Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Clark as Learning Leaders

Chameka Simmons Robinson

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ANNA JULIA COOPER, MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE,
AND SEPTIMA POINSETTE CLARK AS LEARNING LEADERS

by

Chameka Simmons Robinson

Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School
of The University of Southern Mississippi
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education

May 2015
ABSTRACT

ANNA JULIA COOPER, MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, AND SEPTIMA POINSETTE CLARK AS LEARNING LEADERS

by Chameka Simmons Robinson

May 2015

African American female educators have a prominent place in the history of adult education. In addition to their work as educators, they often served as activists and leaders that fought for justice and the transformation of individual lives and entire communities. This study examines Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Clark as learning leaders. As a means of accomplishing this research, the work of the aforementioned educators was aligned with Stephen Preskill & Stephen D. Brookfield’s *Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership*. The effect of the educators’ learning leadership on their local communities and the implications for modern-day adult educators are discussed and suggestions for future research are included. This study demonstrated that Cooper, McLeod, and Bethune's work and accomplishments in adult education throughout their careers indeed distinguished them as learning leaders. Future research with a focus on other adult educators should be conducted.
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Chameka Simmons Robinson

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education

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Dr. Lilian H. Hill
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May 2015
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful and loving parents: J.C. and Shirley Simmons. Thank you for being a constant source of encouragement and support. I love you both with all my heart. To my husband Andre, I thank you for the many evenings that you drove me to Hattiesburg for class so I wouldn't be on the highway alone. Never once did you complain. We both know that is a rarity! I share this accomplishment with you. I love you.

To my pastor Elder W. Cortez Castilla, I will forever hold you in my heart for your encouragement and support throughout not only this journey, but also this journey we call life. Rest in heaven.

Finally, this work is also dedicated to everyone who is pushing ahead toward their dreams despite suffering with a chronic illness. Be encouraged and continue to strive towards your goals. I was delayed, but I was not defeated.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I give all the honor and glory to my Lord and Savior for bringing me through even when it seemed as though my obstacles were insurmountable. I extend my deepest gratitude to my advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Lilian Hill. Thank you for staying with me to see the completion of this journey. I will be forever grateful for your encouragement, guidance, and most of all your patience. A heartfelt thanks also goes to Dr. Georgianna Martin, Dr. Kyna Shelley, and Dr. Thomas O’Brien. Thank you for serving on my committee and sharing your considerable knowledge and unique perspectives. Your invaluable input and suggestions greatly shaped and enhanced this research.
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The intent of this study is to provide a unique view of three adult educators who were leaders that persevered in spite of obstacles and led in spite of opposition. Over time, the important work of African American female adult educators has started to come to the forefront. The educators selected for this research were chosen because of their similarity in terms of their determination to fight for equal rights and better educational opportunities for women and African Americans in general. Each of these women possessed the natural ability to organize and inspire those around them. They rose above gender and racial restrictions and their work shaped individuals as well as communities.

They served as adult educators in their educational institutions, through their various work with women's and social clubs, and also through political activism. Researchers have examined the lives and works of these educators individually and in some cases collectively. However, at the time of this research, no in-depth comparative study inclusive of these particular adult educators has examined these educators as learning leaders.

Chapter I provides the background necessary to properly introduce the study and its purpose. Chapter II provides a review of the literature related to the study. In doing so, an overview of the history of adult education for African Americans is provided initially and the chapter transitions into a discussion of learning leadership and the nine learning tasks of leadership. Theoretical foundations for the research are covered subsequently. Finally, a selection of autobiographical, biographical, and other various works about the educators and works authored by the educators are briefly discussed.
Chapters III through V discuss each educator individually. Within each educator’s chapter a special focus is placed on their activism and community involvement. Details regarding the adult learners that directly and indirectly benefited from their teaching and leadership are also investigated. The focal point is leadership development as well as learning as a means of leading. The work of each educator and its effect on self-improvement among learners and contributions to social change are also investigated in detail.

The Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership provided by Preskill and Brookfield are used as the primary means of highlighting the learning leaders in this study. These tasks include learning how to be open to the contributions of others, learning how to reflect critically on one’s practice, learning how to support the growth of others, learning how to develop collective leadership, learning how to analyze experience, learning to question, learning democracy, learning to sustain hope in the face of struggle and finally learning to create community.¹ The seven learning tasks of critical theory will also be utilized to examine the work of the educators. These tasks are comprised of challenging ideology, contesting hegemony, unmasking power, overcoming alienation, learning liberation, reclaiming reason and practicing democracy.² All of the Learning Tasks of Leadership and critical theory are not expected to be fully achieved or exemplified by each educator. However, the means by which each educator demonstrated these tasks as they led through

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learning will be discussed in detail in their corresponding chapter with a tabular summary in the concluding chapter.

The individual chapters focusing on the educators begin with Anna Julia Haywood Cooper who is the focus of Chapter III. Anna Julia Cooper was a teacher, scholar, and leader who believed strongly in the importance of community and was an advocate for lifelong learning, women's rights, and social justice. She was born as a slave on August 10, 1860 in Raleigh, North Carolina. She attended St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute which was founded to train teachers for the newly freed slave population. She later received an undergraduate degree from Oberlin College in 1884. She served as a high school teacher and principal and is credited with visioning the model for the present day community college system. She received her doctorate at the age of sixty-six and is also credited with being the fourth woman in the United States to earn a Ph.D.

Chapter IV centers on Mary McLeod Bethune. She was born on July 10, 1875 in Mayesville, South Carolina. Born to former slaves, Mary McLeod Bethune was the fifteenth of seventeen children. Bethune attended Scotia Seminary which prepared students to become teachers of Black students. She later attended the Moody Bible Institute. She taught at numerous missionary schools before moving to Daytona Beach, Florida where she founded the Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute for Negro Girls. Bethune was a natural leader as well as an acclaimed educator and activist. She worked with numerous local and national women’s organizations and numerous United States presidents. Chapter V focuses on Septima Poinsette Clark. Septima Poinsette Clark
was born in Charleston, South Carolina on May 3, 1898. At an early age she attended Avery Institute and went on to receive degrees from Benedict College and Hampton University. She began teaching in 1916 on St. Johns Island, South Carolina. She later taught in Charleston and McClellanville, South Carolina, and the mountains of North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina and Monteagle, Tennessee. She taught adults in various settings and is well known for her work with Highlander Folk School and the Citizenship Education Program. Through education she directly or indirectly assisted in improving the literacy skills of many citizens and in turn also nurtured the leadership development of many in the communities who joined in the battle against illiteracy and oppression.

Chapter VI is the concluding chapter which discusses all of the educators and summarizes their contributions to adult education. In this final chapter, I will analyze the leadership of the educators. The nine learning tasks of leadership and the seven learning tasks of critical theory will be used in this analysis. Reflections on the three educator's thoughts and life experiences are also highlighted. The overall manner in which societal change was effected by the efforts of the adult educators is the primary focus of this concluding chapter. Therefore, the lasting effects of their efforts and how modern-day adult education professionals may benefit from the study of their lives as learning leaders is covered.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The hard work and dedication of many African American women has contributed significantly to the adult education of African American learners for many years. It has taken decades for the work of many of these women educators to be appropriately recognized for their contributions in the arena of adult education.

In undertaking this research, it is essential to examine the history of adult education for African Americans in the United States. Access to formal schooling by Blacks was hard won. The struggle was especially difficult for African American women. "From the lessons shared in the darkest of night in the midst of slave quarters to current generations of college graduates, African Americans have struggled to educate themselves and their children."¹ Most schools established for African Americans after Reconstruction were founded by White missionaries and through the United States Freedmen's Bureau. In addition to their individual teaching, the fact that two of the three educators who are the focus of this study actually founded educational institutions for the purpose of educating adult men and women only augments their remarkable accomplishments.

History has an important place in all fields. Adult education is no exception. Historical research is a form of qualitative inquiry and involves the examination of people and events and it seeks to answer questions. This study examines Anna Julia

Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark in an effort to shed light on the lives and work of these educators, their involvement in adult education and their roles as learning leaders. These three women focused on changing not only individual citizens, but society as a whole. They stood strong in the face of racism, classism, and sexism and made significant contributions to the field of adult education. The worthiness of this historical study lies in their perseverance, obstinacy, and many successes to educate adults in the face of these many obstacles.

In regard to the pursuit of historical study, the following points are taken into account:

Training in history or historical methods . . . . is not necessary to engage in a historical study. The researcher does need to be curious about the past of an institution, event, person or practice; about its relationship to the times in which it occurred; and about the people involved. Then the researcher can acquire the knowledge needed to examine sources for their authenticity and value in answering the questions posed by the study. Finally, the information must be skillfully organized into a narrative that both explains and interprets the past. In doing so, the present becomes enlightened.2

Merriam and Brockett evaluate perspectives of the past and note the importance of interpretation: “Interpretation is vital to history, for it reveals the true interests and intentions of the historian and allows those who seek to understand a field’s history to see

the same set of events through different eyes.” Of special note is also the discussion of critical history. A critical approach to history includes gender and race in the conversation, and carefully examines relationships between gender and areas such as leadership, theory and professional practice.

This study focuses on the lives and works of Black female educators who fought oppression and sought equality for women by using adult education as a vehicle. It is important to approach this research with a certain understanding. Brundage notes that:

Revisionist efforts to recover and develop the history of minorities have by necessity been undertaken in political movements for the expansion of civil rights and the attainment of economic and social equality. . . . An expansion of interest in black history during the last several decades obviously is linked to the intensification of the struggle for civic, social and economic equality . . .

Women’s history has been particularly active during the last few decades, and like the history of ethnic minorities, its creation is correlated to vigorous political and social movements. Since historical invisibility is a virtually universal corollary to powerlessness, the campaign to establish gender equality necessarily required a historical component.

A number of varied resources were used to situate the lives and works of Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark within the field of

adult education. Historical research methods were used to analyze primary and secondary sources. In conducting historical research, it is important to note that the life histories of others are very important historical resources as are the histories of institutions.\(^6\) When situating the lives of these educators within adult education, it is also important to realize the importance of personal narratives. Personal narratives or teacher autobiographies are used in educational research and assist teachers in exploring their personal experiences.\(^7\) The utilization of character education by these educators is also important to examine. Bair notes that:

> these school founders used the language and practice of character education for two primary purposes. First, they sought to gain respectability and economic security for their students in White society by developing and showcasing the impeccable character of their graduates. Second, they used character education as a tool to build strong and spiritually vibrant communities.\(^8\) This trait falls right in line with the learning task *learning to create communities*, which will be discussed in detail along with the other learning tasks in subsequent chapters.

It is my intention to show that the adult educators who are the focus of this study were leaders that fought many difficult battles and in doing so used adult education as their weapon of choice. Carefully selected quotes and expressions from each of the

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educators will be used in an effort to effectively use their voice to demonstrate the means by which they used or visualized the learning tasks of leadership.

Statement of the Problem

African American female adult educators have been traditionally underrepresented in the literature. However, over the years a growing number of scholars have begun to fully bring the contributions of these adult educators to light. The women selected for this research persevered in spite of obstacles and led in spite of opposition. It is my contention that the study of these educators as learning leaders will further emphasize their contributions to the field of adult education and society as a whole.

Purpose of the Study

This research investigates Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark as learning leaders. Attention is placed on their specific contributions to adult education and its role in leadership development, self-improvement and social change.

Research Questions

The following research questions are proposed for this study.

1. How may the work of Bethune, Clark and Cooper be aligned with *The Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership* as conceived by Preskill and Brookfield?

2. How were local communities affected by the learning leadership of each educator during their lifetime?

3. What are the lasting effects of their efforts and how may modern-day adult education professionals benefit from the study of their lives as learning leaders?
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is a generous amount of literature available in regards to the lives and works of Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune and Septima Poinsette Clark. However, the examination of these educators as learning leaders is an area that has not been truly explored. Therefore, the intent of this research is to expand the existing literature by investigating these educator's roles as learning leaders in the field of adult education.

In preparing for this research study numerous databases were searched. These included Academic Search Premier, African American Newspapers-1827-1998, African American Periodicals-1825-1995, Education Source, ERIC, JSTOR, MasterFILE Premier and ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. OCLC Worldcat was the starting point for locating books on the educators as well as other topics pertinent to the study. Some archives were also consulted for primary resources. This review is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of the provision of adult education for African Americans. The second section is a discussion of the nine learning tasks of leadership that have provided the foundation for this study. The third section reviews select autobiographical and biographical sources. The final section discusses theories related to the study.

Historical Overview of Adult Education for African Americans

In an effort to examine the influence of the African American educators that are the focus of this study, it is important to provide a discussion devoted to the history of the provision of adult education for African Americans.
In a project that examined a twenty-five year period in adult education, Johnson-Bailey notes:

The educational history of African Americans in the United States has been primarily one of exclusion. For approximately three hundred years (1619-1868), in most of the United States, it was illegal or unacceptable to educate people of African ancestry.¹

As a lifelong resident of Mississippi, I also found it intriguing that in speaking about Mississippi in 1939, Powdermaker noted:

For colored people in Mississippi, education still wears the glamour of newness. Before the Civil War most slaves were forbidden to learn reading and writing. Even where they were not forbidden, there was small opportunity to learn. Education was the prerogative of the master class, and accordingly endowed with a prestige which is still retains. Its advantages were apparent, not only in the superior abilities of the Whites who enjoyed it as a matter of course, but also in the superior fortunes of those house slaves who were able to acquire it; and these advantages are still felt by their descendants today. The disadvantages of ignorance have been tasted by every Negro who is unable to read his accounts and to calculate whether his landlord is cheating him.²

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Powdermaker also makes an important observation when she notes that:

The faith of the present-day Negroes in education is much like the faith of those Americans who set up the public school system. They looked to education as the great and indispensable foundation of democracy.

Education was to fit every citizen for participation in government, and to spread the doctrine that every citizen should be allowed to participate. It was viewed as the gateway to equal opportunity, the threshold of a new and better life.³

In the first half of the nineteenth century numerous organizations promoted African American literacy and education. Black publishers also contributed in this promotion of learning. These cultural developments and the establishment of schools led to conflict regarding slavery, which culminated in the Civil War. Previously, most slaves did not have opportunities to gain knowledge because they had no formal education and therefore were unable to acquire the basic tools needed for learning. In many instances, the slave owners were uneasy at the prospect of literate slaves. Literacy made escapes easier for the slaves to plan. In 1770, Georgia made it a crime to teach slaves to read and write. In the early 1830’s Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama all banned the teaching of slaves to read. At the same time, South Carolina and Georgia reinforced the laws that were previously passed in their states.

³. Ibid., 300.
The slave masters were often cruel in their retaliation against slaves that learned to read or write. Even though they faced physical harm, many of the slaves were still eager to learn and in the end were not deterred. While a large number of masters were against slaves learning, it is important to also note that some masters tolerated and even encouraged the literacy of their slaves. Before 1800, almost all slaves were largely self-taught. Free blacks also acquired their knowledge from informal instruction and any printed materials they were able to find. For many slaves literacy involved finding a kind white person who was willing to assist them with learning to reading.

There were a number of individuals that made a monumental difference in regards to the adult education of African Americans. After the Civil War, education was found to be one of the greatest priorities for the slaves. One of these individuals that had such a profound effect was Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington himself spent nine years as slave. Washington's educational philosophy influenced many other educators in his lifetime and beyond.

Denton observes that Washington’s philosophy included the concept of social change:

Regardless of race or color, people must initiate their journeys on the ground floor, working their way up through the slow complex process of change. They cannot expect to enter the mainstream of established organizations or societies on the eighth floor. For his own people, suppressed in slavery through centuries of cultural lag, Washington pioneered the hierarchy-of-needs principle that Abraham
H. Maslow popularized a century later in *Motivation and Personalization*. In the Washington hierarchy education was salvation, second only to freedom itself.\(^4\) The American Missionary Association was one of the first educational organizations to provide services for African Americans. The organization increased its efforts when the Civil War ended in 1865. Adults and children filled all the schools to capacity. Some schools were so crowded that they could not accommodate everyone who wanted to attend. Denton vividly described the eager adult students:

Gray haired and dim-sighted adults pored over the spelling books with younger students. A stooped, half-blind, nearly eighty-year-old man in Nashville like so many other adults went to school with the expressed purpose of reading the Bible before he died, and he made good progress. An Arkansas teacher wrote that it was often gray heads bent over the books, in tents, hovels, shops, and kitchens. Other adults were motivated by improving their general conditions and learning to become better citizens. Night school students in Florida wanted to learn how to read the names on the ballot box. Some were anxious to study the Constitution. As early as 1869, a night school in District of Columbia had 232 people enrolled, men who worked all day in the boiling sun, hurried home for a bite of supper, and go to their night classes. In Jacksonville, Florida

masons and carpenters over fifty years of age also attended reading classes at night.\textsuperscript{5}

The aforementioned examples vividly describe the excitement that the former slaves held in regards to receiving an education. They faced many obstacles in their thirst and quest for knowledge, however they tarried on. Many received a level of literacy that was deemed adequate enough to establish a pattern of literacy in their families and also allow them to share their knowledge with others in the community.

