**‘They cannot look for salvation anywhere but themselves,’ how black women empowered the civil rights movement through non-traditional leadership.**

**Contents**

1. **Introduction**
2. **Gender and the Movement**
3. **Civil Rights Historiography**
4. **Redefining Leadership**
5. **Conclusion**
6. **Bibliography**
   1. **Primary Sources**
   2. **Secondary Sources**

**‘They cannot look for salvation anywhere but themselves,” how black women empowered the civil rights movement through non-traditional leadership.**

1. **Introduction**

Historians are increasingly recognising the contribution black women made to the civil rights movement; however there is still a tendency to diminish their role as leaders in the struggle. The lack of recognition in the historiography reflects a disregard for forms of leadership other than that of the traditional, charismatic leader. Traditional leadership positions, those in the public eye and in control of major organisations, were largely not afforded to female activists due to the backdrop of misogyny in greater society and the movement itself. In spite of this, women were consequential leaders through non-traditional leadership roles, whether that was through organising, educating or mentoring. Although the most prominent leaders are assumed to hold the most influence, female activists directed the movement as pioneers in their local communities and in non-executive positions in the largest civil rights organisations. An expansion of what we understand to be leadership reveals black women to be important figures at the heart of the most momentous events and groups of the civil rights movement.

The influence of non-traditional female leadership will be shown through focusing on four specific female leaders, not to suggest a universal experience but to demonstrate the vast breadth of methods they adopted. First, Jo Ann Robinson, was the President of the Women’s Political Council in Montgomery that had organised the Montgomery Bus Boycott for three years prior to Rosa Parks’ brave defiance. Secondly, Ella Baker was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) Director of Branches, set up the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) as unofficial Executive Director and then went on to guide the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Thirdly, Daisy Bates, owner of the Arkansas State Press, was President of the Arkansas State Conference of the NAACP as she successfully managed the Little Rock Integration Crisis in 1957. Lastly, Septima Clark was the Director of Workshops at the influential Highlander Folk School where she used her teaching experience to develop Citizenship Schools - a programme eventually taken over by the SCLC as she became the first woman to sit on their board, as Director of Education.

Unalike in exact method, what connected these four female activists was their ability to lead through ideologies that sought the empowerment of others. Jo Ann Robinson organised, Ella Baker created, Daisy Bates mentored and Septima Clark taught. All were invaluable to some of the most critical events and organisations of the movement despite not being the faces of either and despite being omitted from their histories. Decades of experience, strong personal ideologies and the respect of their peers are just some of the criteria lending them to be designated as leaders. They were leaders, just not traditional, charismatic leaders.

Therefore, it is important to consider their roles and approaches to leadership in the context of their own philosophies and in light of their achievements; granting agency to female activists in how they chose to affect change. Efforts to recognise women in the movement have fallen short in breaking down this barrier of traditional leadership. Comprehensive biographies including that by Barbara Ramsby on Ella Baker[[1]](#footnote-0) and Katherine Charron on Septima Clark[[2]](#footnote-1) and biographical anthologies by Olsen[[3]](#footnote-2) and Collier-Thompson[[4]](#footnote-3) were the first steps in acknowledging female participation in the movement. These works provided essential recognition of the work of these female leaders, but did little to contrast their approaches to the work of male leaders. The eventual discussion of the contribution of female activists was inadequate because it operated within the existing framework of male traditional leadership. ‘Men led but women organised’, popularised by Charles Payne[[5]](#footnote-4), became the standard judgement of female activists in the movement. Even attempts like Barnett’s, to expand the definition of leadership still only highlighted three different types of organisational leaders: organization heads-positional leaders, Young Turks-shock troops and revolutionaries-separatists rather than non-traditional leadership types.[[6]](#footnote-5). This essay is instead focused on expanding the definition of leadership and uncovering the value non-traditional forms, in order to garner a full acknowledgement of black women’s contribution to the civil rights movement. In order to form a complete picture and have a complete understanding of female leadership in the civil rights movement, far more than a recognition of their existence is needed. Instead, further examination must be done through a repurposing of masculine forms of leadership.

To comprehend this range of leadership forms, the personal philosophies of female leaders are crucial. Historians have persisted in centering male leadership, only viewing other types as alternatives for those unable to become traditional leaders. In fact, Ella Baker rejected individual oriented organisations and movements entirely, deeming them a ‘handicap for oppressed people’[[7]](#footnote-6). To fully understand the leadership styles of the chosen four leaders, existing oral history, interviews and published memoirs will be used. The Southern Oral History Program, in particular, carried out extensive interviews with Ella Baker and Septima Clark in which they explored their methods, work and how they found sexism within the movement impacted on them. These interviews, along with those of Daisy Bates and Jo Ann Robinson, are vital in uncovering how they aimed to lead and what their goals were. Importantly, these interviews have been available to historians since the 1970s and yet female activists and non-traditional leadership has been so overlooked that these sources have not been utilised. A study of these direct sources allows the development of a new understanding of leadership with which to assess the role of women in the civil rights movement - one not based on the current standard but the methods that they were actually practising.

Chapter I will seek to place in context the experiences and action of female activists in the civil rights movement. Although their gender did not primarily dictate the forms of leadership they chose to take up, it did present a major obstacle to becoming a traditional, charismatic leader. Chapter II will focus on the historiography of the civil rights movement, setting out three distinct eras of scholarship and the failings each has made in inadequately portraying female leadership in the movement. Historians are still working within a male-centric grand narrative. Chapter III will challenge this grand narrative through the use of interviews and the memoirs of the four leaders focused on in this essay. This will help to uncover the numerous influences on their specific leadership style as well as recast the movement away from the traditional grand narrative. The aim is not to paint female leaders as the same as their male counterparts but recognise their atypical form of leadership and its ability to not just lead to advancement but empower leadership in others too.

**2. Gender and the Movement**

*‘I didn't go with any hope or any expectation of being a key figure...But it didn’t bother me. Maybe it should have; I don’t know.’ [[8]](#footnote-7)*

Black female leaders in the civil rights movement were bound by the oppression of both their race and their gender. In order to understand not only their leadership styles but the capacity for their leadership to be overlooked, the context of sexism is crucial. The height of the movement (1954-1968) directly preceded the emergence of second wave feminism. However, it is not enough to associate the grievances of a largely middle-class, white movement to black women as adequate context. Instead, the specific injustice that faced black women in the United States and within the movement itself must be understood. Only then may the connection between female activists and non-traditional leadership be fully grasped. Gender and leadership came hand in hand. This was not the sole cause of non-traditional leadership amongst black women but normative cultural roles, the shadow of church hierarchy and the balancing act of dual oppression all weighed on black woman as they sought to play a role in the movement. Later chapters will explore how the four leaders came to their particular approaches - far more complex than just a byproduct of the sexism they experienced. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that there were narrower options available to even the most prominent and experienced women in the movement and that the traditional form of charismatic leadership was largely closed off to female activists.

‘The only position for women in SNCC is prone’[[9]](#footnote-8) is a Stokely Carmichael quote oft referred to in discussions of the context female civil rights activists were working in. However, far more important than Carmichael’s comment, were the events of the retreat where the comment was made. Carmichael, the next Chairman of SNCC and future populariser of ‘Black Power’, was attending the 1964 SNCC Waveland retreat at a crucial juncture in the civil rights movement. The retreat’s purpose was to set the future course of the organisation and position papers were encouraged from members as a way of facilitating debate. One such paper, “Position of Women in SNCC”, produced anonymously by white staff members Mary E. King and Casey Hayden was one of the first vocalisations of discontent from women about their place in the movement. King had defended Carmichael over his ‘prone’ comment, explaining in her memoir that it was not part of a conference speech as reported, but a joke between friends unwinding after a long day[[10]](#footnote-9). Throwaway jokes were not their concern in the position paper, but that women were being reduced to secretarial work, kept out of leadership positions and forced to defer to men on final decision-making. King and Hayden saw this as the organisation working on the ‘assumption of male superiority’ with the ‘atmosphere, attitudes and actions...tinged with condescension and paternalism’[[11]](#footnote-10). This was not an atmosphere where women would be expected to be able to take up traditional leadership positions.

SNCC was considered the least hierarchical civil rights organisation which is indicative of how ubiquitous patriarchal attitudes were at the time and throughout the movement. Mary King later insisted that the focus in the piece was this disconnect between SNCC’s aim to be decentralized and democratic and its current direction[[12]](#footnote-11). The Waveland retreat was a response to this split in opinion, between supporters of James Foreman who wanted to incorporate greater structure into the organisation and those on the side of Bob Moses who saw this as the antithesis of SNCC’s message. Regardless of King’s larger intention, the specific issues brought up in the paper were consistent with those plaguing the entire movement.

