

THE TRANSCENDENT PEDAGOGY OF LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL, 1921-1955: THE  
AIMS, PURSUITS, AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN  
EDUCATORS DURING *DE JURE* SEGREGATION

By

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To my mother, Constance Elaine Houchen, and my son, Solomon Josiah Houchen

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
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By

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This work is a case history of Lincoln High School, a southern all-African American K-12 institution during the latter period of de jure segregation (1921-1955). Lincoln High School is the second of two historic African American educational institutions in Gainesville, Florida. It was born out of The Union Academy, an institution that began at the close of the Civil War. Together, these two institutions constitute over one hundred years of seamless African American led education in the city. During the period of de jure segregation, African American education—particularly the development of secondary schools and higher education institutions—was systemically undermined. However, African American educators worked within and around the system designed by white educators to fight for education’s promise and potential.

The study answers three sets of questions regarding African American education during de jure segregation. The first set of questions investigates national, regional and local African Americans aims for education to understand their intent and purposes for formal schooling. The second set of questions investigates professional networks of African American educators who advanced these aims across the southern region and

within the locale of Gainesville, Florida. The third set of questions investigates pedagogy and professional development at Lincoln High School to understand what was translated into practice.

The study uses archival materials, such as records of teacher observations and questionnaires, course curricula, and faculty professional development materials, as well as oral history narratives of former school administrators, teachers, and students, to examine how African American education was perceived, practiced, and negotiated by African Americans in response to their collective desires, social, and legal oppression. Elucidating the voices and actions of regional and national African American educator associations, the study concludes that the vision guiding African American educators--to resist, transform, and transcend oppression in and through education—was translated into a pedagogy and organizational practice by African American administrators and teachers at the local level. The result was an educational institution with the capacity to reshape the trajectories of African American youth.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Five years ago, I met with my advisor while still pursuing my master's research in culturally relevant/responsive pedagogy in light of high-stakes exit exams.<sup>1</sup> We had an informal conversation to brainstorm my potential future research interests. I was sure that I would pursue a doctorate. I remember looking at Dr. Ross's bookshelf and noting the book *Black Education: A Transformative Research and Action Agenda for the New Century*, which I had also recently purchased.<sup>2</sup> I told Dr. Ross I wanted to answer the question: Who taught Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?<sup>3</sup> By that question, I meant that I wanted to investigate the rich decades that preceded the rise of the Civil Rights Movement. Who were the parents, teachers, and community members who raised up a generation of prominence while their own stories remained in obscurity? Moreover, what was the vision that guided their sacrifice and endurance?

I did not set out to write a historical dissertation. I anticipated that I would do some study of contemporary pedagogy. But this unanswered question loomed large. It felt irresponsible to continue my work guiding and teaching African American students without a deeper understanding of the teachers who guided the students of previous generations. I did not yet have a plan, nor a specific topic for investigation. However, I

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<sup>1</sup> Diedre Houchen, "'Stakes Is High' Culturally Relevant Practitioner Inquiry With African American Students Struggling to Pass Secondary Reading Exit Exams," *Urban Education* 48, no. 1 (2013): 92–115.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce E. King, *Black Education: A Transformative Research and Action Agenda for the New Century* (Routledge, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> In the fall of 2014, I had the pleasure of attending the Educating Harlem Conference at Columbia Teachers College. Dr. Vanessa Siddle Walker provided the keynote address on the topic, "Continuing Problems and Forgotten Solutions: Resurrecting the Historical Resistance Strategies of Southern African American School Leaders." In her remarks, Dr. Siddle-Walker articulated the same question, affirming that this was an abiding question of scholarship.

had a trail of unanswered questions that emerged during my own upbringing and my subsequent journey as a black parent raising an African American child.

I am a first generation native-born African American, and yet still a child of the Caribbean. My parents, grandparents, and all my extended family except for my generation came from Jamaica. My maternal and paternal families immigrated to this country en masse, each making a way for another, bringing tribes of Houchens, Lobbans, and Skyers to these shores. All of my relatives inhabited my home, and I theirs. My understanding of a nuclear family included aunts and uncles, cousins and grand-uncles; I learned to stop asking how we were related and to just accept the bond. My parents became naturalized citizens in the 1950s, but remained firmly entrenched within a Jamaican identity and community. My parents, siblings, and I lived in Laurelton, Queens, New York, but I was reared in family homes across Brooklyn and Queens in enclaves of “West Indian” culture. We were the insiders, and we lived our various cultures out loud and with great harmony.

Consequently, the stories and history of the dominant American culture were not alive at my dinner table, nor did they exist in my historical memory. As I encountered others, particularly in school, I birthed the history of the American experience, and with that, the African American experience. For example, I remember learning how to celebrate the independence holiday on July 4th (there was no red, blue, and white celebratory anything in my home). Later, I had to learn why some of my African American peers felt excluded from this holiday celebration.

I moved to Gainesville, Florida at nine years old in the 1980s. I was one of two Jamaican-American children in my large school community. (The other was my brother.)

I learned quickly that neither my white peers nor my black peers had any frame of reference for Afro-Caribbeans. In both groups' minds, I did not fit within their peer group. It was a lonely childhood. It was then that I learned to write poems to capture my thoughts. I penned my first poem, "Racism," in the third grade. I look back on that first poem with great gratitude for my writing self. How brave I was to name the disease that was all around me.

When I look back at my childhood years in Gainesville, my sixth-grade science class remains forever etched in my memory. My teacher, Mr. Burdock, was excellent—fun, engaging, prone to experiment, and knowledgeable. I sat at a table with three other students. Two were African American males who lived in Lincoln Estates, a historically African American neighborhood on the east side of Gainesville. These two young boys were brilliant, funny, inquisitive, and quite like my brother. I grew to love science class and their company. However, over time, our paths diverged in sad and troubling ways. By high school, I had been singled out as one of a few black students able to succeed in honors and AP coursework. Meanwhile, these two boys were now both in special education courses, tucked away in another hallway. What had happened, and why? This question and others like it direct my studies to this day.

Time and again throughout my youth and in my journey as an educator, I have seen personal and institutionalized racism scar souls and shape experiences and opportunities. For instance, my teaching expertise is in English and reading. The majority of my classroom teaching experience has been with students scoring in the lowest quartile on standardized achievement tests. Those children and youth are overwhelmingly students of color. They are dispirited, disinterested and defiant. In my

master's thesis, I described how academic tracking and testing shaped students' motivation and self-perception, leaving them feeling stupid, frustrated, and on the margins.<sup>4</sup> Countering these perceptions was difficult and emotional work. (But it was possible, and well worth my effort and theirs.) In teachers' lounges, I have heard peers make life-altering judgments casually and callously: bemoaning a perceived lack of parental care and educational participation in African American communities, and placing the responsibility for students' apparent low achievement on the shoulders of African American parents and communities. Race and racism plague so many facets of education. The problems are many, and often feel insurmountable.

As a mother, I have had to learn to battle so that my son can have a friendly, caring, learning experience. As I am an experienced educator and an academic, my head knew that racism and racial inequities were entrenched within education, but my heart expected that this would be an easier journey for my family. My son is currently in the fifth grade. He has been to three schools in the last six years due to our search for a school that would be warm and encouraging and that would support his precocious curiosity and sensitive spirit. His first three years of schooling were incredibly difficult. Despite his high intellect and gifted status, his first teachers had many negative comments to share about his academic performance and behavior. Discipline referrals, repeated team meetings, and an alarming observation of his teacher's practice ensued. Eventually, I moved him to a small elementary charter school run by African Americans that served primarily African American students. There, his gifts were nurtured with love,

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<sup>4</sup> Houchen, "'Stakes Is High' Culturally Relevant Practitioner Inquiry With African American Students Struggling to Pass Secondary Reading Exit Exams."

care, personal mentoring and academic guidance. However, like many schools serving high numbers of African American students, the school struggled to meet the needs of its students (many of whom were living in material poverty) with its limited resources. I have recently moved him again in hopes of finding an environment where he can bloom and thrive. I can only imagine how hard the journey is for others with children of different abilities.

As a result of these kinds of experiences, I began to ask questions in my own academic research about the local context for past and present relationships between race, racism, and educational opportunity. Yet often as I discussed my interests with white teachers and white community members, I encountered uneasy silences. My questions were glossed over; the responses I got often emphasized “color-blind” instruction for all children.<sup>5</sup> However, an older generation of African American teachers began to disclose a bitter narrative of loss associated with the closing of a school formerly of great importance to the local community: Lincoln High School.

One experience brought this poignantly to the surface. A few years ago, I facilitated a series of “Dismantling Racism” study circles for the City of Gainesville’s

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<sup>5</sup> Numerous studies discuss the phenomenon of “color-blindness,” particularly in white teachers. White teachers often assert that they do not “see race” or that they are color-blind, believing this to be a positive way to interact with children. Yet this is harmful. It does not take into account the reality of racism for students of color, nor the implications of racism within the classroom and the education system as a whole. It also limits the teacher’s ability to draw upon students’ cultural and sociopolitical backgrounds as assets in teaching and learning. See the following for discussions of color-blindness in education and pedagogy: Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc, 2010); Christine E. Sleeter, “How White Teachers Construct Race,” *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, 2004, 163–78; Linda Valli, “The Dilemma of Race: Learning to Be Color Blind and Color Conscious,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 46, no. 2 (1995): 120–29; Marilyn Cochran-Smith, “Color Blindness and Basket Making Are Not the Answers: Confronting the Dilemmas of Race, Culture, and Language Diversity in Teacher Education,” *American Educational Research Journal* 32, no. 3 (1995): 493–522.

Office of Equal Opportunity. Each study circle group was an intentional mix of races, generations, and genders. The aim was to create a heterogeneous social environment and to create a space where power inequities could be disrupted by maintaining equal numbers of people of color and whites. In my group, two African American women were sisters. Both worked in the Alachua County School District in mid-level management positions. Both were beautiful and regal women, and both remained cordial but impersonal about their own experiences and opinions for the first several weeks of the group. As the group built trust and became more cohesive, they began to speak. They shared the story of an excellent all-black institution that their community had built and maintained for fifty-plus years. They described how the community was forced to close the school in 1970 when the Alachua County School District finally complied with court orders to desegregate the schools in the district.<sup>6</sup> Today, in their current roles as educational professionals, they shared that they viewed themselves as buffers or firefighters, snatching and saving as many boys and girls as they could from the fire of a burning house.<sup>7</sup> They recognized that the system they worked in was severely handicapped and handicapping. They spoke of their hesitation to believe that a post racial America was possible—yet they still struggled to bring it into existence.