Heather Andrea Williams provides additional insight into the mindset of slaves and their desire to be educated.

As slaves they had seen the impact of education firsthand. They had carried young masters’ and mistresses’ books and lunch to school, and then seen some of them off to college. Upon their return, educated young masters and mistresses moved into positions within the white gentry, while poor whites and blacks, with little or no education remained poor and powerless. At emancipation, many freedpeople were anxious for education precisely because of its direct relationship to power within the society.\textsuperscript{6}

Elizabeth Peterson's book, \textit{Freedom Road}, provides insight regarding adult educators who have paved the way for those that have come after them. This work also encourages discussion of the issues related to adult education that continue to prevail in today's society. Racism and poverty are still barriers to many today and Peterson

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, 52-53.

recognizes the importance of strong leadership like those adult educators she profiled in her text. Peterson notes that "No, matter what direction we take, it is clear that education, adult education, will always play a vital role in the growth and development of the African American community."\(^7\)

This section only scratches the surface in the provision of some of the history of adult education for African Americans. The chapters that follow will continue to integrate additional historical analysis with the lives of each educator. This undertaking will illustrate how the women navigated numerous obstacles all while leading and learning, and making indelible impacts in the adult education profession.

Learning Leaders and the Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership

In their first co-authored work on leadership, *Learning as a Way of Leading*, Stephen Preskill and Stephen D. Brookfield focus specifically on learning leadership. In lieu of providing a precise definition of learning leadership, they discuss numerous detailed qualities of effective leaders. They note that in their research they were specifically interested in "...how leaders learn, how they support other people's learning, and how all of this deepens their social impact."\(^8\) According to the authors, learning leaders "...advance justice and promote the common good. ...use what they have learned to secure people their basic rights, combat racism, overturn economic inequality. ...create forms of democratic socialism, and help people more fully realize themselves as human beings."\(^9\) Despite the collective importance of the aforementioned essential

\(^8\) Preskill and Brookfield, *Learning as a Way*, ix.
\(^9\) Ibid., x.
attributes of successful learning leaders, the authors note that they should most importantly be learners.

Preskill and Brookfield further detail the unique qualities of learning leadership and make the following observations:

What is distinctive about learning leadership is that it highlights in bold relief commitment to, and practice of, learning. A capacity to learn from experience; desire to explore new areas of knowledge and practice; readiness to critique, revise, and sometimes even abandon past assumptions in light of new events or insights; and concern for the learning of members as the most important purpose of an organization, community, or movement—these things are what make learning a way of leading. In our view, an important practice of learning leaders is to consistently and publicly model their own commitment to and practice of learning. . . . Perhaps the most important element of learning leadership, however, is being open to learning from the people around you and letting them see how crucial this is for your own practice and development.¹⁰

The Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership as conceived by Preskill and Brookfield provide further insight into the type of leaders that the authors deem successful and these learning tasks are used to encompass the "dispositions, capacities, and public practices" essential to the success of learning leaders.¹¹ The Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership as outlined by the authors are as follows.

1. Learning how to be open to the contributions of others

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¹⁰ Ibid., 14-15.
¹¹ Ibid., 15.
2. Learning how to reflect critically on one's practice

3. Learning how to support the growth of others

4. Learning how to develop collective leadership

5. Learning how to analyze experience

6. Learning how to question oneself and others

7. Learning democracy

8. Learning how to sustain hope in the face of struggle

9. Learning to create community\(^\text{12}\)

Preskill and Brookfield contend that none of the nine tasks are ever fully achieved.\(^\text{13}\) It is also likely that the educators may not have exhibited each of the learning tasks or that the resources employed may not provide the appropriate means to show their utilization of the task. However, the purpose of this research was to examine the means by which Cooper, Bethune, and Clark exhibited the Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership in their work as adult educators. A general overview of the tasks is provided in this section and a more detailed discussion of the tasks will be provided in the chapters devoted to each individual educator.

The first learning task is *learning how to be open to the contributions of others*. Preskill and Brookfield consider practicing openness to a foundation skill of learning leadership. They view openness as . . . “the willingness to entertain a variety of alternative perspectives, be receptive to contributions from everyone regardless of

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 15-18.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., xi.
previous attainment or current status, and create dialogic open spaces—multiple opportunities for diverse voices and opinions to be heard.”

The second learning task is learning how to reflect critically on one’s practice. The authors note that . . . “critical reflection is largely technical, concerned with scrutinizing the accuracy of assumptions underlying our decisions, actions, and judgments.” The third learning task is learning how to support the growth of others. This learning task is considered to be the core of leadership. Listening and asking questions are considered keys to successfully mastering this task. The fourth learning task is learning how to develop collective leadership. “Collective leadership is a shared commitment to a set of ideals that are unattainable unless everyone’s efforts are included, appreciated, and felt.” Learning how to analyze experience is the fifth learning task. “Analyzing experience improves our understanding, helps us make connections, and sometimes leads us to alternative means for addressing problems.”

Learning how to question oneself and others is the sixth learning task. “Leaders who learn must be highly proficient at questioning, skillful at modeling it on themselves as well as others, and always ready to support it in a community wide practice.” The seventh learning task is learning democracy. “Learning democracy can happen only in the doing of democracy. The first step in this process is for leaders to make a public commitment to working democratically as communicators, learners and collaborators.

15. Ibid., 41.
16. Ibid., 85.
17. Ibid., 105.
18. Ibid., 127.
This means acknowledging that anyone is as likely to make a valuable contribution to the community as anyone else, including the designated leader.”19

The eighth learning task is learning to sustain hope in the face of struggle. Cooper, Bethune and Clark faced numerous hurdles stemming from societal views on race as well as gender. The educators pressed forward despite these difficulties. “Leaders learning to sustain hope in the face of struggle are purveyors of critically tempered hope. They hold no illusions about how difficult the struggle is that they face and remain unpersuaded by simplistic slogans and easy sentiment. Their hope is born of the unyielding day-to-day work that ordinary people do to make their communities better.”20

It is very fitting that learning to create community is the ninth and final learning task. The ability to create successful communities rests on practicing the other eight learning tasks. “When we learn to create community . . . we keep a good conversation going about our joint purposes, we identify with others at least as much as with ourselves, and we do all we can to define and promote a mutually advantageous common good.”21

Autobiographical and Biographical Sources

To carry out this research, it was also essential to complete a review of the literature relevant to the questions that guide this research. There are numerous studies that center on the educators that are the focus of this study. However, an examination of the recent literature revealed that there were no existing studies that examined Cooper, Bethune, and Clark utilizing the nine learning tasks of leadership or that specifically

20. Ibid., 172-173.
defined the educators as learning leaders. Thus, in this dissertation, I will extend the existing literature to include the means by which these educators served as learning leaders and thereby made significant contributions to the field of adult education. This research will also illustrate how the nine learning tasks as conceived by Preskill and Brookfield were demonstrated in their practice as adult educators.

Research related to the adult educators in this study has gradually begun to fill the gap in the literature regarding African-American female adult educators. The current literature provides coverage about many aspects of their lives and work. However, this study proposes to delve deeper and examine them as learning leaders. Primary resources were consulted and were the key starting points for this research. Existing secondary resources are beneficial in the examination of these educators as learning leaders. Although these studies have not considered the educators from this angle, the research and content of these studies will be invaluable in my research.

Karen Johnson’s *Uplifting the Women and the Race: The Lives, Educational Philosophies and Social Activism of Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs* highlights the life, educational philosophy, and social activism of Anna Julia Cooper. Louise Daniel Hutchinson’s *Anna J. Cooper: A Voice from the South* includes vivid photographs and primary documents that help to illustrate the colorful story of Anna Julia Cooper. From her early years through her years at Frelinghuysen University, this work

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outlines the struggles and the hardships as well as the outstanding accomplishments of Cooper.\textsuperscript{23}

In \textit{The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including A Voice From the South and Other Important Essays, Papers, and Letters} Lemert and Bhan provide access to a large collection of Cooper’s writings written in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. These writings include numerous letters, essays and speeches. This work provides useful details that assist in situating Cooper’s life and her views on politics, education, race and class. The editor’s commentaries augment Cooper's viewpoints throughout the work. The book is a comprehensive representation of the life and times in which she lived. This work also covers the status of women in education, provides translations of portions of her doctoral thesis on the French attitudes toward slavery during the French Revolution and provides a rare look at memoirs and other documents that will prove very useful in this study.\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist} by Vivian May provides one of the most recent substantial studies of Cooper. May moves beyond Cooper's \textit{A Voice from the South} and expands the discussion to include more of Cooper's radical work and also further illustrates how Cooper was a multifaceted scholar and activist.\textsuperscript{25} May explores a central theme that is found in Cooper's work. That is "the premise that oppressed peoples are agents both of knowledge and history, even if their agency resistance, and alternative ways of knowing have been suppressed or denied by the

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\textsuperscript{24} Charles Lemert and Esme Bhan, \textit{The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including a Voice from the South and Other Essays, Papers, and Letters} (Lahnam, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield), 1998.
\end{flushright}
McCluskey and Thomas’s *Building a Better World: Essays and Selected Documents* is a valuable resource for examining the life and works of Mary McLeod Bethune. This work examines Bethune from several viewpoints. Documents from her work as an educator, politician, and activist provide an excellent basis for examining Bethune as a learning leader. The editors include a series of critical introductions to numerous primary documents by Bethune. These documents illuminate her role in American politics and the struggle for civil rights. The book contains over seventy letters, reports, minutes and other documents that are organized by year and cover over five decades of her life. Bethune was a complex individual and the editors obviously took this into account as the work organizes her primary documents into six themes that chronicle her life and works.

McCluskey and Thomas also bring to light Bethune’s work as an educator and school administrator. Included in the work are letters that Bethune wrote concerning the status of black education in America. Some of the recipients included Booker T. Washington and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. Access to the abundance of primary documents published in this book is invaluable for this study.  

Joyce Hanson’s *Mary McLeod Bethune & Black Women’s Political Activism* highlights Bethune’s work towards equality as she struggled to adjust her mindset to the changes that came forth with the twentieth century. Hanson observes, “When examined

26. Ibid., 3.
individually, the choices she made throughout her lifetime often appear contradictory, unless we understand that Bethune had one foot in the nineteenth century and one in the twentieth century. She was a transitional figure.”

Septima Clark's autobiography is entitled *Echo in my Soul*. Clark’s personal thoughts and viewpoints in this work provide insight into her outlook throughout different periods in her life. She later published another work in 1981 that includes recollections on her life. This was a collaborative effort with Cynthia Stokes Brown. Brown interviewed Clark in 1979 when she was 81 years of age. Brown edited and rearranged Clark's story and it was published as *Ready from Within: Septima Clark & the Civil Rights Movement, a First Person Narrative.* Katherine Charron’s *Freedom's Teacher: The Life of Septima Clark* is one of the most recent and comprehensive major works on Clark. Charron emphasizes Clark’s many contributions to education and society. Beginning with her early years in South Carolina, Charron chronicles her life through her later years and includes a great deal of information about her work with the civil rights movement.

The information garnered from biographies is very important to this research. Speaking in regards to the role of biography in the study of African American women and women in general, Preskill notes the importance of its role in emphasizing leadership issues as they relate to these populations. He notes that biography brings to light the

29. Ibid.,3.
struggles endured by women in their pursuit of leadership positions. Preskill also proposes a number of other advantages to the utilization of biography in the study of leadership and diversity.

First, biographies humanize important historical issues and help students see the connections. Second, biographies provide a complex, real-life context for understanding the development of leadership. Platitudes about leadership being a function of time, place, and culture are given new meaning as the lives that are being studied unfold. Third, while whites can never fully appreciate what it means to be black, nor men fully comprehend the experience of women, biography may be one of the best vehicles for increasing our sensitivity and empathy about race and gender. Reading and studying biographies gives us a chance to explore in considerable depth how racism, sexism, and other formative experiences shape the identity of blacks and women. Fourth, reading biographies, especially the lives of people of color and women, can aid us in enriching and reconceptualizing our view of leadership, to move beyond the myopia of leadership theory based on the experiences of white males. Last, biographies cast light upon one of the possible universal of great leadership—that is, that effective leaders over time acquire a strong sense of their own identity. For African-Americans and women particularly, having a sense of one’s identity facilitates the process of influencing both the subordinate and dominant cultures, and moving society however

glacially, toward ideologies and practices that reject subordination and embrace liberation, equality and justice.\textsuperscript{34}

Etter-Lewis and Foster specifically note the importance of using autobiographies and biographies in the interpretation of the lives of African American women.\textsuperscript{35} In regards to biography Finkelstein also notes:

Biography is to history what a telescope is to the stars. It reveals the invisible, extracts detail from myriad points of light, uncovers sources of illumination, and helps us disaggregate and reconstruct large heavenly pictures. Through the particularities of its own refractions and observations, biography reveals particular features within large views. In the case of viewing history, biography provides a unique lens through which one can assess the relative power of political, economic, cultural, social and generational processes on the life chances of individuals, and the revelatory power of historical sensemaking.\textsuperscript{36}

Finkelstein goes even further in noting the importance of biography by stating the following:

Through the lens of biography, historians have constructed creative windows through which one can glimpse several otherwise undiscoverable realities. Indeed, biography constitutes a unique form of historical study that enables education scholars to explore intersections between human agency and social structure.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 10-11.


Biographical studies situate historical storytelling at the margins of social possibility where social change originates, constraint and choice merge, large and small social structures intersect, cultural norms converge, and the relative force of political, economic, social and cultural circumstances become clear. Historical biography reveals the relative power of individuals to stabilize or transform the determinacies of cultural tradition, political arrangements, economic forms, social circumstances and educational processes into new social possibilities.  

Additionally the biographies and other published works highlighted will provide numerous perspectives in which to examine these educators as learning leaders.

**Related Theories**

Howard-Hamilton emphasizes that “Selecting appropriate theories for understanding the needs of African-American women should, however, be based on their cultural, personal, and social contexts, which clearly differ significantly from those of men and women who have not experienced racial and gender oppression.”  

With the adult educators that are the center of this research, it is important to find theoretical constructs suitable for illuminating and appreciating the experiences of the trio of African American women. Numerous factors are taken into consideration. "Values like freedom, equality, tolerance, social justice and rationality provide essential norms for free full participation in discourse.”  

Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark all fought for these values. This study seeks to examine adult education in

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37. Ibid., 46.
relationship to the transformation of not only individuals but society. The *Nine Learning Tasks of Leadership* are the primary basis and comparison tool used in this research. However, for reasons mentioned prior, other theories are also highly applicable.

Transformational learning and critical theory are also discussed as they relate to this research. Although some of the learning theories highlighted in this research had not been developed during the time periods that these educators lived, the work of these educators speaks volumes. Biographical materials and other documents clearly outline the methods they used in teaching as well as learning. Therefore, they may be used to directly align the adult educators with these theories despite the fact that their lives preceded their development.

Transformational learning Transformational theory assists in explaining how adults view the world.\(^40\) It is based upon the ability of adult learners to reflect upon experiences and add to their knowledge base as a result of these experiences. As the name implies, transformational theory involves a significant change to a new way of thinking rather than adapting to what currently exists. The learner is able to take action based on the newly acquired knowledge.\(^41\) Mezirow identified numerous processes that may be applied to the adult educators as well as the adult learners that are the focus of this study. These processes include a disorienting dilemma; self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame; a critical self-assessment of assumptions; recognition that one's discontent and process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change;


\(^{41}\) Patricia Leong Kappel and Barbara J. Daley, "Transformative Learning and the Urban Context," *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 101: (2004), 83.
explorations of options for new roles, relationships and actions; planning a course of action; acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans; provisionally trying out new roles; renegotiating relationships and negotiating new relationships; building a competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships and finally a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's perspective.\textsuperscript{42}

In examining these phases of perspective transformation, it becomes apparent that there is a true fit for the learners served by the adult educators who are the focus of this research. After enduring the oppression of slavery and subsequently obtaining freedom, many of these learners were forced to evaluate prior assumptions. They were able to identify with other individuals around them who were in similar situations. In doing so, they began the process of seeking new roles. In the course of planning, they sought education.

