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Pepperdine University
Graduate School of Education and Psychology

UPLIFT: AN EXAMINATION OF SIX AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE EDUCATIONAL
LEADERS DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION, SEGREGATION AND
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ERAS

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education in Organizational Leadership

by

Wanda Johnson Clemmons

November 2012

Margaret J. Weber, Ph.D. – Dissertation Chairperson

This dissertation, written by

Wanda Johnson Clemmons

under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Doctoral Committee:

Margaret J. Weber, Ph.D., Chairperson

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
VITA	xi
ABSTRACT	xiv
Chapter 1: Background	1
Statement of Problem.....	5
Statement of Purpose	6
Research Questions	6
Significance of the Study	7
Assumptions.....	8
Limitations	8
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	10
Introduction.....	10
Importance of the Topic.....	11
Definitions of Key Terms	13
Literature Search Strategies	16
Extent and Nature of Literature	17
Overview and Organization of the Literature Review	17
Theoretical Considerations	17
Background of Education for African Americans	18
Reconstruction Era (1866-1877).....	22
The Segregation Era (1877-1953).....	34
The Equal Opportunity Era (1954-present)	47
Summary.....	62
Chapter 3: Methodology	64
Research Questions.....	64
Research Methodology	64
Analysis Unit	65
Instrument	67
Sample.....	68
Sample Method	68
Data Collection	69
Human Subjects	70
Data Analysis	70
Summary.....	71

	Page
Chapter 4: Findings.....	73
Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin (1837-1913)	75
Anna Julia Cooper (1860-1964).....	94
Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879-1961).....	105
Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961).....	120
Dr. Mary Montle Bacon (1942-present)	133
Joan Faqir (1944-present)	133
Summary	155
Chapter 5: Summary	157
Reconstruction: The Pioneers	158
Segregation: The Expanders	160
Equal Opportunity: The Product.....	161
Discussion	165
Conclusion	167
Recommendations.....	168
REFERENCES	171
APPENDIX A: Letter Explaining Study to Contemporary Educators	182
APPENDIX B: Dissertation Survey	184
APPENDIX C: Interview Questions.....	186
APPENDIX D: Biographical Data Sheet.....	188
APPENDIX E: Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities.....	189
APPENDIX F: Appointment Form.....	191

DEDICATION

TO MY FAMILY

- Johnnie Mae Johnson - Mother, you set an example that any daughter could follow. I know you are looking down from heaven cheering me on! You are my greatest shero. You were a model of a true Woman of God. Thank you for giving me the greatest gift of all—unconditional love. Thank you for teaching me how to uplift my race as well as mankind. I will always love you!
- Nuoye Sr. - My husband the love of my life for 35 years. You are my “One in a Million” chance of a lifetime when life showed compassion and God sent to me a stroke of love called you. We have battled many storms together. Without you I don’t know where I would be. You are my guardian angel. Thank you for taking good care of me! I will always love you. God is not through with us yet. The best is yet to come!
- Nuoye Jr. - My son born on Valentine’s Day—the day of love. As you look down from heaven I want you to know you were one of the most loving fathers, respectful sons, and caring human beings I have ever known. Your dedication to your children makes me proud. You were a wonderful example to your friends of how to be a father. You have left us with four beautiful children that will carry your name and legacy on. We will always love you.
- Nikiyah - You keep me laughing, son. Your dedication as a father is a reflection of your dad. Continue to use him as your example and God will be pleased. Your future is bright and your star will rise. Pursue the dreams in your heart and you will reach your DESTINY—God’s perfect will for your life.
- Nikeen - Who am I going to call—Keen Keen Buster? Son, you are a great husband, son, brother, uncle, and soon to be father! Thank you for supporting me in my projects and in life. You have more ability and creativity in your baby finger than I have in my entire being. USE IT! Don’t sell yourself or your creator short! You are destined to discover a cure for cancer or make a discovery that will benefit all of mankind. I believe in you.
- Niquanna - As you know when we sent you away to college, times were really hard for us. But we knew the sacrifice was worth it. I still remember slipping \$10 in your hand, crying, and praying to God to take care of you. He answered my prayers. You followed in my footsteps; that always makes a parent proud. But what I am most proud of is how you have dedicated your life to serving underserved students in Watts. They need you. You

are an AWESOME educator. Continue to work hard because, as I always say, hard work pays off!

NaShanda - My prayer warrior. I remember when I saw the dream of the Destiny Center on 120th Street—you were only 10 years old. You prayed and God moved. Continue to pray and watch God continue to move! Your dream to finish college will be fulfilled. Your children and family are your first priority. Don't forget, nothing's too hard for God. Don't stop singing your songs, especially *No Weapon Formed Against Me Shall Prosper!*

NaSheena - Miracle twin number 1. I see so much of myself in you. Your motivation and tenacity will get you through when money is scarce and friends are few. Giving your life to help others is always noble. God knows your heart. Where He guides He provides. Your dream of a non-profit will be a reality! Just keep moving and He will too.

NaReena - Miracle twin number 2. Continue to pursue your dream to become an attorney. Your bear hugs are a sign of how strong you are. Do not let the circumstances of life defeat you. I have no doubt you will achieve your goals. Make us proud!

Nemiah - I know God had you especially designed as the baby of the family. You are one of the kindest and most loving people I know. You have honored your mother and father as God has asked. Thank you for all of your love and care, taking care of dad and me, through the past few years. It is now time for you to reach your DESTINY! Pray and God will always guide your way.

Grandchildren - Nuoye III, Navohn, Noah, Nuoyonna, Nalayah, Nikiyah Jr., Nianna, Nanielle, Nicolas, Tyrome Jr., Namari, Sheniah, Jaime Jr., Naomi and those on the way!

I see the promise of a bright future in all of your eyes. I have given your parents every tool to give you success in life: The reverence of God, the value of family, and the love of their fellowman. I am depending on you to carry on a proud tradition passed on by my mother your great grandmother Johnnie Mae Johnson. Author Dennis Kimbrow searched the entire United States of America for wisdom from African American grandmothers. Out of over 3,000 letters he read, 300 were selected for a book. Of the 300, your great grandmother Johnnie Mae Johnson's was used for the title of his book, *What Keeps Me Standing*. Read the letter, apply its principles *and KEEP STANDING!*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my committee chair Dr. Margaret Weber, thank you for your guidance and support. You have a unique way of bringing clarity and conciseness. When I was bogged down, you waded through all of the unnecessary layers and made my dissertation not only manageable but coherent so that its purpose would not be lost.

To Dr. Jungwirth, your support and encouragement meant the world to me. I wanted to expand on your deep love for my topic to make you proud. Thank you for serving on my committee and for providing guidance and direction during my evolution and journey.

To Dr. Barner, you have been with me from the beginning. My journey in the doctoral program at Pepperdine was challenging but you always believed in me. I admire and respect your commitment to educational leadership immensely. Thank you for serving on my committee. Your encouragement and your belief in me and my study helped me carry on through the difficult challenges I faced during this journey.

To Dr. Purrington, I have never experienced a kinder caring educator than you. At every turn and during every experience I knew you would be there. The essence of your spirit is love. You exude confidence, peace, and calmness to your students. Thank you for what you have imparted to my life. I am a better educator and human being from learning at your feet.

To Kristin Bailey, throughout my program you were always there working to ensure I had every thing I needed and all my questions were answered. Your dedication to students is evident in your concern for students. Your efficiency and competency is amazing. When I was very ill you came to the hospital to see me. We have laughed and

cried together. Through it all you always believed in me. I now know our relationship is not just professional, but also personal. Thank you for believing in me and for being my friend.

To the rest of my Pepperdine family –you are AWESOME. I will forever be grateful for the time we spent together as I pursued this dream. As a Christian university you demonstrated not only in word but also in deed what Jesus meant when He said they will know you by the love you have for one another. Special thanks to Jose in tech support, Regina in writing support, and Maria in the library.

To Rebekka, my editor, your patience, understanding and professionalism have enabled me to accomplish this dream. Thank you so very much for never complaining and always being there for me.

To Dr. Betty M. Knight my BFF (Best Friend Forever) your love, encouragement, support, wisdom, and listening ear has allowed me to soar. You have taught me so many things but most importantly you taught me how to be a friend. Thank you for sharing 25 years of your remarkable life with me and my family. We have raised our children together, buried our mothers together, and fought some of life's most difficult battles together. Now we will shout together!

To my husband Nuoye R. Clemmons Sr., even during the battle of your life you took care of me. When I look into your eyes I see the pride you have over my educational accomplishments. Always know it is not just my accomplishment but OUR accomplishment. Thank you for being my partner in the journey of life. You have always believed in me. I am sorry I could not live up to my nickname you gave me (4.0) when I returned back to college but I know you are proud of your 3.8.

To my 8 children and 13 grandchildren thank you for showering me with love, pride, and encouragement. The bible teaches that children are a blessing from God. There is no doubt that I am truly blessed. Special thanks to my daughter-in-law Lenice Garcia Clemmons. Lenice, when I was locked in my office for days, down to the wire and trying to finish this dissertation, you and Lay Lay brought food and drinks to me. Your kindness and love did not go unnoticed and it will not go unrewarded.

To my family at Ruach Christian fellowship and my pastor Dr. Lewis Logan Jr., your love and prayers have kept me going. You have embraced me as part of the family. Thank you for all your support.

To Pastor Johnson of Shabach Christian Fellowship, you have prayed for me for over 25 years. I know that God directed our lives to cross. I remember when I started my fist school on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.; you modeled what a true Christian female leader should look like. Your labor of love was not in vain. Thank you for calling me just because. Thank you for loving me over these many years. Most of all, thank you for praying for me!

To my LAUSD family your support, love and listening ear helped me endure the most challenging six years of my life. I count it an honor to serve with you in the battle for our children's education. You are warriors! Keep up the good fight.

VITA

Professional experience

2000-present

Los Angeles Unified School District- Los Angeles, CA

- Administrative Designee
- Administrative Team Member (A-Team)
- Special Education Teacher (K-12th)
- Special Day Teacher (Math, Science, English 9th-12th)
- Resource Specialist (K-12th)

As a special education educator I am responsible for providing educational instruction and case management for students with learning and physical disabilities. My primary function is providing classroom instruction in accordance to individual students' IEP goals and objectives. I also serve students and parents in a leadership capacity that include:

- Implementing Language 4th Edition Instruction
- Providing RTI instruction
- Coordinating and scheduling IEP meetings
- Assessing students and writing assessment reports
- Consulting and coordinating with DIS and support staff
- Ensuring District's LRE goals are met
- Serving on RTI Committee
- Serving as a Behavior Intervention Case Manager (BICM)
- Serving as Vice-Chairperson of School Site Council
- Serving on Modified Consent Decree Committee
- Completing Welligent IEPs
- Serving on SST Committees
- Presenting Special Education Staff Development
- Providing remediation programs for multiplication facts

1992-Present

The Los Angeles Destiny Center Inc.- Los Angeles, CA

Executive Director/Founder

As the executive director my responsibilities include:

- Leadership/Collaboration with parents, community, faculty and staff
- Development of the organization's strategic plan
- Grant writing
- Selection of curriculum and instructional materials
- Training of faculty and staff
- Oversight of budget, human resources, facilities
- Oversight of entire school and chief instructional leader

1988-1992

Marva Collins Educational Facility- Los Angeles, CA

- *Founder-Director*
- Organized Marva Collins Methodology School
- Administrated all aspects of the school

Education

Doctoral Program (ELAP), Educational Leadership, Administration, Policy

Pepperdine University, Malibu

Expected Graduation September 2012

Masters of Arts Degree, Educational Administration

CSU San Bernardino, San Bernardino – May 2004

Masters of Arts Degree, Education

Pepperdine University, Malibu – 2001

Bachelor of Arts Degree, Liberal Studies/Teacher Education

CSU Los Angeles, Los Angeles – 2000

Certificate of Completion

Certified Mediator, Dispute Resolution Department

Marva Collins Teacher Training Institute, Chicago

Certificate of Completion, Teacher Training-1988

Professional credentials

Multiple Subject Clear Credential

Pepperdine University, Malibu, CA, May 2001

Educational Specialist- Mild/Moderate

CSU Pomona, Pomona, CA, August 2001

Administrative Service Credential

CSU San Bernardino, San Bernardino, CA-May 2004.

Child Development Director Certificate

Community College, June 1998

California Certified Mediator Certificate

California Real Estate Brokers License

Board Member	Los Angeles Destiny Center Inc. Miss Corporate America Inc. Giving Hands Ministry Inc. Pacific Asian Consortium of Employment (PACE)
Awards received	Commendation Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger Commendation Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa Commendation Mayor Tom Bradley Recognition Mayor Richard Rirodan Recognition Supervisor Yvonne Burke Recognition Curren Price Commendation Barnard Parks Commendation Yvonne Burke
Memberships	United Teachers of Los Angeles California Teachers Association National Association of Teachers Parent Teacher Association
Presentations	YWCA “Perspectives on Education” Weekly Radio Host “ A Day in Destiny” (1988-2006) Destiny and Generation Building Civil Rights Landmark Cases No More! - A Call to Action Against Gang Violence Roll Call All Parents Please Answer Present! Reaching Back to Move Forward Discover-Recover- A Recipe for Restoration

ABSTRACT

Due to the history of slavery and its systemic effects on the education of African Americans, African American female educators heeded a clarion call to uplift their race. Their passion, devotion, and resilience in the face of insurmountable obstacles were heroic. This study will examine the leadership of 6 selected African American female educators during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity Eras from 1866 through 2010: Fanny Jackson Coppin, Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Dr. Mary Montel Bacon and Joan Faqir. Three areas of their life were examined: (a) their influences and motivations to move from the margins to the forefront of society to assume their roles as educational leaders, (b) the transformational leadership characteristics that made them some of the most influential educational leaders of their time, (c) and how they overcame gender and racial obstacles.

Documented accounts of the lived experiences and historical accounts of African American female educational leaders are underrepresented or lacking in the body of literature. Even though there have been critical educational reforms in America, few studies exist regarding what motivated African American females to move from the margins to embrace the mantle of educational leadership. The literature is lacking an examination of this unique perspective during three pivotal eras in American education reform. African American female leaders demonstrated effective leadership skills and overcame insurmountable obstacles to educate African American children (K. Johnson, 2000). These extraordinary leaders educated students and pioneered schools, colleges, universities, and civic organizations (McCluskey, 1997). They filled a void that has too often gone under documented, under researched, and unnoticed. Their lasting leadership

legacies have been under-chronicled for American posterity (Collins, 1990). This study is one researcher's attempt to give a voice to these women of distinction and further the literature on their valuable contributions.

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What influenced and motivated six African American female educational leaders to move from the margins of society to assume their roles as educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras?
2. How did six African American female educational leaders overcome racial and gender obstacles?
3. What transformational leadership characteristics did six African American female educational leaders possess?

This study used a qualitative research approach by reviewing a broad array of information about four selected historical and two selected contemporary African American educational leaders.

Chapter 1: Background

Formal education for African Americans began over 300 years ago, after the first Africans were captured from their homeland and brought to America (Frazier, 1970; Low, 1962; Neverdon-Morton, 1989; Woodson, 1919). Three important periods in the history of education for African Americans were slavery, the Jim Crow laws, and the Civil Rights Movement. Many believe the systemic affects on educational systems and institutions as a result of these periods continue to affect African American communities today. Slavery in the United States began immediately after Virginia was colonized in 1607. The Constitution of the United States made slavery a legal institution. The institution of slavery lasted over 250 years until the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States in 1865, which abolished slavery.

The institution of slavery had many negative effects on African American society. One of the most important impacts on African Americans was their denial of an equal education. “This was the time when the importation of slaves became common place” (Cunningham & Osborn, 1973, p. 20). During slavery in the U.S., slaves could be killed if they were caught even attempting to learn to read. The institution of slavery not only affected African Americans; it also nearly destroyed the union of the United States of America. As result of the institution of slavery, southern states began to secede from the United States, causing the United States to embark on a bloody and devastating Civil War from 1861 to 1865. The 16th president of the United States Abraham Lincoln signed one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the United States history: the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862. This monumental piece of legislation cost President Lincoln his life; he was assassinated on April 14, 1865. As a result of the Emancipation

Proclamation, the United States Constitution was amended, rendering slavery illegal.

Even though slavery was made illegal, many systemic issues from slavery lingered.

Many Whites opposed the notion of educating freed slaves, fearing that doing so would create problems. Low (1962) chronicled one man's mindset as:

I oppose it (public education) because its policy is cruelty in the extreme to the Negro himself. It instills in his mind that he is competent to share in the higher walks of life, promotes him to despise those menial pursuits to which his race has been doomed, and invites him to enter into competition with the White man. (p. 38)

After the abolition of slavery in 1865 the southern states enacted the legal institution known as the "Jim Crow Laws." One of the key components of the Jim Crow Laws was the manner in which African Americans were provided an education. Jim Crow Laws mandated "separate but equal" facilities for all public institutions, especially schools. Jim Crow Laws were in place in the southern confederate states from 1876 through 1953 and were widely enforced throughout the North through de facto segregation. The landmark Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 finally declared that *separate* was not *equal*. Brown overturned the 1896 of *Plessey v. Ferguson* ruling that provided for separate public schools for African American and White children. Before the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Plessey v. Ferguson*'s "separate but equal" premise was the law of the land. It denied African Americans equal access to the educational institutions that their White counterparts attended. When African Americans observed their inferior schools, facilities, textbooks, and overall educational opportunities, it was evident that separate was not equal (DuBois, 1911). *Plessey v. Ferguson* denied African American children equal educational opportunities (Kousser, 1980). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 further abolished unequal laws that related to the

educational opportunities of African American children and provided an extension of equal access that *Brown v. Board of Education* began (Bullock, 1967).

The institution of slavery, the Jim Crow Laws, and the Civil Rights Movement have had a profound and lasting effect on American society, especially in relationship to education, educational institutions, and educational systems for African Americans. The legal institutions of slavery and segregation marginalized African American students by denying them the same opportunity as their White counterparts to obtain a quality education. The education African Americans received was inherently inferior; their school buildings, books, materials, curriculum, and teacher training were all sub-standard. African American teachers did not have the same materials, equipment, training facilities, exposure, or access to information at the levels of White American teachers (Diamond, 2006). W.E.B. DuBois (1935), a noted leader of the African American community during the early 20th century, believed that African American schools were highly inferior to White schools. DuBois aspired to create equality by bridging the achievement gap through changing in schools for African American children (DuBois,1935). One of the key arguments of this era was the need for African American schools to obtain additional funding resources (Ploski & Williams, 1990). In the aftermath of such brutal institutions as slavery and segregation, the uplift of African Americans as it relates to education, family, and community weighed heavy on the hearts and shoulders of African American women.

Throughout U.S. history, African American women have played an essential role in advancing African American education. Documented accounts as far-reaching as the slavery era chronicle the influence and impact females have made on educating children.

Female slaves who navigated through the brutality of this inhumane system but knew how to read often conducted classes or schools in secret to teach other slaves to read and write (Wolfman, 1997). African American females played a pivotal role in the survival of their families and communities, and in educating African American children (Perkins, 1982). During these turbulent times in education reform African American female educators began to move from the margins of obscurity to assume their roles as educational leaders (Collier-Thomas, 1982).

As a result of slavery and segregation, African American female educational leaders begin to emerge to embrace the mantle of educating African American children in the United States. Through the turbulent and violent eras of Reconstruction, Segregation, and leading up to and beyond the Civil Rights era, African American female educational leaders ascended to the forefront and became outstanding educational leaders. African American female educational leaders displayed tremendous courage, unwavering tenacity, unyielding strength, unflinching perseverance, and creative innovation to establish new educational institutions, impact educational systems through their leadership, and make lasting contributions throughout the United States and society as a whole (McCluskey, 1997). Nannie Helen Burroughs, Mary McLeod Bethune, Anna Julia Cooper, Lucy Diggs Slowe, and Hallie Quinn Brown were some of the African American female educators that have made significant contributions to the field of education during the Reconstruction and Segregation Periods (Collier-Thomas, 1982; Harley, 1996; K. Johnson, 2000; Miller, 1984). Further contemporary educational leaders such as Marva Collins, Nikki Giovanni, and Lorraine Monroe (Perkins, 1982; Taylor, 1994) have emerged from 1964 to the present to educate African Americans students. These

outstanding African American educational leaders were/are educators, school pioneers, and community leaders. They were motivated to uplift their race and moved from the margins to assume their roles as educational leaders. They have displayed effective leadership qualities and have left outstanding leadership legacies that have had a lasting impact on education and society as a whole (Collier-Thomas, 1982).

Statement of Problem

Documented accounts of the lived experiences and historical accounts of African American female educational leaders are underrepresented or lacking in the current body of scholarly literature. There have been critical educational reforms in America during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity Eras, but few African American females have been researched and included in the body of literature in these critical education reform eras in American history. Few studies exist exploring what motivated African American females to move from the margins to embrace the mantle of educational leadership during the Reconstruction Period (1866-1877), the Segregation Period (1877-1953), and the Equal Opportunity Period (1954-Present). Even though some studies exist regarding African American female educational leadership, the literature is lacking a comprehensive analysis of these three pivotal eras in American educational reform history. In comparison to their African American male, White male, and White female counterparts, African American female educational leaders are underrepresented in educational leadership research.

African American female leaders have demonstrated effective leadership skills and have overcome insurmountable obstacles to educate children since the Reconstruction Period (K. Johnson, 2000). African American female educational leaders

have educated students and established schools, colleges, and universities. They also pioneered civic and community organizations that remain in existence today (McCluskey, 1997). African American female educational leaders educated African American children during the most critical eras in American education reform. They filled a void that has too often has gone under-documented, under-researched, and unnoticed. This study is one researcher's attempt to give a voice to these women of distinction and further the literature on their valuable contributions (Collins, 1990).

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this historical and phenomenological study is to identify, examine, and report information on the lives of six African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras (1866-present). This study used a qualitative research approach by studying four historical educators from the Reconstruction and Segregation eras—two per era and two contemporary African American educators from the Equal Opportunity era.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What influenced and motivated six African American female educational leaders to move from the margins of society to assume their roles as educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras?
2. How did six African American female educational leaders overcome racial and gender obstacles?

3. What transformational leadership characteristics did six African American female educational leaders possess?

Significance of the Study

Literature is lacking on African American female educational leaders; this study will add to the body of literature of this underrepresented group of leaders. African American female educational leaders have made important contributions to their families, communities, and society as a whole since their arrival as slaves in America. Providing research as a contribution to the scholarly literature is one of the important aims of this study. As slaves, descendents of slaves, and a segment of America's population that has been systemically marginalized, African American females have taken on the responsibility of educating themselves and their children (Anderson, 1988). The historical account of educational reform in America is lacking a detailed account of how African American females themselves became literate and used their literacy to educate their communities and children (Ploski & Williams, 1990). Examining and exploring six female leaders' historical and lived experiences, their motivations to move them from the margins and the ascend as leaders, their leadership qualities, and their lasting legacies will shed light on how African American female educational leaders were able to establish meaningful and effective schools despite overwhelming obstacles and insurmountable odds. Examining and exploring African American female educational leaders will provide role models and inspiration not only for aspiring African American female educational leaders but also for people of all races and genders. Finally, this study will give recognition to these educational leaders that have been left out of mainstream

American history as well as African American history for their contributions, impacts, and leadership legacies.

Assumptions

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. African-American female educational leaders are not treated with the same relevancy in relationship to national studies.
2. The researcher assumed that the contemporary educators would give truthful and accurate responses to the biographical data sheet and interview questions.
3. The researcher assumed that the contemporary educational leaders would be self-reflective and provide accurate representations of their lived experiences.
4. The researcher assumed that the contemporary educators would respond to interview questions in an honest and forthcoming way.
5. The researcher assumed that the information found on the historical educators was accurate.

Limitations

This study was influenced by the following limitations:

1. The study may have been limited by the availability and accessibility of the subjects. The study may have been limited by the humility or lack of humility of the subjects. The study may have been limited by the accuracy of the subjects' memories. The researcher relied on the information provided by secondary sources to gather data about the subjects from the Reconstruction and Segregation eras. The study may have been limited to the lack or

diminished amount of historical data on the subjects from the Reconstruction and Segregation periods.

4. The study may have been limited to how accurate the historical accounts are told.
5. The study may have been limited to the lack of information about the education of African Americans and their teachers.
6. The study may have been limited by the researcher's own bias as an African American educator who has endured many extreme hardships, struggles, and racial and gender obstacles.
7. The study may have been limited by the fact that many unknown African American female educators may have made outstanding contributions, but were not recognized publicly for their efforts.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The educational plight of African Americans has been a concern for African Americans since they arrived in America. Several scholars assert that the historical context of African American educational history can be divided into five distinct periods (Bennett, 1967; Brawley, 1931; Crosby, 1976; Low, 1962; Woodson, 1919). These periods include: (a) the Enlightenment Period, (b) the Reaction Period, (c) the Reconstruction Period, (d) the Segregation Period, and (e) the Equal Opportunity Period. Each period contains its unique triumphs as well as challenges for the education of African Americans. African American female educators have been at the forefront of this important issue since the beginning of the Reconstruction Era (1866). This study examined the leadership of selected African American female educators during the Reconstruction (1866-1877), Segregation (1877-1953), and Equal Opportunity (1954-present) eras and their impact on African Americans and American society.

The birth of African American female educational leadership provided the foundation of education reform for African Americans in the United States. African Americans have always considered education as the nucleus for freedom, equality, and racial uplift. During Reconstruction (1866-1877) slaves were finally allowed to become literate without fear of reprisal. Prior to this period, slaves were not allowed to learn to read and often paid the highest cost of all – their lives – for attempting to gain literacy. Such extreme retribution caused an inferior mindset for African Americans, a mindset that would continue through Reconstruction, Segregation, and even during the Equal Opportunity Era of today. It was during the turbulent times of Reconstruction,

Segregation, and the Equal Opportunity eras that African American female educators moved from the margins of society, heeded the cries for equality, answered the call of a people, and took on the responsibility of leadership to uplift their race. African American female educators not only carried the plight of the education of African American children, but also carried the mantle of pursuing strength and inspiration for a people (Anderson, 1988).

Importance of the Topic

The systemic effects of slavery have been highly detrimental to African American communities, both historic and modern. One of the greatest impacts has been on the institution of education. Examining African American female educational leadership is important because examining leadership – its challenges as well as its triumphs – through the unique lens of the African American woman can provide opportunities for educational leaders of all races to develop effective skills to improve education for African Americans. Currently, there is climate of instability and uncertainty in the field of education in general. Schools, teachers, administrators, parents, and students are faced with some of the most challenging decisions in the U.S.'s educational history. How can today's society continue to provide a positive educational experience for students during such difficult times? According to Trilling and Fadel (2009), "Knowledge, work, thinking tools, digital lifestyles, and learning research are all coming together in what appears to be a 'perfect learning storm'" (p. 35). Further, Trilling and Fadel conclude that even though the forces for a 21st century paradigm of learning are powerful and expanding, there are numerous elements that continue to resist reform and change. Dr. W. E. B.

DuBois (1911) believed that “Of all the civil rights for which the world has struggled and fought, the right to learn is undoubtedly the most fundamental” (p. 75).

At the forefront of the struggle in the process of educating children is educational leadership. Related to this topic is the compelling question, What does effective educational leadership look like? S. Johnson (1996), author of *Leading to Change*, suggests, “Leadership looks different—and is different—depending on whether it is experienced in the legislature, on a battlefield, at a rally, on a factory floor, or in a school district” (p. 14). According to Sergiovanni (2007), “Schools need special leadership because schools are special places” (p. 1). Furthermore, schools are different from other organizations requiring leadership even though they have similar structures, pursuits, managerial responsibilities, and needs for stability as other organizations. However, schools are unique in their purpose and design.

Therefore, school leaders must not only establish organizational structures for all stakeholders such as school boards, superintendents, administrators, teachers, and staff, but also respond to the varied and unique political realities these stakeholders face (Sergiovanni, 2007). One of the realities America faces is to determine how to effectively educate African American children. Lambert (2003) notes,

Defining leadership is essential when developing successful schools and school reform. How we define leadership frames how people will participate in it. If leadership is merely defined as doing what stakeholders or community leaders need to be done then leadership can be viewed in a limited capacity. (p. 4)

Due to the fact that African American children have experienced unique challenges with respect to education, examining leadership through the lens of effective African American female educators can be a productive tool as this current era of reform in American educational history continues to move forward. Furthermore, this study is vital

as African American children continue to be at risk educationally. The current statistics for African American students completing high school are alarming. According to current data, in 2010 the second largest school district in the United States – the Los Angeles Unified School District – exceeded a 50% dropout rate for African American students (Rubin, 2006). Do African American female educational leaders have unique insights that can drive the direction of the current downward trend of failure for African American students to provide leadership models that can lead to success? By examining this question, current leaders of all races can glean wisdom, understanding, and insight to pursue strategies that may reverse the course for thousands of African American children.

Definitions of Key Terms

The following terms will be used throughout this dissertation:

- **Slavery:** “A condition in which one human being owned another. A slave was considered by law as property, or chattel, and was deprived of most of the rights ordinarily held by free persons” (“Slavery,” n.d., para. 1).
- **Reconstruction:** The period in United States history (1866-1877) after the Civil War. During this time “attempts were made to redress the inequities of slavery and its political, social, and economic legacy in order to solve the problems arising from the readmission to the Union of the 11 states that had seceded at or before the outbreak of war” (“Reconstruction,” n.d., para. 1).
- **Segregation:** A period in United States history (1877-1953) during which laws restricted “people to certain circumscribed areas of residence or to separate institutions (e.g., schools, churches) and facilities (parks, playgrounds,

restaurants, restrooms) on the basis of race or alleged race” (“Racial segregation,” n.d., para. 1).