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<sup>6</sup> For more information on desegregation in Alachua County schools, see R. Garner, "School without a Name: Desegregation of Eastside High School 1970-1987, A," *U. Fla. JL & Pub. Pol'y* 16 (2005): 233; Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Desegregation of Public School Districts in Florida: 18 Public School Districts Have Unitary Status 16 Districts Remain Under Court Jurisdiction," 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Harry Belafonte states that in his last conversation with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., King conveyed his agitation and concern regarding integration by saying, "I've come to believe that we're integrating into a burning house." "Interview with Harry Belafonte," accessed October 23, 2015, <http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eii/eiiweb/bel5427.0417.013harrybelafonte.html>. Scholars have used Dr. King's analogy of a burning house to describe the crises within the public school system. See Sonya Douglass Horsford, "Learning in a Burning House: Educational Inequality, Ideology, and (Dis) Integration," *Teachers College Press*, 2011, 1–33.

These perceptive and seasoned professionals were well educated. Their understanding of pedagogy and child development as well as the particulars of issues facing African American children were nuanced. Their knowledge easily rivaled what I was encountering in my doctoral program. Over time, our personal relationship deepened. I began to seek professional advice from one of the sisters regarding my son's education and developmental growth. Her guidance was nurturing and wise. She helped me to attend to my son's specific course of development given his particular intellectual and behavioral traits and cultural background.

Learning from these two women about Lincoln High School's legacy of educational practice in the midst of Jim Crow, and about its abrupt closure during integration, caused me delve further into Lincoln High School's history and the legacy of Lincoln Estates, the community of homes built around the school.<sup>8</sup> Ultimately, this work is a product of the many stories that I found.

As my research commenced, I began looked for scholarship that would answer my questions about the inner life of southern African American segregated school communities. Very little of the information I had encountered in my graduate work actually described segregated schools. Even fewer sources discussed the various interests and actors at play within the southern system of segregated schooling. I soon encountered the work of Vanessa Siddle Walker. Her canon of research on the southern African American segregated school system upended the way I understood African American segregated schools. Walker's research is a large and cumulative

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<sup>8</sup> D. Alvarez Tarver, a fellow doctoral student at that time, did preliminary research on Lincoln High School that resulted in a conference paper. D. Caron, "That Young Generation Felt as If They Were Being Uprooted': How a Community Was Affected by the Forced Closing of an All-Black High School.," 2011.

work. She skillfully reconstructs the world of particular African American schools in North Carolina, and later in Gainesville, Georgia, and draws linkages across southern segregated African American schools to articulate key features of educational pedagogy, practice, and community involvement.<sup>9</sup> Her most recent research illuminates the importance of the many educational networks of African American teacher activists who worked tirelessly for students and fought for educational equity and civil rights during the era of Jim Crow.<sup>10</sup>

Walker's address at the Ninth Annual Brown Lecture for the American Educational Research Association in 2012 was pivotal. In it, she skillfully illuminates the advocacy and professional development structures that African American teachers in the South during the Jim Crow era developed to advance an agenda of pedagogical and educational equity, despite the overwhelming racism of the society in which they operated. I learned that without the vision, diligence, and perseverance of these southern African American teachers, who worked to strengthen African American schools at great personal cost, teaching students the fundamentals of democratic governance, cultural identity and humanity, the Civil Rights Movement would not have occurred. These findings now became key to my work, helping me to understand the

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<sup>9</sup> See Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics," *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (2000): 253–85; Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Vanessa Siddle Walker, "African American Teaching in the South: 1940-1960," *American Educational Research Journal* 38, no. 4 (2001): 751–79, doi:10.3102/00028312038004751.

<sup>10</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education," *Educational Researcher* 42, no. 4 (2013): 207–22; Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Original Intent: Black Educators in an Elusive Quest for Justice," *Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Educational Research*, 2012.

importance of African American pedagogy during segregation, and provided a context for the actors and actions of that time period, and presented questions that would allow me to unveil what happened at Lincoln High School.

I decided to investigate Lincoln High School's educational philosophy, goals, and outcomes and to describe the faculty's pedagogy, professional development, and pursuits, in light of their intended purposes at that time and place in history (1921-1955). I would relate these findings to the currents and trends of the African American southern education system as a whole. In doing so, I aimed to engage essential concepts in modern educational practice—teacher preparation, pedagogy, and professional development with an investigation into a historical case. What can we, today's teacher educators, learn from this school's struggles to educate students in the midst of an oppressive society with sparse material resources? Certainly, some lessons can be gleaned from this historical time that can inform our solutions to abiding challenges in our contemporary climate.

It has been difficult for educational researchers and historians to access the schools that existed behind the veil of Jim Crow. When the schools were disbanded during desegregation, much of their records were (mysteriously) lost. This was the case in Gainesville, Florida. On several occasions, I have asked the School Board of Alachua County for the official records of Lincoln High School during its fifty years of operation as a public school serving African American students. Yet, they report that no records can be found. However, what makes the case of Lincoln so special, and a case that we can examine and learn from, is that the school's founder and principal, A. Quinn Jones meticulously maintained his own repository of school records. This abundance of

material, combined with the vibrant oral histories from members of all facets of the school community—parents, students, teachers, and administrators--provides a rare opportunity to study African American education during Jim Crow. What emerges from the case of Lincoln High School is an example of local pedagogy and practice that is connected and intertwined with a larger vision to resist, transform, and transcend educational and social oppression.

During an era of state-sanctioned racial oppression that systemically undermined the development of academic African American institutions, particularly secondary schools, the Lincoln High School community developed and maintained a K-12 institution with a liberal arts focus and a state accredited high school. The sustained guidance of Professor A. Quinn Jones as school principal from 1921-1967 cultivated a stable cadre of committed teacher professionals in the midst of a national African American teacher shortage. Jones and his colleagues mobilized an engaged support base of local parents and community members to fight back against the local school board's neglect, working to secure adequate administration and funds.

Lincoln also benefited from an unusually strong and capable leader who was able to levy his own learning and mentorship for the community's good. Lincoln's impressive success owed much to Professor Jones's own excellent education and his mentorship from state and national African American educational professionals. Their example and tutelage provided resilience, leadership training and a vision for the system of black education in the South. During the 1920s through the 1950s, as will be shown, these education leaders in their various national, state, and local roles transformed the structure of southern African American education through their

diligence and advocacy. The professor's relationship with specific leaders and professional associations and the thoughts and ideas that each generated provided the Lincoln High School faculty with access to a range of strategies and mechanisms that advanced their professional development and supported the development of a thriving local school culture.

After reviewing school archival evidence and oral narratives from school faculty, I assert that the case of Lincoln High School demonstrates how a national vision to transform southern African American education was translated into practice at the local level. The result was an institution with the capacity to reshape the trajectories of African American children living in de jure segregation.

The remainder of this chapter provides background information on the nature of the historical investigation conducted to generate the thesis that guided the development of this case. Specifically, the chapter provides information on the research questions guiding the case, historical context for the case, the data collected and analyzed, and my context for my role as researcher.

### **Central Questions and Key Terms**

This research is built upon three sets of related questions. The first set of questions focus on the aims of education at Lincoln High School from 1921 to 1955. These questions are: What were the aims of education or school philosophies of African American schools during the period? Why were these aims chosen as guides for school's pursuits? What goals were associated with these aims? What pursuits of the school displayed these aims and goals?

This first set of questions attends to the perceptions and visions of African American educational professionals for K-12 education during Jim Crow. The Oxford

English Dictionary defines “aim” as a desired outcome, a goal or purpose, or an intention.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in education, the aims of education are related to the intended outcomes for the student. Educational aims are expressed in the philosophies, missions, goals, and pursuits of a school.

In posing questions on the aims of education that directed the pursuits of African American segregated schools, it is necessary to consider the context of education and educational opportunity for African American students during that period. From the antebellum era forward, African Americans have continually linked attaining an education with the pursuit of social justice, freedom and human rights.<sup>12</sup> Thus, uncovering the aims of education at Lincoln High School brings to the forefront the school’s intent and purpose for the pursuit of education and its response to the oppression inherent within a Jim Crow education.

During the Jim Crow era, the state-controlled education system was hostile terrain for African Americans, particularly those living in the South. Expanding African American education and advocating for equity within such education was a political act.<sup>13</sup> Efforts by African American leaders to gain equality with whites with regard to high

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<sup>11</sup> “Aim, N.,” A (Oxford University Press), accessed February 20, 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/4347>.

<sup>12</sup> Khaula Murtadha and Daud Malik Watts, “Linking the Struggle for Education and Social Justice: Historical Perspectives of African American Leadership in Schools,” *Educational Administration Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (2005): 591–608.

<sup>13</sup> For an examination of African Americans’ pursuit of liberation through education during the antebellum and Reconstruction periods, see Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009).

standards in curricula and teacher pay often resulted in dismissals, economic reprisals, and physical violence.<sup>14</sup>

The limitations placed on education and opportunity during Jim Crow had clear implications. Sidle Walker summarizes this historical context, stating, “[B]lackness existed in a dual system in which full citizenship and democratic participation were not the educational goals for those who controlled their education. Rather, blacks were expected to accept a lower status educationally and economically, despite their residence in a democratic nation.”<sup>15</sup> However, African Americans were not willing to accept these limitations to their educational opportunities during the contractions of Jim Crow. Instead, they strategized collectively and amassed power and political control by building education networks within states, across regions, and on a national level. They then mobilized these networks to provide financial resources, professional development opportunities, educational knowledge, and alternate paths to the potential promised by education.

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<sup>14</sup> In Florida, African Americans valiantly resisted the overthrow of Reconstruction and Jim Crow’s oppression, even in the face of mob violence and lynching. In *Emancipation Betrayed*, Paul Ortiz documents the activism of African American Floridians during and after Reconstruction through the election of 1920. African Americans organized voting registration movements throughout the state and supported the development of African American communities through mutual aid organizations. To suppress African American voting, whites retaliated with violence, intimidation, and terrorism. At the same time that African American educational leaders such as Mary McLeod Bethune, James Weldon Johnson, and the fallen Harry T. Moore were engaging in highly visible forms of activism such as voting campaigns and lawsuits, they also assumed lesser-known roles of leadership that resulted in the development of Florida’s African American education system. Most notably, each of the above activists served in a leadership role in the Florida State Teachers Association, which was the primary organization for African American teacher education and professional development during the era. See Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*, vol. 16 (Univ of California Press, 2005). For a discussion of African American educational activism through Florida’s all-black teachers association during Jim Crow, see Gilbert L Porter and Leedell W Neyland, *The History of the Florida State Teachers Association* (National Education Association, 1977).

