes introduced her to free speech and the reform crusades of the era. At forty-five Sojourner was purposefully setting out on a new adventure.

Circuit Years

It was extremely difficult to trace the speaking career of Sojourner Truth. She traveled so extensively throughout the United States

23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Sojourner Truth, The Libyan Sibyl," *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1863, p. 478.
27. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 100.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

that it was almost impossible to keep up with the newspaper clippings, let alone fit them into any kind of logical pattern. Also many of the clippings reprinted in the *Narrative* have not been dated, therefore only an overview of her extensive speaking career was possible.

From her departure on foot from the metropolis of New York City, Sojourner traveled thousands of miles. From Sallie Holley it was learned that a friend of the anti-slavery cause loaned a horse and buggy to Sojourner for the entire summer of 1851 to use in her solitary travels.[29]

At first she attended only advertised public meetings. However, it was not long until she began to publicize meetings of her own. With meager transportation it was almost incredible that during this period between 1850 and 1875 there were newspaper accounts of her speaking in twenty-one states and the District of Columbia. The states included New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Jersey, Maine, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.[30]

During the early years she traveled extensively in the New England area. The fact that these states had a very small Negro population [31] may have in fact enhanced her popularity. In a new environment virtually devoid of slavery, many New Englanders may have been attracted to her meetings by curiosity. She was well received in the homes of friends as well as strangers she met among her travels. However, not all of her appearances were so favorably received. On one occasion near Northampton, Massachusetts, a camp meeting was interrupted by a "party of wild young men." [32] Sojourner found herself quaking with fear and

> . . . under the impulse of this sudden emotion, she fled to the most retired corner of the tent, and secreted herself behind a trunk, saying to herself, I am the only colored person here, and on me, probably, their wicked mischief will fall first, and perhaps fatally. But feeling how great was her insecurity even there away and alone, she began to soliloquize as follows: "Shall I run away and hide from the Devil? Me, a servant of the Living God?" Have I not faith enough to go out and quell that mob, when I know it is written, "One shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." I know there are not a thousand here and I know I am a servant of the living God. I'll go to the rescue,

29. John W. Chadwick, *A Life for Liberty* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899). pp. 80-81 cited by Yoakam, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

30. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 308.

31. By 1860, six percent of the total northern Negro population dwelled in five states: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, cited in Litwick, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

32. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 116.

> and the Lord shall go with and protect me. . . . Sojourner left the tent alone and unaided, and walking some thirty rods to the top of a small rise of ground, commenced to sing, in her most fervid manner, with all the strength of her most powerful voice.[33]

Later she gave a speech that squelched the mobbish spirit, and as the group of rowdy young men left the camp grounds she continued singing. Somehow Sojourner throughout her lecturing career was destined to cool the tempers and calm the outbursts. At any rate, her songs frequently played a significant role in getting and maintaining attention.

Another highlight of Sojourner's career was her interview with Abraham Lincoln. Although she allegedly addressed the Senate at this time, no speech was recorded in *The Congressional Globe.* Only this undated account remains from her *Narrative.*

> The following article was published in a Washington Sunday paper during the administration of President Lincoln. "It was our good fortune to be in the Marble Room of the senate chamber, a few days ago, when that old land-mark of the past, the representative of the forever gone age—Sojourner Truth, made her appearance." It was an hour not soon to be forgotten; for it is not often, even in this magnanimous age of press, that we see reverend senators—even him that holds the second chair in the fight of the Republic—vacate their seats in the hall of State to extend the hand of welcome, the need of praise, and substantiate blessing, to a poor Negro woman, whose poor old form, beding [*sic*] under the burden of nearly four score and ten years, tells but too plainly that her marvelously strange life is drawing to a close. But it was as refreshing as it was strange to see her who had served in the shackles of slavery in the great State of New York for nearly a quarter of a century before a majority of these senators were born, now holding a levee with them in the Marble Room, where less than a decade ago she would have been spurned from its outer corridor by the lowest menial, much less could she have taken the hand of a senator. Truly, the spirit of progress is abroad in the land, the leaven of love is working in the hearts of the people, pointing with unerring certainty to the not far distant future, when the ties of affection shall cement all nations, kindreds and tongues into one common brotherhood.[34]

Sojourner was a symbol of the progress a Negro could make in the nineteenth century. She was very industrious, often being accused of being a "white folks nigger," [35] but she was inspired with a love of God and an interest in mankind that allowed her to win great audiences to her favor. In contrast to her speaking abilities, she never learned to read or write.[36] In many ways she was not encouraged to learn. Her friends were always obliging her by writing

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
36. *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* September 10, 1853, cited by O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators, op. cit.*, p. 43.

letters. Olive Gilbert and Frances Titus recorded her *Narrative.* In addition, she would frequently get small children to read the Bible to her. Although illiterate, Sojourner managed to be informed by the help of others.

To indicate the extent of her acquaintances, these autographs and many others were found in part two of her *Narrative,* called the "Book of Life." They included: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, A. Lincoln, Parker Pillsbury, Susan B. Anthony, Wendell Phillips, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Lucretia Mott.[37] Obviously, Sojourner maintained contact with some of the more important people of her era.

Her lecture tours primarily related her experiences with Christianity, slavery, and her opinions on woman's rights. However, two other topics dominated Sojourner's later career. During the Civil War she witnessed the affliction of her people in Washington, D. C., and desiring to mitigate their sufferings, she found homes and employment for many in Northern states.[38] She also lectured on the values of education for the youngsters, realizing they were the real concern for the future. According to Sojourner one solution to all their problems around Washington was to designate lands "out West" for the Negro. In her later years of traveling and lecturing she canvassed the nation getting signatures for this petition:

> To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled; Whereas, From the faithful and earnest representation of Sojourner Truth (who has personally investigated the matter) we believe that the freed colored people in and about Washington, dependent upon government for support, would be greatly benefited and might become useful citizens by being placed in a position to support themselves; We the undersigned, therefore earnestly request your honorable body to set apart for them a portion of the public land in the West, and erect buildings thereon for the aged and infirm, and otherwise legislate as to secure the desired results.[39]

The first lecture, which presented her petition was delivered in Providence, Rhode Island, in February, 1870, to a large and appreciative audience.[40] Although she traveled through many states for signatures, only one speech has been found on this particular subject. This speech was delivered at the Commemoration of the of the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States, in Tremont Temple, Boston, January first, 1871.[41]

In retrospect, Sojourner Truth's public speaking career was ex-

37. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.,* p. 131.
38. *Ibid.,* p. 191.
39. *Ibid.,* p. 199.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.,* pp. 209-216.

tensive, taking her from New York as far west as Kansas and from Maine as far south as Virginia. Her dream of owning her own home materialized, and she managed to pay off the mortgage in Battle Creek, Mich. It was there that she chose to be buried. Sojourner died November 26, 1883.[42] "More than a thousand prominent people attended her funeral." [43]

Although many people in the United States today have probably never heard of Sojourner Truth, our society has remembered her in a materialistic sense. Her *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* has been instrumental in preserving her immortality with its publications in 1850, 1853, 1875, 1887, 1881, 1884.[44] Recently she has been dignified with two extensive biographies: Arthur Fauset's *Sojourner Truth: God's Faithful Pilgrim,* 1938, and Hertha Pauli's *Her Name Was Sojourner Truth,* 1962.

In May, 1963, a large delegation of the Michigan conference of the N. A. A. C. P. made a pilgrimage to her grave in Oak Hill Cemetery.[45] Sojourner's important contribution to the Union armies as a war nurse was memorialized in Detroit, Michigan. Detroit's Cadillac Square included her statue as part of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument.[46] This passage explained why a Hyattsville, Maryland, library dedicated a Sojourner Truth room.

> The Oxon Hill Branch of Prince George's County Memorial Library in Hyattsville, Maryland, has dedicated a Sojourner Truth Room to the ex-slave woman who rose a leader of her people during the Civil War era through her religious faith, her belief in law and order, and her great oratorical ability.[47]

Finally, Sojourner has added to her immortality in the South by living today through the Negro women of Birmingham, Alabama.

> L' Etude d'Art, Sojourner Truth and Twentieth Century are among the many social clubs for women whose activities are exerting a constructive influence upon the social development of Negroes in Birmingham.[48]

In conclusion, Sojourner Truth's efforts have been rewarded in the North, East and Southern parts of the United States. Her life was founded on her own individual concepts of Christianity as she interpreted the Scriptures. She demonstrated her ardent faith in humanity by traveling the speaker's circuit across the nation for

42. *New York Telegram,* November 26, 1883; cited by Hertha Pauli, *op. cit.,* p. 234.
43. Marie Harlowe, "Sojourner Truth, the first sit-in," *Negro History Bulletin,* Vol. XXIX, No. 8, Fall, 1966, p. 173.
44. Lowe, *op. cit.,* p. 184.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Pioneers in Protest: Sojourner Truth," *Ebony.* October, 1964, p. 64.
47. *The Library Journal,* October, 1967, p. 3370.
48. Geraldine H. Moore, *Behind the Ebony Mask* (Birmingham, Alabama: Southern University Press, 1961), p. 54.

various types of reform. In her obituary, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *Globe*, wrote "Sojourner stood out conspicuously as the one woman of her race who did valiant battle." [49] Then as an afterthought, Mr. Fortune, added "although the name of Sojourner Truth is familiar to many people, not more than one colored person in ten knows who she is." [50]

FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS HARPER

Early Years

Frances Ellen Watkins was born the only child of free Negro parents in Baltimore, Maryland, 1825.[51] Although her parents were not slaves, L. A. Scruggs, a contemporary writer and friend of Frances Watkins commented, ". . . that she was subjected to inconveniences and ill influences of the slave law which held within its grasp both bond and free." [52] Perhaps this was partially due to Maryland's status as a slave state. During the Civil War, Maryland was one of the four slave states to remain faithful to the Union.[53]

Unfortunately, Mrs. Watkins died before Frances was even three years old.[54] She was sent to live with an aunt and during these early childhood years she attended a school operated by an uncle, the Reverend William Watkins.[55] Of her early adult influences there was a high degree of probability that her uncle played a dominant role in shaping her goals during the adolescent years. Rev. Watkins was well-known at that time as the ". . . colored Baltimorean who wrote so well for *The Liberator.*" [56] Since her uncle had a reputation as a writer as well as a preacher, it was likely that he might encourage such talents in his niece.

By today's criteria her education would be definitely substandard. But for the 1830's and 1840's she was in all probability considered fortunate indeed for this educational opportunity. For even as late as 1870, the illiteracy rate among non-whites in the United States was as high as eighty percent.[57] Therefore, those Negroes with any education were comparatively fortunate and definitely in a minority.

Evaluative statements have been made that attested the signifi-

49. *New York Telegram, loc. cit.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 448.
52. L. A. Scruggs, *Women of Distinction* (Raleigh, North Carolina: By the Author, 1893), p. 6.
53. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 633.
54. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *The Liberator,* December 5, 1856, Vol. XXVI, No. 49, p. 195.
57. Edward Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* Rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 72.

cance of Frances Watkins' education. In 1893, Monroe Majors said, "Frances' early education was meagre, having left school at the age of fourteen," [58] and later in the same article he labeled her as ". . . the greatest of the school-made philosophers yet developed among the women of the Negro race." [59] John Stephenson, and auditor at one of Miss Watkins' lectures in the Greenwood Schoolhouse, near South Reading, Massachusetts, commented in *The Liberator* that Frances demonstrated "superior education." [60] What was the extent of her education? Was it "meager" or "superior"? Perhaps the historian Williams best summarized the answer:

> In her after years, she proved herself to be a woman of most remarkable intellectual powers. She applied herself to study, most assiduously; and when she had reached woman's estate was well educated.[61]

Therefore, although Frances Watkins did not have extensive formal education, she was considered a well-educated Negro woman.

What were other factors that influenced her image as the well-educated woman beside her basic education encouraged by her uncle? The details of her biography from 1838 to 1851 were skimpy, but it was generally found that during this period she acquired or satisfied her extreme interest in books and gained experience in domestic skills. Scruggs related:

> . . . while earning her bread she chanced to be in a family that taught her some of the domestic arts and at the same time gave her a chance to satiate her great and growing thirst for books.[62]

It was not readily known whether the author was referring to the family library or one of a public nature or perhaps even a bookstore. Sillen refers to the same period in Frances's life by explaining that she ". . . went to work at thirteen, got a job in a bookstore where she made good use of the stock." It may be that these two citations happened simultaneously or perhaps referred to two completely different jobs. However, it is significant to note that her own independent study from the ages of thirteen to twenty-six increased her overall education and her preparation for life as a well-educated woman.

Comparative Analysis

Although separated by a quarter of a century, Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper already initiate a striking comparison. Sojourner was born in the northern state of New York to slave parents, and

58. Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
60. *The Liberator*, January 11, 1856, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, p. 7.
61. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 448.
62. Samuel Sillen, *Women Against Slavery* (Masses and Mainstream, 1955), p. 70.

Frances was born of free Negro parents living in a southern slave state, Maryland. Partly because both women were separated from their natural mothers at a very early age, their lives took vastly different directions. Sojourner was alone, sold to strangers and remained in the servant class for thirty years. In contrast, Frances was sent to live with her aunt. In this family environment she grew to womanhood with confidence and self-assurance. Sojourner was never given the opportunity for any type of guided education other than her mother's explanation of God as a supreme being. She remained illiterate not only as a child but throughout life. Frances, on the other hand, attended her uncle's school. Her interest in books increased her knowledge of the world and allowed her to pursue a professional career.

Professional Years

With a basic elementary education, training in the domestic skills, and knowledge of and interest in books, it was not surprising that Frances Watkins was attracted to school teaching. In 1851, she moved to Ohio and taught domestic science at Union Seminary in Columbus.[63] Since the school opened in 1847 and Frances Watkins taught there in 1851, it was understandable that she was the first woman to teach at Union Seminary.[64] Frances may have taught school in Maryland before moving to Ohio, since Majors stated, "as early as 1845, Frances Watkins began to figure conspicuously as a literary leader and teacher."[65] Of greater importance was that her school teaching years were destined to be short-lived. She could not forget conditions in Baltimore.[66] While yet in doubt as to whether she might be more useful to her race in some other capacity, she wrote to a friend for advice:

> What would you do if you were in my place? Would you give up and go back and work at your trade (dressmaking)? There are no people that need all the benefits resulting from a well-directed education more than we do. The condition of our people, the wants of our children and the welfare of our race demand the aid of every helping hand, the God speed of every Christian heart. It is a work of time, a labor of patience, to become an effective school-teacher, and it should be a work of life in which they who engage should not abate heart or hope until it is done. And after all, it is one of woman's most sacred rights to have the privilege of forming the symmetry and rightly adjusting the mental balance of an immortal mind.[67]

63. *Ibid.*
64. O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators,* op. cit., p. 94.
65. Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
66. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
67. Frances Watkins cited in Scruggs, *Ibid.*

After leaving Ohio and the teaching profession, she traveled to Little York in eastern Pennsylvania in 1853.[68] She worked with the Underground Railroad and began her work as a lecturer against slavery.[69] Sometime around 1853 Frances Watkins said:

> Maryland had enacted a law forbidding free people of color from the North to come into the state on pain of being imprisoned and sold into slavery. A free man who had unwittingly violated this infamous statute had recently been sold into Georgia and had escaped thence by secreting himself behind the wheel house of a boat bound northward; but before he reached the distant haven he was discovered and remanded to slavery. It was reported that he died soon after from the effects of exposure and suffering. . . . Upon that grave I pledge myself to the anti-slavery cause.[70]

Feeling thus, Miss Watkins visited Philadelphia, New Bedford, and Boston. *The Liberator* reported her speaking debut in New Bedford, Massachusetts, when she spoke on "Christianity."[71] On this occasion she spoke to a ". . . large assembly and the young speaker evidenced a talent of high order."[72] One month later in September, 1854, Miss Watkins was engaged as a professional lecturer by the Anti-Slavery Society of Maine.[73] Also that year she published her first volume of poems.

Evidence of Miss Watkins's lecturing career came mainly from *The Liberator*. This Boston weekly recorded information about her speeches from 1854 to 1859. To indicate the extent of her travels, she gave numerous speeches in New Bedford, Boston, South Reading, Framingham Grove, and Salem, Massachusetts; Wilmington, Delaware; Trenton, New Jersey; and the states of Vermont, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York and Ohio.

In 1860, after returning to Pennsylvania she married Fenton Harper.[74] With her savings they purchased a farm in Ohio, near Cincinnati in the autumn of 1860. There she remained a strong anti-slavery advocate.[75] However, this phase of her life, like school teaching, was only a brief interval. When her husband died, May 23, 1864, she was still undaunted and ". . . like a warrior continued to fight the great enemy of her country—slavery."[76]

---

68. Sillen, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
69. Benjamin Brawley, *Early Negro American Writers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 290.
70. Frances Watkins cited in Brawley, *Ibid.*
71. *The Liberator*, August 25, 1854, Vol. XXIV, No. 34, p. 135.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
74. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
75. Brawley, *loc. cit.*
76. Scruggs, *loc. cit.*

Comparative Analysis

Although Frances Watkins was considerably younger than Sojourner Truth, they appeared on the national scene as lecturers within five years of each other. The motivating factor that instigated Sojourner's career was her inspiration from God ". . . to go round a testifyin' an' showin' 'em their sins agin my people." [77] Frances Harper was persuaded to join the anti-slavery ranks more or less through inspiration from man, as she witnessed the kidnaping of northern free Negroes. Both orators began their speaking careers in New England where they lectured on anti-slavery. Both women were in Ohio between 1850 and 1852. Frances was teaching school at Union Seminary in Columbus, and Sojourner was traveling through the state attending various Women's Rights Conventions. However, it is not known whether they knew each other at this time. Of the two women, Sojourner was the first to become an advocate of the rights of women.