- **Equal Opportunity:** A period in United States history from 1954-present. *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* was the defining landmark case for African Americans to pursue education equality in America (Low, 1962).
- **African American Colored, Negro, Black, Afro-American:** Americans of African descent. Primarily from African ancestry, but may have ancestors that are not Black. Most are the descendants of slaves—people who were kidnapped from Africa to work in America. They did not have rights and were denied the right to participate in economical, political, and social progress of the United States. However, African Americans made enduring contributions to American society and culture (“African American,” n.d.).
- **Leadership:** An influence process of working with and through people to accomplish one’s goals and the goals of an organization (Gunbayani, 2005).
- **Communal Leadership:** A leadership style demonstrated by sympathy, empathy, egalitarian decision-making, helpfulness, and nurturance (Gunbayani, 2005).
- **Instructional Leadership:** A leadership style demonstrated by behaviors such as interaction and communication that promote improvement in academic achievement in students (Smith & Andrews, 1989). It features a strong, directive style (Hallinger, 2003).
- **Integrative Leadership:** A leadership ability that manages and promotes culturally and ethically diverse organizations and workplaces (Jones, 2002).

- **Situational Leadership:** A flexible leadership style that can adapt to diverse situations. It is also demonstrated by a leader's ability to change from a people-focused or task-focused approach as individual situations arise (Taylor, 1994).
- **Transformational Leadership:** A leadership style that utilizes visionary stimulation and motivates and inspires followers. It uses human resources to gain support and is collaborative and supportive in nature. Transformational leadership focuses on organization innovation, empowerment of staff, and motivating masses (Hallinger, 2003).
- **Transactional Leadership:** A leadership style in which a leader rewards or punishes subordinates based on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of their behavior, respectively (Gunbayani, 2005).
- **Educator, Teacher:** One who trains others to teach ("Educator," n.d.).
- **Normal school:** "a usually 2-year school for training chiefly elementary teachers during the late nineteenth century in the United States" ("Normal school," n.d., para. 1).
- **Legacy:** The scope and scale of one's influence on others (Galford & Maruca 2006).
- **Scholar:** A person that has done advanced study in a specialized field ("Scholar," n.d.).
- **Epiphanies:** Stories organized around themes that indicate pivotal events in an individual's life (Creswell, 1998).
- **Literacy:** The ability to read and write ("Literacy," n.d.).

- Pioneer: “A person or group that originates or helps open up a new line of thought or activity or a new method of technical development” (“Pioneer,” n.d., para. 2)
- Jim Crow Laws: “In United States history, any of the laws that enforced racial segregation in the South between the end of the formal Reconstruction period in 1877 and the beginning of the strong civil rights movement in the 1950s” (“Jim Crow Laws,” n.d., para. 1).
- Freedman’s Bureau: Funded in 1865 under General Oliver O. Howard, the Bureau was created by congress to cooperate with benevolent and religious societies in the establishment of schools for Blacks (Ploski & Williams, 1990).

Literature Search Strategies

The researcher conducted a review of the theoretical, historical, and empirical literature as it relates to African American education and African American female educational leadership during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras from 1866-present using academic databases and library catalogs. Journal articles, newspaper articles, books, government and private studies, dissertations, magazine articles, personal writings, and speeches were researched for definitive information on African American education and African American female educational leaders. The historical and contemporary context during these eras was also researched. Upon researching these sources in the library database and World Wide Web, names of prominent African American female educational leaders began to emerge. The researcher then researched biographical and historical information about these African American

female educational leaders. Additionally the researcher explored historical, legal, and biographical data throughout the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras, as well as landmark cases and legislation during these eras.

Extent and Nature of Literature

A review of the literature from the Reconstruction, Segregation, and the Equal Opportunity eras (1866-present) will be conducted as it relates to education for African Americans and African American female educational leadership. The variables of influence and motivation, leadership characteristics, and race and gender obstacles will be examined. This chapter will also feature an overview of the climate and condition in America in which African American female educational leaders emerged.

Overview and Organization of the Literature Review

This review of related literature will examine the climate and conditions related to education for African Americans and African American female educational leadership from 1866-2010. First, a historical framework of the background and context of education for African Americans will be provided. Second, the conditions and climate of the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras as they relate to African American female educational leaders will be presented. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras as they relate to education and African American female educational leadership.

Theoretical Considerations

Recent studies have explored many aspects, theories, and models of leadership. Communal, integrative, instructional, situational, transactional, and transformational leadership styles should all be considered when examining leaders' traits, characteristics,

and styles (Gunbayani, 2005; Hallinger, 2003; Jones, 2002; Taylor, 1994). After conducting a comparative study of leadership behaviors by race and gender, Campbell (2010) concluded that African American female educational leaders are more likely to consistently display behaviors associated with transformational leadership. According to Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam (1996), transformational leaders

seek new ways of working, seek opportunities in the face of risk, prefer effective answers to efficient answers, and are less likely to support the status quo. Transformational leaders do not merely react to environmental circumstances—they attempt to shape and create them. (p. 7)

Seeking new ways of working and finding opportunity in the face of risk has been a powerful characteristic of African American female leaders. African American female educational leaders assumed leadership roles during critical reform periods in American history. These leaders provided not only a voice to articulate the need for education but also a call to bring about change in an unjust system.

Background of Education for African Americans

Education for African Americans has long been a concern in the United States. One important factor in the educational history of African Americans was slavery. Slavery in the United States began immediately after Virginia was colonized in 1607 and lasted over 250 years until the passage of the 13th Amendment of the Constitution in 1865. The institution of slavery had a devastating impact on African American society. One of the most significant ways in which slavery impacted African Americans was the fact that it denied them an equal education. According to Cunningham and Osborn (1973),

This was the time when the importation of slaves became common place. Teaching African Americans to read and write could be a life and death endeavor.

The threat of death for slaves and their masters who taught them was common. (p. 20)

Cunningham and Osborn further explain that “Patrols, mobs, and social ostracism faced owners who taught their slaves” (p. 20).

The institution of slavery not only affected African Americans; it nearly destroyed the union of the United States of America. As result of the North’s position against the institution of slavery, the southern states began to secede from the union, causing the United States to embark on a bloody and devastating Civil War from 1861-1865. During this period, Abraham Lincoln, the 13th president of the United States, signed one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the United States history: the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862. This monumental piece of legislation cost President Lincoln his life; President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865 after signing the Emancipation Proclamation. As a result of the Emancipation Proclamation the United States Constitution was amended, rendering slavery illegal. In spite of this, however, many systemic issues from slavery lingered. Many Whites still opposed the education of freed slaves, which they feared would cause freed slaves to enter into competition with Whites. Low (1962) chronicled one White man’s mindset in this way:

I oppose it (public education) because its policy is cruelty in the extreme to the Negro himself. It instills in his mind that he is competent to share in the higher walks of life, promotes him to despise those menial pursuits to which his race has been doomed, and invites him to enter into competition with the White man. (p. 38)

After the abolishment of slavery in 1865 the southern states enacted the legal institution known as the “Jim Crow Laws.” *Plessey v. Ferguson* was the law that established the principle of “separate but equal” throughout the South, denying African Americans equal access to educational institutions that their White counterparts attended

(Kousser, 1980). One of the key components of the Jim Crow Laws was the manner in which African Americans were given an education. The Jim Crow Laws mandated separate but equal policies for all public institutions, especially schools. The brutal Jim Crow Laws remained in place in the South from 1876-1953. Even though the segregation was the law in the South it also resulted in *de facto segregation* in the North. De facto segregation was segregation that was practiced but not necessarily ordained by law or in not established by the government. The landmark Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 declared that separate schools for African Americans were, in fact, *not equal* (Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954). Brown overturned the earlier rulings of *Plessey v. Ferguson* in 1896 that provided for separate public schools for African American and White children.

African American teacher training was another area that was sub-standard. African American teachers did not have the same materials, equipment, training facilities, exposure, and or access to information at the levels of White teachers (Diamond, 2006). W.E.B. DuBois believed that African American schools were highly inferior to White schools, aspiring to create equality by bridging the achievement gap through providing changes in schools for African American children (DuBois, 1935). One of his key arguments was the need for African American schools to obtain additional funding resources (Ploski & Williams, 1990).

When African Americans observed their inferior schools, facilities, textbooks, and overall educational opportunities, it was evident that separate was truly not equal (Dubois, 1911). Following the *Brown v. Board* decision, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 further abolished unequal laws related to the educational opportunities of African

American children and provided an extension of the equal access policy that *Brown v. Board* began (Bullock, 1967).

The institution of slavery, the Jim Crow Laws, and the Civil Rights Movement have all had a profound and lasting effect on American society, especially in relation to education, educational institutions, and educational systems for African Americans. The legal institutions of slavery and segregation marginalized African American students by denying them the equal opportunity to obtain a quality education. The education African Americans received was inherently inferior to that obtained by their White peers. After the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum, motivating people of all races to challenge discrimination in America (Bullock, 1967).

In the aftermath of such brutal institutions as slavery and segregation, the uplift of the African American related to education, family, and community weighed heavy on the hearts and shoulders of African American females. African American females have long played an essential role in African American education. Documented accounts dating as far back as slavery chronicle the influence and impact that women have made on the education of African Americans. Female slaves who navigated the brutality of this inhumane system and learned to read often led classes or schools in secret to teach other slaves to read and write (Wolfman, 1997). African American females played a pivotal role in the survival of their families, communities, and in educating African American children (Perkins, 1982). During this turbulent time in education reform, African American female educators began to move from the margins of obscurity to assume their roles as educational leaders (Collier-Thomas, 1982).

As a result of slavery and segregation, African American female educational leaders begin to emerge to embrace the mantle of educating other African Americans. Through the turbulent eras of Reconstruction and Segregation, and leading up to and beyond the Civil Rights era, African American female educational leaders ascended to the forefront and became outstanding educational leaders. African American female educational leaders displayed tremendous courage, unwavering tenacity, unyielding strength, unflinching perseverance, and creative innovation to establish educational institutions and impact educational systems through their leadership, making lasting contributions throughout the United States and beyond (McCluskey, 1997).

Reconstruction Era (1866-1877)

After the Civil War ended, life for African Americans changed forever, especially those living in the American South. Chaos and turmoil ensued with the abolishment of slavery. During the Reconstruction period, Whites as well as African Americans had to begin the re-building process. Major adjustments were made to facilitate change (Crosby, 1976). One area of change was in educating African Americans. As previously mentioned, many Whites were opposed to African Americans having an education, fearing that it would create problems due to increased “competition with the White man” (Lowe, 1962, p. 38).

Although many Whites initially opposed the education of African Americans, the idea slowly began to garner support. The first great program of education reform for African Americans was presented during the Reconstruction period to help freed slaves gain citizenship and freed status. Congress established the Freedman’s Bureau on March 3, 1865 (Crosby, 1976). The Freedman’s Bureau was established by the United States

federal government to aid freed slaves after the civil war with housing, food, employment and education.

By 1860, educational statistics were dismal for African Americans. Only 28 African Americans had earned degrees from colleges and universities. In 1866, 79 schools in the private sector were available for African Americans to attend. During the next 10 years African Americans education expanded to 1,075 public schools and over 120 private educational institutions for African Americans. 13 years after the first African American received a college degree, there were 314 African Americans with college or university degrees. By 1892 there was an increase in the number of degrees earned by African Americans to 3,700. In 1872, African Americans obtained two major accomplishments; Charlotte E. Ray became the first African American woman to earn a degree in law from Howard University, and Henry O. Flipper became the first African American to graduate from the prestigious United States Military Academy at West Point. In 1876, Edward A. Bouchett graduated from Yale University, becoming the first non-White to earn a Doctorate of Philosophy (Wesley, 1975).

“At end of the Civil War over 4,000,000 persons were freed as union armies penetrated the South, African-Americans looked to the federal government for help, refuge, and education” (Ploski & Williams, 1990, p. 725). President Abraham Lincoln was aware of the need to educate freed slaves. Additionally, Congress was concerned with the need to educate the freed slaves to allow them to use their freed status effectively. As a result of these concerns, Congress sought funding from philanthropists to educate freed slaves.

The denial of education for African Americans over the previous 6 decades caused African Americans to use money from philanthropists to expand their opportunities to gain an education. According to Dubois (1935), beyond philanthropic funds, significant efforts were created to establish a state-supported form of public education that would be accessible to all children. One philanthropist that provided funding to educate freed slaves was John F. Slater, a financier from Connecticut. John F. Slater donated one million dollars and established the Slater Fund for the sole purpose of uplifting “the emancipated population of the southern states and their prosperity” (John F. Slater Fund, 1915, p. 1). African Americans were educated using the classical New England liberal curriculum. Students in elementary schools received instruction in reading, spelling, writing, grammar, diction, history, geography, arithmetic, and music” (Butchart, 1980, p. 135). Additionally, the normal school provided for the elementary curriculum but also offered expanded courses such as psychology, geometry, and algebra. Normal schools also prepared high school students to prepare for the teaching profession. Many African Americans viewed the classical liberal curriculum as the best education to receive because it prepared them for higher education opportunities. (Morris, 1981; Rice, 1901).

However, most Whites deemed African Americans as a

homogenous mass of degraded people...rarely inclined to think in terms of a stratified Black society. Rather the tendency was to classify Blacks as either good Negroes or bad Negroes. Even when they considered Blacks to be exceptional they were considered inferior to Whites. (Gatewood, 1990, p. 7)

During the late nineteenth century this feeling of inferiority began to decline in aristocratic African American homes. Even though a person’s family tree and birthright was important, education became more important. African American parents instilled in

their children the value of and love for education and a sense of pride in their self worth (Langston, 1984). Although education was essential for the upper class African American, it was also vital for all people of color. During this period African Americans insisted on becoming literate. Illiteracy rates dropped over a 20-year period from 95% in 1860 to 70% in 1880. African Americans had both long and short-term goals related to education. The main short-term goal of schools during this period was to educate everyone in basic skills of literacy. The long-term goals included moral and intellectual development that would produce responsible leaders.

Such leaders emerged in the form of African American female educators, who were tasked with facing a nation at a crossroads. These leaders included Lucy Craft Laney, Margaret Murray Washington, Betsy Stockton, Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin, Hallie Quinn Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Charlotte Forten Grimke. These educators began to move from the margins of obscurity to the forefront of society in order to assume their roles as leaders. A. J. Cooper (1988) proclaimed, “Only the Black woman can say, ‘When and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me’” (p. 10). These leaders began to pioneer and head schools, start early childhood and kindergarten programs, become university deans, administrate co-educational institutions, write and disseminate curriculum, pioneer civic organizations, educate the uneducated, and inspire, motivate, and promote the uplift of an entire race.

Motivations and influences. Lucy Craft Laney, Margaret Murray Washington, Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin, Hallie Quinn Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Charlotte Forten Grimke as well as others shared common motivations and influences. One of the

most prevalent motivations and influences they shared was a strong belief in Christianity. Many scholars conclude that Christianity gave African American female leaders the strength and courage to blaze trails, endure extreme hardships, obtain support, overcome personal difficulties, and weather many financial challenges (Collier-Thomas, 1982; Perkins, 1982; Seller, 1994; Smith, 1982; Smith & West, 1982). Further, the White Christian community was essential in supporting these leaders' visions. The American Missionary Association and the Presbyterian Church were examples of the Christian support that influenced and motivated these leaders. Additionally, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) was a source of support, influence, and motivation for these leaders. An unwavering conviction in their religious beliefs was one of the essential motivating influences for these women to pursue the uplift of their race through education (Collier-Thomas, 1982).

Race and gender. During the end of the Reconstruction era, females were viewed as the moral guardians and defenders of the home. During this period, women became reformers and used the philosophy of the reform movement to argue that, in order to guard the home, women needed to move into the public arena where they could enforce their moral authority over issues like public sanitation and education, which ultimately affected the home. Women joined volunteer organizations by the masses to work for reform. Women conducted research, instituted programs, and campaigned for legislation to address educational, political, social, and economic problems. Additionally, African American women organized to combat racism and gender discrimination (Brooks, 1993).

Race and gender marginalization was also a common thread for Lucy Craft Laney, Margaret Murray Washington, Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin, Hallie Quinn

Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Charlotte Forten Grimke. As children of freed slaves, they shared the same views regarding traditional roles for women. Traditionally minded Whites as well as Blacks subscribed to the Reconstruction era perspective on roles for women, viewing them as primarily mothers and wives (Collier-Thomas, 1982; Perkins, 1982; Seller, 1994; Smith, 1982; Smith & West 1982). The *Journal of Negro Education*, devoting the entire issue to Black women in the summer of 1982, concluded:

it is important that we establish to some extent an historical context for understanding the very basic struggle in which Black women have been engaged to acquire an education and to utilize that education as a professional. Like many other areas of American life, education has not been free from racism and sexism. (Collier-Thomas, 1982, p. 174)

Unlike their White counterparts, African American women had no real status in the teaching profession at that time. These female educational leaders emerged during a time when race, as well as gender, were extreme obstacles.

From 1865 to 1900, educated Blacks interested in a career in Education, had several options. They could seek a position in urban public institutions which were mainly elementary and grammar; teach in the developing Black normal schools, colleges, institutes and industrial training schools; set up their own schools, or teach in the rural South. As diverse as these options appear, racism and sexism were factors in the determination of where Black males, and especially Black females, could work. (Collier-Thomas, 1982, p. 176)

Their perseverance to overcome racial and gender obstacles provides insight into their ability to adapt. Many of the leaders took on causes that addressed gender discrimination. They challenged the many conventional roles to which females were expected to conform. During a time when women were not afforded the same learning opportunities that their male counterparts were, these leaders paved the way for nontraditional courses in the non-industrial arts such as math, science, and foreign languages. These African American female leaders established schools and homes to educate and house other

women. They began to organize politically around the women's suffrage movement and began to fight against race and gender discrimination. Additionally, during this period the founders of the "Women's Club Movement" began to organize. Due to women's lack of participation in government and workplace women across the United States began to organize in church and community groups to address the concerns that affect women. Women's Clubs were established to positively effect social change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a result of the Women's Club Movement, female leaders at the grassroots level birthed a feminist movement with education at its nucleus. Many educational as well as community and civic organizations emerged. It was through the leadership of African American female educators that a new generation of African American females began to be formed. The daughters of former slaves were able to overcome extreme gender and racial discrimination by drawing on their faith in God and their deep devotion to uplifting their race (Collier-Thomas, 1982; Perkins, 1982; Seller, 1994; Smith, 1982)

Leadership characteristics. During one of America's most turbulent times, African American female educational leaders moved from marginalization and obscurity and assumed roles as leaders. Lucy Craft Laney, Margaret Murray Washington, Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin, Hallie Quinn Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Charlotte Forten Grimke, as well as others, displayed powerful leadership traits that impacted a nation. They demonstrated tenacity, courage, resilience, commitment, and dedication to lead during a time of deep division, racial discrimination, and gender bias in America. These leaders displayed transformational leadership during a period of major reform.

Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964), born a slave, was a teacher, high school principal, historian, scholar, and college president (Cooper,1988). She is known as a transformational feminist. She has the distinction of being the first African-American female to write a feminist book-length Black treatise—*A Voice from the South, by a Black Woman of the South* (1892/1988). Cooper displayed leadership by challenging gender bias as a child when she pushed to receive instruction in Greek like her male counterparts. She refused a high paying teaching position at St. Augustine, a college in her hometown of Raleigh, North Carolina, because she was assigned female students only. Instead, she took less pay to teach at Wilberforce College in Xenia, Ohio. Cooper became the principal of M Street School in Washington, D.C. in 1901. Under her leadership, the school soared. She was the first principal to obtain accreditation status for the school. She also led the school in obtaining admissions for her students to attend such prestigious schools such as Yale, Harvard, and Brown. Cooper found herself in the middle of the debate between the two schools of thought for African American education, which were espoused by Booker T. Washington and W.E. B. DuBois. Washington believed that African Americans should obtain an industrial education (working with their hands and land) and DuBois believed that African Americans should obtain a classical education (foreign languages, leadership, advanced mathematics) like their White counterparts. Cooper firmly sat in the camp of DuBois, which angered many in the Washington, D.C. educational establishment. As a result, she was fired. She later returned 4 years later to teach Latin. Cooper's completion of her dissertation at Columbia University was interrupted by the death of her brother, after which she adopted her brother's five children. In 1924, after enrolling her brother's children in boarding school,

she left for Paris and completed her PhD. She led the battle against discrimination by help establishing the first colored YWCA and YMCA (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004; Seller, 1994).

Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin (1837-1913) was born into slavery but obtained her freedom at the cost of \$125. Fannie became one of the most influential African American educators of her time. Little is known about her upbringing; her autobiography, *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching* (Coppin, 1913/1995), only mentions her mother once and does not mention her father at all. She was one of the first African Americans to graduate from college. Fannie was driven by her deep religious conviction that she could help her race through education. Therefore, as a teenager, Coppin pledged “to get an education and to teach my people” (Perkins, 1982, p. 181). Coppin was the leader of one of the most prestigious Black educational institutions in America: the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia. As the principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia she blazed trails by becoming one of the first women to lead a coeducational institution. Through her leadership she transformed the school and recruited students nationally as well as internationally. Coppin also worked for women’s rights throughout her career. Coppin opened a home for women, offering courses in nurse training. She also advocated for the poor and elderly. Her philosophy and motto was Heed life’s demands. As a leader she taught this philosophy to her students as well as the Black community of Philadelphia. Firmly believing in individuals’ ability to aid themselves, Coppin lectured frequently on “The Power of Ourselves to Help Ourselves” (Perkins, 1982, p. 188).

Lucy Craft Laney (1854-1933) was the founder of the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute. She received national acclaim for her leadership during the Reconstruction period, one of the most difficult reform eras in American history. Laney emerged as a leader who took on the complex challenges of racism, education, employment, health, and institution building. Born a daughter of a slave, her father bought and paid for his own freedom. “Absent specific reflections by Lucy Craft Laney, we can assume there were significant legacies from her parents. Laney benefited from her parents’ resourcefulness, their stamina, their intellect, and their ability to negotiate issues of race” (Seller, 1994, p. 279). Laney held both local and national influence. She was a successful fundraiser in the North and promoted racial uplift through education on a national level. Laney promoted leadership in her school; during her school’s growth, she established an academy of leadership for talented African American youth, and nurtured development, organization, and other leadership skills in her faculty such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Mary McCrorey Jackson. When she died, thousands attended her funeral and was named by Governor Jimmy Carter as one of Georgia’s first outstanding Negroes. Laney was a leader in interracial relations and a powerful role model for her contemporaries (Seller, 1994).

Charlotte Forten Grimeke (1837-1914) served as secretary of the Teacher committee of the New England Branch of the Freedman’s Union Commission in Boston. She was a pioneer in education as a teacher at a time when teaching had been newly open to African American females as a profession. An author and educator noted for her *diaries* chronicling African American female experiences during and after the Civil War, Grimeke traveled to the Union-controlled Sea Islands of South Carolina to educate

former slaves that were left behind by their masters. Under the auspices of the Port Royal Relief Society she was the first African American teacher on St. Helena Island. Charlotte was an activist in race discrimination issues such as lynching. According to Gates and Higginbotham (2004), “Charlotte decided to teach and to devote her skills to elevate the race” (p. 362).

Margaret Murray Washington (1865-1925) was an educator and community activist. She began her career as an English instructor at Tuskegee Institute. In one year she rose into leadership as the lady principal and director of the Department of Domestic Services. She married Booker T. Washington, the school’s founder, after he took note of her leadership skills. Washington also had a passion for community building. Along with 12 other women, she organized the Tuskegee Women’s Club, which founded a school on the plantation of Elizabeth Russell in Macon County. The school taught children as well as adults basic reading, writing, and math, and instructed woman in housekeeping, childcare, and sewing. Men were taught reading in seminars, which helped many African American tenant farmers purchase their own farms. Washington further displayed her leadership by organizing the Alabama Federation of Colored Women’s Club, assisting with the building of a center for troubled youths, a nursing home for the elderly and indigent, and libraries for Black Alabamians. Additionally, Washington led the effort to raise funds for the Red Cross in the Black community. She also established the first YWCA in Alabama. Washington was a pioneer leader in the African American Women’s Club Movement. She displayed leadership nationally and internationally to fight, racism, sexism, imperialism, and global poverty (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Hallie Quinn Brown (1845-1949) was an elocutionist, educator, women's and civil rights leader, and writer. Both Brown's parents became active in the Underground Railroad, which likely had a great impact on Brown's life. Hallie began to show a talent for public speaking and performance at a young age. Brown and her youngest brother enrolled in Wilberforce University, an AME Liberal Arts school, and the first 4-year college owned and operated by African Americans in the United States. After graduation Brown moved to the South, beginning a lifelong dedication to education, disenfranchised women, and African Americans. For over a decade Brown taught children as well as adults that had been denied an education due to slavery how to read. Brown served as dean of Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina: the first Black College in South Carolina. Brown displayed leadership when she left South Carolina to return to Ohio to teach migrant African American workers in the Daytona public schools at night. She then served at Tuskegee as lady principal, or dean of women, under Booker T. Washington. After this, she returned to her alma mater, Wilberforce University, serving as an English and elocution professor, fundraiser, and trustee. She took a 5-year suspension from the classroom to travel abroad where she led on issues of African American culture, temperance, and women suffrage. She often was invited to perform and dine with the royal family, including Queen Victoria, King George, and the Prince of Wales. She was a prolific elocutionist, and her leadership and organization of the women's community expanded her influence nationally. Brown served her alma mater until her death at the age of 99 (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

Lucy Craft Laney, Margaret Murray Washington, Fannie Marion Jackson Coppin, Hallie Quinn Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Charlotte Forten Grimke emerged as

African American female educational leaders during a pivotal time in American history. These leaders overcame difficult obstacles of race and gender discrimination to become some of the most influential educational leaders of their time. They were influenced and motivated by their deep belief in God. They all felt a responsibility to help uplift their race. In so doing, these ordinary women became extraordinary leaders. They built educational and community institutions, overcame sexism and racism, educated the uneducated, housed the homeless, fought and stood for dignity, organized political activism clubs, spoke publicly addressing the issues of their day, and moved the masses. These transformational leaders took on the status quo, inspired others, and uplifted a people. They blazed a fiery trail for those who would come after them (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004; Perkins, 1982; Seller, 1994).

The Segregation Era (1877-1953)

The Segregation period was marked by the Jim Crow “separate but equal” educational policies. When African Americans considered their inferior schools, educational materials, and facilities, they became profoundly aware that separate was not equal. “In spite of the inequalities in educational opportunities, this was a period when African Americans made accelerated progress in educational attainment and proficiency” (Crosby, 1976, p. 215). In fact, this era witnessed an expansion of African American college graduates, most of whom were women (Barringer, 1901; Neverdon-Morton, 1989). With this expansion more women sought to become decision-makers and assume leadership roles. They began to seek other opportunities than working in the fields and cooking in White women’s kitchens. One of the concerns of these educated women was childcare and education for their children. “The colored women’s clubs often came to the

rescue of the Black woman with kindergarten, nursery, and day care centers” (Lerner, 1974, p. 159).

As the opportunities for African Americans began to increase, the debate between educational philosophies continued, and W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington’s perspectives began to take the forefront in African American society. An industrial education versus a liberal arts education was at the nucleus of the debate (Bennett, 1967; Brawley, 1931). W. E. B. DuBois (educated at Harvard and Fisk Universities) promoted higher-level liberal arts education for the so-called “talented tenth” of the African American population, whereas Booker T. Washington, founder and principal of the Tuskegee Institute, advocated for an industrial approach to education reform (DuBois, 1911; B. Washington, 1909). Henry Lee Moon (1972) noted that DuBois believed in Pan Africanism.

As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. Pan-Africanism as an ethical system traces its origins from ancient times and promotes values that are the product of the African civilization and its struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. (Moon, 1972, p. 41)

DuBois’s educational philosophy set forth a strong academic foundation based on the “three Rs,” emphasizing that during the first four years of school students should learn reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. DuBois’s concepts inspired hope among African American students. If a student was not successful in academic subjects he/she was taught vocational education. Additionally, Spanish and French, the languages of several African nations, were presented to every student.

In contrast, Washington’s approach to educational reform was directed to industrial training. He wanted to see men and women accumulate property and become respected

members of society. Washington believed that the hand, heart, and head should receive an education through working in agriculture (B. Washington, 1898). Washington's philosophy gained the support of many Whites, who supported the notion that education would allow African Americans into one area of society while advancing the nation as a whole. Washington developed his educational philosophy based on the beliefs of General Samuel C. Armstrong (1908), who argued that labor should be a symbol of respect for African American youth and not only a symbol of respect but also a way of being. In many Southern states many Negroes supported Washington's philosophy but there was a great deal of controversy in the African American community regarding which philosophy should dominate African American education (Armstrong, 1908; Hornsby, 1962).

Confronted by Washington and DuBois's philosophies, White Americans continued to engage in racial segregation. Many did so because they adopted Washington's industrial educational approach for African Americans. Most African Americans did not agree with Washington's educational concepts. They were convinced that to become a good teacher or leader one needed to have a good classical education. During the Segregation Era African Americans spent a lot of energy and time seeking opportunities to obtain a public education for themselves and their children. DuBois wrote, "Public education for all at expense was, in the South, a Negro idea" (DuBois, 1935, p. 641).

By 1915, efforts to raise funds for African American institutions were organized and consolidated, but keeping schools open still proved difficult. World War I caused the country's focus to be diverted from the problem of Negro education to the war

(McMillan, 1986). After World War I, schools that had an industrial emphasis continued to raise money from northern White philanthropists, but they unfortunately received disappointing results. As a result, educational inequality persisted. For example, \$23.76 was spent on education for each White child, while only \$2.91 was spent educating an African American child (Neverdon-Morton, 1989).

In the early 1900s African Americans began to see progress in education once again. There was an increase in children enrolled in public elementary schools (Blöse & Caliver, 1936). To obtain the best education many African Americans moved to Washington, D.C. in search of not only an education but also cultural opportunities. There was a continuous growth of African Americans migrating to Washington, D.C. during the early 1900s (Montgomery, 1907). Kindergarten was also added to public schools during this period. This proved to be a monumental development in educational reform because “it began the development of children at a most critical period in their lives” (Montgomery, 1907, p. 48).