<sup>15</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*, 6.

The second set of questions focuses on the relationships between Lincoln High School and these larger African American educator networks at work during the Jim Crow era. These questions are: What African American educator networks existed during Jim Crow? What were the agendas, activities, and abiding dilemmas of these networks? What was the nature of the relationship between these networks and local African American schools, such as Lincoln High School?

By the turn of the century, national African American teachers' associations had surfaced, articulating educational aims and plans and imagining "a formula that might allow their students, practically and ideologically, to emerge as participants in American democracy."<sup>16</sup> Siddle-Walker's research has highlighted the role of these networks in expanding and supporting African American education at the local level.<sup>17</sup> Through these networks, local school principals, teachers, administrators, and parents were able to plug into a collective leadership body and advocacy structure that provided strategy, professional development, financial support, and organizational structure. Thus, these networks served as key actors who created and disseminated a vision for expansive African American southern education during Jim Crow.

At the local level, the key actor of these networks was the "Professor": the commonly used term for the school principal within African American southern communities.<sup>18</sup> To the community that he led, the school principal embodied the

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>17</sup> Walker, "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education"; Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>18</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

school's aim and its end result. To the white world, he served as interpreter of the desires of the African American community. Siddle-Walker's review of southern segregated schools highlighted the centrality of the school principal, in part due to the vacuum of leadership in which the African American principal operated. She summarizes his importance: "The principal was the chief instructional leader of the school. Operating with almost complete autonomy and armed with his educational commitment and training, the principal was able to implement a school program in keeping with his philosophy. His autonomy was a direct outgrowth of the neglect of the school board and superintendent and their lack of interest in the achievement in Negro schools."<sup>19</sup> The principal also was generally one of a few members within the community who had already attained higher education, and was thus given greater responsibility and respect.

However, this is not to imply that the principal acted alone; rather, he existed in a web of associations and relationships. In the early phases of a school's development, his relationships with others who would be involved in the school were critical. He needed to build strong ties with parents. This often came along with the added responsibility of educating parents and community members (many of whom had not acquired a formal education) on the processes of education. For the school to function, their money, the support of their children, and their helping hands were needed.

Teachers were crucial as well, naturally becoming the close comrades of these African American principals. These two groups labored alongside each other, deeply

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<sup>19</sup> Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics," 275.

propelled by one unifying vision. Other African American community leaders also worked alongside the school principal at the local level, acting as the school's advisors. And as Chapters 2, 3, and 4 will show, professional organizations provided African American principals with the guidance, professional development, support, funding, and direction necessary to complete their goals.

The third set of questions centers on pedagogy and professional development at Lincoln High School. The questions are: What kind of pedagogy did teachers and administrators at Lincoln High School use? What pedagogy was encouraged by the school principal as an instructional leader? What professional development opportunities were provided for faculty? How did faculty professional development influence Lincoln High School's trajectory and pursuits?

In current teacher education discourse, the term "pedagogy" refers to the beliefs, knowledge, skills, and abilities that guide a teacher as a professional. Teacher pedagogy also often includes the curriculum and curricular materials used to educate. However, for the purpose of this investigation, which addresses the distinct case of education within the segregated, racially oppressive social order, a richer definition that grounds pedagogy in its intersection with race, education, and social location is necessary. In short, particularly within the context of an oppressed group, how one teaches and what one teaches is a politicized act.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> See the following articles for discussions on the relationships and implications of teaching and learning in historically oppressed communities: Michele Foster, "The Politics of Race: Through the Eyes of African-American Teachers," *Journal of Education*, 1990, 123–41; S. Nieto, "Culture, Identity and Learning," in *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education* (Pearson, 2004), 144–62; Joyce E. King, "Critical and Qualitative Research in Teacher Education: A Blues Epistemology for Cultural Well-Being and a Reason for Knowing," *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, 2008, 1096–1132.

Tintiangco-Cubales, Kiang, and Museus provide this more refined definition for pedagogy: "Pedagogy is the art of teaching and learning. Pedagogy is a philosophy of education informed by positionalities, ideologies, and standpoints. It takes into account the critical relationships between the PURPOSE of education, the CONTEXT of education, the CONTENT of what is being taught, and the METHODS of how it is taught. It also includes who is being taught, who is teaching, their relationship to each other, and their relationship to structure and power."<sup>21</sup> This definition makes explicit the link between the aims of education and the larger social forces that influenced the school.

The harsh injustices of de jure segregation required African Americans to continually navigate oppression. Thus, these three sets of questions bring into focus the worldviews of African American educators, community members, and educational leaders regarding African American education during Jim Crow. The first set of questions illuminates local and national goals, possibilities, and visions that leaders had for education's potential at this time. The second set of questions illuminates the structures of advocacy and professional development that were working toward these goals on the local, regional, and national levels. The third set of questions examines teacher pedagogy and teacher training to understand what knowledge, perspectives, dreams and ideas were translated in the interactions between teachers and students in an African American segregated school.

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<sup>21</sup> Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, Peter Nien-chu Kiang, and Samuel D Museus, "Praxis and Power in the Intersections of Education," *AAPI Nexus: Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders Policy, Practice and Community* 8, no. 1 (2010): v – xviii.

## Theory, Sources, and Method

My approach to this investigation was informed and influenced by critical race scholarship and theory. To begin with, Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its history in critical legal studies is tied to the history of African American education during segregation through the scholarship of Derrick Bell. In the 1980, Bell began reflecting on sustained patterns of segregation within public education despite the gains of the Civil Rights era. Noting that the Supreme Court's edict in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case did not eliminate the racial disparities in education, Bell revisited the context of the case and its implementation to critically examine specific historic and political factors that resulted in the decision to desegregate schools and preceded the failed implementation of this decision. In doing so, Bell disentangled the interests at play after the post-Reconstruction period. Bell looked closely at subpopulations of whites (e.g., the white planter class in the South, middle-class whites concerned with communism, white post-abolitionists), and subpopulations of blacks (e.g., advocates of segregated schooling, post-war blacks) and their support of or opposition to desegregation. After considering these varying interests, Bell argued that desegregation occurred at this particular historical moment because the interest of white policymakers and politicians converged with the interest of blacks.<sup>22</sup> The analysis of the particular historical moment, and the racial and political interests at play is known as interest-convergence within the critical race analytic.

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<sup>22</sup> Derrick Bell, "BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION and the Interest Convergence Dilemma," in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, ed. K. Crenshaw and G. Peller (New Press, The, 1995).

Bell's analysis of desegregation describes how the white southern elite maintained control of the mechanisms of desegregation, and it was in *their* best interest to deliberately delay and obfuscate the desegregation of schools. Finally, Bell suggests this principle as key: "The interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites."<sup>23</sup> This proposition has become one of the foremost principles of Critical Race Theory.

Several other principles have evolved as central tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and scholarship.<sup>24</sup> CRT functions to name race, racism and their manifestations and oppressions, especially for non-whites. CRT holds racism as an endemic and ever-present aspect of the United States, implicit in its history, charter, institutional structure and systems. It revisits legal codes, civil rights, and liberal policy to identify their failures in dismantling discriminatory policy. It reminds us of how racism repeatedly retrenches itself through both "race-neutral" and more vitriolic policies. Finally, CRT aims to name racism, and counter it, in part by producing counter stories to the dominant narrative. The aim of counter stories and narratives from marginalized voices is to legitimize, augment, and center the perspectives of people of color who offer knowledgeable critiques of dominance through the reclamation of voice and narrative.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Derrick A. Bell Jr, "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma," *Harv. L. Rev.* 93 (1979): 22.

<sup>24</sup> Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *The Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (1995): 47–68; D. Stovall, "A Challenge to Traditional Theory: Critical Race Theory, African-American Community Organizers, and Education," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 26, no. 1 (2005): 95–108; Derrick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes for Racial Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> A.D. Dixon and C.K. Rousseau, *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children Got a Song* (CRC Press, 2006); Stovall, "A Challenge to Traditional Theory: Critical Race Theory, African-American Community Organizers, and Education"; Ladson-Billings and Tate IV, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education."

Bell's classic work on desegregation informed my thinking on the historical period of segregation. From Bell, I learned to look for the implications of racial construction and the ideology of racism within the processes of education and how they were enacted within the system(s) of education during this historical era. Therefore, this work imports several guiding frames of critical race theory into its methodological considerations and topical assumptions. First, this historical narrative and case study explicitly names and describes racism and systemic oppressions of African Americans within the structure and practice of public education during the latter era *de jure* segregation. In doing so, this study poses specific questions for investigation that have the potential to expose the various interests, actors, convergences and divergences that shaped the trajectory of the southern educational system, and with that the African American southern educational system. Second, this work explicitly relays the historical narrative through the perspectives and voices of national, regional, and local African American educators to present and amplify their counterstory. Thus, one goal of my scholarship is to apply elements of the CRT framework to the historical antecedents of the civil rights era (*de jure* segregation). It seeks to contribute to a growing body of scholarship that seeks to uncover and evaluate the activities of African American education, teacher and learning prior to, during, and after the Jim Crow era, as part of a larger legacy of African American educational activism for civil and human rights.

Oral narratives and storytelling overlap within CRT scholarship and historical methods. Within the discipline of history, oral narratives and storytelling contain the potential to amend the historical record by providing data that has formerly gone undocumented or disregarded. Oral Historian Alessandro Portelli states it this way: "The

unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speaker's subjectivity. If the approach to research is broad and articulated enough, a cross section of the subjectivity of a group or class may emerge."<sup>26</sup> To provide a compelling example, in the 2012 AERA Annual Brown Lecture, Siddie Walker describes a series of events that led to the uncovering of pivotal information regarding the advocacy and actions of African American educator networks during de jure segregation. While Siddie Walker was working on a project documenting the black principalship, Ulysses Byas, the former principal of Fair Street High School in Gainesville, Georgia, informed Siddie Walker (quite dramatically) of another set of documents that she might want to investigate. The documents, which were located in a remote attic at the top of the former segregated African American school, turned out to be an archive of the activities of the Georgia Teachers Education Association (GTEA) during de jure segregation.<sup>27</sup>

This archive had been hidden by educators in Georgia to shield themselves and their students from reprisals that might result from their activism for the pedagogical and educational rights of African American students.<sup>28</sup> In describing this event, Siddie-Walker introduces the concept of intentional silences--silences maintained by the community across events, time, and generations in order to enact strategy. Ultimately,

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<sup>26</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Sunny Press, 1991).

