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ANNA JULIA COOPER: A QUINTESSENTIAL LEADER

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Abstract

This study is a leadership biography which provides, through the lens of Black feminist thought, an alternative view and understanding of the leadership of Black women. Specifically, this analysis highlights ways in which Black women, frequently not identified by the dominant society as leaders, have and can become leaders. Lessons are drawn from the life of Anna Julia Cooper that provides new insights in leadership that heretofore were not evident. Additionally, this research offers provocative recommendations that provide a different perspective of what leadership is among Black women and how that kind of leadership can inform the canon of leadership. Cooper's voice in advocacy, education, community service, and involvement in the Black Women's Club Movement are the major themes in which evidence of her leadership is defined. This leadership biography moves beyond the western hegemonic point of view and the more traditional ways of thinking about leadership, which narrowly identify effective leaders and ways of thinking about leadership development. The findings of this study propose an alternative view of leadership that calls attention to the following critical elements:

1. Black women carry the co-identifiers, gender and race, which continue to be nearly nonexistent in leadership theories, discourse, and mainstream leadership literature.
2. The positivist view, as being the only legitimate knowledge claim, must continue to be challenged.
3. There is a need to correct and update our history, making it more inclusive of all human beings.

This leadership biography centers on the notion that Cooper, as a quintessential leader, remains paradoxical. For the most part, she continues to be an unknown figure to most Americans, both Black and White. Yet, remnants of Cooper's ideology and leadership are prolific. It is precisely

this dissonance between Cooper the undervalued figure and Cooper the scholar/activist leader that is being analyzed in this study. Under severe adversities, her resistance, persistence, educational excellence as a student and teacher, and community service demonstrates her challenging path to leadership. Cooper's activism and beliefs in racial and gender equality provides a strong example of quintessential leadership. The electronic version of this dissertation is at OhioLink ETD Center, www.ohiolink.edu/etd

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Introduction

> not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won—not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, nor the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong.
>
> —Anna Julia Cooper, *The World Congress of Representative Women Speech*, 1892

This dissertation is a leadership biography that analyzes Black women's leadership as embodied by the life and work of Anna Julia Cooper, a quintessential leader. Rejected are the exclusionary White androcentric leadership models and instead answers are provided by Black women, who have by exclusion and necessity, created new means of defining leadership. Specifically, through the lens of Black feminism, the confluences of race, class, and gender are examined within Cooper's intersectional and socio-political spaces. Also, it is within this location that Cooper's activated leadership (Alston & McClellan, 2011; King & Ferguson, 2011) becomes visible and thus provides a different way of knowing and understanding how Black women come to leadership. Cooper and Black women have been marginalized, and as such, the full range of their voices and experiences have not been heard or shared. Rosser-Mims (2010) observed, "[f]rom a Black feminist analysis, even classical leadership theories and contemporary leadership models have all but ignored Black women's contributions" (p. 5). This results in a partial story and a limited history.

Although a remarkable educator, linguist, writer, Black feminist, community advocate and humanitarian, Cooper—who even after being featured on the 2009 US Postage Stamp and having her words "The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class,—it is the cause of human kind, the very birthright of humanity" (Cooper, 1892, pp. 120–121),

included in the US Passport—still remains largely an unknown figure to the general public. As Chateauvert (1988) summarized, "[Cooper's] work, except for *A Voice from the South*, has gone largely unnoticed and her contributions unrecognized" (p. 7).

Cooper lived a long and productive life filled with many accomplishments in an era when American Blacks lived under horrendous legal discrimination and socio-economic laws and policies that promoted and enforced segregation making all of her achievements even more remarkable. It is often pointed out that Cooper was born during slavery and went on to earn a PhD in history, which she defended in French, at La Sorbonne, in Paris, France during a time when very few Blacks or women living in the United States, pursued higher education. In fact in 1925, Cooper became the 4th Black American woman to earn a PhD and the first to do so at La Sorbonne. Previously, in 1906, Cooper was appointed principal of the M Street School in Washington, DC, and she also served as the President of Frelinghuysen University from 1930 to 1941. In 1894, she co-founded the Colored Women's league of Washington, DC. Cooper rebuked the classification and description of womanhood as touted by the Victorian era, by becoming, at age 55, a single working parent of five adopted children. Moreover, due to her commitment to social justice and equality at home and internationally, Cooper spent a lifetime advocating on behalf of Blacks and specifically, Black females, as well as others who were underserved and less fortunate.

While all of the aforementioned achievements are noteworthy and certainly laudable, this dissertation seeks to move beyond these well-deserved accomplishments to take a closer look at Cooper's leadership qualities from a Black feminist perspective which is quite different from previous research. It is a given that Cooper exhibited traditional leadership qualities such as courage, strength, resilience, persistence and the ability to use her voice in writing and speaking,

however, these are universal qualities that can be applied to all leaders. This study seeks to examine Cooper under the conceptual and methodological underpinning of Black Feminist thought as a means of identifying specific leadership qualities that are germane to the Black feminist experience.

This study is significant because when a Black feminist approach is taken, marginalized individuals previously omitted from leadership lists, are acknowledged. Secondly, taking a Black feminist approach allows for the inclusion of the kinds of activities that marginalized people, in this case Black women, engaged in which otherwise may be overlooked. Finally, acknowledgement and understanding of the unique kinds of activities and accomplishments created by this population is broadened.

Resistance

Resistance is a major theme which I theorize is foundational to Black women's models of leadership. Notably, resistance is the extensive and nearly universal response of Black women to oppression. While the oppressive history of Black Americans is well documented, Black women's responsive acts of resistance, as indicators of leadership, unfortunately has received less attention and is either not included within dominant leadership theories or, at best, given just a cursory recognition. King and Ferguson (2011) pointed out, "the capacity for leadership has been shown in [Black women's] ability to create strategies for survival and advancement that include self-authentication…self-invention and reinvention" (p. 10). I aim to demonstrate, through the organizing principles of leadership in Cooper's personal and professional life and community activism, how she specifically mobilized resistance to the dominant culture while fostering self-growth, activism, and community engagement, resulting ultimately in a distinctive means of leading and creating change.

From enslaved beginnings, Cooper rose to become an outstanding educator, theorist, and community advocate in the 19th and 20th centuries. Effectively using her life and voice, centering primarily on the Black woman's location within the socio/political context of the era, Cooper fought against prevalent racial and gender inequities. Additionally, she sought change through inclusion and engagement of overlooked and ignored minorities, especially Black females. As hooks (1981) explained:

> Change occurs only when there is action, movement, revolution. The 19th century black female was a woman of action….She did not allow the racism of white women's rights advocates or the sexism of black men to deter her from political involvement. She did not rely on any group to provide her with a blueprint for change. She was the maker of blueprints. (p. 193)

May (2007) supported this point of view when she contended that Cooper "pushed her readers, her students, and her colleagues to question everyday reality and to transform, rather than assimilate to, a world shaped by violence, inequality, poverty, and oppression" (p. 14). Concomitantly, Anna Julia Cooper combated seemingly unceasing life adversities with resolve and determination, while receiving minimal, if any, assistance or support. By so doing, Cooper represents a model of effective leadership which deserves closer examination for application in today's diverse global community.

Despite Cooper's activism and her self-proclaimed announcement of being "the voice" for Black women, paradoxically she remains relativity an unknown person to Blacks and to the general public. Today her voice comes through sporadically in a suppressed and limited platform. That is to say, Cooper's voice continues to be marginalized by the literary cannons who vary in their acceptance and value of the Black female perspective. Yet, remnants of Cooper's dynamic life and her impact are scattered everywhere. For me there is, in Cooper's term, "a thumping within" that is continually calling me to further expand her voice, to look back

through Cooper's lens, and tell her story for our modern times. There are still lessons to be learned that can inform our present day practices. Indeed, pulling the scattered pieces together of Cooper's life provides a kaleidoscopic view of her legacy, expands our ways of knowing, and bridges the connections of theory to practice.

Role of Researcher

According to Oakley (2010), "the text of a written biography is the product of two biographies—that of the writer and the person written about" (p. 431). Cooper is an important historical figure with present day meaning and significance. Her voice is timeless; it resonates as she continues to speak. My goal, as a researcher, is to join the community of scholars to produce a research study on Cooper that will lead to change—a change in how Cooper is known, viewed, and appreciated, and ultimately a change in how we apply Cooper's philosophical perspective in a manner benefitting relationships, care, and social engagement. Hendry (2011), a theorist whose research bridges theory and history, included Cooper when she explained that

> exclusion is predicated on the construction of history as solid, stable, and certain. Engendering history seeks to rethink history in ways that allow for rupture, in which inquiry is grounded in endless questions that demand more thought, more complexity, and more multiplicity. (p. 3)

And it is the rethinking of history that must be applied to Cooper in order to counter the "privileging modes of inquiry" and instead "engage in history as a site for embracing multiple, often contradictory worldviews as a means for enriching our understanding of the human condition" (p. 2).

I approach this biography with a plethora of feelings: bias, frustrations, and a yearning to make a difference. I identify myself as a social constructivist. I believe that "social reality, experiences and social phenomena are capable of multiple, sometimes contradictory interpretations and are available to us through social interaction" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison,

2011, p. 220). As Bloomberg and Volpe (2008) described, "Constructivist researchers recognize and acknowledge that their own background shapes their interpretation, and they thus 'position' themselves in the research to acknowledge their own cultural, social, and, historical experiences" (p. 9). My own similarities to this research approach abound as I have always had an interest in people and how to enhance their lives. Relatedly, my formal education includes an undergraduate degree in history, a master's degree in the field of guidance and counseling, and certification in New York State School Administration. I have been a teacher, school counselor, an assistant superintendent for a large city school district, and a dean of instruction for a small proprietary college. Each of these positions required a significant amount of social interactions with numerous people at various levels within each organizational setting. Additionally, I am active in community affairs and I hold memberships in several cultural and philanthropic organizations. I am very contextual, perhaps to a fault, because I always seek to understand the causes and issues emanating from the particular sociopolitical and cultural location. I seek the subject's voice while concomitantly looking for multiple realities, believing that there is no one truth that can be applied to all of the people and cultures throughout the world (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008, p. 12). Rather, I acknowledge that we live in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural world where difference should be accepted and not devalued.

Throughout my life, I have been deeply impacted by racial, gender, and political constructs. Professionally, I have often found myself in what Collins (2000a) referred to as the outsider-within status. In the literary cannons, I am often described as "the other." The controlling western White society has labeled me with negative normative adjectives that have left painful scars due to both their meaning and past history. Consider being identified a minority or marginal: both terms connote spaces of inequity and a state of being not equal. Upon an initial

glance, I am physically identified as being both Black and female, which is also problematized in both the literature and mass media. As a Black female, my physical features are not always lauded as beautiful by the White culture. Outside of sports and the entertainment field, there is no groundswell for a Black presence or participation from the dominant culture. And, lest I forget, the continued use of standardized tests for which Blacks consistently test lower than their white counterparts, remains a major impediment in pursuit of educational and job opportunities; yet this type of assessment is still in use. Conversely, I thank God for the alternative side of my life experiences, my personal narrative that comes from the inside story which has sustained me. My parents, foremothers, and role models functioned unknowingly, although quite similar, to qualitative researchers. They knew that my reality would be socially constructed and that my epistemology would emanate from internal and external experiences. Moreover, for survival and some measure of success, they situated me to understand the dominant society while knowing that my reality is contextually located. For every negative, they countered with a positive way of dealing with whatever circumstance that was before me. In many cases the obstacle did not or was slow to move, but through their relentless support, they instilled in me an axiology of determination and perseverance.

A constructivist researcher functions as an involved participant and must therefore understand the multiple realities from the subject's perspective. In assuming this role, I am very cognizant of the need to keep my personal way of knowing, even if the same, separate from that of my subject. A hallmark of qualitative research is the relationship between the data, subject and researcher. As Bloomberg and Volpe (2008) pointed out, "the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis" (p. 12). The data are iterative—there is continuous

movement between the data and ideas; however, it is the subject's voice that must be heard (Pinar & Paultz, 1998; Tierney, 1996).

Data Collection Activities

Creswell (2008, p. 517) offered seven major characteristics (that) are central to narrative (biographical) research including individual experiences, collecting individual stories, restorying, coding for themes, context or setting, and collaborating with participants. Additionally, Creswell identified the steps in conducting biographical research (pp. 523–526):

1. identifying and focusing on the research question,
2. collection of the Story from the individual,
3. retelling of the subject's individual story,
4. collaboration with the subject and researcher, and
5. validation of the accuracy of the report.

These were the guidelines that I followed as I began the data collection process. According to Bowen (1968), "[f]or the biographer there are two distinct phases of research: (1) Reading and (2) Traveling about to countries and places where the hero lived and worked" (p. 54). I made a site visit to Washington, DC.,. to conduct archival research. Additionally, I have also read numerous articles and texts on qualitative methodology, narrative research including biographies; as well as dissertations written about Anna Julia Cooper. According to Berg (2009), "The central purpose of a methodological section [in a dissertation] is to explain to readers how the research was accomplished—in other words, what the data consist of and how data were collected, organized and analyzed" (p. 390). Moreover, Bentz and Shapiro (1998) suggested, "prior to beginning your investigation you should, at the very least, know how your topic would be explained given several different theoretical perspectives" (p. 64). To strengthen my

methodical approach of Cooper as a Black feminist, I was encouraged by my faculty mentor, Alexis DeVeaux, to read texts and articles written by female and Black writers.

In the summer of 2012, I traveled Washington, DC to specifically conduct archival research on Anna Julia Cooper. I researched data at Moorland-Spingarn Research Center (MSRC), at Howard University, I visited the Anacostia neighborhood Museum of the Smithsonian Institution which hosted a Cooper exhibit with a companion text entitled, *Anna Julia Cooper: A Voice From the South,* and I toured the city's African American Heritage Trial featuring Cooper's home and the nearby traffic circle named in her honor.

Both the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center and Anacostia Museum focused on archival data. Cooper's great niece, Regia Bronson, donated her personal papers to Howard University's MSRC in 1971, while the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum has a special relationship with Louise Daniel Hutchinson, Smithsonian staff historian, who is also the author of *Anna Julia Cooper: A Voice From the South*. Additionally, Hutchinson played a major role in the Cooper exhibit which was held at the Anacostia Museum several years ago.

Prior to leaving Buffalo, I contacted Howard University's MSRC to reserve a research booth for the duration of my stay in Washington. I had a very pleasant phone conversation with Dr. Ida Jones, assistant curator, who emailed me a copy of the Anna Julia Cooper Finding Aid. This very helpful tool includes a scope note, a description of the Cooper Papers including its length of five linear feet, the collection's covered time span (1881–1958), a biographical sketch of Cooper, a series description, and a very detailed container list which also included a listing of duplicates.

On my first day, I arrived at Howard University at 9 am. As I walked to the lower level of Founder's Library, I wondered why archival sections of libraries are often isolated and appear

very sterile. I also thought of the number of researchers who made this same walk. From my readings of African American literature, all of writers acknowledge the assistance of the Moorland Spingarn Research Center (MSRC), which houses the largest collection of American American materials in this country. When I walked into the archival room, Dr. Jones was waiting. Of course, there were forms to fill out and ID to provide. She directed me to put my purse in the desk next to hers, informed me that I could only use pencils for note taking and pointed out the sectioned off room reserved for archival work. There were three work areas remaining from which I could select. Most important, Dr. Jones had a cart filled with Cooper boxes so that I could begin my work. I was told that I could only take one folder out of a box at a time to take into the archival room and I was given the request form for any copies that I wanted to request.

An added bonus Dr. Jon Wergin, Dissertation Chairperson, met me at Howard's MSRC for my first day of archival research. At first Dr. Jones would not let Jon enter the research area, however, when she realized Jon was my advisor, who had come in from Virginia, she relaxed the pre-reservation rules and allowed Jon (after completing the required registration) to work side by side with me—what a joy!

One of the first Cooper papers that I handled and read was a frayed, undated, and untitled rather small piece of paper. Its beauty was in its authenticity—written by Cooper in her actual handwriting, in pencil. In the paper, Cooper recalled her memories of going to St. Augustine's School in Raleigh, NC about the age of eight. She wrote that the school was "her world—a school that nurtured and gave her admonition" (Cooper, n.d.b.). The meaning and the feeling of Cooper herself—almost jumped off the page—it was if Cooper were talking directly to me. No typed text can ever convey the feeling that I felt while reading a paper in Cooper's own

handwriting. A second memorable archival experience was reviewing Cooper's responses to a 1932 Negro College Graduates Survey (see Appendix B). At this time, Cooper was 72 years old. In this document there were several questionable dates. Specifically her date of birth, which she listed as 1860, contradicts the normally listed year of 1858 that appears on all other documents. Yet, the survey was completed by Cooper herself who with such high intellectual ability surely knew her date of birth. As a result going forward, I will grapple with which date to use for biographical research. Other questions raised in the survey are also quite compelling and provide insight into Cooper's life, her family, and career and motivational factors. Questions such as: What were the attitudes of your parents toward your college education? And, how would your life change if you could do it over again? Instead of simply just reading the questions and Cooper's responses, I felt as if I was conducting an interview for a case study on Cooper—I actually felt goose bumps! Prior to coming to MSRC, I had a bevy of facts on Cooper and I actually pondered the importance of coming. After all, in today's information age, data are readily available, so why travel for archival data? My experience with the Cooper documents; however, made it very clear to me the significance and impact of true archival data. My discovery of Anna Julia Cooper—beyond the chronological facts—was being revealed.

My Cooper data mining continued over several days as I reviewed all ten boxes on Cooper as well as selections from the Alain Locke papers and Frelinghuysen University. My Ah-Ha moments were reading about the accreditation problems with Frelinghuysen University and realizing that I agreed with the denial, which also meant that I disagreed with Cooper's arguments. I was extremely impressed with how hard Cooper fought to save the school and the sheer number of appeal letters she wrote, and the fact that she was willing to go to work for the WPA to keep Frelinghuysen University afloat. Reading all of the archival data surrounding the

university's issues provided other views on this subject that I could only gleam through the actual mining of the data. Cooper also experienced a trustee controversy of the changing the name of the university to include the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School in memory of her mother. More insight into Cooper's personality and life experiences were revealed from data included from Group B Examination dated December 17, 1921. The document provided information which explained the curriculum offered at the M Street School; what Cooper taught, as well as her educational background and work experience. I immediately tagged this information for themes and categorization.

Steps away from the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center is the beautiful and historic Rankin Chapel—yet another notable site in Cooper's life. It was here on December 29, 1925, that Anna Julia Cooper's PhD degree was awarded. Work attendance issues had forced Cooper to return from France prior to the degree conferral. It was only fitting that a formal recognition be held at Howard University, an institution long noted for being the Mecca of Black intellectual thought and social change. A ceremony was sponsored by XI Omega Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the first sorority for African-American Women in the United States. This sorority, established in 1908 at Howard University, had also assisted Cooper in her doctoral studies by awarding her a fellowship for international research (May, 2007, p. 33). I can only imagine that having Alain Locke, the first African American Rhodes Scholar and professor at Howard University, as the guest speaker, along with the greater Washington Community in attendance, provided Cooper with a sense of achievement, satisfaction, and long overdue recognition (Hutchinson, 1981, pp. 141–142).

The next stop was the African American History Trail in LeDroit Park to view the Anna Julia Cooper Circle and her home at 201 T Street, just blocks from Howard University.

Although the original intent of the circle was probably to improve the traffic flow, the resultant circle encompassed with beautiful flowers and benches, is reminiscent of the community socialization and intellectual discourse that Cooper enjoyed. "By the early 20th century [Le Droit Park] was a haven for Howard University scholars, literary figures such as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, and civil rights leaders such as Mary Church Terrell" (LeDroit Park, African American Heritage Trail, Cultural Tourism DC). I had seen photographs of Anna Julia Cooper's house; however, it took a while for me to actually locate it. Perhaps, it was because the house is not next to the circle, but down the street from it. The house was not what I had expected. Although presently occupied, its physical appearance is drastically different from earlier photos. The hedges were replaced by an unattractive four foot concrete brick wall which surrounds the house. It was hard to visualize the extensive renovations that Cooper had made to the house when she purchased it—the graceful Italian columns and the balustrade. I wondered if the fireplace, designed by Cooper, still had the ceramic tiles, representing each book of Shakespeare (Hutchinson, 1981, p. 178). Gone was her beloved garden—in its place were three parked cars. Even the historic marker, actually a laminated sign, on the house appeared to have been just haphazardly plastered into the brick wall. From my readings, I know how much Cooper loved this house and what an integral part it played in her life. It was in this house at 201 T Street that Cooper held her musical evenings, penned many of her papers, raised her five adopted nieces and nephews, relocated Frelinghuysen University, and where, in 1964, she died peacefully in her sleep. All of these events in Cooper's life were running through my mind as I viewed the Cooper House in its current condition. Needless to say, it was very, very disconcerting. I thought of Cooper's untiring spirit and dilettantism; intuitively I knew that if alive, she would have immediately started a restoration project.

On my last day in Washington, I headed over to the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum of the Smithsonian Institute. Although I was told that the museum was open on Saturdays, the manuscript division was not. I was given the name of a contact person to follow-up. I learned later that museum had hosted an Anna Julia Cooper exhibit, from February 1981 to September 1982. Working collaboratively with the museum, Louise Daniel Hutchinson served as curator and wrote the companion text, *Anna J Cooper, A Voice From the South*. Additionally, I found out that Ms. Hutchinson, in 2012, was still alive at age 84 and resided in the Anacostia neighborhood. However, she no longer granted interviews. After arriving home, I received a wealth of information, from the contact person via email including two collection inventories describing the materials along with the Anna Julia Cooper exhibition records, and a link to the online collection record of the exhibition, and images of Cooper from the Archives Center from the National Museum of American History.

The Washington, DC visit to the aforementioned sites, made me realize that biographical research is so much more than a large number of facts about a particular subject. Spending time in Cooper's space, by handling and touching her personal documents, truly humanized her—she became a living legend to me. Viewing the house that Cooper resided in for 48 years, which served so many needs and functions brought yet another layer of meaning to Cooper's lived experiences as a foster mother, a hostess for intellectual gathering, a college president who actually lent her home to Frelinghuysen University for classes, and as a community activist who worked unceasingly to enhance the educational and social conditions of her community and its race. Earlier, in an 1886 speech, Cooper had discussed the importance of stable homes and mothers to ensure the continued development of the Black family. As Cooper's own life

unfolded a parallel developed, between that speech and the significance of her home at 201 T Street. Cooper remarked:

> A stream cannot rise higher than its source. The atmosphere of homes is no rarer and purer and sweeter than are the mothers in those homes. A race is but a total of families. The nation is the aggregate of its homes. As the whole is sum of all of its parts, so the character of the parts will determine the characteristics of the whole. (Cooper, 1988a, p. 29)

Indeed, home provided Cooper with a sense of security and stability. It was the anchor she needed to function within the diverse roles, that she held during her lifetime, as an educator, scholar, college president, foster mother, and community advocate. Importantly, research offers a means of bringing together the varied dimensions of a subject's life. A Social Constructivist as a researcher is a participant observer with the responsibility of providing support and understanding, while interpreting the subject's life from a sociopolitical context. Seeking deeper levels of understanding of the participant subject's lived experiences is critical in order for the researcher to be able to handle the many forms of truth or knowledge. Rallis and Rossman (2012) proposed:

> If any inquiry process is to have merit, we must allow for possible differing perspectives or 'findings' that may alter our initial beliefs or understandings or at least more fully explain where our understandings and beliefs come from. Thus, we present inquiry as dynamic and ultimately socially constructed. (pp.7–8)

Data collection for a biographical methodology is a process of discovery. As Tierney (1993) pointed out, "[a]rchives are not static hermetically sealed museums; they are active commentaries about our lives" (p. 4). On the surface, the facts and artifacts are available. The larger demand is finding meaning and connectivity between the subject, participant, and society. While pondering which research technique would best allow the telling of Cooper's life story, reviewing Kvale's (1996) work on interviewing was extremely helpful. Kvale, a strong proponent of utilizing interviews in qualitative research, believes that interviews are a means for

individuals to explain how they understand their world. Equally important is that in the interview setting, the interviewer has the opportunity to learn about their subject's view of her work, family life, and aspirations. Further, Kvale (1996) argued that "it is in fact a strength of the interview conversation to capture the multitude of subjects' views of a theme and to picture a manifold and controversial human world" (p.7).