From the 1920s through the 1930s African American newspapers began to report on the progress and accomplishments of the Negro Education Movement. In 1921 newspapers reported that six women – Sadie T. M. Alexander, Era B. Dyes, and Georgiana Simpson – became the first African American females to earn doctoral degrees (Hill, 1991). During the period of World War I and World War II significant African American educational reform efforts took place, including:

1. Enrollment increases in both actual and relative size.
2. New curriculum provided in elementary and secondary schools.
3. A profound increase in African American public high schools.

4. Research was conducted independently on Negro Education.
5. More Black colleges became accredited and were added to the list.
6. State supported land grants exceeded the private Negro College in the area of enrollment and monetary support.
7. The United Negro College Fund was initiated.
8. Studies that examined the discrepancies between White and Negro education were published.
9. Equality for Negro teachers and students was pursued. (Crosby, 1976, pp. 217-218)

During this period of reform African Americans began to prosper and aristocratic African Americans began to separate themselves from the majority of other African Americans. In the nation's capital, an exclusive club consisting of 32 college graduates called the Graduate Club was established. The club's main objective was to debate the social plight of the African American, specifically the Negro problem. It was this group's hope that one day African Americans would gain respect and equality (Gatewood, 1990; Montgomery, 1907).

African American female educators were an important aspect of the elimination of illiteracy within the African American community. Due to their contributions to society, teachers became the subject of both praise and scorn, and respect and mocking. Although they were faced with tremendous obstacles, through the late 1800s and the early 1900s African American female educators contributed to the uplift of the African American race more than any other event or factor (Hornsby, 1962). These female educators began to advocate for African American children, providing a catalyst for

change. Septima Poinsette Clark, Lucy Diggs Slowe, Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown, Mary Church Terrell, as well as others, assumed their mantles as transformational leaders during this era.

Motivations and influences. During the Segregation Era Septima Pointsette Clark, Lucy Diggs Slowe, Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown, and Mary Church Terrell were motivated to uplift their race and influenced by religious and educational forerunners and contemporaries. Septima Clark (as cited in Seller, 1994) stated:

So, as I look back more than four decades to my experiences as a teen-age teacher, I realize that it was the Johns Island folk who, if they did not set me on my course, surely did confirm me in a course I had dreamed of taking even as a child, that of teaching and particularly teaching the poor and underprivileged of my own underprivileged race. (p 143.)

These leaders' strong belief in Christianity and desire to help their race continued to be at the forefront of their motivation and influence. Religious organizations as well as White supporters of African American educational reform supported their efforts. Additionally, obtaining political power through organization of the Women's Club Movement was also a motivation and influence for this generation of educational leaders (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004; Seller, 1994).

Gender and race obstacles. Race and gender discrimination continued to be major obstacles for African American female leaders during the Segregation Era. Society scorned many African American women who pursued professional careers. Women had to overcome race and gender bias by organizing for change. During the Segregation Era, volunteer women's clubs moved their focus to the betterment of their communities and political advancement. They lobbied for safe food and drug laws, better labor laws for

women and children, and reform in their communities. The National Association of Colored Women (NACW), organized in Washington, D.C. in 1896 by Mary McLeod Bethune, made great strides in establishing public libraries, kindergartens, playgrounds, and parks. During 1920s the Women's Club Movement exploded. The NACW grew rapidly between 1924 and 1927; its membership rose from 100,000 to 250,000 during this time (Brooks, 1993).

The Women's Club Movement was also a source of change in African American education, and it began to take up the cause to raise money for schools that educated African Americans. As a result of these fundraising activities, African American schools began to be organized all over the South from 1900-1915. One significant benefactor was Anna T. Jeanes, a White philanthropist Quaker, who made an initial gift to Negro education in 1905. Jeanes donated \$200,000 "for the assistance of Negro rural schools in the South" (Brooks, 1993, p. 30), and \$10,000 each to Hampton Institute and Tuskegee college. In 1900 she gave a deed of trust to a board of trustees for a \$1,000,000 endowment fund to help small country schools for Negroes. Anna Jeanes continued to make contributions to Negro education for several years (Brooks, 1993).

Even though African American females were gaining ground in pursuing the uplift of their race they continued to face obstacles. Black teachers found it very difficult to obtain education positions in Black public schools as many schools only employed White teachers. When a White teacher was removed most often he or she was replaced by a male teacher. Furthermore,

As late as 1920 some states legally restricted married women from teaching in public schools. Many Black institutions of higher learning had White presidents, a large proportion of White male and female professors, some Black male

professors, and a minute amount of Black female professors. (Collier-Thomas, 1982, p. 175)

Leadership characteristics. During the Segregation Era African American female educational leaders continued to emerge. These leaders were transformational in their approach to educational reform. One common characteristic of transformational leadership they possessed was the fact that they moved people from lower levels to higher levels of progress directed towards outcomes (Yukl, 1989). Clark, Slowe, Bethune, Burroughs, Brown, and Terrell demonstrated leadership characteristics of deep commitment, dedication, sacrifice, courage, tenacity, and resilience to uplift their race through education.

Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown (1883-1961) was born in Henderson, North Carolina. Brown's influence was phenomenal. For example, Seller (1994) contends, "As a representative of the Black woman personified, her accomplishments would be a definitive refutation of racism and would demand for all Black women the full respect which they deserve as human beings" (p. 205).

Brown "accepted an appointment as a teacher of a small American Missionary Association" (Smith, 1982, p. 192). Brown was the leader of Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI), a grammar and high school, and rose upwards of \$1 million from wealthy White friends in both the North and South to finance the development of PMI. In 1922, Brown married Edward S. Brown, a graduate of Harvard who had rented rooms with her mother in Cambridge. The marriage ended after a year. A second marriage in 1923 also failed, and Brown was known throughout her professional career as Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. In addition to her work as an educator, Brown became active in interracial meetings, women's club work, and efforts for racial advancement. She was a skilled and

powerful public speaker, and was in such great demand that she delivered hundreds of addresses at colleges, interracial meetings, churches, and women's organizations. Under her leadership, PMI evolved from a grammar and high school to a junior college. The first junior college class graduated in 1934. During Brown's life, over 1,000 graduates went forth from PMI having been impressed with the idea of their own individual worth and the idea that acceptance by other people depended upon their being educationally efficient, religiously sincere, and culturally secure. There is no doubt that Brown left a lengthy shadow of influence not only in terms of her impact on individual students, but also in terms of what they accomplished because of what they gained from her. There is evidence that Brown's initial conservative racial strategy prior to the 1920s was not only modeled after Washington, but also in fact demanded by some northern supporters as the price of continued financial support for PMI. Brown chose to work primarily with women of both races as the sphere of her racial leadership. By virtue of her background, especially her acceptance by upper class White women in New England, she felt that she had achieved a degree of self-confidence that was lacking among southern Black women. Her leadership among women was expressed organizationally through such groups as the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Council of Colored Women, and the International Council for Women of the Darker Races. To allay the fears of White women, Brown insisted that the "Negro woman wants everything—education, power, influence—in fact everything that the White woman wants but her White husband" (p. 202). Brown called upon Black women to avoid imitating White women but rather to "hark back to those sturdy virtues that laid the foundation on which the finer things of the American people were founded" (p. 203).

Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954) was a political activist, educator, writer, school board member, international speaker, and founder of a wide range of educational institutions. Born in the year of the Emancipation Proclamation and dying just after the Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, Terrell confronted the dual realities of racial segregation and gender subordination with a variety of educational strategies. She became a national and international leader of social and educational activism and reform. Both of her parents were former slaves but grew to prominence in Memphis, Tennessee. They owned small successful businesses and they gave their children opportunities that a small number of African American children experienced during this era. In 1884 Mary received her bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in Ohio. She began her career as an educator at Wilberforce University, a Black university in Washington, D.C. She studied abroad for 2 years in Europe and earned her master's degree from Oberlin in 1888. Terrell married Robert Heberton Terrell, an attorney. Robert became the first Black municipal court judge in the nation's capital (Seller, 1994).

Terrell assumed the role of leadership as an advocate of women's rights. Terrell was active in the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She focused on the needs of Black women. She became the first president of the NACW, which, under her leadership, labored to achieve social and educational reforms. In 1885 Terrell was the first Black woman appointed to the District of Columbia Board of Education. At the recommendation of W.E.B. DuBois, Terrell was made a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Terrell garnered acceptance in the Washington chapter of the American Association of University Women

in 1849, forcing them to a dissolve its discrimination policy of excluding Blacks. A prolific orator, exceptional political organizer, and outstanding writer, Terrell committed her life to a wide range of concerns and issues including the Jim Crow Laws and lynching. Terrell's last crusade as an advocate was to lead a successful struggle for 3 years to abolish segregation in public eating-places and hotels in Washington, D.C. (Seller, 1994).

Septima Poinsette Clark's (1898-1987) involvement in American education began in 1916 on St. John's Island, South Carolina. She then held teaching positions in Charleston, South Carolina; McClellanville, South Carolina; the mountains of North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; and Monteagle, Tennessee. During the civil rights movement in the 1960s she organized Citizenship Schools for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Clark's role as a teacher and political activist spanned over 40 years of momentous change in American educational, social, and political life. Her background and role as a Black educator provide insight into American education as a whole, as well as for Black Americans in particular. She made a significant contribution to and difference in the lives of her students and the communities where she taught because she was convinced that education without political power would not liberate Blacks (Seller, 1994).

Lucy Diggs Slowe (1885-1937) served as Dean of Women at Howard University from 1922 until her death in 1937 and developed a student life program for women that were ahead of its time. In an era when upper middle-class Black women were urged to play the role of traditional homemakers, Slowe emphasized the need for women to be prepared for the job market and be responsible, active citizens. While still an

undergraduate at Howard University in 1908, Slowe became one of the original founders of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, the first sorority for Black college women, and served as its president. Also a tennis champion, Slowe won the national title of the American Tennis Association's first tournament in 1917, and became the first African-American woman to win a major sports title. During the later part of her life she helped begin the National Association of College Women and founded the Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in colored schools. Although she is best known for her role in founding Alpha Kappa Alpha, Slowe deserves to be better known for her other accomplishments, largely through her role as Dean of Women at Howard University from 1922 until her death in 1937. Slowe was a leader in “formulating a vision of the role of Black college women that went far beyond the heavy gender stereotyping of her day” (Seller, 1994, p. 446).

Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879-1961) was the founder of the National Training Schools for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C., and one of the leading Baptist women organizers, clubwomen, and social feminists of her generation. An inspiring orator and forceful personality, she can be compared with other Black women founders of educational institutions, such as Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Lucy Craft Laney. Although she was called the female Booker T. Washington by many of her contemporaries, she was far more militant on racial issues than Washington. Her outspoken feminism anticipated many of the arguments against male chauvinism that appeared during the 1960s and 1970s. To her biographer, Dr. Earl L. Harrison (as cited in Seller, 1994), Burroughs was “brilliant” and “stubborn,” but could also be “gentle,” as long as she was not “rubbed the wrong way” (p. 70).

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955) founded Bethune-Cookman College, worked as head of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, and created a coalition of African-American Women's Clubs, the National Council of Negro Women, with over 800,000 members. She worked for social justice throughout her life, focusing primarily on improving the lives of African American women and children. Bethune was loved and respected by the entire country, and her influence was unrivaled. In 1904, Bethune pioneered the Normal and Industrial School for Young Women in Daytona Beach, Florida. After merging with a boy's school, the school was renamed Bethune-Cookman College in 1923. Bethune remained president of the college until 1942 (Berry, 1982). While living in Washington, D.C. during the New Deal era, Bethune forged a coalition of African Americans who worked in the government advising President Roosevelt of the group's conclusions. Her final public act was to serve as Official Representative of American Negroes to the meeting that created the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Bethune called upon her religious convictions to further her life's goals. She also worked to preserve the historical record of her own accomplishments and those of other African Americans. While she might be remembered as a politician or administrator, it is essential to understand Bethune's contributions to education in order to grasp both her work and how she perceived herself. As an educator, Bethune was not primarily a classroom teacher or a theorist, although she both taught and theorized. Instead, she used her status as a public figure to educate the American people about issues of race, racism, poverty, education, and women's rights (Seller, 1994).

Bethune was a renowned educator and leader. Four presidents – Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman – recognized her educational reform and leadership. Bethune was the first African American female to head a federal agency; she was appointed to the National Youth Administration’s advisory board and later headed its Office of Affairs. During her lifetime Bethune received numerous awards and recognitions (Berry, 1982). One of Bethune’s favorite statements was “The drums of Africa beat in my heart. I cannot rest while there is a single Negro boy or girl lacking a chance to prove his/her worth” (p. 288).

As African Americans gained prominence, cries for equality from Blacks as well as Whites began to give voice. Thurgood Marshall, a strong opponent of segregation, began to demand justice in the educational system. Marshall, along with a team of litigators, initiated court cases in Kansas, Virginia, South Carolina, and Delaware. These cases eventually reached the United States Supreme Court under the name of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (Mann, 1982). *Brown v. Board of Education* set the stage for the next era in African American female leaders’ educational reform: the Equal Opportunity Period.

The Equal Opportunity Era (1954-present)

The Equal Opportunity Period in America’s educational history is still being written and experienced. When the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* exploded on the national scene education would never be the same. The Equal Opportunity Era has roots in the Civil Rights Movement. This era of progressive reform caused turmoil in American society and education. During this period, the median years of education for African American females was 8.1 years (Berry, 1982). It can also be

viewed as a time for litigation, confrontation, and the search for “full participation in the American Dream” (Crosby, 1976, p. 218). During this period, African Americans began to rise up and demand equal rights. The NAACP challenged the constitutionality of segregation in 1910. The purpose of the NAACP was to make life better for the 11 million African Americans that lived in the United States during this period. The NAACP worked hard to make African Americans “physically free from disenfranchisement, and socially free from insult” (White, 1985, p. 48).

In 1915, the NAACP accomplished its first judicial victory. This victory was in the United States Supreme Court against the State of Oklahoma for using the grandfather clause to deny African Americans the right to vote. Even though this was considered a tremendous triumph, the NAACP’s greatest victory came on May 17, 1954. On that date, segregation was outlawed in public education (Wesley, 1975; White, 1985). The opinion written by the United States Supreme Court forever changed education for African Americans:

To separate [Black children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generate a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 1954)

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in this landmark case not only changed the South, but also changed the nation. Many of the rights that were a part of the Reconstruction Period were reclaimed. African Americans began to demand their constitutional rights in all sectors of American society. “Through litigation, Blacks helped the entire country to remember that they too, lived within the organic framework of the American democratic heritage” (Crosby, 1976, p. 218).

After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, African Americans continued to voice the importance of obtaining an education. Families began to make tremendous sacrifices to provide their children with an education. The battle cry of “get an education” was the voice that would ultimately lead African Americans to success (Crosby, 1976, p. 229).

Even though segregation was ruled unconstitutional, however, many Southern states enforced laws to protect segregation. African American children were not welcomed in White schools. There also continued to be a discrepancy in money spent on public education for African American children versus White children (Frazier, 1970). In many places integration met with resistance from sit-ins, marches, demonstrations, and boycotts by Whites. All over the nation African Americans began to demonstrate against the terrible conditions in their schools, demanding their right to attend integrated schools (Frazier, 1970; Ploski & Williams, 1990). Often times they had to endure violent attacks as they pursued their right to obtain an education. Many young children had bricks and bottles thrown at them, but they remained courageous and continued to enter integrated schools. The integration of schools set the stage for the demonstrations of the 1960s. Education reform gave African Americans the courage to demonstrate against: (a) not being permitted to sit at segregated lunch counters, (b) being forced to sit at the back of the bus, and (c) the denial of their right to vote (Lewis, 1964).

During this turbulent period Southern states used the National Guard to prohibit students from entering some White high schools. Prior to the school integration mandates the Guard was state controlled. On September 3, 1957, the nation witnessed this opposition to school integration. Governor Faubus of Arkansas used all of his authority

to block nine students from entering Central High School in Memphis, Tennessee. This event prompted President Eisenhower to nationalize the Guard and send in paratroopers to keep the peace (Newby & Tyack, 1971).

By 1958-1959, many counties in the south were threatening to close down their public schools. It was not until 5 years after the *Brown* decision that Southern schools began to change their attitude, allowing more African Americans to attend White schools. Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina continued to have segregated schools during the 1962-63 school year. During the 1963-64 school year, however, Alabama and South Carolina heeded educational reform and integrated their schools. Mississippi was the last school to provide equal opportunities for its public school children in 1965. (Frazier, 1970). 15 years after the *Brown* decision, a federal study revealed that almost 80% of African American children were still attending all-Black schools, reflecting the de facto segregation extant in the nation (Wesley, 1975).

Even though there continued to be discrimination in education for African American children during the 1960s, many reforms took place. Legislation was passed that funded Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These pieces of legislation made it unlawful to discriminate in allocating federal funds for educational projects (Ploski & Williams, 1990).

During the 1970s, the Carter Administration tried to reform education for African Americans through busing and affirmative action. Affirmative action is a procedure that allows colleges and universities to take in consideration some of the environmental factors that may be contributing to lower test scores and grades when considering college admittance for minority students. Whites pushed back on both issues, especially the issue

of mandatory busing, and became violent in their efforts to keep students from being bused. In March 1972, before a busing protest rally took place, sticks of dynamite were thrown in school buses to protest this controversial form of integration. Even though mandatory busing was not successful, many local school boards provided individual integration opportunities. President Carter continued to make inroads in increasing educational opportunities for African Americans through affirmative action. Affirmative action continues to be controversial, and many colleges and universities have done away with the practice. Carter also established the U.S. Department of Education and voiced his support for integration (Ploski & Williams, 1990).

Carter's accomplishments were quickly reversed during presidency of Ronald Reagan, who did not continue the expansion of African Americans' educational rights. Furthermore, he abandoned the notion of affirmative action. President Reagan called for states to be responsible for their own integration efforts and drew back funding from educational reforms for African Americans (Ploski & Williams, 1990). With Reagan doing little for education in general, George H. W. Bush declared in his presidential campaign that he would be the education President. According to the Children's Defense Fund (1990), in spite of this promise, Bush did little for education in general. This meant that a significant number of African American and Hispanic children were not given the lifeboat they needed to navigate them out of poverty: a good education.

During the 1990s the Clinton-Gore Administration revitalized education reform for minorities. Some of President Clinton's reforms included:

1. Parents must take the responsibility to empower and inspire their children to begin school ready and equipped to learn.

2. Funds must be given for Head Start Centers.
3. College tuition funding must be provided to low-income students.
4. The Job Corps must be expanded.
5. Over two million additional summer jobs must be made available for minority youths.
6. Women Infant and Children (WIC) and early childhood education must be fully funded.
7. One-Stop Career Centers that provide skills for adults seeking employment must be funded. (Clinton & Gore, 1992)

The Clinton-Gore administration increased educational opportunities for African American children. Clinton's affirmative action policies were designed to keep his constituents at the forefront of his agenda (Clinton & Gore, 1992). Clinton's strategy was "to invest in people at every stage of their lives" (p. 85).

As the century and millennium changed, so did education reform for African Americans. President George Walker Bush instituted a highly controversial educational reform designed to ensure that minority children receive a high quality education. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) became the law of the land in reference to educational reform. Even though many educational experts deemed this act an un-funded mandate by the federal government, it brought attention to the issue of educational inequalities among children of color. Since its enactment, Congress increased federal funding of education from \$42.2 billion in 2001 to \$54.4 billion in 2007. NCLB received a 40.4% increase from \$17.4 billion in 2001 to \$24.4 billion in 2007. The funding for reading education quadrupled from \$286 million in 2001 to \$1.2 billion in 2007 (U.S.

Department of Education, 2009). Currently, NCLB continues to be a source of controversy. NCLB requires mandatory annual statewide standardized tests for all students. Low-income schools that receive Title I funding must also make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) on annual test scores. The key provisions of NCLB are: (a) annual statewide testing, (b) intervention in persistently low performing schools, and (c) policing teacher quality. Some believe that due to its comprehensive approach, NCLB is the most ambitious K-12 education reform act in American history (Ravitch & Chubb, 2009).

Currently, in 2010, a new presidential administration has taken the reins. President Barack Obama – America’s first African American –has made education a priority for his presidency. His administration has chosen to focus on school choice through educational reforms such as the charter school movement. The Obama administration has funded \$4.5 billion to states under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, also known as “Race to the Top.” His administration has also taken on the powerful teachers’ unions to address controversial issues of tenure and merit pay. Currently, tenure is the primary tool for teacher evaluation. Tenure or the amount of time a teacher has been teaching determines his/her priority in terms of layoffs and classroom assignments. According to many of the current leaders of education reform, current tenure policies leave new teachers at a strong disadvantage. The current debate is whether the younger teaching force that many deem more energetic and committed should be let go first simply because they have less time working in the profession. Many in the current education reform movement believe that outcomes regarding student academic achievement should weigh heavily in the evaluation process, not how many years a teacher has been in the

profession. The controversial issue of merit pay for teachers has also sparked a national debate. Merit pay attaches monetary incentives to moving low performing students towards proficiency in rural and urban communities. Further, the movie documentary *Waiting for Superman*, released in September 2010, ignited a firestorm of debate regarding what educational reform and leadership should look like, especially in urban and rural schools that have been nicknamed *dropout factories*. School choice and educational leaders in African American communities are at the center of this debate. Again in America's history African American female educators are poised to be transformational leaders that can bring about positive reform (Campbell, 2010).

The Equal Opportunity Era spans a period of over 50 years. During the past 50 years many changes have occurred in African American female educational leadership. During the Equal Opportunity Era female leaders have had greater access to resources and educational positions than ever before in American history. However, in spite of the many positive strides that have been made, great challenges requiring effective leadership still remain for the African American community (Campbell, 2010). Who are the contemporary African American educational female leaders? How have greater equality, access, and resources impacted African American female educational leadership? What are their motivations and influences, race and gender obstacles, and leadership characteristics? Sadie and Bessie Delany, Johnnetta Cole, Marva Collins, Lorraine Monroe, and Oprah Winfrey, as well as others, are transformational leaders in the Equal Opportunity Era at the forefront of educational reform.

Motivations and influences. Many motivations and influences are prevalent in this diverse group of contemporary African American female educators. Even though religion

played a factor in these leaders' lives, the research does not demonstrate an overarching motivation and/or influence by religion. Support from family and friends influenced Sadie and Bessie Delany, Johnnetta Cole, Marva Collins, Lorraine Monroe, and Oprah Winfrey to assume their roles as leaders. Leaders who endured the Jim Crow Laws also expressed the motivation and influence of overcoming racial discrimination and racist attitudes. Additionally, these leaders had a sense of their place in history. They became increasingly aware that they were carrying their race upon their shoulders. They were cognizant of their status and how it affected not only their lives but also White America's perception of the entire African American race (Brooks, 1993).

Race and gender. Over the past 50 years African American female educators have increased dramatically in positions as elementary, high school teachers, and principals in Black and minority schools. African American females are receiving degrees and credentials in the field of education that surpass the achievements of their Black male counterparts. Even though there are more professionally prepared Black female educators than ever before in American history, the research continues to show a divide for African American female educators in relationship to White males, White females, and African American males in the area of leadership such as superintendents, school board members, and college and university professors (Collier-Thomas, 1982).

In the past the Women's Club Movement was an important vehicle for organizing Black and White women around local and national issues of race and sex discrimination. Historically, women organized together to overcome obstacles to bring about change. Even though African American female educational leaders have made great strides, current research shows that race and gender are still obstacles for African American

female educational leaders (Perkins, 1982). Many of the national women's organizations still exist, but they are not as active today as they were in the past. Could a resurgence of the Women's Club Movement in the African American community be a catalyst for positive change in the field of educational leadership in the new millennium?

Leadership characteristics. Sarah Louise "Sadie" Delany (1889-1999) and Annie Elizabeth "Bessie" Delany (1891-1995) were born in Raleigh, North Carolina, the daughters of Henry Beard Delany, an educator and Episcopal bishop, and Nanny James Logan Delany. Bessie was to become a dentist and Sadie a schoolteacher. The sisters grew up in a family of 10 children in Raleigh on the campus of St. Augustine's, the African American school where their father, a former slave, served as priest and vice principal. After completing their studies at St Augustine's, both Sadie and Bessie went on to teaching jobs in North Carolina. Their father had strongly urged his daughters to teach. Although she received no extra salary, Sadie also assumed the duties of supervisor of Black schools in Wake County. In 1916 Sadie moved to Harlem in New York City and enrolled at Pratt Institute, and then a 2-year college. After graduating in 1918 she enrolled at Columbia University, where she earned a bachelor's degree in 1920. She returned to North Carolina briefly with the intention of helping her people, but, discouraged by the pervasive Jim Crow system, she soon returned to Harlem. She began teaching in an elementary school in Harlem in 1920. In 1925 she received her master's degree in education from Columbia. Beginning in 1930, she taught at Theodore Roosevelt High School, a White school in the Bronx. Having skipped the interview because she feared her skin color would cost her the job, Sadie stunned school officials on the first day of school, but as she later observed, "Once I was in, they couldn't figure

out how to get rid of me” (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004, p. 225). With her appointment, Sadie became the first African American in New York City to teach domestic science at the high school level. Neither Bessie nor Sadie ever married. Nanny Delany had urged her daughters to decide whether they were going to marry and raise families or have careers. As Bessie said years later, “it never occurred to anyone that a woman could have both a family and a profession” (p. 226), and the sisters decided on careers. Bessie and Sadie lived together for nearly 8 decades in New York City and then in nearby Mount Vernon. They both lived past 100 years of age (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

Johnnetta Betsch Cole (1936-present), an anthropologist, educator, and college president, was born in Jacksonville, Florida, the second of six children to John Betsch Sr., an executive in insurance and Mary Lewis, an English teacher. Cole’s childhood was shaped by competing influences: her supportive family and community and the racist attitudes and institutions of the Jim Crow South. Cole earned a master’s degree (1959) and a doctorate (1967) in Anthropology. In a 1993 Chicago Tribune interview (as cited in Gates & Higginbotham, 2004), she attributed her academic success in part to her family and friends back home, stating, “it was wonderful to listen to old Black folk who had not been educated” (p. 198). In 1970, after numerous years of instructing anthropology and leading the Black studies program at Washington State University, Cole was accepted a tenured position at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (UMass). She remained at UMass for the next 13 years during which time she taught anthropology and played a key role in establishing a Black studies program. She served for a time as associate provost and was asked to head a panel that proposed university-wide curriculum reform. In 1983 she took a teaching position at Hunter College in New

York City, where she also directed the Latin American and Caribbean studies program. Cole became one of the most influential figures in higher education when, in 1987, she became the first African American female president of Spelman College, a women's liberal arts schools in Atlanta and one of the most prestigious of the nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Founded in 1881 by two White Christian missionary women from New England, Spelman has graduated several generations of Black women including Alice Walker and Miriam Wright Edelman (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

Upon finishing college, Lorraine Monroe started her educational career as an English teacher. She advanced as a leader and became the principal of William Howard Taft High School, a troubled school in the Bronx. Monroe was bright and strong, with a natural skill to motivate people. She was an inspirational leader that motivated children to envision greater opportunities for themselves. Monroe convinced teachers to break free from the mundane and the routines due to bureaucracies; she inspired teachers to discover meaning, fulfillment, and purpose in their life's work. Monroe established a conduct of discipline by establishing Twelve Non-Negotiable Rules and Regulations. Her system featured respect for oneself, for one's acquaintances, and for property. Lorraine Monroe took on the challenge to turn around one of Harlem's troubled schools, Frederick Douglass School, in 1992. Douglass was known for its violence, poor academic, performance, and poor attendance. Monroe reconstituted the school by dismissing the majority of the faculty and staff. She rebuilt the school with a new foundation of high expectations, maintaining only a small number of selected teachers and staff. Monroe solicited teachers that aspired to serve under her leadership and vision to establish a high achieving school for African American students. After the first year under Monroe's

leadership, test scores soared, placing the academy among the top five of New York City schools. Fredrick Douglass Academy's first graduating class under her leadership in 1996 had an astounding rate of 96% of its students attend college. During 1997, Monroe completed her tenure at Douglass and pioneered her own institution: the Lorraine Monroe Leadership Institute located in New York, which focused training educational leaders in the United States and around the world. Dr. Lorraine Monroe recently retired in 2010 and resides with her family in Boston, Massachusetts. Monroe's first book, *Nothing's Impossible: Leadership Lessons from Inside and Outside the Classroom* (Monroe, 1997), is widely used as a leadership manual for failing urban schools. It is the distillation of what she has learned in over 30 years as an educator, principal teacher, and consultant (Hammonds, 1999).

Marva Collins (1936-present) taught public school in Alabama and Chicago for 16 years. After becoming dissatisfied with the low expectations in the Chicago public schools, Marva Collins decided to pioneer her own school. During 1975, she used the second of her own home in Chicago to start her school. Westside Preparatory School harbored students who were considered learning challenged, behaviorally troubled, and even borderline mentally retarded in the public schools. According to Collins, by the end of the school's first year, all students had made improvements in their scores by at least two grades. Marva Collins focused on phonics to teach reading and used the Socratic Method to teach higher level reasoning skills. Collins' philosophy of high standards ensured that her students would understand of the great works of Plato and Shakespeare. The CBS program *60 Minutes* featured the school in 1996, focusing on a little girl considered being special needs but who graduated Suma Cum Laude from Westside

Preparatory. Marva Collins' students have gone on to attend the nation's finest colleges and universities, such as Stanford, Yale, and Harvard. Her students have assumed careers as lawyers, doctors, educators, engineers, and other honored professions. Unfortunately, her school closed recently due to financial difficulties and the emergence of the charter school reform movement.