<sup>27</sup> Walker, "Original Intent: Black Educators in an Elusive Quest for Justice."

<sup>28</sup> Walker, "Original Intent: Black Educators in an Elusive Quest for Justice."

history proved that their skepticism and silence were warranted. More than 38,000 African American educators were fired in the decade following the *Brown* decision.<sup>29</sup>

Through an investigation of this material and in subsequent interviews with participants, a story emerged that described the role of those black educators who organized prior to and alongside the NAACP in order to desegregate schools.<sup>30</sup> Importantly, Siddle Walker explicitly notes that her positionality as a cultural insider and a local outsider influenced the research process, shaping her understanding of the research field, guiding questions, fostering an awareness of her limitations, and creating spaces of trust and openness.

Positionality and insider status play a role in the current study as well. Joel Buchanan, a well-respected African American community member and a former student at Lincoln High School, conducted a majority of the oral histories. Due to his keen insights and extensive connections, Buchanan was able to elucidate perspectives and opinions that interviewees might not have shared with a perceived outsider. This study benefitted greatly from Buchanan's foresight and deep study of the Gainesville African American community.

I relied on fourteen oral history transcripts, one interview, and archival artifacts in the course of my work here. Each transcript features the narrative of a LHS teacher or administrator. Five transcripts were particularly important, as these participants

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<sup>29</sup> Linda C. Tillman, "(Un) Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators," *Education and Urban Society* 36, no. 3 (2004): 280–303.

<sup>30</sup> Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938," *TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD* 107, no. 3 (2005): 355–88; Walker, "Original Intent: Black Educators in an Elusive Quest for Justice."

attended Lincoln High School as students and then later returned as a teacher or lead teacher at LHS. The majority of the archived oral histories were conducted as part of a collection called “Fifth Avenue Blacks” during the 1980s. This collection is now housed within the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program at the University of Florida. The remainder were collected by the University of Florida Samuel Proctor Oral History Program or the Matheson Museum.

“Fifth Avenue Blacks” was a collaborative project of the University of Florida and the city of Gainesville, conceived and pioneered by University of Florida archivist and researcher Joel Buchanan. Joel was born in the heart of Gainesville’s closely knit African American community. He attended Lincoln High School until eleventh grade, when in 1964, he was one of three students selected to desegregate the all-white Gainesville High School. The interviews between Joel and members of the community are treasures. Joel’s intimate knowledge of African American culture, his love for his history and upbringing, and his respect for his elders come through clearly, as does their patient tutelage of Joel. These are front porch conversations with lemonade—storytelling at its finest. Noting the changes that were rapidly occurring within the African American community, Joel asks insightful questions that make the web of political, educational, and cultural networks in the community visible. Fifth Avenue, the street for which the project is named, was once the main thoroughfare of Gainesville’s thriving African American community (the Pleasant Street District), housing a great many of its businesses and homes, and its school.

In addition to these rich oral histories, I conducted one focused interview for this study with Dr. John Rawls. Dr. Rawls was my elementary school principal and serves

on the advisory board for my son's former school. He was also interviewed by Ana Smith for the Matheson Museum's Oral History Collection in 2003. Dr. Rawls is a well-respected educator in Alachua County, having served as an assistant principal, principal, and teacher for over thirty years. He graduated from Lincoln High School in 1941, returning later as a teacher and then serving as assistant principal.

I have also had many informal conversations with other graduates and teachers of Lincoln High School; one cannot traverse the African American community in Gainesville and not encounter the legacy of Lincoln. Those conversations with graduates, members of the Lincoln High School Alumni Association, and community members provided an informal community of participants whom I could call and talk with about my questions and hunches. The presence of Lincoln High School graduates in Gainesville's African American community is stately and firm. Lincoln High School's former teachers maintain an active presence in city politics, on boards of advisors for child-related causes, and on school advisory boards. They remain a wellspring for the underserved of this community; as I continued to study their educational legacy and history, the members of the community guided me, reminding me of the many essential qualities that made Lincoln unique.

Archival materials for this study were retrieved from multiple sources, most notably the A. Quinn Jones Collection at the University of Florida. A. Quinn Jones, the founder of Lincoln High School, was an extraordinary documentarian. Forty-three boxes of material were donated to the University of Florida upon his death. This collection includes Lincoln High School administrative files, school programs and memorabilia, and a range of other materials related to the school.

Of particular interest were boxes 4-15 in the collection. Boxes 4-8 contain materials specifically related to Lincoln High School, including administrative files, meeting minutes, commencement programs, curriculum plans, faculty handbooks and school events. Boxes 9-12 contain materials related to teachers' professional organizations, including the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, the Alachua County Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, the Colored Parent Teacher Association, the American Teachers Association, the Florida State Teachers Association, Principals of Negro Schools, and the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. Boxes 13-15 contain materials related to higher education, particularly the training and education of teachers, including Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) extension courses and Bethune Cookman College extension courses.

To ensure that I captured the perspectives and voices of African American teachers and administrators of Lincoln High School, I focused on their oral histories as a chief data source. However, oral histories have their limitations, as memories and experiences are shaped by and prone to interpretation. Therefore, I also used archival research to contextualize and explore the story being revealed.

I used thematic coding to capture themes present within these narratives. After several iterations of coding to generate themes, I began investigating the archival materials. I surveyed the entire collection, taking digital images of potentially illuminating material and generating notes, and then compared those ideas with prior themes. I then coded the archival data, transcribing key materials, and posed new questions. After several iterations of this interplay between the archives and the oral interviews, I

conducted a focused interview with Dr. John Rawls to further elucidate unanswered questions. I began to write as a final act of analysis.<sup>31</sup>

During this process of analysis, I was also privileged to have numerous informal conversations with members of the Lincoln High School community that expanded my understanding and knowledge of Lincoln High School and the context of African American life during de jure segregation. I also frequently encountered Lincoln alumni at random locations (at my son's school, at the local grocery store, in homes and at community events); each conversation shaped the web of data that was unfolding. These happenstance conversations often clarified questions that were arising from my data and further confirmed the general trajectory of my findings.

At the same time I began to investigate Lincoln, the problems associated with the contemporary public education system continue. An entrenched racial achievement gap, widespread inequities in school funding and resources, and the rise of state takeovers of whole school districts in urban cities are symptoms of American public education's failure to provide a high quality, equitable educational experience for all students. The current trend—to solve the problem by standardizing curriculum content and increased assessment accountability and consequences for students, teachers and schools—has not solved the crisis, especially for students of color. Education historian Ronald Butchart cautions us, “Without a historical perspective, the public finds itself

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<sup>31</sup> Ansley Erickson describes the process of writing as analysis, particular for historical research in this manuscript. I had the opportunity to talk with Erickson and learn more during a visit to Teachers' College. Ansley Erickson, “Historical Research and the Problem of Categories: Reflections on 10,000 Digital Notecards,” in *Writing History: How Historians Research, Write, and Publish in the Digital Age* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

constantly ‘reinventing the wheel’ when it comes to the ways in which schools train the next generation.”<sup>32</sup>

As debates over strategies to reform public education continue to rage with no clear end in sight, Butchart’s argument for further investigation of historical contexts looms as an imperative. What can we learn from past incarnations of the American school system to inform our decision-making and experimentation? Are there cautionary tales or promising practices that should be brought into present discussions? My work enters into the scholarship through a historical case study of a successful, purpose-driven African American K-12 institution in the segregated South from the 1920s until 1955.

The case presented in this study documents that African American educators at Lincoln High School in Gainesville, Florida during de jure segregation developed and pursued a vision of an expansive education that would alter the life courses of young women and men living within oppression. The pursuits of these local actors were mentored and supported by a national cadre of African American educational leadership whose aim was to develop an educational system that would advance humanity, increase participation in democratic life, and support individual growth for a full life of experience, service and skill. In their various associations and leadership roles, these educators paved the way for those on the ground by providing educational discourse, strategy, activism, and an organizational structure within the African American educational system. To provide background for the case of Lincoln High School that is developed in Chapters 3 through 5, the remainder of this chapter presents the history of

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<sup>32</sup> Ronald E Butchart, *Local Schools: Exploring Their History*, vol. 1 (Rowman Altamira, 1986), 36.

the school, a biography of A. Quinn Jones, and contextual literature on African American segregated schooling.

Lincoln High School had its originations in a former institution: the Union Academy, founded at the close of the Civil War. It became Lincoln High School in 1923, two years after the hiring of A. Quinn Jones as Professor. The historical period during which the events at Union Academy/Lincoln High School took place (1921-1955) was rife with dramatic change regarding national perceptions of the status of African Americans.

Gainesville, Florida is a mid-sized suburban city that was founded as one stop along the Florida Railroad line in 1854. Gainesville's early inhabitants came from South Carolina, establishing plantations and bringing with them large numbers of enslaved African Americans who would eventually establish Gainesville's black districts. By 1860, African American residents outnumbered whites in Gainesville.<sup>33</sup>

The local African American community has continued to experience a sense of cohesiveness and community from the early 1900s until the present. African Americans in Gainesville carry within their individual and community memories the story of their relationship to this place and each other over the course of many generations. This cultural memory continues to be passed on through the many African American organizations that operate prominently within Gainesville. One focal organization is the Lincoln High School Alumni Association; its purpose is to perpetuate and celebrate the culture and community surrounding the institution.

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<sup>33</sup> Charles Halsey Hildreth, *A History of Gainesville, Florida* (University of Florida, 1954).

Historical records support African American group memories detailing a rich history of educational institutions. Lincoln High School and its predecessor, the Union Academy, existed in one continuous trajectory, educating black youth in Gainesville for over fifty years. Detailed records of the school, from its early beginnings in 1923 to its closure in 1970, were meticulously preserved by its founder, A. Quinn Jones, and donated to the University of Florida Library upon his death at 104 years old in 1997. Thus, the school serves as a rich case study for understanding the life of a K-12 African American educational institution over time and throughout several distinct historical periods.