Since Cooper has been deceased for 50 years, I pondered how I could include a subject interview as a part of my methodology. Additionally, the family members and friends who were alive during Cooper's lifetime and had first knowledge and experiences with her are now very old or have also died. Therefore, primary interview sources are not available. My mind flashed back to the intuitive feelings that I experienced that August day at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, while reading one of Cooper's archival documents. I reflected on Cooper's responses to the Negro College Graduates survey. It actually seemed like an interview session and I felt as if Cooper was actually speaking to me. The authenticity of the document, written in Cooper's own handwriting, and her very detailed responses were both captivating and spellbinding. A type of transformation occurred. I felt Cooper's presence and I realized that she was providing me with a direct means of communication with her. Cooper who identified herself as the voice for the Black woman and the underserved could add her own voice in this leadership biography. Through an in-depth posthumous interview, I engage in a conversation with Cooper, which is included in Appendix A.

Research Topic and Questions

As a research topic, I seek to explore the life of Anna Julia Cooper as a quintessential leader, with the accompanying research questions:

- What does Anna Julia Cooper contribute to our understanding of leadership?
- Why has Cooper been ignored?
- How can greater visibility of Cooper and acknowledgement of her work be fostered?
- How does Black feminist thought, intersectionality, and standpoint theories strengthen our understanding of Cooper?

In this study Cooper is used as the vehicle or prototype for the articulation of my perspective of resistance being foundational to Black women's models of leadership. Clearly, through her life experiences, Cooper demonstrates how resistance to dominant forces caused her to develop alternative means of handling adverse situations in her personal, professional, and community and change life. Bonnick (2007) pointed out one such example, when she wrote:

> The particularity of [Cooper's] articulation and utilization of the field of education to navigate and transcend the negation of black self-formation must be located in the traditions of resistance that emerged to reconstruct the generative experience of rupture which characterizes the forced incorporation of black people in Western modernity. (p. 180)

Presently there are five major texts written about Cooper, and two are out of print. *From Slavery to the Sorbonne and Beyond: The Life & Writings of Anna Julia Cooper* (1982) is a posthumous biography, by Leona Gabel. Like several others who accidentally discovered Cooper, Gabel by chance, found a copy of Cooper's dissertation in the Smith College papers of Professor Alfred Vance Churchill. Many years earlier, the Churchill family had provided room and board for Cooper, while she attended Oberlin College. As Gabel (1982) learned more about the Churchill—Cooper connection, she was drawn to Cooper and, felt that "the career of Dr. Cooper presented itself as a story waiting to be told" (p. 5). Thus, this biography which emphases Cooper's career was written in the context of specific situations which Gabel identifies as the three steps of Cooper's life. Cooper's first step was attending St. Augustine's in North

Carolina; the second step, Oberlin College in Ohio for her bachelor's and master's degrees; and the third step, La Sorbonne, University of Paris where she earned her PhD in history, 1925.

Hutchinson's *Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice From the South* (1981) is the second out of print text. A phenomenal resource, this book is the most comprehensive biography to date written about Cooper. Numerous historical and archival data with photographs are included as Cooper's social, political, and personal life experiences are explored. This text begins before the birth of Cooper in North Carolina, by providing "the socio-economic and geographic-political environment into which [Cooper] grew up" (p. 3), and it concludes with Cooper's death notice from the Washington Post and a copy of her funeral program.

A great resource for primary sources is offered in Lemert and Bhan's (1998) text, *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including a Voice From the South and Other Important Essays, Papers, and Letters*. As this title indicates many of Cooper's literary works are included along with her biographical data which covers for the most part her adult life. Cooper's 1892 book, *A Voice From the South*, is also included. The reader is able to glean the range of Cooper's interests and her involvement in the social and political issues of the day. Particularly noteworthy is Cooper's concern for gender equality, especially for Black women whom she holds in the highest esteem, and whom she credits as being superior to men and White women and the backbone of the Black race. Also, it is in this text that Cooper discussed the binary issue that Black women face. Cooper (1892/1988a) wrote:

> The colored woman of today occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country. In a period of itself transitional and unsettled, her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is as yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both. (p. 134)

Additionally, Cooper's personal letters provide greater insight into her personal life and private domain. A particularly insightful example is Cooper's Autobiographical Statement (n.d.a.), in which she shares her enslaved beginnings.

In *Slavery and the French and Haitian Revolutionists,* Keller (2006) provides a translation of Cooper's dissertation. By translating the dissertation from French to English more readers and scholars are able to utilize it as a primary research source. With the language barrier removed, the issue of slavery, race, and, inequalities can be more easily compared within the western hemisphere and internationally. In sum, Cooper's dissertation provides an expansive analysis of slavery and its overall impact.

Finally, May's (2007) work, *Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist* is the most recent text written about Cooper. A complete biography of Cooper's life is provided. However, May explained that her intent is to go beyond the recognized accomplishments and to "not merely document unacknowledged aspects of Cooper's ideas but to offer different ways of reading her multivocal texts and to illustrate the implications of her theories and methods for reinterpreting our past and present" (p. 5). May (2007)refers to this as a 'methodology of dissent' (pp. 6, 106).

A ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Search reveals a total of 44 dissertations, eight between 2009 and 2013, in which Cooper is the subject or referenced in the document. None, however, have specifically focused solely on Cooper's leadership style and her impact as a leader. My purpose in this study is to uncover and to share the life experiences of Cooper, in the field of leadership, and thus cause further consideration of Cooper the person and Cooper the leader. I argue that Cooper's life is a template for understanding Black women's leadership in both achievements and successes as well as under adverse circumstances. There are lessons to

learn and to share, and lessons to inform present practices. Additionally, I seek to assist in the correction and updating of our history to include the contributions of "the others," such as Cooper, who have been targeted and sent to the margins. My ultimate goal is to gain greater visibility of Cooper and acknowledgement of her work.

Research Approach

Without question, Cooper lived a long life filled with accomplishments. While I applaud this fete, my purpose is not to write yet another fact sharing document on Cooper. Rather, my goal is to provide a different perspective—a view of Cooper through a leadership lens. I plan to offer a biographical analysis that will transcend the critical sociopolitical constraints and offer new ways of knowing and thinking about Cooper's leadership. In order for this to happen, it is necessary to seek other forms of data that are more inclusive and encourage marginal voices to be heard. As Tierney (2000) suggested, "to seek new epistemological and methodological avenues demands that we chart new paths rather than constantly return to well-worn roads and point out that will not take us where we want to go" (p. 68). Moreover, Nell Painter, historian and biographer recommends alternative sources to obtain understanding of the subject's lived experiences. Painter (2004) stated:

> we need to separate the insight from scholarship's bias against images and in favor of words. We need to recognize what can be learned from images in historical space. We need to rejoin images that scholarship segregates but that biographical subjects experience. (p.104)

Utilizing a theoretical framework with a constructivist strategy, the research design for this study is biographical; it is grounded in Black feminist thought and supported by the underpinnings of Intersectionality and Standpoint theory.

Outline of Study

In further study of Cooper's life, this dissertation is outlined by the following: an introduction of this study, which details why a leadership biography of Cooper is important and explains the significance of this work. It also brings in the notion of the Black feminist perspective and identifies the key theme and organizing principles of the research. Following the Introduction is a full detailed biography of Anna Julia Cooper's life. In order to fully understand Cooper, it is important to know her life story; therefore, this is a qualitative study with a biographical design. According to Lee (2009) "the word biography actually means 'life-writing.' The two halves of the word derive from medieval Greek: *bios*, 'life', and *graphia*, 'writing' (p. 5)." Creswell (2008) more specifically defined a biography as "a form of narrative study in which the researcher writes and records the experiences of another person's life" (p. 636). Lee (2009) also pointed out "all biography involves an oral dimension—the recounting of memories, witness-testimony, much-repeated anecdotes" (pp. 5-6). Finally, Erben (1996) offered both a definition and rationale for this type of research. He stated:

> The purpose of using biographical method as a research tool is to explore, through the analysis of individual lives, the relationship between social forces and personal character. The individual in this procedure is regarded as a highly singular and highly complex articulation of the cultural and, as such, research proceeds in a deductive rather than inductive manner. (p. 159)

Following the Biography is a description and rationale for the Black feminist method of analysis. A very short section, it details what it means to take a Black feminist perspective. An analysis of the study follows the Black Feminist Perspective and identifies key emerging themes. In lieu of a formal literature review, references to the literature are integrated within the Analysis of the Study. Concluding the study is the Commentary on how insights generated by this study inform

our thinking about leadership theory in general and Black women's leadership in particular. The scope of this study, along with new potential research options, is considered.

The Appendix includes a posthumous interview, composed of questions developed from Cooper's written responses to a survey, as well as the actual survey. Appendix A contains a series of 25 interview questions developed to provide insight into Cooper's life. This simulation is enhanced by Cooper's rich, thorough, and for the most part, verbatim responses. In this posthumous interview, there has been minimal editing in order to maintain the authenticity of Cooper's words. Appendix B includes the Negro College Graduates Survey. The reader may read the full questionnaire, to see Cooper's exact words, written in her own handwriting.

In an interview, Kvale (1996) noted, "attempts to understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (p. 1). As Patton (2002) further explained:

> The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of theirs is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit. We interview to find out what is in and on someone else's mind, to gather their stories. (p. 341)

In the case of Cooper, voice is synonymous with her activism. A strong defender of Black women, Cooper (1892/1988a) passionately used her voice when she declared, "this little Voice has been added to the already full chorus. The 'other side' has not been represented by one who 'lives there'" (p. ii). As Cooper emphatically stated, "[i]f [her] broken utterances can in any way help to a clearer vision and a truer pulse-beat in studying our Nation's Problem, this Voice by a Black Woman of the South will not have been raised in vain" (p. iii). At the onset, I raise the question: Who other than Cooper can best explain and describe her life, its challenges, successes, and failures? The answer of course is no one other than Cooper herself. I sincerely regret being unable to conduct a face-to-face interview with Cooper. However, the wealth of

communications through her writings and public speaking makes it possible to construct a posthumous interview.

By reviewing Cooper's personal and professional life and activism, there is an opportunity to recast and to humanize her; and to show the relevance of her voice in today's world. Indeed, the purpose of constructing a posthumous interview is to create a conversation with Cooper about her life experiences and gather her foresight on issues that compelled her, in some cases, into unheralded leadership situations which, in turn, made her an agent of change.

Most important, the posthumous interview provides authenticity—it affords an opportunity to hear directly from Cooper, in her own words, in a manner that has not been done before. Additionally, the posthumous interview provides a unique opportunity to recognize Cooper in a way that she would want to be recognized, that is, allowing her to be her own voice in sharing her own experiences. Moreover, from a research perspective, Cooper's voice becomes a primary source, with validity being assured by her original document.

Finally, I invite the reader to envision a one-on-one conversation between Cooper (as the subject) and me (as the interviewer), to listen closely to more than just the words—to hear and feel the passion and commitment in Cooper's voice as she responds to the questions in the survey.

Biography

This biography is a synthesis of what other researchers have written about Cooper and it is supplemented by primary source materials taken directly from the *Negro College Graduates Individual Occupational History* (see Appendix B). To gain greater insight and to foster a more in-depth understanding of Cooper, she must first be situated within the socio/political context of her lifetime. Her biographical sketch follows.

In 1858, just three years before the start of the Civil War in the United States, Hannah Stanley Haywood, an enslaved woman residing in Raleigh, North Carolina gave birth to a daughter who had been conceived by her white slave master (Gabel, 1982; Hutchinson, 1981; Lemert & Bhan, 1998; May 2007). Given the socio/political context of the country, this birth was of no significance to the dominant white male culture since sexual exploitation, the raping of black enslaved women, was a common occurrence. As Davis (1995) explained, the white slave masters' "instinctual urges would find expression in his relationships with his property—the black (en)slaved woman, who would have to become his unwilling concubine" (p. 212). The laws of the country supported such exploitation and it "was so prevalent that white men considered free and unlimited access to black women a right and a privilege" (Lewis, 1996, p. 10). Thus, a child born during slavery was considered to be property, as such; an enslaved child faced a dismal life of bondage and servitude with no independence or personal freedom. It was into this socio/political environment that Annie Julia Haywood was born.

According to Hutchinson (1981), "we are left with only fragmentary reminiscences of Anna Cooper's early years" (p.5). Cooper was the youngest of three children with two brothers. She adored her mother. Cooper would later write that her "Mother's self-sacrificing toil to give [her] advantages she had never enjoyed is worthy [of] the highest praise & undying gratitude

(*Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History*, 1937). Following the Civil War the passing of the 13th amendment brought an era of change with continuing inequities and challenges. Slaves were free with no money, no land and no education. Fortuitously for Cooper during the Reconstruction period, schools were established specifically to educate former slaves and their descendants. At about the age of nine, Cooper began her education, at the St. Augustine School in Raleigh, North Carolina. This school, founded in 1867 by the Freedmen's Commission, the Board of Missions, and the Episcopal Church, "was designed to educate teachers, of both sexes, for the instruction of colored people of the South," along with men who were trained for the ministry (Halliburton, 1937, p. 1). Cooper was a gifted student, excelled academically and spent 14 years at the school as a student, tutor, and teacher. Cooper described her experience and feelings for St. Augustine's when she wrote:

> When hardly more than of kindergarten age it was my good fortune to be selected for a scholarship by Dr. J. Brinton Smith, founder of St. Augustine's Normal School at Raleigh N.C. (now St. Augustine's College) in the nucleus he was planning to train as teachers for the colored people of the South. That school was my world during the formative period, the most critical in any girl's life. Its" *[sic]* nurture & admonition gave not only shelter & protection from the many pitfalls that beset the unwary…the whole atmosphere contributed growth & nourishment beyond the power of words to estimate …it develops in one a feeling of "belonging." (Statement of St. Augustine's School Experience, n.d., Cooper, n.d.b.)

St Augustine's proved to play a critical role in Cooper's development and life choices. It was at St. Augustine's that Cooper demanded that she be allowed to take the more rigorous curriculum offered for male students. Cooper successfully complained and was eventually allowed to take Greek and Latin and all of the offered courses. This marked her first experience of dealing with gender discrimination, a cause that she would champion her entire life.

Years later, Cooper (1892) would write:

> Let us insist…on special encouragement for the education of our women and special care in their training. Let our girls feel that we expect something more of them…let money be raised and scholarships be founded in our colleges and universities for self-supporting, worthy young women, to offset and balance the aid that can always be found for boys…not the boys less, but the girls more. (pp. 78–79)

The environment at St. Augustine's exposed Cooper to education and to the fascination of teaching, which she referred to as "the noblest of callings"; a vocation for her that would span more than 80 years.

At the age of 19, Anna Julia Haywood married the Reverend George A.C. Cooper, a 32-year-old instructor at St. Augustine's, from the West Indies. He was only the second Black man to be ordained an Episcopal priest in North Carolina. Two years later, just a few months after his ordination, George Cooper died and Anna never remarried. Due to her single status, however, she was allowed to continue her teaching career. According to Washington (1988) "the death of Cooper's husband ironically allowed her to pursue a career as a teacher, whereas no married woman—black or white—could continue to teach" (p. xxxi).

Cooper relocated to Ohio in 1881 to continue her education at Oberlin College, once a station of the Underground Railroad, this school had a history of equality and of welcoming and supporting the underserved. It was one of the few colleges in the country, at the beginning of the 19th century that admitted both females and Black students, and had work study programs. Three years later in 1884, Cooper had successfully worked her way through Oberlin and graduated with honors. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in mathematics and delivered the commencement address which she entitled, "Strongholds of Reason." Cooper had planned to return home to Raleigh, North Carolina to teach at St. Augustine's, however, once again she was confronted with racist and sexist practices. Cooper shared that Dr. Swede the principal under

whom she had taught before leaving for college and who had engaged her services to return was superseded by Dr. Sutton who wanted to change her contract from professor to teacher in charge of girls and she refused. Instead, Cooper accepted a position to teach modern languages at Wilberforce University in Xenia Ohio. This institution named after William Wilberforce, an English abolitionist who fought against the slave trade, is the oldest historically Black College in the United States. In this invigorating environment, Cooper taught modern languages, literature, and mathematics. During the summer of 1885, she worked as Bishop Arnett's secretary, a man Cooper so greatly admired that she dedicated her book, *A Voice from the South*, to him. Cooper (1892) acknowledged and thanked Arnett for his "unselfish espousal of the cause of the Black woman and of every human interest that lacks a Voice and needs a Defender" (Dedication).

For the next two years, due to family needs and an aging mother, Cooper lived and worked in Raleigh, North Carolina. She returned to teaching at St. Augustine's and was very active in community affairs, a prelude to her activism in the Black women's club movement. Cooper "helped to establish a Sabbath school and mission guild" (Hutchinson, 1981, p. 43). Additionally, "she helped establish a college outreach program for African Americans in the city of Raleigh and was an active member of the politically engaged North Carolina Teachers' Association, which protested to the state legislature about educational disparities across the state for Black and white students" (May, 2007, p.18). In 1887, Cooper was awarded a master's degree in mathematics, from Oberlin "based on her teaching during the intervening years—a year of modern languages at Wilberforce University ('84–'85), the next two at her old St. Augustine's in Raleigh, teaching mathematics, Latin, and German" (Gabel, 1982, p. 24). In 1892, Cooper published her feminist work entitled, *A Voice from the South.* This text, composed of essays and speeches, clearly situates the Black Woman as being essential to uplifting the

Black race. In this work, Cooper brings to the fore gender, racial, and class inequalities while pointing out the inconsistency of our doctrines and practices within the United States. Cooper, the consummate educator, stressed the importance of education and that education would further efforts of equity for all minorities, especially for Black women. She specifically highlighted the significance of the Black woman to the Black family, stating, "A stream cannot rise higher than its source. The atmosphere of homes is no rarer and purer and sweeter than are the mothers in those homes" (1892/1988a, p. 29). Similarly when speaking before a group of Black Episcopal ministers in Washington, D.C., Cooper challenged the clergy not to limit the educational opportunities for Black women while also reminding them of the critical and vital role the Black woman has in supporting the Black race. It is here that Cooper gave her most quoted statement:

> Only the BLACK WOMAN can say "when and where I enter, in the 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, p. 31)

Additionally, Cooper identified herself as her Sister's Keeper and the voice for Black women whose voices were not being heard. She declared in her text, "(i)f these broken utterances can in any way help to a clearer vision and a truer pulse-beat in studying our Nation's Problem, this Voice by a Black Woman of the South will not have been raised in vain" (Cooper, 1892/1988a, p.iii). The significance of *A Voice From the South* and Cooper's voice cannot be overstated. According to Pellow (1992), "It demonstrates clearly the concerns that were to preoccupy her throughout life: women's rights and the uplifting of African Americans—who at that time were just one generation removed from bondage" (p. 219). Undoubtedly, Cooper's activism led to her being foreshadowed as the matriarch of Black feminist theory (M. S.Giles, 2006); the mother of Black feminism (Willis & Harris, 2001); and a visionary Black Feminist (May, 2007). Cooper began speaking across the country and abroad on issues dealing with inequities, education, and

Black women. Her catalytic words and activism clearly launched Cooper into the role of a spokesperson for Blacks and women in the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

In 1887, Cooper was recruited by George F.C. Cook, the principal and an Oberlin alumnus, to teach at the Washington Colored High School (later to become the M Street School, and finally Dunbar High School) in Washington, DC. For Cooper, the city of Washington offered expanded employment and educational opportunities, a rich cultural environment enhanced with international engagements, and an opportunity to assist the numerous Blacks with no resources who were migrating to this city which Gabel (1982) defined as the "Mecca of thousands of uprooted freedmen in search of help" (p. 25). Cooper's recruitment offer was highly selective and extremely prestigious because only the best and brightest Black scholars such as Carter G. Woodson, Robert Terrell and Ernest E. Just were recruited to teach at the M Street School. Additionally, Mary Jane Patterson, the first Black woman to receive a bachelor's degree was a faculty member and the first three U.S Black women to earn PhDs either attended or taught at this school. As May (2007) noted, "the prestigious M Street High was the largest public high school for African Americans in the nation; it offered a rigorous education in a politically engaged learning environment" (p.18). Two renowned graduates are Dr. Charles Drew, inventor of blood plasma, and Nannie Helen Burroughs, founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls.

At the M Street School, Cooper began as a teacher of Latin and 14 years later, in 1901, she was appointed principal. Her career as a principal and a teacher at the high school would span 43 exciting and productive, yet turbulent years. Cooper supported the educational pedagogies of W.E.B. Dubois (classical education) and Booker T. Washington (agrarian education), believing that there was room for both. Yet, after many years of successfully

preparing young blacks to attend Ivy League schools, she became a lightning rod for the educational debate of the day. The Superintendent of the D.C. Colored Schools wanted to change the curriculum of the M Street School and pattern it after Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. By so doing, this would align the philosophy and teaching to mirror the separate but equal dictum of the day. When directed by the superintendent to change the curriculum at the M Street School, Cooper adamantly refused. She knew changing the curriculum would result in lowering academic standards and significantly reduce the number of Black students who would continue in postsecondary education at Ivy League colleges. A very public city-wide year long debate ensued, with much public support in favor of Cooper. However, a year later as the public attention waned, Cooper was charged with insubordination and encouraged to submit her resignation. Cooper was forced to deal with the resulting public humiliation and attacks on her character. Years later Cooper expressed, in her own handwriting, the lasting impact of this event. She recounted:

> The first time in its history the Colored H.S. of Washington was listed as 'accredited' by Harvard & given the certificate privilege. For which unpardonable 'sin' against racial supremacy said principal suffers to this day the punishment of the damned from both the white masters & the colored understrappers. (*Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History*, 1937, see Appendix B)

During the summers of 1911–1913, Cooper studied French literature, history, and phonetics at La Guilde Internationale, Paris. At the same time, she began studying towards her doctorate at Columbia University; however due to employment constraints, of teaching full time in Washington, DC, and serving as the full-time guardian of her five great nieces and nephews, she could not complete the one year residency requirement, therefore began to explore other options, especially studying in France. Evans (2009) suggested, "Cooper was drawn to France's

promise of liberté, égalité, fraternité" (p. 85). Clearly, her admiration for France was evident when she stated:

> Of all the nations that have been torchbearers in the vanguard of human enlightenment, none, it seems to me, can claim a more liberal spirit, a more cosmopolitan good-will in the *realness* of its fraternity, equality and true liberty, than the one to whom we offer a tribute of gratitude tonight, splendid, great-hearted, suffering, glorious France! In no land or country whether of the past or present time, is the marvelous culture of the nation, so fully and freely broadcast for the enlightenment and the enjoyment of all peoples and tribes and kindreds that on earth do dwell. . . Whosoever will, let him come; let him that is athirst, come! Yea, let him come and partake freely of the knowledge, the inspiration, the achievements and the glory of French civilization and French (Cooper, Souvenir, 1925, Cooper, n.d.b.).

Although, Cooper decided to transfer to La Sorbonne to continue her doctoral work, she faced monumental challenges. La Sorbonne was further away, in a foreign country with a different language and culture. While her credits from Columbia were accepted, a new thesis for her dissertation had to be written and subsequently approved by the Sorbonne. Additionally, as a foreign student she had to work closely with the ambassador in Paris and she had to obtain permission to use the French Archives. Also at home, due to the legal segregation laws and policies that were in effect in America, she had to obtain permission to use the US Library of Congress for research purposes. According to Hutchinson (1981), Cooper "resigned herself to working every available hour in an alcove assigned for her use at the Library of Congress (blacks were not admitted then into the main reading room and facilities set aside for white scholars)." Dagbovie (2004) noted "Cooper conducted meticulous research at the library of Congress, various French archives, and the Bibliotheque Militarie, while immersing herself in the relevant secondary source materials" (p. 251).

By 1924 Cooper had made several trips to Paris. She knew at some point she would need a leave of absence from her teaching position at M Street/Dunbar High School to complete her dissertation requirements, however, she was not prepared for the confrontational opposition

that she faced. After nearly ten years of study, Cooper's request for an official leave from her school—to submit her thesis—proved only to be for 60 days, not the full year she had anticipated. She was forced to quickly return to her teaching position or face losing her job and future retirement benefits. Fortunately, special arrangements were put in place that allowed Cooper to study, over the next year, at the Library of Congress in Washington and to later return to Paris to defend her dissertation. In 1924, Cooper's second leave of absence request was also denied; however, she went to Paris anyway. Cooper retorted, "if they drop me this time it shall be for doing as I darn please. If I perish, I perish" (as cited in Lemert & Bahn, 1998, p. 327). Cooper, however, did not perish and she did successfully complete her defense. On March 23, 1925, she became the fourth African-American woman to earn a doctorate with the added distinction of being the first Black woman to do so at the prestigious La Sorbonne. Cooper's "dissertation, written in French, was entitled, 'L'Attitude de la France dans la question de l'Esclavage entre 1789 and 1848' ('The Attitude of France on the Question of Slavery between 1789 and 1848)" (Dagbovie, 2004, p. 251). Impressively, Cooper defended her dissertation in French and was awarded a PhD in history; making her the first Black American woman to earn a PhD in history (p. 251).