Sojourner traveled without much regard for her own finances. Although collections were taken frequently, she used the money to help pay a mortgage on her home in Battle Creek, Michigan. Frances Harper was an example of the newly emerging professional on the lecture circuit, employed by the Anti-Slavery society of Maine.

Frances was married to a man of her choosing and with her savings they purchased a farm. Sojourner was married against her wishes to a fellow slave. As a result of their slave status, she witnessed all her children save one sold into slavery. Because Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper became widows in the middle years of life, they were once again alone. With no family ties and no domestic responsibilities, they were free to travel at their leisure.

Matron Years

After the Emancipation Proclamation, Frances Harper was in great demand as a speaker. During the Reconstruction period she traveled in the South. Her work in the Southern states was as a representative of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. According to Scruggs, during this long journey through the South, Mrs. Harper was ever mindful of the virtue and character of Negro women. [78] With the women's rights movement already strong in the North, it was likely that Frances decided that someone should remind the southern Negro woman that she too had rights. Hence, she wrote from Georgia:

77. Stowe, *op. cit.*, p. 473.
78. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

> But really my hands are almost constantly full of work; sometimes I speak twice a day. Part of my lectures are given privately to women, and for them I never make any charge, or take up any collection. But this part of the country reminds me of heathen ground, and though my work may not be recognized as part of it was in the North, yet never perhaps, were my services more needed; and according to their intelligence and means, perhaps never better appreciated than here among these lowly people. . . . I am now going to have a private meeting with the women of this place if they will come out. I am going to talk with them about their daughters and about things connected with the welfare of the race. Now is the time for our women to begin to try to lift up their heads and plant the roots of progress under the health-stone.[79]

Although none of the actual speeches delivered by Frances Harper in the South have been found by this writer, it was possible that she was the first women's rights workers to be concerned specifically with the role of Negro women in the South.

After her tour in the southern states Mrs. Harper returned to Philadelphia. She resided there as a lecturer and writer of distinction. Her published works include: *Forest Leaves,* Baltimore, 1855; *Idylls of the Bible,* Philadelphia, 1895; *Miscellaneous Poems,* Boston, 1854; *Moses: A Story of the Nile,* Philadelphia, 1895; *Poems,* Philadelphia, 1871; *Poems,* Philadelphia, 1900; *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects,* Philadelphia, 1857; and *Sketches of Southern Life,* Philadelphia, 1896; all published by the author. *Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted,* a novel, was published in Philadelphia by J. H. Earle, and *Sketches of Southern Life* was published in 1896 by Ferguson Bros. and Co., Philadelphia.[80]

In 1893, she was still residing in Philadelphia,[81] where she remained until her death on February 22, 1911.[82] Sillen stated, "to freedom's cause Frances Ellen Watkins Harper continued rich contributions until her death." [83]

Society has also remembered Frances Harper. Her books sold thousand of copies, but according to Brawley, she was ". . . distinctly a minor poet." [84] Although overviews of her life have been preserved in collective biographies of Monroe Majors, 1893; Lawson Scruggs, 1893; Benjamin Brawley, 1935; and Samuel Sillen, 1955; no biography or autobiography of Frances Ellen Watkins

79 Frances Harper in Scruggs, *Ibid.,* p. 13.

80. Monroe N. Work, *A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America.* (New York: Argosy-Antiguarian, Lt. D., 1965), p. 459.

81. Scruggs, *loc. cit.*

82. Brawley, *op. cit.,* p. 291.

83. Sillen, *op. cit.,* p. 75.

84. Brawley, *loc. cit.*

Harper has been found by this writer. Only one memorial has been discovered.

> In 1922 her memory was honored by the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union at its meeting in Philadelphia when the name, Frances E. W. Harper was placed in the Red Letter Calendar with those of Frances E. Willard, Lady Henry Somerset, and other distinguished workers in the cause.[85]

Although a fine tribute, it stood alone as the only tribute to a great lecturer, poet and teacher, found during this study.

Comparative Summary

It was almost incredible that two women born and reared within two hundred and fifty miles of each other could have lived such vastly different lives. However, considering the sectional nature of the United States during the mid-nineteenth century, it was not difficult to understand. In the early years of the century a Negro's life was destined, to a great extent, by his born status of slave or free. Sojourner's early years were characterized by physical labor, disappointment, and lack of education. Her free counterpart, Frances Watkins Harper, was fortunate to have lived in a healthy family environment, attended school, and developed an intellectual curiosity for knowledge.

Sojourner's faith in a supreme Being motivated her to anticipate her years of freedom. When emanicipation came in New York, 1828, she supported herself and traveled faithfully throughout the eastern and mid-western states. Frances began a career as a school teacher but left this pursuit in hope that she would accomplish more for her race by lecturing for anti-slavery.

During their later years of life both women were in great demand as public speakers. Sojourner drew a parallel between anti-slavery and women's rights early in her career; whereas, it was not until Frances Harper traveled through the South and witnessed the status of Negro women that she became interested in promoting women's rights. Both orators initiated their careers in the New England states. Even with insufficient transportation means, they managed to travel extensively. Sojourner traveled west as far as Kansas and south as far as Virginia. Frances accepted the challenge of the deep south, centering her speeches around the Negro women, but returned to Philadelphia for the remaining years of her life, continuing an interest in writing and publishing.

Although both women orators had impressive careers, it was apparent that society has remembered Sojourner Truth through

85. Brawley, *loc. cit.*

more memorials than it has Frances E. W. Harper, as suggested by this study. Together these woman span a century. They both witnessed the results of their efforts with the extinction of slavery, civil rights for Negroes and male Negro suffrage, but neither lived to witness national suffrage granted to women. Both Sojourner Truth and Mrs. Frances Ellen Harper were lecturers of national repute, and they were also products of their environments.

Chapter IV.

Analysis of Selected Speeches From 1851 to 1875

THE purpose of this chapter was to compare the rhetoric of Sojourner Truth and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper as shown by a critical analysis of selected speeches from 1851 to 1875. It was suggested throughout the investigation that both women developed effective techniques of rhetoric which were probably affected by their diverse backgrounds. Specifically, the writer considered invention, logical proof, emotional proof, ethical proof, structure, style, delivery and the relative effectiveness of both speakers. The writer has pointed out areas of similarity between Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper and also drawn attention to their differences in rhetorical skill.

Before comparing the rhetoric of these two Negro orators, a review of the different audiences and occasions was necessary. Placing the ideas and techniques in reference to the nature of the occasion and the audience aids the critic in making proper evaluations. For Sojourner Truth the writer examined the speeches in (1) 1851, Address to the Woman's Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio, (2) 1853, Address to the Mob Convention, New York City, (3) 1867, Address to the Equal Rights Association, New York City, (4) 1871, Address to the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States, Boston.

The first two speeches of Sojourner Truth, the Woman's Rights and the Mob Convention speech, were delivered before hostile audiences. On the first occasion many women feared their cause would be damaged somehow if their convention was associated with the Negroes. Therefore, the audience was quite determined not to let Sojourner speak. On the second occasion, the Mob Convention in 1853, the entire audience was filled with hecklers pro-

voked by the clergy and the press. "Gentlemen and ladies alike who attempted to speak were interrupted by shouts, hisses, stamping, cheers, rude remarks and all manner of noisy demonstration." [1] This information was essential to keep Sojourner's speeches in their proper perspective, realizing that Sojourner like other public speakers often adapted their speeches to existing audience conditions.

The third speech by Sojourner was delivered in New York City in 1867. On this occasion Sojourner was received with loud cheers.[2] Her reputation had been established and *The Call* had advertised her name as one of the main convention speakers.[3]

Sojourner's fourth speech was given on a commemorative occasion. In Boston, 1871, she addressed the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States. On this occasion the Boston papers related that ". . . seldom is there an occasion of more attraction or greater general interest. Every available space of sitting and standing room was crowded." [4]

The speeches of Frances E. Watkins Harper evaluated were delivered in (1) 1857, Address to the New York City Anti-Slavery Convention, New York City, and (2) 1875, Address to the Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Philadelphia. Both of these speeches were delivered on commemorative occasions. Although the address to the New York Anti-slavery Society was delivered on their Fourth Anniversary, this was not of great significance. What was more important was that the speech was given in 1857 before the Emancipation Proclamation or any of the constitutional amendments that followed. Therefore, although the audience would be sympathetic to the speaker and her cause, they were by no means content with the existence of slavery.

The Philadelphia speech of Mrs. Harper not only grandly celebrated one hundred years of anti-slavery struggle and achievements for the Pennsylvania society but also related the progress of the nation. With a friendly audience and a proud occasion, Frances Harper combined the usual elements of the commemorative address, praise and blame, and also retained her objectivity about the future.

Several conclusions can be drawn regarding these occasions. The convention atmosphere was not always conducive to friendly audiences. The two speeches by Sojourner Truth in 1851 and 1853 were

1. Stanton, et. al., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 547.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
4. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 209.

delivered in relatively hostile condition, whereas the remaining four speeches were warmly received by a sympathetic audience.

INVENTION

Main Ideas

An investigation of invention, or the speaker's ideas, required the isolation of major ideas as well as their evaluation. It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to draw a comprehensive comparison and contrast of the major ideas of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper in their speeches on anti-slavery and woman's rights. Sojourner's early speeches on anti-slavery were not recorded, and the speeches that are extant primarily represented her views on woman's rights. In contrast, the woman's rights speeches that Frances Harper delivered throughout the South have not been found, and the two extant speeches are basically concerned with the slavery problem.

However, a parallel was drawn regarding the philosophy of both speakers by looking at three main ideas in their speeches. All three ideas related to the newly acquired freedom of the Negro and appear in the speeches after 1867. The first idea referred to the method by which the slave received his freedom; the second suggested that even with freedom there was much work ahead; and the third idea related the merits of education and employment in the Reconstruction period.

Both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper disclosed their concern over the thousands of lives that had been lost in the Civil War. In Sojourner's speech at the Equal Rights Convention she stated:

> I have lived on through all that has taken place these forty years in the anti-slavery cause, and I have pleaded with all the force I had that the day might come that the colored people might own their soul and body. Well, the day has come although it came through blood. It makes no difference how it came—it did come. (Applause) I am sorry it came that way. [5]

Obviously Sojourner felt that owning their own soul and body was of great importance, but she was sorry that the blood was necessary as a part of the overall process of freedom for the slaves.

Mrs. Harper's Philadelphia speech also made reference to the Civil War. She obviously regretted such extensive loss of lives in a civilized nation. She commented:

> It may not seem to be a gracious thing to mingle complaint in a season of general rejoicing. . . . And yet with all the victories and triumphs which freedom and justice have won in this country, I do not believe there

5. Stanton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

> is another civilized nation under Heaven where there are half so many people who have been brutally and shamefully murdered, with or without impunity, as in this Republic within the last ten years. [6]

In other words, even with Negro freedom the American people need not be proud of the method required for emancipation. Thus, both Sojourner and Frances related their speeches to the means by which the Negroes had received their freedom.

The second idea concerned work ahead to complete the emancipation. Sojourner related to this concept in her own colloquial way at the Equal Rights Association Convention.

> I come from another field—the country of a slave. They have got their liberty—so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed.[7]

According to Sojourner physical liberty was only one result of destroying slavery and this result was not enough. A similar view was held by Frances Harper in referring to the recent amendments granting suffrage and civil rights, when she stated in her Philadelphia speech that,

> The white race has yet work to do in making practical the political axiom of equal rights and the Christian ideas of human brotherhood.[8]

From Sojourner's speech in 1867 to Frances' in 1875, the practical application of law remained a problem for society. Despite the recent victories of emancipation, the American society needed to put theory into practice to assume total civil freedom.

The basic issue of the third idea concerned the merits of employment and education for the Southern Negroes. Although both speakers agreed that education and employment were key tools of Reconstruction, they differed in their specific approach to the solution.

Sojourner advocated moving the Negroes out West and designating land for them. By physical removal from their problems on the East coast and South, she thought Negroes would find their own solution. In her Boston speech, she explained her plan:

> I say dat dese people, tak an put 'em in de West where you ken inrich 'em. I know de good pepul in de South can't take care of de Negroes as dey ort to, cause de ribils won't let 'em. How much better will it be for to take them culud pepul an' giv 'em land? . . . Dey say, let 'em take keer of derselves. Why, you've taken dat all away from 'em. Ain't got nuffin left. Get dese pepul out of Washin'tun off of de gov'ment and get de ole pepul out and build dem homes in de West,

6. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
7 Stanton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
8. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

> where dey can feed themselves and dey would soon be abel to be a pepul among you. Dat is my commission . . . learn 'em to read one part of de time and learn 'em to work de udder part ob de time.[9]

Sojourner then, was in favor of education and employment, but she thought that the best solution was to physically remove the Negroes in Washington from their problems by designating lands out West for them.

Frances Harper also realized the value of education to the Negro, and on more than one occasion advocated employment as a solution to the Negroes' problems. However, Mrs. Harper felt this could be done in the South by Reconstruction. Her comments in Philadelphia explained her Reconstruction views:

> It is better to have the colored race a living force animated and strengthened by self-reliance and self-respect, than a stagnant mass, degraded and self-condemned. Instead of the North relaxing its efforts to diffuse education in the South, it behooves us for a national life to throw into the South all the healthful reconstructing influences we can command.[10]

According to Mrs. Harper the South could handle their own problems with Northern benevolence and assistance in promoting educational opportunities.

At this point several conclusions seem warranted. Although Sojourner's extant speeches dealt with woman's rights and Frances Harper's were primarily about anti-slavery, a parallel does appear to exist concerning these three ideas. They both made reference to the catastrophic impact of the Civil War. Sojourner and Frances both realized that liberty was only the first step and the work ahead was the main challenge. Although agreeing on the merits of education and employment, they differed in their approach. Sojourner wanted lands out West designated for the Negro, and Frances believed that by Northern benevolence and education the South could be reconstructed successfully.

Supporting Ideas

What were some of Sojourer's supporting ideas regarding woman's rights? Generally speaking Sojourner advocated in her speeches that (1) women were equal to men in terms of labor, or at least she was; and, therefore, women should receive equal rights under law; (2) she defended Mother Eve, thus minimizing the sin against other women; (3) she felt that if the colored men get their rights and not the colored women, then ". . . it will be just as bad as

9. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 215.
10. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

before." [11] and (4) women pay taxes; therefore they should be able to vote.

To what extent did these supporting ideas demonstrate the speaker's powers of observation, alertness, and ability in independent thinking? Although undisputed originality is difficult to establish in an era when so many orators were speaking about the same topic, it was safe to say that Sojourner's ideas were for the most part uniquely her own. For example, her defense of Mother Eve in her first extant speech in Akron, Ohio:

> If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder (and she glanced her eye over the platform) ougt to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up agin. And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em.[12]

This minimized the sin of Eve and emphasized her strength in turning the world upside down in the first place. It also reminded the men present that not all women were weaklings.

Sojourner had witnessed the problems of slavery first hand, and she made an astute correlation of the practice of slavery to the woman's rights movement in her speech before the Equal Rights Convention.

> There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about colored women and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs you see the colored men will be masters over the women and it will be just as bad as before. . . . You have been having our rights so long, that you think like a slave holder, that you own us.[13]

This observation was well-stated and effectively reminded the audience of the parallel between slavery and woman's rights. Freedom for Sojourner included the same political privileges for women as for men.

Did the speaker recognize a pressing problem of the times? Actually Sojourner helped to create a pressing problem. The anti-slavery crusades were enhanced by the colored abolitionists as they traveled throughout the North shaping public opinion. Not only was woman's rights a topic of national concern during the 1850's, but also the subject of woman suffrage was extremely prominent during the years when Congress was considering the fifteenth amendment for Negro suffrage. The word "sex" was left out, postponing national suffrage for women until the early twentieth century. Therefore, Sojourner helped sustain a pressing issue before the American people.

11. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 117.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 193.

Were the speaker's ideas consistent with her knowledge and experience with life? Sojourner's early life had placed her on an equal level with men in terms of labor in the field. When she later defended women, she used herself as an example. Due to her background and considering the years spent as a slave, it was not surprising that she refuted the point that women are weak.

> Nobody ever helps me into carriages or ober mud puddles, or gibs me any best place! And a'n't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my Arms! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns and no man can head me! And a'n't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it and bear de lash as well! And a'n't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and see 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me and A'n't I a women? [14]

This certainly was typical of Sojourner Truth, as she usually based her refutation on her own experiences.

In review, Sojourner's ideas regarding women's rights centered around the idea that women were equal to men in many ways. If the women paid taxes like men, then they should also have the same rights. And perhaps her most effective observation was that if Negro men were granted rights and not Negro women, then the men would be the "slaveholders" over the women. Her ideas were consistent with her own experiences; they demonstrated and helped create pressing problems of the times, and her ideas demonstrated her powers of observation.

Two questions were asked regarding the "truth" of Sojourner's supporting ideas in a functional existence. Did the speaker's ideas take root in society and result in good for a group as a whole? A majority of Sojourner's ideas did take root in society. However, it should be remembered that although an influential factor she was only one among many other speaker who advocated woman's rights. Have the speaker's ideas been morally approved by society from an appeal to historical reality? Even in Sojourner's time, several states were beginning to grant suffrage to women by state provisions. Finally, in 1920, a constitutional amendment was ratified granting suffrage to all women. Thus, her ideas on women's rights have been morally approved by society.

Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper

What were some of the supporting ideas that Frances Harper developed in her speeches on anti-slavery? Presenting an overview of both speeches, the writer isolated these ideas as significant. (1) "The law of liberty is the law of God and is antecedent to all human

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 116.

legislation."[15] (2) "Slavery is mean because it tramples the feeble and weak."[16] (3) "What we need today in the onward march of humanity is public sentiment in favor of common justice and simple mercy."[17] (4) "Give power and significance to your own life."[18]

To what extent did these four ideas demonstrate Frances Harper's powers of observation, alertness, and ability in independent thinking? Reviewing these ideas as a group, they were indicative of Frances's ability to pinpoint a specific issue as a result of her observation about society. Probably the best observation was that our society needed "public sentiment in favor of common justice and simple mercy."[19] Simple to state but difficult to implant and instill in society. This observation reminded the audience that public sentiment can do more to enhance the status of Negroes than a law or amendment passed by Congress. This idea was significant in 1875 and had universal appeal. Any society that legislates for the general welfare of the people, must realize that the law itself does not immediately assure rights and privileges; but the practical application of law by society through ". . . public sentiment in favor of common justice and simple mercy" is far more significant.

Did the speaker recognize a pressing problem of the times? In both speeches Frances Harper definitely incorporated pressing problems. Her statement that "slavery is mean because it tramples the feeble and weak"[20] referred to the kidnaping of the northern free Negroes and selling them in the South as slaves. Kidnaping was a frequent occurrence in the late 1850's when this speech was given.[21] Another economic problem that faced the nation in 1875 was employment and education of the freed Negroes. Her Philadelphia speech challenged the Negroes to give significance to their lives. On both occasions then, Frances Harper did discuss pressing problems of the times.

Were the speaker's ideas consistent with her knowledge and experiences in life? The greatest justification for removing slavery evolved from her Christian faith. For the "law of liberty is the law of God and is antecedent to all human legislation."[22] Therefore liberty had precedence over slavery and should be assured to all

15. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
20. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*
21. Hicks, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 599.
22. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*

children of God. Several other ideas that Mrs. Harper developed related to past experiences but did not originate in her own life. The incident of kidnaping related to her own dedication to the anti-slavery cause, but she had not been victim to kidnaping herself.

In 1875 she challenged her audience with an idea that was consistent with her own knowledge and philosophy of life.

> Give power and significance to your life and in the great work of upbuilding there is room for woman's work and woman's heart.[23]

Her own life had been an example of what Negro women could become with freedom, and she was appropriately wishing this success to others.

Two questions were asked regarding the "truth" of Frances Harper's ideas in a functional existence. Did the speaker's ideas take root in society and result in good for a group as a whole? A majority of Frances Harper's ideas did take root in society. Although she was a lecturer of national repute and an influential personality in shaping public opinion, it should be remembered that she was only one among many abolitionists. Have the speaker's ideas been morally approved by society from an appeal to historical reality? Frances Harper witnessed all three constitutional amendments which granted political rights to Negroes. Although her ideas have been morally approved by society, our country is still trying to achieve practical results from our civil rights laws.

In review, Frances Harper's supporting ideas regarding anti-slavery and the status of the Negro in 1875 centered around liberty and self-improvement. Perhaps her most astute observation was that public sentiment is the key to helping the Negro through "common justice and simple mercy." [24] Her ideas related to her experiences as a Negro but did not originate in her own life. For the most part she recognized a pressing problem of her race and her ideas had universal appeal.

Comparative Summary

In comparing the invention of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper the conclusion was reached that both women had several points in common. Both orators demonstrated alert powers of observation, speaking on pressing national problems. In fact, the suggestion was offered that Sojourner created a pressing problem along with other early speakers for woman's rights. The ideas of both orators took root in society and are today morally approved by

23. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

society. The main contrasting factor was that most of Sojourner's ideas originated from her own experiences which constituted the main source of her information. Frances Harper on the other hand used her knowledge of everyday events around her, not necessarily events which had happened to her. Frances was able to draw more ideas from her knowledge of the world. And this observation was not so profound when the writer considered the extent of her educational reading as demonstrated by references in her speeches.

However, despite this contrasting factor, it was concluded that the supporting ideas in the speeches of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper in all probability were appropriate to each orator and were largely influenced by the speaker's background.

LOGICAL PROOF

To attest the logical appeal of the arguments used by Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper this writer considered the forms of argumentation, the types of evidence and the validity of the argumentation. Aristotle described two kinds of proof, "artistic and non-artistic."

> By non-artistic proofs are meant all such as are not supplied by our own efforts, but existed before hand. . . . By artistic proofs are meant those that may be furnished by the method of rhetoric through our own efforts.[25]

These two modes of proof will serve as a basis of comparison for the two orators. It will be suggested that Sojourner Truth frequently employed artistic proofs, whereas Frances Harper relied heavily on non-artistic proofs.

Sojourner Truth

Did the speaker use logical forms of argumentation? Although illiterate and never a student of logic Sojourner Truth amazed her audiences with her refutation and constructive efforts developed through logical forms of argumentation. The two most frequent forms of argumentation used in refutation were "Turning the Tables" and *Reductio ad absurdum.* Since Sojourner had no formalized training in refutation, it was apparent from her speeches that she just listened to her opponents and then applied what she heard to her own experiences or her knowledge of the Bible.

Looking first to the special method of "Turning the Tables," Sojourner merely repeated the statement of her opponent and then used this information to her advantage. For example, in her speech in Akron, Ohio, she had heard a minister advance the argument that

25. Cooper, *op. cit.*, i. 2. 1356b, 11-16.

superior rights and privileges were claimed for man because of the "manhood of Christ." [26] Sojourner very cleverly replied:

> Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Wher did your Christ come from? (Rolling thunder couldn't have stilled that crowd as did those deep, wonderful tones, as she stood there with outstretched arms and eyes of fire. Raising her voice still louder, she repeated) Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin to do wid him! [27]

Without introducing any other type of evidence, Sojourner had effectively rebuked her opponent. Nothing more needed to be said.

Her utilization of *Reductio ad absurdum* was similar to the previous technique in that it also used the argument of the opponent. However, in this instance, Sojourner managed to carry the point farther—to the extreme or the absurd. The humor of the argument was enough to destroy the effectiveness of her opponent's point. In her speech delivered to the Equal Rights Association Convention, Sojourner was advocating woman suffrage. She stated her opponent's stand as,

> I am sometimes told that "Women ain't fit to vote. Why don't you know that a woman had seven devils in her; and do you suppose a woman is fit to rule the nation?" Seven devils ain't no account; a man had a legion in him. (great laughter) The devils didn't know where to go; and so they asked that they might go into the swine. They thought that was as good a place as they came out from (renewed laughter). They didn't ask to go into the sheep—no, into the hog, that was the selfishest beast; and man is so selfish that he has got women's rights and his own too, and yet he won't give women their rights, he keeps them all to himself.[28]

By continuing the argument and introducing humor into the story, Sojourner was able to minimize the effect of the original argument. Although both "Turning the Tables" and *Reductio ad absurdum* are special methods of refutation rather than strict formal types of argumentation, they were effective for Sojourner because by using these forms of artistic proofs, Sojourner was able to draw from her own experiences and observations of life.

Another form of argument that allowed Sojourner to draw from personal experiences was argument from example. She used this technique frequently either in refutation or in advancing constructive ideas. Her examples were usually appropriately to the point and probably effective since the audience in all probability realized the extent of her first-hand knowledge.

26. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 222.

The enthymeme was used in refutation and also as a constructive means of proof. When men claimed superior rights due to their superior intellect, Sojourner replied with this astute observation phrased in these words: "If my cup won't hold a pint and yourn holds a quart wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half measurefull?" [29] Since the men claimed superior rights based on their superior intellect, then Sojourner implied that women with some intellect, even if just a "pint" should have some rights. With a relatively hostile audience, nothing more that this indirect suggestion was needed. The audience responded with long and loud cheering.[30]

As a constructive means of proof Sojourner frequently relied on the enthymeme based on the hypothetical syllogism. In supporting her ideas that men and women were equal and therefore women should receive their equal rights, Sojourner made this reference to the Judgment Day: "I feel that if I have to answer for the deeds done in my body just as much as a man I have a right to have just as much as a man." [31] This expression assumed that all persons will have to answer for their deeds, an assumption probably held by the audience. Hence, the conclusion, also implied, was that women should have equal rights with men.

What types of evidence were used? The two main sources of Sojourner's evidence as already suggested were her knowledge of the Bible and experiences in her own life. The examples that Sojourner introduced into her speeches were definitely "artistic" proofs being composed primarily of her personal experiences as opposed to authoritarian or non-artistic proofs. However, in some of the references to the Bible stories, Sojourner does use direct quotations, and these could be labeled as authorities, depending on the audience. Sojourner might relate a parable from the Bible to her audience or use a direct quotation to prove her point. In any case it was noticed that she demonstrated a remarkable knowledge and memory of Biblical teachings. She told this story about Mary near Jesus' tomb and then related the message to all women.

> And when the men went to look for Jesus at the sepulchre they didn't stop long enough to find out whether he was there or not; but Mary stood there and waited and said to Him, thinking it was the gardener, "Tell me where they have laid him and I will carry him away." See what a spirit there is. Just so let women be true to this spirit and the truth will reign triumphant.[32]

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 116.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 193.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Drawing from her knowledge of the Bible, Sojourner effectively repeated passage after passage of scripture. Although illiterate her memory was not affected and she managed to have the scriptures read to her. It was astounding that without reading any part of the Bible, Sojourner could have remembered the passages so completely. Her use of the Bible not only supported her arguments but also perhaps bolstered her ethical appeal as a good Christian woman.

In addition to the Biblical references were those examples drawn from the everyday experiences of her life, both as slave and free. After she bought her home in Battle Creek, she began to pay taxes as any citizen. This experience was referred to in her speech before the Equal Rights Convention:

> I would like to go up to the polls myself. I own a little house in Battle Creek, Michigan. Well every year I got a tax to pay. Taxes, you see be taxes.[33]

In other words, if women can hold property and pay taxes then they should be able to vote. This assumption implied that there was some correlation between holding property and being qualified to vote. In review, the evidence used by Sojourner Truth in her speeches usually involved "artistic" or personal proofs based either on her knowledge of the Bible or experiences which originated in her own life.

Was the reasoning valid or specious? Most of the time Sojourner's reasoning was relatively sound, but occasionally she drew conclusions that were not warranted. Such was the case when she continued the previous argument relating to taxes and voting:

> Well, there was women there that had a house as well as I. They taxed them to build a road, and they went on the road and worked. It took 'em a good while to get a stump up. (laughter) Now, that shows that women can work. If they can dig up stumps they can vote. (laughter) It's easier to vote than dig stumps. (laughter)[34]

Of course it was faulty casual reasoning to assume that because women can dig up stumps they can vote. In fact, this correlation is non-existent. But somehow, this didn't seem to damage her logical appeal. In spite of the apparent weakness in argument, the Equal Rights Association members in all probability agreed that her example as their association had been formed to promote woman suffrage. Thus, the example was not hampered by faulty logic because Sojourner was telling the audience what they wanted to hear.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

In summary, Sojourner Truth relied on "artistic proofs" consisting of her own knowledge of the Bible and experiences in life for her logical appeal. She used her knowledge effectively via special techniques of "Turning the Tables" and *Reductio ad absurdum.* The main form of her constructive arguments utilized argument from example, another artistic proof. Frequently she used hypothetical statements worded as Aristotelian enthymemes. However, there was no evidence to suggest that Sojourner thought of her statements as enthymemes. These statements were probably just outgrowths of her own ideas and natural observations about life. Although her arguments were not always logically sound, and on occasion she drew unwarranted conclusions, her friendly audiences apparently did not disregard the arguments, but in fact accepted them, valid or not.

Frances E. W. Harper

Did the speaker use logical forms of argument? The speeches of Frances Harper suggested extensive knowledge of the self-educated woman through individual reading. She employed many logical and "non-artistic" proofs but two of the more frequent forms were the "Band Wagon Approach" and Argument from analogy.

In the early years when the abolitionists were not only informing and shaping public opinion but also campaigned for more supporters, it was understandable that they would attempt to justify their stand to the public. Frances Harper was no exception. In the following argument she used the propaganda technique now called the "Band Wagon Approach" which is used in persuasion to suggest that since everyone is supporting a plan or idea, it must be good. Mrs. Harper stated:

> But I will not dwell on the dark side of the picture. God is on the side of freedom; and any cause that has God on its side, I care not how much it may be trampled upon, how much it may be trailed in the dust, is sure to triumph. The message of Jesus Christ is on the side of Freedom. "I come to preach deliverance to the captives. The opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." The truest and noblest hearts in the land are on the side of freedom. . . . May I not, in conclusion, ask every honest, noble heart, every seeker after truth and justice, if they will not also be on the side of freedom. [35]

This "Band Wagon Approach" encouraged new supporters to join the "side of freedom" because with God, Jesus Christ, and all the truest and noblest hearts on their side, freedom would surely win in the end. Although this passage no doubt served a dual purpose involving great quantities of *pathos,* it was an appeal to a homo-

35. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*

geneous gathering of religious people who were concerned with the problems of anti-slavery. Therefore, this technique was effective in appealing to success and in giving a reason for supporting the side of freedom.

Another frequent form of argumentation used was the analogy. With a wealth of knowledge at her disposal, Frances Harper drew effective analogous situations to help explain her arguments. This type of argument, although a relatively weak form of logical proof, was used so extensively by Mrs. Harper that it merited attention. In her closing statement to the Philadelphia audience two analogies were used in the last two sentences which stated:

> Apparent failure may hold in its rough shell the germs of success that will blossom in time. What seemed to be a failure in and around the Cross of Calvary and in the garden has been the grandest recorded success. [36]

The impact of the first analogy suggested that apparent failure may not be bad, but in fact, the second analogy was introduced as proof that supported the first analogy. The "failure in and around the Cross of Calvary" was evidence that one failure became a success. In another instance an analogy was used as argument by explanation.

> It may not seem to be a gracious thing to mingle complaint in a season of general rejoicing. It may appear like the ancient Egyptians seating a corpse at their festal board to avenge the Americans for their shortcomings when so much has been accomplished. [37]

Thus, the analogy allowed Frances to clarify her arguments for the audience by pointing out frequent analogous situations.

What type of evidence was used? Since Mrs. Harper almost completely depended on her knowledge of books to supply her ideas, her evidence was for the most part, "non-artistic," that is she drew evidence from ideas or facts that already existed. Through the various types of evidence: quotations, facts, figures, and examples, Mrs. Harper demonstrated in these two speeches alone a knowledge of history, religion and philosophy. She related ideas of American history as well as world history referring to Bunker Hill and the Boston Tea Party in addition to the Hapsburgs. Her views on religion were not confined to the Bible and Christianity, but she demonstrated a knowledge of Mohammedanism in her analogy to the Mohammedan woman and her status in society. Philosophy was exemplified in her concern over the origin of man when she referred to Huxley and Darwin, but concluded by re-

36. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

minding the audience that ". . . there is one thing we may rest assured—we all come from the living God and that He is the common Father." [38] Hence, the source of her evidence was her vast knowledge of history, religion, and philosophy acquired through personal study.

Was the reasoning valid? For the most part the reasoning used by Frances Harper was valid. There did not seem to be any glaring fallacies in logic and the conclusions were warranted. Due to the nature of the audience, friendly and sympathetic on a commemorative occasion, there was little reason for the audience to question her logic.

In summary, the logical proof of Frances Harper's speeches centered around her use of "non-artistic" proofs. Rather than drawing from personal experiences, she used facts, examples, figures, drawn from her knowledge of religion, history, and philosophy, all acquired mainly from individual reading. Frances Harper used logical forms of argumentation. These included the "Band Wagon Approach" and the Analogy. For the most part her arguments were valid and the conclusions warranted.

Comparative Analysis

Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper used logical proof in their speeches very effectively. However, whether the orators knew in fact the techniques they were using was not significant. But of greater importance was that both speakers developed a type of proof that was appropriate to them as individuals. Sojourner frequently employed "artistic proofs" that included examples drawn from her immediate knowledge of the Bible and her everyday experiences in life. This technique was quite appropo for Sojourner. Frances Harper preferred a more sophisticated type of argument, supported by "non-artistic proofs." She was capable of developing such arguments very effectively due to the extent of her knowledge of the world.

Hence, a comparison of logical proof used by Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper suggested that these orators differed in their approach to argumentation, but that both orators were effective in developing a method that was an outgrowth of their backgrounds and environments combined.

EMOTIONAL PROOF

When examining the nature of the emotional proof used by both orators, the writer considered the audience prior to delivery of the

38. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

speech, the adjustment during the speech, and the extent and value of the emotional appeals.

Sojourner Truth

Was there evidence to indicate any analysis of the audience by the speaker before delivery? Factual evidence as to Sojourner's exact methods of analysis has not been recorded. However, the nature of the convention atmosphere would lend to easy analysis. The audience did not gather for one speech and then disband. Rather Sojourner usually attended all the sessions and therefore she was able to detect the prevailing attitudes of the audience.