### **The History of the Union Academy and Lincoln High School**

The combined operations of The Union Academy and Lincoln High School represent over a century of black-led schooling in Alachua County. In Figure 1-1 below, the first image is of The Union Academy's school building in 1666, and the second image is of Lincoln High School's graduating class of 1933.<sup>34</sup> The Union Academy opened at the close of the Civil War, The school was quickly filled with eager and studious African Americans who had been long denied the right of education. The transition from The Union Academy to Lincoln High School was seamless; Lincoln High School continued what The Union Academy built. Chapter 3 will show that the founding of Lincoln High School was the next logical step in achieving the local community's

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<sup>34</sup> "Alachua County Library District Heritage Collection," accessed November 18, 2015, <http://heritage.acl.d.lib.fl.us/1151-1200/1169.html>; "Gallery | The A. Quinn Jones Museum," accessed November 18, 2015, <http://aqjmuseum.org/gallery/>.

goals of an expansive high quality education.

## A Century of African American Education The Union Academy (1866-1923) and Lincoln High School (1923-1970)

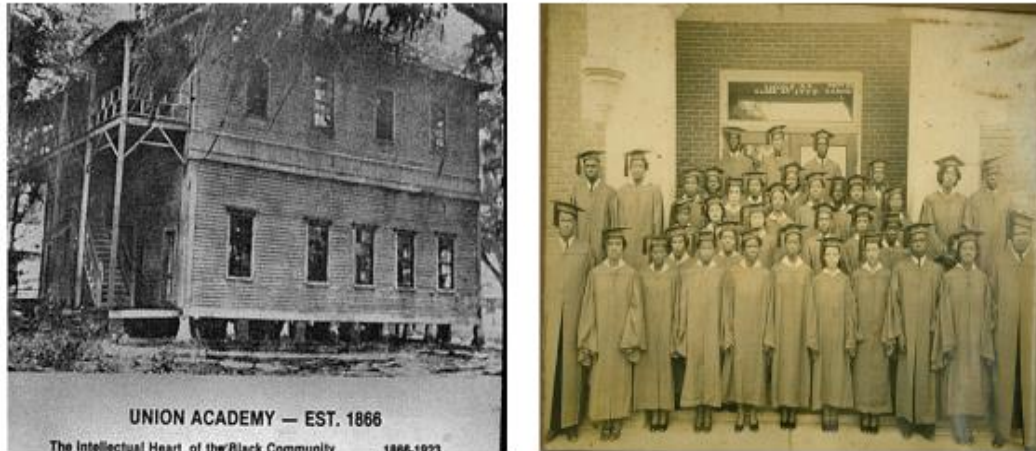


Figure 1-1 The Union Academy and Lincoln High School

### **The Union Academy**

In the wake of the Civil War, Gainesville faced the hard task of rebuilding its economy and infrastructure. Families moved into the area from smaller surrounding regions hoping to find employment and opportunity. Much of this influx was made up of African Americans (freedmen and women) who began to settle into all-black districts across the city. Aided by the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, these former slaves were assisted by funding that supported their education as the local bureau coordinated with missionary societies to found a school for African Americans. This would become The Union Academy.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Murray D Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1986): 163–74.

In October of 1867, a group of influential African Americans purchased a 200 by 200 foot lot to be used as the site of the Union Academy.<sup>36</sup> This group would become the Union Academy's first board of trustees. It included Isaac Davis, Johnson Chestnut, John Bullard, Anthony Jumper, Henry Roberts, Henry S. Harmon, David Coleman, Thomas Dawkins, and Edward Deyer. Building plans for the school were supplied by the Freedman's Bureau, and the school was constructed by black artisans who volunteered their labor.<sup>37</sup> The school's first recorded teachers (two white women who worked in conjunction with the Freedman's Bureau) were sponsored by the American Missionary Association. The school maintained a full ten-month term (which included a two-month normal school) and regularly had "uniform textbooks"—implying that the curriculum materials were in good order, unlike the barely usable textbooks that were the norm in many African American schools.<sup>38</sup>

The success of the Union Academy was largely due to the administration of the board of trustees and the deep support of the African American community. The board provided oversight and strategy, and the community supported the board by providing funds and volunteering their labor and time.<sup>39</sup> African American community members also demonstrated their support for the school by voting. During the early years, two city

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> The U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was established in 1865 by Congress to help former black slaves and poor whites in the South in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War (1861-65). Some 4 million slaves gained their freedom, yet the South was in ruins, ravaged by war. The Freedmen's Bureau provided food, housing, and medical aid, established schools, and offered legal assistance. It also attempted to settle former slaves on Confederate lands confiscated or abandoned during the war.

<sup>38</sup> Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida," 171.

<sup>39</sup> Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida."

bonds were proposed that would support the school with tax funds. Both were approved due to the large voting presence of African American residents. The Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, organized in 1869, provided partial financial and administrative support to the school. The George Peabody Fund also supported the school with an award of \$300.00 in 1868. The Peabody fund continued to supplement teaching salaries until 1882.<sup>40</sup> The American Missionary Association also provided teaching supplements for the two white teachers stationed at the school until their departure in 1873. From then until the school's closure, the school maintained an all-African American staff of teachers.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1880s, the Union Academy was flourishing. The board of trustees made plans to establish a "normal" department that would train African American teachers to serve in other schools. In order to expand the operations of the Union Academy, and the normal division specifically, in 1888, the board of trustees organized a campaign to raise a bond for needed renovations of the school. To pass the bond, the school was deeded to the city of Gainesville for \$2,000. The local paper reported that white citizens were not in favor of the bond, which did pass, and cited African American residents' overwhelming support and the organizing efforts of the county as leading to the passage of the bond. From 1883-1887, 331 teachers were trained at the Union Academy, all of whom received first-, second-, and third-grade certificates.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Porter and Neyland, *The History of the Florida State Teachers Association*.

The Union Academy's Normal School was a critical institution for African American teacher training during the late nineteenth century. At that time, the majority of African American teachers were supplied by private and public normal schools. Teacher certification from a normal school was attained after eighth grade and was conferred by the state by an examination. Teachers received either first-, second- or third-grade certifications. Each certification level allowed teachers to instruct for a certain number of years before requiring another examination. The first-grade certification was the most desired, and provided the longest time in service. The Union Academy was one of two public normal schools operating in the state of Florida during this time. Thus, it was a significant teacher training institution.<sup>43</sup>

The Florida Biennial report of 1883 lauded the two teacher training institutions as chiefly responsible for providing competent teachers to the African American schools in the state.<sup>44</sup> These two normal institutions preceded the creation of the State Normal College for Colored Students at Tallahassee. This institution would later become Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, and take over much of the responsibility for public African American teacher education in Florida.<sup>45</sup>

The Union Academy continued to expand its structure and course offerings from the late 1800s into the 1920s. Records show that the school added a second story in 1896. Electricity was added to the building by 1919, and another bond issue was

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 5–103.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>45</sup> In 1887, Thomas V. Gibbs, a black member of the state legislature, led the legislature to pass an act creating the State Normal College for Colored Students at Tallahassee. For a detailed discussion on the history of the first normal institutions in Florida, see Ibid., 22–23.

passed in 1920 to provide a new building.<sup>46</sup> Often mentioned in Gainesville's promotional literature as a focal feature for the county, the burgeoning African American school was a source of local pride.<sup>47</sup>

The Union Academy was located in the heart of the Pleasant Street District, Gainesville's main thoroughfare for African American businesses, churches, and residents. The Pleasant Street District was established in the 1860s. Known as Fifth Avenue then, this district is now a United States Historic District. It is comprised of a 20-block area in downtown Gainesville. Built by African American carpenters, blacksmiths, ministers and business leaders, the Pleasant Street district was the educational, residential, and business hub for a burgeoning population of working-class and professional African Americans. The board of trustees for the Union Academy and later for Lincoln High School was drawn from this pool of professionals.

By the early 1920s the Union Academy was nearing its capacity. Over 500 students were enrolled in the first through ninth grades.<sup>48</sup> Hence, the board of trustees engaged in planning and strategizing to develop the school for a new phase of growth and operation. Under the direction of the board, Professor A. Quinn Jones was hired in 1921 to serve as principal of the Union Academy. Under his direction in 1922, the Union Academy was closed to make way for a new and larger school, Lincoln High School.

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<sup>46</sup>The second bond provided for the building of two public high schools, one white and one African American. Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida."

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> A. Quinn Jones, "Retrospections: November 1967, Gainesville, Florida," 2003.

## **Lincoln High School**

Lincoln High School operated as an all-black public institution from 1923-1970. The institution's trajectory was ambitious and marked with achievement and success. Approximately 3000 students graduated from Lincoln High School over its duration. During the first three decades of its operations, graduation rates continually swelled. During the 1920s, Lincoln created a high school department and then graduated 36 students. During the 1930s, 252 students graduated--a graduation rate seven times higher than that of the previous decade. During the 1940s, 411 students graduated; this rate is over one and half times that of the 1930s. Over the same thirty-year period, the population of teachers swelled from 13 teachers in 1921 to 51 in 1955.<sup>49</sup> The faculty's ability to respond to this demand and fulfill its responsibilities to students was remarkable. Chapter 3 will show the overwhelming demand for a Lincoln High School education, so much so that students moved from neighboring counties to attend Lincoln. As a result, the school's elementary department remained in double sessions (two complete sessions of school) for part of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

In its first five years, the school developed an accredited high school division, significantly expanding the educational opportunities for African American students within Alachua County. Over the next three decades (the 1930s through the 1950s), the school faced significant challenges in finance, faculty, and curriculum development that were common to segregated African American institutions in the South. Despite the obstacles of this era, under the direction of Professor Jones until his retirement in 1957, the Lincoln High School community continued to expand to meet the needs of students

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<sup>49</sup> "Alachua County Library District Heritage Collection"; "Gallery | The A. Quinn Jones Museum."

and faculty. In the middle of the school year, on February 1, 1970, the school was closed by an Alachua County School Board order as a means of complying with the 1969 Supreme Court order to desegregate the district immediately.<sup>50</sup> The closing of Lincoln High School was a devastating blow to the community of students, teachers, and parents who had invested in the school over the many decades of its operations.