For many years African Americans have viewed education as the key to self-improvement and the advancement of the race.\textsuperscript{43} In examining the image of self, Tennant observes that, "In therapy and everyday life, self-improvement is now a core cultural value and there exist across the spectrum of human activities numerous practices that guide individuals to reflect upon and evaluate themselves and their thoughts, feelings, and conduct."\textsuperscript{44} African American women in particular have worked to educate

\textsuperscript{44} Mark Tennant, The Learning Self: Understanding the Potential for Transformation (Jossey Bass: 2012), 6.
themselves for service so that they could assist in the uplift the entire race. In obtaining this education, many were able to develop relationships, re-evaluate prior relationships and employ their newly realized confidence in order to move upward and onward.

In the past, there has been the assumption that there was one singular view of transformative learning. Conceptions of transformative learning have ironically undergone a transformation. Some of these additional views of transformative learning may assist in a more diverse view and may also be beneficial for historical studies as well as for adult education practitioners today.45 Included in these transformational views are the social-emancipatory view, the cultural-spiritual view and the race-centric view. The social-emancipatory view highlights the effect of context and social change on transformational learning among adult learners. This view was influenced by the work of Paulo Freire. Freire was a radical reformist from Brazil who encouraged emancipation via education. Basically this view involves the learner as a subject that reviews and acts upon a changing world in order to bring about equality. Conscienization is the ultimate aspiration of this view and it may be defined as "a social activity in which individuals communicate through dialogue with others about how they experience reality."46 The three teaching approaches that are necessary in terms of fostering emancipatory learning are critical reflection, problem-posing and a relationship between the educator and the learner that places the teacher on the same level as the student.47

In contrast to Meizrow, Freire's approach was influenced by his work with oppressed and marginalized learners.\textsuperscript{48} Friere commented on two kinds of education. In banking education, the teacher held all knowledge and control. Freire saw this method of education as oppressive and felt that it did not give learners a voice. Alternatively, in problem-posing education dialogue was not only encouraged but deemed indispensable to the development of effective communication between teacher and student.\textsuperscript{49}

The discussion of dialogue between student and educator brings Septima Clark and her work with Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School, and the Citizenship Schools to mind. She realized that the learners themselves were important in regards to their own learning experiences. In his autobiography \textit{The Long Haul}, Myles Horton mentions the importance of adult learners bringing their own experiences with them to a relaxed environment where they felt comfortable discussing real issues with others.\textsuperscript{50} It was the job of the educator to foster this type of environment and in turn it was the responsibility of the learner to share and examine their own individual experiences so that they may learn and come away from the workshops with the knowledge and confidence necessary to use the information garnered in the best possible way. Horton noted:

\begin{quote}
Highlander workshops are based on the mining of the experience that the students bring with them, their awareness that they have a problem to deal with, and the relationship of that problem to conflict . . . I think of an educational
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{49.}] Ibid.,140.
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workshop as a circle of learners. "Circle" is not an accidental term, for there is no head of the table at Highlander workshops; everybody sits in a circle . . . Like other participants in the workshops, staff members are expected to share experiences that related to the discussions, and sources of information and alternative suggestions." ⁵¹

The cultural-spiritual view of transformational learning examines the relationship between individuals and society. The race centric view places those of African ancestry at the center of transformative learning. These views involve promoting inclusion . . . promoting empowerment . . . and learning to negotiate effectively between and across cultures." ⁵² These particular aspects are of utmost importance because all of the educators highlighted fought tirelessly for equal rights and educational opportunities for an oppressed group of which they were also members.

The next theory used will be critical theory. Brookfield notes that there are numerous learning tasks that are rooted in this theory. These include:

2. Contesting hegemony.
3. Unmasking power.
4. Overcoming alienation.
5. Learning liberation.
6. Reclaiming reason.

⁵¹ Ibid., 153.
7. Practicing democracy.\textsuperscript{53}

The learning tasks mentioned prior that form the basis for critical theory clearly align with the \textit{Learning Tasks of Leadership}. The lives of the educators in this study will be examined through these tasks. All of the educators struggled with inequalities and oppression and strived to obtain power through education while concurrently dealing with a contradictory democracy.

Cresswell notes that the perspective of critical theory allows researchers to reflect upon a “heartfelt need . . . to lift the ‘voices’ of marginalized or oppressed people, to explore gender issues that have served to dominate and repress women, or to bring about general change to our society.”\textsuperscript{54}

There are numerous differences among the educators that are the focus of this study that will be discussed here. However, there are overwhelming similarities as well. These women had a vision not only for women, not only for African Americans, but for all people. They fought for equality and civil rights and they continually placed learning and learners at the center while fighting for social justice. Therefore, the theoretical frameworks discussed will be used in similar ways in each case in regards to aligning these educators with adult education. The women’s stories are intertwined with these frameworks to emphasize their leadership skills despite their battles with oppression, their skills as adult educators despite limited resources, and finally their efforts to bring about positive change locally and throughout the world. In the chapters that follow, each educator will be highlighted individually.

\textsuperscript{54} John W. Cresswell, \textit{Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions} (Thousand Oak, CA: Sage), 78.
CHAPTER III

ANNA JULIA HAYWOOD COOPER, 1858-1964

The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party, or a class—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity. —Anna Julia Cooper

Anna Julia Cooper may be considered one of the most influential African-American female educators of her time. Throughout her lifetime—which spanned well over a century—Cooper continuously fought against racial and gender oppression. She often expressed the importance of the role that the black woman played in the advancement of the entire race. She noted:

We are the heirs of a past which is not our fathers' moulding. "Every man the arbiter of his own destiny" was not true for the American Negro of the past: and it is no fault of his that he find himself to-day the inheritor of a manhood and womanhood impoverished and debased by two centuries and more of compression and degradation. But weaknesses and malformations, which today are attributable to a vicious schoolmaster and a pernicious system, will a century hence be rightly regarded as proofs of innate corruptness and radical incurability. Now the fundamental agency under God in the regeneration, the re-training of the race, as well as the ground work and starting point of its progress upward, must be the black woman.¹

¹. Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice From the South (Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Printing House, 1892), 28.
Cooper possessed numerous gifts that were exhibited in her roles as an educator, author, and human rights advocate. She sought to bring attention to the importance of literacy and general adult education for African Americans. Some of her varied roles included teacher, principal, author, scholar and scholar. Cooper was also an author and is generally most well known for her publication *A Voice From the South by a Black Woman of the South* which was published in 1892. She advocated for lifelong learning, women's rights and social justice. In a white, male dominated society, Cooper also continuously served as an advocate for women in their struggle to obtain higher education.

Cooper expressed the following sentiments and made a passion filled plea in this regard.

I ask that the men and women who are teachers and co-workers for the highest interests of the race, that they give the girls a chance! We might as well expect to grow trees from leaves as hope to build a civilization or a manhood without taking into consideration our women and the home life made by them, which must be the root and ground of the matter. Let us insist then on special encouragement for the education of our women and special care in their training. Let our girls feel that we expect something more of them than that they merely look pretty and appear well in society. Teach them that there is a race with special needs which they and only they can help; that the world needs and is already asking for their trained efficient forces.
Finally, if there is an ambitious girl with pluck and brain to take the higher education, encourage her to make the most of it.²

Figure 1. Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, 1923.
(Scurlock Studio Records, Archives Center, National Museum of American History Smithsonian Institution, used with permission.)

Cooper was born Anna Julia Haywood in Raleigh, North Carolina on August 10, 1858. Her mother Hannah Stanley was a slave and her father was purported to be George

² Cooper, A Voice from the South, 77-78.
Washington Haywood—her mother’s master. She had two older brothers named Rufus and Andrew. Anna was born into slavery, but did not remain so for long. Her mother instilled in her the importance of supporting her family as well as her community.

Cooper experienced many pivotal events in the history of the United States. These events spanned from slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction to the struggle for civil rights in her later years. It is apparent that learning *to sustain hope in the face of struggle* is an applicable task to associate with Cooper right from the onset. Regarding Cooper’s life and times, Hutchinson pointed out the importance of her life and work in spite of the many obstacles that she faced.

However, when we consider that she, as a nineteenth-century black woman began her life under the most adverse circumstances and at a time when the mental capacity of blacks and women was questioned and disparaged, her achievements takes on a greater significance. For at that time women and blacks were engaged in a daily struggle to attain full citizenship rights, and the dignity that these rights accorded.³

Cooper received a scholarship in and attended St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute. Even at such a young age, Cooper was determined not to be bound by the discrimination against girls in education. She was initially denied the opportunity to take Greek and Latin courses. The coursework available to girls was more limited than that available to boys. Cooper petitioned for the right to enroll in all courses and her request was granted. She finished high school in 1877. She also married her husband, A.

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C. Cooper in 1877. A.C. Cooper was a teacher and theology student. Their marriage was short-lived as he died only two short years later.

While furthering her studies, Cooper also taught at St. Augustine's until 1881. Cooper later received a B.S. degree in mathematics from Oberlin College in 1884. It should be noted that Mary McLeod Bethune was also a classmate at Oberlin. She was later awarded an honorary M.S. degree due to her teaching experience at Wilberforce.

Through personal and professional difficulties, Cooper remained persistent. The loss of her husband placed all financial responsibilities solely in her hands. After graduating in 1884, Cooper served as chair of languages and science at Wilberforce University. However, she returned to St. Augustine's in 1885 to teach math as well as several languages. Cooper also began to become more involved in community activities during this time. She exhibited the learning leadership task of learning to create community in her work with the North Carolina Teacher's association and in her work with establishing a college outreach program in Raleigh, North Carolina.

In 1887, after Cooper had received her M.A. degree, she began teaching at Washington (Colored) Preparatory High School located in Washington, D.C. Washington Preparatory was also known as M. Street High School. Cooper dedicated 35 years of her career to this institution. She was highly regarded educator and became renowned for her oratorical skills and scholarly writing. She consistently worked to build the surrounding communities and advocated for women's rights and civil rights as a whole. Cooper also co-founded the Colored Settlement House in Washington. It was the area's first agency that provided social services for blacks. In additional to local work, Cooper also worked to effect change nationally. She worked with the National Association of Colored
Women, as well as the Colored Women's league. Her efforts truly embodied learning to create community.

Despite many positive feats, her career was not without its challenges. Cooper truly exhibited the learning task of sustaining hope in the face of struggle. In 1901, Cooper had moved from teacher to principal at M. Street High School. Cooper believed that black students should be afforded the same opportunities as white students. She wanted to offer a full college preparatory curriculum in addition to industrial and vocational education. As one could imagine, her way of thinking was not embraced by many during that time in history. She was doing her job well, and the students were in many cases scoring higher than their white counterparts. However, she still lost her leadership position at M. Street High School. She stood firm in her beliefs and as May notes, "Rather than her being guilty of the stereotypically feminine failings (soft, weak, coddling, and romantic) with which she was charged, her actual offense was daring to take on an ostensibly incontrovertible truths about "natural" human hierarchies of gendered and raced capacity, intellect, and public role." Cooper was contesting hegemony. Hegemony "describes the way that people learn to accept as natural and in their own best interest an unjust social order." Cooper persevered and refused to accept the sexism and racism that she was constantly dealt in her career.

Cooper eventually left Washington for Kansas City. She taught at Lincoln University from 1906-1910. After 4 years in Kansas, Cooper was once again sought after at the M. Street School. A shift in the leadership of the board of education made all the
difference. Cooper returned to the M. Street High School and remained there for 20 additional years.

It is significant to note that the true beginnings of her work in adult education came about a decade after adult education became an official movement. In 1914, Cooper had begun her doctoral studies in French literature and history at Columbia University. She later transferred her credits to the University of Paris, Sorbonne and earned her doctorate in 1925 at the age of sixty-six. She became the fourth African American woman to obtain the doctorate. It is important to note that in the midst of all of her other activities, Cooper had also become the guardian of five of her great-nieces and nephews.

After retiring from her work in public schools, Cooper officially began work with adult students when she was appointed as the second president of Frelinghuysen University in 1930. Located in Washington, D.C., Frelinghuysen was founded in 1906 as a night school for working black adults who could not afford to attend college by any other means. Many of the students that attended had migrated from the south where there were few educational opportunities for Blacks. Frelinghuysen offered evening classes in several locations and provided academic, religious and trade programs. Cooper held the position of president for ten years and later served as registrar for the Frelinghuysen Group of Schools for Colored Working People. Cooper is credited with visioning the model for the present-day community college system.

William H. Bawley was one of Cooper's former students and he donated to Frelinghuysen University in the memory of his former teacher. His words attest to Cooper’s adherence to leadership task three, *learning how to support the growth of others*.

Dr. Anna J Cooper: My beloved teacher who guided me into the complexities of Euclid and the intricacies of the language of Homer and induced 5 fellow teachers to deny themselves a portion, a generous portion of their not too liberal salary—bread cast upon water—to start me on my collegiate mission. . . . I am making my primal installment. . . . donated to F.U. [Frelinghuysen University] foundation in memory of the above mentioned teacher’s voluntary sacrifice. . . .

Kathy L. Glass’s commentary assists in relating Cooper’s work to task nine, *learning to create community*. “Cooper laid the groundwork for coalitions, so that diverse groups might unite, thereby increasing their social, economic, and political power.”

Glass further noted that:

Cooper’s courting of communities manifested in what I call syncrenationalism: a form of community building that could conceivably operate both within and beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, which includes a dynamic set of social practices and floating alliances. A syncrenation is the construct of an imagined community that operates primarily at the ideological rather than the geographical or juridical, level. Syncrenations may also function as experimental spaces where traditional

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cultural and social divisions are transgressed, where people from
different races, genders, religions, and cultures find common ground.
Syncre-nationalist practices, more broadly may at the same time both
embrace and evade nationalist discourse, undermine hierarchical social
arrangements, and overturn restrictive binary configurations.\textsuperscript{10}
At the opening of her critical work on Anna Julia Cooper, Vivian May
immediately highlights Cooper's adherence to the learning leadership task \textit{learning to question} and also the critical theory learning task \textit{challenging ideology}.
Cooper engaged in critical analysis of the politics of race, gender,
class, and nation in order to help transform the world around her.
Consistently, she pushed her readers, her students, and her colleagues to
question everyday reality and to transform, rather than assimilate to a
world shaped by violence, inequality, poverty and oppression.
In a poem written in her early eighties, Cooper noted that she wanted to be
remembered as “somebody’s teacher on vacation now, resting for the fall opening.”\textsuperscript{11} In
spite of her varied accomplishments as an orator, author, activist, etc., Cooper wanted her
legacy as an educator to be at the forefront. Cooper lived for another twenty-three years
after writing these modest words. She died at her home on February 27, 1964. During her
remarkably long lifetime, Anna Julia Cooper proved to be so much more than an
educator. She fought for a just society in which black women's voices would be heard
and not ignored or diminished. She desired all voices to be heard and led others in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item Hutchinson, \textit{Anna J. Cooper}, 188.
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fight to make an impact on society. Despite racism, sexism and other struggles, she was persistent in her cause. It can truthfully be said that she was definitely "somebody's teacher" and she made an indelible mark in the history of adult education through her works and through the lives of all of the students that she molded and guided. Beverly Guy-Shefthall provides a powerful summation of Cooper's legacy.

Dr. Cooper experienced one of the most difficult yet stunning careers in the history of the struggle for education among African American women. Never wavering from her philosophy of education for service, she overcame every obstacle that the twin evils of racism and sexism put in her path. Her awesome intellect, high standards, unequivocal positions, and tenacity in the face of constant personal attacks . . . make her one of the most memorable figures in the annals of American education. . . . Perhaps Cooper's most significant legacy was her belief in the power of education to liberate and empower women to participate in the transformation of a world sorely in need of transformation.\textsuperscript{12}

Faith is the first factor in a life devoted to service. Without it, nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible.

—Mary McLeod Bethune

Mary McLeod Bethune's desire to learn so that she could educate others came at a young age. In speaking of her early years, she had vivid recollections.