Was there evidence in the speech of adjustment during delivery of the speech? Sojourner made it a practice to comment in her speeches as to what was happening in the audience. For example, at the Mob Convention she said:

> I can see them a laughin' and pointin' at their mothers up here on the stage. They hiss when an aged woman comes forth. If they'd been brought up proper they'd have known better than hissing like snakes and geese.[39]

This emotional appeal was designed to shame the audience by reminding the audience of the respect that was due elders, and also demonstrated that Sojourned frequently made comments in her speeches that referred to the audience. It was effective to interrelate with the audience in order to suggest the straightforwardness of her appeals.

What were other emotional appeals that the speaker used? One of the most interesting discoveries of this study was the apparent lack of emotion used in the speeches of Sojourner Truth. This was expected with early hostile audiences realizing that any further outbursts of emotion would only excite the mob to more radical actions. Consequently, Sojourner relied on her own cool, calm logic to tame their hostile spirits.

But even in her later speeches, *pathos* appeared quite infrequently. The only consistent use of *pathos* was her use of humor. According to the O'Connor study Sojourner was one of the first women to use humor in her speeches.[40] Previous examples have already suggested the humor and apparent audience response recorded by the witnesses at the various conventions. This aspect of her speaking made the speeches of Sojourner Truth an enjoyable experience for all who attended. Therefore, despite frequent references to her life as a slave, Sojourner Truth did not consistently use emotional proof other than her appeals to humor.

39. Stanton, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
40. O'Connor, *Pioneer Women Orators, op. cit.*, p. 88.

Is there evidence to indicate analysis of the audience by the speaker prior to delivery. Like Sojourner, Frances Harper's speeches were given at conventions and the opportunity existed to analyze the mood of the audience, prior to the speech. The commemorative nature of the occasion allowed Frances to use great appeals to emotion and she did so frequently.

In the speeches of Frances Harper there was little or no evidence of adjustment during the speech. She apparently did not make unplanned comments regarding the nature of the audience or her acceptance.

What emotional appeals did the speaker use? In the speeches of Frances Harper numerous emotional appeals may be isolated and evaluated. Three of the more effective appeals were directed toward justice, greed, and shame.

In her evaluation of the Civil War, she not only appealed to the emotion of justice but also incorporated several other appeals to fear and death, pity and sympathy in this excerpt from her Philadelphia Speech.

> Where is the public opinion that has scorched with red-hot indignation the cowardly murderers of Vicksburg and Louisiana. Sheridan lifts up the veil from Southern society and behind it is the smell of blood and our bones scattered at the graves mouth; murdered people; a White League with its "covenant of death and agreement with hell" and who cares? What city pauses one hour to drop a pitying tear over these mangled corpses, or has forged against the perpetrator one thunderbolt of furious protest? [41]

A combination of multiple emotions allowed Frances Harper to arouse the emotions of the audience successfully. These references to Vicksburg and Louisiana were catastrophic examples of the devastating Civil War. Many in the audience were familiar with the details of the battles, and, therefore, the preceding example had great emotional effect.

In her speech in New York City, her emotional appeals were even more poignant. The following appeal to greed was coupled with an analogy:

> A hundred thousand new-born babes are annually added to the victims of slavery; twenty thousand lives are annually sacrificed on the plantations of the South. Such a sight should send a horror through the nerves of civilization and impel the heart of humanity to lofty deeds. So it might, if men had not found out a fearful alchemy by which this blood can be transformed into gold. Instead of listening to the cry of agony, they listen to the ring of dollars and stoop down to pick up the coin. (applause)[42]

This strong appeal incorporated the current problems of separating

41. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
42. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*

and selling the children, forcing the slave labor to enhance the southern materialistic view toward slavery, and considered only the economic aspects of the problem. The impact of these direct and pathetic remarks had their effect, evidenced by the audience response of applause.

In review, Frances Harper used emotion to a great extent. The nature of the commemorative occasions was probably a factor that increased her effectiveness. The emotional appeals effectively enhanced her speeches as she appealed to the common emotions of fear, death, sympathy, and pity along with appeals to patriotism including justice, freedom, and liberty.

Perhaps the best evaluation of her emotional appeal was stated in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Garrison's speech which immediately followed Frances Watkins in New York. Mr. Garrison related:

> . . . our work is before us. How touching, how pathetic were the remarks of Miss Watkins, as she stood before you. Did I not feel with you, was not my heart touched with yours? And when I saw tears freely running down from many an eye, I said, this is a gush of pure manhood; it is the deepest sympathy. [43]

Thus, Frances Harper was able to capture the sentiment of the occasion and present effective emotional proof to enhance her arguments.

Comparative Analysis

In striking contrast, Sojourner's single use of humor opposed the extensive use of emotional appeals by Frances Harper. Although both orators had the opportunity for audience analysis prior to delivery of their speeches, Sojourner Truth related to the audience more appreciably than did Frances Harper. Frances's speeches did not suggest the close friendly relationship between the speaker and the audience that Sojourner was able to create, even with a relatively hostile audience. Frances Harper, although using very personal and frequent emotional appeals, remained somewhat aloof to her audience. And yet, the emotional appeals were very direct and created great emphatic responses in the audience as witnessed by Mr. Garrison's comment regarding the audience during her speech. While Sojourner relied heavily on humor to relax her audience and win them to her side, Frances's speeches were characterized by an obvious lack of humor. Frances was dedicated to the cause of inspiring people to become dedicated to the anti-slavery movement. Somehow, Sojourner was able to review her life, with all its cruelties, with amazing objectivity that allowed her to stand back and almost poke fun at what had happened to her. Despite their contrasting

43. *Ibid.*

practices regarding emotional proof, both speakers used *pathos* that fit their personalities and also complimented the nature of their audiences.

ETHICAL PROOF

Ethical Proof related to the acceptance of the speaker by the audience. Traditionally orators have attempted to establish intelligence, character, and good will in their audiences as outlined by Aristotle. [44] To what extent did Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper use ethical appeal?

Sojourner Truth

Intelligence and sagacity may be demonstrated by common sense and first hand knowledge of current national issues. Did Sojourner Truth demonstrate common sense, tact, and moderation in dealing with various topics? To a large degree common sense was one of Sojourner's greatest assets. When she addressed the Woman's Rights Convention in Akron, she demonstrated her good judgment in handling an unfriendly audience. She began:

> Wall chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out of kilter. I tink dat 'twixt de niggers of the Souf and de womin at de Norf all talkin' 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon! [45]

Her opening statement demonstrated her common sense in reviewing the situation at hand. She realized that the men were being pressured. This observation demonstrated common sense, as she suggested that man can stand just so much and then something has to give.

To what degree did Sojourner demonstrate first hand knowledge of current national issues? As previously suggested in the discussion of logical proof, Sojourner frequently used examples from her own life as a slave in support of her arguments. Therefore, she did demonstrate first hand information. Where was the primary impact—*logos* or *ethos*? There is a high probability that her examples of first hand information had more significant impact as logical proof because argument from example was the major form of argument used. Did Sojourner make observations that suggested the general extent of her knoweldge and thereby increased her ethical appeal? This example from the Equal Rights Convention speech supported the idea that even with a friendly audience, Sojourner did not neglect the *ethos* building process.

> I have been forty years a slave and forty years free and would be here forty years more to have equal rights for all.[46]

44. Cooper, *op. cit.*, ii. 2. 1378a. 2-3.
45. Stanton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
46. *Ibid.*

The specific accounts of her life were used as logical proofs, but the above example also suggested *ethos*. It showed the authoritarian side to her first hand information.

Did Sojourner reveal character by associating her message with what was virtuous? Sojourner did not associate her message with what was virtuous as much as she attempted to associate herself with virtue. Before the Mob Convention would accept her speech, they had to accept her as a speaker, and this was not an easy task for Sojourner. Reports of the convention said that Sojourner, as an individual, ". . . combined the two most hated elements of humanity. She was black and she was a woman and all the insults that could be cast upon color and sex were together hurled at her." [47] Therefore, her opening remarks were definitely attempts to establish her own character as a "good citizen."

> Is it not good for me to come and draw forth a spirit, to see what kind of spirit people are of? . . . I feel at home here. I come to you, citizens of New York as I suppose you ought to be. I am a citizen of the state of New York. I was born in it, and I was a slave in tthe state of New York and now I am a good citizen of this state.[48]

In her opening paragraph Sojourner attempted to build her own character by reminding the audience that although she was a woman and a Negro, she was still "a good citizen of this state." This technique was effective because she implied that as a fellow citizen in good standing she also had the right to free speech, and, therefore, the audience should listen to her.

Did the speaker attempt to minimize unfavorable impressions of herself? Sojourner realized the nature of the Mob Convention and their feelings towards women. She appropriately remarked:

> I know it feels kind o' hissin' and ticklin' like to see a colored woman get up and tell you 'bout things and woman's rights. We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up agin, but we have been long enough trodden now, we will come up again, and now I am here.[49]

By minimizing the unfavorable impression the audience held, Sojourner was able to begin her speech.

In addition to intelligence and character, establishing good will was a third technique to effective ethical proof. Was there evidence of praise for the audience? Sojourner frequently began her speeches with some word of encouragement or praise. A typical technique in her introductory remarks was to compliment the audience in this fashion, "Well chilern, I'm glad to see so many together." [50] Another

47. *Ibid.*, p. 567.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

instance of praise occurred when Sojourner surprisingly acknowledged that ". . . white women are a great deal smarter than colored." [51] This statement probably enhanced her ethical appeal as she built the ego of the white women attending the convention.

Did the speaker attempt to identify herself with the hearers and their problems? Sojourner identified with her audience in several ways. One effective statement referred to the idea that man acted like slaveholders over their women, and Sojourner observed:

> I know that it is hard for one who has held the reins for so long to give it up; it cuts like a knife. It will feel all the better when it closes up again.[52]

Thus, by suggesting that she too understood the problems of granting freedom, she established common ground. This was effective as she suggested that even after all her years as a slave, she realized that releasing personal property was difficult.

A contemporary, Harriet Beecher Stowe, attested to Sojourner Truth's ethical appeal:

> I do not recollect ever to have been conversant with anyone who had more of that silent and subtle power which we call personal presence than this woman.[53]

In review, Sojourner attempted to establish ethical proof by using all three traditional concepts of intelligence, character and good will. Her ethical proof did not vary significantly between her speeches to friendly audiences and hostile ones. Only her manner of expression changed. Usually Sojourner was more subtle with hostile audiences, whereas she was direct with the friendly ones. Before she could associate her message with what was virtuous, she first needed to establish herself as a worthy speaker. Good will was presented in most all of her speeches and consisted of praise and identification with the audience.

Frances E. W. Harper

Both audiences of Frances Harper were gathered on commemorative occasions, and Mrs. Harper had established her reputation as an anti-slavery lecturer of national repute. Davis, a historian, attested to the value of her reputation:

> . . . Mrs. Harper having established herself very favorable in the public eye as a Negro poet and shining example (along with Frederick Douglas and other platform personalities) of what the Negro might become in freedom.[54]

51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
53. Stowe, *op. cit.*, p. 473.
54. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 864.

With a fine reputation and a friendly audience, this question was asked: Was there evidence of ethical proof in the text of her speeches? It was discovered that in addition to her reputation, she continued to use various forms of ethical proof.

To what extent did she attempt to establish intelligence, character, and good will? Generally, Frances Harper displayed common sense and good judgment in dealing with her subject matter; however, she did not usually make an effort to display first hand information. She frequently exerted tact by prefacing her remarks with "if I understand" [55] or "permit me to say." [56] Her Philadelphia speech referred to a "white league with its covenant of death" [57] rather than outright stating that she was talking about the Ku Klux Klan. This reference was subtle and displayed good taste. Since everyone in the audience probably understood the meaning of the reference, this example probably enhanced her *ethos* as a tactful speaker.

Although Frances Harper spoke on topics of current national interest—she did not demonstrate a personal involvement through first hand information to any extent. Therefore, Frances Harper established her sagacity or intelligence through her tact, good taste and interest in current national topics.

Did Frances Harper reveal character by associating her message with what was virtuous? The writer isolated an appeal to each of the three Christian virtues: Faith, hope, and charity. In her Philadelphia speech, faith was incorporated in this appeal: "For a life that is in harmony with God and sympathy for man there is no such word as fail." [58] Her appeal to hope suggested that "apparent failure may hold in its rough shell the germs of success." [59] Her sentiment for charity was revealed in this challenge: "If you have ampler gifts, hold them as larger opportunities with which you can benefit others." [60] Whether or not these appeals enhanced her *ethos* or were used for their emotional appeal should be determined. The fact that these appeals were placed in the last part of the speech suggested to this writer that she was hoping to encourage or inspire the audience with these virtues rather than to increase her own ethical appeal by establishing character.

Frances Harper did not make reference to any attempts to minimize unfavorable impressions of herself simply because it was

55. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*

doubted that any such impressions existed. Her reputation was established and it was a great honor for her to be asked to speak, especially in Philadelphia.

Good will was not difficult to develop on a commemorative occasion. The Philadelphia audience was a homogeneous group that had gathered to celebrate one hundred years of anti-slavery accomplishments. Mrs. Harper made attempts in the text of her speech to praise the audience and also to identify herself with them.

> We have a civilization which has produced grand and magnificant results, diffused knowledge, overthrown slavery, made constant conquests over nature and built up a wonderful material prosperity.[61]

Her praise complimented the audience and their progress. Mrs. Harper identified herself with the audience by the use of "we" as in the previous example. In her Philadelphia speech she specifically identified with the colored persons attending when she used the phrase, "before us colored people." [62] But a few sentences later, she identified with the entire audience in her reminder that ". . . we all come from the living God and he is the common Father." [63] Both statements created good will through identification.

In review, Frances Harper had a fine reputation, and the nature of her audience did not suggest that she had to utilize ethical proof; however, she incorporated ethical proof by demonstrating intelligence, creating good will, and establishing character in her speeches.

Comparative Analysis

When comparing and contrasting the ethical appeal of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper, the conclusion was reached that Sojourner Truth had the more difficult task of building *ethos*. Both speakers appeared to demonstrate common sense and tact in dealing with the subject matter. However, Sojourner Truth usually demonstrated more first hand knowledge of the current national issues than did Frances Harper. This can be expected as Sojourner's birth dictated her a slave for many years. It was not only easy to draw from her experiences, but these experiences constituted her main storehouse of ideas. Frances Harper, on the other hand, only witnessed the evils of slavery as happening to others and not to herself. Her affiliations with the Underground Railroad may have enhanced her dedication to the anti-slavery cause, but she could not relate personal experiences as did Sojourner Truth.

With a different prevailing attitude in the audience, these women also differed in their approach to the task of establishing character.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Due to the hostility felt toward Sojourner, she attempted to establish herself as a "good citizen" before relating the virtues or merits of her ideas. Frances Harper related her message with each of the three Christian virtues. Because she had already established rapport with the audience, associating her message with these virtues had more of an emotional rather than an ethical impact.

Sojourner Truth found it necessary to attempt to minimize unfavorable impressions of herself as comments in her speech indicated. However, no such implications were suggested in Frances Harper's speeches. The merits of her reputation suggest that in all probability such unfavorable impressions did not exist.

Both women found it necessary to offer words of praise and identification with their audiences. In summary, it seemed that Sojourner Truth had the more difficult task of building *ethos.* However, both women were equally successful in their attempts to suggest intelligence, build character, and good will with the audience.

STRUCTURE

An analysis of structure or arrangement of speech materials included investigation and evaluation of the organizational pattern, and the introduction, conclusion, and special uses of previews and internal summaries. Did Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper differ significantly in their use of arrangement?

Sojourner Truth

Sojourner Truth did not use organizing principles such as climactic or anti-climactic arrangement of ideas; however, an organizational plan or pattern was apparent. Sojourner always had an introduction and some type of conclusion even if it only consisted of one sentence. In the main body of her speeches she just explained the points she wanted to make. Occasionally when refuting arguments, she went randomly from one point to the next with no unifying frame of reference. However, it should be remembered that Sojourner did not prepare her speeches in the traditional sense. All were given extemporaneously or on the spur of the moment. Hence, it would seem that the type of arrangement used by Sojourner was a logical outgrowth of her background and experience in speaking.

How effective was the introduction? Did it capture attention? When Sojourner used more than a one or two sentence introduction, she usually took time to comment on the occasion and the audience, and to build *ethos* in general. Her introduction took the form of entertaining the audience before getting to the main ideas in the

speech. In her Boston speech, Sojourner spent three-fourths of the speech talking about herself and entertaining the audience with her humorous and pathetic stories and the last one-fourth talking about her main idea—the petition for Congress. However, the typical introduction related to the occasion, herself, and perhaps the audience. This type of introduction captured attention and was quite effective for both friendly and hostile audiences. It broke the ice and gave the audience an opportunity to get used to her unique speaking style. The use of ethical proof established Sojourner as a woman of intelligence, character, and good will. Therefore, Sojourner managed to use the introduction to her advantage, and it was an important part in the total arrangement of the speech.

The very short conclusions that Sojourner used usually included comments of appreciation. A typical remark was brief and to the point, such as this example taken from her first speech in Akron, Ohio, "Bleeged to ye for hearin' on me and now old Sojourner han't got nothin' more today." [64] As Sojourner gained experience in speaking her conclusions repeated the central theme of the speech. This example, in 1871 was taken from the speech in Boston. "I speech dese tings so dat when you hav a paper come for you to sign, you ken sign it." [65] Thus, Sojourner did use a conclusion to thank the audience for their attention and on occasion made reference to her central theme; however, the conclusion was not a significant part of arrangement.

Was there evidence of previews and internal summaries? Sojourner's speeches were almost void of internal summaries, and her previews usually suggested the topic to be discussed in the speech rather than previewing or listing main points to be covered. This example was typical of Sojourner and was taken from her address before the Mob Convention in New York.