Cooper continued her teaching career at the high school which was by now renamed Dunbar. According to Gabel (1982):

> The passage of time had not seen an abatement of the jealous rivalries and male chauvinism which existed within the colored division of the school system over the years…No mention is made of any special recognition accorded [Cooper] by the school on her return beyond the fact that she was thereafter addressed as Dr. Cooper. (pp. 64-65)

Cooper continued to teach at Dunbar High School until retiring at 72 years of age. She would live another 33 years during which time she continued her very active commitment to education, gender and racial equality.

In 1930, Cooper became the second president of Frelinghuysen University, a school offering evening courses, within the community, in order to meet the needs of working students. Cooper fostered the growth of adult community education through her work at Frelinghuysen University. This school, founded in 1907, was named after US Senator Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, who supported Black political efforts during Reconstruction. Cooper served as the second president and later as registrar. When funding became a problem, she lobbied for assistance, and when it was not forthcoming, she moved the University into her home. Over the next ten years, Cooper worked extremely hard to keep the school afloat through fund raising, innovative teaching techniques, and a campaign to garner the support of the Black community members. Cooper acted on her beliefs. During the country's economic depression, Frelinghuysen lost its building and Cooper donated her home for classroom space. Yet, in spite of all of her efforts and personal sacrifices, she and the trustees were unable to obtain the funding and accreditation to keep the university and the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School operational (Gabel, 1982; Hutchinson, 1981; Lemert & Bhan, 1998; May 2007).

In response to a Negro College Graduate survey question regarding identifying the most outstanding accomplishment since graduation, Cooper responded "her preference [was] the building of a beautiful home at the Capital from unsubsidized earnings to be dedicated in the name of [her] slave mother to the education of colored working people." An educator and a lifelong learner, Cooper constantly reinvented and adapted herself to the educational and social needs of her era. As a teacher, she taught the "talented tenth" of Black American students (DuBois, 1903/2005, p. 79). She also developed training programs to equip men and women with specific work place skills. At the 1894 Hampton Negro Conference, Cooper declared, "I believe in industrial education with all my heart. We can't all be professional people. We must have a

backbone to the race"(Hutchinson, 1981, p. 61). And to that end, she supported and developed training programs to equip men and women with specific work place skills which were manifested during her work at Frelinghuysen. Moreover, Cooper's efforts are recognized as being foundational to the formation of today's adult education/ community college concept. Keller (1999) acknowledged, "[i]n her community [Cooper] discovered, built, and nurtured a working-adult college: she believed that students need no longer feel thwarted in their life possibilities, that they could learn as they worked" (p. 49).

Cooper had a strong commitment to her family, community, and to the uplifting of her race. She lost her husband after only two years of marriage. While Cooper took advantage of being widowed to continue her education, she was tragically impacted by his death. Through the years, she cared for her mother, brothers, and extended family members, as well as for her students. In her mid-40s, she served as a guardian for two of her students. Additionally, Cooper became what we know of today as a single mother when at the age of 55, she adopted all five of her widowed great nephew's children, ranging from six months to twelve years of age.

Moreover, in the introduction to *A Voice From the* South, M.H. Washington (1988) shared that Cooper "helped start the Colored Women's YWCA in 1905 because of the Jim Crow policies of the white YWCA and in 1912 she founded the first chapter of the Y's Camp Fire Girls" (p. xxvii). At the same time, Cooper was also a part of the elite black Washingtonians who met on a weekly basis to discuss politics, literature and the arts in the "Saturday Circle or the Saturday Nighters" (Anacostia Museum and Center for African American History and Culture, 2005, p. 350). May (2007) noted that Cooper was a member of the "Bethel Literary and Historical Association, one of the most active cultural and political organization in Washington, D. C." (p. 11). She had an ethic of caring and felt that the middle class in particular had a

responsibility to help others who were less fortunate. As an example, Cooper helped to organize the first Colored Settlement House in Washington, DC and she served as the supervisor (Hutchinson, 1981, p.117). "She was deeply involved with black women's groups such as the Colored Women's League in Washington, which she was to confound in 1894—not to mention her involvements in the national Negro Women's Club Movement" (Lemert & Bhan, 1998, p. 29). A more detailed analysis of Cooper's community activism is addressed in the Analysis of the Study.

The literature remains mixed on whether Cooper was a member of the Negro Academy, the Black think tank of the day. May (2007) offered this clarification: "Cooper was the only woman invited to speak before the all-male American Negro Academy founded in 1897; however, she was not asked to be a member" (p. 21). Indeed, Cooper had many speaking and participation engagements including: The World Congress of Representative Women, 1892, Second Hampton Negro Address in 1894, and the 1900 Pan African Conference held in London, England (Gabel, 1982; Hutchinson, 1981; Lemert & Bhan, 1998; May 2007).

Despite Cooper's numerous academic and personal accomplishments, she had many life challenges and adversities. As Kinard stated in the foreword of Hutchinson's *Anna J. Cooper, A Voice From the South,* "[t]he hardships, the adversities, and the struggles of [Cooper's] life tested and proved the mettle and resoluteness that command our attention and respect. . . . came easy or was ever given to Anna Cooper, and every reward was earned" (1981, p. ix). Starting with the conditions of her birth, Cooper did not acknowledge her biological father's existence. In an undated autobiographical statement, located in her personal papers, Cooper (n.d.a.) declared, "[p]resumably my father was [my mother's] master, if so I owe him not a sou & she was always too modest & shamefaced ever to mention him" (Autobiographical Statement, n.d.a.;

Cooper, n.d.b.). Moreover, in response to a Negro College Graduates Survey question about attitudes of parents, Cooper replied, "I owe nothing to my white father beyond the initial act of procreation" (*Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History, 1937*). Cooper was first educated at the St. Augustine's Normal School which was built on land that was owned by her biological father's family. Yet, she had to work and pay her way for her schooling. Further, as a student at Oberlin Cooper was self-supporting. She lived off campus with the Churchills, a white family, and had on-campus employment. In comparison two other Black female classmates, Mary Church Terrell and Ida Gibbs Hunt, lived on campus and were active in campus activities. Lemert and Bhan (1998) asserted, "they were of different social classes, both by birth and in adult life" (p. 21). For Cooper, this was yet another experience of differences that would intersect her life on several subsequent occasions.

Cooper loved her mother very deeply, and credited her for providing her with a strong belief system in family, faith, and community. She lovingly and affectionately referred to her mother as "the finest woman (she had) ever known" (Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History, 1937, see Appendix B). Many years later, in tribute to her mother, Cooper "established and annex(ed) to Frelinghuysen University the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School—an independent corporation that would remain under (Cooper's) control and management" (Hutchinson, 1981, p. 166). May (2007) acknowledged its innovative educational approach as "it was the only school in the District of Columbia to offer instruction to adults with cognitive disabilities" (p. 35).

As previously mentioned, Cooper was the fourth African-American woman to earn a PhD and the first to receive it from the Sorbonne. Yet, she was denied the opportunity of having her PhD conferred in Paris because she had to return to her teaching job in Washington, DC, or face

losing her teaching position at the M Street School. Lemert and Bhan (1998) acknowledged that Cooper "was forced to fight against the continuous opposition of her school supervisor for the most meager pay increments and the right to pursue her academic work. . . . Cooper's doctoral studies, for example, were subjected to mean-spirited interference by school administrators" (p. 19). Even more preposterous was the fact that after all of her extensive training from very prestigious universities, Cooper had to defend "her record against the malicious attempt of the school administration to prevent her promotion in grade and salary. They claimed she had failed her written examination" (pp. 307–308).

In response to an alumni fundraising appeal, as a "colored" alumna, Cooper offered her beloved alma mater, Oberlin College, one of her books for the College to publish and retain the revenue as her alumni donation. Afraid that race and gender would prevent the publication of her scholarly work, Cooper asked that she "just be allowed to disappear from the picture" (as cited in Shilton, 2003, Correspondence About Section, para. 4). However, the person with whom Cooper was corresponding did reveal her race to the philologist. Subsequently, Oberlin's "rejection came seemingly on the advice of Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins of the University of Chicago, who was quoted as saying that Cooper's work was 'pretty bad'" (Shilton, 2003, para. 3). "Although LePélerinage de Charlemagne was never published in the United States, Professors Holbrook and Palfrey of Northwestern University anthologized sections, and the work was ordered for classes at Harvard University" (as cited in Shilton, 2003, Letters in Praise of Anna Julia Cooper's Thesis, para. 2).

As the aforementioned examples illustrate, throughout Cooper's life she faced numerous challenges and adversities; however, she was never silenced and she never gave up. An innovative educator, scholar, public speaker, and civic activist, Cooper constantly voiced her

opinions through her writings, teaching, and discourse on issues of race, gender, equity, and education.

Significantly, Cooper's personal life and philosophical outlook paralleled her beliefs about herself and Black women and all those marginalized. However, it was education and Black women that Cooper centered her life's work and energy. Passionately, Cooper declared the unlimited possibilities of the Black woman:

> to be a woman of the Negro race in America, and to be able to grasp the deep significance of the possibilities of the crisis, is to have a heritage, it seems to me, unique in the ages … Everything to this race is new and strange and inspiring. There is a quickening of its pulses and a glowing of its self-consciousness. Aha, I can rival that: I can aspire to that! I can honor my name and vindicate my race! (Cooper, 1892/1988a, p. 144)

After retiring from Dunbar High School in 1930, Cooper continued to work over the next twelve years as a college president and later as a registrar, officially stepping down at the age of 82. During her active and productive retirement years, Cooper wrote a short memoir (*The Third Step*, 1945) about her experiences while studying and defending her doctorate. Additionally, she kept a promise to write a biography about her dear friend, Charlotte Forten Grimké. Around the end of the 1930s, Cooper completed the "two-volume *The Life and Writings of the Grimké Family and Personal Recollections of the Grimké Family* [which] was privately published around 1951" (May, 2007, p. 36). By this time, she was 93 years of age. "Although Cooper lived for many more years, there is little information available about the last decade of her life" (May, 2007, pp. 36–37). Cooper passed away, at 105 years of age, in her beloved home at 201 T Street, in Washington, D.C. Many years earlier she had declared that her vocation was the "Education of neglected people" (Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History, 1937, see Appendix B). At her degree conferral, on December 29, 1925, at Howard University,

Cooper made the following meaningful statement regarding her commitment to education and children. She stated:

> I may say honestly and truthfully that my one aim is and has always been, so far as I may, to hold a torch for children of a group too long exploited and too frequently disparaged in its struggling for the light. I have not made capital of my race, have paid my own way and have never asked a concession or claimed a gratuity. Nor on the other hand have I ever denied full identification in every handicap and every limitation that the checkered history of our native land imposes. In the simple words of the Master, spoken for another nameless one, my humble career may be summed up to date:—"She hath done what she could." (Souvenir, 1925)

Cooper once shared that upon her demise she wanted to simply be remembered as "Somebody's Teacher on Vacation now. Resting for the Fall Opening" (Gabel, 1982; Hutchinson, 1981; Lemert & Bhan, 1998; May 2007). After a remarkable, long and productive life of education and service, Cooper was laid to rest on March 4, 1964, next to her husband, in the City Cemetery of Raleigh, North Carolina.

Black Feminist Perspective

> This dialectic of oppression and activism, the tension between the suppression of African-American women's ideas and our intellectual activism in the face of that suppression, constitutes the politics of U.S. Black feminist thought. (Collins, 2002, pp. 3–4)

The exclusion of Blacks and females from traditional research requires an interpretive framework to situate Black women, in particular Cooper, for greater insight and understanding of their unique cultural perspective, experiences, and social reality. Indeed, Cooper and Black women are marginalized, and as such, the full range of their voices and experiences have not been heard or shared. While traditional leadership theories are relatively accessible and easy to document, additional effort is needed to identify, reclaim, and place on equal status, literature that is reflective of the Black American experience.

Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought is a critical social theory that examines "knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment" located within the lives of Black American Women. Introduced by Collins in 1990, this revolutionary work provides an interpretive framework for analyzing how Black American women handle oppressions within the interlocking systems of race, gender, and class. A unique angle of vision is provided through the individual and collective consciousness of Black women in both their actions and reactions to societal oppressions. As Collins (2002) explained, "the overarching purpose of U.S. Black feminist thought is . . . to resist oppression, both its practices and the ideas that justify it. . . . Black feminist thought aims to empower African-American women within the context of social injustice sustained by intersecting oppressions" (pp. 25–26).

The significance of Black feminist thought is its offering of a distinctive way to view Black American women's lives through interpretive frameworks including the paradigms of race,

gender and class and intersectionality; the epistemological approach of Black women's specialized knowledge as a source of truth; and the recognition of the struggle of Black American women to resist various forms of oppression while concomitantly seeking possibilities for individual and group empowerment.

Collins (2002) argued that "[l]iving life as Black women requires wisdom because knowledge about the dynamics of intersecting oppressions has been essential to U.S. Black women's survival" (p. 275). The matrix of domination, that is, societal systems that also contain intersecting systems of oppression and domains of power, are sites of struggle and resistance for Black American women.

Collins identifies Black women as the possessors of a subjugated knowledge, an inside Black community informational base that is suppressed, personalized, and often hidden from the dominant society. Moreover, Black women are centered in Black feminist thought and are considered experts, or "situated knowers" because of their lived experiences. Through deconstruction, Black women are relocated to a position of power and control over their thoughts and values and thus are able to define their own reality. This specialized knowledge clarifies the standpoint of and for Black women in four dimensions: their concrete experiences as a criterion of meaning, the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims, an ethic of caring and concern for the total Black community, and an ethic of personal responsibility and accountability.

Collins (2002) pointed out that "[a]lternative epistemologies challenge all certified knowledge and open up the question of whether what has been taken to be true can stand the test of alternative ways of validating truth" (p. 290). Black women's standpoint of specialized knowledge provides an alternative to positivism. What is sought is understanding and acceptance of the Black feminist standpoint as being meaningful enough to be considered a

legitimate knowledge claim. Thus, Black feminist thought offers a sense of empowerment for Black women. Within this unique way of thinking, individual and collective consciousness can be generated enabling Black women to see themselves differently and to "recognize [their] potential as a catalyst for social change" (p. 37) in their lives, community, and within this nation.

Resistance

Resistance is a theme that is ubiquitous throughout the lived experiences of Black American women. Briefly defined, it is a reaction generally to stop or prevent something or someone from carrying out an action which is considered undesirable or has the potential for a negative or a non-positive impact. The history of Black American women is one of struggle and determination with an unceasing resolve of resistance. Negatively classified, denied, and considered invisible, Black females have used a variety of resistance strategies to shape their environments.

From a historical perspective, Black American women have been oppressed by various covert and overt actions and events including discriminatory laws, religious practices, and unfair employment practices which Black women have, in turn, consistently countered with acts of resistance. As examples, one only has to recall during the horrific period of legalized American slavery, Sojourner Truth's declaration of her physical and emotional labor being equivalent to that of a man's in her famous *Ar'n't I a Woman* speech; Harriett Tubman, a former fugitive, who led more than 300 slaves to freedom in the north and Canada; and Nannie Helen Burroughs' appealed to the National Baptist Convention to include Black women as co-workers with Black men in the work of Christian evangelism in 1900. These are all unique strategies and techniques employed to carry out some form of resistance (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2000a,b;

Lincoln, 1993; Painter,1996). In each of the aforementioned cases, and countless others, Black women illustrate how they were and are able to employ resistance to bring about change.

Further, Black women have created acts and sites of resistance for their own survival. Even while living under the most unjust circumstances Black women have fought back against the gender and racial disparities that intersect their lives in complex and often painful ways.

Collins' (2002) explanation of Black women's resistance, as a collectivity, to oppression is highly significant to this study and is quoted in its entirety. She wrote:

> Black feminism remains important because U.S. Black women constitute an oppressed group. As a collectivity, U.S. Black women participate in a *dialectical* relationship linking African-American women's oppression and activism. Dialectical relationships of this sort mean that two parties are opposed and opposite. As long as Black women's subordination within intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation persists, Black feminism as an activist response to that oppression will remain needed. (p. 25)

According to Collins (2002), "Black feminist thought's emphasis on the ongoing interplay between Black women's oppression and Black women's activism presents the matrix of domination and its interrelated domains of power as responsive to human agency" (p. 309). Further, a closer analysis of the dialectical relationship of Black women's oppression and activism offers a new way of considering and examining Black women's leadership skills. The interplay of Black women's ongoing multilevel systems of oppression, their numerous and creative forms of resistance and resulting activism yields insights that examine how Black women have become and served as leaders. While I suggest that resistance is foundational to understanding Black women's models of leadership, adding it to the dialectical relationship of oppression and activism results in an increased understanding of both the meaning and impact of resistance in Black feminist thought. Similarly, joining resistance to the dialectical relationship of oppression and activism strengthens its meaning and purpose. In a circular scheme, activism

is the result of the many ways in which resistance comes into play in the lives of Black women as a result of the ongoing oppression that they face.

In this biography, Cooper is examined through the interpretive framework of Black feminist thought which is further clarified within the dialectical relationship of opposition and activism to which the concept of resistance is added to clarify and enhance her experiences of leadership.

Cooper is often referred to as a precursor of Black feminism. Indeed, long before there were theories of any kind, mainstream or minority centered, Cooper's activism and relentless crusade, along with other 19th century Black women such as Maria Stewart and Sojourner Truth, are a testament to their collective struggle and the marginalization they faced while concomitantly fostering their own sense of self, racial, and gender empowerment. Stated differently, to understand Cooper begins with knowing her life story and how she handled life's challenges which is elucidated in the Biography. Additionally, in this process Black women have also had to learn to live in function within two worlds, their own as well as the dominant society. Of her status Cooper (1892/1988a) noted:

> The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country. In a period of itself transitional and unsettled, her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is as yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both. (p. 134)

In addition to telling Cooper's life story, writing a biography of Anna Julia Cooper provides an opportunity to analyze the field of leadership differently. It is well documented by feminists and Black writers in particular that Western dominant leadership theories are not inclusive of females and minorities (Cole & Guy-Sheftall, 2003; Collins, 2002; Giddings, 1984; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Higginbotham,1992; Hine, King, & Reed, 1995; hooks, 1981,1984/2000;

Lorde, 1984; B. Smith, 1983; L. T. Smith, 1999). Clearly, Black women due to their American historical experiences and related cultural, political, and social issues simply do not fit into White mainstream leadership categories as currently defined. As Alston and McClellan (2011) concluded:

> Leadership as a social phenomenon has been narrowly defined and researched from a White male hegemonic narrative. Consequently traditional leadership theories as analyzed, taught and researched are rarely generalizable to people of traditionally underrepresented groups, in particular Black women. (p. 1)

In a similar vein, Royster (2000) further described the plight of Black women:

> African American women have been persistently subjected to measures of value and achievement that have been set and monitored by others, who have not had their interests or potential in mind and who have been free historically to discount, ignore, and disempower them. These barriers, though variable, are socially, politically, and culturally defined, and the impact of them in this case is that they have cast the lives of African American women in shadow. (pp. 3–4)

It is "the controlling knowledge validation procedures" (Collins, 2002, p. 311) that have become the mechanism for dominant White males to be able to continue to promote their version of truth and its superiority over those they have positioned as marginal. As a result, there is a very sparse representation of Blacks, especially Black women, as leaders. This long standing tradition of exclusion continues even though there has been a groundswell of complaints and theoretical arguments against it. Within today's global society there are many truths resulting from the very diverse lived experiences which Western scholarship cannot continue to ignore and suppress.

Cooper and Traditional Leadership Theories

Over the years, leadership theories have evolved from a single approach of focusing on a selected population, namely White men, as being born with characteristics which elevated them to be chosen or selected leaders. Known as the Great Man theory in the early part of the 19th

Century, Thomas Carlyle proposed that leaders were born not made and only (White) men with innate qualities could become leaders (Bass, 1990; Northouse, 2007; Rost, 1993).

The Trait Theories, popular in the 1940s and 1950s, posited that leader effectiveness is directly related to personality and behavioral traits that leaders inherit and possess. After more than a century of research, an extended list of traits that individuals need to possess if they want to be perceived by others as leaders was identified. These traits include intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity, and sociability (Northouse, 2007, p. 18).

With the advent of behavioral theories, the focus began to switch to leadership behaviors that expressed concern for people and concern for productivity. Behavioral Theory**,** encompassing this style approach to leadership, focuses on what leaders do and how they act in relationship to other workers within the organization (Northouse, 2007, p. 69). Two major research studies were conducted at the Ohio State University and the University of Michigan. Specifically, Stodgill's research at Ohio State University eventually lead to findings showing that a leader is characterized by a strong drive for responsibility and task completion, vigor and persistence in pursuit of goals. At Michigan, Likert's research objective was to "determine the organization structure, principles, and methods of leadership which result in the best performance" (Johns & Moser, 2001, p. 118).

Theories which supported leadership effectiveness due to the context or situation followed. During the 1960s and 1970s, Fred Fiedler, a lead researcher, developed the Least Preferred Coworker Scale to measure leadership style. This tool was used to advance the Contingency Theory which attempted to match leader's style or trait to specific situations. It was the first theory to emphasize the impact of a particular situation on a leader, and viewed leadership style as task motivated or relationship motivated. Later came Path Goal theory, which

"attempts to integrate the motivation principles of expectancy theory into a theory of leadership . . . Path-Goal Theory is designed to keep . . . issues of motivation, at the forefront of the leader's mind" (Northouse, 2007, p. 135). Additionally, House (1996), claimed, "[a]ccording to this theory, leaders are justified in their role by being instrumental to the performance and satisfaction of subordinates" (p. 326). A new focus of how leaders impact structure, culture, and performance led to the transactional, transformational, and charismatic theories. Process/ Relational Theories began in the early 1980s. These theories examined how leaders influence the climate, culture and performance of an organization to accomplish a common goal. The leader empowers and motivates others through strong, encouraging relationships. This includes the transactional and transformational theories of Weber, Burns, Bass and Avolio, House's charismatic theory, and Relational Theory including Greenleaf's Servant Leadership. In these theories, the leader uses motivation, trust, and personal charm to influence others. Servant Leaders focus on giving, helping and serving others (Northouse, 2007, pp. 175–208). Additionally, modern day theories focus more on team approaches, consensus building, inclusion, social, spiritual and community concerns (Mello, 1999). In many instances, the leader becomes more of a facilitator, motivator and encourager to followers.

The continuum of theories, especially up to the 1960s, reveals a very narrow focus. There was an ethnocentric assumption for everyone that leaders must conform to White male models of leadership. In particular, Blacks were excluded due to their race and Black females, due to their gender, experienced yet another level of exclusion. However, in the post-modern era, there has been an increasing outcry and demand that the lived experience of Black people, specifically Black women, be reflected in the leadership epistemologies, histories and theories. In Alston and McClellan's (2011) recent book, entitled, *Herstories; Leading with the Lessons of*

the Lives of Black Women Activists, they contend: "Leadership as a social phenomenon has been narrowly defined and researched from a White male hegemonic narrative" (Allen, 1997; Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Consequently, traditional leadership theories as analyzed, taught, and researched are rarely generalizable to people of traditionally underrepresented groups, in particular Black women. Alston and McClellan (2011) suggested utilizing a theory that closely examines the relationship between Black feminists and leadership theories. Selecting from the continuum of leadership theories, these authors "situate (their) work on black women in the context of critical servant leadership, transformational leadership, and social justice leadership" (p. 2). Further, they argue:

> (b)y contextualizing Black women's experiences as leaders within traditional leadership theories, (they) are answering the call of scholars (Allen, 1997; Walters & Smith, 1999; Walton, 1994) who beseech the Black academics to theorize and analyze the contributions of Black women within leadership concepts and definitions. (p. 30)

In a similar vein, King and Ferguson (2011) asserted that Black women "learn to read the social clime, heal from dominant culture oppression, fashion a culturally grounded identity, [and] form and carry out resistance aimed at a particular social context" (p. 23). We must continue to seek to move Black women from invisibility to visibility by sharing their ways of knowing and allowing them to tell their own stories—thus expanding the definition and paradigm of leadership itself; making "visible as evidence of the sea that has until now passed unnoticed" (Royster, 2000, p. 5).

