

## Appendix I: Photographs

The Jessie Daniel Ames Papers contain a selection of images, mostly family photographs, relevant to the topics explored in this thesis. All of the following images come from the photo series of the Jessie Daniel Ames Papers at the Southern Historical Collection, housed in Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.



Figure 1: Jessie Daniel Ames with Frederick Ames, December 1907.

Figure 2: Roger Post Ames, undated. Likely taken some time before his marriage in 1905.



Figure 3: Jessie Daniel Ames in her wedding dress, 1905. Her sister, Lulu, described the event: “And then came the day of the wedding itself, with Jess all in white, her long veil of illusion caught with real orange blossoms and her face quiet and serious under the impact of the vows that were being made” (“In the Fullness of Time” *JDA Papers*).





Figure 4: Roger Post Ames with Frederick and Mary, Summer 1914. Taken during one of Roger's rare visits with the family.





Figure 5: Ames family, Summer 1914. Jessie is likely pregnant with her youngest daughter, Lulu, who was born 30 January 1915, just two months after Roger's death in November 1914.



Figure 6: Laura Leonard Daniel, undated. Taken some time during her marriage.



Figure 7: James Malcolm Daniel, 1900. Although the Daniels' son, Jamie, had not yet died when this photograph was taken, figures 6 and 7 already begin to reveal something of the dynamic between James and Laura Daniel that their daughter Lulu describes in "In the Fullness of Time." Lulu came to see her mother as the true source of strength in the Daniel home.



Figure 8: Frederick Ames, undated.  
Likely taken during the 1920s.



Figure 9: Lulu Ames, undated.



Figure 10: Mary Ames, 1929.





Figure 11: Verona with her mother, Lulu Hardy, taken at Jessie's home in Decatur, 1937.



Figure 12: Verona with her aunt, Jessie Daniel Ames, taken at Jessie's home in Decatur. 1937.

Figures 11 and 12 demonstrate the closeness between Jessie Daniel Ames and her niece, Verona Hardy, who at the end of her life chose her aunt to care for her rather than her mother. They also show the dramatic difference in stature between Jessie and her sister. Figure 13, taken on the same day, shows some of the closeness between Mary and Lulu Ames, whose relationship remained generally affectionate during their adolescence.





Figure 13: Lulu (left) and Mary Ames, taken on the same day at their home in Decatur, 1937.





Figure 14: Jessie Daniel Ames (left) and Mary Ames near CIC headquarters in Atlanta, 1941. Although taken near the end of Jessie's career with the ASWPL, Jessie's confidence and bearing show a remarkable difference compared to early photos from the 1910s



Figure 15: Louise Kirkland, Undated. Kirkland worked for the Ames family in Decatur as a housekeeper, and although she appears in photo albums, her relationship to the family is unclear as she is rarely mentioned in family correspondence.

Figure 16: Charley Leonard Daniel, 1899. Charley, Jessie's older brother, is another mysterious figure in the JDA Papers. Although he never returned home after running away at age 15, his occasional picture and the fact that Lulu Hardy mentions that he once spent Christmas with her as an adult indicate that he maintained some contact. Like Kirkland, he is almost never mentioned in the Ames family correspondence.







Figure 17: ASWPL Conference at Tuskegee Institute, 1938. Jessie Daniel Ames is visible on end of the right hand side of the front row, standing between Jennie Moton (left) and Mary McLeod Bethune (right).

## Appendix II: Letter, Jessie Daniel Ames to Mary Ames

The following images provide the full text of the 11 September 1930 letter from Jessie Daniel Ames to Mary Ames discussed in chapter II. The letter provides a detailed account of Ames' opinions on relationships between men and women, especially as they typically occur in the South. The letter seems to have been sparked by Mary's response to being stood up by her boyfriend, who is never identified by name. Written when Mary was seventeen and her mother was forty seven, this document serves as an excellent example of Jessie's attitudes toward her children, her opinions regarding romantic relationships, and her observations of inequality between the sexes.



[11 Sept 1930]

409 Palmer Building,  
Atlanta, Georgia  
September 11, 1930

Dear Mary:

I know you think I shall never be done giving advice. I suppose you are right. But at my advanced age with experience behind me which should have bestowed a bit o' wisdom, I have a broader view of life and tendencies in life than a young person can have who is definitely occupied in climbing. Tho I have not arrived at the peak of wisdom, still I am a bit farther on than you. It is not so much advice I am giving you as it is a picture of what I can see. I have always felt that if parents could recognize the weaknesses of their children, sanely and sympathetically, that these children could be taught to strengthen their strong points or suppress and overcome their weaknesses.