> I've been lookin round and watchin' things and I know a little mite 'bout woman's rights too. I come forth to speek about woman's rights and want to throw in my little mite and keep the scales a movin. [66]

In other words Sojourner made such statements early in the speech suggesting the general topic of her speech, but she did not preview the main points. Hence, neither internal summaries nor previews were a significant part of arrangement.

In summary, was the total organizational plan consistent with the existing audience conditions? Sojourner's pattern of arrangement placed the primary emphasis on the introduction. She explained

64. Stanton, Vol. I., *op. cit.*, p. 116.
65. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 216.
66. Stanton, Vol. II., *op. cit.*, p. 567.

her main points as they came to her and frequently only used one or two sentence conclusions. Was this consistent to the existing conditions? For the most part the convention atmosphere allowed the speaker freedom to utilize any organizational pattern. However, since the audience was accustomed to hearing three or four speakers a session, Sojourner's emphasis on humor in her introductions was probably appreciated. Her personal touches in the introduction gave her speeches originality, and thus her arrangement was effective. Let them relax, tell a few stories, and then introduce the real content of the speech, seemed to be the pattern of arrangement that Sojourner followed.

Frances E. W. Harper

Were the main points arranged in any organizational pattern? Frances Harper's speeches reflected her abilities as a writer as well as a speaker. In the two speeches examined, the first employed climactic arrangement with the main points building to a climax—the challenge to the audience to be "on the side of freedom." [67] In the Philadelphia Speech in 1875, Frances Harper used anti-climactic arrangement stating, "the great problem to be solved by the American people is" [68] in her first sentence of the speech. From this point of departure she explained the problem and its many facets throughout the rest of the speech. Mrs. Harper was no doubt familiar with other types of arrangement because in her review of the past, she incorporated chronological arrangement in a one paragraph development. These organization principles suggested that the speeches from Frances Harper were carefully prepared with thought given to the proper arrangement of the ideas.

How effective was the introduction? Did it capture attention? Although the first paragraph in Frances Harper's speeches may be labeled as an introduction, it did not refer to the occasion, the audience, or the speaker for that matter. It related to the immediate nature of the subject matter. In the first speech she began by establishing the basis of her argument when she stated that "the law of liberty is the law of God." [69] And in the second speech she began with the statement of the problem. Therefore, the introduction used by Frances Harper did not play a significant part in the total arrangement pattern.

On the other hand her conclusions were a significant part of the speech. During the final paragraph she usually made reference to the future or the work at hand. In her first speech this was the

67. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*
68. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
69. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*

placement for her most important idea, her challenge for the audience to become involved "on the side of freedom." [70] Even with anti-climactic arrangement in the Philadelphia speech her conclusion was short and to the point. Yet it included an emotional appeal and an analogy. Her last statement that "What seemed to be a failure around the Cross of Calvary and in the garden has been the grandest recorded success" [71] was not to be easily forgotten. Hence, the conclusions in the speeches of Mrs. Harper played an important function in the total arrangement pattern.

Was there evidence of previous and internal summaries? Although these two special techniques appeared infrequently in the speeches of Frances Harper, they were not significant to the total arrangement plan.

In summary, was the total organizational plan consistent with the existing audience conditions? If the critic assumed that Frances Harper realized the extent of her reputation and, therefore, did not deem it necessary to include personal introductory remarks, then her organizational pattern was justified. Otherwise, it may be said that she ignored her audience for the most part and gave prepared speeches which were tightly organized and that she did not digress from that organization.

Comparative Analysis

The arrangement patterns of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper differed significantly. However, the conclusion was reached that each speaker was justified in her own approach to arrangement.

Since it has been suggested that Sojourner Truth gave her speeches extemporaneously, it was likely that she would not follow any of the traditional organizing principles. Her lack of education merely prepared her to listen to her opponent and then to relate her ideas as they came to her. Frances Harper, on the other hand, had gained a reputation as a writer and poet. Her use of climactic, anti-climactic and chronological arrangement did not appear out of place, but were used effectively and suggested that with training and experience in writing she probably prepared her speeches ahead of time.

The contrasting use of the introduction and the conclusion was also a technique of each speaker. In the previous analysis of ethical proof it was suggested that Sojourner Truth had the more difficult task. Therefore, it was apparent that she needed to spend more time on her introductory remarks. It has also been implied that Frances Harper realized the extent of her reputation and, therefore,

70. *Ibid.*
71. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

did not feel an immediate need to refer to the audience, occasion, or herself specifically. Sojourner treated the conclusion to her speeches very casually, but in contrast, the conclusion was a significant part of arrangement for Frances Harper. She challenged the audience, included emotional appeals, and frequently left a favorable impression on the audience.

In summary, the conclusion reached regarding arrangement was that even though these two women differed significantly, they were both justified in their approaches.

STYLE

The evaluation of style included an investigation of the correctness, clearness, appropriateness and ornateness of the language of each speaker. How did the style of speaking used by Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper compare?

Sojourner Truth

Was the speech grammatically correct? When the two speeches of Sojourner Truth were recorded in Negro dialect then obvious grammatical errors were present. One error involved subject and verb agreement such as "they have got" [72] and "he say" [73] Another error was the frequent misuse of verbs, for example: "learn 'em to read." [74] Yet a third typical error reflected the use of adjectives, "more crueler and more harder." [75] However, it was noted that in the two remaining speeches when no attempt was made to suggest the dialect these typical errors were not present. Therefore, it was concluded that because Sojourner Truth did speak in dialect, she frequently committed grammatical errors, and when her recorders did not attempt to recreate the dialect they omitted the obvious grammatical errors. Did these errors enhance or detract from her style? The conclusion was reached that in all probability her colloquial way of speaking established a style that was plain and simple and that these errors suggested that Sojourner was just a common, ordinary person. The speeches of Sojourner consisted of plain and ordinary words that depended on their denotative value for impact. Infrequently did Sojourner use words with high connotative value.

Were the words arranged to express clear, coherent ideas? Sojourner was able to develop her points through effective word arrangement, although it was assumed that this was a probable

72. Stanton, *et al.*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 116.
74. Titus, *Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 216.
75. Stanton, *et al.*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

result of her natural talent and not of extensive speech preparation. In reference to the activities of Negro men she stated, ". . . their men go about idle, strutting up and down." [76] Another equally effective example of a clear-cut idea was this statement from her Equal Rights Convention speech. "We are trying for liberty that required no bloodshed—that women shall have their rights—not rights from you." [77] The effective phrasing reminded that if women were granted rights it would be in addition to those held by men and the men would not be losing any of their rights in the process. Hence, word arrangement allowed Sojourner's style of speaking to express clear, coherent ideas.

Were the descriptive passages vivid and full of imagery? Descriptive passages appeared infrequently in the speeches of Sojourner Truth. On one occasion, she stated, ". . . while the water is stirring I will step into the pool." [78] However, this example was not typical nor a significant characteristic of Sojourner's style. In her speeches there was an overall lack of descriptive passages and elevated language.

Was there evidence of figures of speech and other stylistic devices, and were they used effectively? The writer isolated figures of speech such as the simile, "it cuts like a knife," [79] or "they hiss their mothers like snakes;" [80] however, this technique appeared only twice in all four speeches combined. The only stylistic device that was isolated was Sojourner's repetition of "Ain't I a woman?" [81] Did Sojourner use this as a stylistic device? Verification on this point was impossible, but this writer concluded that with an apparent lack of knowledge regarding stylistic devices, the repetitious phrase, "Ain't I a woman?" was in all probability unplanned as a stylistic device but was an outgrowth or conclusion to her argument that she merely repeated.

Was the language appropriate for the particular audience and occasion? This question was relevant if the critic assumed that a speaker might change his style for a particular audience. Such was not the case with Sojourner Truth. All four speeches examined maintained the same characteristic style, whether delivered to a friendly or hostile audience. When Sojourner's style was related to the convention atmosphere, it was in all probability very entertaining and represented a change from the usual modes of expression used by other women and men with superior educations.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 568.
81. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 115.

What conclusions were drawn regarding the style of Sojourner Truth? With grammatical errors frequent, high connotative value of words virtually non-existent, denotative value of words suggesting clear, coherent ideas, and a general lack of either descriptive passages or stylistic devices, it was concluded that the style of Sojourner Truth was "plain" as defined in Chapter One of this thesis.

Frances E. W. Harper

Was the speech grammatically correct? The speeches of Frances Harper were characterized by the absence of grammatical errors. Did the words have high connotative as well as denotative meaning? Frances Harper frequently utilized words and phrases that had great connotative value such as the reference to keeping blood hounds in the South to hunt the slaves.

> Ye, blood hounds, go back to your kennels! When you fail to catch the flying fugitive, when his stealthy tread is heard in the place where the revolutionary sires repose, the ready North is base enough to do your shameful service. (applause) [82]

The denotative meaning of the words in this passage add to its impressiveness, but the derogatory connotation attached to the North being base enough to stoop to the level of dogs was an effective stylistic technique, which greatly enhanced her manner of expression. The real impact of this passage of elevated language was probably realized in the audience as they identified themselves with the speaker's moral stand and, therefore, excluded themselves from the group of Northerners under attack.

Were the words arranged to express clear, coherent ideas? Frances Harper was a master at clearness and conciseness. She referred to the success of the colored man who ". . . has exchanged the fetters on his wrist for the ballot in his hand." [83] This elevated language suggested a triumph for the colored people. This was an effective and descriptive method of suggesting the passing of an old era, the iron braces, and the coming of a new era, the ballot in the hand. And yet, Frances Harper demonstrated a unique combination of elements of clearness and imagery. In her New York City speech she commented, "he hitches me to the car of slavery and trails my womanhood in the dust." [84] This combination of realism and the description elevated the style, and in all probability the realistic expressions served as attention devices, and then the imagery that followed elevated the audience's feelings through the connotation and imagery of the words.

82. *National Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*
83. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
84. *Natonal Anti-Slavery Standard, loc. cit.*

Were descriptive passages vivid and full of imagery? Images were created by picturesque language as Frances stated, "Though fertility has covered my soil, though a genial sky bends over my hills and vales. . . ." [85] Another typical example of vivid and elevated language was her reference to the "waves of the tempest-lashed ocean." [86] The previous examples were found to be typical and numerous in the speeches of Frances Harper, and, therefore, it was concluded that descriptive passages enhanced the style to a level of impressive and elevated language.

Was there evidence of figures of speech and other stylistic devices, and were they used effectively? This writer observed that Frances Harper was definitely a stylist. Her frequent and effective use of stylistic devices and figures of speech greatly enhanced her speeches. Parallel structure was an effective means of repetition in this example in the first sentence of the Philadelphia speech, "strength enough . . . virtue enough in . . . and power enough in . . ." [87] Word series was another common technique, "the future strength, progress and durability of our nation." [88] In a transitional phrase Frances Harper effectively paraphrased a passage of scripture, "but while I lift mine eyes to the future." [89] Another stylistic device was her almost poetical expression of ideas in this question, "What city pauses one hour to drop a pitying tear over these mangled corpses . . . ?" [90] Another very poetical expression was, "Instead of golden showers upon his head, he who garrisoned the front had a halter around his neck." [91] These various stylistic devices gave her speeches great variety. From the realistic and almost universal statements she elevated her descriptions to the abstract and lofty. This variety of expression in all probability added greatly to her interesting appeal as a speaker. Since Frances Harper developed an early love of poetry and had training as well as experience in writing, the conclusion was drawn that in all probability Frances Harper knew the various kinds of stylistic devices and used them for effect.

Was the language appropriate for the particular audience and occasion? The commemorative nature of both audiences allowed Frances Harper to use elevated language. She combined several

85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
91. *Ibid.*

elements of a commemorative address, praise and blame[92] and challenged her audience through an elevated style of language.

What conclusions were drawn regarding the style of Frances E. Watkins Harper? With an absence of grammatical errors, high connotative as well as denotative meanings associated with important words, the presentation of clear, coherent ideas, and an abundance of descriptive passages full of imagery and numerous stylistic devices that were effectively used, it was concluded that the style of Frances Harper was "grand" as defined in Chapter One of this thesis.

Comparative Analysis

A comparative analysis of style disclosed several major differences between the oral styles of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper. According to the definitions presented in Chapter One of this thesis, the conclusion was drawn that Sojourner used a "plain" style; whereas the style of Frances Harper could be called "grand."

The first obvious difference between these two orators involved the use of grammar. With the lack of education it was not surprising to find grammatical errors in the Negro dialect of Sojourner Truth. On the other hand the misuse of grammar was not expected of Frances Harper, who had a basic education and refrained from using dialect. The speeches of Frances Harper were devoid of grammatical errors. Thus, the conclusion was reached that with their differences in education, the contrast in basic use of grammar was highly probable.

Despite Sojourner's misuse of grammar, she managed to express her ideas in a clear and coherent fashion. This was the only area of style where both orators compared favorably. Frances Harper also presented her ideas through effective word choice in her speeches.

The second very obvious difference in style between Sojourner and Frances was their use of descriptive passages. Sojourner's speeches did not contain descriptive passages. With her lack of education, it was not expected that Sojourner have a large vocabulary. Frances Harper, on the other hand, used description and vivid imagery. Her extensive and impressive vocabulary was a probable outgrowth of her individual reading.

A third striking difference in style was the use of stylistic devices by Frances Harper and the absence of these devices in the speeches of Sojourner Truth. It was suggested that there was a high degree of probability that Frances Harper used stylistic devices for their effect, while Sojourner probably did not realize the value of such types of expression.

92. Cooper, *op. cit.*, i. 9. 1366a. 14-16.

Although the styles of these two Negro women orators were opposite in several respects, it was concluded that each woman developed a style that was appropriately her own, largely affected by her education or lack of it. In both cases the most influential factor was that even with opposing styles, both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were able to express themselves with clear, coherent ideas.

DELIVERY

Analysis of delivery included speech preparation, the speaker's physical characteristics, bodily action, gestures, and the voice as influential factors. Did the methods of delivery of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper differ significantly?

Sojourner Truth

Was there evidence of speech preparation prior to the occasion? As suggested in the section on arrangement, it was probable that Sojourner did not prepare her speeches in the traditional sense. She attended the meetings and had, on occasion, the opportunity to evaluate previous speakers and their attempts at argument in advance. She may have even thought about the ideas between sessions. However, there was no evidence to suggest careful preparation prior to delivery.

Were the speaker's physical characteristics conducive to her effectiveness? There was little doubt but that Sojourner's appearance enhanced her effectiveness. According to eye witness reports of the Akron Convention, "Sojourner stood nearly six feet high, head erect and eyes piercing the upper air like one in a dream." [93] One of her biographers included this description of Sojourner, cited in 1835. Although it did not refer to any specific speech it did describe her appearance.

> She has African features and no apparent mixture of blood. She is not exactly bad looking but there is nothing prepossessing or very observant or intelligent in her looks yet throughout we find her reflecting. . . ." [94]

Sojourner's physical characteristics undoubtedly impressed her audience, as she stood nearly six feet tall with her reflective air.

Did the speaker use bodily action and gestures in the delivery of the speech? In Frances Gage's account of the speech in Akron, she explained that when Sojourner said "Look at my arm! (she bared her right arm to the shoulder showing them her tremendous muscular power)." [95] The impact of her gestures was also sug-

93. Stanton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
94. Gilbert Vale, *Fanaticism, Its Sources and Influences.* (New York: 1835), cited by Hertha Pauli, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
95. Stanton, *et al.*, *loc. cit.*

gested by Frances Gage, the presiding chairman. In reference to the minister and his argument on intellect, "she pointed her significant finger and sent a keen glance at the minister who had made the argument." [96] Thus, an eye-witness to the delivery of Sojourner Truth suggested that she used bodily action and gestures during the delivery of her speeches. This writer concluded from the remarks made above that Sojourner's delivery was outgoing and somewhat "masculine." She was not in the traditional sense "reserved," but rather her delivery complimented her style, using common gestures that accentuated her folksy expressions.

Was the speaker's voice an influential factor that enhanced her presentation? As suggested by eye witness reports, it was concluded that not only was Sojourner Truth's voice powerful but that also the sincerity of her voice enhanced her delivery. Mrs. Gage described her voice as being deep toned without being loud. Evidently Sojourner's projection was clear as Mrs. Gage continued, "her voice reached every ear in the house and away through to the throng at the doors." [97] Sallie Holley attested to the significance of Sojourner's voice in this observation, "she talks like one who has not only heard of American slavery, but has seen and felt it." [98] Therefore, this writer concluded that it was probable that with a powerful voice and one that suggested great sincerity, Sojourner's voice enhanced her delivery.

In summary, did the speaker's delivery enhance or detract from the speech? With her unusual height, this tall, impressive figure used bodily action and gestures in delivery coupled with a strong and sincere voice that in all probability greatly enhanced her speaking efforts.

Frances E. W. Harper

Was there evidence of speech preparation prior to the occasion? No recorded data has been discovered by this writer describing Mrs. Harper's method of preparation. *The Independent* stated that "she speaks without notes;" however, the writer did not conclude from this information that her speeches were given extemporaneously like Sojourner Truth's. But after careful examination of the speech texts and review of Mrs. Harper's experiences and talents in writing, this writer assumed that there was a high degree of probability that Mrs. Harper wrote out or prepared her speeches before delivery and then delivered her speeches from memory. The previous discussion of arrangement also supported this theory.