In developing a theoretical perspective on Black feminism, I begin with a personal knowledge claim that shapes the logic and identifies the strategy of my inquiry, and informs my research approach (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Creswell, 2007; McMillan & Wergin, 2010). My personal epistemology or way of knowing, pertaining to Black feminism includes:

1. Black women have unique experiences, on an everyday basis, dealing with their race, gender, and class.
2. Black women experience many layers of segregation within and outside of the Black race.
3. Black women can simultaneously handle a multiplicity of roles—some of which have been and are still being used to portray negative imagery of Black women.
4. Black women hold a key position within the family unit and community.
5. Black women have developed coping mechanisms for survival.
6. Black women have contributed significantly to the political, social, and cultural development of this country; and these contributions should be recognized and shared.
7. Black women can best tell their own story—from their personal lived experiences.

It is my belief that the characterization and the definition of knowledge is a major underpinning for theorizing about Black feminism. What constitutes knowledge, who has it, and how it is shared leads to an analysis of ways of knowing and knowledge claims which in turn informs our daily interactions and practice. Collins (2002) asserted, "alternative epistemologies challenge all certified knowledge and open up the question of whether what has been taken to be true can stand the test of alternative ways of validating truth" (p. 290). Stated differently, Black women's axiology, that is their values and beliefs, are informed by their view of the world, what they take understanding to be, and what they see as the purposes of understanding, and what is deemed valuable (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 3). This belief and view is especially important in feminist research because it "challenges the legitimacy of research that does not empower oppressed and otherwise invisible groups—women" (Cohen et al., 2011, p.40). Black feminists

believe in the use of participatory action research, that research should be empowering to all participants, and ultimately that research must lead to change and improvement (pp. 40, 43).

Throughout this study, I use the terms Black women and Black feminists interchangeably. While I am cognizant of the synonymity of race and gender occurring simultaneously for Black women, I am also keenly aware that every female is not necessarily a feminist. But, exactly who are Black feminists? While the definitions are numerous, Guy-Sheftall's (1995) provides in-depth and comprehensive explanation. She stated,

> the term 'feminist' (is used) to capture the emancipatory vision and acts of resistance among a diverse group of African American women who attempt in their writings to articulate their understanding of the complex nature of black womanhood, the interlocking nature of the oppressions black women suffer, and the necessity of sustained struggle in their quest for self-definition, the liberation of black people, and gender equality. (p. xiv)

Similar to constructivist researchers, Black feminists align more closely with the qualitative research domain because they believe that their experiences are uniquely different than other individuals in this country and that they should have a 'voice' as a means of sharing, their experiences (Berg, 2009; Creswell, 2007; Collins, 2002; hooks, 1989). As Berg (2009) explains,

> Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to or people represented by their personal traces (such as letters, photographs, newspaper accounts, diaries, and so on). As a result, qualitative techniques allow researchers to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives. Researchers using qualitative techniques examine how people learn and make sense of themselves and others. (p. 8)

As previously mentioned, most of the western dominant leadership theories are not applicable to minorities or Black women. However, in assessing leadership skills, the social/personal theories have more inclusive qualities that can be applied to minorities rather than just White men. In particular, transformational leadership acknowledges an individual leader's traits, behaviors and cultural uniqueness that heretofore have not been considered or

included in older mainline theories. Burns (1978), who is credited with the development of Transformational leadership, defined it as "occur[ring] when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (p. 20). According to Northouse (2007) "[t]he transformational approach to leadership is a broad-based perspective . . . it describes how leaders can initiate, develop, and carry out significant changes" (p. 189). Additionally, the four steps of transformation which are usually implemented by the leader include: empowering followers and nurturing hem in change; being a strong, positive role model; creating a vision for followers and the organization, and becoming a social architect—making clear the emerging values and norms of the organization (p. 190).

Succinctly defined, transformational leadership offers the possibility for change and the ability to make a difference. Encompassing this approach, Karenga (2007) offered a definition of leadership "as the self-conscious commitment to provide philosophy, principles, and program that not only satisfy human need but transform the people in the process, making them self-conscious agents of their own lives and liberation" (para 3). Indeed, transformational leadership can foster social change. Given Black feminists' continuing lack of equality within the literary canon, this leadership approach is extremely significant for Black feminist research because it provides the means of both enhancing and supporting Black feminists' epistemology. As Mullins (2000) wrote:

> For research to be transformative, the subjects of research must become actors in the transformation of their own environment, as well as interpreters of their own space and place. In the end, the change agents of history are social movements in which everyday people, in their own language and from their own experiences, collectively work to change their world. Culture then becomes a weapon of struggle. (p. 28)

From this contextual viewpoint, transformational leadership theory is included in the analysis of Cooper's leadership skills. Cooper's philosophy is deeply embedded within her life experiences which are compounded by a matrix of domination of race, gender, class and issues of power that for too long have been overlooked and not given much credence. Through the lens of Black feminism, however, there is a type of role reversal. The exclusionary practices of the dominant society become marginalized as the philosophy of the Black women as situated knowers takes precedent and uncovers their invisibility and in the process, revealing Black women from their unique location.

Collins' (2002) *Black Feminist Thought*, girded by intersectionality and standpoint theory, provides the conceptual framework for best understanding Black women's epistemology.

"I seek to reconstruct a pathway" (Royster, 2000, p. 5) to present the nature of leadership differently; by acknowledging Cooper's accomplishments, her non-acceptance and inability to be integrated into the traditional leadership canon and discourse. Cooper's leadership qualities viewed through the lens of Black feminism are situated in the organizing principles of Cooper's personal, professional, and community activism. From this angle, leadership as defined and explained through the theme of resistance, offers a new means of specifically thinking about Cooper and Black women in general; rendering possibilities for a more diverse and inclusive model of 21st century leadership.

Black Feminist Leadership

Despite a proliferation of literature on leadership, very few academic texts examine leadership through the lens of Black feminists. A much needed and welcomed example is the text, *Herstories: Leading with the Lessons of the Lives of Black Women Activists*, written by two Black research feminists. The authors, Alston and McClellan (2011) identify their text as a part

of "a movement of scholarship that connects the biographical, descriptive, and historical experiences of Black women in the context of traditional leadership theories" (p. 2). Six well known Black women, Fannie Lou Hamer, Septima Clark, Mary McLeod Bethune, Shirley Chisholm, Barbara Jordan and Audre Lorde, are highlighted to demonstrate "their lived experiences and leadership roles [and to] create a distinctive theoretical and methodological application" to theories of transformational leadership, servant leadership, and social justice leadership (p. 29). In *Black Womanist Leadership: Tracing the Motherline*, editors King and Ferguson (2011) along with fourteen Black contributors share their leadership and survival skills within the mother—daughter dyad. Specifically, they share how Black women transmit and direct leadership to Black girls within the Black culture and community (p. xiii).

Black women have always responded to oppression with diverse forms of resistance (Collins, 2002; Giddings, 1984; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; McKittrick, 2006; Royster 2000). As a result, they developed coping skills which include the ability to exist in their own community and simultaneously survive in the White dominated world – a dual role requiring differing identities. Effectively utilizing their outsider- within status, Black women share information and many of the political and social activities from the White culture within the Black community (Collins, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 2000). Freire (1970) highlighted the impact of differing perspectives and different lens when he argued that "the oppressed are not marginal . . . living 'outside' society. [Black women] have always been 'inside'—inside the structure that made them 'beings' for others" (p. 71).

Black scholars and Black feminists also offer different ways of knowing, due to their unique standpoints and understanding of the life experiences of Black women. Writers such as McKittrick (2006) offered a different way of knowing about the geography and "space"

inhabited by Black women. Giddings (1984) and Guy-Sheftall (1995) provided a historical analysis while Royster (2000) linked the literature with voice and social change. Importantly, each writer is able to demonstrate the ever presence, power, and contributions of Black women and Black Feminist Thought. Collins (2002) suggested that "there is a 'commonality of experience' for all Black women living in a society that degrades them" (The Core Themes of a Black Women's Standpoint section, para. 1). Similarly, in *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African American Communities*, Cole and Guy-Sheftall (2003), "give voice to painful personal experiences that connect us to what countless women-including Black women-have endured because of the reign of patriarchy in American society" (p. 2).

Yet another example is Black feminist Audre Lorde who by her lived experiences had multiple layers of identifiers. Consider Lorde's defining statement:

> Traditionally, in American society, it is the members of oppressed, objectified groups who are expected to stretch out and bridge the gap between the actualities of our lives and the consciousness of our oppressor. For in order to survive, those of us for whom oppression is as American as apple pie have always had to be the watchers, to become familiar with the language and manners of the oppressor, even sometimes adopting them for some illusion of protection. (Lorde, 1995, p. 284)

According to Cohen et al. (2011), "in feminist research, women's consciousness of oppression, exploitation and disempowerment becomes a focus for research –the paradigm of ideology critique" (p. 40). Notably, there are effective forms of handling oppression utilized by Black women. The means vary but include using their voices in speeches, writings, and community engagements. As Boyce Davies (1995) in her article, "Hearing Black Women's Voices: Transgressing Imposed Boundaries" argued:

> How do black women get heard? By assertively and bold-facedly transgressing the imposed boundaries, by being insistent, supportive; by speaking constantly directly or indirectly, though in multiple forms but always demanding hearing; by challenging the pretended disabilities of hearing; by constantly creating. (p. 9)

To further emphasize this point, the following chart lists literature contributions of Black women who are referenced within this work. It highlights Black women, who through their writings and discourse effectively bring to the forefront the voices of often overlooked Black women.

Table 3.1

Black Feminists—A Selected Sample of Literature and Discursive Contributions

Timeframe	**Black Feminists**	**Literary work/ Contributions**
Foremothers to Early 1900s	Maria Miller Stewart	*"Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, the Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build"* (1931 Pamphlet)
	Sojourner Truth	*Ar'n't I A Woman* (1851 Speech)
	Anna Julia Cooper	*A Voice From the South* (1892)
Early 1960s–1990	Combahee River Collection	*A Black Feminist Statement* (1977)
	Alice Walker	*In Search of our Mothers' Gardens* (1983)
	bell hooks	*Ain't I A Woman* (1981) *Feminist Theory* (1984) *Talking Back* (1989)
	Audre Lorde	*Sister Outsider* (1984)
	Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King & Linda Reed	*"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History* (1995)
Early 1900s to Present	Patricia Hill Collins	*Black Feminist Thought* (2000, 2009)
	Beverly Guy-Sheftall	*Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* (1995)
	Paula Giddings	*When and Where I Enter* (1984)

21st Century: Year 2000 and Beyond	Katherine McKittrick	*Demonic Grounds* (2006)
	Jacqueline Jones Royster	*Traces of a Stream* (2000)
	Alexis De Veaux	*Warrior Poet* (2004)
	Judy A. Alston and Patrice A. McClellan	*Herstories (2011)*
	Toni C. King and Alease Ferguson	*Black Womanist Leadership: Tracing the Motherine* (2011)
	Johnnetta Cole and Beverly Guy-Sheftall	*Gender Talk* (2003)
	Melissa Harris-Perry	*Sister Citizen* (2011)
	Margaret L. Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins	*Race, Class, and Gender* (2012)
	Wendy L. Kolmar and	*Feminist Theory: A Reader* (2010)

I argue for the creation of a theory of Black female leadership that is worthy of the countless and nameless Black women who led without titles or theoretical foundations yet made significant contributions.

I contend that resistance is the underlying principle and is pivotal to the development and understanding of Black women's models of leadership. Centering resistance as a foundational theme which emerges through a Black feminist lens generates a qualitatively different—new kind of leadership behavior—which has not been included in other leadership studies or theories. Through this conjuncture, I organize the telling of Cooper's story by analyzing her leadership through her personal, professional, and, community and change life. While this per se, is not a new approach, what is new is the exploration of resistance as the groundwork in understanding how Black women exercise leadership. In this analysis a much more detailed view of Cooper's

multi-faceted life and how she handled oppression and rejections as well as her sustaining contributions to women, education, and humanity is provided.

I explore and provide the cartography of behaviors and activities which signal Cooper's leadership. Examples are examined in her personal life, including the importance of family and home. In her professional life, the importance of education is reviewed in detail—for herself as well as for the teaching and training of her people. In her activism, Cooper's advocacy within the community including her role in the Negro Women's Club movement is investigated.

I have discussed leadership as a social construct that has been created and defined by White men of the dominant society and that historically; Black women have been ignored and also devalued. I argued that Black women have consistently fought against the inequities and discrimination that they have and continue to face. I also called attention to how Black women have confronted the narrow interpretations of leadership and offered a more inclusive definition that is both culturally supportive and empowering of community work. While none of this is new information, identifying Cooper as a quintessential leader informs, expands, and enriches current practice by bringing "a distinctive theoretical and methodological application to [the mainstream] leadership theory and practice" as well as to foster change (Alston & McClellan, 2011, p. 29).

The referenced literature confirms that solely applying traditional research techniques for the study of Black women will keep Black women in the margins and will lessen the opportunity to gather information for complete stories from 19th and 20th century minorities. In essence, Black women will remain invisible. This is problematic not only for academia but for society in general. To be sure, if the goal is to reach those who are left out of mainstream discourse and literature, then the types of acceptable sources allowed needs to be expanded. Additionally,

reviewers and publishers need to be more open to discovery and understanding of "alternative realities different from [their] own, not to exoticize them so that the researcher might put them on display, but instead to help create the conditions for decolonization" (Tierney, 2000, p. 548). As historian and Truth biographer Painter (1995) stated, the "problem becomes a larger question of how to deal with people who are in History but who have not left the kinds of sources to which historians and biographers ordinarily turn" (pp. 368–369). Finally, the politics, that is, the manner in which collected research on Black women is viewed by the dominant society is a major issue. I raise the question: When will Black women be listed in dominant literature along with White women and White men? True acceptability requires integration; not the separate but not equal categories that currently exist. As Lemert (2010) summarized, "[t]he exclusion of writings, like the oppression of people, is more than a passing aberration of an early less-conscious time. It is a deep structural feature of the historical logic of modernity" (p. 28).

Giddings (1984) encouraged us to "search our history for the answers to . . . questions, which [she] believe[s] will evoke the extraordinary will, spirit, and transformative vision that can reconnect us to loved ones, communities, and reform movements in revolutionary ways" (p. 7). The voice of Anna Julia Cooper and other black feminists are living memories because of their determination and continuous struggle in light of being in a non-accepting world. Their tenacity encouraged them to resist and to fight against overt and covert adversity. Creatively, they made "spaces" for themselves to develop their own specialized view of the world and to sustain their way of knowing and their own safety. They saw the world not by the conditions under which they lived, but they fashioned their world, as best they could, for survival and progress. As mothers, race women, and educators through their activism and contributions, they were and are agents of change and transformational leaders.

The inclusion of Black women in the literary canon requires a different way of viewing, understanding, and accepting of diverse cultures and people with political and social differences. Further, it means to understand that differences do not equate to inequalities. It also requires the ability to expand one's epistemology along with a willingness to forgo control, domination and power and the fear of reversal, that is, being relegated to a place of marginalization. As Cooper (1892) maintained, "there is an old proverb 'The devil is always painted *black*—by white painters.' And what is needed, perhaps, to reverse the picture of the lordly man slaying the lion, is for the lion to turn painter" (p. 225). Indeed, acceptance and inclusion allows for possibilities for a new democratic order which requires some reversal in order to see, hear, and understand different perspectives as well as to view diversity as signifying strength and equality.

Analysis of the Study

> the subjects of research must become actors in the transformation of their own environment, as well as interpreters of their own space and place . . . [as] change agents of history . . . in their own language and from their own experiences, [they] collectively work to change their world. (Mullings, 2000, p. 27)

A Quintessential Leader

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis of Anna Julia Cooper as a quintessential leader, a term I define as someone whose leadership skills extend well beyond dominant societal measures and conventional criteria of leadership, and thus warrants further review. Definitions and interpretations for the term leadership abound; however, for this study I have chosen to use Northouse's (2007) definition, which incorporates four universal components of leadership (process, influence, group, and goal). According to Northouse, leadership is "a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (p. 3).

There have been several written works about Cooper; however to date, there has not been a leadership biography written about her. In response to this void, this study offers a detailed and scholarly analysis of Cooper as a superior, and thus, a quintessential leader.

Identifying Cooper as a quintessential leader can be somewhat paradoxical. Cooper is an example of what Rosa Parks' biographer, Theoharris (2013) referred to as being "hidden in plain sight" (p. xi). That is, for the most part, Cooper continues to be an unknown figure to most Americans both Black and White. Yet, at the same time, remnants of Cooper's ideology and leadership are prolific. It is precisely this dissonance between Cooper the undervalued figure and Cooper the scholar/ activist leader that is being analyzed in this chapter.

Moreover, within this analysis the concept of leadership is expanded to specifically accentuate Cooper's leadership by analyzing how Black women in general and Cooper in particular developed and exercised leadership skills.

Within this framework I explore through the lens of Black feminist thought, Cooper's leadership as a "situated knower." Her personal and professional life, along with her community activism, is intersected by the confluences of race, gender, and class located within the geographic landscapes of the socio-political era. The cartographies of struggle (McKittrick, 2006) as evidenced in Cooper's voice in advocacy, education, community service, and involvement in the Black Women's Club Movement, are major themes in which further evidence of Cooper's leadership is defined.

Situated Knower

Theorist Donna Haraway is credited with introducing the term, situated knowledges, which Collins later applied to Black women. In Haraway's 1991 seminal article, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," she defined feminist objectivity as meaning quite simply situated knowledges (p.188). She described the 1980 conditions within the United States equivalent to being "in the belly of the monster" where many of the world's "unmarked positions of Man and White" are located (p. 188). For these reasons, Haraway denounced western scientific knowledge. She firmly declared that the "view of infinite vision (held by positivism) is an illusion, a god-trick" (p. 189). Further, Haraway identified "unmarked bodies" as being part of the dominant society and "marked bodies" as those belonging to suppressed identities such as women and minorities. Haraway stressed the location and the body of the subject as being essential in providing a unique way of knowing and understanding their view of environment. Importantly, it is the subject's

understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and that it is deeply impacted by the knower's experiences. As Haraway (1991) further summarized,

> Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not a screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and authorship of "objective" knowledge. (p. 198)

Significantly, the situated knowledges perspective provides Black women with a measure of control over how they think about and deal with multiple forms of oppression. From this standpoint, Black women were and are viewed as being knowledgeable of their political and cultural environments and perhaps most important they are viewed as being the experts of their lived experiences. The centering of Black women within the interpretive framework of Black feminist thought is significant. In essence, regardless of limitations or lack of total acceptance from the literary canon and the dominant society, a situated knower status provides Black women a position, role, and sense of worth as well as the genesis of literary acknowledgment. According to Collins (2010):

> Understanding the content and epistemology of Black women's ideas as specialized knowledge requires attending to the context from which those ideas emerge. While produced by individuals, Black feminist thought as situated knowledge is embedded in the communities in which African-American women find ourselves . . . Because Black women's ideas have been suppressed, this suppression has stimulated African-American women to create knowledge that empowers people to resist domination. (p. 445)

Nearly 70 years earlier, long before Haraway wrote about being a situated knower, or Collins applied the term to Black women, Cooper demonstrated those qualities. Keenly aware of the racial and gender challenges and blatant omission that she and other Blacks faced in 19th Century America, Cooper (1892) stated,

> The "other side' has not been represented by one who "lives there." And not many can more sensibly realize and more accurately tell the weight and the fret of the "long dull pain" than the open-eyed but hitherto voiceless Black Woman of America. (p.II)

Cooper was a situated knower because she effectively assessed the socio-political environment, and applied her knowledge and understanding of the conditions directly confronting her and Black American women to the issues at hand. Cooper implemented what Wylie (2003) referred to as the inversion theory, that is when the standpoint of Black women is taken into account, "epistemic tables are turned replacing those who occupy privileged positions with those who were discredited by the dominant society" (p. 32). Cooper (1892) positioned Black women not as being uninformed or unreliable but rather as "epistemic agents." She wrote that Black women "can do this country no deeper and truer and more lasting good than by bending all her energies to thus broadening, humanizing, and civilizing her native land" (p. 116). Cooper emphatically believed that the Black woman was essential to the progress of the Black race. Nowhere is this more clearly stated and confirmed than in her most famous quote about Black women, repeated again for emphasis:

> 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, p. 31)

Nineteenth Century Black women, living under dehumanizing conditions, were not aware of their total potential and worth. Before Black women could be viewed as epistemic agents, the camouflaging layers of suppression had to be removed. Cooper's life demonstrates how she applied being a situated knower to alleviate racial, gender, and economic issues facing Black women. Beginning with her personal life, as a professional educator who earned her PhD in 1925, Cooper reached goals that were the benchmarks for the White dominant society. In addition to being a role model for others of her race, Cooper also effectively utilized her outsider-within status (Collins, 1986, 2000/2009. 2010) sharing the mores of the dominant culture. Cooper's experiences, as a Black American woman, gave her insights into the

philosophical, educational, and systemic norms of traditional mainline society which she was able to, in turn, impart to others within her race. An intellectual theorist, Cooper shared and exposed her worldview of what it was like to be a Black woman of the South along with the levels of pain and suffering during the 19th and 20th centuries which Black women endured. Through her personal example and scholarly work, Cooper raised the moral and ethical consciousness of all who knew her and in the process, drew attention to and simultaneously provided a much needed view of those being subjected and suppressed.

Geographic Landscapes

The socio-political era in which Cooper lived, tremendously impacted the geographical spaces in which she resided. McKittrick (2006) expanded the meaning of geography in her landmark text, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle.* McKittrick declared, "geography, the material world, is infused with sensations and distinct ways of knowing; . . . geography is always human . . . surroundings are speakable . . . [and] geography holds in it the possibility to speak for itself" (p. ix). Specifically, McKittrick analyzes the relationship of Black women and geography, utilizing space, place and location to highlight the differences between "traditional geography" that favors the mainline population compared to "human geography" that tends to represent the Black population with its diasporic history and legacy of exploitation (pp. xi-xii). What emerges from this is tension between a geography filled with historical domination against a polarized and constant struggle of resistance by Blacks from being displaced or being rendered ungeographic (McKittrick, 2006, p.7). Indeed, a closer examination of Cooper and the geographical spaces that she inhabited reveals more than a southern Black woman, who lived from 1858–1964, under oppressive conditions. Cooper emerges as a vehicle for understanding how Black women re-visioned and created opportunities

within environments that on a surface level offered limited possibilities for them. Through the lens of Black feminist thought, Cooper is viewed as a situated knower who effectively used geography to her own advantage for empowerment and racial uplifting. Not satisfied with the various geographic environments she found herself within, Cooper resisted by relocating, with most of her geographic relocations resulting in enhanced educational opportunities and advancement in employment opportunities. Cooper resisted the geographic limitations she faced in the United States and once exposed internationally, especially to France's position of equality in its policies and practices, she thoroughly embraced its principles of equality and justice.

As her text, *A Voice From the South,* indicates Cooper immediately identifies herself by location. For the majority of her life, Cooper lived in two southern cities, Raleigh, North Carolina and Washington, DC. She migrated north to Ohio to attend Oberlin and later to teach at Wilberforce University. Following Cooper's termination from her teaching position in Washington, she lived in the mid-west for four years while teaching at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. Cooper also had international exposure, having spent a great deal of time in Paris France studying at La Guilde Internationale and the Sorbonne. In each of these geographic settings, race, gender and class issues portrayed themselves differently and profoundly affected her. Gabel (1982) made the following geographical assessment of Cooper and the south. She stated:

> Thus when Annie Haywood was in her infancy, her home state and Raleigh, its capital, a land of slavery, were on the threshold of a fratricidal war. North Carolina's losses in battle and from disease were the largest of any Confederate state; it suffered widespread destruction in nearly a dozen battles and more than seventy skirmishes fought on its soil, including Sherman's march through Raleigh in April of 1865. Against this background of devastation and despair Annie Haywood's early childhood years were spent. (p. 11)

Cooper wrote extensively about the unfair treatment she faced while living in the South. *In a Voice From the South*, Cooper shared the degrading experiences of being a Black woman

from the south contending with the overt, legal segregation laws in transportation, public facilities, and working opportunities. As an example, while traveling on a train, Cooper points out the racial and gender inequalities that she faced. Cooper (1892) wrote, "I see two dingy little rooms with 'FOR LADIES' swinging over one and 'FOR COLORED PEOPLE' over the other; while wondering under which head I come" (p. 96).