King’s reluctance to stand by the specific women’s issues her paper brought up may be due to the reaction it caused. This was not unexpected, she and Hayden were wading into unchartered territory, anticipating the feminist movement that would follow but without any of framework or vocabulary to express it. They were ‘right about the ridicule’[[13]](#footnote-12) that followed and their anonymity did not last long. Some were not completely dismissive of the issue but still disagreed, including Ruby Doris Smith-Robinson who would become the first female executive secretary of SNCC. Given that King and Hayden were both white women, their concerns about women in the movement were unlikely to have the same considerations about the interaction between race as gender as it would have for black women like Smith-Robinson.

In part, this was due to the apparently insurmountable issue of segregation. Legalised and historic subordination was seen by many as more consequential than sexism and, therefore, believed it should be the primary concern. Sustained cooperation between black men and woman was imperative. This view was drilled into female activists by the men that surrounded them but was, in many ways, inherent too. In their fight for civil rights black men and women were allies in a way white men and women had never been as they did not share a common oppressor. Therefore, it was far harder for black women to justify turning their focus to the women’s movement. We can observe this dedication through the work of black women’s clubs whose work over time began to diverge from women’s issues to those of the civil rights movement. Mary Church Terrell, the first President of the National Association of Colored Women Clubs (NACWC) operated under the principle that ‘a race could rise no higher than its women’[[14]](#footnote-13). Mary McLeod Bethune continued the NACWC with this principle through the 1930s and 40s along with the new National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). However, by the time Dorothy Height took over the NCNW in 1957 it had become ‘that women could rise no higher than the race’[[15]](#footnote-14). Height’s attempts to align the group’s work with women with the objectives of the civil rights movement, didn’t connect with its supporters. Soon their programs that supported voter registration and ending hunger had to be expanded following their success. The NCNW had been set up ‘as a vehicle to integrate black women into the nation’s job structure and consciousness’ but found that ‘the Civil Rights movement necessitated an organization that focused primarily on race matters’[[16]](#footnote-15). While there were conscious attempts to prevent black women from engaging with issues of gender discrimination, there was also an unconscious shift in priorities that many did not feel able to push back against. Fighting Jim Crow was simply all-encompassing and even groups set up to promote the rights of women found their focus turning towards civil rights work.

Black women were also faced with the consideration that the civil rights movement had become a vehicle through which black men were finally able to assert their masculinity. In many ways the systems of slavery and segregation were designed to affirm black male inferiority - historically powerless in the face of the exploitation of their wives and children and prevented from contributing economically to their families. The rhetoric of the civil rights movement developed into the notion of boys becoming men. Lewis goes as far as to suggest that this must completely alter our comprehension of sex-role relationships when it comes to African-American men and women as the ‘systematic exclusion of black men from the public sphere’[[17]](#footnote-16) meant they shared equal exclusion from positions of authority[[18]](#footnote-17). Instead, it would appear more useful to understand the civil rights movement as the first instance whereby this gap was able to grow between black men and women. Civil rights organisations became mock societies in which black men could engage in the public sphere as leaders, while women played leadership roles outside of the public eye or essential supporting roles. For a considerable number of black women, allowing this process was almost a duty as they supported their men in their reclamation of masculinity from white power structures, even if it reduced them to wife or mother. In 1961, Diane Nash, a leading figure in the Nashville sit-in movement and founding member of SNCC, decided she would rather go to jail pregnant than pay her fine. The official SCLC press release relegated her to ‘a former beauty queen of Chicago and now wife of SCLC’s Field Secretary in Mississippi’[[19]](#footnote-18). This was not an unusual demotion, in the same press release the other women at the news conference are referred to as ‘Mrs Martin Luther King Jr, Mrs James Farmer and Mrs Fred Shuttlesworth’. Coretta Scott King was a NAACP activist long before she met Dr King and was active in the movement throughout their marriage with hundreds of speaking engagements, while Lula Peterson Farmer was for a time the national treasurer of CORE[[20]](#footnote-19). Still, publically, their contribution to the movement was framed only in terms of their husbands.

This tentative balancing act between the elevation of the black man and the emancipation of the black female resulted in massive controversy following Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Moynihan’s 1965 report - ‘The Negro Family: The Case For National Action’[[21]](#footnote-20). Moynihan, attempting to understand the dual existence of rising black employment and welfare dependency, placed the ‘blame’ on the deterioration of African American families. He focused on the perceived matriarchy in which ‘a fundamental fact of Negro American family life is the often reversed roles of husband and wife’ in which ‘Negro husbands have unusually low power.’[[22]](#footnote-21) Even the suggestion of male weakness was met with enough uproar from black men that the June report had been renounced by the Johnson administration by November. The reaction showed an unequivocal wariness among the black community about the perception of black male strength. It was in this environment, wherein there was a purposeful need for black men to appear as dominant whether that be in the home or in the movement, that black female activists were attempting to be recognised as leaders.

Although clear traditional lines had begun to be drawn between black men and women, there were still evident differences between the subjugation black and white women were experiencing. Despite many of the seeds of the women’s movement being planted by the civil rights movement[[23]](#footnote-22), the feminist struggle that emerged was distinctly white. Betty Friedan’s famed ‘*The feminine mystique*’[[24]](#footnote-23), credited for sparking second wave feminism, was focused on the experiences of her fellow Smith College classmates, unfulfilled as housewives. This was an alien concept to the majority of black women in America. Primarily, they had long provided essential economic contributions to their families and so knew little about the experiences of housewives. The alignment of the two in ‘common oppression’ led to La Rue accusing white feminist groups of minimizing the black women’s experience in an attempt to gain ‘revolutionary salt’ from association with the civil rights movement[[25]](#footnote-24). This is based on her belief that ‘blacks are oppressed...white women are only suppressed’[[26]](#footnote-25). NOW Vice President Lucy Komisar’s attempt to relate the organisation to blacks through a piece in the Civil Rights Digest[[27]](#footnote-26) missed this exact point as she failed to touch on any black-specific issues. Instead this disparity could be rectified by viewing the issue as a system of ‘Jane Crow’ as activist Pauli Murray suggested in 1965.[[28]](#footnote-27) Alongside the discrimination faced as a result of Jim Crow, Murray recognised that black women were ‘a minority within a minority, with all the built-in disadvantages that such status entailed’[[29]](#footnote-28). The issue was not black women’s lack of understanding of sex discrimination in their own lives, but that the kind they experienced was far different from being generally espoused by the early years of second wave feminism.

Ultimately, the debate between gender and the movement is far larger than whether or not it existed. Without a doubt, women were limited in their ability to lead from the front, assert themselves in organisational hierarchy or be taken seriously by their male peers. While experiencing this, they were also faced with the dilemma of ignoring this discrimination in order to keep focus on combating segregation. Although our four leaders were able to achieve significant outcomes and maintain non-traditional leadership roles, the limitations of gender on female leadership and on female activists in general is crucial to understand their experience.

**3. Civil Rights Historiography**

*‘If you talk to the women who were there, you’ll hear another story.’[[30]](#footnote-29)*

The limitations placed on the recognition of female leadership were affected by contemporaneous sexism but also due to the direction of civil rights historiography. Despite a rich historical tradition that has taken on ambitious breadth in recent years, scholarship of the civil rights movement has largely been silent on the role of female activists and leaders. The quest for the roots of the movement looked into Reconstruction and slavery, unions have been considered, historians even went deep into study of the rural South to understand the local movement but still managed to overlook women. Even with the general trend moving from a national outlook to one of grassroots activism which women were at the heart of, they still were not recognised. Lawson’s evaluation of civil rights historiography found three generations of study - that of a top-down national phenomenon, a move to local communities in the 1970s and 1980s and a recent, interactive attempt to connect the local with the national.[[31]](#footnote-30) This distinction is useful in understanding the particular reasoning behind the invisibility of women at each stage.

The focus of the original study of the movement being on national organisations and leaders left it with a narrow scope. Only those engaging in traditional, charismatic leadership were recognised. Correcting this by bringing in local narratives, resulted not in an uncovering of the role of women but became an opportunity for local male leaders to step out from the shadow of their brethren. When black women were finally considered in the history a decades enduring grand narrative had already been constructed. They were remembered as the ‘backbone’ of the movement, not as consequential actors. They did not fit into the narrative of great leaders and great organisations spun by historians so were slotted in as supporting figures. Thus, it is important to look closely at the oral history that was produced and the corrective nature of female activists’ memoirs in order to reconstruct this narrative, especially when it comes to leadership. Understanding the causes of female invisibility in civil rights historiography underscores the emphasis placed on a singular traditional leadership in current scholarship.   
  