96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. Sallie Holley in Chadwick, *loc. cit.*, cited by Yoakam, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

Were the speaker's physical characteristics conducive to her effectiveness? This direct observation of Frances Harper was recorded by an eye witness, Gloria Greenwood, after one of Miss Watkins's addresses:

> She has a noble head, this bronze muse; a strong face with a shadowed glow upon it indicative of thought and of a nature most feminely sensitive but not in the least morbid. She stands quietly beside her desk and speaks without notes, with gestures few and fitting. Her manner is marked by dignity and composure. She is never assuming, never theatrical.[99]

Her physical presence suggested a certain quietness and dignity. The feminine approach complimented her style and her treatment of the subject matter, because as a dignified and poised speaker, she revealed a sophisticated and intellectual development of her ideas. The previous quotation also indicated that "her gestures were few and fitting;" therefore, it was concluded that her lack of bodily action and her "few but fitting" gestures probably added to the dignity and quietness of her delivery.

Was the speaker's voice an influential factor that enhanced her presentation? In 1893, Lawson A. Scruggs, another eye witness to her speeches, stated:

> Mrs. Harper has splendid articulation, uses chaste, pure language, has a pleasant voice and allows no one to tire of hearing her.[100]

This concept of a clear and pleasant voice was also reinforced by another eye witness to her speeches, Phoeba Hanaford:

> As one listens to her clear, plaintive, melodious voice, and follows the flow of her musical speech in her logical presentation of truth he can be charmed with her oratory and rhetoric, and forgets that she is of the race once enslaved in our land.[101]

From these accounts of her voice and its relative effectiveness, the writer concluded that with variation in inflection and clear articulation, her almost musical approach to speaking generally added to the effectiveness of her delivery.

In summary, did the speaker's delivery enhance or detract from the speech? The quiet and dignified manner of speaking employed by Frances Harper coupled with her articulate and expressive voice no doubt enhanced her delivery.

Comparative Analysis

A comparison of delivery like style demonstrated opposing rather than similar characteristics. The first difference regarded speech

99. Gloria Greenwood in *The Independent*, cited by Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
100. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
101. Phoeba Hanaford, cited by Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

preparation. Although data was not found to support either theory, this writer concluded that there was a high degree of probability that Sojourner Truth with a lack of education, limited vocabulary, an inability to write, probably did not prepare her speeches ahead of time in the traditional sense. It was also indicated that Frances Harper with her education, immense and descriptive vocabulary, and talent in writing probably wrote out her speeches ahead of time but delivered them from memory.

The physical characteristics of both women were different, and yet due to their own unique personalities, these characteristics in all probability were conducive to their relative effectiveness.

Sojourner had lived and worked as a slave. Her folksy expressions complimented her somewhat "masculine" approach to delivery. Her deep tones and robust gestures appreciably added to the masculine image she probably created. In striking contrast, Frances Harper's delivery was characterized by a quiet dignified style that was labeled as "feminine," and her voice added to the overall impression of her delivery.

In summary, despite the apparent differences not only in speech preparation, physical characteristics, bodily action, but also in gestures and voice, each woman developed a pattern of delivery that was uniquely her own. This uniqueness was the logical outgrowth of each speaker's background and influences. Because their delivery also exemplified their personal traits and interests, their delivery complimented the overall speech presentation. It was effective for Sojourner to be "masculine" in her delivery as the actions often added extra force to the words or thoughts. On the other hand, with the subtle and indirect suggestions of Frances Harper it was good that she was more reserved and polished. Therefore, these unique qualities probably added to the overall effectiveness of their delivery.

EFFECTIVENESS

In determining effectiveness this writer considered the nature of the surface response to the speech, the readability of the speech, the orator's effectiveness in judging trends of the future, substantial audience change in belief or attitude, and the long range effects on a social group.

Sojourner Truth

What was the nature of the immediate surface response to the speech? In general, Sojourner created a very favorable response in her audiences. Typical reactions by the audience included ap-

plause[102] and sometimes large groups rushed forward to congratulate her. [103] Mrs. Gage described the specific reaction at the Akron, Ohio, Convention:

> Amid roars of applause, she retired to her corner leaving more than one of us with streaming eyes and hearts beating with gratitude. Hundreds rushed up to shake hands with the old mother. [104]

When the writer considered the nature of this unfriendly audience before Sojourner's speech, their gratitude and actions to congratulate her seemed highly indicative of Sojourner's effectiveness.

At the Equal Rights Convention, the uneasiness of the audience after her address was suggested by Charles Remond. Mr. Remond was a noted abolitionist and the next speaker at the convention. He suggested the difficulty in following a speaker like Sojourner in his remarks, "It requires a rash man to rise at this stage of the meeting, with the hope of detaining the audience even for a few moments." [105] The immediate surface response to Sojourner's speeches included applause and hand-shaking. There may have been a general atmosphere of excitement since Mr. Remond suggested the difficulty in holding the audience's attention.

Did the speech read well? The two speeches that were not recorded in dialect, the Mob Convention and the Equal Rights Convention, read very easily. The remaining two speeches recorded in dialect were somewhat hard to follow only until the writer became used to the dialect, and then the speeches read well.

Was the speech technically perfect? Again the speeches recorded in dialect differ from the two speeches that suggested dialect. The latter were found to be technically perfect in terms of overall sentence construction and grammar for the most part. The speeches in dialect did not suggest technical perfection but in all probability did not hamper their effectiveness as oral style.

Did the orator effectively judge trends of the future? Sojourner witnessed slavery abolished by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. She also effectively judged trends toward women's suffrage, as she witnessed several states grant suffrage to women, but she did not live to vote herself. But of greater significance was that many of Sojourner's ideas took root in society.

Did the speaker incite substantial changes in belief or attitude? The conclusion drawn was that Sojourner Truth usually incited a

102. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 225

substantial change either with friendly or hostile audiences. In all probability friendly audiences became more enthusiastic and inspired toward the subject. The hostile audiences reacted in a very noticeable fashion. In Akron, Ohio, the majority of the audience was determined not to let Sojourner speak, lest their cause would be ruined. Their actions in "rushing up to shake hands," [106] indicated their newly formed opinion of Sojourner. The Mob Convention in New York City triumphed in heckling the speakers with shouts and all types of interruptions. The New York Times printed this comment on the day following Sojourner's speech to the Mob Convention:

> True, a colored woman made a speech, but there was nothing in that to excite a multitude; she did not speak too low to be heard, she did not insult them with improper language; nor did the audience respond at all insultingly. They did not curse, they only called for "half dozen on the shell." They did not swear, they only "hurried up that stew." [107]

Because Sojourner did not "insult them with improper language" which was probably expected, the audience did not respond in their usual insulting fashion. Thus, by quieting the hecklers in the audience Sojourner incited a substantial change in attitude.

What were the long range effects on a social group? This question was answered by turning to commentary as to the overall impression of Sojourner Truth as she related to the society of her era. Lawson A. Scruggs, a contemporary and friend explained:

> . . . although once a slave girl she became the most remarkable woman this century has produced; a wonder to the philosopher, the philantropist and sage. A bold defender of the rights of men, a powerful temperance advocate, lecturer, preacher, reformer and most profound thinker and reasoner a poet of no small merit and in fact a sojourner wherever she found opportunity to do good. The world has indeed had but one Sojourner Truth.[108]

Thus, Sojourner's outstanding campaigns for the amelioration of the conditions of her race had an immediate and long range effect on society.

In summary, the conclusion was reached that Sojourner Truth was a highly effective orator because she incited favorable response of applause and congratulations in her audiences, effectively judged trends of the future, and had a beneficial effect on a social group. In addition her speeches were easy to follow, and although not necessarily technically perfect, they constituted an effective oral style.

106. Stanton, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 117.
107. *New York Times*, September 9, 1853, cited in Stanton, *Ibid.*
108. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57.

What was the nature of the immediate surface response to the speech? Frances was able to create favorable responses in her audiences. In regard to the two speeches evaluated the main reaction was applause and verbal encouragement for the speaker to return soon. William C. Neil, who had just returned from the series of lectures with Miss Watkins, stated in 1858, "her audiences were always so impressed to urge her continuance, or at least promise of an early return."[109] Since this idea was suggested in several issues of *The Liberator*[110] the writer concluded that either through sustained applause or private discussions after the speech, Mrs. Harper was approached by many and they offered her return speaking engagements. The text of the speech in New York City as reprinted in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* suggested applause during the speech. This same surface response was concluded to be somewhat typical of the audiences of Frances Harper. *The Liberator* of January 11, 1856, also stated, ". . . and she was much applauded through her address and in many parts was also very pathetic calling forth the tears from many an eye."[111] Therefore, the writer concluded that these two speeches were characteristic of Frances Harper, and the surface response of the audience consisted of thanks, applause, and general encouragement for her continued speaking.

Did the speech read well? Both speeches analyzed by Frances Harper read very well. Frances demonstrated an effective oral style that was also well written. This writer concluded that one factor which enhanced the readability of the speech was its effective arrangement of ideas with transitional elements that allowed for continuity in the speech. Is the speech technically perfest? The writer was impressed with its perfection; however, it was concluded that technical perfection should be expected from an effective orator who also had experience in writing.

Did the orator effectively judge trends of the future? Frances Harper's Philadelphia speech was relatively untouched by time except for a few transitional elements that suggested a specific number of years. One of the most universal trends that she suggested was briefly but succinctly stated in this sentence:

> Before our young men is another battle—not a battle of flashing swords and clashing steel—but a moral warfare, a battle against ignorance, poverty, and low social condition.[112]

109. *The Liberator*, November 12, 1858, Vol. XXVIII, No. 46, p. 184.

110. *The Liberator*, December 5, 1856, Vol. XXVI, No. 49, p. 195; *The Liberator*, November 13, 1857, Vol. XXVII, No. 46, p. 182.

111. *The Liberator*, January 11, 1856, Vol. XXVI, No. 22, p. 7.

112. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

These problems of ignorance, poverty, and low social conditions are the exact problems our society faces today in dealing with many Negroes. Frances Harper realized these pressing conditions as the key to improving her race. She effectively judged trends of the future via this pressing problem, because these problems of ignorance, poverty and low social conditions are still apparent.

Did the speaker incite substantial change in belief or attitude? The previous explanation of the nature of the audience suggested that her speeches usually left the audience impressed, enriched, and enthusiastic not only about the subject of anti-slavery but also the speaker. It was concluded that in all probability these reactions were substantial changes in attitude.

What were the long-range effects on a social group? Again the writer turned to commentary to establish the relationship of Frances Harper to her times. Lawson Scruggs, also commented about Frances Harper in his book, *Women of Distinction:*

> She worked in home, in church, in Sunday schools and on the public rostrum North and South, she was the constant advocate of the rights of an oppressed people. . . . A great and profound writer in both prose and poetry, a lecturer of no ordinary tact and ability, a master hand to what ever she applies herself.[113]

Therefore, as a constant advocate of the rights of an oppressed people Frances Harper in all probability had long-range effects on a social group.

Comparative Analysis

A comparison of effectiveness demonstrated that both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were effective speakers. The nature of the surface response of the audience, largely applause and hand shaking, suggested effectiveness. For the most part the hostile audiences of Sojourner Truth demonstrated an obvious change in attitude, shifting from their hostile feelings to warm appreciation and congratulations. On the other hand, it was more difficult to determine the exact change in the audiences of Frances Harper as they gathered on commemorative occasions. For the most part the writer concluded that the audience was enlightened, impressed and inspired by her speaking.

The speeches of both speakers read well and only those of Sojourner Truth recorded in dialect tacked technical perfection. However, all the speeches demonstrated effective oral style.

Both Negro women orators effectively judged trends of the future. Both had an impact on a social group by their continued and energetic work for the betterment of the Negro people in America.

113. Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

SUMMARY

> "If Sojourner Truth was a blind giant, Frances Harper was an enlightened one." [114]

This statement by Monroe Majors in 1893, compared the overall impression of both Negro women orators investigated in this study. This quotation suggested that both women were "giants" in their own right. If Sojourner was "blind," then Frances was "enlightened." This assumption was supported by the various conclusions drawn regarding the many facets of their rhetoric: Invention, arrangement, style and delivery. For the most part it was concluded that Sojourner's techniques were a logical outgrowth of her own experiences and knowledge of the Bible. Her personal involvement with "artistic proofs" was also necessary as she lacked education and training in speaking. Thus the techniques of rhetoric that Sojourner developed were in a sense, "blind" to the world of knowledge regarding rhetorical theory. This study suggested that Frances Harper was "enlightened" as she was given the opportunity for education and experience in writing. Because her ideas were arranged so logically and supported well, and her style was full of imagery and stylistic devices, then this study suggested that with experience in writing, many of her techniques were used for their effect.

A comparative analysis of the selected speeches from 1851 to 1875 has, therefore, demonstrated that both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper developed effective techniques of rhetoric which were largely influenced by their diverse backgrounds.

---

114. Majors, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Chapter V.

Conclusions

THE purpose of this chapter was to draw general conclusions which resulted from this investigation of two Negro women orators—Sojourner Truth and Mrs. Frances E. Watkins Harper. In addition, the writer has indicated direction for future research in this area of public address.

The purpose of this study was to compare the rhetoric of two Negro women orators—Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper as shown by a critical analysis of selected speeches from 1851 to 1875.

The historical-critical method was followed by (1) careful isolation of the problem (2) statement of the working hypotheses (3) formulation of the research design (4) collection of evidence (5) analysis of evidence and (6) generalizations. The research design consisted of a five chapter arrangement: Introduction, Rhetorical Setting 1850 to 1875, Rhetorical Biographies of Both Women, Analysis of Selected Speeches, and Conclusions.

The research problem investigated women from a historical and rhetorical view point. Historically, the two women were studied to indicate their influence on the great issues of the day, namely, anti-slavery and woman's rights. Rhetorically, this study was designed to display their art of rhetoric as influenced by their diverse backgrounds, and to evaluate their relative effectiveness as shown by selected speeches from 1851 to 1875.

Consequently, two working hypotheses were developed. First, to determine the historical value of these two women, it was the working hypothesis that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were influential forces in molding public sentiment toward reform issues during the Ante-bellum and Post-bellum periods of American history, specifically, anti-slavery and women's rights. Second, to evaluate them as public speakers, it was the working hypothesis

that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper developed effective theories of rhetoric which were greatly influenced by the diverse backgrounds.

On the basis of this study, both hypotheses seemed to be partially borne out. The examination of the rhetorical setting between 1851 and 1875 suggested that both women were in all probability influential forces in molding public sentiment toward reform issues. These Negro women had extensive careers, traveling throughout the North as well as the South. They spoke not only in public meetings and conventions but also in schools and in the churches. They become active supporters of two reform issues that were widely discussed and frequently debated. Sojourner Truth first began her career to spread the word of Christianity and soon spoke on the abolition of slavery. Around 1850 she began advocating the equal rights for women, which was another contemporary reform issue. Frances Harper was also involved in the anti-slavery crusades as a professional lecturer of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maine. It was not until Frances Watkins Harper traveled extensively through the South and witnessed the problems of Negro women that she became an ardent advocate of woman's rights. Because these women had extensive careers and were known throughout the North and South, it was concluded that there was a high degree of probability that these two Negro women orators were influential forces in shaping public sentiment.

The examination of these Negro women as public speakers demonstrated that although they did not advance a systematic theory of rhetoric, they were in all probability effective platform speakers. Thus, the second hypothesis appeared only partially borne out.

A comparison of effectiveness demonstrated that both Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper were effective speakers. Specifically, both orators incited substantial changes in audience belief or attitudes, the speeches of both orators read well and only those of Sojourner recorded in dialect lacked technical perfection. Both speakers effectively judged trends of the future, and both had an impact on society by their continued and energetic work for the betterment of the Negro people in the United States.

Turning to each of the areas investigated, the analysis of invention demonstrated that the main contrasting factor was that Sojourner's ideas originated from her life as a slave, while Frances Harper used her knowledge of the world reflected through her own individual reading. The conclusion was drawn that with Sojourner's lack of education, her own life was a valuable source of information,

whereas, Frances Harper preferred to turn to several other sources, which included history, religion, and philosophy for her ideas.

An investigation of Sojourner's supporting ideas regarding woman's rights indicated that her ideas centered around the idea that women were equal to men in many ways and, therefore, should have equal rights. Her ideas were consistent with her own experiences; they perpetrated a pressing problem for the nation, and her ideas demonstrated her powers of observation.

The supporting ideas of Frances Harper's stand for anti-slavery demonstrated clear insight into the future. In her opinion, "public sentiment" was the key to helping the Negro become a useful and beneficial part of society. Although her ideas related to her own environment, she did not relate personal experiences to any great extent. Frances recognized a pressing problem before her race, and her ideas regarding education and employment had universal appeal.

The analysis of logical proof concluded that Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper used *logos* effectively in their speeches. The contrasting factor was the use of "artistic proofs" by Sojourner Truth and "non-artistic proofs" by Frances Harper. The conclusion was drawn that these types of proofs were a logical outgrowth of their own backgrounds.

The analysis of emotional proof offered many contrasts. Whereas both speakers had the opportunity to analyze the audience prior to delivery, it was concluded that Sojourner Truth employed the technique of relating and identifying with her audience more frequently than did Frances Harper. An analysis of specific emotional appeals indicated that while Sojourner relied heavily on humor to relax her audiences and win them to her side, Frances's speeches were characterized by an obvious lack of humor. Frances employed many effective emotional appeals to fear, death, pity, shame, love of country, motherhood and pride, which Sojourner did not use for the most part. Despite their contrasting practices regarding emotional proof, both speakers used *pathos* that fit their personalities and also complimented the nature of their audiences.