The state of Ohio provided expanded opportunities and new freedom for Cooper. The influence and power of the abolitionists resulted in the establishment of schools such as Oberlin that were open to both Blacks and females. According to Hutchinson (1981):

> Ohio, the first state formed out of the Northwest Territory region, was called the "Gateway State" because of the thousands of blacks who had traveled there via the network of Underground Railroad routes. The village of Oberlin . . . attracted free thinkers and abolitionists, a town and a college grew . . . It was to this environment, alive with stimulus that fostered personal and intellectual growth, that Anna Cooper went to continue preparation for her career as a teacher. (p. 30)

Coming from the very segregated south, Cooper's college living arrangement with the family of a White college professor had to be extremely profound for her. Lemert and Bhan (1998) simply claimed it was "an entirely satisfying arrangement for all concerned" (p.21). However, more than just offering altruistic housing, a friendship of support and intellectual stimulation between Cooper and the Churchill family developed which lasted a lifetime. After leaving Oberlin, Cooper continued to communicate with the family. In fact, it was because Cooper sent a copy of her dissertation to Alfred Vance Churchill, the founder of the Smith College Art Department, that years later Gabel discovered Cooper and subsequently wrote her biographical text, *From Slavery to the Sorbonne and Beyond: the Life & Writing of Anna J. Cooper* (1982).

Cooper continued to live in the more liberal and integrated state of Ohio after graduating from Oberlin. She accepted a teaching position in Xenia, not far from Oberlin, where she remained for the next year. As a college professor, she found herself, once again in an

intellectually stimulating environment which promoted both discourse and reflection on American racial ideology.

After she was recruited to teach in Washington, DC, while a southern city, because it is the nation's capital, even under segregated conditions it was a geographical location rich in culture, job opportunities, and a diverse population with international linkages. M. S. Giles (2006) pointed out the following:

> [p]erhaps no American city fostered the ideology of racial uplift during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries more than Washington, DC. The city supported a large cross-section of Black citizens and many enjoyed fruitful professional lives and a wide range of socio-cultural outlets. (p. 628)

Conversely, while living in Missouri, Cooper wanted very much to return to the city of Washington, which she loved. She missed the international influence, the diversity of an urban population, the stimulation from the weekly social gatherings she shared with the Grimkés, and of course, being a part of the renowned M street (later Dunbar) school faculty. Washington, DC, was Cooper's city of choice where she lived for the majority of her adult life.

Cooper also spent a considerable amount of time in Paris, France. For four consecutive summers she immersed herself in French language and culture. In 1925, she earned her PhD in history which she defended in French from the Sorbonne. Cooper's "research traversed national and international space in fascinating ways" (Evans, 2009, p. 78). This can actually be traced back to her participation in the 1901 Pan African Congress, traveling through Europe, along with the time spent in Paris which greatly expanded her concern for Blacks, women, and all who were neglected, overlooked, and underserved. Although Cooper's geographical boundaries expanded, issues of racial and gender issues were ever present. Pellow (1992) supported this point of view when he declared:

> Although [Cooper's] dissertation at the Sorbonne is labeled as a study of French racial

> attitudes, it is equally a study of the successful struggle of slaves to throw off an oppressive system and to attempt the creation of a new order. And although this work centers on Haiti and France, Cooper shows that it is not limited geographically or historically, because the whole phenomenon of racial plantation slavery impacted both sides of the Atlantic over a period of several centuries. In a word, events that took place in antebellum North Carolina in pre-1843 Bahamas, and in revolutionary Saint Dominque/Haiti were all chapters in the same book of history. (p. 221)

Clearly, the geographic landscapes offer an innovative means of exploring Cooper's life and leadership. Specifically, the relationship of space and location within geographic settings reveals how Cooper handled challenging situations which, in turn, demonstrated her leadership skills. While gender and racial interests were constant companions to Cooper, geography also brought with it an intensity of issues—domination, control, power, and economic demands, which further escalated the separation and mistreatment of Blacks within the socio-political climate and culture of America. As Keller (2006) pointed out, "never did [Cooper] conduct her life and work in purely political terms and never did she feel detached from the subject of slavery" (p. 13). Indeed, American geography tremendously fostered the development of slavery as well as its lingering remnants. As previously discussed, Cooper's life began in the South; however, during her lifetime she had particular engagements with several physical locations as she migrated to other parts of the United States and Europe. Without question, each of these landscapes had socio-political implications, which, in turn, shaped Cooper's philosophy on social justice and civil rights issues both in her personal life as well as within her public forms of advocacy. Moreover, each geographical setting that Cooper found herself in was deeply intertwined with social and political issues that were consistently impacted by race and gender; thus making the personal very much the political (Harris-Perry, 2011; Isoke, 2013).

Cooper's life provides an analysis of how the geographical constructs of space and place impacted the development of a Black American woman's leadership model. The pressing

inequalities of space and place that existed as a result of power, domination, economic demands, and conflicting ideologies at times appeared to be both permanent and insurmountable, yet Cooper as a situated knower, was able to successfully navigate the terrain while dealing with the relentless intersectional confluences of race, gender and class. In so doing, she provides the example of Black women's ability to handle their tenuous position in American society and concomitantly provide leadership—although it is often unrecognized or not accepted as valid from a positivist scientific perspective.

Voice of Advocacy

By age 28, Cooper increased her involvement in community services and her interests in the social welfare of the underserved grew. Her advocacy became yet another form of resistance. Drawing attention to issues of the day, Cooper became a sought after speaker. One of her most cited speaking engagements occurred when she was invited to speak, in 1886, before a group of Black ministers in Washington, DC. The title of her message was "Womanhood: A Vital Element in the Regeneration and Process of a Race" (Cooper, 1988c, pp. 9–47). In many ways, this speech almost single handedly launched Cooper into a role of advocacy. She became a self-identified spokesperson for Black women. Later, in 1892 Cooper would combine this speech with other essays and produce her text, *A Voice from the South*. Within this text, Cooper refers to "the open-eyed but hitherto voiceless Black woman of America" and that if [her] "broken utterances can in any way help to a clearer vision and a truer pulse-beat in studying our Nation's Problem, [her] voice raised by a Black woman of the South will not have been raised in vain" (pp. ii-iii). More than just speeches and a book, it was Cooper's call to action for all who would listen—ministers, and men in particular—to first draw attention to and to then increase the understanding of the role of the Black woman in American society. More than the Black men,

Cooper felt Black women were overlooked and that if the Black race were to prosper it would be due to the leadership of its Black women. Black women, particularly those of the south, lived in subjugated environments and were unable, for the most part, to speak for themselves. Cooper, as a situated knower, understood the conditions facing Black women yet she also knew their untapped potential, and she firmly believed that Black women were the very backbone of Black existence. Cooper specifically uses the word "voice" in her advocacy for Black women. Cooper declared, "I am my Sister's keeper! should be the hearty response of every man and woman of the race" (Cooper, 1892, p. 32). More than just an advocate, Cooper felt it was specifically her responsibility along with others of the Black race who were more educated and secure, to help "the unprotected, untrained colored girl of the South, whose only crime and dire destruction often is her unconscious and marvelous beauty" (Cooper, 1892, p. 32).

Collins (2002) pointed out "the overarching theme of finding a voice to express a collective, self-defined Black women's standpoint remains a core of Black feminist thought." (p.110). By her own self-definition, Cooper used her voice to draw attention to inequalities and to make known the standpoint of Black women.

Lemert and Bhan (1998) noted "[e]verything [Cooper] did seemed always to issue from or return to her homes. Nothing better expressed Cooper's sense of her life's work than the ways she used and effectively redefined her home" (p. 7). A review of Cooper's life and the location of the homes included the Churchill's home in Oberlin and the welcoming home for new migrants offered by Rev. Crummell when Cooper first moved to Washington, DC. Cooper's purchased home at 201 "T" in Washington, DC, was where she raised her great nieces and nephews, hosted Saturday night intellectual gatherings, allowed Frelinghuysen University to conduct classes, and finally died peacefully in her sleep. Much more than just physical buildings

these homes represented race, economic and educational spaces which provided a place for Black people who were often deemed to be unimportant or invisible by the dominant culture. Homes represented a safe place with the support of immediate family members and the extended Black community. Clearly the Black woman's role in the home and its deep ramifications had an impact upon Cooper. As a location, homes provided shelter and comfort as well as free space allowing for freedom, in a troubled and non-supportive world. Homes represented safety and a shelter, a place where Blacks could idealize alternatives to western hegemonic obstacles.

Cooper was a forerunner in utilizing her voice as a major tool in her advocacy for Black women. Her demands for change closely align with transformational leadership. Specifically, Northouse (2007) identified five steps that transformational leaders generally follow which include: being a strong role model, creating a vision, being a social architect, and building trust and fostering collaborations with others (p. 190). These qualities are readily visible in Cooper's advocacy work. The utilization of voice as a form of advocacy is a major component of Cooper's leadership. Northouse (2007) pointed out that "the leadership process . . . occurs when any individual is engaged in influencing other group members in their efforts to reach a goal" (p. 6). Specifically, through Cooper's voice for advocacy, her transformational leadership skills evolved. As a situated knower, Cooper was keenly aware of the conditions and the limited roles and expectations for Black American women as determined by the dominant society. However, from her lived experiences (Collins, 2002), Cooper saw things differently. Rather than being located and contained in a narrow, undefined space, Cooper re-envisioned and positioned Black women instead as leaders and decision makers responsible for the development of the Black race. In so doing, Cooper effectively advocated, through speeches, writings and life experiences, what Collins (2000a) would later identify as Black women being agents of knowledge. When

viewed from this perspective, transformational leadership qualities are present with the ability to bring about change and in the process, transform lives.

Education

Outside of family, education was the most important factor in Cooper's life. Similar to the concept of intersectionality, education touched every aspect of Cooper's life with varying and often simultaneous levels of engagement. Professionally, Cooper selected education as her vocation, which she maintained throughout her life time—not only in the school setting but within her community, Cooper supported numerous educational offerings. In this manner, the personal was political for her. By her own example and profession, Cooper was an educational liberator for Black people. Moreover, Cooper's voice on education is distinctly clear in her response to the Negro College Graduates survey which she completed in 1930 (see Appendix B). Cooper wrote that the vocation for which she was prepared was the education of neglected people. And, in response to another question, she stated that teaching has always seemed to her the noblest of callings and if she were White she should still want to teach. Reflectively, in 1940 for her 82nd Birthday, as Cooper looked back over her life, it is clear that foremost she saw herself as a teacher. She wrote a poem which ended in the following statement, "No flowers please, just the smile of sweet understanding. The knowing look that sees Beyond [sic] and says gently & [sic] kindly 'Somebody's Teacher on Vacation now—Resting for the Fall Opening" (Hutchinson, 1981, p. 188).

Cooper was an academically gifted student who loved to learn and fought against gender segregation when she found it, quite overtly, in two of the schools she attended. It is well known that Cooper was a lifelong learner who earned a PhD late in her life against almost insurmountable odds: this was her personal example. As a mathematician, linguist, and a

classically trained scholar, through her teaching and administrative positions, Cooper touched the lives of thousands of students; in so doing she successfully deconstructed the existing educational offerings for Blacks and women. Cooper developed teaching strategies, which resulted in a significant number of her high school students being accepted into schools such as Harvard, Yale, and her beloved alma mater, Oberlin College. Cooper believed that everyone could learn and that educational programs with effective teaching pedagogy needed to be developed to meet the diverse needs of students.

Cooper viewed education as the major force to bring about change in the lives of Black women and minorities in general. To her, education was a gateway for further advancement for a better life. Assuredly, Cooper felt education was the vehicle to bring about the most change in Black people's lives. In a speech entitled *What Are We Worth* (1892), Cooper wrote:

> Education, then, is the safest and richest investment possible to man. It pays the largest dividends and gives the grandest possible product to the world – a man. The demand is always greater than the supply – and the world pays well for what it prizes. (pp. 244-245)

Since women as mothers are the first teachers of their children, Cooper believed that Black women have an extremely important role and responsibility in the education of their race. Emphatically, she stated "the re-training of the race, as well as the ground work and starting point of its progress upward must be the *black woman*" (Cooper, 1892, p. 28).

Additionally, Cooper felt it was her responsibility along with other Blacks who had more privileges to be the necessary force, as leaders, to spearhead educational opportunities and social change. Certainly, she was influenced not only by her life experiences, but also the ideologies of several Black male educational leaders, including Booker T. Washington, W.E.B DuBois, and Alain Locke. While recognizing and holding Black male intellectuals in high esteem, at the same time, Cooper was deeply concerned about the low expectations that many Black men held for

Black women. Certainly, she felt the intersectional and conflicting pull of race and gender issues when she wrote,

> It seems hardly a gracious thing to say, but it strikes me as true, that while our men seem thoroughly abreast of the times on almost every other subject, when they strike the woman question they drop back into sixteenth century logic…I fear the majority of colored men do not yet think it worthwhile that women aspire to higher education. (Cooper, 1982, p. 75)

However, she was never deterred. In keeping with her strong advocacy for Black women, as early as the 19th century, Cooper recognized and supported the powerful influence of Black women educators such as Sarah Woodson Early, Martha Briggs, Charlotte Fortin Grimké, Hallie Quinn Brown and Fannie Jackson Coppin. Cooper (1892) proclaimed, "[o]ur list of chieftains in the service, though not long, is not inferior in strength and excellence, I dare believe, to any similar list which this country can produce" (p. 140).

Inferior education for Blacks has been a problem and a challenge in America since the arrival of the first Africans in this country in 1619. Blacks have endured control by the dominant power structure in course offerings and teaching methodologies and a separation of their culture from their formal education. These issues remain and are a part of current educational dialogue and concerns. Carter G. Woodson, another educational contemporary of Cooper, wrote extensively about the mis-education of the Black race and warned against Blacks being "culturally indoctrinated" by the dominant society rather than taught. Later, theorists such as Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, pointed out the importance of education as a vehicle to teach students to think critically and to be able to apply their knowledge to societal needs and concerns. Keenly aware of her situated knowledge, in each educational setting, Cooper developed innovative educational pedagogies which Bonnick (2007) described as creation of "a pedagogic space of rescue within" for her Black students (p. 180). With her strong belief and

personal experiences in education, Cooper knew that education was the major means of bringing about change in the lives of Black people, especially for Black women. As an educator, she also knew the value of engaging students in the learning process and the power of what Freire (1970) would later define as conscientization; that is, to connect critical thinking and praxis with an ultimate goal of providing the underserved with a voice to leverage for societal change. Simply put, Cooper was well aware of the low expectations the dominant society held for the education of Blacks. At the same time, she also knew the power and possibilities that education held for her race as a whole. According to King and Ferguson (2011), "[B]lack women's lives require complex negotiations and the mediation of contradictions, the capacity of leadership has been shown in [their] ability to create strategies for survival and advancement that include self-authentication, through unending self-invention and reinvention" (p. 10).

As a situated knower and a Black female educator, Cooper's leadership was demonstrated in her ability to create diverse learning environments for Black students that fostered academic advancement in spite of the existing gender and race inequities found in America's oppressive society. Cooper knew that regardless of whether the educational approach was classical or industrial, the increased exposure and expansion of student learning opportunities for students would increase their ability to think critically which in turn, would transform their world view from their existing community and beyond, fostering and empowering their ability to become multi-level agents of change.

Community Service

Cooper's life reveals a commitment to helping the less fortunate and providing community outreach services for youth, the elderly, as well as activities to foster cultural development. She believed uplifting of the Black race was essential to bringing about the social

change which to her was much more than just a civil responsibility. Cooper wrote the following poem in which she depicts the need for community support for the overlooked and downtrodden while simultaneously challenging and raising the ethical and social consciousness of others. She wrote,

> Prone in the road he lay,
> Wounded and sore bested;
> Priests, Levites passed that way
> And turned aside the head.
> They were not hardened men
> In human service slack;
> His need was great; but then,
> His face, you see, WAS BLACK. (Cooper, 1913, p. 220)

Concomitant with her community work, Cooper believed Blacks living under severely restrictive economic and social conditions needed assistance along with educational opportunities to enhance their social and political wellbeing. As Cooper's community activism increased, her role in education as teacher, principal and speaker also grew. Cooper's professional life as a teacher was intertwined with her community activism. Within each of her community settings, she was always providing guidance and teaching. According to Hutchinson (1981):

> In 1886, with the assistance the of others on the faculty, Anna Cooper began an out-reach program to extend the work of St. Augustine's College into the community of Raleigh. She helped to establish a Sabbath school and mission guild. (p. 43)

Additionally, May (2007) shared that during this time Cooper "was an active member of the politically engaged North Carolina Teachers' Association, which protested in the state legislature about educational disparities across the state for Black and white students" (p. 18).

Similar to the empowerment theme located within Black Feminist thought, Glass (2005) pointed out that Cooper "refuse[d] to view blacks as powerless victims of white oppression,

instead she urge[d] them to take responsibility for aspects of life over which they exercise some degree of control . . . [and] to cooperate with and uplift one another" (p. 28).

According to Gabel (1982), as Cooper progressed and integrated into Washington DC's Black elite society she never forgot the underserved. "[T]hroughout Cooper's life in Washington, she worked without interruption with and for the poor" (Lemert & Bhan, 1998, p. 216). Cooper knew advancement of the Black race would require assistance from Black elites who supported the self-help ideology for social and economic improvement. Gaines (1996) shared:

> There was a historical tension between two general connotations of uplift. On the one hand, a broader vision of uplift signifying collective social aspiration, and struggle had been the legacy of the emancipation era. On the other hand, black elites made uplift the basis for a racialized elite identity claiming Negro improvement through class stratification as race progress, which entailed an attenuated conception of bourgeois qualification for rights and citizenship. (p. xv)

When Cooper moved to Washington, DC, she became acutely aware of the needs of the poor and the homeless Blacks, much like herself, who migrated to the nation's capital, primarily from the South in search of greater opportunities. Gabel (1982) shared, "[Cooper] found time to participate in a variety of civic and social organizations, among them the NAACP, the Phillis [*sic*] Wheatley YWCA, the Camp Fire Girls (of which she was chief guardian)" (p. 45).

The same year, 1892, that Cooper published *A Voice from the South*, she also organized the Colored Women's League. According to Lewis (1996), "[t]he organization provided a kindergarten, teacher training for young women, rescue work for the city's indigent poor and classes designed to improve women's homemaking skills" (p. 22). Cooper's appointment as corresponding secretary with the League's Alley Sanitation Committee expanded her community activism. Always concerned about the home as a foundational and stable place for Blacks, Cooper was confronted head on by "the utter lack of housing for poor African Americans in Jim Crow Washington, DC (May, 2007, p.24). It was in many ways, a socio-political environment

that was reminiscent of Dickens' (1859/2014) description of "The Period" in a *Tale of Two Cities*:

> It was the best of times,
> it was the worst of times,
> it was the age of wisdom
> it was the age of foolishness,
> it was the epoch of belief,
> it was the epoch of incredulity
> it was the season of Light,
> it was the season of Darkness,
> it was the spring of hope,
> it was the winter of despair. (p. 2)

Paradoxically, on one hand for White residents, the country's founding and practiced democratic principles of freedom made Washington a city of great promise and opportunity. Conversely, "shacks in the back alley of the nation's capital" (May, 2007, p. 24) were an example of the actual inhuman conditions of abject poverty that Blacks had to deal with which also intersected the physical and psychological lives of economically poor Blacks. Cooper did not settle or accept existing inequalities but rather she put her energy and time in finding alternative ways to reach equality and justice. Cooper believed that the more fortunate had the responsibility of helping the underserved. On this issue, Cooper (1892) proclaimed,

> We need men and women who do not exhaust their genius splitting hairs on aristocratic distinctions and thanking God they are not as others; but earnest, unselfish souls, who can go into the highways and byways, lifting up and leading, advising and encouraging. (p.33)

Cooper demonstrated her advocacy through writing, speaking, and by personal example. A case in point was Cooper's advocacy for education and her dedication to community service which was evident in her more than a decade of work at Frelinghuysen University. Cooper, a Black woman, headed this innovative educational institution in spite of living in a period of legalized US suppression of Black people. Under her leadership, in addition to providing educational

services for working class students in community settings, Frelinghuysen represented possibilities for change in the lives of the students it served and within the community. It offered its students an alternative, a sense of hope, within an oppressive dominant environment. A quintessential leader, Cooper joined together the hope for a better life with a mechanism for making it a reality.

Black Women's Club Movement

The 30 years from 1890–1920 brought many changes to this country. Known as the Progressive Era, this time period was marked with great movements of people including European immigration, migration of southern Blacks from the south to northern cities-and the mid-west and beyond, industrialization, the Suffrage Movement, and the US Congress passing of the 19th Amendment in 1920. Particularly noteworthy was the role of White women in the establishment of clubs in response to the influx of new arrivals into urban areas. Black women were also concerned about the treatment of the underserved, primarily minorities, and the lack of available support services. As Williams (1995) argued:

> Black women engage in a persistent struggle for change…These women saw themselves as critical links in a social movement designed to liberate the black community from second- class citizenship. Their participation in community liberation struggles was a means of empowerment for them as individuals. (p. 521)

Cooper began to work closely with other Black women to form clubs patterned after the successful White community clubs established by White women such as the Hull House in Chicago started by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr in 1889. Problems arose however when Black women sought to join forces with White organizations. Due to racial discrimination and fear of losing attention and focus on the dominant female causes, Black women were excluded from the White women's reform organizations. Dagbovie (2004) noted, "[d]uring the era of segregation, [Black women] reacted to the pervasive exclusionary policies of the broader white society by

promoting an ideology and strategy of self-help while also responding creatively to the stifling gender conventions within black communities" (p. 242). As a result of non-acceptance, Black women throughout the country organized their own clubs to support their population. While both White and Black women shared many of the same concerns such as health, food, housing, sanitation, and education, the Black reform movement also specifically targeted efforts to end lynching, humiliating treatment of Black women including rape, and the uplifting of the Black race. The concept of racial uplifting has always been a major role of Black women within the Black Community. The term racial uplift has several connotations, however, "the struggle for a positive black identity in a deeply racist society, turning the pejorative designation of race into a source of dignity and self-affirmation through an ideology of class differentiation, self-help, and interdependence" as noted by Gaines (1996, p. 3), best described the role of Black women in this effort. Particularly through the club movement, Black women were able to create spaces to uplift their race in educational, social, and political endeavors. According to White (1999):

> Black club women believed they could help solve the race's problems through intensive social services focused on improving home life and educating mothers. Some programs aimed at increasing the skills and intellectual ability of club members, while others sent members into local neighborhoods to assist poor blacks, particularly women and children. Most did both. (pp. 27–28)

Certainly, the most organized efforts of racial uplift was a result of the very effective work of the Black women's clubs, an amazing accomplishment, given that the period of time from legalized slavery to organizing clubs and national advocacy was less than thirty years. Indeed, Cooper was very active in the Black Women's Club Movement. She wrote extensively about the importance of the Black woman's role in her family and the community, she voiced her displeasure of racial inequalities and gender exclusions on the part of White women and Black males, and she continuously advocated for equal educational opportunities for Black women

(Giddings, 1984; Guy-Shetfall, 1995; Hutchinson, 1981; Johnson, 2000; May, 2007; Royster, 2000). The majority of Cooper's professional career was spent in Washington, DC. Cooper, as a part of her club involvement, co- founded the Colored Settlement House, organized a nursery and daycare, boys and girls clubs and summer camps (May, 2007, p. 11). Hutchinson (1981) noted:

> Anna Cooper was an organizer of the Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C., which was incorporated on January 11, 1894, and she was a signer of that organization's articles of incorporation. Others were Helen A. Cook, Charlotte Forte Grimké, Josephine Beall Bruce, Mary Church Terrell, and Mary Jane Patterson. Committed to organizing black women nationally, this group offered a program of "racial uplift." (p. 93)

Under the auspices of the Black women's clubs throughout the nation, a network of Black women carried out their sense of responsibility for the uplifting of the race by working to transform substandard living conditions, including food and available shelter, and the offering of education and training. DeLany and Rogers (2004) shared:

> Believing that neither black men nor white women were effectively addressing issues confronting the black community in the United States, . . . five women [Mary Church Terrell, National Association of Colored Women; Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women; Helena Wilson, Ladies Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Johnnie Tillmon, National Welfare Rights Organization and Brenda Eichelberger, National Black Feminist Organization] crusaded extensively to bond together local black women's clubs into national social advocacy and political organizations throughout the twentieth century. (p. 92)

A merger in 1896 united the Black women's clubs under one organization, the National Association of Colored Women's Club (NACW). Mary Church Terrell was elected as the first president, who in turn selected as the club motto, "Lifting as We Climb." Cooper's life continued to intersect with Terrell's. They had been fellow students at Oberlin, taught at the M Street School and both were fighters against the injustices that Blacks and women continued to face. As involved club women, there was a "dispute over the NACW presidency, a time when many other Association leaders parted company with Terrell . . . For her part, Cooper wrote an

article in the *National Association Notes* expressing opposition to Terrell's actions. So stormy were Terrell's relationships that by her own admission, she had not a friend in Washington" (White, 1999, p. 107).