Oprah Winfrey (1954-present) is a media mogul, talk show host, philanthropist, and school pioneer. Winfrey believes that education is the door to freedom, equipping people to achieve their dreams in life. Oprah's private charity, The Oprah Winfrey Foundation, has awarded multitudes of grants to institutions that support the education and advocacy of children, women, and families in the United States and throughout the world. Oprah has given millions of dollars to fund a better education for students who have ability but do not have means. Additionally she developed "The Oprah Winfrey Scholars Program," which grants scholarships to students that commits to use their education to serve in their communities in America and around the world. ("Oprah Winfrey's Official Biography," 2011).

Winfrey exhibited transformational leadership when she established a girl's school in South Africa. The Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls sprawls in excess of 52 acres outside Johannesburg. There are computer-filled classrooms, dormitories, an indoor and outdoor theater, halls with original works of art, a fitness center complete with a yoga studio, and a beauty salon. The goal is to train the 152 seventh and eighth grade students as future leaders of their country. In the fall of 2011, Winfrey taught a class called It's Life 101 about all the things she wished someone had taught her about how the world really works (Givhan, 2007). Oprah highly respects the

field of education as noted by her many contributions to it; she always wanted to be a teacher, and has become one, with the world as her classroom.

Ruth J. Simmons was the first African American president of Brown University, an Ivy League Institution. Born in Texas, she graduated in 1967 from Dillard University in New Orleans. Simmons earned her Ph.D. in Romance languages and literatures from Harvard University in 1973. She is fluent in French. During 1983, after serving at the University of Southern California as associate dean of the graduate school, Simmons employed her leadership abilities at the Princeton University. She served at Princeton for 7 years. In 1990 Simmons served as provost at Spelman College. She returned to Princeton in 1992 as vice provost until June 30, 1995. As vice provost she was deputy to the provost and executive secretary of the Priorities Committee, the university's budget committee. In 1993, the president of Princeton asked Simmons to examine and make recommendations on race relations on the Princeton campus. Simmons developed several initiatives that received widespread attention. During 1995 she took the position of president of Smith College, the largest female's college in America, where Simmons initiated various strategic initiatives to bolster the university's academic programs. Simmons created and led the first engineering program at a U.S. female's college.

Simmons was recently appointed by President Barack Obama to serve on the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. As educational leader, Simmons believes in the ability of education to transform lives. She has dedicated her career to advocating for students using her leadership role for higher education throughout the United States in the areas of national and global affairs (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

Summary

During the Reconstruction and Segregation Eras, female slaves and daughters of slaves moved away from the margins of society to assume their roles as educational leaders. They displayed courage, resilience, and commitment in the face of insurmountable odds. With their faith in God and help from White Christian organizations, White benefactors, Black churches, and Black as well as White individuals, they partnered to provide education to thousands of African American children and adults. These transformational leaders helped birth the African American Women's Club Movement in America, one of the catalysts for organizing for change to address gender and race discrimination through political action. These leaders changed the nation by fighting for feminist issues, educating the illiterate, leading schools, and pioneering civic institutions for the poor and elderly.

This movement from the margins continued during the Equal Opportunity Era. In 1954, after the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, there continued to be many challenges for African Americans. Even though African American female educators have come a long way from teaching in one-room shacks, there continues to be a crisis in education for African American students. How to effectively integrate schools is still an issue over 50 years removed from *Brown v. Board of Education*. More alarming is the data on high school completion rates, stating that African American students have a 50% or higher high school dropout rate. Furthermore, gender and race bias continue to negatively impact African American female educational leaders (Collier-Thomas, 1982; Rubin 2006).

Roseboro and Ross (2009) conclude that the uplift of the African American race is an inherited plight of African American female educators, both consciously and unconsciously. Roseboro and Ross assert,

For the Black woman studied here and from our personal experiences, to be a Black woman in the U.S. is to know struggle, to be on intimate terms with it, and to use it to facilitate learning for one selves and the society in which one lives. (p. 32)

In examining the impact of African American female educational leaders past and present, research indicates that faith in God, meaningful life experiences, personal relationships (childhood and adult), and the ultimate goal of uplifting their race were the essential motivating factors for their great sacrifice to move away from the margins of society and become educational leaders for their communities (Berry, 1982; Thomas & Jackson, 2007).

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this historical and phenomenological study was to identify and examine the lived experiences of six African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras (1866-2010). This chapter explains the methodology for the study and includes a description of the research methodology, instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, data gathering procedures, and description of data analysis processes. It also includes the plans for Institutional Research Board (IRB) for human subjects.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What influenced and motivated six African American female educational leaders to move from the margins of society to assume their roles as educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras?
2. How did six African American female educational leaders overcome racial and gender obstacles?
3. What transformational leadership characteristics did six African American female educational leaders possess?

Research Methodology

The study utilized a qualitative approach to the study of the six African American educators. A qualitative study was appropriate because it permitted the researcher to ascertain the essence of the subjects' lived experiences. A qualitative methods approach provides for research of descriptive attributes, dimensions, and characteristics within a

community or culture (Isaac & Michael, 1997). Additionally, the qualitative research approach was the best approach for this study because it allowed the researcher to study African American female educational leaders in the context of their unique culture and communities during pivotal eras in America history and educational reform. Further, the qualitative approach is best because it allows for the examination and exploration of common themes as well as differences in the lived experiences of these educators. By understanding the lived experiences of these six African American educators, society may gain insight into their motivations, leadership characteristics, and ability to overcome racial and gender biases. Isaac and Michael (1997) determined that

qualitative methods normally are preferred to quantitative ones because they adapt more readily to multiple realities; more appropriately reflect the nature of investigator-respondent interaction, including biases of the former's own perspective; and are more adaptable and sensitive to the variety of influences and value patterns encountered. (p. 220)

Analysis Unit

This historical and phenomenological study identified and examined six African American educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras. First a panel of experts was selected by the researcher and approved by the dissertation committee based on their knowledge of education. A letter detailing and explaining the proposed dissertation (Appendix A) was developed and sent to the panel of experts with a survey form (Appendix B) requesting the panel of experts to list five suggestions of noteworthy African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras. Second, the panel of experts were provided 18 names of historical and contemporary educators (six per era) that were researched in the literature review. Additionally a one-page summary of each of the

educators was provided. Third, the panel of experts was given a criteria sheet that set forth the criteria for the selection of the subjects to be studied. Additionally, the panel of experts was allowed to research other historical and contemporary educational leaders.

From this process six educators were identified by the panel of experts to participate in the study: four historical educators (two from the Reconstruction and two from Segregation eras) and two contemporary educators. The following were the criteria for African American female educational leader participants:

1. Female educators of African descent.
2. Educational leader of public or private institution (e.g., headmaster, school founder, principal, college or university leader [department chair, dean, or president], school board member, or school district superintendent).
3. Work of the educational leader must be/have been recognized by her peers.
4. Educational contributions must have been noteworthy based on local, state, national, or international recognition (interviewed by newspaper/magazine, interviewed by television/radio, recognized in public forums, published books, or articles).
5. Educational leaders must have made their contributions during the Reconstruction, Segregation, or Equal Opportunity eras.

The results of the survey were tabulated; the researcher ultimately chose the six subjects based on the recommendations that were most frequently given by the panel of experts.

The study examined historical and contemporary educational leaders. The researcher used an array of research and informational sources for the four historical educational

leaders; the two contemporary leaders responded to the biographical data and interview questions personally. Once the six subjects were selected, the researcher contacted the contemporary leaders via written communication describing the dissertation and requesting their participation. The subjects' written authorization and permission to study the contemporary educators was obtained.

Instrument

The instrument was designed to include both open-ended and semi-structured interviews (Appendix C). The following ideas were utilized in the development of the instrument. The study explored:

1. What influenced and motivated the African American female educational leaders to move from the margins of society to assume their roles as educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation and Equal Opportunity eras,
2. How the African American female educational leaders overcame racial and gender obstacles, and
3. What transformational leadership characteristics the African American female educational leaders possessed.

A biographical data sheet (Appendix D) was used to collect descriptive data about the subjects. The researcher pre-tested the questions from the data sheet and the interview questions with a small sample of experts in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The researcher carefully reviewed the biographical data sheet and interview questions for potentially leading and psychologically oppressive questions.

Sample

The sample population consisted of African American female educational historical and contemporary leaders from 1866- 2010. Three pivotal eras in American educational reform were examined: the Reconstruction, Segregation, and the Equal Opportunity periods (1866-present). The researcher completed a biographical data sheet and responded to the interview questions from an array of research and information on behalf the historical educators. The Equal Opportunity Era educators themselves responded to the same biographical data sheets and interview questions.

Sample Method

A total of six subjects were selected as participants for this study. Two subjects from each era were selected based on the response rate from the panel of experts. The top two most frequent responses for each era were selected as participants. The researcher responded on behalf of the historical educators utilizing historical literature and writings. The contemporary educators responded on their own behalf.

The selection of subjects by the panel of experts was based on the following criteria:

1. Female educators of African descent.
2. Educational leader of public or private institution (e.g., headmaster, school founder, principal, college or university leader [department chair, dean, or president], school board member, or school district superintendent).
3. Work of the educational leader must be/have been recognized by her peers.
4. Educational contributions must have been noteworthy, based on local, state, national, or international recognition (interviewed by newspaper/magazine,

interviewed by television/radio, recognized in public forums, published books, or articles.

5. Educational leaders must have made their contributions during the Reconstruction, Segregation, or Equal Opportunity eras.

Data Collection

A comprehensive review of biographies and autobiographies was completed on the four historical subjects selected for the study. The researcher reviewed and examined books, journals, articles, writings, speeches, policy contributions, television, radio archives, and documents from museums and from private and public institutions, as well as oral histories and stories that have been told about these women. This literature and information were compiled for analysis and examination to respond to the biographical data sheet and open-ended questions. Data were collected orally from the contemporary educators through opened-end and semi-structured interviews and through a biographical data sheet. All interviews were documented using an auto recording device.

The researcher scheduled interviews with the participants at least two weeks in advance. Interviews were conducted by telephone at the convenience of the participant. The actual time and location of each interview was scheduled individually with each participant. Participants also received an appointment form that provided the time and date of the interview (Appendix F). The appointment form addressed both the interview time and telephone number where the participant could be reached.

All participants were required to sign consent forms (Appendix E). The forms gave a full explanation of the study and indicated that participants could exit the study at

any time without reprisal or penalty. It also set forth that participation in the study was solely on a volunteer basis.

Human Subjects

The study was submitted to Pepperdine University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval. The researcher explained all instruments and data collection processes in order to secure IRB approval. The risk factors to participants were minimal. Participants may have had to set aside time from their daily schedules to participate in the study. Boredom may have occurred. Also, reflecting on past experiences may have caused some discomfort. The benefits included the addition of documentation and literature on an underrepresented group in American and African American history. The study was not confidential but all data collected will be protected and held in a locked, secure location for 5 years following the completion of the study, after which point they will be destroyed.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed and distilled into commonalities and themes. Data from the biographies and autobiographies for the historical leaders were written into narrative form. The interviews from the contemporary leaders were transcribed and transcripts were written into a biographical narrative representing their childhood, adulthood, motivations and influences, leadership characteristics and race and gender obstacles. The researcher began the process of determining key themes by highlighting important statements within the narratives. Terms were given for specific themes. The terms were then developed into topics and sub-topics. The researcher continued to reassess the data to refine the topic and sub-topics. Once the themes were refined, the researcher wrote a

summary using a narrative format. After obtaining meaning from the narrative the researcher wrote up the analysis. The researcher looked both within and across the eras for similarities and differences between the leaders. This was accomplished through an intensive and engaging critical thinking and synthesis procedure. Data analysis is a continuous process involving reflection of the data, questioning, and writing notes throughout the study (Creswell, 2003). Lastly, the researcher analyzed the data looking for commonalties as well as differences to ascertain meaning from the findings.

Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Isaac & Michael, 1997) proposed five different structures in assuring credibility in narrative research. Three of the five structures were used for this study. The researcher validated the accuracy of the findings by triangulating different sources of information, by using peer debriefing to magnify the accuracy of the information, and by spending extended time in obtaining biographical accuracy.

The data were collected during June and July of 2012. The interviews ranged in length from one hour to one hour thirty minutes in length. The researcher used an audio recording device to record the interviews. The researcher also collected a resume and biography from the contemporary subjects. To ensure accuracy of collection, upon completion of data collection from the contemporary leaders the researcher forwarded a copy of the responses of the interview questions to the subjects to approve the content. A copy of each subject's response and contributions was mailed to them after the approval of the dissertation.

Summary

This study was a historical and phenomenological examination of the lived experience of six transformational African American female educational leaders. A

qualitative approach was used to determine themes, commonalities, and differences in the lived experiences of the six leaders. A biographical data sheet and open-ended interview questions were used to collect data from the contemporary leaders. A comprehensive review of the literature and an array of information were examined to further the researcher's understanding of the four historical educators during the Reconstruction and Segregation eras. Upon completion of the data collection the researcher completed a narrative to determine emerging themes. The researcher provided a complete record of her responses and contributions to each participant. The interviews were archived and will be used for further historical purposes with the participants' permission for 5 years following the completion of the study, after which point they will be destroyed.

Chapter 4: Findings

Since the end of slavery, African American females have faced unique challenges that have shaped the roles they play in their family and communities. In this chapter we will explore the stories of six outstanding African American female educational leaders. These stories exemplify how African American female educators become leaders in their communities' quest for equality through education. Furthermore, this chapter will explore American education through the unique lens of the African American female educator.

Post-Civil War, African American females played a pivotal role in the survival of their families and communities. The information gleaned from the lives of the following the six extraordinary African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras (1866-present) was obtained from sources such as autobiographies, biographies, and interviews with former students, teachers, family members, and associates, as well as from local, state, and national records. The subjects were chosen based on a knowledgeable panel of education experts. As for the information pertaining to the still-living subjects of this work, they were obtained by the writer through one-on-one interviews. Most pertinent to this study are the following three questions:

1. What influenced and motivated these six African American female educational leaders to move from the margins of society and assume their roles as educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras?

2. How did these six African American female educational leaders overcome racial and gender obstacles?
3. What transformational leadership characteristics did these six African American female educational leaders possess?

The African American female educational leaders chosen as subjects and their leadership positions are:

1. Reconstruction (1866-1877)
 - Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin: Principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 - Dr. Anna Julia Cooper: Principal of M Street School and President of Frelinghuysen University, Washington, D.C.
2. Segregation (1877-1953)
 - Nannie Helen Burroughs: Founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D.C.
 - Charlotte Hawkins Brown: Founder of the Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina
3. Equal Opportunity (1954-Present)
 - Dr. Mary Montle Bacon: psychologist and founder of Images of a Culture, Las Vegas, Nevada
 - Joan Faqir: Educator, Executive Director of the Center for Advanced Learning Charter School in the Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California

The legacy of the African American female is one of hard work, which has uniquely shaped her ability to develop the inner strength to fight for the survival of her family and her people. Because of slavery African American women have had to embrace a history of travail, struggle and perseverance that few can rival. They have had a unique opportunity to be guardians of the future of their people. This responsibility has caused them to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, persevere through difficult adversity, and uplift an oft-downtrodden race. Biographer S. Washington (2006) declares that,

The word no, though only two small letters, can stand as tall as the highest mountain, as broad as the widest valley, and as final as death. It is often the overwhelming weight that drags down, drowns out, and forever destroys unimaginable potential in would-be entrepreneurs, visionaries, and leaders. Some people never recover from the disappointment. After a dream is not realized as planned, many people give up and never attempt to dream again. (p. 13)

No matter the difficulty of the struggle, the depth of the travail, or the insurmountable nature of the obstacle, Fanny Jackson Coppin, Anna Julia Cooper, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Dr. Mary Montle Bacon and Joan Faqir refused to accept no for an answer. These six incredible women persevered first by obtaining an education, and then continued this perseverance by imparting their hard-earned wisdom in order to educate their people. From the most humble beginnings they rose from the margins, heeded the clarion call, embraced the mantle, and became transformational leaders.

Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin (1837-1913)

We as you know, are classed among working people, and so when the days of slavery were over, and we wanted an education, people said, “What are you going to do with an education?” You know yourselves you have been met with a great many arguments of that kind. Why educate the woman—what will she do with

it? An impertinent question and an unwise one. Rather ask, “What will she be with it?” (Coppin, 1913/1995, pp. xxxiv-xxxv)

Fanny Jackson Coppin was born into slavery on October 15, 1837. She went on to become one of the first ever African American female college graduates, and the second African American ever to graduate Oberlin College, which is noted as being America’s first institution of higher learning to admit African Americans and female students. Coppin was a renowned educator, journalist, religious leader, classical scholar, social and educational activist, and feminist. For 37 years, from 1865 to 1902, she served as the principal and leader of the prestigious Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia. Through Coppin’s leadership, the school was transformed into a national and international institution of prominence, serving African American students throughout the United States and around the world.

Childhood. In spite of the fact that Coppin (1913/1995) wrote a full-length autobiography, *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching* in 1913, little is known about her childhood. Nowhere in her autobiography is there any mention of her father and she only mentions her mother once. More is known about Coppin’s maternal grandfather, John Orr. Born in Washington D.C., Orr was a prominent waiter and caterer. Classified as a “mulatto,” Orr, the father of six children, had significant real estate holdings in Washington, D.C. Having purchased his freedom for \$125 in 1825, he then purchased his three sons’ freedom in 1828 but of his three daughters, Orr only ever purchased the freedom of his oldest, Sarah, in 1840, when she was 30 years old and preparing for marriage.

When Orr died in 1845 his daughter Rebecca was freed in his will, leaving Orr’s last child, Lucy (Coppin’s mother) a slave. According to Coppin, “On account of my

birth my grandfather refused to buy my mother; and so I was left a slave in the District of Columbia, where I was born” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p.10). According to Coppin she endured two severe burnings as a young child and suffered with a medical condition that caused severe headaches, chills and fevers (Coppin, 1913/1995).

Seller (1994) notes, “However, in 1953, Alfred Vance Churchill, the son of Charles Henry Churchill, a professor at Oberlin College whose family Coppin lived with for six months while a student in 1865, suggested that Coppin was the daughter of a slave woman and a “Carolina Senator” (p. 168). This account has never been substantiated and no additional references regarding her father has ever been made. However, census records do indeed define Coppin as a “mulatto.” Even though Coppin remained a slave, she remained in close contact with her freed family. Coppin’s Aunt Sarah, for example, was drawn to her young niece. It wasn’t until Coppin’s early teenage years that her Aunt Sarah had saved up the \$125 to buy Coppin’s freedom by working a job that paid \$6 per month.

Coppin (1913/1995) wrote,

When my aunt (Sarah) had finally saved up the one hundred twenty-five dollars, she bought me and sent me to New Bedford, Mass., where another aunt lived who promised to get me a place to work for my board, and get a little education if I could. (p. 10)

When Coppin arrived in her new home, she went to work doing domestic duties. During the days she didn’t have cleaning, washing, and ironing duties, Coppin was allowed to go to school, which according to Coppin, “interfered with my progress.... There were no Hamptons and no night schools then” (p. 11).

Then, at the age of 14 Coppin went to live with another aunt, Elizabeth Orr Clark. Of this experience, Coppin wrote, “Finally, I found a chance to go to Newport with Mrs.

Elizabeth Orr, an aunt by marriage, who offered me a home with her and a better chance at school” (Coppin 1913/1995p. 11).

Even as a teenager Coppin (1913/1995) demonstrated self-reliance. She wrote, “I was now 14 years old, and felt I ought to take care of myself...So I found myself a permanent place in the family of prominent aristocratic author Mr. George H. Calvert, a great grandson of Lord Baltimore, who settled Maryland” (p.11), and the husband of Elizabeth Stuart, a descendent of Mary, Queen of Scots. In Elizabeth Stuart’s home, Coppin hired her own tutor for one hour a day three days a week from her \$7 a week earnings.

Furthermore, Coppin’s love of the classic literature was developed and nurtured in the Calvert home. Many literary elites from Boston frequented the Calvert home and provided Coppin exposure to the literary arts. This exposure began to shape Coppin’s life and future, and she reflected that the Calvert home was full of “refinement and education”. During her 6 years with the Calverts she learned to play the piano and guitar, and she played the organ for the Colored Union Church of Newport. The Calverts were childless, and perhaps this is why Mrs. Calvert took such a special interest in Coppin. She taught her sewing, needlepoint and darning. Even though Coppin was in a nurturing and caring environment in the Calvert home, at some point she longed for more, writing that her goal was to “get an education and to teach my people.” These were “goals she describes as being deep in her soul” (Seller, 1994, p. 169). Coppin attended a colored school for a few months, and was taught by a teacher named Mrs. Gavitt, where Coppin reminisced, “I thus prepared myself to enter the examination for the Rhode Island State Normal School” (Seller, 1994, p. 170.).

Adulthood. In 1859, Coppin enrolled in the Rhode Island Normal School, a school for teacher preparation. In addition to taking the core curriculum, she studied French privately. Coppin's motivation and desire to teach was matched only by her deep desire to further her education. Seller (1994) affirms that even though Coppin completed her courses, she felt that "she still had much to learn" (p. 169). She wanted to enroll in Harvard, but at the time it did not accept women. Disappointed, Coppin instead applied to, and was accepted by Oberlin College in Ohio, whose curriculum, she had heard, was similar to Harvard's, and, more importantly, was the first school of higher education that accepted African Americans and females (Seller, 1994).

In 1860, Coppin applied to the Ladies Department of Oberlin, and was one of 119 students accepted to the Collegiate Department. Although at the time Oberlin's enrollment was 1,311 students, no African American female had ever graduated from the Collegiate Department. Coppin's determination and tremendous self-confidence led to her excelling in the Collegiate Department, where all the while she was aided financially by her Aunt Sarah. During this time, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was so fascinated by Coppin's determination and ambition that he funded her by providing a scholarship. Furthermore, Coppin garnered a one hundred dollar grant from the Avery Fund of Oberlin College (Seller, 1994). Coppin initially resided in the Ladies Hall but when the lack of variety of food choices caused her to "run down" in health, she moved into the home of Professor H. E. Peck (Coppin, 1913/1995). After the independence of Haiti, Professor Peck was sent as the first United States Minister to that country by President Lincoln. According to Coppin, it was "then [that]

the family was broken up” (1913/1995, p. 14). Coppin was then invited to reside in the residence of Charles H. Churchill for about six months until she graduated.

Even though Oberlin College was amendable to women in principal, its administration was not particularly supportive of them. Coppin was keenly aware of this while at Oberlin, and took on the responsibility of representing her race in all aspects of her education, especially when speaking publicly (Seller, 1994). Furthermore, Coppin excelled in all her course work and by her second year she was recognized as a top scholar in all of her classes. Her academic excellence led to her being nominated to join the prestigious Young Ladies Literary Society, which greatly assisted Coppin in developing exceptional oratory skills and powerful debating abilities, which she put to use in arguing political positions regarding the Civil War. During 1862 she delivered a powerful poem entitled “The Hero of Gettysburg.” These experiences laid the groundwork for Coppin’s development into a prominent elocutionist.

It was also while at Oberlin that Coppin gained the experience that would lead to her future service as a religious leader and missionary. Coppin wrote about how when Oberlin President Finney met a new student, his first question was; have you accepted Christ? If your response was no, he would ask you why not. Finney would continue with a gentle persistence that could not be resisted until the question was settled.

During the Civil War years (1861-1865) Coppin realized her dream of becoming a teacher to her people, and when freedom began to ring and pour into the city of Oberlin in 1863, Coppin established a night school teaching freed slaves four nights a week. Coppin was also teaching piano to 16 students of the faculty of Oberlin while she was continuing her own course work. Even though Coppin had an extremely demanding

schedule, she was incredibly dedicated to the night school students, who were mostly illiterate. She taught them basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. She continued with this demanding schedule until she graduated in 1865. Coppin often conducted public exhibitions of her night school students, and her diligence and dedication attracted visitors from all far and wide. It was in this way that Coppin began to first be recognized as an outstanding and dedicated teacher. The local newspapers and abolitionist newspapers reported on Coppin's accomplishments. The success of Coppin's night school program resulted in her being selected as the first African American educator in the preparatory department at Oberlin College. Elected class poet by her peers, Coppin graduated in 1865.

After graduating, Coppin continued to be a pioneer and trailblazer. Due to her superior teaching gifts, as well as the great success and renown gained from her accomplishments at the night school, Coppin was appointed principal of the female department of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which was originally founded as the African Institute in 1837 by the Quaker organization known as Society of Friends, and was made possible by Quaker philanthropist Richard Humphreys, who bequeathed one-tenth of his estate (\$10,000) to commission a school dedicated to providing education to freed Blacks. The Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, which today is known as the Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, is an historically Black College, as well as the United States' first institution of higher learning for African Americans. At the time Coppin was brought aboard, the school's faculty, many of whom were graduates of Harvard and Yale was known as the finest African American educators in the nation. The school included a girls and boys high school department as well as a

teacher-training department. Coppin began her teaching career with the Institute for Colored Youth in the ladies Department teaching Greek, Latin, and Mathematics. When the acting principal, Ebenezer Bassett, was selected to be the United States Minister of Haiti in 1869, Coppin succeeded her as principal (Seller, 1994).

As her tenure as principal began, Coppin instituted sweeping reforms that were reflective of her educational and personal philosophies. She believed that if faculty treated their students with respect, the students, in return, would treat their teachers with respectful deference. Coppin also abolished corporal punishment, and stated, “The ability to discipline without force to back it up shows a much better prepared teacher, and speaks well for his influence over the school” (Seller, 1994, p. 171). However, Coppin’s abolishment of corporal punishment did not diminish her reputation as being a stern disciplinarian, believing the character of a student reflected directly upon the character of the school. Furthermore, Coppin removed the school’s tuition requirements, wanting to ensure students of every socio-economic level—including the southern Blacks who had recently moved to the city—could attend, and in so doing sought to keep the school from being solely a haven for Philadelphia’s elite Black families.

Furthermore, equipped with the knowledge that a great majority of prospective students had no prior formal education, she was able to convince leadership to abolish entry-level prerequisites of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and geography thus allowing more students to take advantage of an education. And indeed, her initiatives bore immediate fruit, seeing the school’s preparatory department enrollment increase from 255 students in 1884 to 318 in 1885 (Seller, 1994).

According to (Seller, 1994) Coppin was a pioneer in multiple areas. She was the first African American female to become a school principal in the United States. Moreover, when she was appointed superintendent of her school district, she became the first African American female in the United States to hold that position. However, Coppin's career aspirations were never as important as her mission to be an educator. In this way, after serving as the superintendent she returned to her previous position as principal. She was profoundly aware of her community's, and indeed her country's great need to train freed slaves in industrial skills. Coppin was discouraged by seeing not "one" African American employed during a flourish of construction in downtown Philadelphia, which led to her decade-long effort to establish an Industrial Arts department at institute. And though Coppin ultimately fell short of establishing an advanced technical department for the institute, the Industrial Arts department formally opened in January, 1889, offering training in agriculture, bricklaying, carpentry, shoemaking, printing, plastering, and millinery, dress making, and cooking (Seller, 1994).

What's more, Coppin became a critical voice in her community. In 1879, she led a crusade to save the *Christian Recorder*, a local paper for which she had contributed a weekly column promoting women's rights (Seller, 1994).

In addition to dedicating her life to serving the Philadelphia African American community for over 37 years, Coppin was married during the 1881 Christmas holiday to Levi Jenkins Coppin, an African Methodist Episcopal minister. Though the couple never had children, and though, much like her mother, Coppin only mentions her marriage once in her autobiography, many of her biographers note she had a very close relationship with her husband, who, if should be noted, was at least 15 years younger than Coppin. When

Levi was relocated to be pastor of a Baltimore church, Coppin was expected to resign at the end of the 1881-1882 school year to join him. However, she couldn't bring herself to leave the institute she had been so instrumental in shaping, and remained another 10 years, continuing her work as an educator and crusading champion for women's rights (Seller, 1994).

Even though Coppin remained at the institute for ten additional years she traveled with her husband in the summers on missionary journeys promoting Christianity, education, and racial equality, as well as crusading for women's rights. After Levi was appointed Bishop of the Fourteenth Episcopal District in South Africa, Coppin at last resigned from the institute so she could travel with her husband and serve as a missionary in South Africa. Her work was so successful that numerous events were held in her honor prior to her and Levi's departure from South Africa. During one tribute dinner in which money was raised and presented to Levi and her, Coppin, a modest woman, expressed her deep appreciation (Seller, 1994).

Seller (1994) details during their year in South Africa, the Coppins traveled all over the country, from the interior to its capital Cape Town. So significant was her work abroad, Coppin devoted two entire chapters to her missionary experience both there and throughout Europe in her book *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching*, in which she details her travels and her work as missionary teaching women about Christianity, educating them and establishing missionary societies and a school that were named on behalf of African American missionaries that she hoped would impact posterity. During this time, the toll of her many years of relentless dedication to her people had made Coppin weak and frail, and many did not believe she would return to

the United State alive, but she proved them wrong, and in the spring of 1904, the Coppins returned to the United States. However, Coppin's poor health remained for the remaining eight years of her life. During the final years of her life Coppin remained by her husband's side, moving with him when he was transferred to the Seventh Episcopal District of the AME Church, which oversaw South Carolina and Alabama. In 1913, 1 year after publishing her autobiography, Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin died in Philadelphia (Seller, 1994).

During one of her tribute dinners before her departure to South Africa, Seller (1994) wrote that Coppin stated that she "had always had two schools—the institute and the Philadelphia Black community. This statement summed up the educator's belief that her life's dream had been realized – 'to get an education and to teach my people'" (p. 174).

Motivation and influences.