You have all the charm of a real Irish temperament. You are generous and you are loyal. You do not want to believe that people whom you like might not be altogether worth your friendship. But even after you quit liking them you are loyal to the bond which existed for the time. You give freely of your time and your material means. You cannot be deliberately cold blooded for an end. You have to be enraged before you can go out and fight for what you consider right. You are so eager to find an excuse for lapses by your friends, that you are inclined to display the vice of your virtue of generosity-gullibility. You are honest and a square shooter. This makes you hasty in your judgments and somewhat intolerant.

This brings me to the inspiration of this letter. This summer you have been establishing new relationships with a class of person with whom you have had little experience. You know how to handle your girl friends and to get along with them. You know how to let them alone when you feel that their friendship is no longer desirable. There is no very great amount of emotion involved except in the case of Margorie last summer. I think you learned your lesson with her and you were most fortunate. Usually when a mushroom friendship as violent and as shortlived as that one burns out, nothing but a faint nausea remains. You and she are congenial and thro life you will be able to sustain a sympathetic understanding.

All summer you have been having a new experience and with, as I said above, a person who represents an entirely unknown class to you. Men's attitude toward women is seldom above board. Their attitude is generally that of establishing an entirely different code of personal honor and ethics in their dealings with women than that they would dare to assume with other men. Women are supposed to accept what men care to give them either by way of affection, treatment, and respect. Even the kind of respect given by men to women is far different from the respect men give to each other.

To men a woman is a weaker creature. From her they do not expect unswerving honesty and honor; truthfulness and fairness. If a woman is fair to look upon, gives a man a comfortable feeling, never offends his sense of propriety in a woman, then the matter of "little white lies", cattiness, waspishness, does not offend. When a woman is waspish with a man before she is married to him, that is a clear indication to him that she cares for him greatly and is not sure of him.



In addition to men in general, who are a new experience to you, you are up against a most virulent breed in the man of the Old South. Over here more than at home, you have to establish your own code and stick to it. You have to make the men with whom you go recognize that code and respect it. If a man really cares for a woman more than he cares for himself, if he is not puffed up with vanity and conceit, he will recognize quickly



that he is dealing with a woman who is in every way his equal, in those intangible values which mean so much between men, as well as otherwise

At your age you are handicapped by a perfectly natural instinct. You are beginning to like boys. You want them to like you. Nature says that for the perpetuation of the species, this thing of a personal code must not interfere. Nature inclines a girl to give up everything she ordinarily holds dear, to win a boy. Love does not play the part in a man's life as it does in a woman's. This also is according to nature and right, I suppose. I may sound horribly biological right now but I have to in order to give you an understanding of men, women, and nature. Sex desire is a passing emotion with a man. It is stronger in him than in woman. This may be because nature has so arranged it, that a man must undergo a distinct if temporary physiological change in order to satisfy his sex desire, in the satisfaction of which he fills nature's demands of begetting a child. A woman may be and in my day usually was a very passive agent in this matter of conceiving a child. No man can beget a child except at a time when he is wide awake and in the throes of a very strong passion. A woman can conceive in her sleep. She is a passive agent. This may be because a woman after the act which conceives the child can do nothing more for nature for at least nine months except to perform the sole task of bringing forth that child. Repopulation the world would be very slow indeed if the male of the species had to wait as long as the female before he could perform his function again. It is rather hard on women. It produces the age old fight between monogamous woman and polygamous man. A woman wants to get her man and keep him from all other women. She will go to any length to do that. Man knows this. He is taught by woman herself to overvalue himself. Woman in her efforts to hold him, naturally takes places on him a very heavy value. More, I think as you know, than he is worth.