### **A Biography of Professor A. Quinn Jones**

A. Quinn Jones was one of seven children born in Quincy, Florida to Rosa McDonald Jones and Joseph Thomas Jones. His father worked as a gardener and his mother as a laundress.<sup>51</sup> He attended public school in Quincy, Florida and then continued his schooling in Tallahassee, Florida. In the eighth grade, he was encouraged to apply for admission to the State Normal College for Colored Students at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College (FAMC) for high school.<sup>52</sup> In 1908, he was accepted and enrolled at FAMC. He completed the FAMC high school course of study in three years. During his high school years, he boarded at the school, working in food service during the school term and on a tobacco farm during the summers to pay for his tuition, room, and board.<sup>53</sup>

In 1911, he enrolled in the first baccalaureate class at FAMC, graduating in 1915 with a Bachelor of Science degree. Upon his graduation, he was awarded the distinction

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<sup>50</sup> Garner, "School without a Name: Desegregation of Eastside High School 1970-1987, A"; Caron, "That Young Generation Felt as If They Were Being Uprooted": How a Community Was Affected by the Forced Closing of an All-Black High School."

<sup>51</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

of having attained the highest honors in his class. After graduation, encouraged by FAMC President Nathan Young, Jones accepted his first teaching position at a one-room school near Quincy, Florida. From 1916-1921 Jones served as a teacher and then principal in Marianna and Pensacola, Florida.<sup>54</sup>

In 1920, Jones earned a Master of Arts degree from Oskaloosa College in Iowa, pursuing his education through extension and correspondence study.<sup>55</sup> In 1921, President Nathan Young recommended him for the principalship of the Union Academy, and he began his service during the 1921-1922 school term. He remained at Lincoln High School as principal until his retirement in 1957.<sup>56</sup>

During his principalship at Lincoln, Professor Jones furthered his education, attaining a second master's degree in education and social studies from Hampton Institute in 1935.<sup>57</sup> In 1936, he entered New York University to pursue a doctoral degree in secondary education. He attended courses during the summers of 1936 and 1937.<sup>58</sup> Professor Jones never attained his PhD, however, as his studies were interrupted by the second World War.<sup>59</sup> After the war, continuing his education became increasingly

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.; Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, "The A. Quinn Jones Museum | Tribute to an Educator, Gainesville, Florida," *The A. Quinn Jones Museum*, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://aqjmuseum.org/>.

<sup>56</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003; Arthur White and Kevin McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy* (Gainesville, Florida, 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>58</sup> "NYU Course Materials 1936," n.d., Box 17, NYU - "The Teaching of Guidance in the Secondary School". 1936, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>59</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

difficult in light of the 1947 Minimum Foundation Program of Florida, which required principals to serve 12-month terms.<sup>60</sup>

Professor Jones died in Gainesville, Florida in 1997 at 104 years of age. He is revered in African American cultural memory as a hero, role model, and educator par excellence.<sup>61</sup> The local community's reverence and gratitude for him as a teacher, leader, and role model is evidenced by the many portrayals and testimonials given on his behalf in newspaper articles, personal remembrances, and books.<sup>62</sup> In 2009, Gainesville's County Redevelopment Agency (CRA) established the Legacy Project to celebrate the life and influence of Jones.<sup>63</sup> As part of the project, the home of A. Quinn Jones will be turned into an interactive educational museum so that future generations will continue to benefit from his genius. The Legacy Project also highlights the heritage of the larger African American community of citizens who achieved extraordinary accomplishments through their schools, occupations, and service organizations.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 14.

<sup>62</sup> Mallard Aida, "Lincoln High School Class of 1970 Reunites," *Gainesville Sun* 2010; E. White Albert, "Albert E. White: The Case for Restoring Lincoln High School," *Gainesville Sun* 2010; White Albert, "Push to Bring Back Lincoln High School," *Gainesville Sun* 2010; Tinker Cleveland, "A. Quinn Jones Exhibit Highlights Educator's Legacy: 1," *Gainesville Sun* 2011; Everhart Erin, "Educator A. Quinn Jones' Home Gains National Notice for Its Cultural Importance," *Gainesville Sun* 2010; Hutchens George, "A. Quinn Jones, Educator," *Gainesville Sun* 2004.

<sup>63</sup> Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, "The A. Quinn Jones Museum | Tribute to an Educator, Gainesville, Florida"; Tinker Cleveland, "A. Quinn Jones Exhibit Highlights Educator's Legacy: 1," *Gainesville Sun*, no. Newspaper Article (2011).

<sup>64</sup> Gainesville Community Redevelopment Agency, "The A. Quinn Jones Museum | Tribute to an Educator, Gainesville, Florida."

## Contemporary Scholarship on African American Education during De Jure Segregation

This section presents an overview of the scholarship discussing African American education during de jure segregation. It is separated into two parts. The first part discusses contemporary themes and findings and lingering questions related to the operations of segregated schools, the emergence of the segregated system, and reflections on the desegregated context. The second part discusses scholarship written by African American educational professionals during de jure segregation. This scholarship is often overlooked in contemporary literature on African American segregated education. However, it contains vital perspectives from those who acted on the behalf of black education to transcend the limitations and barriers erected by segregation. Together, these two parts provide context for this work.

The period of de jure segregation, also known as the era of Jim Crow, has been written about extensively. This era sanctioned legal segregation of African Americans and whites. Jim Crow was ushered in with the compromise of 1877 as white southern politicians and citizens sought to end the gains of Reconstruction.<sup>65</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, decided in 1896, upheld the right of states to continue the customs, codes, and laws that subjugated African Americans under the separate but equal doctrine.<sup>66</sup> Segregation

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<sup>65</sup> James D. Anderson documents the educational gains made by African Americans during the period of Reconstruction, with particular focus on the development of the public school system in the southern states as an enterprise for black and white children. He also documents the growth in academically minded African American schools which took place during this era, before the rise of Booker T. Washington and industrially-focused philosophy of African American education that he championed. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 4–78; J.D. Anderson, “Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 67, no. 4 (1990): 46–62.

<sup>66</sup> Justice John Marshall Harlan, “*Plessy v. Ferguson*,” *Olsen, Thin Disguise*, 1896, 113–21.

and all of its paradoxes would remain entrenched within American ideology and practice for the next fifty-eight years.<sup>67</sup>

In the last three decades, we have seen a new wave of literature from diverse academic fields re-examining the era of de jure segregated schooling. The result of this is scholarship that reframes the southern system of African American education, depicting something broader and more complex than the limited images of dilapidated schools commonly included in Civil Rights retrospectives.<sup>68</sup> Noting the failure of the post-*Brown* educational climate to overcome racialized school inequity, and responding to arguments that implicate deficits in African American contexts and cultures as the cause, modern scholars are re-examining the history and legacy of de jure segregation and patterns of resegregation to explain current comparatively low levels of achievement among African American students.<sup>69</sup> One result is a deeper understanding

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<sup>67</sup> In *Trouble in Mind*, Leon Litwack contextualizes Jim Crow for readers. He states that the age of Jim Crow was “a sharply proscribed and deteriorating position in a South bent on commanding black lives and black labor by any means necessary.” Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*, 1st ed (New York: Knopf, 1998). The majority of African Americans living in the South worked as laborers and domestics with little wages. Violence and the threat of violence was used by whites as a constant crippling and dominating force to maintain white supremacy. Yet and still, African Americans organized and resisted the Jim Crow regime. For further history on African American political organizing in Florida prior to and during the election of 1919, see *Emancipation Betrayed*. Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*, vol. 16 (Univ of California Press, 2005). For further documentation of violence and lynching as a specific act of terror against African Americans in Florida during the era of Jim Crow see *The Beast in Florida*. Marvin Dunn, *The Beast in Florida: A History of Anti-Black Violence* (University Press of Florida, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> Sonya Douglass Horsford, “From Negro Student to Black Superintendent: Counternarratives on Segregation and Desegregation,” *The Journal of Negro Education*, 2009, 172–87.

<sup>69</sup> Linda C. Tillman, “(Un) Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators,” *Education and Urban Society* 36, no. 3 (2004): 280–303; Russell W. Irvine and Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, “The Impact of the Desegregation Process on the Education of Black Students: Key Variables,” *Journal of Negro Education*, 1983, 410–22; Jacqueline J. Irvine and Russell W. Irvine, “The Impact of the Desegregation Process on the Education of Black Students: A Retrospective Analysis,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 76, no. 3 (2007): 2297–2305.

of African American teacher pedagogy, as well as the culture and pursuits of segregated African American schools.

The first wave of new scholarship occurred in the 1990s. Using a variety of investigative methods, scholars argued that segregated African American schools were rich in community support, and benefited from deep parental investment and engaged, caring faculties. Michele Foster's early body of literature focuses on currently practicing African American educators, and in doing so unveiled evidence of *positive* segregated African American environments of the past.<sup>70</sup> The exemplar teachers in Foster's ethnographic study connected their current practice to their childhoods in African American segregated schools where, as students, they experienced communities of kinship, connectedness, and solidarity.<sup>71</sup> As these teachers reflected on the pedagogy driving the schools of their childhoods, they noted that their teachers acted as guides, demonstrating concern for their cognitive, affective, social, and emotional development. These early positive experiences were the base they built upon and the role models they looked to as they became teachers themselves.<sup>72</sup>

In *Black Teachers on Teaching*, Foster expands her research to illuminate fifty years of African American teaching practice.<sup>73</sup> Using life history interviews, Foster historically situates the practice of black teachers by examining the cultures and

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<sup>70</sup> Michele Foster, "Constancy, Connectedness, and Constraints in the Lives of African-American Teachers," *NWSA Journal*, 1991, 233–61; Michele Foster, "Educating for Competence in Community and Culture Exploring the Views of Exemplary African-American Teachers," *Urban Education* 27, no. 4 (1993): 370–94.

<sup>71</sup> Foster, "Educating for Competence in Community and Culture Exploring the Views of Exemplary African-American Teachers."

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; Foster, "Constancy, Connectedness, and Constraints in the Lives of African-American Teachers."

<sup>73</sup> Michele Foster, *Black Teachers on Teaching* (New Pr, 1998).

ideology of the African American segregated schools of which these teachers were a part. Through their life histories, Foster presents an in-depth portrayal of the black teaching profession and its relationship to larger social processes. In parts of the text, Foster focuses on the narratives of seven “elders”—black teachers working during de jure segregation. Together, these seven narratives depict segregated African American teachers as highly skilled professionals and skilled practitioners working creatively at the nexus of a complex world to advance their students and the hopes of the race.