It was in me to get an education and teach my people. This idea was deep in my soul. Where it came from I cannot tell, for I never had any exhortations, or any lectures which influenced me to take this course. It must have been born in me. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 17)

It is clear by examining Coppin's autobiographical writings, as well as Seller's biographical accounts, that Coppin's central motivation was to obtain an education so she could teach her people. This dream provided her with the perseverance to overcome her life as a slave, the rejection she felt when her grandfather failed to obtain freedom for herself and her mother, and the tragic circumstances surrounding her father and her birth. Coppin's (1913/1995) statement that, "Finally, I found a chance to go to Newport with Mrs. Elizabeth Orr, an aunt by marriage, who offered me a home with her and a better chance at school" (p. 11), provides an insight into her deep motivation to obtain an

education. Furthermore, Coppin specifically stated that her deep desire to obtain an education for herself was due to her strong motivation to become a teacher for her people. Additionally, Coppin displayed frustration with the fact when she was first freed from slavery as an early teen she had to work washing, cleaning, and ironing instead of being able to focus full-time on her education. The fact that Coppin hired a tutor on her \$7 per week salary speaks volumes backing up the assertion that education was the single most important motivation in her life. This dream caused her to pursue accomplishments that no other female before her had ever achieved. Coppin's motivation caused her to overcome insurmountable obstacles and move from the margins to become a pioneer and forerunner in education, educational leadership, and women's rights (Coppin, 1913/1995).

Coppin (1913/1995) was a trailblazer because she had no role models, examples, or anyone to look to that had accomplished what she aspired to do. Coppin recognized her responsibility and this influenced and motivated her to pursue excellence as a student, teacher, leader, and missionary. While attending Oberlin, Coppin was keenly aware that she carried the responsibility to dispel the negative perception that African Americans were inferior to Whites. Specifically She further recalled how visitors came from all over the world to watch her public speaking appearances to see for themselves whether the notion that African Americans were an inferior race was truth or myth. Coppin wrote, "I never rose to recite in my class at Oberlin but I felt that I had the honor of the whole African race upon my shoulder. I felt that, should I fail, it would be ascribed to the fact that I was colored" (p. 15). Because Coppin was the first in so many African American

and female educational accomplishments, she determined that her motivation and drive were things she had been born with.

Coppin (1913/1995) was influenced by her many life experiences, good and bad. Situations and circumstances that some might consider insurmountable inspired Coppin to pursue her dream with ever more tenacity, and she succeeded in obtaining an education and then using that education to teach her people. This is a staggering accomplishment, particularly when one considers Coppin remained a slave until she was 12 years old. She watched all of her aunts and uncles become free while she and her mother remained in bondage. It was apparent once Coppin's freedom was bought by her aunt that she was motivated to become self-reliant. Coppin discovered and determined that education was the vehicle for her to become self-reliant, and she pursued it with everything she had. Not wanting to become a burden on her family, Coppin demonstrated her motivation to be self-reliant by working as a domestic servant outside the home of her aunt as soon as she became free.

Additionally, Coppin's (1913/1995) motivation to be self-reliant caused her to seek domestic work in the home of the Calverts which had a tremendous influence on her life as an educator and human being. The Calverts' influence caused Coppin to fall in love with the classics, and to learn French and Greek. She also learned piano and guitar, and obtained a love for writing. She spoke fondly of her time with the Calverts and it is apparent she loved them and they loved her. Because the Calverts were a childless couple, Coppin often expressed that she considered her relationship to them as if she were their daughter. Although Coppin loved the Calverts' home, it was not enough to sway her educational ambitions. Ultimately, Mrs. Calvert offered Coppin additional

financial compensation to remain in her employment but Coppin respectfully declined. Even though Coppin expressed a fondness and devotion for the Calvert and she reminisced of the positive influences, because of the atmosphere of “education and refinement,” her pursuit for an education and her deep desire to teach her people influenced her more.

Coppin’s story is a quilt work of varied experiences attributed to her motivations and influences that shaped her into the inspiring educational leader she became.

Coppin’s experiences encompassed failures as well as victories. She summed up how the relationships influenced her life while residing in the home of Professor Peck and Mrs.

Charles H. Churchill. Coppin declared,

The influence upon my life in these two Christian homes, where I was regarded as an honored member of the family circle, was a potent factor in forming my character which was to stand the test of the new and strange conditions of my life in Philadelphia. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 14)

Overcoming race and gender obstacles.

We do not ask that any one of our people shall be put into a position because he is a colored person, but we do most emphatically ask that he shall not be kept out of a position because he is a colored person. An open field and no favors is all that is requested. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 37)

According to Seller (1994) Coppin is known as one of the first African American females to graduate from college, overcoming race and gender obstacles were the cornerstones of Coppin’s life. Many also consider Coppin the mother of feminism. As a pioneering feminist she challenged every barrier of her period that said being a woman meant you had to stay in a traditionally defined woman’s place (Seller, 1994). This was not acceptable to Coppin who, through perseverance, tenacity and hard work earned the right to create her own space. Coppin did not let the obstacle of being a slave or the

obstacle of society's view of women as second class citizens deter from her the deep desire to teach her people. She challenged the status quo at every turn and did her part to change society for the better (Coppin, 1913/1995).

Coppin never used threatening language or undignified actions, facing every race and gender obstacle by being well prepared and thoroughly equipped to defuse all doubters. When Coppin entered the Collegiate Department at Oberlin she pursued the gentleman's course, writing,

The faculty did not forbid a woman to take the gentleman's course, but they did not advise it. There was plenty of Latin and Greek in it, and as much mathematics as one could shoulder. Now I took a long breath and prepared for a delightful contest. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 12)

This reflection by Coppin demonstrated the mindset she embodied in overcoming every racial and gender discrimination she encountered: she was prepared. Coppin, being a former female slave, was well aware of racial discrimination and gender bias. This is why she was so impassioned and motivated to obtain an education and to teach her people. After completing a successful two years and overcoming her first major gender obstacle at Oberlin, Coppin faced her next obstacle—racial bias. Coppin detailed,

All went smoothly for me until my junior year in college. Then one day, the Faculty sent for me—ominous request—and I was not slow in obeying it. It was custom in Oberlin that forty students from the junior and senior classes were employed to teach the preparatory classes. As it was now time for the juniors to begin their work, the Faculty informed me that it was their purpose to give me a class. But I was to distinctly understand that if the pupils rebelled against my teaching, they did not attend to force it. Fortunately for my training at the normal school, and my own dear love of teaching, though there was a little surprise on the faces of some when they came into the class and saw the teacher, there were no signs of rebellion. (1913/1995, p. 12)

Coppin went on to detail how her class grew so large it had to be split two times.

Coppin wrote about the attitudes of race and discrimination during her time at Oberlin as though it was something that had occurred in the distant past. She wrote about how she forgot she was colored after being at Oberlin, until she was rudely reminded when, during a torrential storm, she was denied a ride by a street car conductor because a sign stating “for colored only” was not on the car. She stated she had to remain in the storm until a streetcar “for colored only” at last came. She also wrote how she was afraid to tell her employer, Mrs. Calvert that she was taking piano lessons, which she did in her home every Wednesday. One day Mrs. Calvert asked her cook why Coppin was gone every Wednesday, and then instructed the cook to summon Coppin to see her immediately upon her return. Coppin stated she feared what would happen to her if Mrs. Calvert found out. According to Coppin, “Instead of being terribly scolded, as I had feared, Mrs. Calvert said: ‘Well Fanny, when people will go ahead, they cannot be kept back; but if you had asked me, you might have had the piano here’” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 17).

For over 37 years in Philadelphia, Coppin fought for the rights of African Americans and females. She established homes for women and poor freed Blacks. The occasions that Coppin had to overcome race and gender obstacles were numerous. Coppin was first female, African American or otherwise, to lead a coeducational institution of education. When Coppin discussed President Lincoln she stated,

The year 1860 and 1865 were years of unusual historic importance and activity. In ‘60 the immortal Lincoln was elected, and in ‘65 the terrible war came to a close, but not until freedom for all the slaves in America had been proclaimed, and that proclamation made valid by the victorious arms of the Union party. In 1863 a very bitter feeling was exhibited against the colored people of the country, because they were held responsible for the fratricidal war then going on. The riots in New York especially gave evidence of this ill feeling. It was in this year the faculty put me to teaching. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 18)

Even though Coppin lived in the era when race and gender discrimination were at their highest in the United States, in examining her autobiography *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching*, she never allowed race or gender to be a barrier to her deeply felt purpose in life to “teach my people.” As a freed slave Coppin never discussed any of her experiences as a slave, only acknowledging that she had been a slave. There were never overtones of resentment, hatred or antipathy towards Whites. Quite to the contrary, she often expressed an affection and appreciation to all the White people with whom her life’s path crossed. Coppin recounted how she had to teach primary White students while in training at Oberlin, acknowledging the courage it took for the faculty to give her that opportunity. In Coppin’s book *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching* she devoted an entire chapter to her life story, and the remaining ten chapters devoted to the practical methods of teaching. It is clear that Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin overcame race and gender obstacles by developing her abilities and skills to be a great teacher, and overcame race and gender obstacles by teaching. Coppin expressed her view on becoming the first African American teacher to White students at Oberlin by stating, “It took a little moral courage on the part of the faculty to put me in my place against the old custom of giving classes only to White students. But, as I have said else where, the matter was soon settled and became an overwhelming success” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 19).

Transformational leadership characteristics.

Being determined to know whether his industrial and business ostracism was “in ourselves or in our stars,” we have from time to time, knocked, shaken, and kicked, at these closed doors of work. A cold, metallic voice, from within replies, “We do not employ colored people.” Ours not to make reply, ours not to question

why. Thank heaven, we are not obliged to do and die. Having a preference to do or die, we naturally prefer to do. (Coppin, 1913/1995, pp. 36-37)

Coppin was a transformational leader in that she challenged the race and gender inequities of her day. A year prior to her graduation at Oberlin, Coppin was recruited for an experimental project to have an African American female teacher teach in a coeducational institution. During this period there had never been a Black or female teacher that was allowed to teach males in the United States. Coppin explained, “When I was within a year of graduation, an application came from a Friends’ school in Philadelphia for a woman who could teach Greek, Latin, and higher mathematics” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 13). The answer returned was: “We have a woman, but you must wait a year for her” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 13).

When Coppin finished her education at Oberlin she was prepared for a role as a leader at the institute. She was excited about her dream to teach her people at last being fulfilled, and wrote, “Here I was given the delightful task of teaching my own people, and how delightful I was to see them mastering Caesar, Virgil, Cicero, Horace and Xenophon’s Anabasis” (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 20)

The Institution for Colored Youth was considered an experiment to determine if the Negro people could learn. Coppin was well aware of her position and how important it was to her race to exhibit results. Coppin explained,

In the year 1837, the Friends of Philadelphia had established a school for the education of colored youth in higher learning. To make a test whether or not the Negro was capable of acquiring any considerable degree of education. For it was one of the strongest arguments to slavery, that the Negro was an inferior creation; formed by the Almighty for just the work he was doing. (Coppin, 1913/1995, p. 21)

Additionally, Coppin discussed how groups of visitors often came to the school to view the learning process of Negro children. One such visitor had written a book to prove that the Negro was not a man. After hearing of the extraordinary accomplishments of the school he decided to come and witness what was being achieved for himself. Mr. Bassett, the principal was asked by the man to bring out his highest class. A very black boy, named Jesse Glasgow had asked only for a chance. According to Coppin, as fast as they put out the problems he would answer them. Coppin wrote, "This decided the fate of the book, then in manuscript form, which so far as we know, was never published" (Coppin, 1991/1995, p. 21).

Coppin was a transformational leader affecting change not only in her school, but also in the Philadelphia community, as well as the nation. In addition to her abolishing corporal punishment and eliminating tuition requirements, when there was need for housing, she challenged the managers to add housing for the poorer southern students that could not afford it. When the managers refused, she took it upon herself to purchase a home next to the school and paid the rent herself.

Coppin further displayed transformational leadership in fighting for women's rights in Philadelphia and across the United States. Coppin began a weekly column in the *Christian Recorder* the national newspaper for the AME called the "Women's Department." Her column gave her the opportunity to reach African Americans across the United States, particularly African American females. Coppin used the column to promote feminism detailing the achievements of women in education, employment, and various other areas. Coppin also used her column to fight discrimination against African

American females. Coppin was a transformational leader and crusader for women's rights. She fought for women to pursue the same careers and professions as men.

Anna Julia Cooper (1860-1964)

“Only the Black woman can say, ‘When and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me’” (Cooper, 1892/1990, p. 31).

Dr. Anna J. Cooper is known as one of the most dynamic post Civil War expanders of educational reform in African American history. Cooper's contribution as an educator, writer, mathematician, activist, and feminist, distinguishes her as one of the pioneers in bringing about transformational change through education for African Americans and women. Cooper is noted for being one of the first four African American women to obtain a baccalaureate degree in the United States. Furthermore, she is one of the first African American females to obtain a Ph.D. Also Cooper is known for writing the first full length feminist treatise by an African American female, *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. During her remarkable 105-year life, Dr. Cooper had the unique opportunity to witness the evolution of educational transformation through the lens of a slave, post-Civil War reformations, segregation policies, and finally experiencing the landmark case of Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education.

Childhood. According to her own account on a survey in 1930, Anna Julia Haywood was born a slave in Raleigh, North Carolina on August 10, 1860. Her mother, Hannah Stanley, was a slave in the plantation home of George Washington Haywood, who many sources agree was Cooper's father. George Washington Haywood never

acknowledged Cooper as his daughter (Seller, 1994). Cooper, in her autobiographical papers at Howard University, remarked about her father, and his relationship with her mother, “presumably, my father was her [Hannah’s] master, if so I owe him not a sou; she was always too modest and shamefaced ever to mention him” (Seller, 1994, p. 161). Cooper was the youngest of three children. Her two older brothers were Andrew L. and Rufus Haywood. Just like Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin, little is known about Cooper’s childhood. There is, however, a record that Cooper expressed the desire to teach as young as kindergarten age. According to Gates and Higginbotham (2004), Cooper began to display a love of books, and gift for learning as a young child. There is an account that Cooper’s mother was hired out to a prominent attorney and it is believed it was there where Cooper first began to learn to read and write. Cooper’s mother was illiterate, but it is believed that she provided major support for her daughter’s education (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004).

From a young age, Cooper excelled academically. In 1868, when she was 8, Cooper was one of the first students to be accepted into the newly developed St. Augustine’s Normal School and Collegiate Institute (now known as St. Augustine College). St. Augustine was established by the community’s Episcopal Diocese for the purpose of preparing teachers to educate freed slaves and their families, and Cooper received a scholarship to attend the school during its inaugural year. While attending St. Augustine, Cooper often found herself tutoring students older than her. This was one of the motivating factors for Cooper to pursue a career in teaching. Cooper became a pupil-teacher at 9 years old and remained at St. Augustine for 14 years, completing her course of study in 1877. While at St. Augustine, Cooper’s feminist attributes began to be

developed. For example, she challenged the faculty when she was denied entrance into the Greek class. It was also during this period of her life when she discovered the preferential treatment received by the male students, and became aware of sexism in the educational arena (Seller, 1994).

Adulthood. Due to Cooper's continued appeals and persistence, she was finally allowed to pursue her study in the Greek class, which was taught by Rev. George Christopher Cooper an Episcopal minister from Nassau, West Indies, 15 years Anna's senior. A romance ensued between Anna and George and they married on June 21, 1887. Due to the social mores of that period, it was not allowed for Cooper to be married and also teach (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004). Therefore, Cooper stopped teaching during their marriage, which only lasted 2 years, when George died of what most considered overworking. After her husband's death Cooper resumed her desire to teach. She never remarried, nor did she ever bear any biological children (Seller, 1994).

In the fall of 1881, Cooper applied to Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio with the goal of completing the gentleman's course. She earned two degrees, the A. B. (Artium) in 1884 and the A. M. (Artium Magister) in 1887. Cooper completed her studies at Oberlin on a full scholarship provided by the college, while securing housing in the home of Professor Charles Henry Churchill, and Cooper maintained her relationship with the Churchill family throughout her life. While attending Oberlin, she studied the classics, mathematics, science and modern languages. Because of outstanding credentials at St. Augustine, Cooper was entered into the sophomore class upon her initial arrival. Cooper loved music and considered studying piano, but due to lack of time and money she never got the opportunity to seriously study music. Cooper was active in the Literary Society

for women and General X for Women. She graduated in 1884 with two other elite educators of her period (Mary Church Terrell and Ida A. Gibbs) This elite trio had the distinct accomplishment of being three of four African American females to obtain a bachelors degree in 1884.

After completing the classical course at Oberlin, it was Cooper's desire to return to St. Augustine in her hometown to teach. But Copper's course was altered by the school's sexist policy in which women were not allowed to teach males. Seller (1994) writes, "she was offered a post consigning her to female students only, she refused, again objecting to sexism, and went instead in 1884 to Wilberforce College in Xenia, Ohio" (p. 163). At Wilberforce, Cooper headed the department of Modern Languages, garnering a salary of \$1,000 a year. After a year at Wilberforce she wanted to build a home in her hometown of Raleigh, North Carolina so she accepted a position, and less pay, at St. Augustine to teach Greek, Latin, and mathematics. In 1882 tragedy struck when her brother died suddenly, leaving six children, who Cooper ended up adopting. Shortly thereafter, Oberlin College awarded Cooper a Masters of Arts degree in mathematics in recognition of teaching mathematics for 3 years at the college level (Seller, 1994).

Cooper continued to pursue her love of teaching. The famous M Street School, previously known as Washington Preparatory High School for Colored Youth, recruited Cooper to teach mathematics, science, and Latin. This was during the period of deep divide within the African American community over the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B Du Bois. Washington argued that Blacks needed to pursue a more agricultural and industrial course of education, while Du Bois believed in a more classical education, a philosophy Cooper supported (Seller, 1994).

Upon the resignation of the M Street School principal in 1902, Cooper was appointed as the replacement, becoming the first female principal in the school's existence. Under her leadership, M Street soared. Cooper expanded the curriculum and for the first time M Street obtained accreditation. Many students of M Street were accepted into prestigious Ivy League institutions like Harvard, Brown, and Yale. Despite the success of M Street under Cooper's leadership, resentment grew within the ranks of the Booker T. Washington coalition of the school and the Washington D. C. educational establishment. After a heated school board meeting (Seller, 1994), Cooper was fired as the principal of M Street School. Even though Cooper was fired, her reputation remained impeccable. Many viewed her firing as a political backlash due to the fact that she was a successful female educator. From 1906 to 1910, Cooper joined the faculty of Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri teaching foreign languages. After 4 years, Cooper was re-recruited by M Street on the say-so of the Washington D. C. School Board and inquiries made to Oberlin College from Dr. John R. Francis, a Black doctor serving on the D. C. School Board. Cooper returned and remained at M Street until her public school retirement in 1930, after teaching Latin for 20 years (Seller, 1994).

Even in retirement, Cooper continued to be an educational leader. She became the second president of Frelinghuysen University, an educational institution for African American adults unable to attend college. Additionally, Cooper paid tribute to her mother by pioneering the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School. She worked throughout Washington D. C. in the women's club movement. Cooper also spoke out publicly against racism and sexism in the United and abroad. In 1892 Cooper pioneered and co-founded the Colored Women's League to advocate for African American rights through

the advancement of women. Cooper was the only woman elected to the American Negro Academy, an organization of scholars and artists dedicated to raising race issues through written publications. The members included Kelly Miller, William Pickens, Carter G. Woodson, Francis J. Grimke, Arthur Schomburg and W.E. B. Du Bois. Additionally, Cooper served on the first executive committee of the Pan African Conference in London, and in 1905, Cooper founded the first Colored YWCA in Washington D. C., and she continued to work diligently establishing Colored YWCA to support African American women in rural areas and areas where women needed support (Seller, 1994).

Cooper still had a dream to fulfill. In 1915, she suspended her doctoral pursuit begun in 1911 at Columbia University so she could adopt her deceased brother's children. After putting her brother's children into boarding school, Cooper transferred her coursework and left for the University of Paris in 1924. In 1925, at the age of sixty-five, Cooper realized her dream of obtaining her Ph.D. Her dissertation, "The Attitude of France toward Slavery in the Revolution" provided her the honor of being the fourth African American woman in the United States history to obtain a Ph.D. (Seller, 1994). Cooper continued race and gender activism and advocacy until she died in 1964 at the age of 105. Her book, *A Voice from the South From by a Black Woman of the South*, written in 1892, is a 300-page collection of essays addressing race and gender discrimination in the United States. It is still heralded as a foundational voice for feminism. Cooper's life and contributions continue to impact race and gender in the United States (Seller, 1994).

Motivation and influences.

With all the wrongs and neglects of her past, with all the weakness, the debasement, the moral thralldom of her present, the Black woman of to-day

stands mute and wondering at the Herculean task devolving around her. But the cycles wait for her. No other hand can move the lever. She must be loosed from her bands and set to work. (Cooper, 1892/1988, p. 28)

Dr. Anna J. Cooper wore the mantle of “Race Woman.” A former slave, she devoted her life righting the wrongs of the conditions of African Americans of her era through education. Motivated by her own human condition as a former slave, and her intrinsic love of learning, she dedicated her life to her people. Very little is recorded, even though Cooper wrote a three hundred-page exposé of her views about race and gender, about the motivations and influences of her childhood. Seller (1994) writes that on a racial attitude survey completed by Cooper, her desire to be a teacher dates back to “kindergarten age”. However, though indirectly literature makes it apparent that her mother who was also a slave had a tremendous influence on her life. Gates and Higginbotham (2004) chronicle that though Cooper’s mother was illiterate, she encouraged her in her educational pursuits. Gates and Higginbotham (2004) also note a unique observation that provides insights into Cooper’s influences as a child. Cooper’s mother, Hannah worked in the home of a prominent attorney. Gates and Higginbotham suggest this early experience provided Cooper with her earliest experiences learning to read and write. Furthermore, it is noted that Cooper had a love of learning at a very young age. Even though Cooper’s biographical sketch does not give a specific account of who helped her apply to and obtain acceptance into St. Augustine, it is clear that some adult in her life recognized her potential. Additionally, Gates reports upon Cooper’s retirement after a long distinguished career in public school education that she established an adult educational institution named Hannah Stanley Opportunity School named after her mother which validates her devotion to her mother’s influence on her early life.

Cooper was also motivated and influenced by her experiences being denied the same educational opportunities as her male counterparts. As previously stated, when Cooper was at St. Augustine she was denied the opportunity to study Greek, a course of study which, according to Gates, was only allowed to the male theology students. Cooper fought this decision, and finally, after continued persistence, won the battle to study Greek like her male counterparts (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004). Cooper's own writings make it clear how gender discrimination impacted, influenced and motivated her life. She dedicated over three hundred pages in a culmination of her views addressing race and gender discrimination, and gender discrimination and her feminist views and voice resounded with a cry for change. Most notably, Cooper lived to 105 years of age and remained in the fight advocating for gender and race equality through her writings until her death.

The influential relationships Cooper cultivated provided her life with motivation and direction. Even though her experiences at St. Augustine laid the foundation for Cooper's future success, it was her tenure at Oberlin that changed the course and direction of her life. For example after her firing at M Street School Cooper was asked back due to the Washington D. C. Board of Education inquires and Oberlin's recommendations. Moreover, Cooper's desire to challenge the status quo in regards to gender discrimination pursuing the "gentleman's course" at Oberlin had a great impact on her life. Additionally her time at Oberlin in the home of Professor Charles Churchill was also influential in Cooper's life. Seller (1994) wrote, "Her relationship with the Churchill family lasted throughout her life" (p. 162). Furthermore, W. E. B. Du Bois influence on Cooper and her alignment with his philosophies caused a firestorm at M Street School

and changed the course of Cooper's life. Gates outlined how controversial Cooper's decision had been to align herself with W.E.B Du Bois against Booker T. Washington, calling it the "M Street Controversy," which caused the Washington D. C. Board of Education and the D. C. educational establishment to turn against Cooper and fire her. Cooper's life, career, and writings conclude she was influenced by racial and gender inequalities of her day and she was motivated by her love of learning to change these inequalities through education.

Overcoming race and gender obstacles.

It is not the intelligent woman v. the ignorant woman; nor the white woman v. the black, the brown, and the red, it is not even the cause of woman v. man. Nay, tis woman's strongest vindication for speaking that the world needs to hear her voice. (Cooper, 1892/1988, p. 121)

Anna Julia Cooper (1892/1988), a former slave, had to navigate through the post-Civil War era when her race and her gender were barriers to success. Cooper lived and succeeded in a period that challenged her ability to overcome race and gender obstacles. Her educational opportunities were limited due to her race. She was not allowed to enter school until the age of nine but she received informal education in the home of a prominent attorney for whom her mother worked. Cooper excelled at St. Augustine even though her race was considered a considerable barrier for her to receive a quality education. Furthermore, at 9 years old, she began to tutor students older than she was. It was at St. Augustine that the earliest account of Cooper's lifelong stand against sexism was first recorded. When Cooper requested to study Greek like her male counter-parts at St. Augustine she was denied. After continued persistence and lobbying to the faculty Cooper was finally allowed to study Greek. Cooper experienced a similar course when she was at Oberlin College. She wanted to pursue the gentleman's course and would not

take no for an answer. She persevered and had the distinct honor of being one of the first four African American females in the United States to graduate with a bachelor's degree. Because of Cooper's persistence to challenge the sexist stereotypes of her day, she also received a Master's degree for teaching Mathematics at the college level which was another great honor and accomplishment. Ultimately, even though Cooper had a major setback when she pursued a Ph.D., taking on the responsibility of adopting her brothers five children, she never lost sight of her dream. Cooper, eventually, at the age of sixty-five went to France where she became the second African American female to earn a Ph.D.(Seller, 1994).

Gates and Higginbotham (2004) suggested Cooper's tenure at M Street School was full of race and gender politics and stereotypes. Specifically a female making the transformational changes of obtaining the school's first accreditation and increasing student college acceptance into prestigious universities like, Harvard, Yale, and Brown. Gates also notes that Cooper, a woman, supported W.E.B. De Bois' philosophy that "colored" students should obtain a classical education. Even though Cooper had the opportunity to acquiesce to the stereotypes of her day, instead she fought for what she believed in. In fact, when Cooper did go back to teach at M Street she taught Greek, the very subject she had to originally fight to take because of gender discrimination.

Cooper (1892/1988) overcame race and gender obstacles by confronting them head-on. She refused to take no for an answer, especially when she believed she was being discriminated against because she was a woman. Cooper was an advocate for African Americans and women for over nine decades. She educated, wrote, spoke, pioneered and persevered to eradicate race and gender inequality. Cooper overcame sexism and racism

by advocating social change through education. Cooper used every tool available to fight for social change. Her book *A Voice from the South, by a Woman from the South* (1892/1988) continues to be heralded as a powerful voice to identify and expel race, and especially gender, inequalities 120 years after its original release in 1892.

Transformational leadership. “We too often mistake individuals’ honor for race development and so are ready to substitute pretty accomplishments for sound sense and earnest purpose” (Cooper, 1892/1988, p. 29)

Anna Julia Cooper navigated transformational leadership through the most turbulent times in United States history. Because Cooper lived through slavery, the Civil War, Segregation, and the dawn of the Civil Rights Movement, her leadership was far reaching. Even though Cooper wore the mantle of “Race Women,” Lamert and Bhan (1998) suggest some believed Cooper represented the piety of the white woman of her day. However, according to Cooper’s outspoken voice in her book *A Voice from the South, from a Woman of the South* (1892/1988), this concept is easily expelled. Lamert and Bhan (1998) explain that Cooper’s radiant beauty was often mistaken for an abeyance of White piety.

Cooper’s (1892/1988) transformational leadership spanned over nine decades. It included her many accomplishments: Principal of M Street School, President of Frelinghuysen University, Founder of Hannah Stanley Opportunity School, the first and only woman elected to the American Negro Academy, Co-founder of the Colored Women’s League, Editor of the Southland Magazine, contributor to the Washington Post, establisher of the first colored YWCA in Washington D. C., leader of the Women’s Club

Movement in Washington D. C., and arguably her greatest transformational leadership achievement: high school teacher for over 37 years.

Despite Cooper's litany of transformational leadership accomplishments, it was the power of her voice that proved most transformational. Cooper was known as a powerful and eloquent orator (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004). She spoke with a clear, powerfully, and resounding voice of equality and liberation. Cooper began speaking publicly shortly after her graduation from Oberlin College in 1884 at the age of 24. She published her book *A Voice from the South by a Woman from the South* in 1892 when she was only 32 years old. The book is a compilation of her speeches and essays on the issues of her day.

Cooper (1892/1988) was an expander and reformer. Her life spanned 105 years through the periods of Emancipation, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, Booker T. Washington and W.E. B. Du Bois, Harlem Renaissance, and the Civil Rights Movement. Anna Julia Cooper, once marginalized as a slave, heeded her call, followed her dreams, and embraced the mantle of transformational leader. She traveled nationally and internationally addressing the small and the great with her message of freedom and equality (Seller, 1994).

Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879-1961)

You can win life's battles if you keep on learning, keep on working, keep on believing [in] God, keep on walking, keep walking uprightly, keep on smiling, and keep on keeping on in the faith that wrong was made to lose and right was made to win. (Burroughs, as cited in S. Washington, 2006, p. 23)

Nannie Helen Burroughs was a school founder, prolific public speaker, Baptist women's organizer, clubwomen, and social feminist. She was a commanding and inspiring leader. Many named her *the female Booker T. Washington*, but at the same time

she was considered far more militant in race relations. Burroughs was a feminist who was considered gentle yet strong. She was outspoken and kind as long as you didn't rub her the wrong way (S. Washington, 2006).

Childhood. Burroughs was born in May 2, 1879 in rural Orange, Virginia to John and Jennie Burroughs. Her father John was an itinerant Baptist preacher and farmer. Her mother Jennie was a cook and former slave. Burroughs' parents provided a strong foundation to their two children. Burroughs' father, who was known as Lijah, bought his own freedom, and then a farm. Her mother Jennie had her freedom bought for her by her parents. Burroughs had a younger sister who she loved to play with as a young child. However, tragedy struck when her sister fell into a sulfur spring while looking at her reflection and died. Burroughs's mother Jennie was characterized by Burroughs as a proud, sweet, kindly, industrious, independent, and wonderful cook. Burroughs described her father as not taking full responsibility for his family. He was trained as a minister but never took a full time position at a church. He traveled as an Evangelist and was supported by his mother and sister. He was very charismatic and was known for being well dressed. All the churches he visited also gave him support. Eventually he left Burroughs's mother. There are some accounts stating that he died shortly after Burroughs's sister, however Burroughs accounted to Una Roberts Lawrence, editor on behalf of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, that he died in 1938 (S. Washington, 2006).