When woman had to divide her man with other women, then she has worked out a method of defense which consists in pretending that he is devoted to her alone she refuses to see his wanderings into other fields. Her self-respect or her vanity whichever you want to call it, or her meal ticket if you want to get to the very lowest element, forces her to do this. At the same time she builds up an image in her husband or the man she is going with, which saves her face in his eyes. Because men have come into marriage knowing that the woman knows he has been promiscuous in the face of which she accepts him and takes her chances on holding him. He demands that she come to him untouched. He has been able to enforce this demand because there have been too many women who because of instinct or social custom, are clean sexually. A woman may have committed any crime, theft, murder, lying, and if she be virtuous which is another word for chaste, a man will forgive her on the basis of her human weaknesses of womanhood. But if she be ever so fine in every other way and be not chaste, she is a bad and wicked woman.

Women have preserved for men the quality of habit but not of character which will please him and bring her the thing she must have.

In the South, where women have been dependent upon men for their food and clothing; where an unmarried woman was an unwanted woman; where marriage even to a "gate post" as a friend of mine once said, is the only estate to which a woman should aspire and missing it, all is lost, the attitude of men toward women is unusually strong with the loving indulgence of a superior to an inferior being. I think women of the South still place such a high price on marriage. Certainly the mothers of all the boys with whom you will go, do, and their sons cannot fail to do the same.

A woman will not say to a man here in the South, you must or cannot have my friendship and respect if you are not clean. He knows that all she demands of him is a fair attempt to deceive her into thinking that she is the one and only woman from now and forever more. That is all she wants. He wants faithfulness not only after marriage, which he promises to her but



(11 Sept 1930)

frequently fails to give, but faithfulness before marriage not to him whom she never knew but to an ideal which he has built for her. So it works out that a woman gets or thinks she is getting all she wants, that after he knows her she shall be the one and only woman for him, and he gets actually what he wants that he shall have been and shall always continue to be the one and only man in her life. If he fails to keep her as the one and only woman, then all she asks is that he keep her deceived so well that she can think he is true. She will rarely leave him. Unfaithfulness is hard to prove conclusively on man. But if she fails him, he will kick her out over night and vindicate his vanity and pride by attempting to kill the despoiler of his home.

With all this as a back ground I am down to cases.

I like your friend very much indeed. I think he is all the things I said this morning; sensitive which is refined ego, eager for approval, rather generous and impulsive, quite good looking, and sure of his conquering power with the ladies. I think these qualities have lent themselves splendidly to developing in him some of the tendencies-I call them tendencies for I have not had a chance to study him- which I dislike. I picture his life something like this.

He and his father were a partnership and his mother and sister were quite unimportant junior members if they ranked that high. Beloved employees possibly it was the part of the partnership to provide for the other two, protect them from hard places, and from knowledge and experiences about which men should know but ladies never. A fine courtesy has been developed which is based not upon innate respect for womanhood, but upon noblesse oblige which translated means a conduct which a person of honor must maintain toward weaker and more unfortunate persons-inferiors in other words.

I will give you my reasons for believing this picture. First, you have said that he had remarked on what he would do to his sister if he caught her going to the Grant Park swimming pool. He is nineteen and regardless of his sex he is not an adult prepared to determine what another person shall or shall not do. He would not be able to enforce his edict and therefore would not issue it, if he did not know that the only adult member of his family, a woman would permit him to assume the authority and the privileges. Then his mother's voice over the phone last night, was clearly that of a distressed person calling for help from a strong one. What could a nineteen year old boy do that would be wiser and saner than a forty-three or more year old woman. His conversation with his mother and then with his sister, clearly revealed the attitude or relationship in that family. Imagine me at forty-three calling up Frederick at nineteen and telling him plaintively that you were not at home and what should I do about it. Imagine Frederick calling you and asking you kindly but firmly where you had been; why you had not phoned me, and so on. By reason of death of his father your friend at seventeen became the head of the family-because he was born a boy. His dismissal of the subject of your studying law; his manner of playing tennis with you; his attitude toward your smoking. Even with his professed affection for you, he cannot help but feel that there are certain things he can demand of you as the price of his company. This is not against him in the least. It is his nature and his bringing up.

I also think that a man has a right to wish and expect that a girl with whom he goes, should attend to his preferences and his ideas of propriety as the price of his company. I would not expect a man with any strength of character or any pride, to submit to deliberate disrespect for his wishes and his ideas. On the other hand, you should demand certain things from him as the price of your company. The matter of his dress is one important thing. He has yielded gracefully in that. It was a little thing and it may have made him feel a certain glow of vanity that you were interested enough in him to want him to appear decently-too interested just to let him go without bothering to get him to change and meet your requirements. That cost him nothing. So far as I know, he has made no demands of you that have been questions involving sacrifice or principle of you.