Within this same wave of scholarship, a number of educational historians contributed full-length manuscripts describing single African American institutions during de jure segregation. Relying on first-hand accounts supported by archival evidence, these document case after case of strong professional leadership, thriving pedagogy, and a resilient community of engaged supporters strategically advocating on behalf of African American schools and students.<sup>74</sup> Siddle Walker’s *Their Highest Potential* is likely the most well-known of this body of scholarship.<sup>75</sup> Each narrative provides a parallel portrayal of strategic activism by teachers and parents on behalf of African American students. In 2000, Siddle Walker synthesized this literature to develop the following core traits of African American segregated institutions: (a) a central structure of leadership embodied by the school principal; (b) deep parental organizational and financial support and parent presence within the school; (c) strong academic curricula

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<sup>74</sup> David S. Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road. Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (ERIC, 1994); Faustine Childress Jones and others, *A Traditional Model of Educational Excellence: Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas* (Published for ISEP by Howard University Press, 1981); L. Davis, “A History of Queen Street High School: 1928–1968,” *Kingston, NY: Tri State Services*, 1996; Walker, *Their Highest Potential*.

<sup>75</sup> Walker, *Their Highest Potential*.

and prolific extra-curricular activities; and (d) caring and effective teachers with high standards.<sup>76</sup>

This literature provides important insights into the extensive communities of care, professional rigor, and parental support that were standard in many African American schools, but fails to make explicit the strategies and mechanisms that parents, teachers, administrators, and organizations used to make this kind of climate possible. Nor does it explain the similarity of features from school to school across the South. As each narrative focuses on a single case, broader questions related to the system of African American schooling are not engaged. Siddle Walker concludes, “The result is a compelling portrait of *what* happened in segregated schools but little information that explains *why* or *how*.”<sup>77</sup> Thus, the question remains: in the face of stark racism and underfinancing, what strategies and ideas guided these teachers and leaders to transcend the structural oppression and limiting perceptions of the segregated context?

Historian James Anderson’s critical reinterpretation of the eras preceding *Brown* lays the foundation for exploring answers to this question. Anderson’s analysis of African American education from Reconstruction to the Great Depression comprehensively examines the political and economic context encompassing the African American educational system in the South.<sup>78</sup> In doing so, it clarifies the web of political and social interests, actors, and situational causes and effects within the

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<sup>76</sup> Walker, “Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics.”

<sup>77</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 4–79.

segregated system of education. Anderson argues that the vision and agenda for universal education that was conceived by the ex-slaves was subsumed and supplanted by white politicians and education reformers with a narrower vision of a public two-tiered racialized system.<sup>79</sup> After regaining power during the post-Reconstruction era, the white planter class focused its attention on the growing need to provide public education for the millions of white boys and girls across the southern states. Although adamantly against any education for African Americans, the planter class acquiesced to pressure from northern philanthropists who were urging the South to create a public system that provided for some kind of education for African Americans.

Anderson documents how white politicians, education reformers, and northern philanthropists convened and crafted an agenda for the southern education system at the turn of the twentieth century. For blacks, a model of industrial education was designed in order to create a permanent “second class” of laborers. The model was organized and disseminated throughout post-secondary, secondary, and elementary education, often using the well-known Booker T. Washington as a spokesperson.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, African American educators, adamantly opposed to the model, defended the vision of the ex-slaves. They attained their own education, assumed key roles of leadership in African American colleges and universities, and organized powerful professional associations to train and support teachers, and strengthen higher education. Thus the periods of post-reconstruction and de jure segregation represent

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988; Anderson, “Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915.”

eras of struggle between African American educators and white political bodies over the ideology, content, and character of African American education in the South.

Michael Fultz's scholarship extends Anderson's narrative to explore agendas and activities related to the African American teacher profession during de jure segregation.<sup>81</sup> Fultz demonstrates that African American scholars and leaders viewed African American teachers as the central agent in shaping the destiny of race.<sup>82</sup> Thus, organizations and leaders worked ardently to build a "sound" profession through high-quality teacher training that was antithetical to the agenda for educational disfranchisement espoused by whites. Through historical documentation of teacher certification standards and issues related to access and quality of teacher education, Fultz concludes that overall, African American teachers were often among the best-educated members of the African American community. Furthermore, many African American Teachers were "superbly trained, both academically and pedagogically."<sup>83</sup> This strain of research documenting the specific practices and training of African American teachers during segregation needs to continue to develop in order to inform our understanding of history, African American culture, and the broad origins of the American teacher profession.

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<sup>81</sup> Michael Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940," *Journal of Negro Education*, 1995, 196–210; Michael Fultz, "African American Teachers in the South, 1890-1940: Powerlessness and the Ironies of Expectations and Protest," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1995, 401–22; Michael Fultz, "African-American Teachers in the South, 1890-1940: Growth, Feminization, and Salary Discrimination," *The Teachers College Record* 96, no. 3 (1995): 544–68.

<sup>82</sup> Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

Taken together, these various strains of research suggest that African American education during segregation was a politicized, contentious, and complex affair. The effects of de jure segregation went well beyond state-sanctioned separate schools and unequal resource distribution. Instead, it was the enactment of an overarching framework to circumscribe the opportunities and potential of students so as to preserve the wealth, interests, and power of the political white South. In the face of this agenda, African American educational organizations and leaders rallied to create and maintain a standard and practice of education that would transcend the limits imposed on their schools, while also attempting to overturn the legal rulings that sanctioned them. Their efforts resulted in historically segregated African American schools that were able to create communities of achievement, resilience, and sound professional practice. What is less clear are the strategies they used to mount these counterchallenges, to fund and operate schools, and to build pedagogy and curricula across the system of African American education. What did African American educators know about educational organizing that might prove significant?

Siddle Walker's most recent research begins to explore these topics, presenting findings related to the the activism of African American teacher organizations during de jure segregation.<sup>84</sup> Through various manuscripts she examines evidence related to African American professional networks in Georgia from 1878-1969. In *Hello, Professor*,

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<sup>84</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938"; Walker, "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education"; Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Tolerated Tokenism, or the Injustice in Justice: Black Teacher Associations and Their Forgotten Struggle for Educational Justice, 1921-1954," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 46, no. 1 (2013): 64-80.

Siddle Walker asserts that the agency demonstrated by Professor Ulysses Byas, principal of Fair Street High School “was inextricably related to the network of professional activity and community influences that grounded his work.”<sup>85</sup> Siddle Walker illuminates the activities of African American educational leaders through their organizational affiliations in a regional network consisting of the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (the ASSCN) and a state African American teachers’ association, the Georgia Teachers’ Educational Association (GTEA).<sup>86</sup> African American teacher educator activists working against the educational disenfranchisement of segregation created comprehensive plans for pedagogical and systemic equity, disseminating and actualizing their plans throughout their regional networks and teacher associations. These teachers, aware in real time of the forthcoming backlash of mass firings and demotions, concealed their activities and shielded African American students within the schools they had built by hiding their professional activities and organizational structure.<sup>87</sup>

Through the Georgia case, Siddle Walker illuminates the interconnected system of national, regional, and statewide African American professional development that supported African American principals and school communities. At the national level, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (also known as the ASSCN, or the Association) served as Byas’s primary training ground. As the African

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<sup>85</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*, 5.

<sup>86</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>87</sup> Walker, “Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education.”

American organization that conferred the status of accreditation for African American secondary schools and colleges on behalf of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), the Association was a powerful, elite group of professionals.<sup>88</sup>

Regionally, and at the state level, Byas participated in the activities of African American teachers' associations, such as the Georgia Teachers' Educational Association (GTEA) that repeated the messages and ideas germinated at national meetings. This method of repeating information perpetuated and disseminated the agenda and perspectives of African American educational organizations throughout the South.<sup>89</sup>

Siddle Walker's investigation also repositions black educators as powerful, organized advocates in their own right in the decades before and during the civil rights movement. Her findings assert that African American educators were often the impetus for the involvement of the NAACP. Moreover, in numerous communities, the GTEA served as the foundation for local NAACP branches, entreating the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools to funnel money to establish local offices.<sup>90</sup> The educators then worked in conjunction with the NAACP behind the scenes to support the legal campaigns that characterized the era. Prior to these findings, the prevailing narrative suggested that African American teachers were fearful, complacent, and reluctant to engage in battles for school equality because of their dependence on white

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<sup>88</sup> Vanessa Siddle Walker, "The Architects of Black Schooling in the Segregated South: The Case of One Principal Leader.," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 19, no. 1 (2003): 54–72.

<sup>89</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>90</sup> Walker, "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education."

school boards.<sup>91</sup> While this narrative factually captured the predicament of African American teachers, it misrepresented the historical legacy of teachers who strategically engaged school equality battles from within the educational system through their organizations and associations.<sup>92</sup> To preserve the livelihood of their organizations and maintain their critical role within the African American community, these educators intentionally hid this critical organizing activity.

Siddle Walker's research, although based on primary evidence from the Georgia Teachers' Educational Association (GTEA), suggests that the same tradition of activism was replicated by other state associations across the South.<sup>93</sup> This narrative begins to knit closer links between African American teachers, community members, and national organizations such as the NAACP. However, current literature does not yet substantiate whether and how the Siddle Walker narrative existed across regions and other states.

Siddle Walker's line of research has the potential to draw scholars into the inner workings of the southern African American education system as it operated within Jim Crow, tucked away from the media and the white public. In the absence of a central governance structure for schooling and in light of the clear threat of oppression and malevolence, African American educators created their own system to advance their own agenda.

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<sup>91</sup> Fultz, "African American Teachers in the South, 1890-1940."

<sup>92</sup> Walker, "Tolerated Tokenism, or the Injustice in Justice: Black Teacher Associations and Their Forgotten Struggle for Educational Justice, 1921-1954"; Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>93</sup> Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938."

However, more evidence of this narrative and practice are still needed. The field of scholarship especially lacks documentation of the school curricula and coursework that supported this type of practice within local contexts. Additionally, there is a dearth of documented African American faculty professional development practices during this critical era of African American teacher shortage and grassroots management. The larger agenda and vision for African American schooling that arose from within the body of African American educational leadership also remains poorly understood and underanalyzed.<sup>94</sup>

This work is able to contribute an extensive analysis of Lincoln High School: the vision and aims of its educators, the school's curricula over various phases of its history, faculty professional development practices, and the various connections between this school and larger African American educator networks. In this way, this work adds to this emerging body of literature by making visible the inner workings of one African American school community that worked to build a thriving school system within Gainesville, Florida from 1921-1955.