I wanted very much, before I learned to read well, I craved some education so I could go out and help people. There was such a need for somebody to go and do something. Instinctively, I felt that leadership was needed, someone to inspire and build a program to tell people something else aside from this scantly life we were called upon to live. I wanted to train, that I myself could [be] better prepared and above all, be able to help others.¹

Bethune provided further insight in her work entitled *A Philosophy for Negro Girls* which was written in 1926.

Very early in life, I saw the vision of what our women might contribute to the growth and development of the race—if they were given a certain type of intellectual training. I longed to see women, Negro women, hold in their hands diplomas which bespoke achievement; I longed to see them trained to be to be inspiration wives and mothers; I longed to see their

accomplishments recognized side by side with any woman, anywhere.

With this vision before me, my life has been spent. ²

Born in 1875, Mary McLeod was the fifteenth of 17 children. Her mother was Patsy McLeod. She was of African descent. Her father was Sam McLeod who was of Indian and African descent. Her parents and the majority of her siblings were slaves that were emancipated through the Union victory in the Civil War. Bethune grew up in a time where blacks had few chances to attend school. Before attending regular school, she attended Sunday school and it was one of these occasions at church that Bethune said God spoke to her and let her know that she was called to lead. ³ Her opportunity to attend school was just ahead.

In 1885 Bethune had the opportunity to attend Trinity Presbyterian Mission School. She was influenced by a number of female educators while enrolled there. Bethune then attended the Scotia Seminary which prepared students to become teachers of Black students. After she graduated, she prepared for her goal of becoming an African missionary. She attended the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago for one year. However, upon applying to the Presbyterian Mission Board, she was informed that Blacks were not selected to be missionaries. This great disappointment in her life is in fact what led Bethune to the field of education.

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³ Robert Merrill Bartlett, They Did Something About It (New York: Association Press, 1939), 72.
During the following years, Bethune taught in Georgia and South Carolina. While working at the Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia she worked closely with Lucy Craft Laney who was the founder and principal at the school. The great work of a Black, female educator surely impressed Bethune immensely and later influenced her own
endeavors as an educator and school founder. While living in South Carolina, Bethune also met Albertus Bethune who would later become her husband. Although they remained legally married until he died in 1918, their marriage was brief.

During the years prior, Bethune engaged in adult education activities through various means. In an interview with Charles S. Johnson in 1940, she spoke of her earlier work in Palatka, Florida where she started a community school that was associated with a local Presbyterian church. She taught at the school from 1899-1903. Through her community school, she went to local jails and taught adult students several days a week. Later she opened an independent school that she maintained while also volunteering and working in the life insurance field. After five years, Bethune decided to move on to examine the quality of educational offerings in other areas of the state.

She decided to move to Daytona with few assets. Bethune opened the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School in 1904. It is said that she opened the school with $1.50 to her name, but she was rich in dreams. She truly learned to sustain hope in the face of struggle. Bethune later reminisced about the earlier times at her school.

We burned logs and used the charred splinters as pencils. For ink we mashed up elderberries. Strangers gave us a broom, a lamp, some cretonne to drape around the ugly packing case which served as my first desk. Day after day, I went to the city dump and visited trash piles behind hotels, looking for discarded linen and kitchenware, cracked dishes and shattered chairs. I became adept at begging for

5. Ibid., 48.
bits of old lumber, bricks and even cement. Salvaging, constructing, and making bricks without straw, were all part of our training.\textsuperscript{6}

She later added the McLeod Hospital and Training School for Nurses. In 1923, the school merged with Cookman Institute which was a co-educational institution that also served Black students. Bethune's leadership of her school also clearly demonstrates \textit{learning to sustain hope in the face of struggle}. Although, the school struggled financially, she did not waver in providing leadership and vision.

The women involved in the Black Women’s club movement assisted in the numerous educational efforts including the establishment of schools and child care centers. During Bethune's lifetime Black women's clubs often provided the opportunity for many women to express their leadership capabilities. In addition to school leadership, Bethune served in numerous civic and social clubs that also included adult education as part of their mission. She was a member of the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs and served as the president from 1917-1924. She was also a member of The Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and served as president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. She established the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) in 1935 which brought together many of the Black women's groups to promote dialogue and move towards common goals.\textsuperscript{7} Together with Bethune, the members of the NCNW worked collectively through this national platform to improve communities across America. This is a prime example of \textit{learning to create community}.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
The NCNW assisted in shaping and molding new leaders and the organization's success was tied to the contributions of all of the members.

Bethune constantly used her ability to establish alliances with influential individuals and groups and encourage cooperation among the Black citizens during the time. She was invited to a conference at the White House by President Coolidge in 1928. In her lifetime, she served as advisor to four Presidents. As one of her most notable accomplishments, Mary McLeod Bethune is noted as the first Black woman in American history to serve as a Presidential appointee. During the time period from 1936-1943, Bethune honed her leadership skills in the New Deal's National Youth Administration. She was instrumental in the decision making regarding provision of federal funding for vocational and higher education.

Bethune's ability to bring together individuals can perhaps contributed to her captivating qualities as a public speaker.

Whenever Mary McLeod Bethune spoke, the most vibrant qualities in her personality became evident. She would stand silent for a moment, head tilted slightly upward, as though waiting for a message from above. Eyes half closed, she would intone the first words, and her audience saw the missionary, the spiritual messenger, heard the deep, rich resonance of a voice that was almost a bass. Using short sentences and clear-cut thoughts, moving slowly at first, building up a gradual crescendo until she reached a high-speed excitement that carried everyone with her on a wave of emotion, gradually slowing at the close of her speech, leaving her listeners with a deep sense of benediction, Mrs.
Bethune stretched out her hands and closed them quickly as though to turn off the sound of her own voice.  

Nancy Long interviewed a number of individuals whose lives were impacted by Bethune in their lifetimes. These persons included family members, former student and faculty members, community members, etc. There interviews provided insight regarding the impact that each felt that Bethune had on their lives. Many of the interviews affirm Bethune's characteristics as a learning leader. However, a select few will be highlighted to provide unique views of Bethune. All of the interviewees spoke of her leadership in a positive manner. Conversely, it must be noted that Bethune was also said to be controlling with a quick temper. Her adopted grandson Albert McLeod Bethune, Jr., recalled "When she worked with people and they did not follow what she wanted, they were not there long! She had a directness, to the point, and you did it according to Mary McLeod Bethune's plan." Oswald Bronson, former President of Cookman-College, spoke of Bethune in a speech at the college in 1999. Among the many wonderful observations about her he also expressed "Yet she had her weaknesses; she would be first to say that she was not perfect. She had her frailties, her moments of regression, and her hostilities. After all, Dr. Bethune was human. The good thing about her is that she kept on marching . . ."  

Nellie Brown was also interviewed by Long. She was in her 80's at the time of the interview. Yet, she still remembered the relationship that Bethune had with the

10. Ibid., 88.
community surrounding the college. She recalled how she often visited the community members and discussed their problems. Brown expressed that "Dr. Bethune was an integral part of the early developing city, and her contact and rapport with the locals instilled in the parents the importance of education as a way to better the lives of their children."¹¹

Matthew Hart was a former student of Bethune's. He later became a school principal for 17 years. In his interview Hart credits the education he received at the school with his successful career. He mentioned that he would recommend students to Bethune's college because of his successful experience there. He noted "I kept the ideals that Dr. Bethune taught me and imparted those values in my own students, even going into the community and making students clean up their neighborhood like we had to clean up the campus. The discipline and love of students that was a part of early Bethune-Cookman College would surely improve the education of students today."¹²

Bethune died on May 18, 1955. As this day would inevitably come, she put a great deal of thought into her legacy. In My Last Will & Testament, Bethune eloquently spoke with vivid detail of the legacy she desired to leave when her work on earth was done. It is through this work that Bethune demonstrated the learning task of learning to reflect critically on one's practice. It also embodies the learning task of learning to create community. Bethune imparts wisdom as well as encourages future generations to come together to continue the fight for equal rights.

¹¹ Ibid., 75.
¹² Ibid., 78.
Sometimes I ask myself if I have any other legacy to leave. Truly, my worldly possessions are few. Yet, my experiences have been rich. From them, I have distilled principles and policies in which I believe firmly, for they represent the meaning of my life's work. They are the products of much sweat and sorrow. Perhaps in them there is something of value. So, as my life draws to a close, I will pass them on to Negroes everywhere in the hope that an old woman's philosophy may give them inspiration. Here, then is my legacy.

I LEAVE YOU LOVE. Love builds. It is positive and helpful. It is more beneficial than hate. Injuries quickly forgotten quickly pass away. Personally and racially, our enemies must be forgiven. Our aim must be to create a world of fellowship and justice where no man's skin, color or religion, is held against him. "Love thy neighbor" is a precept which could transform the world if it were universally practiced. It connotes brotherhood and, to me, brotherhood of man is the noblest concept in all human relations. Loving your neighbor means being interracial, interreligious and international.

I LEAVE YOU HOPE. The Negro's growth will be great in the years to come. Yesterday, our ancestors endured the degradation of slavery, yet they retained their dignity. Today, we direct our economic and political strength toward winning a more abundant and secure life. Tomorrow, a new Negro, unhindered by race taboos and shackles, will benefit from more than 330 years of ceaseless striving and struggle. Theirs will be a better world. This I believe with all my heart.
I LEAVE YOU THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPING CONFIDENCE IN ONE ANOTHER. As long as Negroes are hemmed into racial blocs by prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to band together for economic betterment. Negro banks, insurance companies and other businesses are examples of successful, racial economic enterprises. These institutions were made possible by vision and mutual aid. Confidence was vital in getting them started and keeping them going. Negroes have got to demonstrate still more confidence in each other in business. This kind of confidence will aid the economic rise of the race by bringing together the pennies and dollars of our people and ploughing them into useful channels. Economic separatism cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and it is not practicable. We must spread out as far and as fast as we can, but we must also help each other as we go.

I LEAVE YOU A THIRST FOR EDUCATION. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the privileges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong, purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education.

I LEAVE YOU RESPECT FOR THE USES OF POWER. We live in a world which respects power above all things. Power, intelligently directed, can lead to more freedom. Unwisely directed, it can be a dreadful, destructive force. During my lifetime I have seen the power of the Negro grow enormously. It has always
been my first concern that this power should be placed on the side of human justice.

Now that the barriers are crumbling everywhere, the Negro in America must be ever vigilant lest his forces be marshalled behind wrong causes and undemocratic movements. He must not lend his support to any group that seeks to subvert democracy. That is why we must select leaders who are wise, courageous, and of great moral stature and ability. . .

I LEAVE YOU FAITH. Faith is the first factor in a life devoted to service. Without faith, nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible. Faith in God is the greatest power, but great, too, is faith in oneself. In 50 years the faith of the American Negro in himself has grown immensely and is still increasing. The measure of our progress as a race is in precise relation to the depth of the faith in our people held by our leaders. Frederick Douglass, genius though he was, was spurred by a deep conviction that his people would heed his counsel and follow him to freedom. Our greatest Negro figures have been imbued with faith. Our forefathers struggled for liberty in conditions far more onerous than those we now face, but they never lost the faith. Their perseverance paid rich dividends. We must never forget their sufferings and their sacrifices, for they were the foundations of the progress of our people.

I LEAVE YOU RACIAL DIGNITY. I want Negroes to maintain their human dignity at all costs. We, as Negroes, must recognize that we are the custodians as well as the heirs of a great civilization. We have given something to the world as a race and for this we are proud and fully conscious of our place in the total
picture of mankind's development. We must learn also to share and mix with all men. We must make an effort to be less race conscious and more conscious of individual and human values. I have never been sensitive about my complexion. My color has never destroyed my self-respect nor has it ever caused me to conduct myself in such a manner as to merit the disrespect of any person. I have not let my color handicap me. Despite many crushing burdens and handicaps, I have risen from the cotton fields of South Carolina to found a college, administer it during its years of growth, become a public servant in the government of our country and a leader of women. I would not exchange my color for all the wealth in the world, for had I been born white I might not have been able to do all that I have done or yet hope to do.

I LEAVE YOU A DESIRE TO LIVE HARMONIOUSLY WITH YOUR FELLOW MEN. The problem of color is worldwide. It is found in Africa and Asia, Europe and South America. I appeal to American Negroes -- North, South, East and West -- to recognize their common problems and unite to solve them. I pray that we will learn to live harmoniously with the white race. So often, our difficulties have made us hypersensitive and truculent. I want to see my people conduct themselves naturally in all relationships -- fully conscious of their manly responsibilities and deeply aware of their heritage. I want them to learn to understand whites and influence them for good, for it is advisable and sensible for us to do so. We are a minority of 15 million living side by side with a white majority. We must learn to deal with these people positively and on an individual basis.
I LEAVE YOU FINALLY A RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR YOUNG PEOPLE.

The world around us really belongs to youth for youth will take over its future management. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be the leaders of tomorrow. Nor must they forget that the masses of our people are still underprivileged, ill-housed, impoverished and victimized by discrimination.

We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct their power toward good ends.

Faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, responsibility -- these are needed today as never before. We must cultivate them and use them as tools for our task of completing the establishment of equality for the Negro. We must sharpen these tools in the struggle that faces us and find new ways of using them. The Freedom Gates are half-ajar. We must pry them fully open.

If I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving.

As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of Peace, Progress, Brotherhood, and Love.¹³

Bethune’s closing remarks at an address to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Switzerland in 1954 ring true today and most adequately summarize her

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desire to change the world for the better. Many of the learning tasks of leadership are embodied in these few words.

Either we choose to be governed by God, or we condemn ourselves to be ruled by tyrants. It is God's way or tyranny. The fateful decision of our day is whether or not we will change. I have always worked for the betterment of my people . . .

. . . Today we must upturn the world. I listened to God this morning and the thought came to me, "any idea that keeps anybody out is too small for this age—open your heart and let everybody in—every, class, every race, every nation."  

Bethune was once taunted by some white boys on the way to school. They encouraged a dog to attack her and she fought back with rocks she had stored in her bag to protect herself. She made it home and her mother gave her some advice that likely stayed with her throughout her life. She advised her not to run and to use reasoning as her weapon.  

Her mother essentially educated her early in regards to the importance of reclaiming reason. According to Brookfield, the ability to reason is often "presumed to be a mark of adulthood."  

"To be able to reason—that is, to assess evidence, make predictions, judge arguments, recognize causality, and decide on actions where no clear choice is evident . . ."  

Bethune carried her mother's advice with her throughout her life as


17. Ibid, 55.
she used reasoning, faith and determination as her weapons of choice in her work as an educator and administrator as well as in the battle against oppression.
CHAPTER V
SEPTIMA POINSETTE CLARK, 1898-1987

The Christian meaning of joy is not absence of disappointments, suffering, failure, tension or conflict. It is rather that men and women are still able, in spite of trials, to believe that the future is open to new possibilities and that love which comes out of pain has a special quality of goodness.

— Septima Poinsette Clark

In his memoir, Congressman and former Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), John Lewis spoke of meeting Septima Clark at Highlander.

And there were women there. That was one of the hallmarks of Highlanders’ reputation, that women were as involved as men in all the seminars and workshops, and were treated with as much respect. In fact, the single person who most impressed me that weekend was a woman—a sixty-year-old organizer named Septima Clark. Her father had been a slave in South Carolina. Her specialty was working with grassroots people—sharecroppers, common folk, Black men and women who had little or no schooling—teaching them basic literacy as a first step toward becoming voters. What I loved about Clark was her down-to-earth, no-nonsense approach and the fact that the people she aimed at were the same ones Gandhi went after, the same ones I identified with, having grown up poor and barefoot and Black. I sensed then, and this belief would grow as the years went on, that the lifeblood of the movement was not going to be the
spokesman—the schooled, sophisticated, savvy upper crust who might be best at speechmaking and press conferences. They would be the leaders, naturally, but it was going to be the tens of thousands of faceless, nameless, anonymous men, women and children—men like my father, women like my mother, children like the boy I had been—who were going to rise like an irresistible army as this movement for civil rights took shape. Septima was one of those people. Her name might be generally unknown today, but she was a powerful influence on many of us at that formative time.¹

Before John Lewis was a congressman and civil rights leader, he was simply a student, a sharecropper's son that had attended a workshop at Highlander. Septima Poinsette Clark saw potential in Lewis as a leader even when others around them could not envision the same. A visiting teacher at Highlander surmised that he didn't have potential because he didn't have excellent grammar and also possessed a speech impediment. Clark asked the teacher an important question. "What difference does that make?"² She saw beyond the surface. This was just one of many instances where Ms. Clark exemplified learning leadership. She supported the growth of others and assisted them in removing barriers that prevented them from reaching their full potential. Clark could perceive their leadership potential.

Septima Poinsette was born in Charleston, South Carolina on May 3, 1898. She noted that "Septima is the Latin word for seventh, and in Haiti in means sufficient. My

parents named me Septima, and I wondered why, because I was not the seventh child and neither was I sufficient, because six came after me." Clark, however was more than sufficient in other ways. She devoted her life to serving the community. She stood for many causes including literacy, voter registration, civil rights and women’s rights. In a study of inspirational African-American women Brown noted that "Clark was involved in many different types of educational activities. She taught in integrated, segregated, formal and informal settings." Clark’s educational philosophy and philosophy of freedom were closely intertwined. She strongly believed in responsible citizenship. She knew that education was the foundation of citizenship. With initiative and effort, Clark felt that change could always be on the horizon.

Her philosophy closely aligns with a number of the learning tasks of leadership and the learning tasks of critical theory. Clark noted that by:

- teaching the poor and underprivileged of my own race. . ." that she was able to help "...them raise themselves to a better status in life; I felt then that I would not only be serving them but serving my state and nation, too, all the people, affluent and poor, white and Black. . .I am more convinced than ever that in lifting the lowly we lift likewise the entire citizenship.

In speaking of Clark and another African American adult educator, Ross noted some noteworthy qualities regarding their ability to organize and empower others.

3. Clark and Brown, Ready from Within, 91.
5. Clark and Blythe, Echo in my Soul, 52.
Through their work they asserted that change would result from ongoing racial uplift and social responsibility practices, deriving from new visions, new abilities, and new structures originating in and nurtured by local people who are organized and educated for changed and who themselves become organizers and educators for change. Both women saw this as helping local people become self-determining and enabling people to take responsibility for their own lives, as small groups and then communities became equipped to evaluate, participate in, and then transform society.  

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Clark attended the Avery Normal Institute which was founded in 1865. The Institute was the first accredited secondary school for African Americans in Charleston, South Carolina. Clark completed high school in 1916 and took a job teaching the children of Black plantation workers in a Johns Island schoolhouse in South Carolina. In the mornings she taught fourth through eighth graders. She taught adults in the evenings. These adults often wanted to read the handbooks of various organizations where they were members and some wanted to learn to read the Bible.

Clark went on to receive degrees from Benedict College and Hampton University. She taught adults in various settings and is well known for her work with Highlander Folk School. She began traveling to Highlander in 1954 and was directing a workshop by the following summer. It is here that she met Rosa Parks. Parks was the secretary of the Montgomery Chapter of the NAACP in Montgomery, Alabama. She would later become one of the most well-known figures in the civil rights movement when she refused to relinquish her bus seat to a white gentleman.

Parks developed an admiration for Clark and the means by which she worked with the participants at Highlander.

I am always very respectful and very much in awe of the presence of Septima Clark because her life story makes the effort that I have made very minute. I only hope that there is a possible chance that some of her great courage and dignity and wisdom has rubbed off on me. When I first met her in 1955 at Highlander, when I saw how well she could organize and hold things together in this very informal setting of interracial living, I had to admire this great woman. She just moved through the different workshops and groups as though it was just what she was
made to do, in spite of the fact that she had to face so much opposition in her home state and lost her job and all of that. She seemed to be just a beautiful person, and it didn't seem to shake her.⁷

At Highlander, Clark directed numerous workshops attended by community workers, civil rights activists and everyday citizens. The methods which they used at Highlander exhibit how Clark and other educators and Highlander demonstrated all of the learning tasks of leadership. In speaking of the process of working with the learners that came to Highlander, Horton noted the following.

The educational process has started long before they come, and continues after they leave. What we do at a typical workshop is say, "What are your problems, how do you see yourself, what do you want to do, what do you want to be?" If the workshop is three weeks, we'll take a week maybe, to state and analyze their problems.⁸

Horton went further to say:

. . . we throw light on these problems by using information, and also by using their own experience, which they've never looked at before in the way we look at it and have never put together in the way we put it together. We add something to it for recombining, but a lot of it is drawn right out of the people.⁹

An important part of the educational sessions occurred when the leaders asked the learners how they would implement what they learned when they returned home. They

⁷ Clark and Brown, Ready from Within, 16-17.
⁸ Myles Horton, "An Interview with Myles Horton: 'It's a Miracle—I Still Don't Believe It,'" Phi Delta Kappan 47, No. 9 (1966): 492.
⁹ Ibid.
were encouraged to take their new ideas and ways of thinking to make positive changes in their communities. "You've brought these problems here. We've been a sort of catalyst in a process that makes a little bulge in your education. Now are you going to keep on learning? You can learn more after you get back home than you did here because you've learned to look at your problems in a different way."\textsuperscript{10}

Clark was instrumental in the founding of the Citizenship Schools that were initially developed on Johns Island, South Carolina. It is her experiences with the citizens of Johns Island that Clark credits for instilling her passion for working to eradicate illiteracy among adults. \textsuperscript{11} Many community leaders of the time, including Mississippian Fannie Lou Hamer participated. It is this program and these schools that are often credited with providing the foundation for the voting rights movement.\textsuperscript{12} Through education they assisted in improving the literacy skills of many citizens and in turn also nurtured the development of many community leaders that joined the battle against literacy and oppression.\textsuperscript{13} The citizenship schools allowed adult learners to realize that they had the power to change their lives.

Clark’s work with the citizenship schools exhibited the task of \textit{learning to create community}. Through education and activism, she assisted in building many local communities and taught others the value of creating empowered communities where

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Guy Carawan and Candie Carawan, eds. \textit{Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life? The People of Johns Island, South Carolina—Their Faces, Their Words, and Their Songs} (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), ix.
\textsuperscript{13} Brown, "African American Women", 219-220.
everyone has a voice. Clark used formal and informal education to reach a wide audience.

To further clarify, Eduard Lindeman noted that education:

> Which is formal, not conventional, not designed merely for the purpose of cultivating skills . . . something which relates definitely to their community. It is an educational venture that is localized, has its roots in the local community. It has for one of its purposes the improvement of methods and social action . . . There are methods which everyone can understand. No conspiracy. No manipulation about this. We are people who want change but we want it to be rational, understood.  

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For the next forty years, Clark taught adults as well as children. In the many years before sit-in demonstrations and bus boycotts, Clark fought against racism and inequality. In the 1920s, she spearheaded efforts to allow Blacks to teach in public schools in Charleston. After she was named vice president of the Charleston branch of the NAACP, she was fired and restricted from teaching in South Carolina public schools because she would not discontinue her membership in the NAACP. She was firm in her decision to fight for the causes in which she believed and never stopped supporting the NAACP throughout her life.

Clark credits her father with instilling several life lessons that would likely later contribute to her success as a learning leader.

There were three things I felt I learned from my father. One was that he wanted you to always be truthful. Next, he wanted you not to exalt yourself, but to look at the culture of others and see whether or not you could strengthen their weaknesses and try to investigate how you could improve yourself towards them. Then, too, he talked about having Christ in your life. This is the one thing that helps you to understand people better. If you can get the spirit of Christ in your life, you will learn to see others as Christ saw them and be able to live with them and help them to live with themselves. I feel that sitting around that pot-bellied stove he really gave us three very good things to look forward to — being truthful, strengthening people's weaknesses, and seeing that there is something fine and noble in everybody.\(^\text{15}\)

In *Ready from Within*, Clark spoke of the following realization that demonstrates the tasks of *learning to reflect critically on one's practice*, *learning to support the growth of others* and *learning to develop collective leadership*.

I considered that one of the failures of my life because I think that I tried to push them into something they weren’t ready for. From that day on I say, “I’m going to have to get the people trained. We’re going to have to show them the dangers or the pitfalls that they are in, before they will accept. And it took many years.”\(^\text{16}\)

She went further to say:

You always have to get the people with you. You can’t just force them into

\(^{15}\) Clark and Brown, 97-98.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 38.
things. That taught me a good lesson, because when I went into Mississippi and Alabama I stayed behind the scene and tried to get the people in the town to push forward, then I would come forth with ideas. But, I wouldn’t do it at first because I knew it was detrimental. That was a weakness of mine that I felt I had to strengthen.17

Although it took a considerable length of time, Clark acknowledged that she had to examine her methods and practice and come to a realization that her actions were hindering her goals as a leader. Clark further elaborated on those tasks:

People thought I had new-fangled ideas. Myles thought I had new-fangled ideas. But my new-fangled ideas worked out. I didn’t know they were going to work out though. I just thought you couldn’t get people to register and vote until you teach them to read and write. That’s what I thought, and I was so right.18

Clark clearly exhibited *learning how to be open to the contributions of others* and *learning how to develop collective leadership* when she noted the following.

But, I changed to as I traveled through the eleven Deep South states. Working through those I found I could say nothing to those people, and no teacher as a rule could speak to them. We had to let them talk to us and say to us whatever they wanted to say. When we go through listening to them, we would let them know that we felt that they were right according to the kind of thing that they had in their mind, but according to living in this world there were other things they

17. Ibid., 39.
18. Ibid, 53.
needed to know. We wanted to know if they were willing then to listen to us, and they decided they wanted to listen to us.¹⁹

But I had to change, too, because I used to feel that whatever was white was right, and it took many years of working before I could feel that they were not exactly right, as I thought they were. As the change came to me, I was able to get that change over to others. Because I had grown up with a very strong disciplined mother, who felt that whatever she had in her mind was right, so I felt that whatever I had in my mind was right, too. I found out that I needed to change my way of thinking, and in changing my way of thinking I had to let me understand that their way of thinking was not the only way. We had to work together to get the changes.²⁰

In noting her beliefs regarding individual development Clark expressed the following sentiment.

You know, the measure of a person is how much they develop in life.

Some people slow down in their growth after they become adults. You can hardly tell they are changing at all. But you never know when a person's going to leap forward, or change completely.²¹

Clark was clearly exhibiting learning to support the growth of others. She realized that as individuals change and growth could come at any time and it is the job of the leader to provide support whenever those times may arise.

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¹⁹. Ibid.
²⁰. Ibid., 54.
²¹. Clark, Ready from Within, 103.
Clark also evaluated her personal growth and demonstrated learning to reflect on one’s practice. "Sometimes my own growth embarrasses me. I don't like to admit, even to myself that I was once ill at ease with white people or so middle-class in my attitudes that I had a hard time teaching poor people. But I overcame those things . . . it took forty years."²²

Among others, she was thinking of Esau Jenkins. Jenkins was an adult learner who prospered under her leadership. Neufeldt and Mcgee note that "Although Esau Jenkins was a leader in his own right before he came to Highlander in 1954, through his work with the schools he realized the need for encouraging leadership among others."²³ While at Highlander, Esau was asked to present the most pressing problem in his local community.

My immediate problem was adult education, because so many people were here who couldn’t read and write and I know this condition, because I would have been almost in the same condition if I didn’t go back to school. So I asked the Highlander Folk School officials if it were possible to help us set up night schools for these people to help them become better citizens.²⁴

The entire concept of the citizenship schools was inspired by Esau who was seeking to assist some Black citizens on Johns Island to pass the literacy test that was then a prerequisite to vote in South Carolina.²⁵ In her work with Esau, Clark demonstrated learning to support the growth of others, learning how to develop collective

²². Ibid.
²⁴. Ibid., 150.
²⁵. Ibid., 198.
leadership and learning to create community. According to Clark, "All of his life Esau devoted himself to improving conditions on Johns Island, and I helped him in any way I could, because I knew he was fighting a hard battle by himself on that island."²⁶

Septima Clark’s cousin, Bernice Robinson was selected to serve as a teacher in the citizenship schools. Robinson was a beautician with no teaching experience and was initially apprehensive about accepting the teaching assignment. Robinson recollected her initial apprehension and her decision to begin a teaching journey with the citizenship school program.

When they asked me to teach the course. I said I would help but I wouldn’t teach because I wasn’t a teacher. But Myles and Septima both said that if I didn’t do it, it wouldn’t get done. They wanted someone who was familiar with the philosophy of Highlander. They did not want a professional teacher to do it because they adhere to too strict a curriculum and they wouldn’t listen to what the people were saying. So I accepted the challenge.²⁷

Septima Clark and Myles Horton had approached Bernice and as effective learning leaders they had presented the issue at hand and posted questions that allowed Bernice to expand her view so that she could envision the positive contribution that she could make in the schools. Therefore, Bernice was positively impacted by her experiences with Clark and Horton and exhibited learning to analyze experience. Clark effectively demonstrated learning how to question oneself and others.

²⁶ Clark, Ready from Within, 42.
Clark recognized Bernice's potential and in doing so exhibited her capacity for *learning to support the growth of others*. Clark noted, "We knew that she had the most important quality, the ability to listen to people."²⁸ Although Bernice was a hairstylist by trade, Clark believed in her potential and provided an opportunity for Ms. Robinson to further develop her talents as well as a venue to utilize them in the education of adult learners.

In all the Citizenship Schools, students were asked to read and write information that was requested on the official voter registration form. In this way, the teachers were able to assess the level of each student. The lessons were then tailored to the current needs and concerns of the learners in the community. One of the workbooks used by the students is provided in *Appendix A*.²⁹ Lessons included handwriting, completing a money order, and arithmetic lessons that included real scenarios relevant to the farmers and everyday citizens that were enrolled. In this way, lessons were tailored to the current needs and concerns of the learners.

Clark recalled that "... students would tell stories about the thing they had to deal with everyday—about growing vegetables, plowing the land, digging up potatoes. Then they would write down those stores and read them back. When ... they wanted to learn about how to fill out a money order, she got one from the post office and traced it onto posterboard so they could practice."³⁰

²⁸ Clark, *Ready from Within*, 49.
³⁰ Clark and Brown, *Ready from Within*, 49.
The Citizenship School program was transferred from Highlander to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1961. Robinson noted her opinion of the impact of the program on the Johns Island residents.

The curriculum we developed on John Island became the curriculum that went all across the South. It was all the things the people had said they wanted to know and learn. I don’t think the people on Johns Island know what an impact the program they were involved in had—how it went so far and so wide.³¹

In Ready from Within, Septima Clark spoke of changes that occurred within herself throughout her journey from a little girl to a courageous woman:

If I would sum up my life, I think of a little mischievous girl who would speak back to her mother, and her mother would flog her for doing just that. I would think of the young woman who dared to speak out in groups about the things that she thought were not right, whether it was at home or church or school or the community—wherever I was. If I had to think of when I became a middle-aged woman, I think of the many dangers that I had to go into, working in the eleven deep south states and five fringe states and still these things did not make me feel afraid or ashamed. And now in my old age I’m still working, helping people to get financial aid for college, lecturing to them to see that they try to put on the non-violent attitude, also working as a member of the school board to see that teachers

become dedicated persons, not only in this country, but all over as they work in national organizations.\textsuperscript{32}

In her memoir \textit{Echo in My Soul}, Clark makes a moving dedication. I use her words to eloquently conclude this chapter by highlighting her belief in the need for people to persevere towards their goal in spite of obstacles. This is very vivid statement that she hoped would encourage all that have and will follow in her footsteps. A perpetual reminder of learning task eight; \textit{learning to sustain hope in the face of struggle}. 

. . . to those unsung heroes who are endowed with the determination to work non-violently in the struggle for human dignity. Steeped in the conviction that they must never become bitter, they fully realize that harassments, reprisals and intimidation will come. To them I say, "These atrocities, fellow strugglers, will serve only as challenges to you persistently to attack the inequities and they must be accepted as the price one pays in establishing freedom for all."\textsuperscript{33}

As in the case of Septima Poinsette Clark, time and change are known to bring about many things. Young Clark grew up in a time where she was taught to be seen and not heard. However, she could be quiet for only so long. She grew and became a woman and educator who led and taught with great dignity. As Clark so aptly noted, "Things will happen and things will change. The only thing that's worthwhile is change. It's coming."\textsuperscript{34}

In her lifetime, Clark in collaboration with other educators and learners definitely brought

\textsuperscript{32} Clark and Brown, \textit{Ready from Within}, 137.
\textsuperscript{33} Clark and Blythe, \textit{Echo in my Soul}, x.
\textsuperscript{34} Clark and Brown, \textit{Ready from Within}, 137.
about change and even more importantly the transformation of local and national communities.
CHAPTER VI

BETWEEN PERSERVERANCE AND OBSTINACY

If I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving. As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of peace, progress, brotherhood, and love.

—Mary McLeod Bethune

The title for this concluding chapter was inspired by a quote by Henry Ward Beecher, a controversial minister and abolitionist. The quote in its entirety reads: "The difference between perseverance and obstinacy is that one comes from a strong will, and the other from a strong won't." Perseverance is the "continued effort to do or achieve something despite difficulties, failure, or opposition." Obstinacy is the "unyielding or stubborn adherence to one's purpose, opinion, etc." Together these terms cohesively sum up this examination of Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark and their contributions as learning leaders in the field of adult education. From the very beginning, these courageous women faced two of the biggest obstacles at that time. First, being born African American and second being born a woman. Yet, they persevered and stayed true to their beliefs in their battles to transcend both forms of discrimination. Each woman made significant contributions to local and national communities and most notably the field of adult education.

The purpose of this study was to examine three selected African American female adult educators as learning leaders. Various autobiographies, biographies, and other
primary and secondary resources were used in the analysis. The necessity of continuing research on the history of Black women adult educators as well as Black learners is captured well by the author of a study on Cooper:

The complexity of how and why Blacks should be educated is deeply embedded politically, ideologically, and economically in the early decades of the Republic, and significant questions of educational access and equity persist into the twenty-first century. When the question of gender is combined with the issue of race, deeper complexities emerge.¹

In this final chapter, the overall similarities and differences among the educators highlighted in this study are examined. A summary of how their work as educators, leaders and activists not only changed the lives of their students and communities, but also the field of adult education and society as a whole is presented. It is my expectation that this study will expand views of adult learning in regard to learning leadership, leadership development, self-improvement and social change. In examining the aforementioned educators who have filled roles as learners, educators and leaders, a void in the literature may be filled and the women's contributions more fully brought to light. As adult education theories evolve and transform, historical studies such as this may assist in the process. Adult educators must be informed about the past in order to have an informed future. Cooper, Bethune and Clark each overcame many challenges in their successful quests to contributed education and society.

It is unfortunate that inequities still exist in today's society. Modern day practitioners should continue to promote inclusiveness and promote change. A great deal may be still be learned by studying the lives and work of the adult educators featured in this research. In a study of adult learners in the classroom, some of the recommendations Ross-Gordon provides for classroom practice are as follows.

1. Provide opportunities for adults to exercise self-direction in the identification of personal goals, selection of learning strategies,
2. Recognize and foster relationships between academic learning and learning in the larger world,
3. Design a curriculum that is inclusive with regard to the students’ cultural backgrounds, including those from marginalized groups,
4. Be sensitive to individual differences.²

It is apparent that the educators featured in this study followed similar practices in their adult education settings. In examining the benefit to current practitioners, it should be noted that these adult educators successfully developed programs and used techniques that have stood the test of time. Current educators should observe and reevaluate current practices to ensure that they are meeting the needs of today's adult learners. Nesbit notes the following regarding the role of current and future adult educators.

Educators of adults have a responsibility to raise important and challenging questions and to build upon their students' lived experiences about how inequalities play out in communities, lives, and workplaces. They must also challenge the current directions that capitalist education is taking and resist all

attempts to confine adult education to the production and maintenance of human capital. Above all, they must reassert a class-based approach to adult education that is grounded in the struggles of those who seek to build a fairer, safer, and more democratic society for all.³

Nesbit's recommendations resonate with Stephen Preskill and Stephen D. Brookfield's learning tasks of leadership as well as the learning tasks of critical theory. This research provided details which support that the educators in this study demonstrated the learning tasks of leadership in their lives and work. The 9 learning tasks of leadership and the 7 learning tasks of critical theory are presented here in tabular form. In the table, the two sets of learning tasks are presented in 5 categories. These categories include ideology, hope in the struggle, challenging, community learning and democracy. As there is some overlap amongst the sets of learning tasks, this categorization assists in enhancing the presentation of the educators' adherence to the various learning tasks.

There are surely numerous additional means by which to connect Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune and Septima Poinsette Clark to learning leadership. As noted previously, it was not the intent of this research to definitely align each educator with each of the learning tasks. The instances selected for this study were deemed sufficient to provide an interesting discussion and also display distinct exhibitions of some of the learning tasks. The learning tasks that were attributed to each educator in the discussion are exhibited in Table 1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>7 Tasks of Critical Theory</th>
<th>9 Learning Tasks of Leadership</th>
<th>Cooper</th>
<th>Bethune</th>
<th>Clark</th>
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<td><strong>Ideology</strong></td>
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<td>Challenging Ideology</td>
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<td>Learning how to question</td>
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<td>Reclaiming reason</td>
<td>Learning how to reflect critically on one’s practice</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td><strong>Hope in the Struggle</strong></td>
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<td>Overcoming alienation</td>
<td>Learning how to sustain hope in the face of struggle</td>
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<td>Learning Liberation</td>
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<td>Contesting Hegemony</td>
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<td>Unmasking Power</td>
<td>Learning how to be open to the growth of others</td>
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Table 1

*Learning Tasks of Leadership and Learning Tasks of Critical Theory*
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
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<td>Learning how to be open to the contributions of others</td>
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<td>Learning how to develop collective leadership</td>
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<td>Learning to create community</td>
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<td>Practicing Democracy</td>
<td>Learning Democracy</td>
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Evers and she stated "and you should know Septima Clark." It was apparent that Mrs. Edelman felt that a good portion of the audience would not recognize Clark’s name. Although, this should certainly not be the case, Edelman's statement was truly enlightening. While there may have been some in the room who had heard of Clark and her work, I think an overwhelming majority had not. This further speaks to the importance of continuing to study Clark and other African American adult educators and the impact that their lives and work continue to have on adult education and society as a whole.

Reminders of the legacy of the educators may be found in various communities across the United States. A select few will be noted here. For instance, The Anna Julia Cooper Episcopal School opened in 2006. It is an independent, faith-based middle school in Richmond, Virginia. Scholarships are provided to each student that attends the school. Although, its focus is not adult education, the school’s philosophy closely aligns with the philosophy of its namesake. The school notes that their goal is to “prepare graduates who excel academically, persevere in the face of challenges, care for themselves and each other and become leaders in their homes and communities.” They go further to note that “We seek to prepare graduates who will contribute actively to the society they will inherit. And while we honor individual achievement, we value most deeply those contributions which make the community stronger.”

The *Anna Julia Cooper Center on Race, Politics, in the South* at Wake Forest University also continues Cooper's legacy. The center hosts monthly seminars focused on

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gender, race and politics for area faculty members. The center strives to use these seminars to promote engagement and discussion across many disciplines. The center also hosts an annual Anna Julia Cooper lecture which features a selected activist, artist or scholar to bring a message to the university members of the community. The Conversation Series periodically hosted by the center are also important to highlight. "The goal of the series is to move beyond the model of expert delivering a lecture to an audience and move towards conversations that invite audiences to see the complexity and challenges of the issues that we address from multiple perspectives."\(^5\)

The Center has a 7-point mission statement. As one of goals of this research is to demonstrate how the work of the educators is being continued today, it is fitting to bring light to the Center's mission which is fitting of the work that Cooper was dedicated through in her lifetime.

The Center's mission is to:

1. move beyond the black/white paradigm in the study or race while still paying attention to this historically important divide;
2. focus specifically on the social and identity cleavages within racialized communities, specifically the intersections of gender, class, sexuality and region;

3. investigate the linkages between, race, gender expressive culture and to understand the role of race, gender, and region in shaping cultural production;

4. investigate identity and politics with social scientific, humanistic and legal tools in a way that brings together individuals in academic departments, professional schools, and activist communities;

5. combine the pursuits of the academy and the community in a way that challenges the traditional barriers of the ivory tower;

6. take advantage of technology and emerging media to promote the work of scholars and to connect students and community in meaningful ways;

7. provide an environment where young scholars, established scholars, community activists, and students can work together in mutual respect.

The activities of the center align well with Anna Julia Cooper's personal beliefs. And just as important, they also align well with all of the learning tasks of leadership and critical theory. From learning how to be open to the contributions of others to learning how to develop collective leadership to challenging ideology and practicing democracy—the center provides a central means of bringing together educators, students, and the surrounding community in an effort to learn, lead and effect societal change.

Septima Clark has also left an imprint on society. Notably, Septima P. Clark Academy is an academic alternative program for high school students in the Charleston

County School District in South Carolina. The program offers small classes and attention is designed for students who have fallen behind. Twenty-one classes have graduated since the school opened in 1990.

Bethune's legacy still lives on at Bethune-Cookman University located on Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune Lane in Daytona, Florida. The school is still thriving today after 110 years of existence. The University was named as one of U.S. News and World Reports Best Regional Colleges for 2014. The school's motto started by Bethune still holds strong today. "Enter to Learn. Depart to Serve." 7

In recent history, African American women have overcome many challenges and adversities in American society. Just as the educators highlighted in this study, many others have assumed their place as strong, educational leaders. These Leaders have aided in the development of schools, the enhancement of their local communities and contributed significantly to social change. It is my recommendation that future researchers in the field of adult education continue to conduct studies to uncover and preserve the countless contributions of other African American female educational leaders.

This study expanded the view of adult learning in regard to social change, leadership, development and self-improvement. In examining Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune and Septima Poinsette Clark, this investigation into their learning leadership assists in more fully recognizing their contributions. The educator's own words provided a vivid demonstration of their roles as learning leaders and highlighted their

contributions to adult education. As adult education theories evolve and transform, historical analyzes such as this one may assist in the process. With a varied focus which includes supporting others, being persistent despite difficulties and developing communities, Adult educators and learners in varied settings may benefit from the continued study of learning leadership.
FOREWORD

One of the basic weapons in the fight against prejudice and loss of human rights is education. The fine edge on that weapon is understanding. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference Citizenship program is designed to acquaint citizens with the way in which our government is run and to help them meet voting requirements. It is devoted to helping adults help themselves by learning how to solve their community problems. Reading and writing skills are invaluable in such a program. The Citizenship School is so organized that those who lack these skills may acquire them. It is in these ways that we strive to improve the lot of all citizens and extend the boundaries of democracy and full freedom for all.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dr. King and S.C.L.C. Vice-President, Dr. C. O. Simpkins center with Attorney General Kennedy on voting problems in the Deep South.
The Purpose of the Citizenship School

The Citizenship Schools are for adults. Their immediate program is literacy. They enable students to pass literacy tests for voting. There is also involved in the mechanics of learning to read and write an all-round education in community development which includes housing, recreation, health, and improved home life. Specific subjects are emphasized such as safe driving, social security, cooperatives, the income tax, an understanding of tax-supported resources such as water testing for wells and aid for handicapped children, and the structure and function of our local and national government.

The Citizenship Schools provide a service to the people which is not available through any other private or public program at the present time.

They are open to all people of a community who face problems related to first-class citizenship and want to do something about them.
THE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL

AUBURN AVENUE RESEARCH LIBRA

Underlying the whole concept of political, economic and social progress is the importance of education.

A little over two years ago, SCLC took over the Highlander experiment in Basic Adult Education, the Citizenship School, and began to spread the idea across the South. By the end of February, 1964, more than 1,000 persons had received one week of intensified training in adult literacy, methods, and basic understanding of politics. They have returned to 11 southern states to share their newly-acquired knowledge with their neighbors.

The strategic importance of the program was evident to the Marshall Field Foundation which chose the American Missionary Association of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries to administer the project in conjunction with SCLC. The Rev. Andrew J. Young, a minister of the United Church of Christ, was chosen to direct the program at Dorchester Community Center in McIntosh, Georgia.

The economic situation is a major key to the reason why voter-registration, with all of its restrictions, is crucial, and why the program is needed.

For instance, from 1810-1865 the Negro had no right to his own person. Legally, he was owned. Physical kinship was not talked about but was implied. He planted the richest land, but the planter took away from him the profit motive and suggested that he be satisfied with the sheer poetry of earth itself. He mixed with this earth his blood, sweat and tears, his dreams, fancies, joy and despair. He loved it and hated it more than we, the “new Negro,” will ever know.

The long furrows, shade trees—under which the babies slept in boxes exposed to flies, gnats, mosquitoes, and even snakes—myrtle thickets, hot, high pine barrens, cool water from the spring, or cold water sweetened with molasses from the jug in the high cotton were his and were the sweetest things left to him. He had to live close to the earth, close to life, which was really close to death.

From 1865-1870 constructive attempts were made to raise Negroes to a better standard. After the Civil War an election brought in a new era. A new president pulled the troops out of the South. The Ku Klux Klan took over and a reign of terror ensued.

The next seven decades showed little improvement, but gave impetus to President Harry S. Truman's decision for Civil Rights in 1945. Two World Wars took Negroes, regardless of training, to foreign lands. There they bled and died, keeping America "safe for democracy". There they learned of a new way of life.

Back home from 1945-1964, they understood what the cross means, whole-souled commitment, laying one's life on the line, one's body in the jailhouse, the Great Prophets, and the ideal of social justice; but, they needed education to become an active part of their community, to prove their human worth, and to show their discontent nonviolently.

The Citizenship Education Program lighted a lamp and its rays guided the depressed and distraught to a new kind of school, a new approach to learning. It extracted learning from their experiences. The adults determined the educational goals, planned the techniques and applied them. The central focus is on meeting the here-and-now-educational needs of the students by "helping people help themselves".
PLANNING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

A good citizen must be a registered voter. But the job does not stop there. We cannot rest until every citizen is a registered voter. You have been helped to register through this citizenship course. It is now your turn to help your neighbors. Plan a registration drive for your neighborhood or community:

1. Select a Site (neighborhood or town).
2. What is the size of the Negro population?
3. Number of Registered Voters.
4. Number of Negroes of Voting age.
5. How many can we get to register?
6. During what period of time? (State dates)
7. Area of Concentration.
8. Number of Volunteer Workers needed to cover area.
9. Organizations to take part in the drive.

(churches, voter’s leagues, youth groups, clubs)

SUGGESTED STEPS FOR A BLOCK PARTY

Have a meeting at your home to help your neighbors to understand the importance of voting, how to register, and where to register.

1. Invite every adult on your street, from corner to corner (In rural communities, select all houses within walking distance) to come to your home for an evening of information and fellowship.
2. Have Voter Registration information and material on hand.
3. Have someone there who can talk on why, how and where to register.
4. Following speaker, have a discussion on some of your community problems and how voting can help solve them.
5. Tell why your block should have 100% voters.
6. Plan a meeting for the next week to give help to each other. (If possible, arrange to start a Citizenship School.)
7. Plan trips to take people down to register when they are ready.
8. Have someone contact the persons who did not show up at the meeting.
For many years Negroes were forced to suffer in broken down school buildings. One teacher taught many grades. Children stopped school to pick cotton, dig potatoes, cut okra or crop tobacco. On cold days the girls huddled around a pot-bellied stove, while the boys cut wood. The building had a few lights, many broken windows, and a scratched up blackboard. The teachers did the best they could, but it is a miracle that any of us learned anything.

Now there are more opportunities for young Negroes. Schools are better and buses are provided. But what of those who went to school prior to 1950. We still need to know many things to live in the modern world. Reading is the key to this knowledge. That is why we are going to brush up on our reading.

Writing is also important. Now we have an opportunity to improve our hand writing. This will help us fill out the blanks to become Registered Voters. Registered Voters are First Class Citizens.
Sound Chart

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-x
-ng
Make words out of the alphabet, then use them in sentences and stories

a. attorney - amendments - abridged - area - alderman
b. bell - ball - bale - bundle - basket
c. Chatham - congressional - county - circuit - citizen - Constitution - city
d. dollar - definition - dawn - district - day-break
e. exercises - election - eel - executive - electorate - elector
f. federal - farm - felony - furrows
g. Georgia - government - governor - govern - general
h. habeas corpus - household
i. imprisonment - intelligent - instruction - invasion - individual
j. judicial - jurors - judge - judgment - justice
k. knowledge - kind - kill
l. labor - law - legislative - legal
m. magistrate - mayor - misdemeanor - motivation
n. national - nation - Negro - necessary - nominate - nomination
o. opportunity - occupy - office - official
p. penitentiary - provide - punishable - privilege - pardon - presiding - power - paroles - propose
q. questions - quiet - quarrel - quick
r. representatives - rebellion - register - resident - registration
s. succeeds - senator - safety - supreme - secretary - several - superintendent - solicitor - sheriff - suspension
t. treasurer - trial - treason - term - testimony
u. union - United States - uniform
v. valid - vital - voucher - vouch - voter - votes - voting
w. witness - workshop - world - White House
x. X-Ray
y. youth - youthful - yawn - yard - year - yarn
z. zone - zoning - zero

Make little words from registration
state  train  on  rain
register  sit-in  it  Etta
station  is  at  Rita
strain  tag  strange  tar
rotten  get  ten  ton
treat  stranger  grate  great

Use some of the above words to make a story.

(Sample)

Etta and Rita met ten students at the train station. For ten minutes the rain came down in torrents. It made great holes in the roads. It splashed off the tar roofs and flowed into drains on the side of the curb. It looked as if a ton of rotten leaves were being carried into strange openings made by the water.

Suddenly the rain stopped, the sun came out and we went with the students to register. It was such a treat to look into the eyes of each stranger and see the satisfaction each had as the testing period ended. The great strain was over. Now each can wear a tag which reads “I have registered, have you?”

The words below come from the word GOVERNMENT.

Make sentences out of these words.

move  got
over  govern
toe  term
me  men

(Sample)

The men had to move over to make room for me on the bench.

8 In the last term of office the mayor appointed aldermen to the newly made districts.
FIRST RATE HANDWRITING FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENS

Writing is one way that you share with others the things that are on your mind. It is important to have a handwriting that others can read. A strong, sure handwriting shows that you are a strong sure person. All our First Class Citizens should have a first rate handwriting.

As you improve your writing, new worlds of pleasure will open and old fears will pass away. You will enjoy writing your friends. You will be able to write to your newspaper and express your views on the events of your community. You can write your Congressman or Senator to help him to vote for things that will help our people, and you will not be shy about filling out job application blanks, signing your name to your checks or registering to vote.

Everyone can improve his handwriting. Even doctors and businessmen can profit by a few hours practice on forming their letters correctly. You will feel better about writing as you learn to write better.
A Guide For Good Writing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THESE ARE CAPITAL LETTERS</th>
<th>THESE ARE SMALL LETTERS</th>
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How to Write my Name and Address on a Mail Order Blank

Name
Address
City
State
Occupation

Name
Address
City
State
Occupation

Name
Address
City State
Occupation

Name
Address
City State
Occupation
New Words to Study

letter five important parts
trip this watered sincerely
August here gone dear

Directions:
1. Say these words to your teacher.
2. Spell these words aloud.
3. Use these words in sentences.
4. Write these words.
5. Divide them into parts.
6. Find their meanings.

Writing a Friendly Letter

611 West Broad Street
Savannah, Georgia
April 28, 1961

Dear Harry,

Sue and I are going on a trip. We will be gone ten days. We want you to take care of the vegetable garden and the flower garden for us. I will pay you for the work you do.

The vegetables and flowers will have to be watered every day. They will have to be hose, I, too.

If you can do this, let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Davis
Practice Lesson

Write a letter to a friend. Your letter should have five important parts.

Check your letter to see whether it is correct or not.

Draw a line under each word that you know. Study the words that you do not know.

letter      important      sincerely      August      watered      trip
five        this           parts          here         gone         dear     15
### How To Fill In A Money Order Blank

1. **How the money order blank looks (simplified and slightly enlarged):**

   ![Money Order Blank Diagram]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information below to be filled in by purchaser</td>
<td>Purchaser's Receipt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay TO</td>
<td>Fill in Other Side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payee's name</td>
<td>DETACH AND HOLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's street address</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promptly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's city State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF C.O.D., No.</td>
<td>This Receipt Must Be Presented in Case of Loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Where to fill in the blank:**

   ![Money Order Blank Diagram]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DO NOT WRITE HERE</td>
<td>DO NOT WRITE HERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAY TO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payee's name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's street address</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchaser's city State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COUNTING YOUR BLESSINGS

We go to the store, we count our change, we pay insurance or receive welfare benefits. All these things require arithmetic. Let us learn to count our blessings as we become First Class Citizens.

Beginners’ Arithmetic

Add: 5 6 7 4 8 6 7
     3 3 3 4 1 2 2

Peggy planted 3 rose bushes the first day. She planted 6 rose bushes the second day. Peggy planted ___ rose bushes in all.

Add the scores:

3 4 1 2 2 1
3 0 5 1 5 4
2 2 0 3 1 2
Draw a line from each number to the right word:

4  
6  
10  
9  
2  
7  
5  
4  
9  
8  
8  
9  
8  
9  
8  
8  
4  
4  
3  
6  
7  
8  
5  
2  
6

Two of the 8 flowers on the teacher's desk had to be thrown away. There are ____ flowers left.

Multiply:

Sam earns $1.00 an hour. In 2 hours he earns $______. Bob banked 25¢ each week for four weeks. He banked $______ in four weeks.

Divide:

A book costs 25 cents. Mike must earn ____ nickels to buy the book.
In 90 cents there are ____ dimes.
Also, in 90 cents there are ____ nickels.
Fifty cents is the same as ____ dimes.
It is also the same as ____ nickels.
A dollar will buy as much as ____ half dollars.

Add the amounts in each bank book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mike's</th>
<th>Betty's</th>
<th>Sue's</th>
<th>Dick's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
<td>$0.25</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>$0.25</td>
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<td>$0.25</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
<td>$0.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Find one half:

1/2 of 4 =
1/2 of 10 =
1/2 of 12 =
1/2 of 16 =
1/2 of 6 =
1/2 of 18 =
Multiply:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  & 2 & \times & 2 & \times & 2 \\
4 \times 6 &=& 4 \times 5 &=& 4 \times 7 &=& 6 \\
4 \times 3 &=& 4 \times 9 &=& 4 \times 8 &=&
\end{array}
\]

Five 5's are _____
Six 5's are _____
Seven 5's are _____
Nine 5's are _____
Four 5's are _____
Three 5's are _____

Find the cost:

Three 3¢ stamps cost _____ cents.
Five 4¢ stamps cost _____ cents.
Four 7¢ stamps cost _____ cents.

Ten students were arrested in the sit-in movement and were fined $75.00 apiece. How much fine was paid?
We sent eight people down to register each day for thirty days. How many people were registered? _____

### Advanced Arithmetic

Add:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
$1.10 & + & 1.00 \\
.63 & + & 4.65 \\
2.05 & + & 2.84 \\
+.87 & + & 5.19 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
$3.45 & + & 7.66 & + & 14.50 & + & 8.40
\]

James helped his father haul cotton. They hauled 236 bales of cotton on Monday, 282 bales on Tuesday, 287 bales on Wednesday, and 329 bales on Thursday. They hauled _____ bales of cotton in four days.
The Crusade for Voters sent 187 people to register in January, 214 people in February, and 428 people in March. How many people were registered in three months? _____

Subtract:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
438 & 979 & 1451 & 8453 \\
-299 & -689 & -999 & -985 & 19
\end{array}
\]
A gasoline station filled the storage tanks with 5125 gallons of gasoline. The station sold 3785 gallons and had ____ gallons left in storage.

Mr. Smith sold his farm for $1375.00. He paid $750.00 for it two years before. How much profit did Mr. Smith make on selling his farm? ____

Multiply:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
312 & \times & 6 & & 758 & \times 4 & 36 & \times 12 & 542 & \times 23 & 1662 & \times 261
\end{array}
\]

By buying one dozen pairs of hose for, at ninety-eight cents a pair, how much did you spend?

If you made three automobile trips to Atlanta, and it is 735 miles round-trip for each trip, how many miles have you traveled?

Divide:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
7)709 & \div 14 & 3862 & \div 8 & 120.64 & \div 875 & 1881.25
\end{array}
\]

Gerald planted 36 acres of wheat, using 1 2/5 bushels of seed an acre. At $2.25 a bushel, the wheat cost $______

A teacher had 36 pupils in her room. Of this number 2/5 were working on a play, and 1/3 of the remainder were working on art. She allowed 1/2 of the pupils still remaining to read in the library. This left ____ pupils to help clean the room.

Divide a whole number by a fraction:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
2 \div 1/3 = & 45 \div 3/5 = & 48 \div 6/8 =
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
6 \div 1/4 = & 35 \div 5/7 = & 192 \div 8/9 =
\end{array}
\]

Find the products:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
48 \times 1/4 & 36 \times 2/9 & 107 \times 2/3 & 805 \times 2/9
\end{array}
\]

Divide these fractions by fractions:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1/2 \div 1/2 = & 1/3 \div 4/9 = & 2/7 \div 4/7 =
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
5/6 \div 7/8 = & 3/4 \div 3/8 = & 8/9 \div 11/12 =
\end{array}
\]
NEW THINGS TO READ AND DISCUSS

Social Security

Your social security card is the key to your social security account. It is important to you.

Your card shows you have an insurance account with the United States Government. Your account is a record of the pay you receive which counts toward old age and survivors insurance benefits. The size of benefits will depend upon the amount of wages credited to your account.

When an insured worker dies, a lump sum payment may be made to the widow or widower or to the person who paid the funeral expenses.

Any social security district office will help you to check your social security account, to explain your rights and duties and the insurance benefits you and your family may receive, and to help you or your survivors to file claim for benefits when the time comes.

Social security is family protection.

Good Manners

When other people are talking, I listen. Harry likes me to listen when he talks. Sue likes me to listen when she talks. One has good manners if he listens when others talk. When I talk I want other people to hear me.

I talk about things my friends are interested in. I speak so that everyone can understand me. It is not polite to do all the talking. Everyone likes to talk some.

My friends like to tell me about their jobs. They like to discuss their community problems with me. I like to tell them about my job and my children. Sue likes to talk about local politics. She discusses with her friends the ways they can share in the running of their city.

When your friend is talking, do not interrupt. It is not polite to interrupt. Everyone likes people to listen when he talks.
New Words to Study

manner  everyone  things  polite
their  so  something  interrupt
hear  other  she  one

Be Polite

Introduce a new friend to your other friends. When you introduce a man to a woman, call the woman's name first. When you introduce a younger person to an older person, call the older person's name first.

Tell something about the new friend you are introducing. Tell your old friends something about the new friend. Say the names of the persons clearly. Be polite and introduce your friends.

Our America

Our United States of America is the home of a great American nation. We are a part of that great nation. All people who live in North America and in South America are Americans. We are Americans, too.

We love this great land. It has given us our living for many years. It holds opportunities for our children and grandchildren.

Day by day we silently pour the concrete of love into the furious, violent ocean of hate. Some day that concrete will build a foundation that will support a bridge to span the channel and open lines of communication to all peoples.

Our hearts are filled with the spirit of brotherhood, and our hands move forward, defy ing all acts of violence.

The Supreme Court building, where the Justices decide legal disagreements, is the symbol of law. The Capitol, where our Senators and Representatives make the laws, is the symbol of free, representative government. The White House, where the President lives and his Cabinet meets, is the symbol of our country in world affairs. We accept the results of elections and abide by the rulings of the courts.

We in America know that voting is important for good citizenship, but we know that educating our children so they will vote wisely is a part of good citizenship, too. They have to know how to stand up for their rights.

In America we want law and justice.

We love our land—America!
The Power of Non-Violence

When Jesus said, “If a man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also,” he was introducing mankind to a new way of life—a way of life which overcomes evil through love. This simple New Testament truth was put into practice by Mahatma Gandhi in India. Under his leadership, the Indian people won their freedom from the British without firing a shot. Their weapon was moral force, or truth force as Gandhi called it.

The idea of non-violence first received widespread attention in the United States when a young Baptist minister, The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., led the people of Montgomery, Alabama in a non-violent protest against discourtesy and segregation on the buses of that city. These people walked to work for 381 days to demonstrate the fact that they were tired of being cursed and abused on the buses. Though their homes and churches were bombed, though they were thrown into prison, they did not strike back. They won the respect of the entire world and many of their oppressors, because they refused to be dragged down to the level of animal hatred and violence. During all these months they demonstrated that one may overcome an enemy through love and transform him into a friend.

If a man returns evil for evil, one bad deed leads to another until one enemy is destroyed. We have no desire to destroy those who oppress us, we want them to understand and respect us. Therefore we take it upon ourselves to love them no matter what they do to us. We will not give in, nor will we attempt to do violence to them. Soon we see that our enemies begin to see our side of the story. When we don’t fight back, they are forced to think about why we don’t. This is the beginning of understanding. Understanding is the stepping stone to true brotherhood.

Things To Do

Answer these questions by filling in the blanks:
1. The weapon used to gain freedom in India was ______.
2. ______ led the first non-violence movement in Montgomery.
3. For 381 days people walked in order to gain ______.
4. ______ is the stepping stone to true brotherhood.

Discuss the following questions:
1. What would happen in your town if minority groups used violent means to solve their problems?
2. What happens when nothing is done to overcome community problems?
3. How can non-violence be used in your community?

New Words to Study

introduce younger person call
first woman clearly new
One Hundred Years From Slavery

The first African slaves were brought to America in 1619. This was only a few years after the first white settlers. These strong young men were stolen from their tribes in Africa. They were needed to clear the trees to make farm land and roads. They planted and harvested the crops.

These slaves were chained and crowded into ships under animal conditions. Many died of sickness. Others jumped overboard determined to die rather than be enslaved. Still others planned revolts and attempted to fight for their freedom. Some escaped to freedom, others were returned to slavery, but their spirits remained free. The sound of freedom came out of their hearts, and gave us the Negro spirituals.

Slavery was a degrading experience for the Negro but the progress of the last one hundred years and the rugged determination to be free makes our heritage glorious.

In the twentieth century, we see the fruits of this longing for freedom. The new Negro in America is standing up, demanding first class citizenship. In Africa and Asia new nations are being born as people of color everywhere are demanding the freedom to decide their destiny.

Heroes Of The Past
CRISPUS ATTUCKS

This man was one of our first freedom fighters. America was only a colony. It had not yet become a country. England made the laws. England made the colonists pay taxes but would not let them be represented in the government. This is very much like the Negroes problem of voting in parts of the South today. England said to the people “You just pay the taxes, you can’t tell us what to do with the tax money.” This made the people angry.

It was on a cold winter night in Boston that the people were very angry about this. Some of the young men started an argument with one of the English soldiers near the docks. Many people rushed to see what was going on. They began to shout “Drive them out.” They wanted the English to leave their country.

Leading the people was Crispus Attucks, a tall handsome Negro, big as a giant. He had worked on a whaling ship and knew the docks well. He shouted to the people, “The way to get rid of the soldiers is to attack the main guard! Strike at the root! This is the nest! As the people with sticks, clubs and snow balls went toward the soldiers, the soldiers fired their guns.

The first shot killed Crispus Attucks. He was the first man to die for our country’s freedom.

The people of Boston were very angry. They knew they were being treated unfairly. A few years later the war of Independence was fought and on July 4, 1776 we became a free country. The Negro yet has to win his freedom. As Crispus Attucks helped by giving his life we can help by giving our vote.
Things To Do

Put the correct answers in the blanks:
1. Before America became a country, the laws were made by ____________
2. The people had to pay taxes but could not ____________
3. The leader of the people was ____________
4. We can help bring freedom by ____________

Questions To Discuss

1. What is a colony?
2. How was the problem of taxes like Negroes problem of voting?
3. Why did Crispus Attucks lead the people when the soldiers had guns?
4. What does July 4th mean?

SOJOURNER TRUTH

Even though she was born in New York, Sojourner suffered as much as her Southern sisters. She slept in a cellar which had a floor of loose boards on the ground. In winter the water that settled turned to ice, her bed was made of straw and a blanket. She was sold into slavery many times before she was even 12 years old.

When she became a grown woman a law was passed in New York that freed her, but her master tried to keep her longer. She ran away early one morning with her small son, Peter.

Sojourner’s real name was Isabella. When Peter went off to sea and things seemed darkest for her, she told her employer she was changing her name. She said she was going to preach the truth and would be called from then on Sojourner Truth. She said the Spirit called her and she must go. She roamed all over speaking against slavery and its evils. She would go to a meeting anywhere and stand up and ask for the floor to speak. She also spoke up for the rights of women.

When the Civil War began she helped to care for the wounded soldiers and to find work for the slaves just freed. She strongly believed in the power of the ballot as well as in ownership of land, and education in agriculture and the trades. She did all she could to help her people. Before she died she said, “I isn’t going to die, honey, I’s going home like a shooting star.”

Things To Do

Make a list of words in the story ending in ly, ing, ed, s and find out what they mean.

Questions to Discuss

1. Why do you think Sojourner spoke against slavery?
2. In what ways did she help her people?
3. Is the ballot still powerful?
BENJAMIN BANNEKER

Benjamin Banneker's father was a slave who was able to buy his freedom. He worked very hard. He bought a farm. It was here Benjamin spent his life.

Benjamin was a very intelligent boy, he loved to take things apart and put them together again. When he was twenty-two years old he made a clock that would not only tell time but strike too.

When he was older he put out a series of almanacs, wrote about the bees and even said that the locust plague would come every seventeen years. He was also one of the men that helped plan the city of Washington, D. C., our capital. Benjamin read many books about the stars. He was an astronomer. He was so interested in the stars that he studied them at night. He would sleep all day. Because his days and nights were turned around his neighbors said he was lazy.

He was concerned about mankind. He thought and wrote about many ways to help others. He wrote Thomas Jefferson in regard to slavery and its injustices. He wrote about peace for all nations.

Benjamin Banneker had a good mind and he used it well. Any man with a university degree would be proud to know the things that Benjamin Banneker learned by just reading.

Things To Do

Answer these questions by filling in the blanks:
1. Benjamin Banneker made a __________
2. He helped to plan the city of __________
3. He studied the _______ at night.
4. Benjamin Banneker lived on a __________

Questions to Discuss

1. Why do we say that Benjamin Banneker used his mind well?
2. Did he help his people? How?
3. How do people sometimes misunderstand each other, just as people said Benjamin was lazy?

HARRIET TUBMAN

Here was a brave soul! Harriet Tubman worked hard to buy her freedom. She cut wood, plowed fields and drove oxen. After she was free she could not forget her people that were still slaves. She made trip after trip back into the South to lead others to freedom.

In all, she made seventeen (17) trips and led 399 slaves to freedom.
They walked through the swamps, hid in the woods and crept through the night. They were always afraid they would be found, beaten and taken back. Some were so afraid they wanted to turn back. When this moment of weakness came and they wanted to return to their masters, Harriet would pull out a little pistol. She would point it at them and say, “You go on or die.” They chose to go on.

Harriet Tubman trusted in God. She had no doubts. Her prayer was something like this, “Lord, you’ve been with me in six troubles, be with me in the seventh.”

After the war Harriet lived to a ripe old age. When she thought back over her trips and the dangers involved she said, “On my underground railroad I never run my train off the track and I never lost a passenger”.

Things To Do

Draw a line under each word with the same first sound.

Track (TR) Trip, train, the, trusted
That (TH) through, they, taken, this, to
Freedom (F) found, afraid, free, field

Questions to Discuss

1. Was Harriet Tubman very brave?
2. How did her faith help her?
3. Should she have pointed a gun at the people? Why?

MARY McCLEOD BETHUNE

“All my life I have worked with youth. I have begged for them and fought for them and lived for them and in them,” said Mary McCleod Bethune born in Mayesville, South Carolina, July 19, 1875.

“My limited educational advantages can be seen in all struggling boys and girls. My road has not been an easy one. Very few of my generation found life easy or wanted it that way. Your road may be less rugged because of the struggles we have made. The doors of progress and advancement will open to the steady persistent pressure of your skilled hands, trained minds, stout hearts, and your prayers more readily than they opened to me.”

There were seventeen children in the family and all were slaves along with their parents except Mary Jane and the two younger ones.

One day her mother went to the big house on the plantation and left Mary outside. Mary wandered into the white children’s play house, picked up a book only to have it snatched away by a white child who said “put down that book! you can’t read!”

“I wasn’t going to hurt it,” said Mary. “Books are for people who can read,” said the girl angrily.

The words hurt Mary deeply and from then on she resolved that she would learn to read. White folks have so much and black folks so little. Why is it that way. It must be the reading and writing. “I must learn to read.”

AUBURN AVENUE RESEARCH LIBRARY
At the age of 7 she was picking cotton, or cotton a day and taking care of the cow both morning and night. She started school that same year and walked 10 miles round trip each day. At 12 she received a scholarship to Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina. At 19 another scholarship to Moody's Bible Institute in Chicago, Illinois. At 20 she went to New York to ask the Presbyterian Board of Missions for a station in Africa only to be told that there was no opening for a Negro in Africa at that time. "This was the greatest disappointment in her life," she said. "Those were cruel days."

With crushed hopes and a heavy heart she accepted a teaching job at Haines Normal Institute in Augusta, Georgia. There she met and was married to Albertus Bethune. He was teaching in Savannah, Georgia. Her baby boy came there and she decided to help the world offer her child chances. She could not find a teaching job in Savannah so departed for Palatka, Florida. When the child was 5 years old she went to Daytona, Florida and there on a public dump heap in 1904 she opened officially Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls. A small house of seven rooms with a well, an outdoor toilet and kerosene lamps housed the students, five girls and one boy ages 8-12.

At the age of 48 she yielded her treasure to the Methodist Church to develop and use as a new coeducational school called Daytona-Cookman Collegiate Institute.

In 1924 her friends and admirers gave her a trip abroad and the trustees of her school changed the school's name to Bethune-Cookman College.

As her personality unfolded to reveal her true greatness she moved out into the mainstream of national affairs and became an adviser to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, later on she became administrator of the office of Minority Affairs of the National Youth Administration.

In 1950 she visited her home and after sixty years found that the old school she attended banded and worn was still the only school open to the Negro Children of Mayesville.

She shook her aged head. There was much yet to be done! Unequal educational opportunities, inadequate housing and poverty.

The white mansions of the slave owners were gone. She once held them in awe but when she remembered the childhood episode in the playhouse of the Wilson grandchildren she prayed a prayer that the day may come when no child anywhere in the world will have to flinch under the stinging words "Put down that book, You can't read."

She died in 1955.
The Bible And The Ballot

The first words of Jesus' public ministry were:

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he has anointed me to preach
Good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives...
To set at liberty those who are oppressed,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." (Luke 4:18)

This was Jesus' work and now it is ours. We are to release the captives of this segregated society, and bring liberty to those who are oppressed. We must preach the good news of equality and brotherhood to the poor. The time is ready for all God's children to learn to live together in peace and justice.

In America we change things through the ballot. The Constitution allows each man a vote for what he thinks to be the right way. In 1870 the fifteenth amendment was passed which gave all men the right to vote, regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Now if we want justice, freedom, peace, and equal rights, we must vote for people who will consider these things important. Every election is a chance to vote for good.

When we pray the Lord's Prayer, we pray, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." This world can be more like God's Kingdom if men will learn to care for the poor and needy; if we can help to feed the hungry in other lands and ours; if each is concerned about the well-being of his neighbor and if each votes for persons who share these same human ideals.

The ballot is in our hands, to vote for good for all mankind.

Discuss the following questions:

1. What would happen in your community if faith in God was put aside and violence took over?

2. If you are not registered to vote, do you think you are doing justice to yourself and your fellow man?

3. We have a task which Jesus himself set before us, how can we best accomplish this work?
# CANVASS YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

**VOTER REGISTRATION CRUSADE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box or House Number</th>
<th>Name of Citizen Canvassed</th>
<th>Registered Voter (No)</th>
<th>Will register at once</th>
<th>Written endorsement</th>
<th>Last time voted</th>
<th>Need a support card?</th>
<th>Left word</th>
<th>Recommended strategy</th>
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Begin at one corner and circle the block without crossing the street, turning right at each corner. Call at each house or apartment. (PLEASE CHECK EACH ITEM CAREFULLY)
Freedom Songs To Read And Sing

WE SHALL OVERCOME

We shall overcome, We shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day,
Deep in my heart, I do believe
We shall over come some day,
2. We are not afraid ... today
3. The truth will make us free.
4. We’ll walk hand in hand.
5. The Lord will see us through.
6. We shall overcome.

OH FREEDOM

I. Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom after while. And before I’ll be a slave I’ll be buried in my grave.
Go home to my Lord and be free.

II. No more mourning, no more mourning,
No more mourning after while. And before I’ll be a slave I’ll be buried in my grave. Go home to my Lord and be free.

III. No more sadness, No more sadness,
No more sadness after while. And before I’ll be a slave,
I’ll be buried in my grave.

WOKE UP THIS MORNING

Woke up this morning with my mind
Stayed on Freedom
Woke up this morning with my mind
Stayed on Freedom
Woke up this morning with my mind
Stayed on Freedom
Hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelu,
HalleluJah
2. Singin’ and Prayin’ with my mind...
3. Walkin’ and Talkin’ with my mind...
4. Ain’t no harm to keep your mind...

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE

Paul and Silas bound in jail
Ain’t nobody round to go their bail.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.

Chorus:
Hold on, Hold on,
Keep your eyes on the prize
Hold on.
Paul and Silas began to shout.
Jail doors opened and they walked out.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.
Mary wore three links of chain
Every link was Jesus’ name.
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on.

THE HAMMER SONG

If I had a ham-mer I’d hammer in the morning,
I’d hammer in the eve-nig all o-ver this land
I’d ham-mer out free-dom,
I’d ham-mer out jus-ice,
I’d ham-mer out love be-tween my brother and my sisters,
all... o-ver this land.
If I had a bell, I’d ring it in the morning, etc.
If I had a song, I’d sing it in the morning, etc.

Well, I’ve got a hammer, and
I’ve got a bell, and
I’ve got a song to sing all over this land
It’s the hammer of freedom
It’s the bell of justice
It’s a song about love between my brother
and my sister all over this land
WADE IN THE WATER

A slave song, said to have been used by Harriet Tubman in the operation of the underground railroad.

Chorus:
I. Wade in the water,
   Wade in the water, children
   Wade in the water,
   God's gonna trouble the water.
II. Some say Peter, some say Paul,
   God's gonna trouble the water
   There ain't but the one God made us all,
   God's gonna trouble the water. (Cho.)
III. You can hinder me here, you can hinder me there,
    But the Lord in heaven will hear my prayer. (Cho.)
IV. The enemy's great, but my captain's strong,
    I'm marching to the city and the road ain't long. (Cho.)

DON'T MY LORD DELIVER DANIEL

This spiritual is comparable to Go Down, Moses for its musical force.

I. Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, deliver Daniel,
   Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, then why not every man?
II. He delivered Daniel from the lion's den,
    Jonah from the belly of the whale,
    The Hebrew children from the fiery furnace,
    Then why not every man? (Cho.)
III. Oh Daniel cast in the lion's den, he prayed both night and day,
    The angels came from heaven above and showed him the way. (Cho.)

DONE MADE MY VOW TO BE FREE

I. Done made my vow to be free and I never will turn back.
   I will go, I shall go, to see what the end will be.
II. Sometimes I'm up, sometimes I'm down,
    I will go, I shall go.
    But still my soul is freedom bound,
    To see what the end will be. (Cho.)
III. I'll climb and climb and never stop,
    Until I reach that mountain top.
IV. If you get there before I do,
    Tell my friends I'm coming, too.

WE ARE SOLDIERS IN THE ARMY

Chorus:

We are soldiers, in the army.
We've got to fight though we have to cry.
We've got to hold up the bloodstained banner.
We've got to hold it up until we die.

1. My Mother was a soldier,
   she had her hand on the Gospel plow.
   But one day she got old.
   she couldn't fight anymore;
   she said "I'll stand there and fight anyhow". (Oh chorus)
2. I'm glad I am a soldier
   I've got my hand on the Gospel plow.
   But one day I'll get old,
   I can't fight anymore, but
   I'll just stand here and fight on anyhow. (Oh chorus)
3. I know my soul's been converted
   And that I'm not ashamed,
   I was standing
   There at the table
   When the Angel signed my name. (Oh chorus)
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The Citizenship Education Program is conducted in cooperation with the American
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APPENDIX B

PERMISSION TO PUBLISH SCLC CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL WORKBOOK

ARCHIVES DIVISION
AUBURN AVENUE RESEARCH LIBRARY ON AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE AND HISTORY
ATLANTA-FULTON PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO PUBLISH/REPRODUCE

Chamela Simmons Robinson
(Names)

University of Southern Mississippi
(Agency/Organization affiliation)

On File
(Permanent or Mailing Address)

On File
(Telephone Number)

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<td>SCLC Citizenship School Workbook, No Date</td>
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Purpose for which the material is requested:
The material is being requested to include in my doctoral dissertation entitled "Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Sepihma Poindexter Clark as Learning Leaders.*

Type of reproduction desired: __ Photocopy __ Photograph __ Video __ Audio x Scan

I/herewith agree to the conditions outlined above.

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(Date)

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(Administrator, Auburn Avenue Research Library)
(Date)

(Manager, Archives Division)
1/5/15
(Date)

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TOTAL __________________
APPENDIX C

PERMISSION TO PUBLISH ANNA JULIA COOPER AND MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE PHOTOGRAPHS

Chameka C. Robinson

Subject: Permission Request-Time Sensitive

From: Peterson, Kay [mailto:petersonk@si.edu]
Sent: Monday, January 05, 2015 11:56 AM
To: Chameka C. Robinson
Subject: RE: Permission Request-Time Sensitive

Dear Ms. Robinson,

Are you able to use the images available on-line? (free) Or do you also need higher resolution image files? ($50 total)

You have my permission to use the images in your dissertation. I’ll get the completed paperwork done as soon as I can, but probably not by Monday. Will this e-mail be good enough?

The citation is: Scurlock Studio Records. Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

Kay Peterson
Archives Center

202-633-3727 voice
202-321-1990 fax
petersonk@si.edu

From: Chameka C. Robinson [mailto:ccrobinson@umc.edu]
Sent: Monday, January 05, 2015 11:42 AM
To: Peterson, Kay
Subject: Permission Request-Time Sensitive
Importance: High

Good Morning,

I am interested in possibly using two photos of Dr. Anna J. Cooper and Mary McLeod Bethune found in your collections. These would be published in my doctoral dissertation.

I have attached a reproduction use request form. I appreciate any information that you may provide regarding cost and any additional procedures if applicable. Thank you so much.

Call No. AC518.004.0000291 Dr. Anna J. Copper [in academic dress: cellulose acetate photonegative, ca. 1923]
Call No. 0618.223517A Mary McLeod Bethune sitting, half length, frontal, holding paper, wearing striped suit with corsage: acetate film photonegative plus two enlarged prints, June 1939.

Chameka Robinson
Doctoral Student
University of Southern Mississippi
APPENDIX D

PERMISSION TO PUBLISH SEPTIMA CLARK PHOTOGRAPH

Print

Page 1 of 2

Subject: RE: Permission request for Image 56394-Portrait of Septima Clark

From: Marine, Lisa R - WHS (Lisa.Marine@wisconsinhistory.org)
To: chamekarobinson@yahoo.com;
Date: Tuesday, January 6, 2015 1:27 PM

Hello Chameka,

Thank you for writing. You have my permission to use our image #56394 in your dissertation, with a credit to Wisconsin Historical Society. This permission is for a one-time use. Formal permission would be required for any use of the image beyond inclusion in your dissertation.

Best regards,

Lisa Marine

Image Reproduction & Licensing Manager
Wisconsin Historical Society
816 State Street Room 407
Madison, WI 53706
phone: 608-264-6475, fax: 608-264-6472
www.wisconsinhistory.org/whi
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From: Chameka Robinson [mailto:chamekarobinson@yahoo.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 06, 2015 9:44 AM
To: Marine, Lisa R - WHS
Subject: Permission request for Image 56394-Portrait of Septima Clark

https://us-mg5.mail.yahoo.com/neo/launch?.rand=5njdl3ij615b

1/6/2015
Ms. Marine,

Thank you so much for assisting me with this inquiry. As we discussed by phone, I am a student at the University of Southern Mississippi. Please accept this as a formal request to publish Image 56394-Portrait of Septima Clark in my doctoral dissertation entitled *Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark as Learning Leaders*.

If you would provide an e-mail granting this request, I would greatly appreciate it. Thank you again and please let me know if additional information is required.

Chameka Robinson  
Adult Education Doctoral Student  
The University of Southern Mississippi  
Hattiesburg, MS

https://us-mg5.mail.yahoo.com/neolaunch?rand=5njdl3ijl615b  
1/6/2015
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Cooper, Anna Jula. *A Voice from The South.* Xenia, Ohio: The Aldine Printing House, 1892.