In 1883, when Burroughs was 5 years old, she was ready to enter school. Her mother Jennie wanted her child to have every opportunity for success in life and she knew education was the key to unlock the door. Jennie contemplated moving from rural

Virginia so her daughter would not be restricted to domestic service jobs. Jennie ultimately decided to move to Washington D.C., where her sister lived, so she could give her daughter a chance at a real education (S. Washington, 2006).

Like thousands of other African Americans migrating from rural-to-urban areas in the early 20th century searching for opportunity and a chance at a better life, Burroughs and her mother moved in search of education, better employment, improved housing, political rights, and overall better lives. However, even in Washington D.C., there were limited employment opportunities for Colored women, so Jennie had to take work as a cook while Burroughs went to school. In 1886, at the age of seven Burroughs was struck with typhoid fever and remained out of school for 4 years, after which she returned to school and completed 2 years of education for each year spent in school until she caught up with her class (S. Washington, 2006).

Burroughs entered the prestigious M Street School, the first high school for African Americans in the United States. She studied under renowned educators like Anna J. Cooper and Mary Church Terrell. During her high school years, Burroughs became active in school and church. She organized the Harriet Beecher Stowe Literary Society to promote writing and public speaking, for which she had a natural ability. Furthermore, Burroughs was mentored by Dr. Walter H. Brooks, the pastor of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, where her aunt was a lifelong member. Dr. Brooks saw great potential in Burroughs and encouraged her to become more involved in church, which she did. Burroughs graduated from M Street School in 1896 with honors (S. Washington, 2006).

Adulthood. Burroughs' transition from high school proved difficult. Burroughs admired her teachers and they admired her. She dreamed of being a science teacher's

assistant in the Washington D. C. schools, and one of her teachers promised Burroughs after graduation that she would help her get the job. After graduating she applied for the position at the Washington D. C. Board of Education, but was denied. Burroughs was devastated, believing the denial was due to racial discrimination and her lack of political connections (S. Washington, 2006).

Though she was disappointed, Burroughs moved forward to pursue her future. Ultimately her disappointment proved a stepping-stone for Burroughs, giving her strength to overcome the many future disappointments she would yet confront.

Looking for work, Burroughs contacted Booker T. Washington and applied at his Tuskegee Institute for a secretarial position but she was denied once again. Finally, thanks to a referral from a Tuskegee representative, Burroughs was hired at a newspaper, the *Christian Banner*, as a stenographer. This proved to be the beginning of Burroughs' fateful journey.

This journey began in Philadelphia, when she was promoted to be an editor for the *Christian Banner*. Then, between the years 1900 and 1909, she worked as a bookkeeper and editorial secretary for the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention in Louisville, Kentucky. After studying business in 1907, Burroughs received an honorary A.M. from Eckstein Norton University. Additionally, Burroughs began her journey of serving the women of her community. Seller (1994) wrote, "She also organized a Women's Industrial club, which served inexpensive lunches to working women and provided evening classes in office and domestic skills; it developed into six vocational and trade schools for African-American women" (p. 71).

Her faith became a priority in Burroughs's life, as she embarked on a lifetime of service to her fellow man through her work with the Baptist church. In 1900, at the meeting of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) in Richmond, Virginia, Burroughs founded the Women's Convention Auxiliary and began to travel extensively as its corresponding secretary. During that first year, Burroughs traveled 22,000 miles and wrote over 9,000 letters, all without a salary. She maintained this position for 39 years, from 1900-1939. During this time, Burroughs forged a coalition of women that went on to become the largest organization of Negro Christian women in the world, with over a million members (Seller, 1994).

Even though Burroughs increased the fundraising efforts from \$15 to \$1,000, she experienced opposition from many of the NBC male leaders. Every effort she made to organize the women was met with opposition from leaders that believed women should be subservient to men. These male leaders attempted to disregard Burroughs' attempts to help women by tabling her recommendations during annual meetings and placing them in endless committee loops (Seller, 1994).

Burroughs was determined and strategic as she continued to fight for women and their needs. As Burroughs traveled, she saw that Black women were often unable to obtain employment because they lacked skills and training. In 1901 Burroughs introduced the vision of a national training institution to train woman and girls. In 1905, Burroughs spoke at the First Baptist World Alliance Meeting in London on "Women's Part in the World's Work." During September 1906, Burroughs proposed a National Woman's Day for the churches on the fourth Sunday in July to raise money for women both domestically and internationally. Burroughs further intended National Woman's Day to

promote public speaking and leadership opportunities for women in order for them to have a voice in addressing the concerns of their families and communities. The following year, in 1907, National Woman's Day was inaugurated (Seller, 1994).

After numerous committee meetings in which NBC leaders attempted to block Burroughs' efforts to open the training school, she was finally granted the green light. After years of planning, traveling, speeches and fundraising, Burroughs had almost single-handedly raised the money to open the school. Dedicated on September 14, 1907, it finally opened on October 19, 1909 in Washington D. C., and was named the National Training School for Women and Girls Inc., or NTS (S. Washington, 2006).

With the motto: "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible," the school was located on a six-acre lot with one building, a stable and barn, and was surrounded by lush fruit trees. The school opened with five students and eight assistants, but increased to 150 students by the end of the first year. Even though the school was under the supervision of the Baptist Convention, all denominations were accepted. Students had to be at least fifteen years old and prepared for sixth grade-level studies. Both literary and vocational courses were offered, as well as a seminary program preparing students for missionary work. Burroughs, like Booker T. Washington, believed the Negro race needed training in domestic courses. Seller (1994) wrote, "The school emphasized the full development of true womanhood" (p. 72). A Victorian ideal of women had been instituted; this included piety, purity, and domesticity. Burroughs further recognized the importance of racial pride, and thus one of the required classes was a course exploring African American history and culture (Seller, 1994).

While leading the school Burroughs, a life long member of the NAACP, continued to crusade for African Americans and females by remaining active and connected to both communities. In 1927, Burroughs presented a paper titled “The Social Value of Negro History” with Carter Goodwin Woodson, an author, historian, and founder of the *Journal of Negro History*. During the Great Depression, Burroughs organized the self-help Cooperative Industries, Inc. She also allowed the school to host various conventions and civic meetings.

In 1915, the NBC tried to remove Burroughs and take control of the school. Charging that the school’s charter belonged under the auspices of the NBC, they waged a bitter and hard-fought campaign against Burroughs. Burroughs remained defiant, claiming of the school, “This is God’s Hill” (S. Washington, 2006, p. 64) and declared its purpose was to serve the Black women of the world by the Negro Baptist women. The NBC voted to dismiss Burroughs in 1939 but women rallied around her and she was ultimately reinstated. Burroughs had to close the school between the years 1935 and 1938 due to lack of funding. Compounding matters was the Tuskegee Institute, which removed its support from NTS because they did not approve of Burroughs moving away from their direct control.

Ultimately, after many challenges with the NBC, Burroughs prevailed. She renamed the school the National Seminary and Trades School for Girls. She reorganized the Board of Trustees and the Charter. The site expanded to 13 acres, and added a woman’s dormitory and chapel. Moreover, it would no longer offer industrial education, but rather focus exclusively on providing a Kindergarten through sixth grade school, offering Christian education and bilingual education in a safe and nurturing environment.

The school on “God’s Holy Hill” currently exists to this day, and is now known as Nannie Helen Burroughs School, Inc., in honor of its founder. In 1976 it was dedicated as a national historic monument. Nannie Helen Burroughs died in Washington, D.C., on May 20, 1961 (S. Washington, 2006).

Motivations and influences.

Human progress is neither rapid nor regular. Read both sacred and profane history, and you will note the forward and backward movements of nations in their religious and secular life... Ours has not been backward movement for it can truly be said that religious work, as carried on by our women, is God-ordained, God inspired, and because of their vigilance there can be no backward movement. (Burroughs, as cited in S. Washington, 2006, p. 40)

Burroughs’ early life influences were her foundation. Her mother Jennie instilled in Burroughs that a good education could be the vehicle that would drive her to success. Burroughs’ mother’s decision to move to Washington D. C. had a major influence on her life. In Washington D. C., Burroughs found and became intimate with God and Christianity. It was where her relationship with the Baptist Church began, and that relationship would continue for her entire life. Further M Street School High School in Washington D. C. was where she began organizing girls, speaking publicly, and writing, all the while advancing academically as she furthered her Christian education for eight summers in a row. M Street School proved to be the influence that motivated and inspired Burroughs to open her own school (S. Washington, 2006).

M Street School and its teachers had an important influence on Burroughs’ life. It was while under the leadership of Anna J. Cooper and Mary Church Terrell that Burroughs realized she was blessed by God with special academic, oratory, and leadership abilities (S. Washington, 2006). While at M Street, Burroughs took courses in law and short story writing in addition to her high school courses. Anna J. Cooper and

Mary Church Terrell were the most outstanding African American teachers, orators, and feminist of their time, and they directly taught and guided Burroughs.

Dr. Brooks, pastor of Nineteenth Street Baptist Church also had a major influence on the direction of Burroughs' life. According to Burroughs, Dr. Brooks helped her discover her belief in God. He enjoyed working with Burroughs, in addition to other youth in the church, and Burroughs admired him. Dr. Brooks and Burroughs' relationship lasted throughout their lives. S. Washington (2006) wrote that, "years later, she [Burroughs] honored his [Dr. Brooks'] teachings by including a poem he wrote, 'I am not Ashamed of What I Am,' in her book, *Think on these Things*" (p. 20). Dr. Brooks was Burroughs' mentor and supporter. As S. Washington wrote, "Dr. Brooks encouraged her to become more involved in church, and she took his words to heart" (p. 20). Burroughs' life achievements have often been compared to Booker T. Washington (Seller, 1994), and Washington, in fact had a tremendous influence on Burroughs' life. When Burroughs was denied her dream job of being a science teacher assistant after graduating high school, she contacted Washington for a job at the Tuskegee Institute. Even though Washington did not provide her with a job, his staff recommended Burroughs for the first real job she held, as an editor for the newspaper, the *Christian Banner* (S. Washington, 2006). Additionally, on September 19, 1902, against the advice of female and male convention leaders, Washington appeared to speak upon Burroughs request at the Woman's Convention. Many leaders thought no one would attend due to the ongoing dispute between Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. However, the event turned out to be so well attended they had to move it to a larger venue. Furthermore, Burroughs patterned her school after Washington's Tuskegee Institute by offering industrial training programs.

Unfortunately, Booker T. Washington finally pulled his support from Burroughs when the NBC battled Burroughs for control of the school.

Burroughs' outstanding oratory ability was a major influence in her life. Often, she would solicit opportunities to "speak pieces" in church programs (S. Washington, 2006, p. 20). Because Burroughs possessed such a prolific ability for public speaking, she could move the masses, opening doors for her all across the United States and around the world. Burroughs shared the platform with some of the most distinguished orators of her time, traveling the globe and speaking to thousands of people on the subjects of education, race, and gender inequity.

Burroughs' belief in God proved to be the ultimate influence and motivation in her life. Burroughs was known throughout her life and now in history as a powerful woman of God who dedicated her life to her fellow man. She attributed her life and all its accomplishments to God, spending the entirety of her entire adult life organizing people around Christianity and Christian values. S. Washington (2006) declared, "Her [Burroughs'] entire life revolved around her pursuit of her God-given mission to help African American women find ways to live triumphant lives and serve God" (p. back cover). Burroughs demonstrated, through every decision she made, that her life was in God's hands and that she relied totally on God to give her the strength to pursue her dreams.

Race and gender obstacles.

We believe that an industrial and classical education can be simultaneously attained, and it is our duty to get both. We are anxious for our girls to learn to think, but it is indispensable that they learn how to work. They may not have it to do, but to know how for themselves does far better than trust it to someone to know for them. (Burroughs, as cited in S. Washington, 2006, p. 50)

Immediately upon graduation from M Street School, Burroughs experienced her first devastating disappointment as a result of discrimination. As a new high school graduate, Burroughs was ready to make a decision as to what she would do next with her life. One teacher told Burroughs she would be an outstanding businesswoman. Though Burroughs thought that sounded nice, she did not know what a businesswoman did. Another teacher helped her pursue training as an expert stenographer and told her she would make a great writer. Yet another teacher told her that she had a speaking gift. Despite the teachers' observations, Burroughs' dream was to be a science teacher assistant in the Washington D. C. school district. After all, she had graduated high school with honors, and one of her teachers from M Street promised she would help Burroughs get the science assistant job after graduation (S. Washington, 2006).

Burroughs was excited for her bright future and prepared for it diligently, which is why it was all the more devastating when she did not get the position of science teacher assistant. According to the Washington D. C. school district, she had been denied the position because she was too young. Burroughs, however, believed it was because she was too dark. She believed the fact that she was African American was the real reason she didn't attain the position (Seller, 1994). Burroughs anguished, "It broke me up at first. I had my life all planned out, to settle down in Washington with my mother, do pleasant work, draw a good salary, and be comfortable the rest of my life" (S. Washington, 2006, p. 22). This was just the beginning of Burroughs' constant battle against discrimination.

After such a devastating hit, Burroughs rethought her life's path. As a member of the International Optimist Club, Burroughs believed she could win life's battles as long

as she kept trying and learning. S. Washington (2006) declared, “She pledged to be too large for worry, too noble for anger, too strong for fear, and too happy to permit trouble to get her” (p. 23). Burroughs’ continued optimism ultimately helped land her first job as an editor for the *Christian Banner*.

Burroughs ironically faced the greatest amount of discrimination at the hands of the church organization she loved. Even though her mother was against it, Burroughs moved to Philadelphia in 1896, at the age of 17, to work for the *Christian Banner*. Her wages were low so she had to take on part-time clerical jobs typing and taking shorthand for a local attorney. As fate had it the NBC Foreign Mission Board happened to be housed in the exact building as the newspaper she work for, and Reverend Lewis G. Jordon’s corresponding secretary Annie Armstrong hired Burroughs to perform clerical duties. Later in the year Rev. Jordon asked Burroughs to organize for the National Baptist Women with Armstrong. Burroughs had no idea that through this job, her life would be forever changed (S. Washington, 2006).

In 1897 a multi-racial group of Burroughs, Armstrong, Rev. Jordon, and two White Southern Baptist WMU committee members met for hours and organized the constitution for the National Baptist women’s auxiliary that they dreamed of forming. Each of the four members had a responsibility to introduce and promote the newly formed organization to Baptist churches and organizations. Burroughs’ responsibility would be to begin organizing women’s societies in Washington that would come together at the next annual convention. While working with Burroughs, an African American female noted, “Nothing as good as this has come to us since the emancipation” (S. Washington, 2006, p. 25). Upon Burroughs’ return to Washington D. C., she endured

further racial discrimination when she took a civil service exam and passed, but the government refused to hire her “because the office did not want to hire a ‘colored’ clerk” (p. 25). As a result, Burroughs continued seeking other opportunities, and took on a job as a janitor cleaning office buildings. Her experience in that job prompted Burroughs to note, “I worked like a man on that job” (p. 27).

In 1900, Burroughs’ dedication to the African American women was at last beginning to bear fruit, as were, Burroughs’ organizational and speaking abilities. “*How the Sisters are Hindered from Helping*” was delivered by Burroughs at the age of 21 at the National Baptist Convention in Richmond, Virginia, and it thrust her into the forefront of gender politics of the NBC. The speech focused on the unfair restrictions placed on the women in the church. Regrettably, at the time, many men took the words of Apostle Paul literally when he said, “Let your women keep silent in the churches... for it is not permitted unto them to speak” (1 Corinthians 14: 34-35, King James Version). As a result of this mindset, women were greatly discriminated against in the church, and not allowed to participate in the church like men. They were treated like second-class citizens in their own church (S. Washington, 2006). After Burroughs delivered the speech some said, “That little black girl took the place,” yet others felt she talked too much and they commented, “Why in the name of heavens don’t that gal sit down and shut up? She gives no one else a chance to say anything” (p. 32).

As a result of that speech, Burroughs’ life’s mission had been set. Burroughs began to organize women around the nation. She began to advocate for African American women’s rights in the United State and around the world. She began to speak and write on behalf of women’s issues across the nation. Burroughs fought long and hard to fulfill

her dream of opening an industrial school to train women in a classical and industrial education, becoming a crusader and champion for gender and racial equality (S. Washington, 2006).

With all of her drive, determination, tenacity, perseverance, favor, organizational skills, oratory ability, and influence, Burroughs' hardest battle was to overcome gender discrimination within the NBC. Even after Burroughs almost single-handedly raised the money to open National Training School for Women and Girls and lead the school through every aspect of its existence, she still had to battle to keep the male-dominated NBC from taking it from the Women's Convention Auxiliary (2006). Burroughs proclaimed,

The brother wanted a Woman's Board and not a Convention. They finally gave the "go" sign to the Convention and the women have been going ever since. In fact, they operated as a convention after the Cincinnati meeting—but the brethren could not see their way clear until they realized that the women were actually "setting the woods on fire" with the zeal for missions and Christian Education. (S. Washington, 2006, p. 33)

This battle over the National Training School for Women and Girls continued. Burroughs remained the school's leader and president for 39 years. Burroughs overcame racial and gender discrimination with her faith in God, which gave her the strength to keep fighting (S. Washington, 2006).

Transformational leadership characteristics. Burroughs' life was dedicated to transformational leadership. Moved by her love of God and commitment to helping her people, Burroughs began to be a prolific organizer of women. In 1896, Burroughs assisted in organizing the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). In 1897, Burroughs started her first official duties as the associate editor at the Christian Banner in

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which allowed her to reach women across the nation with her writings (S. Washington, 2006).

In 1900, Burroughs relocated to Louisville, Kentucky, to perform secretarial duties for the Foreign Mission Board of the NBC. In 1909, after 6 years of traveling, speeches, and fundraiser, Burroughs founded the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C. Most consider the NTS the most impacting of Burroughs' transformational leadership accomplishments. In 1976, after Burroughs' death, it was dedicated in her honor and renamed Nannie Helen Burroughs School. It has the designation of a National Historic Landmark. The school focused on training students for employment. Burroughs provided classes in domestic science and clerical skills, but also in shoe repair, barbering, and gardening (Seller, 1994).

Burroughs' motto was: "We specialize in the wholly impossible." She believed that no honest work deemed any man and she did not tolerate people looking down on her students that trained in domestic courses. Burroughs created a creed of racial self-help that she espoused and required the students of her program to follow. They were the three B's: the Bible, the bath, and the broom, which were symbolic of a clean life, a clean body, and a clean house (Seller, 1994).

Burroughs wanted domestic work to be professionalized and unionized, and she taught her students to be respectable as employees by being pious, pure, and domestic, but not submissive. Burroughs focused on the necessity of African American women to have a sense of pride and self-worth. African American history with an emphasis on culture was a required class in her school's Department of Negro History. Burroughs served in the National League of Republican Colored Women, and the National

Association of Wage Earners, advocating legislation related to improving wages for domestic laborers and other jobs held by women (Seller, 1994). During the early years of the depression, in 1931, President Herbert Hoover appointed Burroughs as committee chairwomen regarding Negro Housing for his White House Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.

Burroughs' life truly specialized in the wholly impossible. She recruited over 1.5 million women during her 48-year tenure as the corresponding secretary of the Women's Auxiliary Convention to the NBC. The institutions Burroughs pioneered are still reaching and impacting people today. She was the ultimate transformational leader, fighting valiantly for the Women's Convention, National Training School for Women and Girls, and the rights of all African Americans (Seller, 1994).

Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961)

“We must be as one Negro moved by the suffering of all Negroes” (Brown, as cited in Wadlington & Knapp, 1999, p. 175). Born Lottie Hawkins, Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown was the founder and principal of the Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI), at Sedalia, North Carolina, ten miles east of Greensboro, North Carolina. She has been known as the “Greatest Negro woman the race has produced;” the “First lady of social graces;” “The twig binder of Sedalia;” “One of the foremost exponents of cultural education;” and “Woman of the Year” (Smith 1982, p. 191). With such superlatives, one might ask, who was this woman, and what did she do to elicit such praise?

Even though Charlotte Brown was raised, and attended school, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, she was born in Henderson, North Carolina on June 11, 1883. Caroline Frances, Brown's mother, was the youngest of twelve children born to Mingo (step

father) and Rebecca (mother) Hawkins. Her father, from whom she was separated at the time of her birth, was the son of the family that lived on the next plantation over. When Brown was born, colored people were migrating to the North in large numbers, with Boston, Massachusetts being the preferred destination for many of the reformist Negroes that originated in the eastern section of North Carolina. Brown's earliest memories were of traveling towards the railroad station with her mother and listening to stories that they were traveling to Boston (Smith, 1982).

At the age of 3, Brown's mother stood her on the chair in church in order for her to say her first speech: "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" (Smith, 1982, p.15). Brown also remembered traveling all around as a child, receiving nickels and pennies that were tossed at her in appreciation of her impressive oratory skills.

Of her childhood, she writes: "My early years were uneventful except for these public appearances; but by the time that I was twelve years old my desire for leadership had asserted itself, and in the city of Cambridge I had organized a little kindergarten department in the Sunday School of the Union Baptist Church. Before I was fourteen years of age, I had been chosen orator on a very important occasion when the minister of the church was celebrating his fifteenth anniversary as pastor, and in the presence of the governor of the State and his council I had dared to eulogize this pastor and receive the plaudits of the great throng." (Daniel, 1931, para. 4)

Brown described fond memories of her early childhood in the South. Although she no longer lived in Henderson, North Carolina, she visited her mother Rebecca every Christmas. Brown's mother was resourceful, spiritual, and a lover of beauty. Caroline's mother and made a warm and comfortable home for her and their two children, Brown and Mingo. This home had a beautiful parlor, dining room, as well as small but warm bedrooms. Brown had a small room off from her mother's. She remembered with

fondness the beauty of her bed and her furniture when she was a little girl (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999).

Brown was able to attend the famous Allston Grammar School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which benefited her greatly. Her first graduation was a proud occasion for her family, as she was selected to be the school's speaker. Brown's next school was the Cambridge English High School, where Mr. Ray Green Huling was principal. He displayed a great interest in Brown's welfare due to her passionate for art. Brown noted the following in regard to her skills as an artist:

I remember one day seeing the eighteen hundred or more students hurrying to the chapel," says she, "and I went along with a large number mostly of the other group, and how abashed I was when I saw that a crayon portrait of one of my classmates that I had made and brought to her as a gift was being exhibited to the entire student body. This was one of the means that I had for earning extra money--doing crayon portraits for many of my friends. There hang now on the walls in Cambridge some of the work that I did in those early days. (Daniel, 1931, para. 8)

In April 1900, as Brown was preparing to graduate from high school, she ran home to tell her mother that the girls had decided to wear silk slips underneath their graduation attire. Her mother, however, informed Brown she could not afford to buy a silk slip for her, adding that one must make enough money if they wanted to wear silk, which led Brown to ponder what it might feel like to wear a silk slip under her dress. Knowing all the White female students would wear a silk slip; Brown was determined to buy one for herself. She went to the store and tried on a silk slip to see how it felt and from the moment onward, her determination would be become her greatest asset in helping her accomplish all of her life's dreams and goals (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). In 1900, during her senior year of high school, Brown met a mentor who helped shape her life's work. Her name was Alice Freeman Palmer, the first woman president of

Wellesley College, and Brown met her for the first time by chance, while Palmer was pushing a stroller and reading. Brown made such a favorable impression on Palmer that she not only gave advice about education and career, but also funded Brown's tuition so she could attend Normal School, which would prepare Brown for her life's mission: to become a teacher. Brown wanted to attend the Radcliffe Institute after high school, as a means to provide her with the best possible preparation for her career as a teacher. However, Brown's mother did not agree this was necessary, urging her daughter to begin her teaching career immediately. As a compromise, Brown enrolled in Salem's Normal School. In 1902, Hawkins entered the Salem Teacher's College, in Salem, Massachusetts (Wadlington & Knapp, 1999).

It was during another seemingly chance meeting on Brown's daily travels to her classes in Salem via trolley train that she met a lady that would alter the course of history. Mrs. Emerson was the field secretary of the American Missionary Association (AMA), an organization that helped support African Americans in the South after the Civil War. Emerson offered Brown a teaching position at an established school in Florida and at one-room schoolhouse in North Carolina Brown's place of birth. Excited, Charlotte ran home to tell her mother. She began to think about joining the ranks of all the great African American female educators that she so admired like Lucy Craft Laney. Brown's mother reminded her that her goal should be to graduate from college, but Brown was so excited about teaching her own people in the South that her mind had been made up. She accepted the teaching job with the AMA, with the understanding that she would be complete her final year of study. At the age of 18, Brown traveled to North Carolina, where she was paid \$25 per month to teach at Bethany Institute, in Sedalia, North

Carolina. Although she never did formally complete her final year of study, Salem ultimately awarded her a degree based on the work she did at PMI. (Silcox-Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Fifty children, with Brown as their teacher, attended Bethany Institute on the first morning it opened. In the spring of 1902, however, the AMA made a transformation in its school structure in the South. They closed all small schools and began to maintain their large school campuses. Bethany Institute closed in 1902. (The AMA closed all of its small schools in the South) (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999).

Brown was devastated. She had been well received into the community and was concerned with providing a quality education for African American children in the South. The AMA offered Brown a teaching position, and she prayed, asking God to help her make the right decision. As a result of this soul-searching, in 1902, Brown began to raise money so she could open her own school in Sedalia, North Carolina. The first stop she made was to her earlier benefactor, Alice Palmer, to whom she petitioned advice and support, only to find her bedridden, in ill health, and financially depleted. Brown, disappointed that her mentor was in such poor health, was more determined than ever to open her school. On October 10, 1902, the Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI) opened its door named after her mentor and pioneering educator Alice Freeman Palmer. During the summer of 1903 George Herbert Palmer (husband of Alice Freeman Palmer) gave official permission to name the school after his wife (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown was married to Edward S. Brown in 1911. Edward was a graduate of Harvard University, and rented a room from Brown's mother while he was a student. Brown's marriage to Edward marriage lasted only a year, ending in divorce. Brown

again married in 1923, and this too ended in divorce. Brown never had any children (Wadelington & Knapp, 1999). .

Motivations and influences. “I have devoted my life to establishing for Negro youth something superior to Jim Crowism” (Brown, as cited in tiffdjones, 2009, para. 4).

Brown born in Henderson, North Carolina in 1883, Brown was descended from slaves. Brown had close relationship with her mother Caroline, who was a major influence on her life. Caroline had a received her education from the elementary department of Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. Growing up in the South, where Jim Crow laws precluded African American boys and girls from attending school with White children, Caroline wanted her children to have the opportunities that only an education could bring. Caroline hated the Jim Crow laws, which also separated Blacks from Whites on trains and other public facilities, and she did not want her children to grow up in that environment. In 1885, when Brown was 5 years old her mother moved their family of 15 to Cambridge, Massachusetts, near Boston, fleeing the inhumane Jim Crow conditions in the South, so her family could find better social, financial, and educational opportunities. In order to allow for her family to get a chance at a good education in the North, Caroline left behind a beautiful home and a large farm (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Though Brown was an excellent student, she was one of the few African American students in Cambridge. Her chance encounter with educator Alice Freeman Palmer, who would become her mentor, was a major motivation and influence on her life. While pushing a stroller and reading a book of poetry by Virgil, Alice Palmer was so impressed by Hawkins’s determination to pursue an advanced education that she aided in

her sponsorship of Hawkins's Education. Brown also met many influential people in Boston—society people that she would later approach to assist her with her school (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995)

Booker T. Washington's efforts to provide African Americans with an industrial education and trade helped influence Brown in her early years working at PMI. Brown used the Tuskegee Institute as a model for PMI, focusing on basic instruction and manual training. Daily chores were also a part of student life. Brown also believed, like Washington, that hard work and good citizenship would aid African Americans in obtaining respect in the community (Gates & Higginbotham, 2004). Brown had known of both the Tuskegee Institute and Booker T. Washington from childhood. Many of Brown's associates and friends approved of Washington's philosophy, so it was not unusual for Brown to use Tuskegee as a model for her school. During the later years of PMI, Brown tried to move away from Washington's philosophies. Smith (1982) explains how Brown tried to conclude that from the beginning, "she emphasized the development of culture and social graces" (p. 193). Smith, however, discounts that explanation, citing an advertisement pamphlet that had been endorsed by Washington that Brown's offerings at PMI included, "domestic service...farm life...leadership in rural life...community service...and useful Christian living" (p. 193). It is therefore evident that Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute had a significant influence of Brown and the direction of PMI.

Furthermore, Brown was motivated by the lack of educational opportunities in the South for African American children. When she returned home to teach for the American Missionary Association at Bethany Institute, she was moved by the amenities provided of

the African American children: the school was little more than a one room shack. Brown began to fix the school herself, but sadly, after the first year it was closed. It did not take her long to realize this was where she wanted to build her life's work. At the time there was only one high school for White students and no high school for African Americans. Silcox-Jarrett (1995) remarked, "Who else would teach the children to read and to learn the best way to run a farm?" (p. 21) Brown knew if she left, the children there would never get an education. After founding PMI, Brown remained in Sedalia for 50 years. A devout Christian who served the church throughout her life, Charlotte Hawkins Brown died in Greensboro, North Carolina on January 11, 1961 (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Race and gender obstacles. "African American women continued to be the burden bearers of the race" (Brown, as cited in Wadelington & Knapp, 1999, p. 175).