The analysis of ethical proof indicated that Sojourner Truth had the more difficult task of building *ethos*. However, both women were relatively successful in their attempts to suggest their intelligence or wisdom, build character, and instill good will with the audience.

The analysis of structure or arrangement concluded that Sojourner and Frances differed significantly. However, both women were probably justified in their own approach to arrangement. It was suggested that since Sojourner delivered most of her speeches

extemporaneously it was understandable that no traditional organizing principle appeared in her speeches. On the other hand, because Frances Harper had experience as well as training in writing, the conclusion was reached that in all probability these techniques were a logical outgrowth of her background. The contrasting use of the introduction and the conclusion was another characteristic of arrangement that each orator probably used to suit her own audiences.

The analysis of style disclosed several major differences between the oral language of Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper. According to the definitions of style presented in Chapter One of this thesis, the conclusion was drawn that Sojourner used a "plain" style whereas, Frances Harper's style was "grand." Three differences in style existed: First in the use of grammatical errors; secondly, in the use of descriptive passages, and third, in the use of stylistic devices. It was concluded that both styles were effective as they reflected the speaker's personality, background, and were suitable to the occasion.

The analysis of delivery demonstrated opposing rather than similar characteristics. Their opposing physical characteristics, bodily action and gestures enabled Sojourner to be somewhat "masculine" in her gestures and movement. Frances Harper was more "feminine" as she displayed a quiet, dignified manner of delivery. Despite these differences, the conclusion was drawn that in all probability each speaker evolved a manner of delivery that was uniquely her own. Accordingly, it was concluded that the delivery of both Negro orators enhanced their delivery.

The second purpose of this chapter was to indicate new areas of research that future researchers might take: The writer suggests that (1) a search for more speeches by Sojourner Truth and Frances Harper could be undertaken; (2) an analysis and evaluation of the rhetorical abilities of any of the other Negro women named in this study would be worthwhile; (3) an investigation of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart and an analysis of her apparent "failure" in Boston would add to the knowledge of this reform movement; (4) an analysis of the recent speaking efforts of Mrs. Martin Luther King could produce some striking comparisons to the era investigated; or (5) a history of the speaking activities of Negro women orators in America would be an invaluable contribution to the field of public address.

> Only recently have those concerned with the history of oral persuasion in this country begun to ponder over the possibility that women may have made some contribution to this field of speech. . . . In a word, these women were versatile extemporaneous persuaders with inspiring messages and fine voices. To oratory—an art characterized by ornamental style and

> exaggerated eloquence—they brought simplicity of expression, and sincerity of purpose. . . . They helped mightily in toppling oratory off its rhetorical stilts and in guiding it toward a more natural, straightforward and conversational means of communication. [1]

This comment by Doris Yoakam in 1935 related to the achievements of women in public address. The Negro women investigated in this study were no exception. Both Sojourner Truth and Mrs. Frances E. Watkins Harper were effective practitioners of their art.

1. Yoakam, *op. cit.*, p. 188-189.

Bibliography

I. Books

Auer, J. Jeffry. *An Introduction to Research in Speech.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.

Bailey, Thomas A., ed. *The American Spirit.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1966.

Bontemps, Arna W. *Story of the Negro.* New York: Knopf, 1955.

Brawley, Benjamin G. *Early Negro American Writers.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

Brigance, William Norwood, ed. *A History and Criticism of American Public Address.* New York: Russell & Russell, 1960.

Cooper, Lane. trans. *The Rhetoric of Aristotle.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932.

Davis, John Preston. *The American Negro Reference Book.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966.

DuBois, William E. B. *Black Folks, Then and Now.* New York: Henry Holt Co., 1940.

Dunbar, Alice Moore. *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence.* New York: Bookery Publishing Co., 1914.

Fauset, Arthur Huff. *Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim.* Chapel Hill: University of North Caroliina Press, 1938.

Flexner, Eleanor. *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Frazier, Edward Franklin. *The Negro in the United States.* Rev. Ed. New York: Macmillan, 1957.

Hart, Albert B. *Slavery and Abolition 1831-1841. The American Nation: A History,* Vol. XVI. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1906.

Irwin, Inez Haynes. *Angels and Amazons: A Hundred Years of American Women.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1934.

Litwick, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States 1799-1860.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Majors, Monroe A. *Noted Negro Women; Their Triumphs and Activities.* Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893.

Meier, August and Rudwick, Elliott M. *From Plantation to Ghetto. An Interpretive History of History of American Negroes.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1966.

Miller, Elizabeth W. *The Negro in America: A Bibliography.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.

O'Connor, Lillian. *Pioneer Women Orators.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

Pauli, Hertha. *Her Name was Sojourner Truth.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962.

Scruggs, L. A. *Women of Distinction.* Raleigh, North Carolina: By the Author, 1893.

Sillen, Samuel. *Women Against Slavery.* Masses & Mainstream, 1955.

Stanton, Elizabeth C.; Anthony, Susan B.; and Gage, M. J.; *History of Women's Suffrage.* New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881.

Thonssen, Lester and Baird, A. Craig. *Speech Criticism.* New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948.

Titus, Mrs. Frances W. *Narrative of Sojourner Truth;* with a history of her labors and Correspondence drawn from her *Book of Life.* Boston: Published for the Author, 1875.

Welsch, Erwin K. *The Negro in the United States: A Research Guide.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1965.

Williams, George Washington. *History of the Negro in America 1619-1880.* New York: Putname, 1882.

Woodson, Carter Godwin. *The Negro in Our History.* Washington D. C.; Associated Press Inc. 4th Ed., 1927.

Work, Monroe A. *A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America.* New York: Argory-Antiquarian, Lt. D., 1965.

II. Periodicals

Bennett, L. Jr. "Sojourner Truth," *Ebony.* October, 1964. Vol. XIX. pp. 63-64.

Galvin, Corinne B. "Sojourner Truth, The Libyan Sibyl," *New York Folklore Quarterly,* Spring, 1950, pp. 5-21.

Harlowe, M., "Sojourner Truth, the first sit-in," *Negro History Bulletin.* Fall, 1966, pp. 173-174.

Harper, Frances W. "The Colored Women of America," *English-woman's Review,* n. s. January 15, 1878, pp. 10-15.

Lowe, Bernice, "Michigan Days of Sojourner Truth," *New York Folklore Quarterly.* Summer, 1956, pp. 127-135.

Lowe, Bernice, "The Family of Sojourner Truth," *Michigan Heritage.* Summer, 1962, pp. 181-185.

National Anti-Slavery Standard (New York) May 23, 1857.

Quarles, Benjamin, "Frederick Douglas and the Woman's Rights Movement," *Journal of Negro History.* June, 1940, pp. 35-44.

Ritter, E. J. "Sojourner Truth," *Negro History Bulletin.* May, 1963, p. 254.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. "Sojourner Truth, the Libyan Sibyl," *The Atlantic Monthly.* April 1863, pp. 473-481.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle (Salem, Ohio) June 21, 1851.

The Liberator (Boston) September 8, 1854, p. 143.

The Liberator (Boston) January 11, 1856, p. 7.

The Liberator (Boston) December 5, 1856, p. 195.

The Liberator (Boston) December 19, 1856, p. 203.

The Liberator (Boston) May 29, 1857, p. 86.

The Liberator (Boston) August 14, 1857, p. 132.

The Liberator (Boston) August 21, 1857, p. 135.

The Liberator (Boston) November 13, 1857, p. 182.

The Liberator (Boston) April 23, 1858, p. 67.

The Liberator (Boston) November 12, 1858, p. 184.

———, *The Library Journal,* October, 1967, p. 3370.

White, W. "Sojourner Truth: Friend of Freedom," *New Republic.* May 24, 1948, pp. 15-18.

III. Unpublished Materials

Myette, Elizabeth Ann, "Convention in Petticoats: The Seneca Falls Declaration of Woman's Rights." Unpublished Thesis, Indiana University, 1963.

O'Connor, Lillian, "Rhetorical Proof in the Speeches of Women of the Reform Platform 1828-1861." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

Yoakam, Doris, "A Historical Study of the Public Speaking Activities of Women in America from 1828 to 1860." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1935.

Appendix I

Address at the Woman's Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio

Delivered by Sojourner Truth
May 29, 1851

Wall, childern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out o' kilter. I tink dat 'twixt de niggers of de Souf and de womin at de Norf, all talkin' 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis her talkin' 'bout?

Dat man ober dar say dat womin needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gibs me any best place. And A'n't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And a'n't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear de lash as well! And a'n't I a woman? I have borne thirteen childern, and see 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'n't I a woman?

Den dey talks 'bout dis ting in de head; what dis dey call it? (Intellect, whispered someone near) Dat's it, honey. What's dat go to do wid womin's right o nigger's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?

Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as man, 'cause Christ wan't a woman. Whar did your Christ come from? Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him.

If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em. (Long continued cheering greeted this.)

Bleeged to ye for hearin on me, and now old Sojourner han't got nothin' more to say. (Roars of applause)

Appendix II

Address to the Mob Convention, New York City

Delivered by Sojourner Truth
September 7, 1853

Is it not good for me to come and draw forth a spirit, to see what kind of spirit people are of? I see that some of you have got the spirit of a goose, and some have got the spirit of a snake. I feel at home here. I come to you, citizens of New York, as I suppose you ought to be. I am a citizen of the State of New York; I was born in it, and I was a slave in the State of New York; and now I am a good citizen of this state. I was born here, and I can tell you I feel at home here. I've been lookin' round and watchin' things, and I know a little mite 'bout Woman's Rights, too. I come forth to speak 'bout Woman's Rights, and want to throw in my little mite, to keep the scales a-movin'. I know that it feels a kind o' hissin' and ticklin' like to see a colored woman get up and tell you 'bout things, and Woman's Rights. We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up again; but we have been long enough trodden now; we will come up again, and now I am here.

I was a thinkin', when I see women contendin' for their rights, I was a-thinkin' what a difference there is now, and what there was in old times. I have only a few minutes to speak; but in the old times the kings of the earth would hear a woman. There was a king in the Scriptures; and then it was the kings of the earth would kill a woman if she come into their presence; but Queen Esther come forth, for she was oppressed, and felt there was a great wrong, and she said, "I will die or I will bring my complaint before the king. Should the king of the United States be greater, or more crueler, or more harder? But the king, he raised up his sceptre and said: "Thy request shall be granted unto thee—to the half of my kingdom will I grant it to thee!" Then he said he would hang Haman on the gallows he had made up high. But that is not what women come forward to contend. The women want their rights as Esther. She only wanted to explain her rights. And he

was so liberal that he said, "the half of my kingdom shall be granted to thee," and he did not wait for her to ask, he was so liberal with her.

Now, women do not ask half of a kingdom, but their rights, and they don't get 'em. When she comes to demand 'em, don't you hear how sons hiss their mothers like snakes, because they ask for their rights; and can they ask for anything less? The king ordered Haman to be hung on the gallows which he prepared to hang others; but I do not want any man to be killed, but I am sorry to see them so short-minded. But we'll have our rights; see if we don't; and you can't stop us from them; see if you can. You may hiss as much as you like, but it is comin'. Women don't get half as much rights as they ought to; we want more, and we will have it. Jesus says: "What I say to one, I say to all—watch!" I'm a watchin'. God says: "Honor you father and your mother." Sons and daughters ought to behave themselves before their mothers, but they do not. I can see them a-laughin' and pointin' at their mothers up here on the stage. They hiss when an aged woman comes forth. If they'd been brought up proper they'd have known better than hissing like snakes and geese. I'm round watchin' these things, and I wanted to come up and say these few things to you, and I'm glad of the hearin' you give me. I wanted to tell you a mite 'bout Woman's Rights, and so I came out and said so. I am sittin' among you to watch; and every once and awhile I will come out and tell you what time of night it is.

Appendix III

Address to the American Equal Rights Association, New York City

Delivered by Sojourner Truth
May 9, 1867

My friends, I am rejoiced that you are glad, but I don't know how you will feel when I get through. I come from another field—the country of the slave. They have got their liberty—so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed. I feel that if I have to answer for the deeds done in my body just as much as a man I have a right to have just as much as a man. There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women; and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before. So I am for keeping the thing going while things are stirring; because if we wait till it is still, it will take a great while to get it going again. White women are a great deal smarter, and know more than colored women, while colored women do not know scarcely anything. They go out washing, which is about as high as a colored woman gets, and their men go about idle, strutting up and down; and when the woman come home, they ask for their money and take it all, and then scold because there is no food. I want you to consider on that, chil'n. I call you chil'n; you are somebody's chil'n, and I am old enough to be mother of all that is here. I want women to have their rights. In the courts women have no right, no voice, nobody speaks for them. I wish woman to have her voice there among the pettifoggers. If it is not a fit place for women, it is unfit for me to be there.

I am about eighty years old; it is about time for me to be going. I have been forty years a slave and forty years free, and would be here forty years more to have equal rights for all. I suppose I am kept here because something remains for me to do; I suppose I am yet to help to break the chain. I have done a great deal of work; as much as a man, but did not get so much pay. I used to work in

the field and bind grain, keeping up with the cradler; but men doing no more, got twice as much pay; so with the German women. They work in the field and do as much work, but do not get the pay. We do as much, we eat as much, we want as much. I suppose I am about the only colored woman that goes about to speak for the rights of the colored women. I want to keep the thing stirring, now that the ice is cracked. What we want is a little money. You men know that you get as much again as women when you write, or for what you do. When we get our rights we shall not have to come to you for money, for then we shall have money enough in our own pockets; and may be you will ask us for money. But help us now until we get it. It is a good consolation to know that when we have got this battle once fought we shall not be coming to you any more. You have been having our rights so long, that you think, like a slave-holder, that you own us. I know that it is hard for one who has held the reins for so long to give up; it cuts like a knife. It will feel all the better when it closes up again. I have been in Washington about three years, seeing about these colored people. Now colored men have the right to vote. There ought to be equal rights now more than ever, since colored people have got their freedom. I am going to talk several times while I am here; so now I will do a little singing. I have not heard any singing since I came here.

(Accordingly, suiting the action to the word, Sojourner sang) "We are going home. There, children in heaven we shall rest from all our labors; first do all we have to do here. There I am determined to go, not to stop short of that beautiful place, and I do not mean to stop till I get there, and meet you there, too."

May 10, 1867

Morning Session

I am glad to see that men are getting their rights, but I want women to get theirs, and while the water is stirring I will step into the pool. Now that there is a great stir about colored men getting their rights it is the time for women to step in and have theirs. I am sometimes told that "Women ain't fit to vote. Why, don't you know that a woman had seven devils in her; and do you suppose a woman is fit to rule the nation?" Seven devils ain't no account; a man had a legion in him. (great laughter) The devils didn't know where to go; and so they asked that they might go into the swine. They thought that was as good a place as they came out from. (renewed laughter) They didn't ask to go into sheep—no, into the hog; that was the selfishest beast; and man is so selfish that he

has got women's rights and his own too, and yet he won't give women their rights. He keeps them all to himself. If a woman did have seven devils, see how lovely she was when they were cast out, how much she loved Jesus, how she followed him. When the devils were gone out of the man, he wanted to follow Jesus, too, but Jesus told him to go home, and didn't seem to want to have him around. And when the men went to look for Jesus at the sepulchre they didn't stop long enough to find out whether he was there or not; but Mary stood there and waited, and said to Him, thinking it was the gardener, "Tell me where they have laid Him and I will carry Him away." See what a spirit there is. Just so let women be true to this object, and the truth will reign triumphant.

May 10, 1867

Evening Session

I have lived on through all that has taken place these forty years in the anti-slavery cause, and I have plead with all the force I had that the day might come that the colored people might own their soul and body. Well, the day has come, although it came through blood. It makes no difference how it came—it did come. (applause) I am sorry it came in that way. We are now trying for liberty that requires no blood—that women shall have their rights—not rights from you. Give them what belong to them; they ask it kindly too. (laughter) I ask it kindly. Now I want it done very quick. It can be done in a few years. How good it would be. I would like to go up to the polls myself. (laughter) I own a little house in Battle Creek, Michigan. Well, every year I got a tax to pay. Taxes, you see, be taxes. Well, a road tax sounds large. Road tax, school tax and all these things. Well, there was women there that had a house as well as I. They taxed them to build a road, and they went on the road and worked. It took them a good while to get a stump up. (laughter) Now, that shows that women can work. If they can dig up stumps they can vote. (laughter) It is easier to vote than dig stumps. (laughter) It doesn't seem hard work to vote, though I have seen some men that had a hard time of it. (laughter) But I believe that when women can vote there won't be so many men that have a rough time getting to the polls. (great laughter) There is danger of their life sometimes. I guess many have seen it in this city. I lived fourteen years in this city. I don't want to take up time, but I calculate to live. Now, if you want me to get out of the world, you had better get the women votin' soon. (laughter) I shan't go till I can do that.

Appendix IV

Address to the Commemoration of the Eighth Anniversary of Negro Freedom in the United States

Delivered by Sojourner Truth
January 1, 1871

Well, chilern, I'm glad to see so many together. Ef I am eighty-three years old, I only count my age from de time dat I was 'mancipated. Then I 'gun ter live. God is a fulfillin', an' my lost time dat I lost bein' a slave was made up. W'en I was a slave I hated de w'ite pepul. My mother said to me when I was to be sole from her, "I want to tole ye dese tings dat you will allers know dat I have tole you, for dar will be a great many tings tole you after I sta't out ob dis life inter de world to come." An' I say dis to you all, for here is a great many pepul dat when I step out of dis existence, dat you will know what you heered ole Sojourn' Truth tell you. I was boun' a slave in the State of Noo Yo'k, Ulster County, 'mong de low Dutch. W'en I was ten years old, I couldn't speak a word of Inglish, an' hab no eddicati'n at all. Dere's wonder what they they has done fur me. As I tole you w'en I was sole, my master died, an' we was goin' to hab an auction. We was all brought up to be sole. My mother my fader was very ole, my brudder younger 'em myself, an' my mother took my han'. Dey opened a canoby ob ebben, an she sat down an' I an' my brudder sat down by her and she says, "Look up to de moon an' stars dat shine upon you father an' upon you mother when you sole far away, an' upon you brudders an' sisters, dat is sole away," for dere was a great number ob us, an' was all sole away befor' an' say I, "Where is God?" "Oh" says she, "chile he sits in de sky, an' he hears you w'en you ax him when you are away from us to make your marster an' mistress good, an' he will do it."

When were sole, I did what my mother told me; I said, O, God, my mother tole me ef I asked you to make my marster an' mistress good, you'd do it, an' dey didn't get good. (laughter) Why, says I, God, mebbe you can't do it. Kill 'em. (laughter and applause)

I didn't tink he could make demn good. Dat was de idee I had. After I made such wishes my conscience burned me. Then I wud say, O, God, don't be mad. My marster make me wicked; an' I of'm thought how pepul can do such 'bominable wicked things an' dere conscience not burn dem. Now I only made wishes. I used to tell God this—I would say, "Now, God, ef I was you, an' you was me (laughter) and you wanted any help I'd help ye;—why don't you help me? (laughter and applause) Well, ye see I was in want, an' I felt dat dere was no help. I know what it is to be taken in the barn an' tied up an' de blood drawed out ob yere bare back, an' I tell you it would make you think 'bout God. Yes, an' den I felt, O, God, ef I was you an' you felt like I do, an' asked me for help I would help you—now why don't you help me? Trooly I done know but God has helped me. But I got no good marster until de las' time I was sole, an' den I found one an' his name was Jesus. Oh, I tell ye, didn't I fine a good marster when I use to feel so bad, when I use to say, O God, how ken I libe? I'm sorely 'prest both widin and widout. W'en God gi' me dat marster he healed all de wounds up. My soul rejoiced. I used to hate de w'ite pepul so, an' I tell ye w'en de lobe came in me I had so much lobe I didn't know what to lobe. Den de w'ite pepul come, an' I thought dat lobe was too good fur dem. Den I said, "Yea, God, come, an' I'll lobe ev'ybuddy an' de w'ite pepul too." Ever since dat, dat lobe has continued an' dep' 'mong de w'ite pepul. Well, 'mancipation came; we all know, can't stop to go too de hull. I go fur adgitatin'. But I believe dere is works belong wid adgitatin' too. On'y think ob it! Ain't it wonderful dat God gives lobe enough to de Ethiopins to lobe you?

Now, here is de question dat I am here to-night to say. I been to Washin'ton, an' I fine out dis, dat de culud pepul dat is in Washin'ton, libin on de government dat de United States ort to gi' 'em lan' an' move 'em on it. Dey are libin on de gov'ment, an' dere is pepul takin care of 'em costin' you so much, an' it don't benefit him 'tall. It degrades him wuss an' wuss. Therefo' I say that dese pepul, tak an' put 'em in de West where you ken enrich 'em. I know de good pepul in de South can't take care of de negroes as dey ort to, case de ribils won't let 'em. How much better will it be for to take them culud pepul an' give 'em land! We've airnt land enough for a home, an' it would be a benefit for you all an' God would bless de hull ob ye for don' it. Dey say, Let 'em take keer of derselves. Why, you've taken dat all away from 'em. Ain't got nuffin left. Get dese culud pepul out of Washin'tun off ob de gov'ment, an' get de ole pepul out and build dem homes in

de West, where dey can feed themselves, and dey would soon be able to be a pepul among you. Dat is my commission. Now adgitate them pepul an' put 'em dere; learn 'em to read one part of de time an' learn 'em to work de udder part ob de time. (At this moment a member in the audience arose and left, greatly to the disturbance of the lady, who could with difficulty make herself heard.) "I'll hole on a while," she said. Whoeve is agoin' let him go. When you tell 'bout work here, den you have to scud. (laughter and applause) I tell you I can't read a book, but I can read de people. (applause) I speech dese tings so dat when you have a paper come for you to sign, you ken sign it.

Appendix V

Address to the Fourth Anniversary of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society

Delivered by Miss Frances E. Watkins
May 13, 1857

Could we trace the record of every human heart, the aspirations of every immortal soul, perhaps we would find no man so imbruted and degraded that we could not trace the word liberty either written in living characters upon the soul or hidden away in some nook or corner of the heart. The law of liberty is the law of God, and is antecedent to all human legislation. It existed in the mind of Deity when He hung the first world upon its orbit and gave it liberty to gather light from the central sun.

Some people say, set the slaves free. Did you ever think, if the slaves were free, they would steal everything they could lay their hands on from now till the day of their death—that they would steal more than two thousand millions of dollars? (applause) Ask Maryland, with her tens of thousands of slaves, if she is not prepared for freedom and hear her answer: "I help supply the coffle-gangs of the South." Ask Virginia, with her hundreds of thousands of slaves, if she is not weary with her merchandise of blood and anxious to shake the gory traffic from her hands, and hear her reply: "Through fertility has covered my soil, though a genial sky bends over my hills and vales, though I hold in my hand a wealth of water-power enough to turn the spindles to clothe the world, yet, with all these advantages, one of my chief staples has been the sons and daughters I send to the human market and human shambles." (applause) Ask the farther South, and all the cotton growing states chime in, "We have need of fresh supplies to fill the ranks of those whose lives have gone out in unrequited toil on our distant plantations."

A hundred thousand new-born babes are annually added to the victims of slavery; twenty thousand lives are annually sacrificed on the plantations of the South. Such a sight should send a thrill of

horror, through the nerves of civilization and impel the heart of humanity to lofty deeds. So it might, if men had not found a fearful alchemy by which this blood can be transformed into gold. Instead of listening to the cry of agony, they listen to the ring of dollars and stoop down to pick up the coin. (applause)

But a few months since a man escaped from bondage and found a temporary shelter almost beneath the shadow of Bunker Hill. Had that man stood upon the deck of an Austrian ship, beneath the shadow of the house of the Hapsburgs, he would have found protection. Had he been wrecked upon an island or colony of Great Britain, the waves of the tempest-lashed ocean would have washed him deliverance. Had he landed upon the territory of vine-encircled France and a Frenchman had reduced him to a thing and brought him here beneath the protection of our institutions and our laws, for such a nefarious deed that Frenchman would have lost his citizenship in France. Beneath the feebler light which glimmers from the Koran, the Bey of Tunis would have granted him freedom in his own dominions. Beside the ancient pyramids of Egypt he would have found liberty, for the soil laved by the glorious Nile is now consecrated to freedom. But from Boston harbour, made memorable by the infusion of three-penny taxed tea, Boston in its proximity to the plains of Lexington and Concord, Boston almost beneath the shadow of Bunker Hill and almost in sight in Plymouth Rock, he is thrust back from liberty and manhood and reconverted into a chattel. You have heard that, down South, they keep bloodhounds to hunt slaves. Ye bloodhounds, go back to your kennels! When you fail to catch the flying fugitive, when his stealthy tread is heard in the place where the bones of the revolutionary sires respose, the ready North is base enough to do your shameful service. (applause)

Slavery is mean because it tramples on the feeble and weak. A man comes with his affidavits from the South and hurries me before a commissioner; upon that evidence *ex parte* and alone he hitches me to the car of slavery and trails my womanhood in the dust. I stand at the threshold of the Supreme Court and ask for justice, simple justice. Upon my tortured heart is thrown the mocking words, "You are a negro; you have no rights which white men are bound to respect!" (long and loud applause) Had it been my lot to have lived beneath the Crescent instead of the Cross, had injustice and violence been heaped upon my head as a Mohammedan woman, as a member of a common faith, I might have demanded justice and been listened to by the Pasha, the Bey or the Vizier; but

when I come here to ask justice, men tell me, "We have no higher law than the Constitution." (applause)

But I will not dwell on the dark side of the picture. God is on the side of freedom; and any cause that has God on its side, I care not how much it may be trampled upon, how much it may be trailed in the dust, is sure to triumph. The message of Jesus Christ is on the side of Freedom, "I come to preach deliverance to the captives, the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." The truest and noblest hearts in the land are on the side of freedom. They may be hissed at by slavery's minion's, their names cast out as evil, their characters branded with fanaticism, but O,

"To side with Truth is noble when we share her humble crust
Ere the cause bring fame and profit and it's prosperous to be just."

May I not, in conclusion, ask every honest, noble heart, every seeker after truth and justice, if they will not also be on the side of freedom. Will you not resolve that you will abate neither heart nor hope till you hear the deathknell of human bondage sounded, and over the black ocean of slavery shall be heard a song more exulting than the song of Miriam when it floated o'er Egypt's dark sea, the requiem of Egypt's ruined hosts and the anthem of the deliverance of Israel's captive people? (great applause)

Appendix VI

Address to the Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery

Delivered by Mrs. Frances E. Watkins Harper
April 14, 1875

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The great problem to be solved by the American people, if I understand it, is this: Whether or not there is strength enough in democracy, virtue enough in our civilization, and power enough in our religion to have mercy and deal justly with four millions of people but lately translated from the old oligarchy of slavery to the new commonwealth of freedom; and upon the right solution of this question depends in a large measure the future strength, progress, and durability of our nation. The most important question before us colored people is not simply what the Democratic party may do against us or the Republican party do for us; but what are we going to do for ourselves? What shall we do towards developing our character, adding our quota to the civilization and strength of the country, diversifying our industry, and practising those lordly virtues that conquer success, and turn the world's dread laugh into admiring recognition? The white race has yet work to do in making practical the political axiom of equal rights, and the Christian idea of human brotherhood; but while I lift mine eyes to the future I would not ungratefully ignore the past. One hundred years ago and Africa was the privileged hunting-ground of Europe and America, and the flag of different nations hung a sign of death on the coasts of Congo and Guinea, and for years unbroken silence had hung around the horrors of the African slave-trade. Since then Great Britain and other nations have wiped the bloody traffic from their hands, and shaken the gory merchandise from their fingers, and the brand of piracy has been placed upon the African slave-trade. Less than fifty years ago mob violence belched out its wrath against the men who dared to arraign the slaveholder before the bar of conscience and Christendom. Instead of golden showers upon his

head, he who garrisoned the front had a halter around his neck. Since, if I may borrow the idea, the nation has caught the old inspiration from his lips and written it in the new organic world. Less than twenty-five years ago slavery clasped hands with King Cotton, and said slavery fights and cotton conquers for American slavery. Since then slavery is dead, the colored man has exchanged the fetters on his wrist for the ballot in his hand. Freedom is king, and Cotton a subject.

It may not seem to be a gracious thing to mingle complaint in a season of general rejoicing. It may appear like the ancient Egyptians seating a corpse at their festal board to avenge the Americans for their shortcomings when so much has been accomplished. And yet with all the victories and triumphs which freedom and justice have won in this country, I do not believe there is another civilized nation under Heaven where there are half as many people who have been brutally and shamefully murdered, with or without impunity, as in this republic within the last ten years. And who cares? Where is the public opinion that has scorched with red-hot indignation the cowardly murderers of Vicksburg and Louisiana? Sheridan lifts up the vail from Southern society, and behind it is the smell of blood, and our bones scattered at the grave's mouth; murdered people; a White League with its "covenant of death and agreement with hell." And who cares? What city pauses one hour to drop a pitying tear over these mangled corpses, or has forged against the perpetrator one thunderbolt of furious protest? But let there be a supposed or real invasion of Southern rights by our soldiers, and our great commercial emporium will rally its forces from the old man in his classic shades, to clasp hands with "dead rabbits" and "plug-uglies" in protesting against military interference. What we need today in the onward march of humanity is a public sentiment in favor of common justice and simple mercy. We have a civilization which has produced grand and magnificant results, diffused knowledge, overthrown slavery, made constant conquests over nature, and built up a wonderful material prosperity. But two things are wanting in American civilization—a keener and deeper, broader and tenderer sense of justice—a sense of humanity, which shall crystallize into the life of a nation the sentiment that justice, simple justice, is the right not simply of the strong and powerful, but the weakest and feeblest of all God's children; a deeper and broader humanity, which will teach men to look upon their feeble brethen not as vermin to be crushed out, or beasts of burden to be bridled and bitted, but as the children of the living God; of that

God whom we may earnestly hope is in perfect wisdom and in perfect love working for the best good of all. Ethnologists may differ about the origin of the human race. Huxley may search for it in protoplasms, and Darwin send for the missing links, but there is one thing of which we may rest assured,—that we all come from the living God and that He is the common Father. The nation that has no reverence for man is also lacking in reverence for God and needs to be instructed.

As fellow citizens, leaving out all humanitarian views—as a matter of political economy it is better to have the colored race a living force animated and strengthened by self-reliance and self-respect, than a stagnant mass, degraded and self-condemned. Instead of the North relaxing its efforts to diffuse education in the South, it behooves us for our national life, to throw into the South all the healthful reconstructing influences we can command. Our work in this country is grandly constructive. Some races have come into this world and overthrown and destroyed. But if it is glory to destroy, it is happiness to save; and Oh! what a noble work there is before our nation! Where is there a young man who would consent to lead an aimless life when there are such glorious opportunities before him? Before young men is another battle—not a battle of flashing swords and clashing steel—but a moral warfare, a battle against ignorance, poverty, and low social condition. In physical warfare the keenest swords may be blunted and the loudest batteries hushed; but in that great conflict or moral and spiritual progress your weapons shall be brighter for their service and better for their use. In fighting truly and nobly for others you win the victory for yourselves.

Give power and significance to your own life, and in the great work of upbuilding there is room for woman's work and woman's heart. Oh, that our hearts were alive and our vision quickened, to see the grandeur of the work that lies before. We have some culture among us, but I think our culture lacks enthusiasm. We need a deep earnestness and a lofty unselfishness to round out our lives. It is the inner life that develops the outer, and if we are in earnest the precious things lie all around our feet, and we need not waste our strength in striving after the dim and unattainable. Women in your golden youth; mother, binding around your heart all the precious ties of life—let no magnificence of culture, or amplitude of fortune or refinement of sensibilities, repel you from helping the weaker and less favored. If you have ampler gifts, hold them as larger opportunities with which you can benefit others. Oh, it is

better to feel that the weaker and feebler our race the closer we will cling to them, than it is to isolate ourselves from them in selfish, or careless unconcern, saying there is a lion without. Inviting you to this work I do not promise you fair sailing and unclouded skies. You may meet with coolness where you expect sympathy; disappointment where you feel sure of success; isolation and loneliness instead of heart-support and cooperation. But if your lives are based and built upon these divine certitudes, which are the only enduring strength of humanity, then whatever defeat and discomfiture may overshadow your plans or frustrate your schemes, for a life that is in harmony with God and sympathy for man there is no such word as fail. And in conclusion, permit me to say, let no misfortunes crush you; no hostility of enemies or failure of friends discourage you. Apparent failure may hold in its rough shell the germs of a success that will blossom in time, and bear fruit throughout eternity. What seemed to be a failure around the Cross of Calvary and in the garden has been the grandest recorded success.

PRINTED BY
ROBERT R. (BOB) SANDERS, STATE PRINTER
TOPEKA, KANSAS
1969

32-5843

(Continued from inside front cover)

Music Series

No. 1. Alessandro Rauerij's Collection of Canzoni per Sonare (Venice, 1608) Volume I Historical and Analytical Study, by Leland Earl Bartholomew. December 1965.

Music Series

No. 2. Alessandro Rauerij's Collection of Canzoni per Sonare (Venice, 1608) Volume II Edition, by Leland Earl Bartholomew. December 1965.

1966-1967

Science Series

No. 5. Ecological Studies of Blue Grama Grass, by Fred W. Albertson, David A. Riegel, and Gerald W. Tomanek. November 1966.

Art Series

No. 2. An Approach to Graduate Study, by John C. Thorns, Jr. December 1966.

Science Series

No. 6. Mammalian Distribution Within Biotic Communities of Northeastern Jewell County, Kansas, by Kenneth W. Andersen and Eugene D. Fleharty. March 1967.

Literature Series

No. 5. Parallelism in Romans, by Paul M. Biays. March 1967.

1967-1968

Bibliography Series

No. 3. A Bibliography of Scholarship About Henry David Thoreau: 1940-1967 by Christopher A. Hildenbrand. October 1967.

Science Series

No. 7. Soil-Vegetation Relationships of a Blue Shale-Limy Upland Range Site in Ellis County, Kansas, by Larry D. Zavesky. December 1967.

Science Series

No. 8. Invertebrate Fauna and Environment of Deposition of the Niobrara Formation (Cretaceous) of Kansas by Halsey W. Miller. March 1968.

History Series

No. 4. Kansas Mennonites During World War I, by Arlyn John Parish. May 1968.

1968-1969

History Series

No. 5. J. C. Denious: Public Servant and State Promoter of Southwestern Kansas, by Larry N. Lane. October 1968.

Literature Series

No. 6. A Comparative Analysis of the Rhetoric of Two Negro Women Orators—Sojourner Truth and Frances E. Watkins Harper, by Janey Weinhold Montgomery.