Along with Terrell, Cooper was the co-founder of the Colored Settlement House, in Washington. She began her work in 1902 as a trustee and later a supervisor. Patterned after Chicago's Hull House, the Colored Settlement House was one of first social service agencies for Blacks. May (2007) shared, "it offered after-school programs, nursery school and daycare, savings accounts, food for infants, sports programs for girls, boys' and girls' clubs, summer camps, and more." (p. 24). Due to the fact that YWCA's were segregated in many cities, as a member of the Book Lovers Club, Cooper helped to organized the first Black YWCA in Washington, known as the Phyllis Wheatley Y and in 1912 a chapter of the Camp Fire Girls was started. Importantly, this YWCA chapter "from its start [was] organizationally autonomous and financially independent from the (predominately white) national Y movement" (May, 2007, p. 31).

During the 1890s, Cooper continued to bring awareness and support of the Black Women's club movement and to support her beliefs in social action, commitment, and responsibility as a means to bring about social reform. As Cooper (1892) explained:

> If improvement is possible, if it is in our power to render ourselves valuable to a Community or a neighborhood, it should be the work of the earnest and able men and women among us . . . The richest and most highly favored cannot afford to be indifferent or to rest quietly complacent. (p. 251)

The aforementioned themes of a situated knower, geographic landscapes, advocacy, education, community service, and the Black women's club movement each provide insights into Cooper's activism and reveals her many forms of effectiveness as a quintessential 19th and 20th century leader. Through the lens of Black feminist thought, as a situated knower, Cooper's life

experiences are decontextualized revealing a Black woman who demonstrated true and effective leadership that did not fit within the conventional leadership theories of a dominant society that excluded Cooper and fostered a large part of her obscurity.

Black Feminist Leadership

The omission of Black women from the mainstream study and canonical discourse of leadership is well documented (Collins. 2009; Giddings, 1984; Guy-Sheftall.1995; hooks, 1981, 1984, 1989, 2000; Painter, 1995; Royster, 2000). It is what Alston and McClellan (2011) posit as an anomaly factor and an oxymoronic concept on the part of the dominant controlling white males (p. 1). By no means is this an unusual or exceptional assessment. Historically, Black women have had to deal with being considered different and not equal to White men, White women, and even Black males. With the prevailing White andocentric western male epistemology coupled with a sense of arrogance and entitlement, it is not surprising that Black Women are not considered as leaders and are excluded in the dominant literature. As Rosser-Mims (2010) declared,"theories based the white male experience attempt to generalize leadership characteristics and as a result do not reflect and devalue Black women and other disadvantaged groups' leadership experiences" (p. 7). The question is: how can Black women's leadership skills in general, and specifically Anna Julia Cooper's leadership be acknowledged as worthy contributions and included in the dominant research literature?

I begin by building on a theoretical framework supported by Black feminist theory. As Rosser-Mims (2010) noted, "[a]nalyzing historical accounts of how Black women came to leadership through the prism of Black feminism creates an entirely different picture than the one produced by the dominant culture—a picture of intellectual inferiority and powerlessness" (p. 8).

Theoretically, the origins of Black feminism can be traced back to the 19th and 20th centuries along with the postmodern perspective which emphasizes multiple truths, many voices, and diverse ways of knowing. Moreover, Karl Marx's comprehensive theory of oppression and Michael Foucault's theories of power and discourse have greatly influenced the evolution of feminist leadership theory (Vetter, 2010). Both Black feminist thought and Black standpoint theories are closely aligned with postmodernism due to their "honoring [of] multiple perspectives and diverse points of view [that have] gained ascendancy in reaction to the oppressive authoritarianism and dogmatism that seemed so often to accompany claims of having found 'Truth' " (Patton, 2002, p. 91). Moreover, Tierney (1996) added:

> Studies of leadership are studies of power...Postmodernists begin with questions about how leadership has been defined, who gets involved, and by definition, who gets left out. How the culture of the organization operates to privilege some and silence others becomes a key organizing concept. (p. 376)

Black feminists have consistently fought against rejection and have in the process identified alternative measures of leadership. As Mullins (2000) confirmed, "what ideally marks Black feminist research is its grounding in the unique interaction of race, class, and gender from which emerges the experience of African-American women and its rootedness in communities of resistance" (p. 27). Thus, Black feminist thought and theory with an intersectional approach provides a lens that offers a more critical view towards understanding Black women's epistemology and lived experiences. I argue that Cooper was the very quintessence of leadership—a state of being which she embodied in all aspects of her life. This stance presents a challenge because the lens of leadership for Cooper has always been overshadowed and bound by the socio/political times in which she lived. The fact is that Cooper was never able to escape the racial and gender restrictions which she confronted and that in turn restricted her throughout her life time. Although Cooper resisted and fought against what she referred to as the "isms," she

is still not found in the mainstream and malestream literature of leadership. Therefore, in 2014, there remains a dichotomized approach in studying Cooper as a leader. On one hand there is a remarkable woman with an outstanding list of accomplishments as a leader in her professional, family, and community life who remains relatively an unknown. If listed at all, Cooper is found in a separate not-equal category listing as sub category within the field of feminism. Additionally, Cooper as a theorist is overlooked. As May (2007) pointed out, "when it comes to 'minority' theorists—implicitly or overtly marked by their gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, disability, citizenship or class— there seems to be a penchant for their life stories yet perfunctory interest in or attention to their ideas" (p. 40). This did not, however, stop their voices from being heard. Black women, many of whom remain nameless, were practicing theorists long before the term existed. Succinctly stated, these "others" saw differences and took a stand, voicing their beliefs, and support of Black women. Regrettably, their oral and written presentations did not meet mainstream theorists requirements for inclusion in the literary canons; therefore, they often are not included within the dominant culture's leadership theories.

According to Rosser-Mims (2010) "[i]mbedded in Black women's lived experiences is how they come to leadership, which is characteristically different from the experiences of White women, Black and White men" (p. 2). Further, Rosser-Mims claimed, "Black female leadership was therefore cultivated and operationalized by their role in the family and the community (i.e., churches, schools, political organizations)" (p. 7). While Allen's (1997) comment on centering and sourcing Black women in leadership is worth quoting in its entirety:

> What is missing from traditional models of leadership is the understanding of the processes prior to "the doing" of leadership or "the outcomes" of leadership. By focusing on the historical and cultural aspects, we can better understand the social and political realities of everyday life. The collective experiences of black women come alive and female networks are seen as viable structures from which leadership emerges. (p. 3)

Additionally, Rosser-Mims (2010) identifies three themes focused on Black female leadership (that) have emerged in the literature:

> First, Black female leadership exemplifies survival techniques in family, church and community organizations that encompass the creativity and commitment for group well-being. Secondly, Black female networks, formal and informal, are dynamic and interrelated entities that form a matrix of reinforcements that hold the Black community together while developing leadership for a better future. Lastly, Black female leadership represents the collective experiences and action toward community empowerment. (p.7)

The point here is that alternative identification must be considered for Black women to be viewed as leaders. Indeed, the aforementioned are examples of themes in Black women's lives which support their leadership abilities. As further enhancements, Sacks (1988a) suggested "the importance of a feminist perspective that looks at links between work, family, and political action" (p. 93). Allen (1997) wrote, "By focusing on the historical and cultural aspects, we can better understand the social and political realities of everyday life. The collective experiences of black women come alive and female networks are seen as viable structures from which leadership emerges" (p. 3).

I have taken a scaffolding approach building upon the Black woman's binary experiences of race and gender differences within the historical, political, and cultural environment that Black women handle on a daily basis in this country. As previously referenced, the impact of these issues is intersectional, that is, they can occur simultaneously and with varying level of intensity. Moreover, Black feminist theory provides the standpoint for Black women to express their own positionality regarding their lived experiences. Social theorist Collins (2002) explained the dual existence that Black women must handle—being able to function in the dominant White society and concomitantly within the Black community as the Outsider with-in position. Collins suggested that women because of their striated position possess a special knowledge base and as a result, they are situated knowers. I have discussed that leadership is a

social construct which has been created and defined by White men of the dominant society and that historically, Black women have been ignored and also devalued. I argued that Black women have consistently fought against the inequities and discrimination that they have and continue to face. I also called attention to how Black women have confronted the narrow interpretations of leadership and offered a more inclusive definition that is both culturally supportive and empowering of community work. While none of this is new information, I contend that it is necessary to take an intersectional view to understand the impact of being ignored, overlooked and dominated in contrast with the strategies and means employed by Black women to handle life's adversaries. Identifying Cooper as a quintessential leader will inform, expand, and enrich current practice by bringing "a distinctive theoretical and methodological application to (the mainstream) leadership theory and practice" (Alston & McClellan, 2011, p. 29).When considering Cooper as a quintessential leader it is impossible to separate her lived experiences as a Black woman in this country from any definition, methodology, or theory of leadership. Because of this, the challenge is to gain acceptance of Black leadership criteria from the scientific research community.

It is well known and accepted that Black women will not be found within many of the compendium of leadership theories. Johns and Moser (2001) suggested that "because there is considerable difficulty in specifying the factors associated with (Black) leadership, studying leader behavior or actual acts of the leader is more feasible than studying leadership from a research standpoint" (p. 116). Indeed, this matches well with a biographical approach on leadership. Was Cooper a born or a made leader? Cooper was endowed with a high level of cognitive ability, and an innate sense of what she herself described as "a thumping within" and "a wanting to know" that motivated her to study and to learn. Supporting Avolio's (2005) 80%

side of the born vs. made debate (p. 10), I contend that without assistance from supporters including her mother, educational institutions, and various benefactors, it was highly unlikely that Cooper would have been able to grow independently into the numerous leadership positions that she held throughout her lifetime. Further, what is significant here are the personal qualities that Cooper possessed which, in turn, fostered her leadership. Jackson and Parry (2008) identified five "particularly vital [qualities] in order to promote effective leadership: confidence, integrity, connection, resilience and aspiration" (p.17). During her lifetime, Cooper demonstrated and surpassed each of these qualities. The social and political times in which Cooper lived required her to be able to handle leadership in intersectional and multi-faceted levels. Succinctly, Cooper had to remember her social-political location. She first had to understand and know, but not accept, her status in a racially and gendered segregated country and yet not be conformed by it. Secondly, Cooper had to have the desire to lead with confidence and great resilience which Alston and McClellan (2011) refer to as self-determination and empowerment (p. 52). And third, Cooper had a strong commitment to community building. In fact, Cooper epitomized what King and Ferguson (2001) refer to as the community advocacy tradition of black women in the formation of Black women's clubs and settlement houses. According to King and Ferguson (2011), leadership is defined as follows:

> the desire, ability and efforts to influence the world around us, based upon an ethic of care for self and other and fueled by a vision that one sustains over time. The actions of Black women historically demonstrate leadership. . . . This leadership is characterized by the assertion of free will choice to empower ourselves across a range of oppressive situations. (p. 11)

An example of looking at leadership differently is provided by Horsford (2012) who identified bridge leadership as historically practiced by Black women leaders in the USA. She further stated that "the intersections of race and gender as experienced by the Black woman

leader has in many instances, resulted in [the Black woman] serving as a bridge for others, and between others in multiple and often complicated contexts over time" (p. 11).

Another more recent example is the attention which has been focused on the leadership role of Black women during the Civil Rights era of the 1960's (C. T. Giles, 1988; Perkins, 1981; Robnett, 1997; Sacks, 1988a,1988b). Black women organized, supported, and died for Civil Rights issues, however their leadership efforts were considered supportive to the Black males who were the "official leaders." Allen (1997) identifies leadership as a social concept and she stated the lack of power and decision making forced Black women to find alternative means of leadership in non-traditional arenas and ways" (p. 1).

Alexandre (2007) posited that " women's ways of knowing and being have to do with the societal constructions of gender that define or defy roles, opportunities, identities and perceptions" (p. 96). This is certainly the case for Black women who are confronted with a myriad of intersectional challenges that touch every aspect of their lives, inform their ways of knowing, and require they demonstrate their ability to function within a dualistic society. This everyday phenomenon, in turn, impacts how Black women approach leadership.

Additionally, Alexandre (2007) pointed out "the value of leadership to scholars and practitioners interested in gender while, at the same time, raising some substantive concerns about women's invisibility" (p. 95). I add to Alexandre's concern and emphasize the invisibility of the Black race as well. In particular, Black women carry the co-identifiers, gender and race, which continue to be nearly nonexistent in leadership theories, discourse, and mainstream leadership literature. I contend that this continuing omission robs society of developing a more diverse understanding and appreciation of leadership.

My goal has been to widen the lens of leadership in order to incorporate the work and accomplishments of Black women leaders and to specifically accentuate Cooper's leadership removing the hidden in plain sight paradox. That is, for the most part, Cooper continues to be an unknown figure to most Americans both Black and White. Yet, at the same time, remnants of Cooper's ideology abound. Bringing forward Cooper's contributions will assist in moving her from anonymity and a border-like status towards full participation in mainstream leadership discourse, resources, and acceptability. Moreover, it is a critical and a much needed process to make our history more inclusive and allow for greater representation and equality from our citizenry.

An examination of Cooper's leadership cannot be divorced from the socio/political era in which she lived. Because Cooper was marginalized as a Black woman any leadership review, when considered under dominant society research standards, is problematic. Leadership theories tend not to favor qualitative work, such as this research, because it tends not to be generalizable or supportive of women and minorities (Northhouse, 2007). Moving these criteria aside, I had to look for and embrace Cooper's leadership in other areas. I argue that Cooper offers a dual means of analyzing leadership—one that is modeled by her personal accomplishments as well as her advocacy work for human rights.

Researching Cooper as a quintessential leader involves much more than just a review of the dominant leadership theories and traits to determine whether or not she fits into in a specific category. While Cooper's individual traits certainly qualify her for such an inclusion, she is entitled to so much more than a cursory listing. More palatable to me is the consideration of leadership, initiated by Burns that moves from traits and Great Men theories to the studying of the interactions between leaders and their followers. In this vein, it is particularly applicable to

examine the life of Cooper who was both a servant and a transformational leader. Thus, in addition to transformational leadership, I add the lens of servant leadership to take a closer view of Cooper's life as a quintessential leader.

A servant leader is one who cares deeply for others and seeks to improve life opportunities for them. In his text, *The Case for Servant Leadership*, Keith (2008) used Harriett Tubman as an example of a servant leader who "[fought] for the freedom and rights of others" (p. 13). Anna Julia Cooper followed in this tradition. During her incredibly long life, Cooper held many roles; however, she is best noted for being an educator, scholar/theorist, community activist and a writer. In each of these areas, Cooper demonstrated an ongoing concern for others and a keen ability to openly express their needs and feelings which was always matched by Cooper's specific actions that served to uplift the Black race. Additionally, Cooper believed that it was critical to be a voice for Black women and the underserved in society. Her writings and speeches drew attention to the political, social, and cultural inequalities which added to the movement and process of change that continues to transform our present day world. How did Cooper accomplish this? First, by providing ongoing servitude: to her family, community, and for her students. Sinclair (2007) observed that "[f]amilies and childhood provide our first encounter with leadership, and the roots of our leadership aspirations and styles" (p. 55). During Cooper's lifetime, she was a daughter, sister, wife, foster mother, and a devoted friend.

Particularly noteworthy was the relationship between Cooper and her parents. While she deeply loved and admired her mother throughout her life she wrote with disdain about the condition of her birth and her biological father. Sinclair (2007) suggested, "historical and psychoanalytic studies of leadership show, an absent father can influence the motivation for, and style of, leadership . . . [o]ne interpretation is that the child, without a strong paternal figure, set

about being the 'big father' themselves" (p. 60). I argue that this form of leadership is the position that Cooper assumed. For her family, Cooper provided shelter, guidance, monetary support, educational opportunities and love. Cooper also raised two orphaned children of a deceased friend prior to assuming guardianship for her five great nieces and nephews. Another example of her familial leadership was revealed when she fought for years for military benefits for her brother, Andrew, a veteran of the Spanish American War.

As previously discussed, Cooper also improved lives by making more safe havens within the community for the needy. She believed deeply in community service and racial uplifting and that it was her responsibility, as well as other Black leaders, to educate and make social and community life better for others.

Northouse (2007) commented "the transformational approach (in leadership) requires that leaders become social architects" (p. 190). Accordingly, Northouse identified the steps followed by transformational leaders which Cooper's leadership style closely matches. Northouse (2007) pointed out that "transformational leaders set out to empower followers and nurture them in change" . . . [and] "to create change, transformational leaders become strong role models for their followers," . . . [and] "[they] create a vision" (p. 190).

Cooper was first and foremost an educator. Education was the center of her life, for community, family, and herself. In 1925, Cooper was honored for receiving her PhD from La Sorbonne. In her remarks at a ceremony at Howard University, she stated:

> I may say honestly and truthfully that my one aim is and has always been, so far as I may, to hold a torch for the children of a group too long exploited and too frequently disparaged in its struggling for the light. (Hutchinson, 1981, p.131)

Through education Cooper showed leadership by her own stellar academic attainment and in the process became a role model for both women and minorities. Moreover, through her innovative

educational leadership Black students in the 19th and 20th centuries gained admission into the highest ranking colleges in this country, demonstrating that Black students are capable of handling courses with academic rigor. Stewart (2013) noted, "[i]n four years (Cooper) placed twenty-two students in Ivy League schools, as well as at Amherst and Rutgers, and many others went on to Howard University and the Miner Normal School. It was a remarkable record, given the era" (p. 44).

As the president of Frelinghuysen University during the height of this country's economic depression, Cooper expanded college opportunities for working people by offering instruction in the evenings within the community and later at her home. According to Gabel (1982), Cooper assumed the presidency of Frelinghuysen University at an advanced age because "[o]ut of seven full-time universities in Washington there was but one colored institution; and in a list of eighty-eight part-time colleges and special schools, not one would admit a Negro, however well qualified" (p. 71). For both the Black race and women, Cooper believed that the best means of reaching transformation was through education.

Cooper felt strongly that a strong home was essential for the stability of the Black family. According to Lemert and Bhan (1998)," [e]verything (Cooper) did seemed always to issue from or return to her homes. Nothing better expressed Cooper's sense of her life's work than the ways she used and effectively redefined her home" (p.7). When financial issues threatened to close Frelinghuysen University, "Cooper offered the use of her residence to house the educational program, retaining only the three upstairs bedrooms, the family dining room, kitchen and pantry for her personal use" (Hutchinson, 1981, p.165).

Moreover, Cooper identified the Black woman, in her key role within the family, as being crucial to the survival of the Black race. As a result, Cooper was a Black feminist well before

the term itself was identified. Even during the most subservient times for Black people in this country, Cooper elevated and positioned the Black woman as a leader. This was possible for the visionary Cooper because she saw the world not only in its present position but how it could and should be for the Black women and others who were held down by the dominating society. Similarly, Mary Parker Follett (1941) noted, "the most successful leader of all is one who sees another picture not yet actualized. He sees the things which belong in his present picture but which are not yet there" (pp. 143–144). As an early social theorist, Cooper analyzed the world, through the relationships and positions and interactions of power between and among people. A humanitarian, Cooper looked at the world in terms of written and philosophical beliefs as compared to every day practice and she drew attention to its shortcomings, omissions, and unjust practices. As Cooper (1892) proclaimed:

> The colored woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in parian or ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is the woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won- not the white woman's nor the black woman's, nor the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong. (p. 205)

I believe that Cooper possessed what Bennis (2004) referred to as "a moral compass that powerful discernment of right and wrong" (p. xiii) that compelled her to speak out against injustices and inequalities regardless of its origins. For Cooper it was a quality which she displayed at a very young age when she first noticed and challenged the gender inequalities at the St. Augustine's school. Later, Cooper fought against the prejudices of White suffragettes. In her essay, entitled "Woman Verses the Indian," Cooper (1988b) chastised White women when she stated:

> Susan B. Anthony and Anna Shaw are evidently too noble to be held in thrall by the provincialisms of women who seem never to have breathed the atmosphere beyond the

> confines of their grandfather's plantations. It is only from the broad plateau of light and love that one can see petty prejudice and narrow priggishness in their true perspective; and it is on this high ground, as I sincerely believe, these two women stand. (p. 83)

According to Gaines (1996), "[t]he male-dominated gender politics of uplift posed difficulties for black women as race leaders" (p. 13). Cooper certainly was aware of this issue. Washington (1988) shared, "She instinctively rebelled against the power males exerted over female life, even when that male was a trusted friend" (p. xlii). Cooper held Black male leaders such as DuBois accountable. According to Hutchinson (1981), Cooper wrote a letter to DuBois, the leading Black male intellectual of the 19th century. As "urging him to answer *The Tragic Era*—a book that seriously maligned the character and contributions of black people" (p.180). Another time Cooper sent DuBois an article that she had written on "The Humor of Teaching" with the hope that he would share the article with teachers who read the Crisis magazine (p. 181). DuBois never responded to either letter. Nevertheless, Cooper continued to work with him and other Black males for racial uplifting even though they tended not to treat Black women equally. Cooper's willingness to speak out never waned although in many instances she suffered from being so vocal against more powerful institutions and the prevailing political preferences of the dominant society.

Perhaps Cooper's greatest legacy was her ability to put an action with a need and to draw attention through her voice, speeches and writings, and her life experiences. Because of this, she was able to raise conscious levels or at least draw attention to a concern. A means of greatness is the ability of a person's life work to impact society long after the individual's demise. Such examples of well-known great leaders include Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Mohandas Gandhi. Bennis (2004) identified four critical thought leaders, "upon whose seminal ideas so much of what we practice today has been built" (p. xii). One of these individuals was

Mary Parker Follett, who "influenced—without our knowing it- almost everyone in the field of leadership" (Bennis, 2004, p.xii). I argue that Cooper like Follett, is an unheralded leader who has also impacted this field. Over her lifetime, Cooper was transformed from an enslaved child to an agent of change. A woman of strong convictions, she believed in addressing issues of inequality and advocating for social change. Cooper put into words what we now call feminist and racial theories to express the unfair treatment and disparity that Blacks and women faced. In this manner, she was a transformational leader who helped to bring about systemic change by raising the conscious levels of the existing practices. Cooper had no power base—for most of her life, she operated as an individual leader. As Kinard (1981) asserted:

> Nothing came easy or was ever given to Anna Cooper, and every reward was earned . . . Not one to succumb to egotistical vanity, Cooper dedicated her life, time, talents, and resources to the service of others. This trait of selfless giving is discernible in our subject's personal and professional life. She had an indomitable will and strength of character, seemingly indefatigable energy, high moral principles and standards of conduct. (p. ix)

The significance of the findings of this study is that Cooper is truly a quintessential leader. Through her own deconstruction of the world in which she lived, Cooper made the best advantage of her geographic settings, strongly advocated resistance to all forms of gender and racial oppression, and consistently fought for education as a tool for social change. Through her life's work, Cooper demonstrated an alternative means for effective leadership in a racist and suppressive society. Cooper remains paradoxical—in-spite of her numerous accomplishments, she is an unknown figure too many people. Yet at the same time, her humanitarian light continues to shine illustrating her accomplishments and the endless possibilities that can transform the modern day world.

Commentary on the Study

> If these broken utterances can in any way help to a clearer vision and a truer pulse-beat in studying our Nation's Problem, this Voice by a Black Woman of the South will not have been raised in vain.
>
> —Anna Julia Cooper, *The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women in the United States Since the Emancipation Proclamation. A Response to Fannie Barrier Williams,* 1892

This study moves beyond the western hegemonic point of view and the more traditional ways of thinking about leadership, which narrowly identify effective leaders and ways of thinking about leadership development. The Commentary examines how we should think differently about leadership and its development for Black women and other minorities. Specifically, this analysis highlights ways in which Black women, frequently not identified by the dominant society as leaders, have and can become leaders. Lessons are drawn from the life of Anna Julia Cooper that provides new insights on leadership that heretofore were not evident. Moreover, this research offers provocative recommendations that provide a different perspective of what leadership is among Black women and how that kind of leadership can be nurtured in ways that are different from the way they are today. The Commentary identifies the findings, limitations of the study, recommendations for future research, and concludes with a call to action for aspiring leaders.