 As is not uncommon in history, the initial assessment of the civil rights movement was ‘a sanitized pantheon of Great Men’[[32]](#footnote-31). An elitist approach saw credit placed on pre-eminent leaders and the organisations they led. Even the narrative of these men was sanitised, such as Martin Luther King Jr’s (MLK) evolving radicalism in the latter half of the 1960s being overlooked to place the movement firmly in contrast with ‘Black Power’[[33]](#footnote-32). Prevailing historical approaches built on contemporaneous media coverage and the availability of elite resources, to form this first age of civil rights narrative.

Activists have been largely dismissive of the ability of the contemporary press to accurately report on aspects of the movement that fell outside of this story. SNCC, although a formal organisation, was set up in distinct contrast to traditional groups. Mary King, in a letter to Chairman John Lewis, dismissed the American press as being ‘set up to deal with incidents, events and leader figures’ in a way that ‘has managed to distort our message all along’[[34]](#footnote-33). A result of this distrust in the press’ ability was the setting up of independent papers. One such paper was the ‘The Southern Patriot’ - run by Anne and Carl Braden for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Anne Braden’s notes reflect her irritation at the work of other reporters. In one instance, during attendance at the send off of volunteers to Mississippi for the 1964 Freedom Summer, she noted that ‘some of the newspapers in this area write articles that made the whole thing seem tinged with the atmosphere of a semi-lark by a group of semi-beatniks’. This, she stated, ’could not be more inaccurate’.[[35]](#footnote-34) The first wave of civil rights scholarship was largely based on this potentially inaccurate reporting along with the majority of resources coming from elite sources like national organisations or prominent leaders.

The second stage of civil rights historiography saw a move in focus to local movements though this still disregarded female leaders. Previously, with the focus on national leaders and organisations, the narrative was that local groups were all working off directives from national headquarters. In part this was compounded by the appearance of national figures like MLK at a multitude of historic events. However, attributing the successes in Selma, Montgomery or Birmingham to him was overlooking the extensive groundwork put in by local activists. The scholarship of the 1970s and 80s attempted to focus in on the local nature of these movements. This is acknowledged in reviews of the historiography by Rogers[[36]](#footnote-35) and Fairclough[[37]](#footnote-36) without a suggestion of further study into the role of women being necessary. These historiographical reviews, along with Lawson, are the three major reviews of this period and, yet, contain only two sentences in total about how women have been studied or ought to be studied in the future. Although study of women’s participation in the movement since has largely been concerned with the notion that ‘men led, but women organised’[[38]](#footnote-37); examination of local organising still largely did not include female participation. While this essay aims to reframe women’s organising prowess as a credible form of leadership, Payne’s look at the ‘overparticipation of women’ also indicates the extensive role of women outside of leadership positions.[[39]](#footnote-38) Women canvassed, took part in higher numbers in demonstrations and meetings, housed and fed civil rights workers. Payne estimates that women were up to four times more likely to participate than men in the movement[[40]](#footnote-39). This suggests that there is very little reason for the second wave of civil rights scholarship, focused in the local environments where black women thrived, to not include them.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott is an illustrative example to grasp how female activists were overlooked in studies of local movements. Initially the story of Montgomery was told as an origin story of MLK’s ascent to the pinnacle of the movement, centered on the coalition of ministers that formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) with MLK as their leader. The second generation of historians sought to understand the finer details of the boycott including the women considered as the face of the boycott before Parks. Local leaders were approached by historians in order to best understand this event - one being E.D. Nixon, President of the local chapter of the NAACP. Nixon’s interview with Howard Raines informs us far more about the limitations of oral history than it does the events of the bus boycott. Nixon did play a critical role in the boycott from being the one to bail Ms Parks out of jail, to forcing the ministers to vocally support the boycott. However he takes full credit for the idea of a boycott - explaining that it was something he came up with after Parks was arrested when him and his wife ‘spent a couple of hours discussing the thing’[[41]](#footnote-40). Nixon is acutely aware of the narrative that has emerged around the boycott, wherein ministers like Ralph Abernathy and MLK found national fame and local leaders were forgotten. ‘I’m proud that I was part of it, even though...so many people got famous out of it and I was still left here’[[42]](#footnote-41) he recognised. For this reason, celebrating Robinson’s contribution would only create another leader to share credit with. We can prefer Robinson’s account because her claim to introducing the idea of a bus boycott is supported by a letter sent to the Mayor of Montgomery a full eighteen months before the boycott[[43]](#footnote-42), and also because we know the announcement Nixon claims to have sent out was written and sent by Jo Ann Robinson[[44]](#footnote-43). This underlines the importance of approaching information found through existing oral history with caution because of its inherent subjectivity.

Nixon is not alone in engineering oral history narratives to centre himself and his own contribution. Oral history can provide essential links between the individuals and collective experiences. But what Rogers describes as ‘power narratives’[[45]](#footnote-44) can develop as activists are far more likely to have vivid memories of dramatic events and are likely to heighten their own role. Many local leaders had not previously had the chance to tell their stories, and so there is a tendency for them to slip into a romanticisation of events.[[46]](#footnote-45) This is potentially due to the ability of the interview process to return activists to the height of the struggle, allowing them to re-identify with their own social transformation.[[47]](#footnote-46) The danger this poses to historians, which can be seen in this second generation of civil rights writing, is that the attempt to rewrite the grand narrative for one group (local male leaders) by engaging with them directly, allows for the further invisibility of another group (female activists).

It was not until the third generation of civil rights scholarship that there was a conscious effort to include female activists in the historiography. We can see this shift in Lawson’s 2003 book, ‘Civil Rights Crossroads’[[48]](#footnote-47) which included a reissue of his 1991 paper on civil rights historiography[[49]](#footnote-48). The updated article suggests that ‘white and black women have continued to reap a great deal of attention in the civil rights literature of the past decade’[[50]](#footnote-49) which makes a notable shift from 1991 when it contained neither discussion of existing studies into female activists or suggested that it should be an area pursued by future studies. The book also contains a chapter on ‘Women, Civil Rights and Black Liberation’[[51]](#footnote-50) as Lawson makes his own contribution to this now thriving area.

However, this third generation was not starting afresh. They were working against the backdrop of a long affirmed grand narrative of the movement. As easy as it had been to write women out, it was far harder to reintroduce them. Payne even suggests that ‘it may be that the top-down, normative conception of the movement is so deeply ingrained in popular culture, so constantly reinforced and so consistent with our national vanities, that new scholarship will be unable to dent it.’[[52]](#footnote-51) As long as attempts were only being made to insert female activists and leaders into the existing framework, rather than creating one anew, it was not possible for their contribution to be fully realised.

Returning to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, this impact of decades of incomplete historiography emerged when Jo Ann Robinson was finally allowed to tell her own version of events. In her interview for ‘Eyes on the Prize’, Jo Ann Robinson seemed to find the humour in being asked erroneous questions about a boycott she was at the very centre of. ‘Did you believe there was going to be a boycott?’ comes the very first question, the knowing grins begin. ‘I was part of it, I *knew* there was going to be a boycott’ she corrects, not for the last time. The rest of the interview - a systematic fact-check of the long-held narrative - exemplifies much of the catalogue of female oral history[[53]](#footnote-52). ‘But when you look back in history it looks like the boycott was a spontaneous act provoked by the arrest of Rosa Parks?’ the interviewer enquired. The interviewer could only have posed this question due to the failure to recognise Jo Ann Robinson’s role. That would be to ignore the three years of planning for the boycott that she led as President of the Women’s Political Council, the 35,000 leaflets she printed through the night at Alabama State College or how these leaflets found their way across the city - disseminated through every school and college by representatives she already had lined up. Without acknowledging the groundwork over three years instigated by Jo Ann Robinson we would be left with only a threadbare account. This interview directly positions the grand narrative against female leadership and exposes how much of what had been told before about the movement had glossed over the crucial work of female activists at the organising level. No matter the ability of MLK to inspire the masses, the boycott simply would not have been able to start on December 5th 1955 without the work of the Women’s Political Council and its President, Jo Ann Robinson, who led the way.

Although female involvement in the civil rights has begun to be recognised by histories of the movement, there is still a tendency to exclude them from discussions of leadership. John White’s 2nd edition of ‘Black Leadership in America’ made a point to highlight that this new edition would ‘pay particular attention to the role of black women in the civil rights’[[54]](#footnote-53) but only added one new chapter, dedicated to Jesse Jackson. Thus, all chapters of the book remain focused on black male leaders with the inclusion of women solely through their grassroots work. The memoirs of female civil rights activists are certainly invaluable sources, especially given the scarcity of other resources about them. While Baker never wrote a memoir, Clark, Robinson and Bates all produced them as valuable tools for asserting a version containing their contribution.

Historians working on the basis of existing narratives continue the deficiencies in current historiography. Memoirs are therefore a vital source in correcting these omissions. Clark and Bates both produced memoirs in 1962 in the midst of the struggle[[55]](#footnote-54)[[56]](#footnote-55). Bates was writing only five years after the end of the crisis at Little Rock in which she had organised the nine students attempting to integrate Central High School, ensuring their protection and providing constant support. The immediate suggestion of a memoir written so soon after its events is that it will provide as accurate a retelling as possible. Although there are some moments where Bates admit that ‘to this day I cannot remember’, the account is generally one of precision and breadth. ‘*The long shadow of Little Rock’* is predominantly informative in what it reveals about the interactions between the children and Bates away from the school. We find how Bates navigated her relationship with the press to best protect the nine children, of her anguish at allowing Elizabeth Eckford to approach Central High School alone that first day and her relationship with their parents. These key details, only possible through the detailed study of a memoir, are crucial but have largely been lacking in a historiography that at best alludes to female involvement.

It is notable that Septima Clark chose to write another memoir in 1987.[[57]](#footnote-56) Cynthia Stokes Brown, the editor, approached Clark about writing another after reading *‘Echo in my soul’* and finding herself wanting to know more. Brown found it incomplete as it ended in 1962, just as the SCLC took over her Citizenship School program and she became the first woman to receive a position on the SCLC board. Her first memoir was also incomplete in the sense that it did not reflect the viewpoints she developed after becoming involved with NOW later in her life. The clear addition to her second memoir is the chapter entitled ‘The Role of Women’, the subject of which was not touched on at all in the first book. As one of the most senior and experienced women in the movement, Clark had not been fearful before about speaking out against men in leadership positions. In interviews in the 1970s she would recall how the Reverend Ralph Abernathy constantly asked Martin Luther King Jr ‘why is Septima on the Executive Board?’ as ‘it was hard for him to see a woman on that executive body’[[58]](#footnote-57). However, she was certainly working within the boundaries allowed to black woman to criticise their fellow men - always placing the race struggle over any concerns she may have had linked to gender. *‘Ready from Within’* does not have any of these limitations, a result of distance from the movement and testament to changing social attitudes. She accuses the SCLC as not having ‘any faith in women, none whatsoever’, blames this on the structures of the black church, and even directly challenges Dr King’s attitudes as “he didn't think much of women either’. In particular she reveals a new anecdote of being prevented by Dr King from speaking to the American Friends Service Committee while they were in London on their way to the Nobel Prize ceremony.[[59]](#footnote-58) Unreservedly and knowing that ‘until recently black women have just been ignored in history books’, Clark provides a complete account of a black female activist in the movement.

Nonetheless, before her association with NOW and involvement in the women’s movement, it must be questioned whether she was being forced into conclusions on gender in previous interviews. Although she brought up the Abernathy incident in more than one interview, with the Southern Oral History Program and with ‘Documenting the American South’, it is also an issue she is pressed on in both interviews. Much of the oral history conducted in the decades after the movement were doing so at the height of second wave feminism. In Clark’s case it often seemed that she needed to be pushed into thinking about gender in the movement. She was pushed for examples of ways her work and the work of other women was not valued at the SCLC, to praise female activists specifically and asked whether her experience was similar to that of Ella Baker’s. This did not mean that Clark did not realise that she was operating in a male-dominated environment but it is important to recognise that there are at least two actors in every interview and that the questions sometimes lend themselves to certain narratives[[60]](#footnote-59).

Jo Ann Robinson chose to write her first and only memoir later in life, knowingly titled *‘The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It’*[[61]](#footnote-60). However, Robinson’s memoir does not seek to claim personal glory but ensures that the Montgomery struggle is known as one where ‘all people participated’[[62]](#footnote-61). She dedicated the book to ‘the people’[[63]](#footnote-62). In fact, Nasstrom suggested that, as a source, autobiographies and memoirs tend towards being partial and self-affirming over accurate”[[64]](#footnote-63). This view is directly challenged by the many female activists that instead used the opportunity to give a voice to everyone they worked with. This is indicative of their leadership style, empowering leadership and action in others rather than it being centered around them. Although there can be a tendency for the autobiographical form to be biased towards personal achievement, in giving reasons for writing her memoir, Robinson wrote that she wanted ‘to relate the verifiable truth’. Female activists have used memoirs to include themselves in the history, not due to pride but for historical accuracy. Therefore, the form is invaluable in being able to grant female activists the agency and autonomy to produce their own stories, essential in rewriting the existing grand narrative of the civil rights movement for women.

To date, the historiography that has attempted to include female activism has not sought to create a new framework to address the movement. The standard of leadership has remained the form practiced by Martin Luther King Jr, Ralph Abernathy or James Forman, that of the traditional charismatic leader. It is not possible to recognise the role of women in the civil rights movement if the attempt being made is trying to position them as this kind of leader. Indeed, it is also incorrect to portray the restriction on their ability to lead organisations as also limiting their influence as leaders. In fact, Ella Baker rejected individual oriented organisations and movements entirely deeming them a ‘handicap for oppressed people’[[65]](#footnote-64). Had she not been working with gender limitations, we still would not have seen her emerge as a traditional leader. Future study must seek to understand and commend female leadership in its own right, not as a comparison to well-known male leaders.

**4. Redefining Leadership**

*The most important thing is to develop people to the point that they don’t need the strong, savior-type leader.’[[66]](#footnote-65)*

Breaking out of the existing framework of civil rights historiography, broadening our definition beyond traditional, charismatic leadership and doing so through an understanding of the specific philosophies of female leaders in their own words, is the only way to fully comprehend the role of female leadership in the civil rights movement. The sexism, of wider society and within the movement itself, narrowed the potential influence of female activists, largely closing off recognisable forms of leadership. Nonetheless, through examination of the journeys these leaders took and how they spoke about their ideologies, it can be found that they chose non-traditional forms often regardless of what society dictated they should do. It shouldn’t be presumed that taking up non-traditional forms of leadership was caused by it being the path of least resistance. Charismatic leadership is only placed on the highest pedestal if we assess leadership success on its criteria. By not assuming that they were driven by personal ideologies or belief, historians have failed to give them full historical agency. They led with intention. But if this intention was never to lead marches, gain media attention or meet with government heads then they should not be marked against this criteria. Each of the four woman focused on in this essay had their own distinct leadership ideology. Through examining what these each were, and to what extent they were able to reach their aims, a far more complete understanding of female leadership in the movement can be achieved.

Foremostly, it is necessary to develop what is understood by ‘traditional charismatic leadership’. Charismatic authority and traditional authority were leadership concepts introduced by the sociologist Max Weber as two of three ideal forms of leadership.[[67]](#footnote-66) The third kind, legal authority, was unavailable to black leaders given their then exclusion from the public sphere and protection from the law. Charismatic leaders require charisma strong enough to inspire the trust of their people as they believe in the extraordinary abilities of said individual. Charismatic leadership was displayed in abundance by male leaders like Dr King, Malcolm X and John Lewis. Female leaders like Ella Baker can also be said to have had to the overwhelming trust of the people but were not given the opportunity to inspire more than those they came into direct contact with, given their exclusion from popular media. Traditional authority was arguably also unavailable to female activists given its need to be based in an established tradition of hierarchy.

When it came to black leadership in the movement, it must also be noted how the theory of traditional charismatic leadership aligned with the position male pastors already held in the black church. Weber largely believes that charismatic leadership develops outside of established organisations[[68]](#footnote-67) but the African-American experience required the security of black institutions like the black church in order to form credible opposition to the white supremacist state. Pastors were one of the only professions that had economic autonomy and so could risk being outspoken in the movement without fear of economic reprisal. Women in traditionally female jobs such as teaching did not have this economic security. Both Jo Ann Robinson and Septima Clark were fired from the teaching profession for their involvement with the civil rights movement. This was one of the reasons Jo Ann Robinson was forced to play a less vocal role during the bus boycott - charismatic leadership relied on the ability to be in the limelight which was not possible for many black men and even fewer black women. Unsurprisingly, ‘male pastors who participated actively in the movement exhibited the paternalistic, self-confident style of leadership that they were familiar with in running their ministries’[[69]](#footnote-68). Secular leaders did exist, A Philip Randolph included, but the independent position that black ministers were in lent itself to them playing a prominent role in the movement. This was a form of traditional, charismatic leadership mostly unavailable to black women.

Ultimately, the limitations in a civil rights history that fails to recognise leadership outside of traditional, charismatic forms is the same limitation to Weber’s theory. There is no cause given as to how and why charismatic movements emerge and how they are mobilised. The non-traditional leadership of our four activists, and many more like them, fill in this theoretical gap. The concept of ‘bridge leadership’ has been developed by Robnett to aid this.[[70]](#footnote-69) Robnett’s bridge leaders ‘were the stepping stones necessary for potential constituents and adherents to cross formidable barriers between their personal lives and the political life of civil rights movement organizations’[[71]](#footnote-70). In addition to the ability to bring together the local and national movements, the desire to do so through the empowerment of communities and individuals can also be seen as a distinguishing feature of female leadership. Often unable to access formal leadership, the designation of bridge leaders can be seen as the highest status of leadership available to women. However, it must also be considered to potentially be the highest form desired by female activists as they deliberately chose a form of leadership that kept close ties with local communities and the people within them.

Given her position at the centre of most of the major civil rights organisations, a judgment of Ella Baker’s career without an understanding of her personal aims would assume it had been hindered by her being a woman. She grew the New York NAACP branch into one of the largest affiliates in the country, single-handedly created the foundations of the SCLC and then guided the independent formation of SNCC. Not once did she ever hold a formal executive position. Instead, a pattern emerged of her being expected to take the responsibility of a traditional leader, without any of the credit. More than once these responsibilities were placed on her without her having a say. ‘I quit to a large extent because I wasn’t ever asked if I wanted to be Director of Branches’[[72]](#footnote-71) she said of her time at the NAACP while the SCLC’s ‘commiting’ her to Atlanta to set up their offices was ‘one of the few times in [her] life that [she] accepted being used by people’[[73]](#footnote-72). Wyatt Tee Walker was one of the ministers appointed to the role of executive director. The letter sent out stated that he was hired because ‘the recent developments with the student sit downs offers the SCLC a unique opportunity for leadership in the field of mass nonviolent direct action and that ‘people were looking to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for this type of leadership’[[74]](#footnote-73). Ella Baker was the one to bring the sit-ins to the attention of the SCLC, the one to organise the 1960 conference that brought the different student groups together and the one who led them to form SNCC. This exemplifies her contribution to civil rights organisations, she was the leader they needed, the leader they had, but not the leader they recognised.

Nonetheless, viewing her lack of official positions as limiting her leadership would be assuming that she wanted to lead in that way. In fact, Ella Baker was explicit throughout her life that she ‘did not have the kind of awe for the charismatic role that they had gained’[[75]](#footnote-74). Instead she states that she has ‘always thought what is needed is the development of people who are interested not in being leaders as much as in developing leadership among other people’[[76]](#footnote-75). Baker was explicit that her ‘first consideration is to try to develop leadership out of the group and to spread the leadership roles so that you develop’[[77]](#footnote-76). Her focus was always how she could improve the abilities of those around her, frustrated when these kind of leaders started to believe that ‘he is the movement...they exhaust themselves and their time, and they don’t do the work of actually organizing people’[[78]](#footnote-77). She was known to be critical of the traditional leadership class, not because she wanted to become part of it, but because she believed they were forgetting the responsibilities of leadership that actually were important.

With SNCC, she found herself in an organisation that exemplified her ideal model, challenging the rigid hierarchy of civil rights organisations and operating through a loose structure that encouraged innovation with its flexibility. Importantly, this emerged only through her guidance, not instruction. Fundamental to her leadership approach was her belief in empowering others to find leadership in themselves and that ‘they had the right to direct their own affairs and even make their own mistakes’[[79]](#footnote-78). She understood the students’ need to make an organisation for themselves, declining their offer of the position of executive director. When they were considering their direction, she organised a meeting for them with Walter White. However, after hearing their pitch ‘he proceeded to talk about what he was planning to do, so he did not speak to their needs at all...he had in mind a program that would focus Walter’[[80]](#footnote-79). Despite being part of the movement for over two decades, Baker’s form of leadership lent itself to understanding the needs of everyone. In the end the students made the decision not to align themselves with White’s NAACP or the SCLC or CORE. Beyond her style being radical in itself, she also understood how the movement was changing and the need to move just as fast - that was the basis behind bringing the sit-in movements together in the first place. The students did not need to be told what to do, they needed to be empowered to find out for themselves.

This kind of ‘participatory democracy’ is not often attributed Baker but to the New Left and student groups like the Students for a Democratic Society. The SDS published ‘The Port Huron Statement in 1962’, calling for new democratic principles based on empowering individuals[[81]](#footnote-80). These were ideals Baker had already adopted through her 25 year career as an activist. Indeed, the primary author of the SDS statement, Tom Hayden, was married to prominent SNCC member Casey Hayden. When Baker recalled that ‘an important part of SNCC’s impact has been on its individual members who later continue the work in other ways, through other groups’ she was likely referring in part to the white members who turned to the SDS when they were asked to leave SNCC in 1966. There they continued to question traditional leadership, Baker and SNCC had proved alternative leadership forms existed.

The leadership style followed by Septima Clark was also based on inspiring and advancing the work of others over personal ambition. Although Clark did not follow such an explicit ideology as Baker’s ‘group-centered leadership’, her contribution remained focused on educating the masses throughout her years of activism. After decades of experience as an educator, alongside work with her local NAACP chapter in Charleston, she was hired by Myles Horton of the Highlander Folk School as the full-time director of workshops. Drawing from work she had done combatting adult literacy on John’s Island when she first started teaching, she revitalised the program at Highlander. Recounting her success in an interview in 1964, she explains that eight years before they had ‘started with one teacher, fourteen students and a hundred dollars’ to now ‘having a program that has trained 1595 teachers...in eleven southern states with around 29,000 students registered to vote’[[82]](#footnote-81). States had introduced such stringent voter registration laws because they recognised that the formation of black voting blocs was a significant threat to existing power structures. Clark was the centre of the effort to counter this, alike to Baker in her emphasis on self-improvement above all else.

Clark often drew distinctions between them in interviews, viewing Baker’s style as ‘hostile’[[83]](#footnote-82) and yet she was similarly driven by a want to inspire potential in others. This was recognised by the SCLC who moved to incorporate her citizenship education program into their organisation after Highlander was forced to close over accusations of communist sympathies. Eugene Walker questioned whether ‘the Highlander Folk School made any conditions upon transferring this money, or the agent which granted this money?’. Clark’s response is indicative of how important she was to the program. The only condition Highlander donors had in moving their donations to the SCLC was that ‘it said I was to be hired in the program.’[[84]](#footnote-83) Here she is talking about the Marshall Field Foundation that gave Highlander $250,000. The other donor she mentions, the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation, also produced a ‘Memorandum on Citizen Program’ in which it detailed that ‘significant to the continuity of the program developed by the SCLC was the retention of Highlander’s Director of Education, Septima Clark’[[85]](#footnote-84). With fundraising crucial to the success of civil rights organisations, Clark being singled out by donors even when not occupying a traditional position of leadership, suggests the effectiveness of her different form of leadership. Her ability to instill self-improvement and education in others was deemed crucial and Clark knew this because she had not always been successful. When she was a teacher and volunteering with the NAACP, a law was passed that made it illegal for city employees to be members of civil rights organisations. Her effort to bring together black teachers, organise a response and empower them to take action was not successful and in her memoir she still ‘considered that one of the biggest failures of my life’[[86]](#footnote-85). It was here she realised the failure was not due to her approach but because she ‘tried to push them into something that they weren’t ready for’[[87]](#footnote-86). Her later success was based on this understanding, that a leader cannot force a people into something that they had not been prepared for. She went on to prepare, train and educate more people than anyone else in the movement because she understood the value of this form of leadership.

Preparation is integral to the organizing tradition of which Jo Ann Robinson’s leadership style is aligned with. Recognising organisers as having leadership roles is especially important given the recent move by historians, like Charles Payne, to include women in the movement by asserting that ‘men led, but women organised’[[88]](#footnote-87). Female grassroots organising was an essential contribution to the civil rights movement whether it was through attending meetings, housing workers or mobilising their social networks. However, the idea that you could only be an organizer or be a leader is a product of a limited view of leadership. In looking at this distinction, Sacks found a female activist who described how ‘women created the organization made people a part of it, as well as doing the everyday work upon which most things depended, while men made public announcements’[[89]](#footnote-88). Robinson may not have led the Montgomery Bus Boycott with a microphone but the three years of organising she carried out ensured the coordination and sustained participation of Montgomery’s black population. It was her leadership that enabled the successful desegregation of the city’s transportation because she was able to prove, through dedicated organising, the collective power of African-Americans.

Of the four women central to this thesis, Daisy Bates was nearest to our traditional conception of a leader. She was President of the NAACP State Conference of Branches in Arkansas and so was the natural choice to lead desegregation efforts in Little Rock public schools. What is striking is how she went beyond what was expected of such leaders, largely in her intense dedication to the wellbeing of the students. Indeed, Elizabeth Jacoway in interviewing her for the Southern Oral History Program expresses such surprise.. ‘Where did you get that idea? That is the greatest...I mean, that sounds like a professional psychologist came up with that idea and you just thought it up all on your own’[[90]](#footnote-89) she expressed after Bates described how she brought the children into her home every evening after school and gave them time to recover from their day. Often, the role of women has been diminished by referring to them as the ‘mother’ or ‘grandmother’ of the movement but this need not always be a dismissive title. Especially as Bates elevated her traditional position by finding herself ‘emotionally involved with the kids’[[91]](#footnote-90). After Elizabeth Eckford was accidentally made to face the mob outside Central High School by herself, Bates was the only person she was able to speak to. She often spent the night at Bates’ house to shield her own parents from her nightmares[[92]](#footnote-91). When Gloria Karlmark’s parents tried to convince her not to go to school when troops were sent to Little Rock, her father was convinced to allow her, teling Bates that ‘she’s yours...you seem to have more influence over her than I have’[[93]](#footnote-92).

Indeed, Bates’ leadership philosophy can be understood through her ability to use emotion productively. She is forthcoming in linking her abilities as an activist to the fact that she has ‘been angry all [her] life’, after finding out her biological mother was killed by a group of white men and her parents were actually close family friends who had taken her in. A turning point in her memoir is her father’s passing when he tells her that ‘if you hate, make it count for something’[[94]](#footnote-93). This is not advice that would fit with the tradition of nonviolence in the movement but it does fit with Bates’ legacy and is something she passed down to her nine students. Her memoir is crucial in plotting this development of leadership style, premised on far more than what type of leader she was allowed to be as a woman. Although the NAACP attempted to divert her attention from the day to day work to fundraising on behalf of the Little Rock Nine, as would be expected by traditional, charismatic leaders in her position, she refused as she could not imagine ‘being away that long with things the way they are’[[95]](#footnote-94). Despite Bates being positionally the closest to a traditional leader, she did not take a public charismatic role, instead focusing her attention on her nine children. For that reason, she has also been largely left out of the history of the Little Rock Nine. Nonetheless, without her compassionate leadership, in which her sole focus was on bettering the situation of others, Central High School would never have been desegregated as quickly nor would it have inspired similar desegregation nationwide.

Non-traditional leadership is a broad term that aims to acknowledge the multitude of ways by which civil rights activists, many of them female, empowered the movement. They educated and organised and mentored and inspired and were successful in doing so. In part this was due to traditional leadership paths being closed off, but more importantly it was because of their own personal philosophies of leadership. In exploring the role gender had in the movement, the entire grand narrative must be challenged.

**5. Conclusion**

For female activists, navigating the civil rights movement was difficult, leading it was near impossible. They had to balance their support for the elevation of their race with the restraints this imposed on their gender. Neither minister nor man, experienced and capable activists found themselves limited in their ability to guide the future of their people. Traditional leadership was out of reach and the work of organising and teaching was not valued in the same way. Regardless, black female activists did that work. They led as unofficial executive directors of some of the most famous civil rights organisations, they created an entire generation of teachers to challenge segregated voting laws, they spent years organising boycotts that would be recognised as a moment of spontaneous bravery and they got the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army called in to protect their nine students.

Despite this, history is only now telling their stories. What was not placed immediately in front of a camera or splashed across headlines has not been counted. The historiography of the civil rights movement has crossed centuries, visited remote Southern towns and forged links with international movements around the world but its black women were still overlooked. After decades of exclusion, both in national studies and those of local movements, the resulting narrative can be seen as systematically ostracising female activists. When we look at who is producing civil rights history, we may be less surprised at its omission of black women. White men like Branch, Fairclough and Sitkoff dominated early work. Following on from this, correctives have largely been done by black men like Hampton, Carson or Payne and white women like Robnett, asstrom or Barnett. In part this is due to the inaccessibility of the profession[[96]](#footnote-95), as recognised by the emergence of black feminist studies in the 1970s. Hull, Bell-Scott and Smith put together the first anthology in aid of black women’s studies after fears that black women’s lives were being approached by historians in a traditional, male-identified way[[97]](#footnote-96). ‘We cannot change our lives by teaching solely about exceptions to the ravages of white-male oppression’ they stated.[[98]](#footnote-97) When black women have written about their own history there is a striking contrast in how they choose to portray themselves. Normatively, women’s history has either been through attempts to raise women up as heroes or as an assertion of their victimhood. Black female writers like Tera Hunter writing about black women’s lives after the civil war or Evelyn Higginbotham on black women in the baptist church at the turn of the 20th century have instead been able to study them simply for the women that they were, without inserting any greater framework. This is crucial in looking at female activists in the civil rights movement and must be considered in future studies - women in the movement were not faced with only a binary choice: to compete with male leadership or to resign themselves to lesser roles. Far more complexities existed, including in what is meant by leadership and the intricacies of black women’s place in American society. The approaches taken by these women were based on far more nuanced thinking and radically different lived experience.

The 1970s also saw the emergence of black feminist organisations. Along with the introduction of black feminist studies, this was the clearest indicator of the exclusion black women felt from both the civil rights and women’s movement as they formed their own organisations to meet their specific needs. The National Black Feminist Organization was founded in 1973, the first meeting being held in the New York branch of NOW and leading with discussion on black women’s relationship to the feminist movement.[[99]](#footnote-98) The NBFO’s first statement of purpose stated that ‘because we live in a patriarchy, we have allowed a premium to be put on black male suffering’ despite the fact that black women ‘suffered cruelly in this society from living the phenomenon of being black and female, in a country that is both racist and sexist’.[[100]](#footnote-99) This explicit focus on black women was unlike what they had largely experienced from either the women's movement or the civil rights movement. Part of the NBFO’s initial work was creating consciousness-raising spaces, spreading their message through simply inspiring awareness of the self in a way black women had not done before in liberation movements. The foundation course of their ‘Alternative School’ opened in February 1979 was ‘assertion training’ which ‘teaches you to stand up for your legitimate rights’ alongside specific courses on ‘The Black Women’ and ‘Black Feminism’.[[101]](#footnote-100) What was initially meant to be a local group expanded rapidly after significant interest was shown. It was clear there was desire for focus not just on black issues nor women’s issues but the specific identity of black women. However, nearly fifty years since the creation of the NBFO, historians are still missing these nuances, including when it comes to the civil rights movement.

Black women in the civil rights movement did not work in spite of their constraints but led regardless of them. For all four of female leaders highlighted here, and countless others, their contribution to the struggle came in their ability to empower the people around them. Charismatic leaders were needed in the movement but without female leaders, female organisers and female followers, traditional leadership would have been useless. Inspiring fellow activists came in many forms other than inspirational speeches or motivational sermons. It came from non-traditional leaders who encouraged independence in young organisers, gave rural workers the skills needed to register to vote or organised the mass protests and boycotts that would become shining examples for African-Americans nationwide. Future study of the civil rights struggle must be open to an expanded definition of leadership in order to fully understand all those who drove and empowered the movement.

**6. Bibliography**

1. **Primary Sources**

**Archival Material**

**Boston, Arthur & Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.**

Pauli Murray Papers, MC 412; T-194; 5-245

Virginia Durr Papers, MC 856; T-388; Vt-211

**Chicago, University of Illinois at Chicago.**

National Black Feminist Organisation Collection and National Alliance of Black Feminists Collection, MSNBFO74

**Madison, The Wisconsin Historical Society.**

Anne and Carl Braden Papers, MAD 4 /12/D1-F7

Jo Ann Robinson Papers, MAD 4 /40/E2-3

Mary E King Papers, MAD 3M/58/A3

Daisy Bates Papers, MAD 4 /12/D1-F7

**New York, Schomburg Centre for Black Research, NY Public Library.**

Ella Baker Papers, MG 630

**Washington, D.C., Library of Congress.**

Ms. Magazine Collection, Microfilm (o) 84/2006

**Printed Primary Sources**

Baker, E. (1970). *Developing community leadership.*

Bates, D. (1962). *The Long shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir.* New York: David McKay Co.

Blackside, Inc. (1979). Transcript of Interview with Jo Ann Robinson. Eyes on the Prize

Blakey, W. (1974). *Everybody makes the revolution*. Civil Rights Digest, 6(3)

Britton, J. (1968) Transcript of Interview with Ella Baker. Civil Rights Documentary Project.

Carson, C. (1972) Transcript of Interview with Ella Baker.

Clark, S. P., & Blythe, L. (1962). *Echo in my Soul.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.

Clark, S. P., & Brown, C. S. (1990). R*eady from Within: Septima Clark and the civil rights movement.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Farmer, J. (1985). *Lay bare the heart: An autobiography of the civil rights movement.* New York: Arbor House.

Hall, J.. (1976) Transcript of Interview with Septima Clark. Southern Oral History Program

Jacobs, E., & King, M. (2007). *Revisiting the Second Wave: In Conversation with Mary King*. Meridians, 7(2), 102-116.

Jacoway, E. (1976) Transcript of Interview with Daisy Bates. Southern Oral History Program

King, M. L., Carson, C., Luker, R. E., Burns, S., Armstrong, T., Carson, S, Clay, A. (1992). T*he Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

King, M. E. (1987). *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.* New York: Morrow.

King, M., & Hayden, C. (1964). *Position of Women in SNCC*

Komisar, L. (1974). *Where Feminism Will Lead.* Civil Rights Digest, 6(3)

Leffler, P. K., & Bond, J. (2014). *Black Leaders on Leadership: Conversations with Julian Bond* (First ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lerner, G. (1972). *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Raines, H. (1983). *My Soul is Rested: Movement days in the Deep South remembered.* New York: Penguin.

Robinson, J. A. G., & Garrow, D. J. (1987). *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and The Women who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Thrasher, S. (1977) Transcript of Interview with Ella Baker. Southern Oral History Program

Walker, E. (1974). Transcript of Interview with Ella Baker. Southern Oral History Program

Transcript of Interview with Septima Clark. Southern Oral History Program

Warren, R. (1964) Transcript of Interview with Septima Clark.

1. **Secondary Sources**

Anderson, K., Armitage, S., Jack, D., & Wittner, J. (1987). *Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History.* The Oral History Review, 15(1), 103-127.

Asantè, M. K. *Rhetorical Alliances in the Civil Rights Era.* The Negro Educational Review, (36), 6-12.

Atwater, D. F. (2009). *African American Women's Rhetoric: The Search for Dignity, Personhood, and Honor*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Atwater, D. F. (1996). *Editorial: The Voices of African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement.* Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 539-542. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784881

Azaransky, S. (2013). *Jane Crow: Pauli Murray’s Intersections and Antidiscrimination Law.* Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, 29(1), 155-160. doi:10.2979/jfemistudreli.29.1.155

Barnett, B. M. (1993). *Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class. Gender and Society,* 7(2), 162-182. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/189576

Blumberg, R. L. (1990). *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Revolution or reform?* Dialectical Anthropology, 15(2), 133-139. Retrieved from http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2084/stable/29790343

Bobo, J., Hudley, C., & Michel, C. (2004). The Black Studies Reader. New York ; London: Routledge.

Calloway-Thomas, C., & Garner, T. (1996). *Daisy Bates and the Little Rock School Crisis: Forging the Way.* Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 616-628. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784887

Carson, C. (1987). *Martin Luther King, Jr.: Charismatic Leadership in a Mass Struggle.* The Journal of American History, 74(2), 448-454. doi:10.2307/1900032

Chafe, W. H. (1977). *Women and Equality: Changing Patterns in American Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Charron, K. M. (2009). *Freedom's Teacher: The Life of Septima Clark.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Collier-Thomas, B., & Franklin, V. P. (2001). *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement.* New York: New York University Press.

Collins, P. H. (1989). *The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14(4), 745-773. doi:10.1086/494543

Crawford, V. L., Rouse, J. A., Woods, B., (1990). *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers,* 1941-1965. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Elliott, A. (1996). *Ella Baker: Free Agent in the Civil Rights Movemen*t. Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 593-603. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784885

Fairclough, A. (1990). *Historians and the Civil Rights Movement.* Journal of American Studies, 24(3), 387-398. doi:10.1017/S0021875800033697

Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. London:

Garrow, D. J. (1988). *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*. New York: Morrow.

Garrow, D. J. (1987). *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Spirit of Leadership.* The Journal of American History, 74(2), 438-447. doi:10.2307/1900031

Geary, D. (2015). *Beyond Civil rights: The Moynihan Report and its Legacy.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Giddings, P. (1984). *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (Hardcover publ 1984 by William Morrow ed.). New York: Perennial.

Gyant, L. (1996). *Passing the Torch: African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement.* Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 629-647. Retrieved from http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2084/stable/2784888

Gyant, L., & Atwater, D. F. (1996). *Septima Clark's Rhetorical and Ethnic Legacy: Her Message of Citizenship in the Civil Rights Movement.* Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 577-592. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784884

Harding, V. G. (1987). *Beyond Amnesia: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Future of America. The Journal of American History*, 74(2), 468-476. doi:10.2307/1900034

Huggins, N. I. (1987). *Martin Luther King, Jr.: Charisma and Leadership*. The Journal of American History, 74(2), 477-481. doi:10.2307/1900035

Hull, A. G., Bell-Scott, P., & Smith, B. (1982). *All The Women are White, All The Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave: Black women's studies.* Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press.

La Rue, L. (1970). *The Black Movement and Women's Liberation.* The Black Scholar, 1(7), 36-42. doi:10.1080/00064246.1970.11644167

Lawson, S. F. (2005). *Women, Civil Rights and Black Liberation. Civil Rights Crossroads: Nation, Community, and the Black Freedom Struggle* (pp. 384). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Lawson, S. F. (1991). *Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement.* The American Historical Review, 96(2), 456-471. doi:10.2307/2163219

Lewis, D. K. (1977). *A Response to Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism*. Signs, 3(2), 339-361. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173288

Ling, P. J., & Monteith, S. (1999). *Gender in the Civil Rights Movement.* New York: Garland Pub.

Lott, M. (2017). *The Relationship Between the “Invisibility” of African American Women in the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s and their Portrayal in Modern Film.* Journal of Black Studies, 48(4), 331-354. doi:10.1177/0021934717696758

Malson, M. R. (1990). *Black Women in America: Social Science Perspectives.* Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press.

McGuire, D. L. (2010). *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance - a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Morris, A. D. (1984). *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black communities organizing for change.* New York; London: Free Press; Collier Macmillan.

Nance, T. A. (1996). *Hearing the Missing Voice.* Journal of Black Studies, 26(5), 543-559. doi:10.1177/002193479602600502

Nasstrom, K.,L. (2008). *Between Memory and History: Autobiographies of the Civil Rights Movement and The Writing of Civil Rights History* doi:10.2307/27650145

Olson, L. (2001). *Freedom's Daughters: The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970.* New York ; London: Scribner.

Payne, C. (1989). *Ella Baker and Models of Social Change.* Signs, 14(4), 885-899. Retrieved from http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2084/stable/3174689

Payne, C. M. (2007). *I've Got The Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and The Mississippi Freedom Struggle.* Berkeley ; London: University of California Press.

Ransby, B. (2003). *Ella Baker & The Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision.* Chapel Hill ; London: University of North Carolina Press.

Robnett, B. (1997). *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rogers, K. L. (1987). *Memory, Struggle, and Power: On Interviewing Political Activists.* The Oral History Review, 15(1), 165-184. Retrieved from http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2084/stable/3674964

Rogers, K. L. (1988). *Oral History and The History of the Civil Rights Movement*. The Journal of American History, 75(2), 567-576. doi:10.2307/1887873

Rosaldo, M. Z., Lamphere, L., & Bamberger, J. (1974). *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Sitkoff, H. (1981). *The Struggle for Black Equality,* 1954-1980. New York: Hill and Wang.

Thelen, D. (1987). *Introduction - A Round table: Martin Luther King Jr. The Journal of American History,* 74(2), 436-437. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1900030

Weber, M., Roth, G., & Wittich, C. (1968). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology .* New York: Bedminster Press.

White, D. G. (1999). *Too Heavy A Load: Black women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994.* New York ; London: W.W. Norton.

White, D. G. (2008). *Telling Histories: Black Women Historians in the Ivory Tower*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

1. Ransby, B. (2003). *Ella Baker & The Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill ; London: University of North Carolina Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-0)
2. Charron, K. M. (2009). *Freedom's teacher: The life of Septima Clark*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
3. Olson, L. (2001). *Freedom's Daughters: The unsung heroines of the civil rights movement from 1830 to 1970*. New York: Scribner. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
4. Collier-Thomas, B., & Franklin, V. P. (2001). *Sisters in the struggle: African American women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York: New York University Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
5. Payne, C. (1990). Men Led, but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta. In Crawford, V. L., Rouse, J. A., Woods, B., (1990). *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
6. Barnett, B. M. (1993). Invisible southern black women leaders in the civil rights movement: The triple constraints of gender, race, and class. *Gender and Society, 7*(2), pp. 162-182. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
7. Baker, E. (1970). Developing community leadership. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
8. Baker, E. (1974 September 4) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program conducted by Eugene Walker. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/G-0007/menu.html [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
9. Olson, L. (2001). *Freedom's Daughter*, pp. 336-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
10. King, M. E. (1987). Freedom Song: A personal story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. New York: Morrow, p. 450. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
11. King, M., & Hayden, C. (1964). *Position of women in SNCC.* [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
12. King, M. E. (1987). *Freedom Song*, p. 448. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
13. *ibid*, p. 449. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
14. White, D. G. (1999). *Too heavy a load: Black women in defense of themselves, 1894-1994*. New York: W.W. Norton.  [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
15. *ibid*, p. 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
16. *ibid*, p. 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
17. Lewis, D. K. (1977). A response to inequality: Black women, racism, and sexism. *Signs, 3*(2), pp. 339-361. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
18. Rosaldo, M. Z., Lamphere, L., & Bamberger, J. (1974). *Woman, culture, and society*. California: Stanford University Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
19. Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (1962, May 3). [Press Release]. Carl and Anne Braden papers, 1928-2006, Wisconsin Historical Society, Archives, and Museum Collections (Microfilm 306, Reel 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
20. Farmer, J. (1985). *Lay bare the heart: An autobiography of the civil rights movement*. New York: Arbor House. Retrieved from: <https://www.philosophy.northwestern.edu/undergraduate/honors-awards/philosophy-awards.html#peterson> [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
21. Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor (1965). *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
22. *The Negro Family*, p. 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
23. Chafe, W. H. (1977). *Women and equality: Changing patterns in american culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
24. Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. London. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
25. La Rue, L. (1970). The Black movement and Women's Liberation. *The Black Scholar, 1*(7), pp. 36-8 [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
26. *ibid*, p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
27. Komisar, L. (1974). Where Feminism Will Lead. *Civil Rights Digest, 6*(3) [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
28. Pauli Murray. (1965, October 10). [Research Paper]. *Jane Crow and the Law: Sex Discrimination*, Pauli Murray Papers, 1827-1985, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (Series III: Writings). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
29. Azaransky, S. (2013). Jane crow: Pauli Murray’s Intersections and Antidiscrimination Law. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, 29*(1), pp. 155-160. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
30. Clark, S., & Brown, C. S. (1990). Ready from within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, p. 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
31. Lawson, S. F. (1991). Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement. *The American Historical Review, 96*(2), pp. 456-471. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
32. Rogers, K. L. (1988). Oral History and the History of the Civil Rights Movement. *The Journal of American History, 75*(2), pp. 567-576. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
33. Fairclough, A. (1990). Historians and the Civil Rights Movement. *Journal of American Studies, 24*(3), pp. 387-398. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
34. King, M. (1964, June 10). [Letter to John King]. Mary E. King papers, 1962-1999, Wisconsin Historical Society, Archives, and Museum Collections (Box 3, Folder 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
35. Braden, A. (1964, June). [Draft Article]. *Mississippi Volunteers*, Carl and Anne Braden papers (Box 62). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
36. Rogers, K. L. (1988). Oral History. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
37. Fairclough, A. (1990). Historians and the Civil Rights Movement. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
38. Payne, C. (1990). Men Led, but Women Organized. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
39. *ibid*, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
40. *ibid*, p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
41. Raines, H. (1983). My Soul is Rested: Movement days in the Deep South Remembered. New York: Penguin. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
42. *ibid*, p. 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
43. Robinson, J. (1954, May 21). Jo Ann Robinson to Mayor W. A Gayle [Letter.] Retrieved from

    https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/lesson-activities/robinson\_letter\_to\_mayor\_gayle.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
44. Robinson, J. (1955, December 2). [Announcement.] Retrieved from

    https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/announcement-another-negro-woman-has-been-arrested-dont-ride-bus [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
45. Rogers, K. L. (1988). Oral history, p. 568. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
46. Lawson, S. F. (1991). Freedom Then, Freedom Now, p. 279. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
47. Rogers, K. L. (1987). Memory, struggle, and power: On interviewing political activists. *The Oral History Review, 15*(1), 165-184. Retrieved from http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2084/stable/3674964 [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
48. Lawson, S. F. (2005). Women, civil rights and black liberation. *Civil rights crossroads: Nation, community, and the black freedom struggle* (pp. 384). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
49. Lawson, S. F. (1991). Freedom Then, Freedom Now. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
50. Lawson, S. F. (2005). Freedom Then, Freedom Now. In *Civil rights crossroads.* [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
51. Lawson, S. F. (2005). Women, civil rights and black liberation. *Civil rights crossroads: Nation, community, and the black freedom struggle* (pp. 384). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
52. Payne, C. M. (2007). *I've got the light of freedom: The organizing tradition and the mississippi freedom struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
53. Robinson, J. (1979, August 27) Interview for Eyes on the Prize conducted by Blackside, Inc. [Video] Henry Hampton Collection. Retrived from http://repository.wustl.edu/concern/videos/37720f54k [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
54. White, D. G. (1999). *Too heavy a load.* [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
55. Clark, S. P., & Blythe, L. (1962). *Echo in my soul*. New York [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
56. Bates, D. (1962). *The long shadow of little rock: A memoir*. New York [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
57. Clark, S. P., (1990). *Ready from within.* [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
58. Clark, S, (1976 July 25-30) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program conducted by Jacklyn Hall and Eugene Walker. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/G-0017/menu.html [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
59. Clark, S. (1990). *Ready from within*, pp. 77-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
60. Nasstrom, K. (2008). *Between memory and history*. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
61. Robinson, J. A. G., & Garrow, D. J. (1987). The Montgomery Bus Boycott and The Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
62. Robinson, J. A. G., & Garrow, D. J. (1987). *The Montgomery Bus Boycott*, p. 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
63. Robinson, J. A. G., & Garrow, D. J. (1987). *The Montgomery Bus Boycott*, p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
64. Nasstrom, K. (2008). *Between memory and history*, p. 327. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
65. Baker, E. (1970). Developing community leadership. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
66. Baker, E. (1968 June 19) Interview for the Civil Rights Documentary Project conducted by John Britton. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://www.crmvet.org/nars/baker68.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
67. Weber, M., Roth, G., & Wittich, C. (1968). Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology. New York. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
68. Morris, A. D. (1984). The origins of the civil rights movement: Black communities organizing for change. New York. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
69. Lawson, S. F. (1991). Freedom Then, Freedom Now. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
70. Robnett, B. (1997). *How long? how long?* [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
71. *ibid*, p. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
72. Baker, E. (1977 April 19) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program conducted by Sue Thrasher. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/G-0008/menu.html [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
73. Baker, E. (1968) Interview by John Britton. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
74. King, M. L., Carson, C., Luker, R. E., Burns, S., Armstrong, T., Carson, S, Clay, A. (1992). The papers of Martin Luther King, Rr. Berkeley: University of California Press., Volume V. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
75. Baker, E. (1968) Interview by John Britton. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
76. Baker, E. (1970). Developing community leadership. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
77. Baker, E. (1968 June 19) Interview for the Civil Rights Documentary Project. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
78. Baker, E. (1970). Developing community leadership. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
79. Baker, E. (1972 May 2) Interview conducted by Clay Carson. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://www.crmvet.org/nars/720505\_baker\_carson.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
80. Baker, E. (1967 February) Interview conducted by Anne Romaine. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://www.crmvet.org/nars/6702\_baker.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
81. Carol Mueller. (2004). Ella Baker and the Origins of “Participatory Democracy”. The Black Studies Reader, , 91-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
82. Clark, S. (1964 March 18) Interview conducted by Robert Warren. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://www.crmvet.org/nars/w\_clark.html [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
83. Clark, S, (1976) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
84. Clark, S, (1976) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
85. *Memorandum on Citizen Program*. Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation Papers, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library [Box 24, Folder 6]. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
86. Clark, S. (1990). *Ready from within*. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
87. Clark, S.(1990). *Ready from within*. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
88. Payne, C. (1990). Men Led, but Women Organized. In Crawford, V. L., Rouse, J. A., Woods, B. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
89. Sacks, K. (unpublished). *Gender and Grassroots Leadership*. In Payne, C. (1990). Men Led, but Women Organized. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
90. Bates, D. (1976) Interview for the Southern Oral History Program conducted by Elizabeth Jacoway. [Transcript] Retrieved from https://www.crmvet.org/nars/batesd.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
91. *ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
92. Bates, D. (1962). *The long shadow of Little Rock*, ch. v. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
93. *ibid*, ch. ix. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
94. *Ibid,* ch. ii. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
95. Bates, D. (1957, October 2). [Letter to Clarence Laws]. Daisy Bates papers, 1946-1966, Wisconsin Historical Society, Archives, and Museum Collections (Box 5) [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
96. White, D. G. (2008). *Telling histories: Black women historians in the ivory tower*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
97. Hull, A. G., Bell-Scott, P., & Smith, B. (1982). *All the women are white, all the blacks are men, but some of us are brave: Black women's studies*. N.Y.: Feminist Press. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
98. Hull, A. (1982) *Politics of Black Women Studies*. In Hull, Bell-Scott, Smith. *All the women are White.* [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
99. W Hull, Bell-Scott, Smith. (1982) *All the women are White.* [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
100. National Association of Black Feminists. (1957, October 2). [Statement]. Brenda Eichelberger/National Alliance of Black Feminists Papers 1946-1966, Chicago Public Library, Carter G. Woodson Regional Library (Box 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
101. National Association of Black Feminists. [Advertisement]. Brenda Eichelberger/National Alliance of Black Feminists Papers 1946-1966. (Box 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-100)