Although Brown herself had numerous good relationships with Whites both male and female, she was a champion for race equality. Brown, being both African American and a daughter of the South, was keenly aware of racial and gender discrimination. Brown so cared for her influential mentor Alice Palmer that she named a school after her. Additionally, Palmer, who was of ill health when Brown started the school, recommended Brown to several potential donors to help fund the opening of PMI. This put Brown in a unique situation, as she gained the respect and acceptance of many in Boston's White community because of her dedication and determination with PMI. However, that was in Boston, a world apart from the Jim Crow South.

Brown had several experiences with segregated railway cars in the 1920s. Silcox-Jarrett gives the following account: "All your kinds are on the Jim Crow car. Just where you need to be, teacher. And I'll see to it that you go sit with the others, teacher"

(Silcox-Jarrett, 1995, p. 45). Brown fought for equal rights for African Americans by speaking out on issues of racial injustice, delivering speeches and even filing lawsuits. Today, Brown is featured in the National Museum of American History's permanent exhibit, "America on the Move" (Smith, 1982).

The White community of Sedalia had a different outlook on Brown's work with African American children. Silcox-Jarrett (1995) wrote that, "[t]he White community didn't trust Charlotte for three reasons: First, she was African- American; second, she was a woman; and third, she came from up North." Both race and gender obstacles had to be overcome by Brown if she wanted to succeed in her dream to start a school. Furthermore, the White community did not appreciate the fact that Brown came to teach African Americans, fearing this could lead to trouble. African Americans, interestingly enough, also mistrusted Brown. This was primarily due to the fact that they were unfamiliar with what she wanted to teach them, as well as their perception that her way of life was somehow strange.

Brown attributed her ability to overcome the racial and gender obstacles she faced by winning over the children she taught in her school. She believed if she could be successful teaching the children, she would gain the respect of their parents and the community. To that end, Brown committed her life to dynamically and successfully establishing a school of excellence that provided students with a quality education, Christian values, and a responsibility to their community and to humanity. Brown served on many interracial organizations designed to bring about harmony between the races (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Transformational leadership characteristics. “I would rather my children would die unborn than be sacrificed upon the altar of prejudice and hatred to preserve White supremacy” (Brown, as cited in Wadelington & Knapp, 1999, p. 175).

The first recorded evidence of Brown’s leadership manifested in 1895 when she was only 12 and regularly attended Sunday school in Cambridge. It was at Sunday school that Brown first displayed her leadership quality. Believing there was a need for a kindergarten at her church; Brown took it upon herself to create one. Then, when she was 14, in 1879, Brown was chosen as an orator for her pastor’s fifteenth anniversary, in which the governor of Massachusetts and some members of his advisory council were in attendance. They were very impressed with the abilities of the young Brown (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown’s ultimate display of transformational leadership was thrust upon her shoulders at the young age of 19 when she started teaching in that one room schoolhouse. By the very next year, after that school had closed, she raised the funds to open her own school in the rural South. Brown ended her career 50 years after serving as the founder and leader of PMI, which, through her transformational leadership abilities allowed her to single-handedly raise enough money and support from her friends in the North, to create the 200-acre educational institution serving thousand of students. Brown also displayed transformational leadership by only having African American on the PMI Board of Trustees. At the time, not even African American institutions abided by this organizational model (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Among other features, the school provided African American youth with an opportunity for cultural learning. Its mission was to be an institution where African

Americans could escape the prevailing racist assumption that they were somehow innately inferior to their White counterparts, and therefore did not need any education beyond vocational training (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown was a transformational leader because PMI was a different model, providing college preparation in a junior and senior high school environment. The program included classes in music, drama, math, art, literature, and romance languages. Students were placed in small cohorts with teachers serving as advisers. Each student received individual training in character development and appearance. Additionally, all students had to work one hour per day for the school. By 1915, Palmer had garnered support from national figures such as Booker T. Washington, Boston philanthropists Carrie and Galen Stone, and Harvard University president Charles William Eliot (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Turning tragedy to triumph was another characteristic of Brown's leadership. After a major fire demolished two of PMI's six main buildings in 1917, Brown's determination and perseverance raised enough money to pay for the losses, thus preventing the school from closing. This successful campaign also encouraged increased biracial, or both Black and White, support for PMI (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995). Brown was a leader serving on several biracial organizations to bring harmony to the races, helping to found the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919.

Brown displayed leadership by developing relationships with the other female African American leaders of her time. Brown went on a sabbatical for 1 year to travel and study. In Europe she exchanged ideas with Black educators Mary McLeod Bethune and Nannie Helen Burroughs. Together, these three women were known as the "Three B's

of Education (Bethune, Burroughs and Brown)." The Three B's aspired to combine a holistic triangulation of ideas and activities in order to achieve racial equality. Brown's triangle encompassed deeds, education, and religion; Bethune's triangle was "the heart, the head, and the hand"; Burroughs' was "the Bible, the book, and the broom." By 1925, Brown was a known national speaker who emphasized these principals and concepts through a liberal arts and cultural education for racial uplift (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown was a transformational leader who worked on state reforms for education. She assisted in the creation of the first school for delinquent African American girls. When Brown then saw a need for higher education, she founded a junior college. Due to Brown's leadership, PMI developed a reputation as a prestigious reputation and continually drew middle- and upper-class students from notable families from the United States, Africa, Bermuda, Cuba, and countries of Central America. Due to the need for public education that had yet to be provided for African Americans in Sedalia, Brown displayed leadership and closed the elementary and junior college departments in 1937 and persuaded Sedalia's Guilford County officials to open the county's first public rural high school for African Americans. Brown was also president of the Federation of Women's Clubs of North Carolina where she advocated and led women and established an Industrial Home for delinquent Negro girls (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown was also the vice-president of the National Association of Colored Women, a member of both the Southern Interracial Commission and the Interracial Committee of the Federal Council of Churches; Brown served on the advisory board of the Southern Division of the Urban League, and she also served on the executive board of the National Association of Teachers of Colored Schools. Additionally, in 1926 Brown

was one of the seven educational leaders honored by the Board of Education of North Carolina and inducted into its "Hall of Fame" at the Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial. Further, Brown was elected a member of the Twentieth Century Club of Boston in 1928. The organization reserves membership to persons who have achieved recognition in education, science, art or religion. Both North Carolina College for Negroes and Livingstone College conferred a Master's Degree on Brown in acknowledgement of her educational contributions. In 1930, Brown was elected to be a delegate to represent the Council of Congregational Churches in America at the conference at Bournemouth, England (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

In 1909, Brown became one of founders of the North Carolina State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. This national organization of reformist was developed primarily for the betterment of Negro womanhood. Additionally in 1915, Brown became the North Carolina Federation's second president. She remained in office for 21 years, the longest tenure of any of the Federation's presidents to date. The most effective project undertaken by the organization while Brown served as president was the procurement of the Efland Home for Wayward Girls. The Efland Home was in Orange County near Mebane, North Carolina. The home was the only one of its kind in North Carolina (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown also was a major influence on the economic development of African Americans in Sedalia. When Brown arrived in Sedalia in 1901, only two African American families owned their own farm. By 1930, 95% of the families were independent farmers and homeowners. This accomplishment was primarily successful through the Home Ownership Association, an organization founded by Brown (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Brown became known as the "first lady of social graces" after appearing on national radio show and publishing the book *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, to Wear* in 1940. During the mid-1940s, Brown raised \$100,000 for an endowment. Ebony magazine featured Brown in an article on the prestigious PMI. Declaring PMI as the only school of its kind in America. Brown's contributions and affiliations are too numerous to summarize in full. Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown's impact on North Carolina and the United States is immense beyond measure. She was a dedicated educator, committed community servant and a relentless advocate for her people (Silcox-Jarrett, 1995).

Dr. Mary Montle Bacon (1942-present)

Mary Montle Bacon is an educator, social psychologist, dynamic public speaker, and educational consultant. She has served over 40 years in education as a teacher, administrator, and school counselor. She is a highly sought after keynote speaker and educational consultant to schools and school districts across the United States and internationally. Bacon has worked at the local and state levels with institutional field services and has supervisory experience. She has worked for over 30 years in human resources, education, diversity, human relations, organizational development, leadership, conflict resolution, and as a consultant for group facilitation.

Childhood. "Being poor did not define who you were, but only defined how you behaved in the world you inherited" (M. Bacon, personal communication, June 17, 2012).

Dr. Mary Montle Bacon was born in New Orleans, Louisiana to Alma Narcissee and Maulmon Montle. Montle had four siblings (one full and three half). Both of her parents and all of her siblings are now deceased. As a young child, Bacon recalls that both her mother and father were strict and had very high expectations. She stated both of

her parents were firm believers that education was important, and they put tremendous emphasis on Bacon obtaining a good education in an environment where Black children were typically denied this opportunity. Bacon spent most of her childhood growing up in the projects of New Orleans with her single mother and in her adolescent years in the tenements of Harlem with her father in close proximity but minimally involved in her life. Her environment helped form Bacon's outlook on and focus in life. "Coming from a 'culture of poverty' shaped my life," reflected Bacon in more positive than negative ways. (Personal communication, June, 2012). She recalled watching both of her parents with only a third grade (father) and second grade (mother) education navigate successfully through all of the barriers that characterized institutionalized racism. Bacon witnessed both her mother and father work hard to become responsible home and landowners. She reminisced that her mother worked as a maid in a White family's home. Bacon explained, "My mother was on welfare and worked as a maid but she saved her money and subsequently built a brand new home from her meager income." She continued to save until she had enough to buy an old rooming house, and according to Bacon, her mother would send her to collect rent when she was only 8 years old, riding on the bus all by herself across town to pick up the money. One of the ladies in the rooming house would collect the rent and tie it up in a little scarf and pin it to Bacon's slip to travel back on the bus across town. "I had this responsibility at a young age and as a result I became very responsible as a child," Bacon stated. Bacon's mother worked hard to provide her children with a better life, and Bacon recalled how her mother would imitate in her home what she had seen in the White families' homes, decorating her small

project home like a White family's from the damask drapes to the French provincial furniture to the frilly canopy bed in her room.

Like her mother, Bacon's father reinforced the notion that hard work can overcome poverty. She said that he started investing in real estate when she was a little girl where he bought numerous old run-down properties in Harlem and Queens. "He started by using old building materials to rehabilitate abandoned properties," reflected Bacon (personal communication, June 17, 2012), fixing up the properties and renting them to impoverished, homeless families. "He retired a very successful real estate investor," stated Bacon. She was very proud of her father because before his death he sold the many properties he accumulated to the families that had been renting from him for years. Bacon proudly reminisces how both her parents had been so resourceful they were able to build a middle class life for themselves even though they were uneducated themselves and came from a culture of poverty.

According to Bacon, traveling from New Orleans to Harlem allowed her to experience the kind of diversity that helped shape her worldviews. Additionally, her parents, by example, taught her how to cope and succeed, even though the wider society viewed them as disadvantaged.

Bacon had a dichotomous experience during her early years of school. "My mother and father always wanted the best education for me" (personal communication, June 17, 2012). Bacon's mother did not want her to attend segregated public schools in New Orleans. Her mother did not believe that the public schools would provide her children with the best education because she felt that the school reserved for African American children were inferior and the school system treated them poorly. Bacon's

mother, instead of sending her to public school, enrolled her in a Catholic school although her mother was not a Catholic. Sixty percent of the population in New Orleans was catholic, so it was not unusual for non-Catholics to attend Catholic schools. In 1958, Bacon attended Xavier University Preparatory High School. She graduated in 1960. She was very successful student and graduated in the top 10% of her senior class.

According to Bacon her Catholic school experience had two very different impacts on her life even though they were also segregated. On one hand, the religious and moral teachings from the school gave her the “moral compass” that continues to influence her life positively, “Knowing what was right and wrong was an important experience in my religious upbringing.” These lessons still guide Bacon’s life and relationships on a human and professional level. On the other hand, Bacon remembered racial discrimination at the school: “I remember walking to school, passing White Catholic schools and wondering why I had to walk so far to attend a segregated Black Catholic school.” As a child, Bacon questioned and did not understand how certain religious orders that were exclusively White served her school while another order that ran a comparable Black Catholic school across town had only Black nuns. She said, “We were taught by all White people” (personal communication, June, 2012). She also questioned the punitive nature of Catholicism.

The community had a positive influence on Bacon as a young child. She remembered that there were individuals in her community that saw something special in her. She reminisced about a lady that sponsored her to participate in the Girl Scouts and other positive learning and recreational activities. They provided help to my mother and supported me in extra activities” (personal communication, June, 2012). These

individuals helped Bacon to develop leadership skills as a child by exposing her to positive childhood experiences that were typically unavailable to young people in poor communities.

Adulthood. Bacon's diverse education and career experiences prepared her to be a highly effective transformational educational leader. She attended Fordham University, a Jesuit University in New York, graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1964, majoring in secondary education. After graduating, between 1964 and 1967, Bacon entered the field of education and taught junior high and high school in New York. She taught Spanish, French, and Remedial Reading. Bacon reflected that while she was teaching she began to spend more and more time counseling instead of teaching students. During this period, Bacon realized she had a passion and gift for counseling and subsequently decided to pursue her love for counseling. In 1967, she applied and was accepted to Stanford University in California where she obtained a Master of Arts degree in Guidance and Counseling, graduating in 1971. While working full time as an educational administrator in a poor community adjacent to the Stanford campus and subsequently a probation officer, she was also pursuing her doctorate degree, from 1968 to 1978, when she earned her Ph.D. in Social Psychology. Between 1973 and 1974, Bacon also completed a Fellowship Program in Special Education Administration at San Francisco State University. During 1974 and 1975, Bacon continued preparing to be an effective educational leader by completing an administrative credential from San Jose State University (Bacon, nod).

Bacon attributes her ability to effectively reach at-risk youth due to her broad work experiences more than her educational endeavors. Between 1968 and 1970, she

worked as a teaching research assistant in Stanford's Department of Psychology. At that time, Bacon taught undergraduate courses and supervised research related to Community Psychology, Developmental Psychology, Racism and Prejudice, and The Psychological Dimensions of the African-American Experience.

Between the years 1968 and 1972, Bacon worked as a probation officer and assistant to the director at the San Mateo Probation Department. There, she supported juveniles in custody and on probation in the community, creating treatment strategies for delinquent, pre-delinquent and needy youth. Bacon became the Assistant to the Director in a community based probation services unit and managed the Intake and Investigation Unit. In that capacity, Bacon instructed and managed staff and foster parents and developed community-based delinquency presentation programs (Bacon, nod.).

In 1972 and 1973, Bacon worked for the Attorney General for the State of California as a Field Deputy in the crime prevention unit. There, she was instrumental in program creation for crime and delinquency prevention and served as a consultant and instructor to law enforcement and correctional departments, community groups and school districts. Additionally, Bacon arranged conferences and performed research for training the public in areas related to consumer protection, crime and delinquency prevention, and curriculum planning with a special focus on assisting delinquent and underprivileged youth (Bacon, n.d).

Between 1973 and 1982, in Ravenswood City, California, Bacon served as Assistant Superintendent and Director of Student Services for the Ravenswood School District. As a member of the Administrative Cabinet in a school district with students and families from a low socio-economic community, Bacon managed programs in Student

Services including special education, gifted and talented education, psychological services, Pupil Personnel Services, health services, attendance; and welfare, discipline. curriculum and instruction and all district categorical programs, As Assistant Superintendent, Bacon provided supervision to develop a centralized, cost effective professional development program for all personnel, as well as a clearly articulated management system for incorporating programs and procedures for refining discipline, and serving special groups in the schools (Bacon, n.d.).

Between the fall of 1978 and the spring of 1982, Bacon served as an instructor at the University of Santa Clara in the departments of psychology and education. While there, she taught in the Graduate Division of Teacher Training courses called "Psychological Foundations of Education" and "Contemporary Issues in Developmental Psychology" concentrating on modern-day trends in child development, academic and moral development, racial and ethnic identity.

Bacon continued her varied career experiences in California's Palo Alto Unified School District. From the fall of 1982 and the summer of 2003, Bacon served as the Director of Health and Human Services. As a member of the Administrative Management Team, Bacon provided supervision for Alternative Education, Health Services, Social Services, Psychological Services, Attendance and Welfare, Student Discipline, Multicultural Education, Substance Abuse Education and Prevention, and Family Life Education (Bacon, n.d.).

From 1990 to the present, Bacon has been the leader and chief executive officer of the educational consulting firm "Images of a Culture." As a human resources consultant both nationally and internationally, Bacon has conducted as many as 150

keynote addresses and seminars annually on a variety of subjects pertaining to serving at-risk students, as well as Diversity, Culturally Responsive Education, Multicultural Education, Closing the Achievement Gap, Bilingual/Bicultural Service Delivery, the Challenge of Change Behavior Management, Serving African American Students and Families, and Effective Institutional Interventions for Working with Students and Families from the Culture of Poverty. Furthermore, Bacon is responsible for implementing two multiple-year professional development contracts with two large inner-city school districts focused on closing the achievement gap (Bacon, n.d.).

Bacon is mother of two adult adopted children—one girl and one boy as well as a surrogate parent for her sister’s two children. She was married in 1955 but divorced 14 years later. Mr. Bacon, her ex-husband, was a police officer and parole officer.

Motivation and influences. “As an adult all the jobs that I have had really shaped my perspectives of the world” (M. Bacon, personal communication, June 17, 2012).

“Growing up in a culture of poverty and diversity influenced my life’s work,” explained Bacon (personal communication, June 17, 2012). She grew up in the projects of New Orleans and the tenements of Harlem. She shared how these two environments were extremely different in the culture of each community and in their way of life, noting that both communities had a “Culture of Poverty.” Bacon recalled how she witnessed her parents, whom the broader world saw as disadvantaged, maneuver through the systems of institutionalized racism. Bacon said, “You just knew your place” (personal communication, June 17, 2012). She admired how even though both of her parents were born in poverty and only attained a second and third grade education they were able to work hard, save and become successful as property owners. Bacon was motivated by this

resilience and it influenced her to not expect less from children that come from poor children.

As a child growing up and studying in a parochial school, Catholicism had a major influence on Bacon's life in both a positive and negative manner. Bacon attributes the "moral compass" that continues to guide her human interactions to the instruction she received attending Catholic school. She explained that the values of doing the right thing and being an honest and responsible human being were instilled in her as a child while attending parochial schools. However, she stated that while in Catholic school she would often ask why only Whites were allowed to teach and lead the schools. She also recalled the extreme "punitive" nature of attending parochial school. During college at Fordham University—a Jesuit University—Bacon stopped being a practicing Catholic, and to this day she has never returned to the church (personal communication, June 17, 2012).

"My diversified career experiences have influenced my life's work," reflected Bacon (personal communication, June 17, 2012). "I always wanted to be a teacher so I started teaching junior high school in Queens New York" (personal communication, June 17, 2012). Bacon's journey from the projects of New Orleans and the tenements of Harlem to a career as an educational consultant was diverse and exciting, and has made her exceptionally qualified both personally and professionally to confront issues related to closing the achievement gap for those who are racially, ethnically and culturally diverse, as well as those who come from the culture of poverty.

As an experienced teacher, university instructor, counselor, psychologist and school administrator, Bacon has also worked as a Probation Officer in juvenile halls and community programs, continuing her career in juvenile justice as a Field Deputy in the

California State Attorney's office. When Bacon's life's path brought her to Stanford University, she recalled having difficulties adjusting because it was a "different" system than what she had previously experienced. She decided to enter the work force as a guidance counselor because she said she had a better opportunity to counsel students as a teacher, than in her role as a guidance counselor.

During the past 30 years, Bacon has conducted keynote addresses and seminars to hundreds of thousands of educators and leaders throughout the country and world. Bacon's work is primarily related to serving the most challenged and challenging youth and families in our educational systems. "Images of a Culture," Bacon's company, is currently involved in a 3-year project with the Los Angeles Unified School District in which Bacon provides professional development for district staff on removing negative beliefs, attitudes, and expectations related to low-performing inner-city youth. Bacon worked with Puerto Rican and other Hispanic youth and families on the Lower East Side of New York and with the National Conference of Christians and Jews which was a life changing experience in shaping her understanding of diversity. Additionally, Bacon's exhaustive travels throughout the world, in which she worked with diverse communities and her involvement with the Experiment in International Living provided a wealth of experience that inspired a lifelong passion for working with multicultural communities in which she experienced the world from a rich and culturally varied perspective.

Overcoming race and gender obstacles. "I was the poster child for Affirmative Action" (M. Bacon, personal communication, June 17, 2012).

"You cannot avoid being conscious of racism being born in the South." Bacon viewed the segregated South as institutionalized racism that was not just targeted at her

personally. She revisited the time when everyone just “knew their place.” “I began to question what I saw as young as kindergarten,” recalled Bacon (personal communication, June 17, 2012). Bacon discussed how she asked the nuns why she had to walk so far to school. Bacon also wondered why some schools had all White nuns and why some schools had all Black nuns. She also wondered why there were no Black priests.

Bacon stated her brother was treated differently and more harshly than she was and that Black boys were more of a target. Bacon stated that you were not slighted individually, but that racism was part of the fabric of the community. Though Bacon noted that her mother worked cleaning houses and hotel rooms later in New York she shared that during the summer before entering college even after receiving several scholarships, she also worked cleaning houses and as a maid in a hotel alongside her mother while attending college in New York. Bacon believes that in the South there are limitations to what jobs she would be allowed to do. She recalled very limited job options for Blacks and especially Black females. Bacon explained that institutionalized racism was not as painful as being singled out personally with a specific incident. She explains that you became acclimated to being treated as unequal to White people and you learned how to function in that environment. According to Bacon, this type of racism, though painful is not the same as believing you have equality and then experiencing a single incident that affects you personally.

Bacon does not consider herself a victim of racial and gender discrimination. Contrary to what many may think, she stated her race (African American) and gender (female) were assets that allowed her to advance in her career and they were a positive aspect of her progression because of how she regarded them. I believe my attitude is

different from most people that you might ask about race and gender bias and they would probably give you a different response. “Being Black and female was an advantage for me,” Bacon said, and not just because of the myth of affirmative action giving her unearned advantages over those who were “more qualified”. Irrespective of the fact that adult opportunities were afforded her because they were seeking Black females, she believes that she benefited from being a Black female Ph.D. during a period in which the system felt they needed to advance African American females. Bacon expressed she was often the only one in the room. “I was a token in the probation department,” , the only African American woman sitting at the table in administrative cabinet meetings in the Palo Alto School District” (personal communication, June 17, 2012) but she sees herself as being qualified to be there because she had earned the right to be at the table representing the many equally qualified African American females before her who had been denied that privilege. Bacon believes that hard work and finding a way within whatever structure you find yourself is the way to overcome personal or institutional bias and discrimination.

Transformational leadership characteristics. “My vision was always to help people see the world from multiple perspectives because I believe that everyone has a story to tell and everyone has made their own personal journey to get where they are” (M. Bacon, personal communication, June 17, 2012).

Bacon attributes her transformational leadership qualities to significant experiences throughout her life. During her tenure at the Ravenswood School District she was recruited by a group of African American educators to bring a different level of leadership to a low socio-economic community. Bacon detailed how she and other

African American educational leaders worked for years transforming the culture from low expectations to one of high achievement. She recalled her many struggles and how as a result of her commitment to at-risk students, she persevered and continued to provide the district with transformational leadership. While serving in the capacity of Assistant Superintendent and Director of Student Services, Bacon along with the other administrators were effective in transforming the stakeholders' (students, teachers, parents, administrators, and community) pre-existing mindsets that low-socio economic students were somehow inferior learners. When the nearby affluent school district in Palo Alto began recruiting minority and African American and other high functioning students away from the low-socio economic district in Ravenswood and families wanting a better education for their children "sneaked out, we began losing some of our best students to the White district," explained Bacon (personal communication, June 17, 2012). Eight years later, Bacon found herself serving these same students from the other side of the freeway after becoming the Director of Human and Health Services in Palo Alto where she continued to provide advocacy and support for students of color.

Bacon worked to transformed educational institutions and cultures through self-awareness, honesty and humor. Bacon attributes the success of her ability to lead and transform thinking due to her self-awareness, frankness, and honesty. Bacon states that many people are intimidated by her because she speaks her mind honestly, a characteristic she learned from her mother. Bacon also has a strong sense of self; she understands her own strengths and weaknesses and therefore is not easily intimidated. She feels that if you can say it in the parking lot you should be able to say it in the boardroom. Accordingly, "many may not accept the 'truth as I know it,' but they respect

me for being honest.” Bacon said (personal communication, June 17, 2012). Bacon shared that many have said that her excellent communication skills, both verbally and written, has contributed to her becoming an effective leader. “I always use humor in public speaking and this can be significant in transforming many people’s thinking as well,” Bacon said. “If I make them laugh at themselves while hearing difficult messages, without being accusatory, there is a greater change that they will change dysfunctional behaviors” (personal communication, June, 2012).

Bacon remembers a time when males dominated most of the leadership positions in school systems. Now, in interviews for top-level positions in education, women are becoming disproportionately more successful. In the past, even though women may have paid their dues working their way through the ranks in a variety of increasingly responsible positions (reading teachers, counselors, curriculum specialists, etc.), it would invariably be a man with an athletic background who would ultimately be promoted to the leadership position. Bacon witnessed that landscape change as the system realized that there was a need for skilled instructional leaders, not just building managers. The barriers to women ascending the leadership ladder have been removed because they have demonstrated that they have the skills to become the transformational leaders that schools now require if we are to truly achieve excellence in the context of equity for all students.

Joan Faqir (1944-present)

Joan Faqir is an educational leader who has served in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) for the past 22 years. With over 30 years experience as an educator, Faqir has become known for her pioneering work in the charter school reform movement in Los Angeles. She was the organizer and Executive Director of the Center

for Cultural Enrichment, a public charter school founded by the African American Muslim community in South Los Angeles. Faqir has also served as a leader in teacher training programs in the Los Angeles Unified School District. Moreover, she has served in various leadership positions related to credentialing throughout LAUSD. Faqir continues to serve on the Board of Directors of three Los Angeles charter schools. Her creativity as a classroom teacher for LAUSD has been featured on *Good Morning America* and *Today Show*, and she has worked with the White House on social issues during her distinguished career.

Childhood. “Pursuing business was my father’s dream. He wanted me to have opportunities that he did not have” (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Faqir was born in Cushing, Oklahoma to Ouida (mother) and Uan (father) Bennett. The Bennetts moved to Fort Worth, Texas when Faqir was 2 years old. Faqir had two sisters and two brothers. She attended George Washington Carver Elementary School. She graduated from I.M. Terrell in 1962. Faqir recalls growing up in the segregated South in a nice middle class Black community. As a child, academics were important, and Faqir excelled in all areas especially mathematics. She recalls attending summer school every summer because she loved to learn.

Though she was raised in the segregated South, Faqir has fond memories of a high standard of living. “I would go to the boutiques my mother shopped at and they would serve her tea and bring her clothes even though they were segregated” (personal communication, July 13, 2012). Faqir recalls that she lived in a very well kept community with many Black elites and professionals. Faqir’s parents were both education professionals—teachers. Her mother earned a Bachelor’s degree at Langston

University in Oklahoma and a Master's degree from the University of Denver. Faqir's father also earned a Bachelor's degree from Langston University in Oklahoma and a Master's degree at Prairie View A&M in Houston, Texas. Faqir attended Christian churches as a child.

Adulthood. Faqir, upon graduation from high school, entered directly into college at Lincoln University in Missouri. After studying for 2 years, Faqir transferred to Texas Southern University (TSU) in Houston, Texas. During this period, Faqir got married and had her only son. Upon graduation Faqir earned a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. Faqir reflects that this was the time when African Americans were beginning to be allowed to take executive jobs in business and marketing (personal communication, July 13, 2012). Faqir's father wanted her to pursue a career in business as an executive. Even though he and Faqir's mother were teachers he did not want Faqir to pursue the same career path, he felt that teaching was a field that had always been open to African Americans. He also felt that the field was very political in nature with low pay.

After college, Faqir found work in many area of business administration. Her first job in the early 1960s was as a buyer in a major department store. She then received a call from TSU offering her a position in purchasing in the food service department. Faqir accepted the position and remained at TSU for 8 years. Faqir also worked in a nearby hospital as the Public Relations Director as recommended by the marketing director who had been a college classmate. As Faqir continued her progression in business administration and marketing, a newly opened field for African American females compelled her to move to Atlanta and experienced a career direction she had not planned.

After being introduced to the Black Muslim church in the late 1960s she converted her religious practice to Islam and became the principal of a Muslim elementary school for 6 years. While leading the Muslim school she also performed public relations work for the entire Muslim church in the southern region of the United States. One day Faqir received a call from the President of Morehouse University offering her the position as the Public Relations Director for the university. Faqir accepted the position and remained in the position for 12 years.

Faqir has many distinct memories of Morehouse. She recalls being the first person all the dignitaries met when arriving to the university. She organized and promoted all their special events. She met celebrities like Mohammad Ali and worked closely with Coretta Scott King. Faqir also appeared on many radio and television interviews promoting events and activities for the university. Even though Faqir had finally received a six-figure salary and the prominence of being an African American female business executive, her journey would take a different course that would change her life's mission.

Faqir, newly married, resigned her position at Morehouse and traveled with her husband to Oklahoma City. She had read an article that was compelling professional business graduates to enter the field of education due to a critical need in the African American community. When she arrived in Oklahoma City she was offered a position as principal in a Clara Mohammad School, named after the wife of Elijah Mohammad, a Black Muslim leader. According to Faqir the Black Muslim faith has a system of religious schools that date back over 75 years and are called the Clara Mohammad Schools. The schools are academic in nature with explicit teaching of the Islam faith and

the Holy Quran. Faqir, as principal, became the leader of the Regional Convener of principals and worked with national teams.