[11 Sept 1930]

4  
But now you are up against another problem entirely. It is the problem created by the social community in which he has been moving all these years before you knew him. He has been a prominent boy in school. The girl who has gone with him has reflected light from his glory. She has had a certain amount of prestige because he has shown upon her. Girls are funny things. They let boys know when they feel honored by their company. Instead of conferring upon the boy prestige, the boy does the honoring. It is a pretty game we play. The man affects a humbleness in the favors of the girl when in reality he knows that the girl is swept off her feet and is grateful.

Again this is not the boy's fault, I mean this boy's fault. The girls have spoiled him. They have made him think that he can get away with anything, and he has. All that he has to do to get the girls back, is to be sweet and sorry and miserable appearing. Girls are soft hearted. Besides they want to keep their man; and they want to feel that they are so important to their man that even tho he strays, he can find happiness only with the special one.

Your friend has stood you up, in the present day slang. I understand that he did not even phone you at the time. Or later. He made good excuses which you accepted graciously and possibly unquestioningly. He may have injected into it some very convincing love making. I have known them to. If you have believed him, you are no different from all other girls now and girls who used to be, one of the latter being your mother. But the role of forgiveness, regardless of how gracefully we play it due to generations of practice, is soon made to be a role which a girl cannot get out of. And she is called upon more and more often to forgive or forget or to accept explanations easily given.

I am suggesting nothing definite to you. I am not seventeen now. What I would do at seventeen would be exactly what my temperament and my personal code determined. You will do the same. But sometimes situations arise which are so new that there is no personal code established which will carry one thro. In this situation, I think this fits you. You have had so little experience with boys; you do not deliberately commit an act and then lie out of it. Remember that men do not lie to women from their point of view. You would believe anyone, boy or girl, because you yourself would tell only the truth. I am afraid that is not the code between men, but not for men with women.

I suggest that you proceed from now on, on the basis that he has not stood you up. That he did not understand that he was to come; that he was telling you the truth. You can not do otherwise simply because the time is past to act on the past. He would be justified in his failure to understand. I should forget it. But the present and the future are before you. Make it very clear when you are arranging a meeting or a date with him or he with you, that he understands what you understand. Repeat it clearly after him. That will eliminate his excuse that he did not understand—that is eliminate it as far as it will have weight with you. If he stands you up again, then recall his reputation for that very thing with other girls. If you let him get by with it, you will have placed yourself in the class of women who will make every concession of personal pride and honesty, and standards for a man. And you will be fairly on the way to misery. Incidentally, it is because of these things that I consider it unsafe and unwise for boys and girls to neck as it is called.

Finally, I want you to tell him that you want your bracelet back because I want to have it engraved. I do and I will as soon as you get it. And I want you to get it. This is a matter of my standards. He has something of yours which he can show and if you break up and he does not return it, it is your scalp to his belt; you have nothing of his which you can show as his. You must get that bracelet back yourself or I will. There is no exchange in this. It matters not whether you want the bracelet or prize it as a gift or a possession. I want that bracelet and I want it this week.

Please keep this letter. You may want it sometime in the future.

5 I do not want you to think that I do not like your friend. I do. I think he is the product of his environment. But it is not your environment. He will have to change and change rapidly. I do not think he will. He can get too many nice and pretty girls on his own terms. I do not think you want him bad enough to take him on ~~your~~ his terms when to do so would mean the laying aside of your personal code of honesty, honor, self-respect, and pride in your native ability. I do not think you want to be cheated and fooled in the essentials of life.

And remember that always men will want you on their terms. They will fight for you on their terms. If they really want you or any one of them really wants you bad enough, in the end he will meet your terms and he will stay with them in strength just in direct ratio as to the strength he put out trying to make you lay your terms aside for his. And for you my dear, there can be no happiness in friendships which mean a subversion of principle. I am not so sure that your friend is not by way of getting you on his terms, if you do not heed this letter carefully.

I shall be so glad to talk it all over with you not as an isolated instance of you and this one friend but as a general principle for your guidance in the future. I can help you a great deal both from my own experience and with that of other men and women.

Devotedly and admiringly your mother