An Alternative View of Leadership

There is a need to correct and update our history, making it more inclusive of all human beings and to continue to challenge the positivist view as being the only legitimate knowledge claim. As Hendry (2011) claimed:

> History's appearance of unity, of coherence, of order is predicated . . . on the suppression of contradictory stories, most often those of women, people of color, and the working class. History as we know it is not possible without this silencing . . . History as we know it limits contradiction, multiplicity, and difference. Remembering this suppression is the memory work that must be done. (p. 13)

This study provides, through the lens of Black feminist thought, an alternative view and understanding of the leadership of Black women. Given the Black feminist perspective that I identified in this study, with Cooper as the vehicle used to examine leadership, there are several new insights that were not previously considered and they include the following. First, resistance to various forms of oppression is foundational to understanding how Black women come to leadership. Further, Black women's ability to implement various forms of activism to transform existing conditions along with their sheer persistence and determination are identifiers of leadership. Viewing Black women's leadership on a different path from the more traditional means of identification removes them from being faded into obscurity. The lens of Black feminist thought provides a view that brings Black women to the fore.

Northouse (2007) identifies several steps in transformational leadership to create change which include being "a strong and positive role model with a highly developed set of moral values and a self-determined sense of identity. [Moreover, transformational leaders are] confident, competent, and articulate, and they express strong ideals" (p. 190). Each of these steps and characteristics has similarities to Black women's leadership due to the social/personal focus and emphasis on service and support. Other theories such as Greenleaf's Servant Leadership can be applied to Cooper's life, and Relational Leadership theory with its influence through networks has similarities as well. While these aforementioned theories resemble and touch upon Cooper and Black women's leadership, this study's perspective is very different. There remains a need to recognize that continuing forms of oppression facing Black women are still in existence today and how Black women handle these challenges through their sheer fortitude provides insight into their leadership. Continuing oppression coupled with strength and persistence in the face of adversities, as modeled in the life of Anna Julia Cooper, reveals her

quintessential leadership qualities and provides an alternative understanding of the leadership of Black women.

Significance of Findings

1. Black women carry the co-identifiers, gender and race, which continue to be nearly nonexistent in leadership theories, discourse, and mainstream leadership literature.
2. Black feminist thought challenges the dominant theories and demands that the incomplete story be adjusted and that research becomes more inclusive. The Black feminist perspective requires moving beyond the traditional data to reach a different way of knowing and understanding. As Leggo (1999) compassionately described: research that [which] knows its humility, its futility, its volatility, that seeks its validity and reliability in places other than statistics…[is] research that begins in a place of unknowing, with a leap of faith, a courageous willingness to embark on a journey (p. 5).
3. This study identifies Cooper as a quintessential leader whose beliefs and work are consistent with her activism. Living in an unjust society, Cooper believed that education was the emancipation tool of change. In all aspects of her life—personal, professional, and community environments—she sought educational pathways, to reach a place of fairness, equality and social justice. Throughout her long life of commitment and dedicated service, Cooper transformed herself, and the lives of countless others, especially Black women, youth, and the underserved. Although Cooper worked hard to facilitate change, there remain systemic matrices of domination yet to overcome.
4. Currently, there are two texts that focus on Black women and leadership: *Herstories: Leading with the Lessons of the Lives of Black Women Activists* (2011) by Alston and

McClellan and *Black Womanist Leadership Tracing the Motherline* (2011) by King and Ferguson. This lack of information is a serious problem as efforts are made to expand the history, credibility, and existence of Black women leaders.

Recommendations for Future research

1. The words used in dominant research to describe Cooper and people of Color tend to be condescending; as a result, they continue to perpetuate the past practice of belittling and humiliating. As an example, words such as minority really mean less than; as do words that begin with the prefix "sub." If the goal is truly inclusion and consideration of others ways of knowing, then new ways of describing people of color need to be utilized that are more equitable and fall in line with the dominant standard of white male privilege.
2. Cooper was extremely close to Charlotte Forten Grimké, a northern Black school teacher who went south to teach former slaves. In 1951, following the request of Grimké's husband, Cooper wrote a posthumous biography of her dear friend. In the future, attention should be placed on the relationships Cooper shared with other women of color. One such person was Mary Jane Patterson, the first Black woman in the United States to receive a college degree. Like Cooper, Patterson was from Raleigh, North Carolina. Their lives crossed many times: they graduated from Oberlin, taught classes and served as principal of the M Street School, and worked in the community of Washington, DC. Cooper's interactions with other women could be perpetuated through a modern day Participatory Action Research (PAR) study working with a group of Black women leaders, giving Cooper a modern voice.

3. Cooper is lauded for being an outstanding educator, however, some of her often overlooked innovative educational practices include:
   - Expansion of Frelinghuysen University's classes taught in settings within the community of Washington, DC at night and on the weekends.
   - Development of a mentoring program for Frelinghuysen students with members of the American Negro Academy who also donated textbooks and taught classes.
   - Establishment of the Hannah Stanley Opportunity School in memory of her mother (within Frelinghuysen University) to provide "ungraded Instruction individual and elementary, to meet the needs of retarded learners" (May, 2007, p. 68).
   - Becoming an early distance learner by working on her PhD in Washington at the Library of Congress where materials were sent to her from the archives of the Sorbonne, in Paris France.
   - Becoming a prototype for today's lifelong learner by earning a PhD at age 65
   - Planning the formation of a consortium with Howard University to share services and resources with Frelinghuysen, but the offer was rejected.
4. Additional research on Cooper's teaching methodologies is warranted. Given the educational challenges facing American students, especially in urban school districts, Cooper's teaching pedagogy should be researched and shared.
5. The Negro Graduates Survey which Cooper completed in 1932, provides information regarding her family members, collegiate experiences, employment, and community involvement (see Appendix B). Based on the survey, a

Posthumous Interview with Cooper was also developed for the purpose of gaining more insight into her life along with uncovering her feelings regarding her life experiences (See Appendix A). This should be further explored. This innovative interview approach brings Cooper's voice to the fore. Additionally, it is a new tool which can reveal more in-depth aspects of Cooper's character.

A Call to Action for Aspiring Leaders

More than 30 years ago, Mary Elizabeth Fitch presented a paper on Cooper at the 6th Annual Berkshire Conference of Women Historians at Smith College. Her description of Cooper's leadership is especially appropriate to this work. Fitch (1984) wrote,

> The story of Anna Cooper might make us also recognize the limitations of focusing predominantly on those blessed with the mantle 'leader' for there are many who lead and have led, whose influence overflows their immediate surroundings and the periods in which they lived. Anna J. Cooper was such a person. (p. 9)

Cooper's life was filled with numerous accomplishments against a backdrop of constant rejections and adversities. Her desire to be accepted as an equal human being, regardless of race or gender, was the paramount cause that she fought for during her lifetime. By personal example and advocacy, Cooper demonstrated her belief that education provided the best means for personal and professional growth, economic advancement, and racial equity. At the same time, Cooper's strong belief in service and racial uplifting propelled her into a role as a community activist. Her voice expressed through her writings, speeches, teaching, and community service, raised the conscious level of Black people and society as a whole. She drew attention to inequalities, demanded to be heard and sought solutions to problems of the underserved. Throughout Cooper's lifetime, however, her outreach was compromised, and severely limited by the dominant White hierarchy that controlled the political and social climate of this country. Furthermore, her situation was exacerbated by the lack of support of widely recognized and

influential Black male leaders such as W.E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. The intersectionality of these oppressive forces explains why Cooper remains a paradoxical figure today.

Cooper's life examined through the lens of Black Feminist thought and coupled with the understanding that resistance is foundational to Black women's leadership reveals how Black women become leaders in spite of numerous obstacles that confront them. Cooper experienced numerous societal and cultural restrictions but she did not let them limit her expectations for herself or her race. She actively fought against all forms of discrimination and in the process developed an alternative leadership based on determination, self-will, courage, and resilience.

There are numerous lessons to be learned from Cooper's life that are appropriate for current times. My message to aspiring leaders, especially women of color who want to be leaders, is to follow the example of Anna Julia Cooper and know that despite all obstacles, perseverance is the key to leadership: when one considers the matrix of domination that Black women continue to live under in this country, and in the world, it becomes quite obvious that many of the challenges Cooper faced, remain. Although overt signs of discrimination have been eradicated, oppression of Black people and women in particular are still in existence. It is important to keep in mind that Black women will always have issues of race and gender to handle in a world filled with various forms of oppression and strife. Cooper's life provides an example of a Black woman with many odds against her, who pressed on, and still achieved. It is important to know that even though Cooper may be viewed as a role model who achieved on several levels, she still met with continuing rejections, and was not always successful in her activism for change. Yet, in spite of all of the challenges Cooper was confronted with, she

persevered—a necessary component and a key requirement not only for Black women, but for all aspiring leaders.

As previously indicated, Cooper achieved a number of stellar accomplishments. The lessons for future leaders however, move beyond her attainments to focusing on "how" she succeeded. There are many programs around the country that aim to help young Black women aspire to become leaders. In my view, using Cooper as a model of quintessential leadership, these programs might emphasize the following key elements:

1. Encouraging young Black women to cultivate their voice through participation in community projects and mentoring programs.
2. Viewing education as a lifelong learning effort.
3. Involving young Black women in organizations such as Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority of which Anna Julia Cooper was a member, the National Council of Negro Women, The Links, Incorporated, and the National Association of Negro Business & Professional Women Clubs, Incorporated. Each of these organizations has a lengthy history of uplifting the Black race through community service and educational endeavors.
4. Recognizing the importance of the church in the shaping of Black women's lives. The church has been one of the most successful and influential forces in the lives of Black Americans. Specifically, the ministerial leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference along with the outstanding contributions of Black women leaders such as Ella Baker and Septima Poinsette Clark have made profound changes in the social and political climate of this country and in the lives of Black Americans.

The call to action for today's aspiring young Black women leaders is first to know their history, and to understand that the constant intersectional complexities of gender, race, and class that Black women face will always challenge their existence and leadership. Second, young Black women, given their precarious position in America, must consider how they can advance their leadership aspirations. For this, I encourage a closer look at "how" Anna Julia Cooper rose to an outstanding level of excellence in leadership and change. Under severe adversities, Cooper's resistance, persistence, educational excellence as a student and teacher, and community service demonstrates her challenging path to leadership. Cooper's activism and beliefs in racial and gender equality provides a strong example of effective leadership that has impacted countless numbers of Americans, especially Black women. Her lasting impact and influence indeed qualifies her as a quintessential leader.

Conclusion

Cooper's theories written in the 19th century are still relevant today. Her eloquent voice clearly resonates on issues of equality, not only in areas of race and gender, but also with regard to power and control over people, materials, and economic matters. Race, gender, and education, three of Cooper's major focus tenets, still matters globally—and at all levels. They remain the common underpinning of current women's struggles.

Finally, reflecting on the life of Anna Julia Cooper, I am reminded of the African meaning and the symbol of Sankofa. The word Sankofa is derived from the Akan language found in Western Africa, and the term literally means, "to go back and get it (san- to return; ko – to go; fa – to look, to seek and take)" (African Tradition, Proverbs, and Sankofa, n.d.; para. 4; Seeman, 2010). Sankofa is symbolized by:

> a mythical bird flying forward with its head turned backward. The egg in its mouth represents the 'gems' or knowledge of the past upon which wisdom is based; it also

> signifies the generation to come that would benefit from that wisdom . . . (Further), "it symbolizes one taking from the past what is good and bringing it into the present in order to make positive progress through the benevolent use of knowledge" (African Tradition, Proverbs, and Sankofa, n.d., para. 3)

Cooper (1892), offered similar comments on the value of connecting past experiences to present day issues. She stated:

> We look back, not to become inflated with conceit because of the depths from which we have arisen, but that we may learn wisdom from the experience. We look within that we may gather together once more our forces, and, by improved and more practical methods, address ourselves to the tasks before us. (p. 27)

Anna Julia Cooper left the world a rich legacy of service and social activism to effectuate change for the underserved and often forgotten segments of society—minorities and women – especially those of color. I am in agreement with Kelly (2012), who remarked:

> (P)erhaps it is fitting that in the current U.S. Passport, which features numerous quotes from famous American men, Anna Julia Cooper stands alone—as the only woman and the only African-American- which is quoted for her advocacy of freedom as a birthright of humanity. (para. 2)

As Cooper (1892) so compellingly expressed, "The cause of freedom is not the cause of a race or a sect, a party or a class—it is the cause of humankind, the very birthright of humanity" (p.121). The cause of humanity remains a present day global challenge. Like the mythical Sankofa bird, we need to look back to hear the voice and to see the life experiences of Anna Julia Cooper; and bring them forward mobilizing activism to expand the universal truths of social justice and equality which are sorely needed into today's society. Cooper's legacy to us in this continuing struggle is her life—a template for leadership and change.

Appendix

Appendix A: Posthumous Interview

In this posthumous interview, a series of 25 interview questions were developed to provide insight into Cooper's life. There has been minimal editing in order to maintain the authenticity of Cooper's words. The actual The Negro College Graduates Survey, completed by Cooper, in her own handwriting, is located in Appendix B.

Contextual Overview

In 1932, the year of this interview, the United States was nearing the depths of the Great Depression. High hopes for a brighter future were placed on the newly elected president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal. It was a time of social and political turmoil with sanctioned segregation policies and procedures designed to keep Blacks in subservient roles. The living conditions and financial support between Blacks and Whites were distinctly separate and very unequal. Everything— including education, employment, social conditions, church membership, and property were divided along racial lines, with Blacks receiving an unequal share. The city of Washington, the hub of liberty, was an example of such disparity, offering a very divided and unequal existence in legal and civic matters for Blacks vs. Whites. By 1930, after fighting for her earned retirement income for 38 years of teaching and administrative work at Dunbar High School, Cooper retired. In 1931, at the age of 72, Cooper assumed the presidency of Frelinghuysen University, a school committed to providing education for working students during the evenings. Due to financial problems, Cooper moved the university into her home and launched a laborious but unsuccessful fundraising campaign. However, her belief that education was a means to obtain freedom and equality never waned. In addition to supporting education, Cooper fought continually for racial, gender, and social equity coupled with a strong belief in community service and helping the downtrodden. It is within this socio/political context that Cooper is interviewed.

A Posthumous Interview with Dr. Anna J. Cooper
Washington, D.C. 1932

Thank you, Dr. Cooper for agreeing to spend some time discussing your life, which deserves to be better known and shared. Your activism as an educator, theorist, and humanitarian have significantly impacted many individuals who are marginalized due to racial, gender, and poverty issues. The purpose of this interview is to hear your voice—from your personal perspective and ways of knowing—as you share your life experiences. I have selected topics such as familial background, education, employment, racial and gender issues, community service, aspirations and goals that I would like to cover during our time together. And, of course, anything else that you would like to add, please feel free to do so. Let's begin.

Interviewer: After nearly after nearly 40 years of teaching and school administration at the M Street School, renamed Dunbar High School, you retired. Amazingly, you were born during slavery and now at the age of 72, you are teaching and serving as President of Frelinghuysen University. Equally significant are your long standing theoretical beliefs and positionality on the unique role of Black women in our society. Permit me to begin our discussion at the beginning of your life. Please tell me about your birth and your family background.

Cooper:

Like my mother, I was born in Raleigh, North Carolina. I do not know where my biological father's birthplace. I really owe nothing to my white father beyond the initial act of procreation. It is my mother that I give the highest praise and undying gratitude because she sacrificed to give me the advantages she never enjoyed. I had two brothers, Rufus and Andrew Haywood both of whom were musicians. Rufus who died in 1882 was a North Carolina orchestra leader as well as the leader of Stanley's Band. In addition to his musical talents, my brother Andrew was an organizer of the state militia and a major in the Spanish American War of 1898. I had no sisters. I got married at the age of 17 only to be widowed two years later. My husband, George Cooper, was an educated and ordained Episcopal priest. He was from Nassau in the British West Indies and had come to North Carolina to study for the priesthood under Bishop Lyman. George graduated from St. Augustine's Divinity School and was an ordained deacon and had passed the examinations for the priesthood. I had no biological children.

Interviewer: Although you were born in Raleigh, North Carolina, you have lived in Washington, D.C. for 45 years, Can you tell me about your involvement in Washington?

Cooper:

Since arriving in Washington, DC, I have been very active in social, political, and cultural activities. Moreover, I have been involved in some aspect of education for nearly fifty years. You must remember that it is 1932, and we are living in a country that is still very segregated in terms of race, gender, and class. As a result, most of my energy has been to be involved in activities that will uplift the Black race and will encourage our youth to continuing to study and learn. Presently, I hold offices as the supervisor of the Colored Social Settlement; I am the

Chief Guardian of the Camp Fire Girls. I am active with the Speaker's Bureau, the Phyllis Wheatley Club, the YWCA, and XI Omega Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.

Additionally, I own a beautiful home in the LeDroit Park section of the city which is valued at $18,000.00.

Interviewer: What are your present educational interests?

Cooper:

Education of the under privileged. I believe very strongly that we have a responsibility to prepare our race to be able to work and give service to those who are less fortunate.

Interviewer: Let's turn to education and talk about your educational preparation. What was it like?

Cooper:

My preparatory training began in Raleigh, North Carolina at the St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate Institute which is now known as St. Augustine's College. Under the tutelage of Dr. J. Brintone Smith founder, I was made pupil teacher at the age of 8. First it was just a means to cover my board and tuition. However, I became fully engaged in all aspects of learning, teaching, and studying. Personal, school, and church activities combined for me as I married and was widowed in this "world" of a church school. The educational preparation for college, I received from St. Augustine's, allowed me to enter Oberlin College as a sophomore. I believe this showed that the time I spent at St. Augustine's was very worth while and deserving of praise.

Interviewer: How well did you do in college?

Cooper:

This is hardly a fair question for personal answer! I do not recall any subject that I did not thoroughly enjoy. I did my best and four professors, including President Fairchild (of Oberlin) gave me letters ranking me first in the class. My academic major at Oberlin was mathematics. I took all the courses offered in mathematics. In order of preference, I enjoyed philosophy, logic, trigonometry, and calculus. While at Oberlin, I taught advanced algebra in the Oberlin Academy to white students. This demonstrated my ability in mathematics and the fact that my teaching was acceptable, even for White students. Since my graduation from Oberlin, I found that I have had to use all of my training at some time or another.

Interviewer: To what extent were you influenced by religious training, personalities or the religious atmosphere of your school?

Cooper:

I entered Oberlin as a bigoted "Churchwoman." I call myself this because I felt not the slightest attempt at proselytizing, that is, to try to convert others to join. Although I continued to attend the little Episcopal Church religiously, the breadth and the real universal appeal and

outreach came from the Oberlin spirit. It was friendly contacts and the wider exposure through studying that had the inevitable result which I consider to be the humanizing of one's "churchianity."- that is, the habits and teaching of good will. Also, the music, sermons, and the spirit of brotherhood were school influences that were most important in giving direction to my life.

Interviewer: Did you have any non-religious activities that provided direction for you?
Cooper:
Yes, I thoroughly enjoyed the "Thursday Lectures," Mrs. Johnston's general economics" for women, and the weekly young people's meetings, within of course the dynamic "Oberlin atmosphere."

Interviewer: In continuing your education, what did you do after you left Oberlin?

Cooper:
After graduating from Oberlin in 1884, with a B.A. in mathematics, I returned and completed my master's degree, also in mathematics, in three years. Beginning in 1914, I started to take graduate courses during the summers at Columbia University in New York. I also studied at the Guilde Internationale Paris during the summers of 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917. My goal was to improve my knowledge of the French language and culture. This educational preparation proved to be extremely beneficial when I enrolled at the Sorbonne in pursuit of my Ph.D. degree.

Interviewer: You were the fourth Black American Woman to earn a PhD And, the first Black woman to defend her dissertation in a language other than English.
Cooper:
Yes, on March 23, 1925, I completed my residence and thesis for my Ph.D. degree. My defense was delivered in French before a Jury of French Doctors at the Sorbonne, The title of my thesis (which was also written in French) is "The Attitude of France in Regard to Slavery During the Revolution."

Interviewer: Do you regard the earning of a Ph.D. degree to be your most outstanding accomplishment?
Cooper:
Perhaps others will think first of the defense in French as being my most outstanding accomplishment. However, my own preference is the building of a beautiful home at the Capital from my own unsubsidized earnings to be dedicated in the name of my slave mother to the education of colored working people.

Interviewer: How was your education supported?

Cooper:
My education was supported by personal earnings. All of my earnings come through self-help.[1]

[1] See Leona C. Gabel, *From Slavery to the Sorbonne* (1981); Louise D. Hutchinson, *Anna J. Cooper: A Voice from the South* (1982), Charles Lemert & Esme Bhan, *Anna Julia Cooper: Including A Voice from the South and other important essays, papers and letters* (1998) and Vivian May, *Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist* (2007).

Interviewer: Can you give a brief estimate of the value of your college training?
Cooper:
My estimate can be mathematically stated in dollars and cents. Based on a past experience, when I announced to the principal of St. Augustine's of my intention to go to college, I was receiving $30.00 per month. As an inducement for me not to go, the principal offered to double that figure at once. I am not sorry that I refused such munificence or generosity.

Interviewer: What motives prompted you to go to college?
Cooper:
It was innate and indomitable, "wanting to know"

Interviewer: You have had an illustrious career as a teacher at the secondary and collegiate levels.
Cooper:
Yes, there was not a moment between graduation from Oberlin and employment. I was planning to return to St. Augustine's in North Carolina the first year after graduating from Oberlin. There was a problem and as a result, I went to Wilberforce University instead. I served as a professor of modern languages and literature at Wilberforce University in Ohio for one year. I returned home to Raleigh, North Carolina and the St. Augustine's Normal School from September 1885 through 1887 where I served as an instructor in Math, Latin, and Greek. I was appointed the principal of M Street High School, from December 1901 through September 1906. After losing my job, I relocated to Jefferson City, Missouri and became a professor of foreign languages at Lincoln Institute for four years. I returned to Washington, DC in 1910 and became a teacher of Latin (where I stayed for the next twenty years). I retired from the DC Public School System in June 1930 and became the President of Frelinghuysen University. A position that I currently hold.

Interviewer: When did you decide on your vocation as an educator?
Cooper:
Not far from the kindergarten age I decided upon my career. I feel the vocation for which I was prepared was the education of neglected people. Teaching has always seemed to me the noblest of callings and I believe that if I were White, I should still want to teach those who need assistance. The need to help the neglected presents a stronger appeal than money. There

may be a bit of vanity on my part—but it is human to be stimulated by appreciation where it is genuine.

Interviewer: What was the biggest disappointment that you experienced during your teaching career?

Cooper:

Without question, my biggest disappointment- was being released from the M Street/ Dunbar High School. While serving as principal of M Street High School, as the colored principal, I was under the supervision of the White Director of High Schools. At a meeting of principals, I was told when the question of scholarships in colleges came up, that the M Street graduates were not eligible to try for them. The White Director at the same time recommended to the US Congress that a different curriculum be granted the colored High School, whose pupils he said were not capable of doing the regular work. As the principal, I was considered to be insubornate for sending students from the M Street School to Harvard, Yale, Brown, and Oberlin. These were students, directly from the M Street School classes who successfully passed their entrance exams; some with high honors. This was the first time in its history that the Colored High School of Washington DC was listed as "accredited" by Harvard and given the certificate privilege. For this unpardonable "sin" against White racial supremacy I, the Colored principal, suffer to this day the punishment of the damned from both the White maskers as well as the Colored understrappers and assistants.

Interviewer: You are a prolific writer. Can you please share your writings and publications?

Cooper:

In 1892, I published A Voice from the South at Xenia, Ohio: Aldine Printing House. This book is actually a collection of my lectures and speeches. Of course my thesis, L' Attitude de la France a L'Egard de l'Esclavage, which I wrote in French and defended this work for my Ph.D. I also published Le Pelerinage de Charlemagne avec Glossaire (edited) which was actually my Columbia University thesis. In addition, I published several articles including: "Educational Programms," Simon of Cyrene. "The Southland." the first Negro Magazine in the USA, the Southand. "The Ethics of the Negro Question and "The Social Settlement: What it is and What it Does. Additionally, I was the Summer Editor for the Southern Workman—Hampton.[2]

Interviewer: Please comment on racial and gender issues that you face as a Black woman and how have you been affected by racism during your lifetime.