Faqir fell in love with education and it became her life's mission. "My father did not want me to teach because he always wanted to be a mathematician and engineer" (personal communication, July 13, 2012). Faqir moved to Los Angeles to be with her father after he relocated with her stepmother. It was during that move that Faqir revealed to her father that teaching was her passion. "When I told him I was going to teach, he said, 'I am so disappointed in you.'" Faqir said, noting her reply: "Yeah I know, but you still love me" (personal communication, July 13, 2012). After she explained to her father her deeply held devotion to teaching, he finally gave her his blessing.

Motivation and influence. "I fell in love with teaching" (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Growing up in a middle class home and community motivated Faqir to pursue a good education and to attend college. Faqir loved school and loved to learn. Faqir recalled that when she attended summer camp it was always an academic summer camp. Reflected on her time growing up as well as her college years she said, "I was always a successful student." (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

The Black Muslim Church influenced Faqir, and it helps her hold onto her passion for teaching. After Faqir relocated to Atlanta she took her first teaching position with the Black Muslim Church. She taught for 6 years and began to develop as a good teacher. As she began to fall into teaching she took note of how children reacted to her in the classroom. She had the ability to be a creative teacher. She was able to inspire her students to excel (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Realizing and responding to a critical need in the Black community motivated Faqir to overcome seemingly insurmountable odds. Upon her arrival to LAUSD she realized that the African American students needed African American teachers as role models. Faqir also recognized that Black children had many unique problems and learning styles that needed to be supported and developed. Even though one of her greatest accomplishments has been her ability to teach all students and all ethnicities, she saw a special need in students in the African American community (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Faqir spent over five years writing, developing, and organizing the charter for the Center for Cultural Enrichment. She explains that her main motivation was to provide a quality school that all students, especially African Americans, can be proud of. Although as a charter school religious teachings are not allowed, the spirit of excellence that Faqir draws upon as the foundation of the Black Muslim faith is at the core of her teaching philosophy (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Overcoming race and gender bias. Faqir was raised in a Middle-class community. She said that even though the community was segregated she did not experience blatant racism. “I remember pulling up to a shopping center that had segregated shopping and a parking attendant opened my mother’s door, so I never was really affected by racial discrimination growing up” (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012). Faqir also expressed that her neighborhood was Middle class with doctors and professionals; her neighbors were the African American elite of the community.

Because Faqir always attended segregated schools, from elementary through college, race discrimination was not viable because she had quality African American teachers who were supportive. Faqir reminisced about how after she had her son she still had to attend her class and take exams, stating that, “On more than one occasion I had to take my son to class with me” (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012). These types of support provided in the African American colleges were prevalent during this time period.

However, Faqir recalls going to a diverse universities for summer sessions during her high school years in Salem, Oregon during the early 1960s. She did experience racial discrimination personally as well student body racial uprisings. One of Faqir’s great loves is math and during one summer she took a Geometry II class for fun. She recalled her professor insisting she must have failed Geometry II to be in his class. She kept explaining that she never failed any math class and she wanted to take the course for her own personal growth. She realized that because she was African American the professor assumed she was there because she failed Geometry. During the racial uprisings, Faqir remember being “right in the middle” of the protest. She recalled never being caught and never being sent home. Faqir believes she only experienced limited racial discrimination because she was taught in segregated schools and her community was segregated. She revealed that she really did not come into contact with “White people.”

Even though Faqir had minimal experience of racial discrimination during her early schooling she did experience gender discrimination in college. While earning her business administration and marketing major, a professor explained to her that women should not be in that sort of major. Faqir recalls cruel treatment by one of her professors.

She believes she had to work five times harder than her male classmates. Years later the same professor apologized to Faqir. He admitted his bias and stated all his girls outperformed his boys.

Transformational leadership characteristics. “For the sake of our children I became a teacher” (J. Faqir, personal communication, July 13, 2012).

Faqir was thrust into leadership during every turn of her career. Often she wasn't even seeking out these positions, but was rather offered them due to her outstanding communication and interpersonal skills. As a principal's coach for the Clara Mohammad schools, Faqir lead principals from the entire United States. Faqir's ability to communicate a common vision also thrust her into the role as a public relations leader for the entire Clara Mohammad School System in the Southern Region. Her leadership started a dialogue that brought about change in the concept and perception of Black Muslim education. Additionally, Faqir provided leadership in a community of underserved African American students and brought about a positive and lasting change in their education.

As a result of her leadership at the Clara Mohammad schools, Faqir was requested by the president of Morehouse University to serve as their Director of Public Relations. Being the communicator in chief for one of the most prestigious universities in the nation, Faqir successfully projected the image of Morehouse for 12 years, from 1975 to 1987. During those years she worked closely with Coretta Scott King on social issues, promoting equality through the Martin Luther King Jr. Foundation. She also worked with Mohammad Ali, Andrew Young and Alex Hailey. Having such intercommunication skills helped transition to her next leadership role at LAUSD.

Faqir discussed how she loves teaching and how her love for teaching is contagious. She explained though she was good at public relations, it was not her passion. Faqir declared, "I always wanted to be a teacher. She discussed how she had to take a bold leadership stand to become a real teacher. After coming to Los Angeles due to her father's relocation, Faqir discovered teaching was going to be her life's career. Faqir exclaimed to her father, "I lived your dream and did it well. Now I am going to live mine" (personal communication, July 13, 2012). Joan decided a successful and financially lucrative career in Business Administration was not the course for her life. She displayed transformational leadership by becoming a teacher of teachers.

In this capacity, Faqir was a facilitator for the LAUSD in the Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment (BTSA) unit and the District Intern Program for over 20 years. As a leader Faqir has influenced, mentored, trained, supervised, and motivated hundreds of new teachers. Faqir's leadership has been recognized on *Good Morning America* when she was featured for her creativity in the classroom.

Again, Faqir was thrust into a transformational leadership platform when she became one the original organizers of the Center for Advanced Learning Charter School. As the executive director, Faqir organized the board of directors and school vision. She wrote the educational plan and curriculum components. She led a team of stakeholders through a successful chartering process and led the team through a second 5-year charter with LAUSD.

Currently Faqir continues to be a teacher of teachers. As she reflects on her life she said, "I now understand what my father was telling me." She said education does have a lot politics, and the pay could be better but her purpose for getting involved in

teaching was to help children. “I pride myself of having the opportunity to teach every race of children” (personal communication, July 13, 2012). Faqir currently teaches at a school where she is the only African American educator. She expresses great pride to be a positive role model as an African American female leader.

Summary

The women featured here are women of distinction and transformational leaders. During Reconstruction both Fanny Jackson Coppin and Anna Julia Cooper, motivated by uplifting their race through education equality, overcame race and gender bias by advocating across the nation for African Americans and female rights. Both wrote books that detail their advocacy for African Americans and females. They displayed transformational leadership by becoming the first female African American principals of their prestigious schools. Both Coppin and Cooper used their voices to move the masses nationally and internationally to accept African Americans and females as equals.

Segregation and Jim Crow laws caused religious organizations as well as individuals to rise up to uplift the African American race through education. Two leaders were Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Nannie Helen Burroughs. These women were heroic by dedicating 50 years of their lives as leaders of their schools. They were motivated to educate their race in pursuit of equality. They displayed transformational leadership by organizing and educating thousands of people. Burroughs and Brown were dynamic communicators and they moved the masses and communities through public speeches and the women’s club movement.

The Equal Opportunity era ushered in new challenges to overcome. De facto segregation was still alive and well. Dr. Mary Bacon and Joan Faqir, both in the South,

lived in segregated communities and attended segregated schools. Even though both leaders were clear that discrimination existed they considered it as “institutionalized racism.” They did not consider it a major impact on their life. They both experienced limited gender bias however, Bacon said her race and her gender was an advantage for her in the field of education.

For the six leaders represented, they were motivated by the love of education, teaching, and their African American race. They overcame race and gender bias by working hard to prove themselves. Their leadership displayed perseverance, tenacity, and the need to achieve equality through education.

Chapter 5: Summary

The purpose of this study was to identify, examine, interview, and report information obtained on the life experiences of six selected African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction (1866-1877), Segregation (1877-1953), and Equal Opportunity (1954-Present) eras, as well as their impacts on American society.

The problem focused on the fact that there is an under representation of documented accounts of the life experiences and historical accounts of African American female educational leaders. Even though some studies exist regarding African American female educational leadership, the literature is lacking a comprehensive examination of them in relation to these three pivotal eras in American educational history. Three areas were examined: (a) their influences and motivations to move from the margins to the forefront of society to assume their roles as educational leaders, (b) the transformational leadership characteristics that made them influential educational leaders, and (c) how they overcame gender and racial obstacles.

Data were collected and analyzed from autobiographies, biographies, biographical questionnaires, and interviews. The women studied were:

1. Reconstruction (1866-1877)
 - Fanny Marion Jackson Coppin, Principal - Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 - Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, Principal - M Street School; President - Frelinghuysen University, Washington, D.C.

2. Segregation (1877-1953)

- Nannie Helen Burroughs, Founder - National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D.C.
- Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Founder - Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina

3. Equal Opportunity (1954-Present)

- Dr. Mary Montle Bacon, Psychologist, Founder - Images of a Culture, Las Vegas, Nevada
- Joan Faqir, Educator, Executive Director - Center for Advanced Learning Charter School, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California

Reconstruction: The Pioneers

Fanny Jackson Coppin and Anna Julia Cooper, known as “Race Woman,” were the pioneers for African American female educators. They were also feminists in their own right, knocking down the doors of gender discrimination in every arena of their lives. Coppin preceded Cooper by 20 years; however, the courses of their lives were uniquely parallel. Both Coppin and Cooper began their lives as slaves whose fathers had been their respective mothers’ slave master. As previously discussed, Coppin and Cooper made little to no reference in their writings regarding their fathers, while both indicated they had been born under extremely difficult circumstances.

During childhood, after gaining her freedom, Coppin began to work as a servant, and as fate had it, she worked in the home of a literary scholar. This experience proved to be pivotal in directing Coppin’s life. She was exposed to classical literature and music, as well as influential interactions with the some of Boston’s most elite literary scholars. At

age 9, Cooper was noted as exceptional and was subsequently accepted to St. Augustine Normal School. At this tender young age, Cooper displayed exceptional academic and leadership abilities and began tutoring children older than her. It was at St. Augustine's, for the first time, that she confronted gender discrimination because females were not allowed to study theology or Latin. Her unwavering determination and persistence, however, open the door for her to enter and many others to follow.

Both Coppin and Cooper displayed exceptional academic abilities. Although 20 years separated their lives, both Coppin and Cooper went to Oberlin College and challenged the status quo in regards to gender discrimination. They both insisted on taking the "Gentleman's Course," which included mathematics and foreign languages. Coppin and Cooper blazed trails for African Americans as well as for women. They both earned their degrees by tearing down stereotypes and dispelling myths that African Americans were an inferior race and that a woman's role is in the home. Additionally, they experienced the same mentorship by both living with the same professor that made a significant impact on their lives. Coppin and Cooper's lives also were parallel in regards to their both being the first African American females to become principals of prestigious high schools. As advocates for racial and gender equality, they both penned full-length books during a period in which few African Americans were literate. As outstanding educators, prolific orators, transformational community and religious leaders, and outspoken feminists, they both committed their life's work to educating their people. Coppin and Cooper had many parallel experiences but the one that set them apart as exceptional leaders was their tenacity to overcome insurmountable odds in face of overwhelming obstacles. Fanny Jackson Coppin and Anna Julia Cooper pioneered a path that, though

winding, provided strength and courage for other African Americans and women to travel on.

Segregation: The Expanders

Nannie Helen Burroughs and Charlotte Hawkins Brown were two of the notable educational leaders of the Segregation era's three B's (Burroughs, Brown and Bethune). All three of these leaders expanded on the sacrifices, commitment and courage of the pioneers. Burroughs and Brown built on the accomplishments of the pioneers Anna Julia Cooper and Fanny Jackson Coppin. They not only believed they could obtain an education comparable to their male and White counterparts, they furthermore believed they could lead educational institutions. Palmer Memorial Institute (PMI) lead and founded by Charlotte Hawkins Brown and the National Training School for Woman (NTS) lead and founded by Nannie Helen Burroughs became institutions that provided unique opportunities for African Americans to achieve equality through education. Both Burroughs and Brown had high academic standards for their students as well as a deep faith in God. Their deep commitment to Christianity was evident in all aspects of their service. Specifically, Burroughs's NTS was called "God's Hill" and Brown's PMI was support by the American Missionary Society. Both Brown and Burroughs were influenced by Booker T. Washington's school of thought to educate African Americans in domestic service and in the industrial arts. However, both Burroughs' and Brown's schools evolved and became more expansive in their visions in order to provide secondary, classical, and junior college educational paths for their students.

Brown and Burroughs both displayed tremendous courage and tenacity despite overwhelming challenges. Brown was only 19 years old when she took on the mantle to

establish PMI. Even after her mentor Alice Palmer fell ill and died, she continued believing that opening a school was possible. Likewise, Burroughs fought for 6 years the male dominance in the Baptist National Convention before she was permitted to establish a school for women. Both Brown and Burroughs were feminists that paved an undeniable path for women throughout the United States. They worked tirelessly for the rights of African Americans and women all over America. Both Brown and Burroughs were powerful organizers and community leaders fighting against injustice during the time when brutal Jim Crow and lynching laws dominated the South. For over 50 years Brown and Burroughs committed their lives to uplifting their people as leaders of their educational institutions. Their longevity of service to their race is unparalleled. Moreover, Brown and Burroughs were both famed for being exceptional elocutionists with resounding voices. Their voices continues to resonate today, inspiring those who come after them to go beyond the path they had blazed and ignite a new fire.

Equal Opportunity: The Product

Even though both Dr. Mary Montle Bacon and Joan Faqir grew up in the post-Brown vs. Board of Education era, they acknowledged that segregation was a normal part of their life. They were able to make decisions and control their destinies due to the sacrifices and contributions of the predecessors Nannie Helen Burroughs and Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Bacon and Faqir stood on the shoulders giants and are the products of a proud delegation of African American females that paved a path of hard work, sacrifice, and courage to uplift their race.

Both Bacon and Faqir attended segregated schools and lived in segregated communities. However, Bacon's concepts and philosophies as an educator are based on

her experiences that she deems was a “culture of poverty.” Faqir, by contrast, was born into a middle-income family of respected educators. Even though she lived in a segregated community she experienced life as a privileged African American. Both Bacon and Faqir accepted racism as institutionalized and not personalized. They both discussed the notion of knowing their “place.” Neither Bacon nor Faqir considered race or gender as limitations, but rather as assets that helped them maneuver through the challenges of being Black in America. Specifically, Bacon used race and gender as a launching platform to excel in the field of education. Bacon contended that she was the “poster child” of affirmative action. She discussed that it did not mean that she was not qualified to attend Stanford or to become a school superintendent, but that it offered her opportunities that in eras past had not been available to African American females. On the other hand, Faqir’s road to educational leadership was varying. Her father wanted her to pursue opportunities outside of education. In his view, teaching was a profession that provided limitations for African Americans. Even though Faqir’s father and mother were both educators, her father did not view the field of education as an upwardly mobile profession for 20th century African Americans. Although he was a teacher himself, he aspired to be a mathematician and engineer and wanted his daughter to obtain stature and financial security in the field of business. Faqir’s father’s views were primarily based on the low wages teachers earned, the lack of recognition by the administrative hierarchy, and the political nature of the profession. On the other hand, Bacon proudly proclaimed that she is the first person in her entire family to have graduated from elementary school because she had been raised and shaped by a culture of poverty. Bacon used her experience growing up in poverty to advocate for children and families that are often

overlooked and underestimated. She was able to witness both her mother and father excel in life even though they had only completed a second and third grade education, respectively. This ability to navigate through societal limitations molded her thought process that poverty does not define who you are, but only defines how you must maneuver to reach your goals. On the contrary, Faqir proudly embraces her Middle class upbringing. She prominently discussed her parents' accomplishments. Faqir's middleclass upbringing helped her project an attitude of self-confidence that made her pursue her life dreams. Both of Faqir's parents earned Masters Degrees in education. This is a source of great pride for Faqir and it has helped her develop a level of high standards and expectations for her life. Consequently, even though Bacon's parents only experienced a second and third grade education they understood the value of a good education and provided every opportunity for Bacon to attend parochial schools. They also set high standards and high expectations for Bacon to achieve.

Bacon and Faqir were significantly influenced by religion during childhood. Bacon was educated from elementary school through college in Catholic and Jesuit intuitions. Finally, after being dissatisfied and unable to reconcile many of the faith's beliefs with her own personal experiences, Bacon disassociated with the Catholic faith in college and has not resumed practicing. Likewise, Faqir left her Christian upbringing and embraced the Muslim religion during her young adult years. Faqir did not point to a specific experience that promoted such a profound decision, but it is a decision that she stills embraces today as a practicing Muslim.

Unquestionably, Bacon and Faqir had very different economic experiences during their early childhood. Additionally their college, religious, and educational leadership

experiences were very different. However, Bacon and Faqir have both committed their lives to uplifting their race through education. Bacon continues to serve and advocate in underserved communities in California, Nevada, New York, Central and South America while Faqir serves culturally diverse students in Los Angeles. Faqir is also very proud of her service within the Black Muslim community in Los Angeles and the Southern region of the United States. Currently, Bacon and Faqir have both expanded their educational leadership in the area of diversity. Bacon travels all over the world working to develop educational practices and policies that affect all people, especially those in a “culture of poverty.” Faqir, proud of the fact that she is the only African American teacher in her school in the San Fernando Valley of California, expressed that her greatest accomplishment is that she gets to do what she loves: teaching and serving children of diverse backgrounds. Faqir further contended that teaching children of all races and ethnicities has been her greatest accomplishment. She explained that she has learned so much from the cultural experiences of her students. As well, Bacon has not only pursued uplifting African American children, she also has a passion for uplifting the Hispanic community and all communities that have suffered the stigma of poverty.

Even though Bacon and Faqir traveled different paths to pursue educational leadership, they are both in the same lane. As African American female educational leaders of the 21st century that understand the need to continue to uplift their race but have extended their boundaries to uplift children of all races.

The exceptional female leaders examined in this study moved from the margins of obscurity and embraced a mantle of leadership to transform the world around them. In

examining their life experiences it became evident that the following eight common themes unite these women of distinction:

1. They demonstrated the ability to organize the masses and build coalitions to bring about social change.
2. They revealed a tremendous love for learning and teaching that inspired and motivated them.
3. They were impacted and influenced by their parents and other role models to obtain an education.
4. They exhibited tremendous determination to achieve their goals.
5. Religion and religious institutions played a major role in shaping their lives.
6. They established a cause greater than themselves that incorporated Whites as well as Blacks to achieve a common goal.
7. They were exceptional orators that had the ability to move people of all races.
8. They believed that education was the door to unlock the opportunities to uplift their race.

Discussion

During the past 400 years African American females have confronted many adversities, challenges and struggles that have transformed their roles in life. Abducted from their homeland against their will, African females were exposed to dehumanizing treatment that included slavery, rape, beatings, and the destruction of their families. As defenseless individuals they emerged as fearless courageous leaders that moved the masses to reform and transform their families, communities, America, and the world. The resilience and inner strength of these females was nothing short of heroic. Their

ability to overcome insurmountable obstacles and move from the margins of despair to the forefront of leadership was a critical element in the survival of the African American race. Too often even today it is the African American female that carries her family and community on her shoulders. When their husbands, boyfriends, and fathers have been denied the opportunities afforded to their White counterparts, too often African American females have had to go into the work force and find jobs to secure the survival of their families. These conditions have made the African American female strong and resilient. It has birthed creativity, compassion, and a conquering spirit.

African American children have been raised by women that would not let them down. No matter how tough the battle, how hard the trial, how deep the trench, they found a way to overcome the adversity of racial and gender discrimination. As seen in the pioneers, expanders and the product the African American females not only survived but they thrived to uplift each generation to achieve more.

Currently the African American race is at a pivotal point as it relates to racial uplift. The current generation is at a crossroads of leadership. Where is the cry of the African American female educator as it relates to the senseless murdering of her children? Where is the courage to challenge the issues of the current day? Where does the mantle of leadership rest to transform a community by sheer determination? Where are the heroines of today who are willing to fight for 50 years to ensure their people have a place to pursue their dreams? Has a single generation removed from Brown vs. Board of Education caused the African American female to pursue individual goals instead of collective providence? These questions must be explored if the African American child is to have a chance of achieving their destiny in the next generation.

Conclusion

During the Reconstruction and Segregation eras, gender discrimination was arguably a greater challenge than racism for these women of distinction. Not only did they overcome the stigma of slavery and the Jim Crow South, they built lifelong coalitions with Whites to pursue their dreams and goals for racial equality both for themselves and for their people. A Feminist cry resounded through every area of their struggle. Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny Jackson Coppin, Nanny Helen Burroughs and Charlotte Hawkins Brown all spent their lives battling for space in a male-dominated society. On the other hand, the Equal Opportunity era, though steeped in segregation, birthed a more diversified African American female educational leader, one that values diversity and fights for all children of every race. These women have also dedicated their lives to the uplift of their race, and have had the opportunity to do so because they stand on the shoulders of their predecessors, which has allowed them to broaden their scope and to not only uplift their race but all of humanity. During the Segregation era, Coppin discussed the challenges confronting her leading up to the first time she was allowed to teach White students, whereas today such a feat is not the exception but the norm.

Reconstruction, Segregation, and the Equal Opportunity eras each had a unique set of challenges for the African American community and their families. Through a progression of over 140 years of educational history, the African American female educator must remain at the forefront of the battle to uplift her race. Building coalitions with all races will continue to prove a positive strategy to achieve educational, racial, social, and economic equality for Black children. Today, the fight and the struggle must continue as never before.

Today, in the African American community, Black on Black crime, unwed and teen pregnancy, HIV and AIDS, drugs and alcohol, and unemployment are destroying children and families. Has the African American female educator allowed her voice to diminish in the 21st century? Have individualism and self-reliance, under the banner of progress, derailed a fight that has hardly been won? Could it be that the success of some African Americans has blinded successful African American female educators from seeing the need to continue to diligently fight for many Black children and families that are trapped in a culture of poverty? The answers to these questions are left on the table to be answered by a new generation of 21st African American female educational leaders. In the past, community coalitions, women's movements, and faith in God have allowed the African American race to overcome insurmountable odds. A new breath of leadership must begin to blow in order to provide a wind to propel today's children into the opportunities and abilities to reach their destiny— God's purpose for their lives. Today's African American female educational leader will benefit from looking back at the pioneers, expanders, and products to gain and obtain the courage to continue the fight for African American children and their families.

Recommendations

African American female educational leaders have fought on the front lines to uplift their race. They have a unique lens through which to examine leadership. Hine and Brown (1993) proclaimed that until historians address and take seriously the concept of not only race but also gender, the history of the African American has only partly been told.

Through autobiographies, biographies, interviews, and questioners, the life experiences of these six exceptional female educational leaders came to life on these pages. There have been, and are, so many courageous African American educators that this study could only highlight a small sampling of the myriad women who have and continue to shape this nation. Further detailed studies are required to preserve the historical contributions of African American female educators. I recommend that the following areas are deserving of study:

1. The two historical periods that were not included, albeit were identified, in this study: the Enlightenment period, before 1835, and the Reaction period of 1835 to 1865.
2. Early Childhood Education.
3. African American female educators during the Civil Rights Movement
4. The Women's Club Movement and social change during Reconstruction and Segregation.
5. The Women's Suffrage Movement and its effect on African American female educators.
6. Educational institutions lead by African American females.
7. Historically Black colleges and their effect on developing African American female educators.
8. African American female educational leaders and the Generation X period.

The 2008 Democratic presidential primary in which Barack Obama narrowly defeated Hillary Clinton could be seen as a reminder that gender bias may be even more difficult to overcome than racism, though both remain all too prevalent in our modern society. Today, women continue to fight for equal pay and equal access to public, private and religious employment opportunities. Currently, although women make up 51% of the electorate, they hold a minority of the positions in government leadership positions. It is crucial that the contributions of African American females continue to be recognized and addressed; their accomplishments are not only significant for African American history, nor even American history, but for all of humanity.

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APPENDIX A

Letter Explaining Study to Contemporary Educators

Wanda D. Clemmons
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Date_____

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State and Zip_____

Dear: _____:

My name is Wanda Clemmons. I am a graduate student at Pepperdine University completing my dissertation requirements to earn a doctorate degree in Education, Leadership, Administration, and Policy. My study is focused on the lived experiences of African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras. An additional interest is the transformational leadership characteristics of African American female educational leaders. The study is entitled: Uplift: An Examination of Six African American Female Educational Leaders During The Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity Eras. You have been selected as a transformational educational leader. As an identified educational leader your role is to complete the biographical data sheet and to participate in an interview.

This study is limited to six selected African American female educational leaders because of their unique experiences as educational leaders. Additionally, African American female educational leaders have been underrepresented in literature. Examining the contributions, leadership, and motivations of the African American female educational leader will provide a unique lens to view educational leadership and the

opportunity to inspire and encourage other educators through their contributions. In the near future I will contact you to arrange a face to face interview. If you have any questions you may contact me at XXXXXXXX. Enclosed is the biographical data for you to complete. I am looking forward to meeting with you soon. I would like to thank you in advance for your contribution to this study. You can email or send the responses to the biographical data sheet to the following address:

Wanda D. Clemmons

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Enclosure: Self addressed stamped 8x 10 envelope

APPENDIX B

Dissertation Survey

Goal: To exam a cross selection of African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras whom made significant contributions to education and American society.

Please list below the names of four (4) African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity eras whom you consider to be outstanding transformational leaders. Please consider educators form all levels of education (early childhood education- College)

Thank you for your contribution and assistance in this survey.

Wanda D. Clemmons
Doctorial Candidate
Pepperdine University

Africa American Female Educational Leaders During the Reconstruction Era

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Comments: _____

Africa American Female Educational Leaders During the Segregation Era

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Comments: _____

Africa American Female Educational Leaders During the Equal Opportunity Era

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Comments: _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Questions

Childhood Elementary and High School

1. What impact did early childhood have on your life?
2. What positive influences shaped your life during childhood? How?
3. What negative influences shaped your life? How?
4. What event and/or person made a significant impact on you during your early years?
5. How did school K-12 impact your life?
6. What role did your parents/family play in your early life?
7. Did your geographical location as a child affect your life? How?
8. What was the most important event in your life during childhood?
9. What role did religion play in your life?
10. Did you experience race discrimination as a child?
11. Did you experience gender discrimination as a child?
12. What made you choose a career in education?
13. What was your most positive memory as a child?
14. What was your most negative memory as a child?

Adulthood College and Career

1. What influenced you positively during college/career?
2. What influenced you negatively during your college/career?
3. Did you participate in organizations and clubs?

4. What was your first leadership experience?
5. What event and/or person made a significant impact on you during your college/career years?
6. What event and/or person made a significant impact on you during your college /career years?
7. How did college impact your life?
8. What role did your parents/family play in your adult life?
9. Did your geographical location as a child affect your life? How?
10. What was the most important event in your life during adulthood?
11. What role did religion play in your life?
12. Did you experience race discrimination as an adult? How/when/Where?
(Your opinion on how it affected your life)
13. Did you experience gender discrimination as an adult?
(Your opinion on how it affected your life)
14. What made you choose a career in education?
15. What were your most important contributions as an adult? Why
16. Do you consider yourself a transformational leader/ Why?
17. What are your leadership qualities?
18. How are/ would you like to be remember?
19. What did/would you like history to say about you?

APPENDIX D

Biographical Data Sheet

Birth date _____ Place of birth _____

Country of residence: _____

Education level _____

Current or Past Educational Position _____

Marital Status _____ Year

Husband's (partner's) education and occupation _____

Children (gender and year of birth) _____

Mother's education and occupation _____

Father's education and occupation _____

Religious background _____

Number of Siblings

Name (s) sex, Age and Occupation

Elementary Education

Secondary Education

Colleges/Universities Attended

APPENDIX E

Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities

Participant: _____

Principal Investigator: _____

Title of Project: Uplift: An Examination of African American Female Educators During The Reconstruction, Segregation and Equal Opportunity Eras

1. _____, *agree to participate in the research study being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a dissertation being conducted by:*

Wanda D. Clemmons under the direction of Dr. Margaret Weber who are student and faculty at Pepperdine University's Graduate School of Education and Psychology. Wanda Clemmons is a doctoral candidate and Dr. Margaret Weber is her dissertation chairperson.

2. *The overall purpose of this research is to:*

Examine six African American female educational leaders during the Reconstruction, Segregation and Equal Opportunity eras and to report on their lived experiences.

3. My participation will involve the following:

Completing a biographical data sheet and participating in an interview with the researcher.

4. My participation in the study will be:

5. Three week period to respond to the biographical data sheet and one 30 minute to 1 hour face to face interview. The study shall be conducted in the home, office or designated meeting determined by the participants.

6. I understand that the possible benefits to myself or society from this research are:

To provide an addition to the literature regarding an underrepresented group of women.

7. I understand that there are certain risks and discomforts that might be associated with this research. These risks include:

Boredom and discomfort reflecting on past experiences that may have been challenging or uncomfortable.

8. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to participate and/or withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

9. I understand that the investigator(s) will take all reasonable measures to protect the information I provide.

10. I _____ understand to my satisfaction the information regarding participation in the _____ research project. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have received a copy of this informed consent form which I have read and understand. I hereby consent to participate in the research described above.

Participant's Signature

Date

Witness

Date

I have explained and defined in detail the research procedure in which the subject has consented to participate. Having explained this and answered any questions, I am cosigning this form and accepting this person's consent.

Principal Investigator
Wanda D. Clemmons

Date

APPENDIX F

Appointment Form

Date _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State and Zip _____

Dear: _____:

Thank you for participating in my study entitled, *Uplift: An Examination of Six African American Female Educational Leaders During the Reconstruction, Segregation, and Equal Opportunity Eras*. This is to confirm our appointment date and time for our interview. Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. If you have any questions you may contact me at XXXXXXXX or at XXXXXXXX.

Date: _____

Time: _____

Location: _____

Wanda D. Clemmons

XXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXX