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The Unseen Pen: The Hidden History of Black Women Writers During the Civil Rights Movement

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by
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Acknowledgements

Thank you to the women whose stories have been told and to the ones waiting to be heard, without them, the world we live in would be different, and not for the better.

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INTRODUCTION

My grandfather, Norman Garrett, was a large man with hands the size and feel of a baseball glove who only had an elementary school education. Despite his lack of formal education, he used his physicality and learned how to work and provide for himself and his family while actively fighting for civil rights. He believed in the dreams and goals of notable men like Dr. King and John Lewis, so much so that he marched alongside them and would describe those moments as some of his greatest achievements. He often wore a large gold medallion with images of himself, Dr. King, and other Black men marching engraved into the precious metal. His legacy sparked my interest in Black history and social justice, and I later became part of the world's largest, oldest, and most influential Civil Rights organization, becoming the president of the Kennesaw State University's chapter of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). My grandfather's activism and stories of the Civil Rights Movement in the mid-1950s to the late 1960s, led me to advocate for minority groups and understand that with hard work, I could make a difference in my community and create lasting change to carry on the legacy of the Movement that sought to obtain equal rights and legal protections for people of color who faced discrimination and racism in all areas of society.

While growing up in the South, I learned the names of prominent figures of the Movement from the stories of my grandfather and in the classroom. This piqued my interest in black history, so in school I made sure to pay attention and soak up as much information as I could about the period and the distinguished Black leaders whose names and stories filled our discussions and textbooks. When I think of notable activists involved in the Movement and the NAACP, names such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall, W.E.B

DuBois, and Medgar Evers come to mind because it was not until I got to college and did my own research that I was exposed to the women of the Movement. Even so, we hear about Rosa Parks and Coretta Scott King, but who were the other women who championed the Movement that changed the United States of America? Why are their names not shared in textbooks? Who are the women obscured by the men of the Movement? We all know Martin Luther King penned a famous letter from Birmingham jail. In classrooms and on cable news, we recognize how King's eloquent writing drove the fight for Civil Rights in the 1960s. But, when it comes to chroniclers of the Movement and the other writers who drove change, we spend less time thinking about the women who were driving forces of the Movement. I began to then wonder who were the Black women whose pens pushed the Movement ahead? There are countless untold stories of women of color whose reporting and writing contributed to the support and momentum of the Civil Rights Movement. So, the question is: Who are the women of color in the South whose writing or editing has bolstered civil and political engagement during the Civil Rights Movement?

Significance and Purpose

Black women writers' contributions to the Civil Rights Movement are important and their work is often reduced, overlooked, or overshadowed because of the more visible contributions of their male counterparts. Black women writers should be celebrated for using their voices when they were expected to be quiet. By recognizing the struggles and perspectives of Black women writers, we get a more well-rounded understanding of this integral period of American history. These women's stories and hard work should not be left in the nooks and crannies of digital libraries and archives but should be standardized in curriculum and shared in both secondary and post-secondary courses like their male counterparts.

I feel deeply connected to Black women civil rights writers and activists. Many of these women were at the forefront of social and political change, using their writing to aid the Movement, but they have not been remembered or acknowledged. I believe that they are worthy of as much glory as others who are widely recognized as prominent historical figures; therefore, the restorative and archival research of this project gives writers back the attention they seem to have lost over time. My connection to these women lies within my interests in Black feminism and sharing minority, lesser known stories. This project has allowed me to intersect my identities as a writer and student with being a Black feminist as it focuses on the lesser-known stories of Black women history has dismissed by choosing to focus on men. I believe behind every great man is an even greater woman whom history has not given the proper recognition until now.

This research shares the stories of African American women writers, publishers, and editors whose contributions led to the success of the Civil Rights Movement. As this period occurred before the use of the internet, the written word was crucial in spreading information, giving updates and opinions, and rallying the community. In *The Art of Creative Research: A Field Guide for Writers,* Philip Gerard states:

> Knowing about the world with specific accuracy changes everything about the creative process. It enlarges the borders of your imagination exponentially, allowing you to write about science, history, the natural world, society, politics, medicine, business, technology, personal relationships, and human nature in ways that will delight and surprise both you and your reader—which is, after all, the point. (xiii)

My goal was to obtain a well-rounded perspective of the period while highlighting the contributions and influence Black women writers, editors, and publishers had on the era. As a

teaching assistant with an interest in the publishing and editing industry, I believe my field will be improved because my research explores critical perspectives about race, gender, and diversity that will help academia and the publishing industry better understand the concerns, challenges, and experiences of students and professionals of color.

While examining the high school education system and researching general educational courses at the university level, I noticed when this era is discussed in classrooms, by historians, and in textbooks there are women's perspectives and accomplishments that are less well recognized. To shed light on those less acknowledged, this project first details the tenacity of Daisy Bates, co-owner and editor of one of the largest Black weekly newspapers in Arkansas during the time and mentor for the Little Rock Nine and NAACP Arkansas branch president during the integration of Central High School 1957. It then shares the courage of Dorothy Butler Gilliam, the first African American woman report for *The Washington Post*, who vigorously covered the 1962 integration of the University of Mississippi. Finally, it showcases the determination of Dr. Roslyn Pope, a student at Spelman College who authored "An Appeal for Human Rights," which is known as the heartbeat of Atlanta Student Movement and served on the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights which led to the integration of stores and lunch counters in 1961. The best place to ensure these stories are assimilated into history is the classroom and this project provides a scaffolded, in-class activity to connect their contributions to course learning objectives while acknowledging why there is a need for this change, due to Black respectability politics, which focuses on the image and background of an individual and how that affects the public's opinion of them.

In 2024, the visibility of the Black women who pushed forward the Movement is often reduced, overlooked, or overshadowed because of the more celebrated contributions of their

male counterparts. Focusing on an era before the internet, with the eloquent writing of activists like Dr. King memorialized, this project aims to showcase how changes in course curriculum can shed light on the life and legacy of Daisy Bates, Dorothy Butler Gilliam, and Dr. Roslyn Pope, Black women who used their roles as writers, editors, publishers, and journalists to help document and advocate for integration during the Movement as some of the challenges they faced were the hands of respectability politics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The influential leadership of southern Black women was essential to in the progress made during the Civil Rights Movement. Despite this, their stories are less acknowledged. There has been an increase in literature discussing the way women led, organized, mobilized, and inspired through their activism; however, the important stories and contributions of Black women writers, editors, journalists, and publishers are still overlooked in the broader literature calling for greater recognition of women's roles in the Civil Rights Movement. My research shares the stories of those women who played indispensable roles in shaping and moving the Movement towards success. This literature review details the diverse leadership roles assumed by women during the Civil Rights Movement and advocates for greater acknowledgement of their importance in directing the Movement's course and achievements while showcasing the gap in existing literature.

Textbooks and contemporary literature that discuss the Civil Rights Movement focus primarily on the actions of men. If there is mention of women, the focus is on the life and contributions of Rosa Parks. Other women who were just as integral to the Movement's progress and accomplishments have yet to gain widespread recognition. Bernice McNair Barnett, in her article "Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class," attributes Black women's lack of recognition to "gender, race, and class biases prevalent in both the social movement literature and feminist scholarship" (163). The biases in existing literature are a result of the discriminatory practices of the 1950s and 1960s. They were likely to face discrimination, prejudice, abuse, and harassment from other racial groups as well as within their own. Despite their social station, many Black

women who aided in the Movement were everyday people with diverse backgrounds, ages, careers, and levels of education.

Still, in spite of modern awareness of the lack of acknowledgement and these biases, men are mostly credited for the success of the Movement. Barnett argues that most scholarship focuses on the leadership of men due to the image that their character and credibility creates, such as their professional careers and use of charisma, whereas Black women are bound by respectability politics due to their background, education, and class (3-4). This can be seen with the overshadowing and erasure of their participation in pivotal moments, such as the March on Washington where Daisy Bates was the only woman to speak but the focus, even within current literature, is on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Men being recognized for the success of movement without including the significant efforts of women is not uncommon knowledge; many current articles make note of this oversight. For example, The Library of Congress admits, “Many women played important roles in the Civil Rights Movement…Their efforts to lead the movement were often overshadowed by men, who still get more attention and credit for its successes in popular historical narratives and commemorations” (“Women,” Library of Congress). In addition, The National Parks Service, which has committed to helping the public discover history and reinvigorate communities, affirms “while countless women played important roles at various points during the Black Freedom Struggle, it is men who still receive more attention and credit for the successes of the Movement, particularly in commemorative efforts and historical narratives” (“Women,” National Parks Service). The Library of Congress and The National Parks Service, both acknowledge how Black male leaders eclipse the work of Black women and show this is not a thing of the past.

Today, scholarship, celebrations, and storytelling, and these organizations, showcase how many reputable and easily accessible sources are aware of the revision of history.

This overshadowing could be due a transition of power from women leaders to men. Barnett attributes this to the "consequence of the tendency for women to be the initiators and to assume leadership roles in the early phase of revolutionary protest (which is "unstructured," "emergent," and "dangerous") and for men to take over and assume positions of leadership during the later phase of the protest" and uses the role of Ella Baker, who was integral to the work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the Movement but was never given a permanent position or proper compensation while her coworkers and successors, Black men, were treated fairly, as an example (175-76). This tendency is due to the patriarchy within the Movement, which could have resulted in the widespread ignorance of Black women's involvement. To combat ignorance, erasure, and revision, it is necessary to correct the public's understanding of the inner workings of the Movement.

A place to begin the correction is in the classroom. In the education system, the hardships and work done by many Black Americans are not reflected in textbooks and lessons taught as a part of the curriculum. Sarah Bair states educators and publishers believe that a more diverse and inclusive curriculum will foster more critical thinking and engagement while she believes the best place to start is with the contributions of women during the Civil Rights Movement to complicate and expand on the information already available (1). Her article discusses research conducted by Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) that describes how many high school students leave secondary education without a comprehensive understand of the Movement while her own research explains this could be a result of the four most commonly used history textbooks having small portions dedicated to the Movement and even less acknowledgement of

the contributions of women (2-3). It is apparent that the information being introduced to future generations needs to be amended to include a well-rounded perspective of the period and promote diversity within classrooms. In doing so, students will be able to obtain a more accurate view of their history and better understand not only their own capabilities but also how the past influenced the present.

New scholarship continues to address and support the recognition of southern Black women's significant involvement in the Movement; however, there is still a gap within the literature. By not only looking at the Civil Rights Movement from a newer perspective, the perspective of not only women but Black women, thinking beyond the most commonly discussed methods of support and protest, such as participation in boycotts, marches, and sit-ins, the stories and lives of more women can be uncovered and shared. Barnet notes that "emerging scholarship and recent recollections are beginning to illustrate that, far from being apolitical or inconsequential, Black women were crucial to the Civil Rights Movement, that their personal experiences were unique as well as political, and that Black women's activism should be central to social movement scholarship" (165). This research project is meant to do exactly that; not only discuss how crucial Black women's contributions were to the Civil Rights Movement, but to discuss how their personal experiences, as Black women and as writers, editors, and publishers, give a specific, unique look at the Movement and the period. As a result of filling a gap in the current scholarship, this research influences both the educational curriculum and the publishing industry.

“THE UNSEEN PEN”

During an era with no internet, the quickest way to learn was from others. In the 1950s-1960s in the American south, hatred, prejudice, and discrimination were the lessons being taught. To combat this way of thinking, Black Americans who were on the receiving end of these injustices came together to fight against the Jim Crow mindset and legislation being implemented. Unfortunately, information was not being spread quickly enough by word of mouth to unite African Americans. In the “separate but equal” era of American history, it was the Black press that first began to run stories of the inequality and attacks that ran rampant in their communities but also shared how to assemble and combat the oppressive behavior.

The Black press, being an essential moving part of the Civil Rights Movement, did not begin in the mid-twentieth century but began with the *Freedman Journal* in 1827 as the first issue “stated, ‘We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly’” (Bucy). More than a century later, the same statement reigned true as Black presses across the United States continued to advocate for Black success, Black causes, and Black lives during the Movement. The men and women who created these presses reported not only the vile mistreatment of the Black community, but also the speeches, riots, sit-ins, and boycotts, as a response, making Black American issues national issues that not even white presses could ignore as “negro reporters still went places white reporters wouldn’t go, in search of stories white reporters didn’t know about” (Roberts and Klibanoff qtd. in Gilliam 66). Among the names of the male journalists charged with showcasing Black entertainment, news, and protests, Black women did not sit on the sidelines waiting for information to come to them, they investigated the issues facing their community themselves.

Women, such as Ethel Payne, played a significant role in covering the Civil Rights Movement. Payne was born on August 14, 1911, in Chicago, Illinois, and grew up in the Bronzeville neighborhood. Payne began her journalism career writing for the *Chicago Defender*, a prominent Black-owned newspaper, and later moved to Washington, DC, to work as a correspondent for the newspaper. Ethel Payne became known as the "First Lady of the Black Press" for her coverage of civil rights events and her tenacious questioning of presidents and other government officials on issues affecting Black Americans. She was also named the first African American woman to be included in the White House Press Corps and continued to report on social justice issues throughout her career as she reported on Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott and interviewed Martin Luther King Jr. before he made national headlines (Anderson). Women like Ethel Payne and presses like *The Chicago Defender* are a testament to the significant role Black presses and Black women writers, editors, and journalists played as activists during the Civil Rights Movement. By putting a spotlight on the work of these integral parts of the Movement, we can see how much has been left out of curricula.

Daisy Bates, *The Arkansas State Press*, and The Little Rock Nine

Among the Black presses and Black women writers, editors, and journalists who worked as activists during the Civil Rights Movement, Daisy Bates and The Arkansas Press were present. Daisy Bates, and her husband L.C., created *The Arkansas State Press*, a weekly newspaper that significantly impacted the Civil Rights Movement in Arkansas. The September 20, 1957, issue of *The Arkansas State Press*, available in the Library of Congress' digital archives, names Daisy Bates as the co-publisher of the press (1). The newspaper was one of the few news sources for the Black community in Arkansas, covering issues related to civil rights and social justice at a time when the mainstream media often ignored or downplayed these

issues. Through *The Arkansas State Press*, Daisy and L.C. Bates were able to raise public awareness of the injustices faced by African Americans in Arkansas, including the denial of voting rights, employment discrimination, and police brutality ("Arkansas State Press"). *The Arkansas State Press* provided a platform for African American voices, allowing them to share their experiences and perspectives on the issues affecting their community with topics such as Black achievement, support for pro-Black politicians and policies, and information regarding African Americans' fight for social justice riddled within the newspaper.

The newspaper was also important for organizing and mobilizing the Black community. It provided information about events, rallies, and protests and helped build solidarity among African Americans across the state and nationwide. Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, in their book *The Race Beat*, note:

> The Bateses were vigorous supporters of civil rights and did not leave confusion about where they stood. In their first week of publication in May 1941, the Bateses had set an editorial tone that positioned them in the advocacy tradition of the Negro press. They had urged a federal ban on job discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. Winning the war was paramount, the Bateses had written, and the nation weakened itself by not putting Negro labor to work in factories, shipyards, and airplane works. 'This is no time to quibble with stupid race prejudice, they had written (150).

As the newspaper's manager, editor, and writer, Daisy Bates ensured each publication was purposeful and attacked injustice with the same vigilance that marginalized groups were attacked in their communities. The *Encyclopedia of Arkansas* asserts that *The Arkansas State Press* also focused on advocacy journalism, and its stance supporting civil rights made it unique

and one of Arkansas's most prominent African American newspapers as Black achievement, support for pro-Black politicians and policies, and information regarding African Americans' fight for social justice was its focus. *The Arkansas State Press* speaks directly to Daisy Bates's writing and editing background and achievements, which helped her aid in the push for civil rights in the United States.

The Arkansas State Press frequently aligned itself with the NAACP's ideas and missions. The newspaper often wrote as if the NAACP was the leading voice of the Black community. In "'Freedom Is a Job for All of Us': The Arkansas State Press and Divisions in the Black Community During the 1957-59 School Crisis," Cathy Ferrand Bullock claims, "The State Press was headquartered in Little Rock and had offices in other Arkansas communities. Figures vary, but it is estimated that at one time, 40% or more of the newspaper's subscribers were white and that the newspaper had a circulation as high as 22,000" (87) and had an "emphasis on unity and action, criticism of complacency, apathy, and accommodation in the school integration situation was a common theme in the State Press" (91). Along with the NAACP, the newspaper was instrumental in the coverage and push for the desegregation of schools in Arkansas. The late 1957 issues of the newspaper covered the government and the Black community's response to the integration of Central High School. This coverage was not always received well by the Black and the white communities, as not everyone agreed with integrating public schools in Arkansas. Additionally, Bullock states

> The State Press' coverage of the Little Rock school integration crisis, in general, is historically significant in that it conveys a unique perspective on an important civil rights battle from the time and place in which it unfolded. Unlike many other interpretations,

> this one was designed to serve the Black community as it lived through the crisis and took action that would potentially shape the outcome. (86)

Daisy Bates's work as a journalist was not without risks. She and her husband faced numerous threats and acts of violence, including arson attacks on their home and the newspaper's office, and the Ku Klux Klan often targeted the newspaper. Still, Bates remained committed to her work as a journalist and editor, using *The Arkansas State Press* to raise public awareness of the injustices faced by African Americans in Arkansas and to advocate for social change. Her work significantly impacted the Civil Rights Movement in Arkansas and helped pave the way for greater equality and justice for all people in the state. It was not until 1959 when *The Arkansas State Press* was forced to cease operations because advertisers and distribution agents began to stop working with the Bateses due to the press's vigorous coverage of the segregation and integration occurring in Arkansas.

Daisy Bates activism is attributed to the circumstances of her early childhood as it fueled her need to advocate for change. Born Daisy Lee Gatson on November 11, 1914, in Huttig, Arkansas, she was raised by adoptive parents, Orlee and Susie Smith, after the brutal rape and murder of her biological mother by three white men left her an orphan at an early age. According to Carolyn Calloway-Thomas and Thurmon Garner's article "Daisy Bates and the Little Rock School Crisis: Forging the Way," two major incidents in Daisy Bates's adolescent life led her to use her talents to fight for equal rights and social justice for African Americans. The first event that started her down the path of activism was the murder of her mother. Calloway-Thomas and Garner state, "learning that the individuals who raised her were not her real parents and that her biological mother had been ravished and killed by White men, provided impetus for her crusading efforts. When she accidentally discovered her lineage, Daisy harassed one of the men,

a drunk, who was considered to be responsible for her mother's death" (619). Her birth mother's murders were never found or brought to justice. This information allowed Daisy Bates to see the brutality, discrimination, and systematic racism of society for the first time. The lack of investigation into her mother's murder taught her that she was naive to the reality of life in the United States and, as a result, caused her to distrust white people.

The second incident occurred when Bates was seven years old. Calloway-Thomas and Gunter recount a time when her adoptive mother was sick and unable to get meat for the house. She enlisted Daisy Bates to go to the butcher and instructed her to get pork chops in a white part of town. There she sat in line as the butcher helped white patron after white patron, ignoring Daisy Bates altogether. Upset and confused, Daisy Bates recalls asking the butcher for her meat, and he quickly let her know he is not speaking to her and that "'Niggers have to wait 'til I wait on the white people. Now take your meat and get out of here!'" (qtd. in Calloway-Thomas and Garner 618). This incident was the first time she had been personally victimized by racism. Prior to this event, she had known of racial discrimination, but the personal interaction with racism caused her to be angry and full of hatred for her situation. She had been embarrassed, humiliated, and mistreated, which was not a unique experience for Black Americans in the early twentieth century. Still, she used these events as catalysts for her need for activism. She later married Lucius Christopher Bates (L.C. Bates), a journalist, activist, and friend of her father, in 1941 (620), and this union would be the foundation for the creation of one of the most influential Black newspapers in Arkansas, *The Arkansas State Press*. She eventually became a part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Daisy Bates's work as an editor and publisher of *The Arkansas State Press* was deeply aligned with her work with the NAACP. In "The Legacy of Daisy Bates," Lisa Reed emphasizes

that “Bates serves as a leading example of the key role women have played in the Civil Rights Movement, a role to which historians have only begun to accord prominent recognition and systematic study.” For example, the September 13, 1957 issue of *The Arkansas State Press* confirms Daisy Bates was the first person in Arkansas to be appointed to the national board for the NAACP after serving as the president of the Arkansas State Conference of NAACP branches for five years (1). Her contributions to the organization began in 1952, just a few years before the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, which called for the integration of schools. During her time working to end segregation in schools, Daisy Bates proved herself to be diligent and courageous, remaining an example of women leaders during the Civil Rights Movement.

During this time, tension arose in the South as many states began to discuss the plan for integrating public schools. This was no different in Arkansas, and Daisy Bates was at the forefront of the charge for schools in Little Rock to become integrated. According to the August 30, 1957, issue of *The Arkansas Press*, Daisy Bates had become a frequent victim of hate crimes as the Ku Klux Klan often vandalized her home. They left a burning cross in her yard with a sign telling her family to go back to Africa (1). The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was not new to this fear-mongering as many southern Black families—prominent figures and everyday citizens alike—had become victims of their hatred. Still, in the following days, Daisy Bates continued her work as she had with the nine students who were meant to be the first Black students to attend Central High School and begin the integration of schools in Arkansas; they would later be known as The Little Rock Nine. In “Daisy Bates: Civil Rights Crusader from Arkansas,” Karen Anderson confirms this by stating:

> Daisy Bates stayed in her home, despite the vandalism, cross burnings, and other threats she experienced…While her opponents used violence and threats of violence to discredit

> desegregation and harass the African American students who braved Central High School in 1957-1958, Bates worked tirelessly to document that violence and find an effective means to an end it. (2)

She continued to show courage and bravery in the face of violent adversity because she, like many others, saw the importance of equal opportunities, such as education for minorities in her community and across the country. She is a primary example of why women's contributions to the Civil Rights Movement should be widely broadcast. Linda Reed, in "The Legacy of Daisy Bates," emphasizes Daisy Bates's impact by describing how many prominent Black community leaders "backed away from the controversy" surrounding the integration issue while she became "a spokesperson for and adviser to the students and personally taking responsibility for their safety." The leadership and valor of Daisy Bates in the face of opposition and controversy surrounding the issue of school integration are evident as she remained fearless at every turn and took responsibility for her actions. There is a special tenacity and respectability about a person who takes responsibility for their actions and how their actions, goals, and motives may affect others.

Her dedication to The Little Rock Nine was seen through her commitment to protecting and advocating for those students. Daisy Bates's letter to Roy Wilkins, the executive secretary of the NAACP at the time, in December of 1957 demonstrates her unwavering commitment to protecting the African American students who were integrating Little Rock Central High School. In the letter, Bates describes the violent opposition to integration and the threats that she and the students were facing but also expresses her determination to continue fighting for justice and equality. According to Calloway-Thomas and Garner, in the days leading up to the day the nine Black students were meant to attend Central High School, the then governor issued the National

Guard to prevent those students from entering; however, Daisy Bates curated a plan to not only protect the students as they tried to enter the school but also present a united, unwavering front to the public She enlisted the support of local Black and white clergy, as well as the police, to assist but were unable to enter (623). Still, she continued to press forward despite others wavering faith in the pursuit of integration by writing to President Eisenhower, who condemned the action of the Arkansas governor and sent troops to escort students into the school (626). The persistence and determination Daisy Bates displayed, coupled with showcasing authoritative backing and alliances across racial boundaries, was conducive to the successful pursuit of integration.

Nonetheless, Daisy Bates does not limit her promise to protect and advocate for the students to their entrance to Central High School. As stated in the December 20, 1957, issue of *The Arkansas State Press*, months following the students' enrollment into the previously exclusively white school, one of the Black students, Minnie Jean Brown, was expelled over an accident that, if it had been a white student this encounter was with, there would have been only an exchange of manners (1). Additionally, the letter written by Daisy Bates to Roy Wilkin reveals Minnie's mother asked her to come and support their family during a conference with the high school's principal. Throughout the letter, she emphasizes the importance of protecting the students and ensuring their safety. Daisy Bates describes how the students were being subjected to verbal and physical abuse, as well as threats of violence, and how the situation was deteriorating rapidly. In the face of danger, she displayed her leadership by showcasing her forward thinking. She remained committed to the fight for justice and equality and was determined to protect the students at all costs.

Although Reed and others have done excellent work chronicling Bates's many contributions, those contributions have yet to appear in curricula. This project is evidence of a

way to implement her story and success into the classroom. By introducing Daisy Bates and *The Arkansas State Press* into course design meant to teach archival research, educators can highlight the significance of the archives because it not only urges students to find primary sources, but in doing so, provides contextual evidence for historical narratives, which this project does. Therefore, by implementing her story and publication into lessons about best practices for archival research, students may be inspired to further research and create discourse around what they thought they knew about their communities and history. While leveraging the rich resources found in archives, researchers, historians, and the public can gain a deeper appreciation for the lives, achievements, and enduring impact of individuals, ensuring that their legacies are preserved and shared with current and future generations.

Dorothy Butler Gilliam, *The Tri-State Defender*, *The Washington Post*, and the 1963 Integration of Ole Miss

Daisy Bates and *The Arkansas State Press* were not the only ones present during the integration of Central High School. A self-proclaimed rookie journalist by the name of Dorothy Butler Gilliam made her way to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 to report what was happening to these students for the *Tri-State Defender*, a Black weekly newspaper in Memphis. During the fight for equal education, many Black and white journalists traveled to Little Rock to cover the events; but unlike the white journalist who descended on Arkansas, the Black reporters had primary access to the people within the community as there was trust and camaraderie among Black Americans due to the mistreatment they faced at the hands of white people. According to Dorothy Butler Gilliam's memoir, *Trailblazer*, many of the Black journalists, from both Black and white presses, covering the integration crisis in Arkansas found themselves staying at the home of Daisy Bates because, due to segregation, they were not welcome at white establishments

and the only Black hotel was full. While in the Bates's home, Black reporters gained firsthand, exclusive knowledge of the challenges and solutions Daisy Bates and the NAACP responded to. Not even a day after arriving, Gilliam "covered the arrival of the troops that President Dwight D. Eisenhower had sent in" (67). She recalled the integration of Central High School as the training ground for later successfully covering the integration of Ole Miss in 1962 (59). Her time there gave her a deeper understanding of journalism and the role Black journalists could play in sharing a well-rounded perspective of major events around the country.

Black journalism was at the core of the Movement's advancements, and Dorothy Butler Gilliam spent the early years of her career writing for Black weekly publications and magazines, working at *The Louisville Defender* in Kentucky, *The Tri-State Defender* in Tennessee, and *JET Magazine* in Chicago. It is from these presses that she learned to have "courage, as well as curiosity and desire, to help write the history that was unfolding" (Gilliam 68). It would take courage to move into predominantly white spaces during the Civil Rights Movement and courage was exactly what Dr. King urged young Black people to have when they attempted to diversify the spaces that had been closed off to them. It was because of this call to action that Gilliam became the first Black woman to be hired at *The Washington Post* and one of only three Black people employed at the daily magazine in 1961. Rose C. Thevenin explains, "Mainstream newspapers seldom hired Black reporters, but as the Civil Rights Movement became more violent, more African American journalists were hired, even as the Black press experienced a decline in circulation" as seen with Daisy Bates and the decline and eventual end of *The Arkansas State Press* (1059). Despite the introduction of Black reporters at the white publications, the attitude towards people of color in the newsroom reflected the attitude of society.

Dorothy Butler Gilliam dreamed of a career at a daily newspaper but did not expect that living in the nation's capital would result in facing the racial segregation she experienced while living in the South. In a 2019 interview with Pamela Newkirk, Gilliam describes the difficulties she faced while working as a Black woman at *The Washington Post*, both inside and outside of the office. As a general assignment reporter, time was of the essence and the racial climate of the area she lived in added obstacles to her journey of success. For example, she recalls how many times she would stand in front of *The Washington Post*'s offices and wait for a cab to take her to her next story, but the drivers would quickly drive past her when they noticed the color of her skin (C-SPAN). In her memoir, Gilliam makes note of a time she had to visit an elderly white woman at her high rise apartment to cover her one hundredth birthday and even the doorman, who was Black, assumed she was a maid and dismissed her to the "maids entrance around the back" because it was uncommon for people of color to have careers in the corporate world (6). After reluctantly being let in and shocking the white patrons and staff of the building, she wrote a lovely piece on the woman, who later called to show her appreciation.

This discrimination was not confined to the streets or Washington, DC, but was present within *The Washington Post*'s office. Despite being educated, experienced, and an excellent employee, Gilliam was treated as less than her white counterparts by her coworkers. In an interview with *About US*, she states:

> The inside and outside merged sometimes in the newsroom, because I could have a pleasant conversation with a colleague in the newsroom, but if I saw that colleague on the street, they might ignore me or act like they didn't know me. But the backdrop to that also is that race was not discussed in the newsroom except when I would hear some

> editor say something about how in general blacks were regarded, and it was always from an inferior position. (qtd. in Decaille)

Thevenin writes, "African American reporters, especially women, had greater difficulties due to race and gender discrimination even as they had better access to local and national communities" (1059). The community of Black journalists from the Black presses helped her cope with the ill-treatment she received as she recounts being fearful going to work, resulting in panic attacks and later depression, as white coworkers who would speak to her often dismissed her presence when around other white colleagues, leaving her humiliated (Gilliam 31-32). Still, she did not let the treatment in the office deter her from her goal of not only writing stories for *The Washington Post*, but showcasing the whole Black American story to the nation, not just a degraded version, lined with the hatred many white Americans had been taught. With access to the local community, her journalism included writing about the increase in poverty within DC and the effect of environmental racism on the city's Black residents, noting that "many poor black children in the richest nation in the world, who were literally castoffs, [were] segregated into poverty-stricken neighborhoods and housing projects" (Gilliam 27). She became empathetic to these children as she saw these families being treated like outcasts, just as she did in DC. Living in the nation's capital was not the first time she had experienced such prejudice and discrimination as she grew up in the South.

Late November of 1936, Dorothy Pearl Butler was born in Memphis, Tennessee to her parents Jessie Mae and Adee Butler Sr. Like the impoverished children in Washington, DC, who she would later report on, she too grew up in "slum conditions" due to segregation, which may have resulted in her sister contracting tuberculosis and dying from the disease (Gilliam 86). Gilliam's memoir characterizes her upbringing as joyous, full her curiosity and her family's

thirst to stay up to date on current events around the nation and the world, which sparked her interest and familiarity with the newspaper business. Both her parents, college educated educators, encouraged her through their words and actions. They were faithful, determined, and supportive. The motivation from her family was also found within her church community as the Jim Crow laws forced standardized education and religious communities to intersect. It was here that Sunday school teachers prepared and equipped her and other students to face racism by teaching them to not exact revenge on those who harmed them (92-93), unknowingly preparing Gilliam to succeed as an impartial, unbiased reporter. This affirming community of her family and church taught her she could be something (Decaille), helping her to later dream of working as the first Black journalist at *The Washington Post*.

In addition to uplifting Dorothy Butler Gilliam's ambitions, her parents also gave her a glimpse into not only the hardships of society but also the Movement. Her mother had a degree, allowing her work as an educator in their rural, low-income community. However, once the Butler family moved to a larger, more populated area in Memphis, Tennessee, her mother could no longer work as a teacher because her two year-degree was not up to the standards of the area. There were not many four-year colleges for Black Americans in the early twentieth century and there were not many Black women obtaining higher education, let alone four-year degrees due to women being prepared to run households. Regardless, Gilliam's mother pursued an education she later could not put to use, consequently leaving her to find work as a maid in the homes of white people, seeing as segregation made day work one of the few jobs available to Black women (Gilliam 90-91). Gilliam despised the fact that her mother's work ethic and education could not overcome how racism had put her in a position for white people to treat her as less than. At a young age, this was one of the many instances when Dorothy Butler Gilliam had to

confront the experiences of women of color under Jim Crow, and she was not satisfied or content with allowing that to become her reality.

Simultaneously, her family were members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E. Church) while her father was a minister within their congregation. He was drawn to this church because it not only served God but was a pillar in the Black community. A.M.E. was established by Richard Allen, a civil rights activist who created the church out of anti-segregation. Churches in the black community became meeting places for civil rights leaders and played a significant role in producing and educating leaders of the Movement. Consequently, as history remembers the leading roles and charisma of elite male professionals within the Black community, such as ministers (Barnett 164). Gilliam reveals that Black ministers were frequently leaders of the Movement because they had the special ability to gather the whole community, no matter their profession or status as she explains the role her father played within their community (Gilliam 89). Her perspective of her parents, her mother who was often disrespected by white members of society although she was educated and her father who was a respected and active member of a church who aligned themselves with the progress of their community through activism, shaped her understanding of what was happening to her people and what she could do to change it, which brought her to journalism.

In spite of the adversity she witnessed during her adolescence and faced in Washington, DC, and at *The Washington Post*, Gilliam focused on sharing and changing the narrative around Black Americans in society and in the workplace. Her work at *The Washington Post* was a gateway to her activism, allowing her to objectively depict what was happening around the country. Despite the success of integrating Central High School, many institutions in the south still resisted the federal government's ruling for equal education. In 1962, Dorothy Butler

Gilliam was on the ground, reporting the events that occurred as James Meredith, an African American man, attempted to enroll at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi.

Dorothy Butler Gilliam was assigned to report on the integration of Ole Miss because being a black woman, which was once described as a handicap to her success, made her a resource that gave the newspaper special access to the reactions of the local black Mississippians as mentioned by Thevenin. Her ability to cover this story was hampered by the warranted terror that came with traveling to the south as "black life was cheap in Mississippi" (Gilliam qtd. in Wickman 137). Lynching and brutality at the hands of Klu Klux Klan towards people of color was common, blatant practice in the south. This made reporting in the south not only difficult but also life threatening because reporters who detailed the actions of all participants threatened the way of life to which white southerners had become accustomed. To subvert this, many black reporters who covered the Civil Rights Movement in the south would disguise themselves as preachers, covering their typewriter cases and carrying a Bible at all times, or hiding their true intentions. In the face of such calamity, Gilliam still traveled to "a land of black death" (Gilliam 48), with her freelance photographer Ernest Withers, in hopes of sharing the black southerners' experiences fighting for their rights from their points of view, and they faced challenges frequently. While on the way to Oxford, their vehicle was stopped in the middle of the road by white civilians who menacingly inquired about their travels, forcing them to lie about their intentions, stating they were visiting a cousin in Jackson, Mississippi (Gilliam 49), just as other black reporters had to do for their own safety. They finally arrived in Oxford two days after Meredith's first attempt to enroll at Ole Miss, and the prejudice from *The Washington Post* office followed her to Mississippi. Gilliam details how "the travel office at the Post arranged housing for its white reporters traveling to the south, but [Withers and she] were on their own when faced

with the scarcity of segregated facilities" (Wickman 139), leaving them to find shelter in a Black funeral home (Gilliam 53). While she was necessary for covering the integration of Ole Miss, *The Washington Post* treated her just as society did, disposable as they did not care for her safety or considered needing a place to rest as priority because she was inferior.

Before they arrived in Mississippi, it became clear "very few black reporters were assigned to cover the integration crisis, and they were banned by law enforcement from entering the campus at the time" (Thevenin 1059) until military troops arrived. Once in Oxford, Gilliam chose not to try to interview James Meredeth as there had been a riot the night before. Still, she persevered, finding a way to report what was happening in Oxford by reaching out to the community. Again, as a black woman, she had the upper hand on her white counterparts as there was fear among the black community of the repercussions of speaking to white reporters. The reality was the residents of Oxford would still be there after the troops and journalists returned to their homes.

In *Trailblazer*, Dorothy Butler Gilliam asserts:

> People were welcoming and talked openly even if they were surprised to see a young colored woman from a white newspaper. In fact, I found them eager to talk to me. Reporters from the white, rabidly segregationist Mississippi papers that Blacks saw as the enemy never interviewed them. Northern reporters were mainly interested in Governor Barnett and the Meredith drama on campus. Some black Oxford citizens said mobs attacked them as they tried to report to the university for their service jobs-as maids, janitors, drivers, servers, and cooks. Mobs pulled them from their cars, smashed their windows, and otherwise heaped a stream of violence on them. (54)

She explains that the community was present, in awe of Meredith's bravery, enthusiastic about his dedication to integrate the university despite other news outlets reporting the community had evacuated their homes out of fear (54). By speaking to the people directly on behalf of *The Washington Post*, she was able to correct a false narrative that was being spun about what occurred on a national scale.

The voice of Black Mississippians was not the only one Gilliam sought to listen to. After leaving Oxford, she journeyed to Jackson, Mississippi, to interview Medgar Edgar and hear his outlook on the events at Ole Miss as an activist and the Mississippi Field Secretary for the NAACP. It is there he assured her that Meredith had opened the door for others to begin to try to desegregate other institutions within the state, and the NAACP meant to capitalize on this momentum (Gilliam 57). By interviewing Medgar Evers and getting the NAACP's plan and predictions for the future based on the success of James Meredith integrating the University of Mississippi, she was able to share a message of victory, inspiration, and hope to those rooting for the Movement's success.

Dorothy Butler Gilliam overcame difficult obstacles to share the truth about the progress of integration in the South. Her coverage of the integration of Ole Miss was instrumental in showcasing the suffering, harassment, and persecution people of color faced while in the pursuit of equality. She inspired others to follow suit because, if it was possible in Mississippi, it was possible across the country. As the only Black woman journalist at the second largest daily newspaper in the United States, her personal sacrifices and fortitude paved the way for others to follow her path.

Andrew Young, a civil rights leader and close confidant to Dr. King, confirms that there were many strong women in the Movement that nobody knows (qtd. in Capehart). To reiterate, this is not to say there is not information about the instrumental women who recording and preserved the truth of the events during the Movement, but to demonstrate why implementing their stories into standard educational lessons can provide them with the recognition they deserve and provide students with a comprehensive understanding of their history. When sharing the stories of women like Dorothy Butler Gilliam in the classroom, teachers can use these personal narratives to encourage dialogue and understanding while challenging stereotypes and biases. This discussion makes room for the complexity of an often oversimplification of the Movement while combating the politics that led to their lack of recognition.

Dr. Roslyn Pope, "An Appeal for Human Rights," and the Atlanta Student Movement

Segregation in the south was a response to Black Americans receiving their freedom after the Civil War, but the newly freed slaves lacked an education thus leading to the creation of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). These HBCUs were created to "teach free African Americans skills for gainful employment. Students were taught reading, writing and basic math alongside religion and industrial arts" ("History of HBCUs"). HBCUs became a beacon inspiring black ideology, building organizations, and fostering unity. In Georgia, six historically Black colleges and universities, collectively known as the Atlanta University Center (AUC), were the grounds for the student-led Civil Rights Movement. Helping to spearhead what is later recognized as the Atlanta Student Movement, a Spelmanite by the name of Roslyn Pope authored the manifesto that would change the trajectory of the fight for equal rights.

Born on October 29, 1938, Roslyn Elizabeth Pope and raised in the city of Atlanta by her father Rogers and Ruth Pope. The symptoms of the nation's history of racism were evident in the society Dr. Pope grew up in. Her childhood home was on a street named for a horrific Confederate Civil War General (Pope qtd. in Law 1). Her parents were hard workers who created an environment meant to nurture her interests and support her pursuit of higher education. As a child, Dr. Pope was a talented pianist. After guest soloing with the Atlanta Orchestra Symphony, which was all white at the time, Dr. Pope was recognized in the September 3, 1953, issue of *JET* magazine for her artistry and accomplishments (9). In her adolescence, she entered spaces people believed she should not be present in due to her race and gender, representing her community through her diligence and talent. Her accomplishments as a teen led her to Spelman College.

While attending the all-women's historically black college, Dr. Roslyn Pope became very involved on her campus, being elected president of her class all four years of her undergraduate experience. In the midst of this leadership, in her junior year, she was granted a Merrill Scholarship that allowed her to study abroad in France (Risen). In Europe, Dr. Pope did more than learn French and study the piano. She learned about herself and what life could be without the judgment and racial discrimination that constrained her way of life in the American South. She describes the year she lived in Paris as a revelation because throughout Europe she "never had to move to the back of the bus and never was told 'you can't eat here' and [she] was a normal human being for the first time because in [her] previous, prior to Paris life, [she] was fenced in. [She] was not a free person; [she] couldn't go where [she] wanted and do what [she] wanted (Pope qtd. Law 3). It was in her travels across Europe that she finally experienced what it was like to not just be treated like a human being but as an equal.

Ignited by her time abroad, Dr. Roslyn Pope returned to the United States for her last year at Spelman as the student body president, resolved to make a difference in the treatment of her people. She was not the only one committed to changing her community's circumstances. Four black men at Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina (now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University), another HBCU, staged the first sit-in in North Carolina at Woolworth's, prompting sit-ins across the state. As a result of their non-violent protests, The Greensboro Four successfully desegregated the lunch counter ("The Greensboro Four"). Their triumph influenced others, especially students, around the south to begin to peacefully protest, and this effort is what inspired the Atlanta Student Movement.

In the Atlanta University Center, with recruitment by Lonnie King and Julian Bond, students began to gather and organize to formulate plans to uproot the Jim Crow system they were subjected to daily and Dr. Roslyn Pope eagerly joined the cause. The students who organized created the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (COAHR), which was originally comprised of the each university's "president of the student body, the vice president of the student body, and then one other person that the president would choose," resulting in nineteen members (Pope qtd. in Law 4). The presidents of the six universities that created the AUC attempted to discourage the students from protesting. They feared for their safety, but as the committee was on the same page, the presidents pivoted, proposing that the student create a list of grievances to explain to city of Atlanta why they were protesting in white-only spaces and their goals in doing so.

Dr. Pope recalls a subcommittee was created to write this list of grievances because it would be published in Atlanta's Black daily and weekly newspapers, but with no clear leader, the project was stagnant for multiple days. Soon, Dr. Pope stepped up to write the document

alone as the deadline for publication was fast approaching (Pope qtd. in Law 4). The document denounced the segregationist, prejudice, and discriminatory system. It called for equal voting rights, job opportunities for public servants, and federal funding for schools and hospitals. "An Appeal for Human Rights" advocated for equal housing, fair treatment by law enforcement, and integrated public spaces of entertainment. The manifesto highlighted the inequity of the laws that govern education, jobs, housing, voting, hospitals, theaters, restaurants, and law enforcement. In the document Dr. Pope asserted, "The time has come for the people of Atlanta and Georgia to take a good look at what is really happening in this country, and to stop believing those who tell us that everything is fine and equal, and that the Negro is happy satisfied" arguing that the state of Georgia needed to recognize this injustice and delusion that the black community was happy and content with the separate but equal, discriminatory and racist practices of the Jim Crow South (Pope). This document not only outlined their grievances but also declared the students would protest and fight for equal rights until the laws and systems that dehumanized people of color were dismantled. She completed the document writing, "We, therefore, call upon all people in authority — State, County, and City officials; all leaders in civic life — ministers, teachers, and business men; and all people of good will to assort themselves and abolish these injustices. We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and non-violent means at our disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great Democracy of ours" advocating for others to join their cause (Pope). There Dr. Pope conveyed the unyielding commitment the COAHR had to dismantling Jim Crow laws and practices and called for others to join in their fight.

The Black and white press played a significant role in the circulation of the Atlanta Student Movement's statement. It was featured in *The Atlanta Daily World*, the nation's only

Black owned daily newspaper during this period, and white owned presses, *The Atlanta Journal* and *The Atlanta Constitution*. With the combined publicity from both the Black and white media, "An Appeal for Human Rights" reached the whole state, causing public opinion initially to be mixed as some supported the students' initiative while others believed it would stir up trouble within the city. The document reached more than the general public, grabbing the attention of the state's Governor who claimed the appeal could not have been written by a student because it was too eloquently written. Whoever the author was must have been a communist sent to disrupt the order of the state (Pope qtd. in Law 4-5). The public was undeterred by the governor's false and outlandish comments, and the document began to be celebrated around the country. Dr. Pope's "Appeal for Human Rights" was reprinted in *The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Harvard Crimson,* and *The Nation Magazine,* and it caught the attention of Senator Jacob K. Javits from New York, who had the document read into the congressional record ("Dr. Roslyn Pope"; Warren). Due to the efforts of both the Black and white news presses, the Atlanta Student Movement and "An Appeal for Human Rights" received national recognition, promoting the goals and efforts of college educated students of color. After the national publications, more people became involved with the students' battle against injustice.

Dr. Roslyn Pope's leadership within the Civil Rights Movement was centered around the advancement of the Atlanta Student Movement and the COAHR. As a committee member, she helped organize protests and sit-ins. In an interview with Rose Scott, Dr. Pope explains that although she was not on the front lines, participating in the protests herself, she focused on what information was being published and shared to rally those who saw fit to participate. To continue the momentum the "Appeal" had created, the members of COAHR organized a multi-location sit-in at different lunch counters. Marian Elderman recounts how "An Appeal for Human Rights"

drew her to the Atlanta Student Movement as a Spelmanite, stating, “We students believed in the Appeal and the meaning behind it with our whole minds and bodies and souls and were prepared to go to jail and even to die for those beliefs.” On March 15th, 1960, that belief was tested as students who participated in the sit-ins were arrested for attempting to be served. The demonstrations did not stop there. In October of 1960, students participated in sit-ins at Rich’s Department Store, which was one of the largest department stores and lunch counters in Atlanta, eventually being joined by Dr. King and other prominent leaders. Protestors, including Dr. King, were arrested and soon the student organizer transitioned into boycotting the store, making the department store suffer nearing ten million dollars in losses over their holiday season (Black qtd. in WABE). The COAHR’s “demonstrations and boycotts eventually led to an Atlanta Compromise: seventy-five stores officially opened up 177 counters to Black citizens, and in September 1961 Atlanta became the 104th city to desegregate lunch counters after the student sit-in movement began” (Elderman). Their goal was not to just be served food and be able to eat where others ate, the integration of the lunch counters symbolized equal, humane treatment of Black and brown bodies.

Dr. Pope’s impact did not stop with the original edition of “An Appeal for Human Rights,” which is regarded as the heartbeat of the Atlanta Student Movement. Forty years later, in 2000, she wrote “A Second Appeal For Human Rights” to combat the continued racial and political disparities that still plagued the city of Atlanta and the country. Subsequently in 2010, a fifty-year commemorative “Appeal For Human Rights” was published to acknowledge the achievements of its predecessor while also addressing the twenty-first century issues that were present then and are still present under a new guise (“An Appeal for Human Rights: 1960, 2000, 2010”).

In the face of injustice and inhumane treatment, student leaders organized to build a better society, not just for themselves but for future generations. Dr. Roslyn Pope took her experience in Europe and allowed it to become a tenacious activist who used her words to speak for not only students within the Atlanta University Center but Black Americans across the nation. Her work and legacy can be seen through the continued use of "An Appeal for Human Rights" to fight for equality today.

"An Appeal for Human Rights" and Dr. Pope's story can be used to fill a gap in the current discourse about the Movement. As mentioned, my own experience growing up in Georgia, not even forty-minutes from the epicenter of the Atlanta Student Movement, I saw the lapse in my understanding of an integral part of my history as a Black southern woman because did not know the names of these women who contributed to the changes that have improved my existence living in the United States beyond my imagination. There should be attention brought to the effect Black women writers, publishers, editors, and journalist had on the fight for equality. As an educator, it is my belief that by integrating diverse personal stories into curricula, teachers can model ways to provide recognition to overlooked or marginalized voices such as these, foster inclusive learning environments, and equip students with the knowledge, skills, and perspectives necessary to engage with and appreciate the complexities of the human experience. "An Appeal for Human Rights" and the impact of Dr. Roslyn Pope are perfect examples to be integrated into curriculum to explore intersectionality, promote critical thinking and empathy, and provide representation in the classroom.

INTEGRATION THEN AND NOW: "WRITING AND RESEARCH WITH IMPACT"

Integration of the education system was a focal point in the activism these women participated in. Integration does not end with equal access to education. These women's stories and contributions should be incorporated into the standard curriculum at the secondary level and across disciplines at the post-secondary level. As mentioned in the literature review, assimilating the stories of the Black women whose involvement in the Civil Rights Movement influenced its success into textbooks and course design can improve students' critical thinking and engagement in the classroom. As the contributions of these women dictated pivotal moments in the Movement, introducing their crucial involvement will provide students with a multifaceted, objective perspective on their history, while also creating a diverse educational environment that encourages their potential.

Textbooks and contemporary literature that discuss the Civil Rights Movement focus primarily on the actions of men which Sarah Bair describes could be a result of the four most commonly used history textbooks having small portions dedicated to the Movement and even less acknowledgement of the contributions of women. As the efforts of these women dictated pivotal moments in the Movement, introducing their crucial involvement will provide students with a multifaceted, objective perspective on their history, while also creating a diverse educational environment that encourages their potential. This deliverable is a part of a chapter being co-written by Ahlan Filstrup, Dr. Jeanne Law, and myself as a part of a Routledge edited collection to advocate for representation, acknowledgement, and discussion of social justice in the classroom.

With the intention to integrate and implement the work of Black women writers, editors, and journalist into course design, this scaffolded assignment is meant to help introduce students

to writing and research as a response to a larger conversation created by either everyday problems or event-based problems, increase student understanding about the effects the past has on their communities in the present, and spark a conversation about social justice within the classroom. This low-stakes in-class activity meets English 1102 course objectives at Kennesaw State University, as they focus on the use of research to improve student writing. With the intention to integrate and implement the work of Black women writers, editors, and journalist into course design, this lesson uses "An Appeal for Human Rights" written by Dr. Roslyn Pope to improve student comprehension of the ENGL 1102 objectives and expand on ENGL1101 rhetorical lessons of writing serving as a message to an audience with the purpose of responding to a larger conversation created by either everyday problems or event-based problems.

This lesson plan is an extension of assignment guidelines from an OER major assignment developed by Ahlan Filstrup for an ENGL1102 course to promote research and social justice. The goal of reworking this assignment into a scaffolded activity was to create an exercise that both focused on the learning outcomes of the course and was pedagogically effective, but also allowed students to uncover the lasting impression social justice has on current cultural moments in the US. This activity not only discusses "An Appeal for Human Rights" but also discusses Dr. Roslyn Pope as an activist and author. This in-class activity is meant to be implemented into the classroom during the beginning stages of the research process, while students are choosing, investigating, and analyzing the credibility and significance of their sources.

The key FYC Program Learning Objectives for ENGL1102 are to enhance and reiterate the aims of ENGL1101 by empowering students to engage, analyze, and utilize various sources representing multiple perspectives, and improve their writing and research skills by entering an on-going conversation. Dylan B. Dryer emphasizes writing, and by proxy research, are not innate

skills; therefore, they must be developed, but as a general education course, instructors must consider how to create an environment in which students are invested in their development (29). As previously mentioned, educators are challenged with preparing students to address a society that is increasingly interconnected and diverse while simultaneously being polarized and disconnected. In my courses, students engage in research that introduces them to the world beyond the classroom, investigates their own communities, and explores how to connect their identity to their writing. This in-class group assignment is best fit to generate a deeper understanding about the impact of writing as a response to significant events that influence our connected communities.

Kevin Roozen asserts that writing is a social, collaborative, and rhetorical act (18) while Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstien highlight writing as a response to larger conversation (6). Larger conversations and responses can be created due to everyday problems or event-based problems (Nicotra 112). Keeping these notions and the Transparency in Learning and Teaching (TILT) method in mind, I chose to make the in-class scaffolding activity, based on the OER major assignment "Timeline | Research," a group activity using "An Appeal for Human Rights," a pivotal moment in the Atlanta Student Movement timeline, as the reference material. "An Appeal for Human Rights" was the perfect text for this course because it is an excellent example of writing and research as a response to everyday problems because it directly addresses everyday issues as a result of the Jim Crow era and reflects how our identities influence our writing and connects many communities. Below is the TILT lesson plan for this scaffolding activity:

Writing and Research with an Impact Activity

Purpose

You will gain knowledge of writing as a rhetorical response to everyday and event-based problems by investigating important legal policies or events that occurred during the Civil Rights era while practicing introductory, college-level research.

Skills

- Strengthen research and writing skills
- Understand cause and effect as it pertains to social, political, and legal change

Task

Read through "An Appeal for Human Rights" written by Civil Rights activist Dr. Roslyn Pope as a response to the injustices African Americans faced in the Jim Crow south, sparking the Atlanta Student Movement. In your groups, choose one of the seven sections of "An Appeal for Human Rights" you all feel most connected to and do some research into events that occurred, or laws and policies that were put into place as a result of this document. Following your group's research, respond to the in-class discussion board.

Criteria for Success

Your group's discussion board post will cover the origins of a specific law, policy, or event that occurred due to the impact of the ASM, and how it has influenced your lives overtime. This will require thorough research of multiple sources. You may also include personal examples of how

the law has affected you or your community. An excellent discussion board must address the following:

- A research question using the key words: equity, unequal, issues and policies, laws, or events
- Discuss at least one source to help answer the research question
- Answer the following for the source(s):
    - **Who** wrote it?
    - **What** was said? What new information did you find?
    - **When** was it published? Relevance?
    - **Where** was it published? Is this credible?
    - **Why** is this information significant to your research question?
    - **How** does this connect to “An Appeal for Human Rights”?
- Discuss this event, law, or policy’s impact/effect on you or your community as a group.

My course introduces society beyond the education system and support students' inquiry into how identity, writing, and research intersect. I began the activity by introducing "An Appeal for Human Rights," providing contexts for students such as it was published in 1960 during the Civil Rights Movement, written by Dr. Roslyn Pope, providing her background as a student in their region, for the betterment of all mankind, not just Black and white people, so they not only saw the usefulness of text as entering a conversation, but the impact social justice in their community then and now.

The activity began by asking students to read "An Appeal for Human Rights," and the class discussed the connection between this text, their identities, and writing as a response. Following this discussion, students were placed into groups to research events, laws, or policies related to one of the seven sections of "An Appeal for Human Rights" their group felt most connected to. Using the prompt above, students created a research question, conducted that research, and documented their results as a group. After students completed their work within their groups, they shared their group's findings with the class, allowing everyone to see the relatedness of their communities and the impact social justice work has on people with diverse backgrounds.

As a "ticket out of the door" students were asked to submit anonymous feedback about their experience with this lesson as it pertained to their understanding of the research process, writing, social justice, and their engagement with the in-class activity. The feedback questionnaire was comprised of four close-ended questions and one open-ended question:

1. This assignment was helpful to me in understanding the beginning of the research process.
2. This assignment was useful to me in my understanding of writing.

3. I enjoyed this assignment.
4. This assignment encouraged me to think deeper about the impact social justice has in my life.
5. My thoughts on how the assignment worked or didn't work for me.

Empowering students to be stakeholders in their own learning and implementing a democratic pedagogy are cornerstones for my teaching philosophy. These principles were applied in the design of this activity, allowing students to select their groups, choose their topics from the source material, compose their research question, and evaluate and assess the information they found in response to their research questions. Individual student engagement with this activity could be impacted by many different factors, such as having limited time to complete the assignment as it was done in one fifty-minute session and working in groups rather than individually. Still, this mixed method study prompted student responses to be dictated by their feelings and the results reflect an overwhelmingly positive pilot.

Question one assessed this exercise's helpfulness in understanding the beginning of the research process. With ninety-seven percent of the students agreeing they found the activity beneficial in aiding their understanding of writing, and three percent disagreeing, it was successful. A goal while executing this assignment was to make sure supplemental assignments designed based on the OER materials created by Ahlan would align with FYC Program Learning Objectives for English 1102, which is to improve student comprehension of the writing and research process.

Research begins with inquiry, and inquiry starts with a question. By constructing a low-stakes activity that begins with students crafting a research question and then analyzing the information they found in response to their question meets the goals of FYC. As previously

stated, the FYC Program Learning Objectives not only focus on enhancing student understanding of the research process but also on improving and expanding their skills and knowledge of the writing process. Student responses indicate the design of this assignment assisted in their understanding of writing as a tool as ninety-one percent of students agreed it aided them and the remaining nine percent had no opinion. “An Appeal for Human Rights” allowed students to see the relationship between writing, research, and rhetoric, in addition to being an example of writing and research as a rhetorical tool to respond to problems, they were also able to use it to enter an ongoing conversation about social justice and its effect on them. Survey Question 3 gauges how much students enjoyed the assignment. As shown in Figure 1, there were three possible answers and percentages for each that will help us get a sense of students’ attitudes towards the assignment design, presentation, and organization.

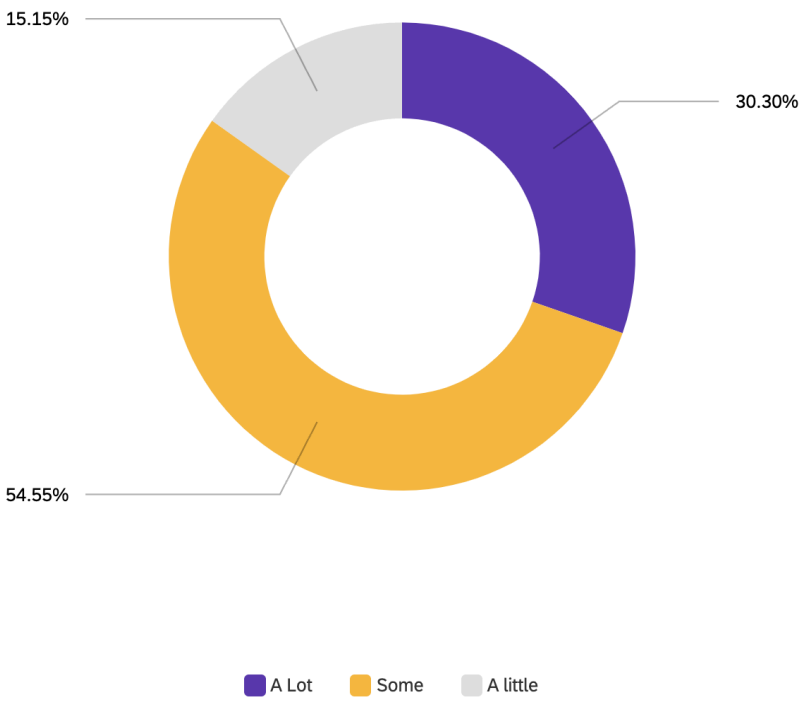

Figure 1. Student responses to Question 3: “I enjoyed this assignment.”

Question three directly reflects student engagement with the assignment as it asks how well they enjoyed participating in the activity. Figure 1 presents the student responses as thirty percent expressed they enjoyed the assignment “a lot” while fifty-five percent of students enjoyed it “some” and fifteen percent enjoyed it “a little.” If we collapse the statements some and a little, nearly seventy percent of students were less entertained with the activity as opposed to the remaining thirty percent who were very fond of the assignment. In spite of the lack of enthusiasm for assignment, students did have the option to select if they did not enjoy the assignment at all and no respondents did. While the initial responses provided a snapshot of student attitudes, we did not measure variables that could influence these degrees, such as likes or dislikes of group work, group dynamics, and in-class assignment length.

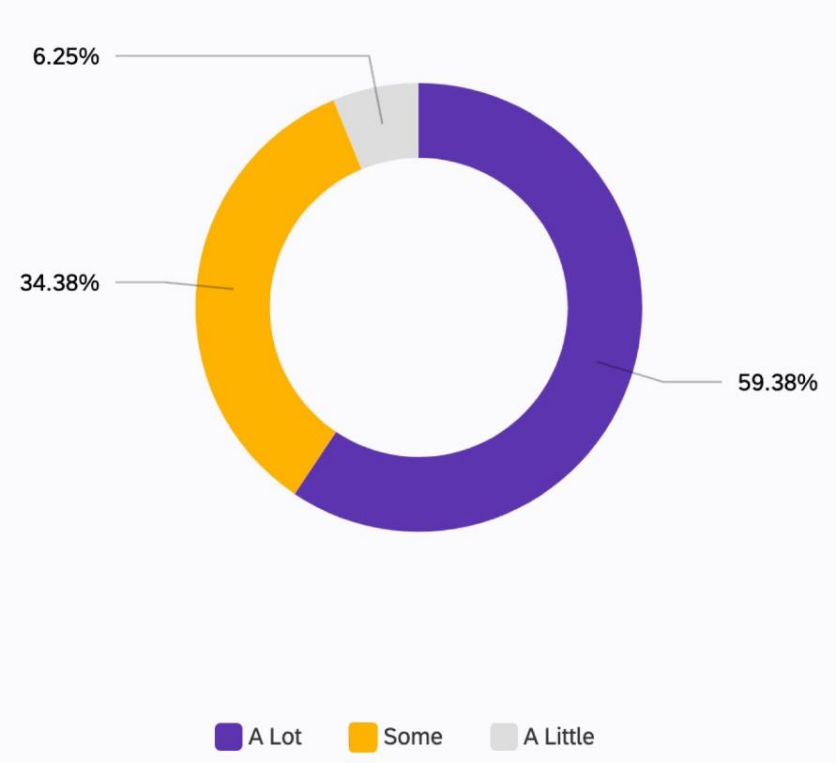

Figure 2. Student responses to Question 4: “This Assignment Encouraged me to Think Deeper about the Impact Social Justice has in my Life”

In analyzing the efficacy of the assignment, we also wanted to assess if it encouraged students to connect the maxims of "An Appeal for Human Rights" to their own lives. Figure 2 shows preliminary results of this assessment. Kennesaw State University has a unique demographic that is reflected within my diverse classroom. Despite a student's background or identity, social justice has influenced their life. Figure 2 depicts the result of question four which asks if students felt encouraged to think deeper about the impact of social justice in their lives. Sixty percent of students expressed that the activity encouraged them a lot to think about the impact of social justice while thirty-four percent said they felt somewhat encouraged and six percent were a little encouraged. Similar to the responses to question three, students did have the option to select if they did not feel encouraged by the assignment at all to think deeper about social justice and no respondent did. Collapsing the some and a little response again, the data shows sixty percent of students were able to critically think about the influence of social justice in their life while forty percent of students considered the impact but did not greatly expand their thinking on the subject.

Question five was an open-ended question that asked for students' thoughts on how the assignment worked or didn't work for them. A sentiment analysis, the process of detecting the emotional tone, meaning, and implications of words, conducted by Dr. Law for the written responses yielded 14 positive and 14 neutral responses. There were no negative responses indicated. Key insights include:

1. Overall sentiment of the responses is slightly positive, as indicated by the average polarity.

2. Half of responses are positive; the other half are neutral. No explicitly negative responses.

3. Average subjectivity is moderate, suggesting a balance between personal opinions and objective statements in the responses.

The responses are centered around personal experiences and impacts, as indicated by the frequent use of personal pronouns and references to the self. Focus on the assignment's process and influence on respondents, as seen in words like "how" and "it." The repetition of "assignment" confirms responses are directly addressing the question. The sentiment and textual analysis together suggest that the respondents generally had a positive or neutral experience with the assignment. The responses reflect a personal engagement with the assignment and its process, with no negative sentiment detected. This indicates an overall positive reception of the assignment among the respondents.

Overall, student engagement with this activity could be a direct reflection of the group dynamic that was in place for this assignment. During group work, many times some students who are more interested in a topic take a leadership role while others within the group decide to do only what they are instructed within the group. Additionally, due to groups, students had to collaborate on the topic they chose to investigate from the reference material; therefore, if a student was not attached to the topic, their interest in the assignment may have faltered. Frequently, this results in the students who take a backseat approach to the group work being less engaged with the assignment and the objectives it is meant to meet. Despite the possible influential factors such as the assignment being in class, group work, and time limits, students still found the assignment engaging and were able to think critically and unveil the lasting impact social justice work has on their communities. Crafting work that supports collaborative learning and highlights the importance of sharing diverse perspectives, through archival primary sources,

for students to engage with, motivates critical thinking and writing skills while aligning with FYC Program Learning Objectives in practical yet innovative ways.

WHAT HISTORY REMEMBERS AND WHY

There is a lack of representation of the contributions Black women have made to the Civil Rights Movement. This can be attributed to the fact that most literature and textbooks focus on the involvement and efforts of men. The image that their character and credibility create, such as their professional careers and use of charisma, have been allowed to overshadow Black women, who are bound by respectability politics due to their background, education, and class (Barnett 3-4). In addition to respectability politics, men often overshadowed women or assumed the acclaim for the successes of others. Each woman, Daisy Bates, Dorothy Butler Gilliam, and Dr. Roslyn Pope has been affected by respectability politics as their race and gender allowed for others to diminish, overshadow their success.

For example, Dorothy Butler Gilliam endured respectability politics as a survival tactic while working at *The Washington Post*. Respectability politics caused Butler Gilliam to sacrifice more than her pride: she sacrificed her mental health. She was dressed well, "wearing a proper professional dress with a skirt below the knees and medium heels" (Gilliam 6), so as to not threaten the white communities she entered and with the hopes that by dressing nice, she would be treated better in white spaces. This effort was in vain both in society and the workplace. The two-faced behavior or blatant refusal of her white colleagues to acknowledge her in office or in public began to take a toll on her mentally.

Erin M. Kerrison et al. state, "The politics of 'Black Respectability' foreground Black citizens' individual and collective responsibility to prioritize self-policing, polish, and propriety" (1). Black respectability politics focus on the image and background of an individual and how that affects the public's opinion of them. It is a strategy to combat discrimination by presenting

oneself as respectable or "normal" to those in power. Keeping this in mind, she never spoke of the mistreatment she endured to her editors or supervisors. In white spaces, Dorothy Butler Gilliam represented not only herself but also every other Black woman they encountered or tried to hire (Gilliam 8). If she had shared her hardships, she may have been labeled as "difficult" or "incapable," so she suppressed her anger, rejection, and humiliation until it caused her to experience panic attacks and later depression (Gilliam 31-32). In a world where simply existing was considered less-than, feeling as though you cannot express yourself to uphold an image for the betterment of those to come takes a toll, which she eventually paid. Yet, when faced with trouble and condescension, Dorothy Butler Gilliam persevered, committed to sharing the truth and motivating her community to fight for civil rights and justice.

Despite the important contribution of Daisy Bates to the Civil Rights Movement, her work is often overlooked as she is often excluded and criticized due to her aggressive leadership style and respectability politics. She also faced challenges related to her gender and race as a Black woman in a male-dominated field. For instance, Daisy Bates was the only woman to speak at the 1963 March on Washington, but that was not the original plan. Carolyn Calloway-Thomas and Thurmon Garnerin, in "Daisy Bates and the Little Rock School Crisis," describe how

> There was something peculiar about this great moment in American history: Black women were virtually barred from participation, among them Rosa Parks, Diane Nash Revel, Gloria Richardson, and Daisy Bates. 'The committee scheduled no female speakers during the entire three-hour program' (Branch, 1988, p. 880). Anna Arnold Hedge-man, author of The Trumpet Sounds, recalls that 'Mrs. Daisy Bates was asked to say a few words' (quoted in Giddings, 1984, p. 314). . . Having successfully led the integration of Arkansas Little Rock Central High School in 1957, Bates should have been

> a premier performer at the March on Washington when Martin Luther King, Jr. articulated and crystallized the Black movement toward justice; instead, she was relegated to the background. (616)

Daisy Bates was an afterthought when it came to speaking at the historic 1963 March on Washington despite her leadership accomplishments in Arkansas. Although she was the only Black woman to speak at the March on Washington, she is not remembered due history's focus on the work of other Black male activists such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. This exclusion from history could be credited to respectability politics.

According to Misti Nicole Harper, in "Portrait of (an Invented) Lady: Daisy Gaston Bates and the Politics of Respectability," "Bates would seem to have lacked virtually every possible marker of what defined southern respectability. That she was female and Black only complicated things" (32). Her lack of respectability stemmed from her upbringing as she was orphaned by a mother who conceived her out of wedlock, and many speculate that no one knew who her birth parents were as "no contemporary birth certificate exists" for her (33). Her lack of familial information and her marital discrepancies allowed many to criticize and disrespect her legacy. The use of respectability politics is meant to harm Black women who were already marginalized and faced multiple forms of discrimination.

In "Daisy Bates: Civil Rights Crusader from Arkansas," Karen Anderson's review of Grif Stockley's book *Daisy Bates: Civil Crusader from Arkansas*, Anderson discusses how Stockley demeans Daisy Bates by destroying her credibility. Stockley focuses on her lack of family history, calling her mother's murder impossible to prove, and demonstrating how the discussion around her marriage to L.C. Bates "leave[s] out the fact he remained married to another woman

for several years after the initiation of their relationship." as she could have been motivated to start a relationship with him as he "enabled her to get out of the poverty and hopelessness that a life in Hutting, Arkansas" would have afforded her as she was poorly educated (1). Anderson showcases how Daisy Bates was ridiculed for not having a perfect image and how people used it to tarnish her reputation even after her passing because she did not fit the mold of a respectable civil rights leader.

Respectability politics also play a role in Daisy Bates's lack of notoriety despite her influence during the Civil Rights Movement. Her role was so influential that arguably the most notable civil rights figure acknowledged her contributions to the Movement. According to The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, in an article titled "Bates, Daisy," Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote a letter to Daisy Bates in response to the Little Rock integration to provide support and advice on September 26, 1957. In the letter, he encourages her to continue the fight for desegregation and equality in Arkansas. Still, she is forgotten or excluded from many histories of the Little Rock Nine incident. For example, the National Museum of African American History and Culture's article "The Little Rock Nine," details the events that happened as nine Black teenagers were the first to attend Central High School in Arkansas by sharing the specifics leading up to, during, and following The Little Rock Nine's attendance at Central High School.

Despite this article being written to share the facts of this historical moment, Daisy Bates is left out. This erasure from history due to respectability politics is similar to what happened to Claudette Colvin. In Margot Adler's article "Before Rosa Parks, There Was Claudette Colvin," Claudette Colvin, in her own words, describes how the NAACP did not want her as the face of the bus boycott because she was an unreliable, dark skin teenager as opposed to Rosa Parks who

was the secretary for the NAACP, fair-skinned, respected, and well known. Rosa Parks had the overall image, while Claudette did not, similar to Daisy Bates. She is a testament to recognizing the contributions of those who may not fit into the mold of a "respectable" leader, as she played a significant role in advancing social justice causes.

Daisy Bates was a powerhouse figure in the Civil Rights Movement. Her contribution to the fight for desegregation in Arkansas, as she worked vigorously so that marginalized students had access to an equal, quality education, is a testament to the hard work of Black women activists during the time. Often putting herself in danger, risking her reputation, and facing numerous challenges, she never wavered. Her legacy as a writer, editor, publisher, journalist, and activist inspires all, as she is an example of how one person's voice and courage can cause change.

Daisy Bates was not the only one whose contributions to the Movement were overshadowed due to their gender and race as Dr. Roslyn Pope also faced these challenges. As previously mentioned, The National Parks Service attests "while countless women played important roles at various points during the Black Freedom Struggle, it is men who still receive more attention and credit for the successes of the movement, particularly in commemorative efforts and historical narratives" ("Women in the Civil Rights Movement"). It is well documented in many interviews given by founding members of the COAHR such as Julian Bond, Charles Black, Lonnie King and herself, that Dr. Pope could not get the others, especially the men on the writing committee, to work on "An Appeal for Human Rights," yet, in commemorative ceremonies and various publications she is not given sole credit or her male counterparts assume responsibility for the manifesto, especially after her passing. For example, *The New York Times,* claims she wrote it with the help of Julian Bond, who in reality typed up

what she had written down herself, long-hand. Some of the inconsistency around the authorship of the document could also be attributed to the fact that representatives from the six AUC colleges and universities signed the document, with Dr. Pope's name being the last listed.

The Atlanta Student Movement and Dr. Roslyn Pope's lack of acknowledgement could be a result of Dr. King's participation in their efforts for social justice. Barnett explains, "Of those leaders within the Black community, Martin Luther King, Jr., has occupied the majority of that focus" (Barnett 164) This overshadowing could be due a transition of power from women leaders to men. Barnett attributes this to the "consequence of the tendency for women to be the initiators and to assume leadership roles in the early phase of revolutionary protest (which is 'unstructured,' "emergent," and "dangerous") and for men to take over and assume positions of leadership during the later phase of the protest" (175-76). Because Dr. King was such a prominent figure in the Civil Rights Movement, his involvement with the Atlanta Student Movement distorted the perception of who was leading this area's charge for equality. The work of the students was attributed to them because of the focus on Dr. King. In spite of that, Dr. Pope's influence can be felt through the many other movements that have drawn on her words to help support their fight for equal rights. For example, the 1960 edition of "An Appeal for Human Rights" was used to help create Freedom University's "Undocumented Appeal for Human Rights" (Sanchez and Aragón).

This project sheds a light on the problem with the depiction of history thus far by the education system, historians, and literature and offers a solution, acknowledging these women and continuing their legacy through the integration of their stories into curricula, despite the respectability politics that hindered their recognition to begin with. Each woman has received praise for their work but there are still many people who do not know the sacrifices these Black

women writers, editors, and publishers had to make so positive social change could be accomplished. My contribution to the preservation of history is to continue to share the stories of these women and their impact on the nation because sharing their stories keeps their legacies alive for future generations. One of the best ways to correct history's amnesia is by using the education system to help rewrite the half narrative that is being depicted in today's curriculum and textbooks. These Black women are reminders that anyone can shape history and make an impact.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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Kennesaw State University, Kennesaw, GA
Master of Arts in Professional Writing, Expected May 2024

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Employment History

Kennesaw State University *Fall 2022-Spring 2024*

Teacher of Record
Graduate Teaching Assistant

- Worked in the KSU Writing Center as a peer tutor, collaborated with students to advance their writing skills
- Crafted and executed lesson plans as I co-taught an ENGL1102 course
- Created a positive learning environment through effective classroom management techniques
- Taught ENGL1101 and ENGL1102 courses as the Teacher of Record
- Adapted instructional methods to accommodate diverse cultural backgrounds
- Developed and implemented lesson plans for a variety of learning styles and student needs
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Vinyle Zine *Spring 2023*

Editor

- Trained new editors to edit/revise and assess submission entries
- Revised material for publication and provide constructive criticism for all submissions
- Reviewed story ideas and provide creative feedback
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Experience and Publications

Feminisms & Rhetoric Conference *October 2023*
"Amplifying Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Approaches to Feminist Research and Student-Faculty Mentoring"

Conference on College Composition and Communication *April 2024*
"An Abundance of Learning: Students Teaching Faculty About Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Belonging Through Innovative Research Projects"

Designing for Social Justice: Community-engaged Approaches to Technical and Professional Communication *Winter 2024*
"What We Came Here For: Students Learning Local Civil Rights Rhetorics as Part of Kennesaw State University's Primary Source Initiative, the #ATLStudentMovement Project."

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Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning (CETL) *August 2023*
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