Cooper:

Here is one example: The "Learned Societies" do not seek colored workers. Wanting some help with my research, I contemplated writing a history of the Negroes of Washington, DC. I applied to the Brookings Institution for research assistance and also to the American University Graduate School here in the city of Washington. Dr. Edward Devine was then a

dean. Both schools raised the color bar and blocked my applications. Dr. Devine soon afterwards resigned.

Interviewer: What about gender issues?
Cooper:
I did not return to Raleigh, North Carolina after graduating from Oberlin because Dr. Swedes, the principal under whom I had taught before leaving for college and who had planned for me to teach when I returned, was at that juncture superseded by Dr. Sutton who wanted to change my contract from "professor" to "teacher in charge of Girls," and I refused.

Interviewer: Can you expand on your racial philosophy?
Cooper:
My "racial philosophy" is not far removed from my general philosophy of life that the greatest happiness comes from altruistic service and this is in reach of all of whatever race and/ or conditions. The "Service" here meant is not a pious idea of being used; any sort of exploitation whether active or passive is to my mind hateful. Nor is the "Happiness" a mere bit of Pollyanna stuff. I am as sensitive to handicaps as those who are always whining about them and the whips and stings of prejudice, whether of color or sex, find me neither too

[2] *For a complete listing of Cooper's publications see Vivian May, Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist, (2007), pp. 8-9.*

calloused to suffer, nor too ignorant to know what is due me. Our own men as a group have not inherited traditions of chivalry (one sided as it may be among White men) and we women are generally left to do our race battling alone except for empty compliments now and then. Even so, one may make the mistake of looking at race handicaps through the wrong end of the telescope and imagining that oppression goes only with color. When I encounter brutality I need not always charge it to my race. It may be – and generally is – chargeable to the imperfections in the civilization surrounding me for which, as a teacher and trained thinker, I take my share of responsibility. The extent, then, of the optimism in my philosophy is that (statisticians and social science research compliers to the contrary notwithstanding the solution of our problem will be individual and not en masse, and the habit of generalization and deductive logic has done its worst.

Interviewer: What is your view of the future of education for Black students? What should it be, what changes might be made in light of your experiences?
Cooper:
I have always stood for Education that aims at the making of Men rather than the constructing of machines. If the Negro is a man, then what is good for man, in all its age-old and infinite varieties, is good for the Negro. Why should he be cabined and cribbed with just this or just that for his mental pabulum-nourishment? If the post war machines method of

tests and measurements "tossing out the unfit" prevails, we never can tell what is to be done for the untalented plodder who continues to want more. You may have your criminals like Loebs & Leopolds and reject artists such as Lindbergs.

Interviewer: As you look back over your life, what would you do differently, if you could?
Cooper:
Anyone who does the best his circumstances allows should have no qualms in judging results. The world changes and if I had my story to start now I should surely have to meet other problems and conditions from those of 50 years ago. But, I feel I would adjust myself to them with the same pluck and energy that I believe to be an unchanging part of me. I should miss perhaps a friendly interest and even a surprised applause on the part of Whites, who are now concluding that Negroes are best educated in Negro schools. But that is not essential.

Interviewer: if you could control the situation, what would you like to be doing ten years from now?
Cooper:
I would be doing exactly what I am doing now. Educating the neglected. I am called President of Frelinghuysen University which was started by the late Jesse Lawson 25 years ago. The school has now for the first time a permanent location in my home at 201 "T" Street N.W. The curriculum includes "a group of Schools for Adult Education, comprising a law school, school of religion, and opportunity classes for pre-academic workers. A "foundation" is sought for the Jesse Lawson School of Social Service, an outstanding need of the Nation's Capital to train Colored workers.

Interviewer: What do you regard as your outstanding accomplishment since graduation?
Cooper:
My own preference is the building of my beautiful home in the nation's capital from my unsubsidized earnings. The school which is located in my home is to be dedicated in the name of my slave Mother for the education of colored working people. Also, I may say honestly and truthfully that my one aim is and has always been, so far as I may, to hold a torch for the children of a group too long exploited and too frequently disparaged in its struggling for the light. I have not mad capital of my race, have paid my own way and have never asked a concession or claimed a gratuity. Nor on the other hand have I ever denied full identification in every handicap and every limitation that the checkered history of our native land imposes. In the simple words of the Master, spoken for another nameless one, my humble career may be summed up to date:—"She hath done what she could." [3]

[3] *Cooper's address given on the presentation of her Ph.D. degree at Howard University, December 29, 1925, Souvenir Program, p. 2.*

Interviewer: Are there any final comments you would like to add?
Cooper:
To me life has meant a big opportunity and I am thankful that my work has always been the sort that beckoned me on, leaving no room for blasé philosophizing and rebellions resentment and with just enough opposition to give zest to the struggle, just enough hope of scoring somewhere among the winners to keep my head "unbowed tho bloody." While I suffer, I will not be defeated by the struggle.

Interviewer: Thank you Dr. Cooper, for taking the time to share your life experiences and comments on educational and societal issues that we continue to face. On behalf of all Americans, especially minorities and females, we applaud your leadership and humanitarian efforts.

Appendix B: Negro College Graduates Survey Response

FORM A. 3583
Date

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES

Individual Occupational History

I. SOCIAL INFORMATION

1. Name Anna Julia Cooper
2. Present address 201 T N.W. (Street) Washington (City) D. C. (State)
3. (If married woman, give maiden name on this line) Anna Julia Haywood
4. Length of residence in this city 45 yrs. State of longest residence
5. Age 72 Sex F Date of birth Aug 10 1860 Place of birth Raleigh N.C.
6. Marital status: Single Widowed Married ~ Date of marriage June 21, 1877 Age at marriage 17
   Divorced Date Separated Date Widowed ~
   Date Sept. 27 1879 Deserted Date Remarried Date

7. Children living: None	Age	Grade (If in school)	Occupation (If not attending school)	Children dead: None	Date of death	Age at death
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						

8. Present occupation Teacher & President Frelinghuysen University (Just what do you do?)
9. Present annual salary $50.00 or yearly net income, deducting expenses of earning except income tax
   or kindly check the class within which your net income falls:
   Under $500 $500- $999 $1000-$1499 ~ $1500-$1999 $2000-$2499
   $2500-$2999 $3000-$3499 $3500-$3999 $4000-$4499 $4500-$4999 ~
   $5000-$5999 $6000-$6999 $7000-$7999 $8000-$8999 $9000-$9999
   $10,000 and over
10. Of what college or professional school are you a graduate? Oberlin College Date of graduation B.A. 1884, M.A. 1887

11. Occupations since graduation	From	To	Yearly Salary
1 Professor Modern Lang. & Lit. Wilberforce U.	Sept. 1884	June 1885	1000
2 Instructor in Math. Latin & Greek & Mod. Lang. Normal Sc.	Sept. 1885	June 1887	Less than 1000. Forget exactly
3 Teacher Washington High School	Sept. 1887		from 750 up.
4 Principal M St. High School	Dec. 1901	Sept. 1906	
5 Professor Foreign Languages Lincoln Inst. MO.	1906	1910	1100
6 Teacher of Latin Washington High School	1910	1930	1800
7 Retired from Public Schools	June 1930		Pension 1434
8 President Frelinghuysen University	June 1930		50.

12. Means of securing present employment (underline):

(a) Direct application
(b) Recommendation by friend
(c) Fee charging placement service
(d) Newspaper advertisement
(e) School or university placement service
(f) Family influence
(g) Heard indirectly of vacancy
(h) General canvas
(i) Promotion within the organization or company
(j) Transfer within the organization or company
✓ (k) Services sought by new employer always,
(l) Other I have never applied for employment any where.

13. Do you own your home? Yes Value of home 18000 Other property owned Cottage in Raleigh N.C. 2 lots in Upper Marlboro Md. Value Uncertain. two or three thousand perhaps.

14. ~~Wife or~~ Husband: Birthplace Nassau British W.I. Present occupation deceased
Education: (Draw circle around last grade completed) Educated for Priest in the Episcopal Church.
Grammar School—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8; High school—1-2-3-4; College—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Of what college or professional school a graduate St. Augustine's Divinity School Degree Ordained Deacon & passed examinations for the Priesthood under Bishop Lyman Bp of N.C.

15. Brothers:

	Age	Education	School at present attending	Occupation
1 Rufus Haywood N.C.		Band leader	Orchestra "Stanleys Band"	died 1882
2				
3 Andrew J. Haywood		Musician & organizer of State Militia		Major Span Am War d 1918
4				
5				
6				

16. Sisters: None

1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

17. Father: Birthplace I do not know Present occupation
Education: (Draw circle around last grade completed)
Grammar school—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8; High School—1-2-3-4; College—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Of what college or professional school a graduate Degree

18. Mother: Birthplace Raleigh N.C. Present occupation deceased
Education: (Draw circle around last grade completed)
Grammar school—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8; High school—1-2-3-4; College—1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Of what college or professional school a graduate Degree

19. What was the attitude of your parents toward your college education? I owe nothing to my white father beyond the initial act of procreation. My Mother's self sacrificing toil to give me advantages she had never enjoyed is worthy the highest praise & undying gratitude.

II. UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY

20. Preparatory Training: Name of School *St. Augustines Normal & Collegiate Inst. [Now St. Aug. College.]*

21. Location *Raleigh N. C.* Date of graduation *No graduation in my day.*

22. As you think of it now, do you regard your preparatory training, before college, as adequate or defective? i.e., What deficiencies or omissions in that period do you feel would be of value to you? Please comment briefly

Under Dr. J. Brinton Smith founder, I was made pupil teacher at the age of 8, first for board & tuition. Teaching & Studying, married & widowed in this "world" of a church school I think the preparation for c[...] may pass as "good" for the time in that I was admitted on examination with some praise to the Sophomore C[...]

23. College and Professional Training: *Entrance exams. in the Anabasis, the Iliad, Caes. Cic. Plane & Solid Geometry. Conditioned in Trig. Mechanics, Physics, Hist. of Civilization, the Odyssey made up in one year & Science of Government*

	Institution	Period (give dates)	Diploma or degree
1	*St. Aug. Normal & Collegiate*	*from early youth to 1881*	*None*
2	*Oberlin*	*Sept. '81 – June '84*	*A. B.*
3	*Oberlin on 3 yrs. College teaching*	*'84 – '87*	*M. A.*
4	*Columbia on 4 yrs. graduate*	*courses in S. S. 1914, 15, 16, 17*	*Guilde Internationale Paris S.S.*
5	*Université de Paris, La Sorbonne*	*1924–25, Residence & thesis*	*Ph. D.*

24. How was your education supported? *Personal earnings*

25. What part of your support was earned through self-help? *all*

26. As you regarded it then, what motives prompted you to go to college? *innate & indomitable "wanting to know"*

27. What was your major subject or special training in college? *Mathematics (I took all in the course,*

28. What subjects were most liked (in order of preference)? *Philosophy Moral & Mental, Logic, Trig & C[...]*

29. What subjects were most disliked (in order)? *I do not recall any that I did not thoroly enjoy.*

30. What subject or subjects proved most useful to you after graduation? *I have had to use them all. I think at so[...]*

31. What faculty members proved most stimulating to you? (Gives names and position of faculty) *President Fairchild, Prof. Churchill, Tutor (now Ex-Pres.) King of Oberlin, Paul Rivat Deschanel, C. Cestre & Bagnac*

32. What school influences were most important in giving direction to your life? *"Thursday Lectures", Mrs. Johnst[on] Gen'l "L" for Women, & weekly young people's Meetings, with of course the Oberlin "at[...]" — the music, the sermons, brotherho[od]*

33. To what honor societies did you belong in college? *Oberlin had none in my day.*

34. To what fraternity or sorority? *L. L. S.*

Please check extra-curricular activities engaged in *I taught advanced Algebra in Oberlin Academy The students were white.*

	REGULARLY	OCCASIONALLY		REGULARLY	OCCASIONALLY
35. A. On campus			On campus		
Athletics			Social club		
Oratory and debating		✓	Other forms		
Fraternity or sorority					
Literary society	✓				
Dramatics			B. Off campus		
Music			Church work		
Religion			Social club		
Publications			Civic or social service		
Student government			Other forms		

4 professors in charming their French? gave me letters making me feel in the class. (written upside down)

36. How well did you do in college? Hardly a fair question for personal answer. I did my best &

37. To what extent were you influenced by religious training, personalities or the religious atmosphere of your school?
I entered Oberlin a bigoted "Churchman". I felt not the slightest attempt at proselyting & yet, altho I continued to attend the little Episcopal Church religiously the breadth & real catholicity of the Oberlin spirit the friendly contacts & wider study had the inevitable result which I consider humanizing of one's humanity."

38. What is your attitude toward educational methods of instruction in college? (Mention the strongest and weakest features? Too broad to be answered in 2 lines. If the post war Machine Method of Tests & Measurements to sling out the unfit prevails we never can tell what is to be done for the untalented plodder who continues to want more. You may have your Loebs & Leopolds & reject Lindbergs.

(margin: College class of Oberlin Passed to entrance conditions in)

39. At what period during your undergraduate life did you decide upon your career? At not far from the kindergarten age

40. Length of time between graduation and first employment. Not a moment.

41. Length of time between graduation and employment in field of choice. ditto. I was engaged to return to St. Aug. the 1st yr. There was a hitch & I went to Wilberforce instead.

42. Did you return to your home town to work after graduation? 2d year Temporarily? ten yrs. Permanently? ......

43. Reasons for returning or not returning to home town to work after graduation? Dr. Smedes the Prin. under whom I had taught before leaving for College & who had engaged my services to return was at that juncture superseded by Dr. Sutton who wanted to change the contract from "Professor" to "teacher in charge of Girls". I refused.

(margin: 1912, 13)

44. If you could control the situation, what would you like to be doing ten years from now? What I am doing now

45. Have you been prevented from entering the vocation of your choice by racial factors? No ...... Can you state ~~any of them?~~ Teaching has always seemed to me the noblest of callings & I believe that if I were white I should still want to teach those whose need presents a stronger appeal than money. There may be a bit of vanity in this. It is human to be stimulated by appreciation where it is genuine.

46. What ~~are~~ racial factors have interfered? During my principalship of M St. H.S. the colored prin. was under the white Director of High Schools. At a meeting of Principals she was told when the question of scholarships in colleges came up, that her graduates were not eligible to try for them. The Director at the same time recommended to Congress that a

(margin: Calus. ... at the time)

47. Will you give a brief estimate of the value of your college training? My estimate can be mathematically stated in dollars & cents. When I announced to the Prin. of St. Aug. my intention to go to college I was receiving $30.00 per mo. As an inducement for me not to go he offered to double that figure at once. Am not sorry that I refused such munificence.

(margin: Paris, its atmosphere the Spirit of ... od)

48. How would it be changed if you could do it over again? ......
Who does the best his circumstance allows need have no qualms in judging results. The world changes & if I had my story to start now I should surely have to meet other problems & conditions from those of 50 yrs. ago; but I doubt not I should adjust myself to them with the same pluck & energy that I believe to be an unchanging part of me. I should miss perhaps a friendly interest & even a surprised applause on the part of whites who are now concluding that N. are best educated in N. Schools. But that is not essential.

III. AFTER GRADUATION CAREER

49. Are you at present employed upon the occupation of your choice? Yes. ...... the vocation for which you were prepared? The Education of neglected people.

50. Membership in learned societies (give name of your organization) "Learned Societies" do not seek colored workers. Wanting some help in researches I contemplated for a history of the Negroes of Washington I applied to the Brookings Inst. for Research also to the American Graduate School here of Wh. Dr. Edwd. Devine was then Dean. Both schools raised the color bar & Dr. Devine soon afterwards resigned.

51. What do you regard as your outstanding accomplishments since graduation? ......
Perhaps others will think first of the Defense in French before a Jury of French Doctors at the Sorbonne of my thesis on the attitude of France on Slavery Mch 23/1925. My own preference is the building of a beautiful home at the Capital from unsubsidized earnings to be dedicated in the name of my slave Mother to the education of colored working people.

52. What positions of honor and distinction do you now hold? (List) ......
I am called President of Frelinghuysen University started by the late Jesse Lawson 25 yrs. ago, which has now for the first time a permanent home at 201 T N.W. "a group of Schools for Adult Education," comprising a Law School, School of Religion, & Opportunity classes for pre-academic workers. A "foundation" is sought for the Jesse Lawson School of Social Service, an outstanding need at the Nation's Capital training colored workers.

53. Have you held or do you now hold any public office? (Name)
Principal M St. High School Washington D.C. 1901 to 1906

54. Books published A Voice from the South, L'Attitude de la France à l'Egard de l'Esclavage (Thesis D.) Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne avec Glossaire edited.

55. Titles of important articles published
"Educational Programs" "Simon of Cyrene" "The Southland" the first Negro Mag.
The Ethics of the Negro Question, The Social Settlement what it is & what it does etc. (Summer Editor Southern Work Ha[illegible]

56. Honorary degrees None

57. To what church denomination do you belong? Episcopal (St. Lukes P.E.)
Active membership? Contributing Office in church? No

58. What are your present cultural interests? Education of the under privileged

59. What further study have you engaged in since graduation? 4 Graduate courses at La Guilde Internationale
8 Full Courses S.S. Columbia; Dept. Romance Lang. French 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106,

60. List civic and social movements in which you are engaged. Speakers Bureau Community Chest
Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. N.A.A.C.P. Xi Omega Chap. Alpha Kappa Alpha &c. &c.

61. Offices held in civic and social organizations Supervisor Colored Social Settlement
Chief Guardian Camp Fire Girls, Organizer Girls Clubs Y.W. War Camp Commun[ity] Charge Colore[d] duri[ng]

62. In what racial movements are you actively interested? National N. Association
for Suppression of Atheism & Communism among colored youth

63. Offices in them

64. Do you vote where you now reside? None do To what political party do you belong? Independent

65. Have you a "racial philosophy" that can be briefly stated? My "racial philosophy" is not far removed from my general philosophy of life: that the greatest happiness comes from altruistic service & this is in reach of all of whatever race & condition. The "Service" here meant is not a pious idea of being used; any sort of exploitation whether active or passive is to my mind hateful. Nor is the "Happiness" a mere bit.

66. Will you give the name of one or more of your childhood associates (whether they went to college or not) with their present address (if possible), schooling and occupation? Dr. S. G. Atkins Prin. Winston-Salem Inst. N.C.
Mrs. Nannie Delaney (widow Bishop Delaney) 80 Edgecomb Ave. New York City Dean of W. St.
Mrs. Jane Thomas Caspar Ave. A Huntersville Norfolk Va. former teacher & social
Mrs. M. E. Neale (Mrs. Doctor Quentin B. Neale) 1315 Lynn Ave. Pawhuska Okla.
Mrs. Anna Metcalf Root 333 East 53rd St. New York City } B.A. Oberlin 1884
Mrs. Professor Anderegg 207 East College St. Oberlin O. } Conservatory Oberlin 1880 white

67. Will you give briefly your views of the future of Negro education? (What it should be, what changes might be made in the light of your experience; its present direction, value, etc., for the development of Negro youth.)
I have always stood for that Education that aims at the making of Men rather than the constructing of machines. If the Negro is a man then what is good for Man, in all its age-old & infinite varieties, is good for him. Why should he be cabined & cribbed with just this or just that for his mental pabulum—?
See also "Anonymous" paragraph enclosed herewith.

SPACE RESERVED FOR SPECIAL COMMENT

(46 Cont.) different curriculum be granted the colored High School, whose pupils he said were not capable of doing the regular work. Insubordination was charged & effectively pressed when the Principal sent to Harvard, Yale, Brown & Oberlin students directly from the 8th Classes who passed successfully their entrance exams, some with high honors. The first time in its history the Colored H.S. of Wash'n was listed as "accredited" by Harvard & given the certificate privilege. For which unpardonable "sin" against racial supremacy said principal suffers to this day the punishment of the damned from both the white masters & the colored understrappers.

(65 cont.) of Pollyanna stuff. I am as sensitive to handicaps as those who are always whining about them & the whips & stings of prejudice, whether of color or sex, find me neither too calloused to suffer, nor too ignorant to know what is due me. Our own men as a group have not inherited traditions of chivalry (one sided as it may be among white men) & we women are generally left to do our race battling alone except for empty compliments now & then. Even so, one may make the mistake of looking at race handicaps thro the wrong end of the telescope & imagining that oppression goes only with color. When I encounter brutality I need not always charge it to my race. It may be - & generally is - chargeable to the imperfections in the civilization & environing me for which as a teacher & trained thinker I take my share of responsibility.

The extent, then, of the optimism in my philosophy is that, Statisticians & Social Science Research compilers to the contrary notwithstanding, the solution of our problem will be individual & not en masse, & the habit of generalization & deductive logic has done its worst.

For after all, Social Justice the desired goal is not to be reached thro any panacea by mass production. Whether DuBois's preachment of the ballot box & intermarriage or Kelly Miller's one time suggestion of self effacement, or even Booker Washington's proposal of the solid hand & separate fingers. For human selfishness will always arise as the domineering thumb to over ride & keep down every finger weak enough to give up the struggle. The ballot operates just so far as dominant forces agree to respect it. Which again is reasoning in a circle to insure justice by having men become just. & the spectacle of gangster dominance among ballot holding Americans invites little hope for solution when the element of race is added to the problem. As I see it then, the patient persistence of the individual, working as Browning has it, "mouth wise & pen wise" in whatever station & with whatever talent God has given, in truth & loyalty to serve the whole, will come as near as any other to proving worth while.

To me Life has meant a big opportunity & I am thankful that my work has always been the sort that beckoned me on, leaving no room for blasé philosophising & rebellious resentment & with just enough opposition to give zest to the struggle, just enough hope of seeing somewhere among the winners to keep my head "unbowed tho bloody."

Appendix C: Permissions

From: ElBashir, Joellen <jelbashir@howard.edu>
Date: Mon, Jan 5, 2015 at 12:00 PM
Subject: Re: Permission to reprint Morland-Spingarn Document in Dissertation
To: Deborah Baldwin <dbaldwin1@antioch.edu

Dear Dr. Baldwin:
I hope that this informal communication will suffice to grant Ms. Ferguson formal permission to include in her dissertation the document by Anna J. Cooper as submitted to us through partial manuscript. I look forward to seeing her work in print. Please convey my congratulations to her.
Joellen ElBashir
Curator

From: Deborah Baldwin <dbaldwin1@antioch.edu>
Sent: Monday, January 5, 2015 11:37 AM
To: ElBashir, Joellen; Janice Ferguson
Subject: Permission to reprint Morland-Spingarn Document in Dissertation

Joellen El Bashir
Curator, Manuscript Division
Moorland Spingarn Research Center
jelbashir@howard.edu

Curator El Bashir:
I am a research librarian with with the PHD Program in Leadership and Change at Antioch University and the Electronic Dissertation and Theses Coordinator for the university.

I am writing on behalf of my student, Janice Y. Ferguson, [who has submitted her final dissertation, Anna Julia Cooper: A Quintessential Leader, to me for final publication [as required for graduation] in:

1. Proquest Dissertations and Theses Database [a print on demand publisher, formerly Dissertation Abstracts} http://www.proquest.com/products-services/dissertations/ - a depository for U.S. dissertations, designated by the Library of Congress

2. Ohiolink Electronic Theses and Dissertation Center : https://etd.ohiolink.edu - an OPEN ACCESS ETD archive owned by the Ohio Board of Regents and a consortium of Ohio universities and colleges.

3. AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive : http://aura.antioch.edu/etds/ an OPEN ACCESS repository holding Antioch University documents, including Disserrtations

Ms. Ferguson's dissertation, Appendix B., contains a document from your archive:

The Negro College Graduates Survey, completed by Cooper, in her own handwriting. [See Attached]

Negro College Graduates, Individual Occupational History [1937]. Survey in Anna Julia Cooper Papers, MSRC, Box 23-1, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard, University, Washington, DC.

May we have permission to reprint this Appendix in these three open access repositories?

Thank you so much for the consideration. We would be happy to speak with you if you have any further questions

Deborah Baldwin

--
Faculty Research Librarian, Leadership and Change PhD Program
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Antioch University
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