Recent research has utilized the vantage point of desegregation to contribute to our understanding of Jim Crow schooling. Such research commonly highlights the inherent worth of the segregated school by examining the perceived losses to the African American community, public education, and the teacher profession as a result of the desegregation of schools.<sup>95</sup> The examination of such losses may include studies on

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<sup>94</sup> Butchart, *Local Schools: Exploring Their History*.

<sup>95</sup> Jerome E. Morris, "Can Anything Good Come from Nazareth? Race, Class and African American Schooling and Community in the Urban South and Midwest," *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 1 (2004): 69–112.

the mass firing of black teachers from the professorate and the reassigning of black administrators and superintendents into less powerful roles. This massive loss of African American educators has resulted in a loss of knowledge about a central institution in the African American community: the school. Related losses included the loss of documentation of African American pedagogy and administrative practice.<sup>96</sup> African American superintendents, principals, and teaching staff were fired, reassigned, or demoted and stripped of their sociocultural power. Decision making structures and instructional curricula were changed.<sup>97</sup>

The losses associated with the underutilization, subsequent disrepair and closings of school buildings as public spaces (e.g., for cultural, community, and extra-curricular education, professional, business, and organizational meetings and functions, and as a community central space) are also examined as implications of desegregation.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Horsford, "Learning in a Burning House: Educational Inequality, Ideology, and (Dis) Integration"; Sonya Douglass Horsford and Kathryn Bell McKenzie, "Sometimes I Feel like the Problems Started with Desegregation': Exploring Black Superintendent Perspectives on Desegregation Policy," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 21, no. 5 (2008): 443–55.

<sup>97</sup> Literature describing the losses associated with desegregation utilizes various perspectives within the black community to explore the phenomena. Studies documenting the perspectives of black superintendents include: Horsford, "Learning in a Burning House: Educational Inequality, Ideology, and (Dis) Integration."; Horsford and McKenzie, "Sometimes I Feel Like the Problems Started with Desegregation': Exploring Black Superintendent Perspectives on Desegregation Policy." Studies which document the perspectives of black principals, former teachers, and former students include: Garner, "School without a Name: Desegregation of Eastside High School 1970-1987, A."; Vivian Gunn Morris and Curtis L Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community* (Teachers College Pr, 2002); Fairclough, "The Costs of Brown: Black Teachers and School Integration."; Vanessa Siddle, "Tolerated Tokenism, or the Injustice in Justice: Black Teacher Associations and Their Forgotten Struggle for Educational Justice, 1921-1954"; Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938."

<sup>98</sup> Irvine and Irvine, "The Impact of the Desegregation Process on the Education of Black Students: Key Variables"; M.J. Shujaa and H.T. Afrik, "School Desegregation, the Politics of Culture, and the Council of Independent Black Institutions," *Beyond Desegregation: The Politics of Quality in African American Schooling*, 1996, 263–79; Van Dempsey and George Noblit, "The Demise of Caring in an African-American Community: One Consequence of School Desegregation," *The Urban Review* 25, no. 1 (1993):

Desegregation of schools routinely was accomplished by closing the African American schools and sending those students to integrate white schools.<sup>99</sup> The resulting loss of African American high schools has been noted as particularly costly.<sup>100</sup> In losing their high schools, African American communities lost degree-granting institutions that served as crucial way markers on the path to economic prosperity. As the narrative of Lincoln High School will show, a central aim of segregated African American high schools was to provide students with vocational guidance, direction, and skills. This allowed students to emerge into the workforce armed with the keen awareness necessary to navigate the hard terrain of a racialized world, and possessing some measure of expertise that this world would find valuable.

### **Scholarship by African American Educational Leaders, 1920-1955**

The case of Lincoln High School takes place during the latter period of de jure segregation (1920-1955). Understanding this context is important to understanding the case. The scholarship presented in the last section captures the thinking of current scholars about the period of de jure segregation, but it is also important to note that numerous African American and white scholars were documenting educational occurrences, promoting various agendas, and maintaining substantive analyses.

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47–61; Vivian Gunn Morris and Curtis L Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community* (Teachers College Pr, 2002); Garner, "School without a Name: Desegregation of Eastside High School 1970-1987, A."

<sup>99</sup>Bernadette Anand et al., *Keeping the Struggle Alive: Studying Desegregation in Our Town. A Guide to Doing Oral History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

<sup>100</sup> Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938."; Walker and with Byas, "The Architects of Black Schooling in the Segregated South: The Case of One Principal Leader."

The scholarship is classified in two distinct groups influenced by the racial division of the era. In one faction were white historians and educational professionals affiliated in some way with the African American educational system. The primary objective of this group was to use their data and analysis to support an agenda of white supremacy predicated upon a free or cheap laboring class. As Butchart notes, this group's scholarship on African American education has been discredited within the field.<sup>101</sup>

The other faction included African American intellectuals, historians, and educational professionals who were responsible for guiding and managing African American colleges and universities, teacher education departments, and K-12 institutions. Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois are two of the most well-known African American scholars writing during the post-Reconstruction period. However, many lesser-known scholars significantly contributed to the course and operations of the southern African American educational system.

Carter G. Woodson's *The Education of The Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of Colored People*, first published in 1915, examines educational activities available to the African Americans during the antebellum period through formal schooling, while carefully documenting the rise of oppression against African American education within each southern state.<sup>102</sup> In this early work, Woodson sets the stage for the state of the African American education system in the 1920s, when the southern

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<sup>101</sup> Ronald E Butchart, "' Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (1988): 333–66.

<sup>102</sup> Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1919).

states were plummeting into an anti-education stance with regard to African Americans. In 1933, Woodson printed a series of essays entitled *The Miseducation of the Negro*. It is a sharp critique of the status of African American education across the United States. In it, Woodson pushes back against educational oppression and argues that education's central purpose should be participation in the political, social, and economic life of the nation. Further, he argues that for African Americans existing in the present oppressive order, education's secondary purpose should be to confer the racial pride denied to African Americans by the State. The Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) was founded by Woodson with this secondary purpose in mind. It consolidated information related to all aspects of African American history culture, disseminating it first to educators with the hopes of stimulating a positive vision and experience of African American educational freedom and achievement.

W. E. B. DuBois, as the preeminent voice for African American intellectualism and racial uplift of his time, documented the state of African American education in cities and communities through rigorous methodological surveys. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*, published in 1935, was the first major challenge to the prevailing interpretations of Reconstruction. DuBois's analysis highlights the role of the black and white working class in the evolution of the southern economy.<sup>103</sup> His early scholarship on the problems affecting African Americans in the nation is captured in the essay "The Talented Tenth" and within the manuscript *The Souls of Black Folk*. In both, he advocates for increasing opportunity for African Americans through the acquisition of

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<sup>103</sup> William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (Simon and Schuster, 1999).

higher education, with the larger aim of creating leaders for the race's progression.<sup>104</sup> As Chapter 2 will show, Du Bois participated extensively in formulating and debating plans regarding the aims and trajectory of the African American southern school system. Additionally, as the founder and editor of *The Crisis* magazine, the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), he contributed extensive analysis on developments affecting African American education both nationally and internationally.

Horace Mann Bond's lesser-known *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* emerged in 1934.<sup>105</sup> The text presents a thorough analysis of the history, governance, and financial support of schooling for African Americans to 1930. Ronald Butchart hails Bond's work as "head and shoulders above most other histories of black education written in the era for its analysis of the interrelationship between American society and public schooling."<sup>106</sup> Unlike DuBois or Woodson, who both asserted that schools possessed the potential to shape democracy toward its ideal, Bond reminds us of the limitations of African American educators' best-laid plans: he argues that schools are inextricably limited in their capacity to change the prevailing order, as they are the "product and interpreter of the existing system".<sup>107</sup> Bond asserts firmly, "Of one thing, at

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<sup>104</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-Day," *New York: J. Pott & Company*, 1903; W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Bartleby, 1903).

<sup>105</sup> Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966).

<sup>106</sup> Butchart, "'Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education," 345.

<sup>107</sup> Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, 1966, 12.

least, we can be sure: that is the unsoundness of relying upon the school as a cure-all for our ills.” He suggests that African American leaders explore all facets of community life for solutions to the community’s problems.<sup>108</sup> History suggests that Bond’s sage advice remains apropos.

Although these three authors provided the most comprehensive treatments of African American education during the period, lesser known scholars and educational leaders were writing prolifically in the *Journal of Negro Education* and within other journals as they emerged. *JNE* was founded in 1932 with an explicit focus on the system of African American education. It served as a powerful central source of scholarship, discussions, and organizing. In the first issue of *JNE*, founder Charles S. Thompson wrote that this function was the purpose for the new journal in *Why a Journal of Negro Education?*<sup>109</sup> He also noted that the publication provided a much-needed outlet for academic scholarship generated by African American students of education: for the “Negro student who has taken the pains to get research training . . . and finds. . .no ready and sympathetic outlet for the publication of the results of his investigation.”<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, he argued that the journal would exist as a vital space for critical investigation, discussion, and dissemination of proposals and practices related to African American education. *JNE* has served this purpose from 1932 until the present.

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<sup>108</sup> Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (Octagon Books New York, 1966), 12.

<sup>109</sup> “Editorial Comment: Why a Journal of Negro Education?,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1932): 1–4.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

In this study I use *JNE* as a primary source to illuminate the aims of African American education as they were proposed and discussed by African American educational leaders, as well as to trace the decisions and actions of individual African American educational leaders and major African American educational professional networks.<sup>111</sup> As the primary outlet for peer-reviewed publications by African American educational scholars during the era, *JNE* is a deep repository. It maintained the column *Current Trends and Events of National Importance in Negro Education* for well over twenty years. This column and other articles disseminated the activities of various African American education professional networks to its readership; it kept them abreast on the activities of various associations, made them aware of specific actions, agendas, and platforms, and helped to bolster the support of the public for the collective vision of African American educational leadership.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Very little literature examines the significance of *The Journal of Negro Education* to the field of African American education or develops the themes addressed by *The Journal* into an analysis. Edmund Gordon's 2007 piece in *The Journal* provides insight into the significance of *JNE* in the first three eras of the publication. Two dissertations focus on *The Journal* as a topic of study. The first of these, by Christopher Haviland Ketcham, examines educational discourses within *The Journal* from 1932-1953. This dissertation was particularly insightful in providing a comprehensive analysis of the authors and topics covered in *The Journal*. Beyond these dissertations, education historian Ronald Butchart's historiography of the African American struggle for education offers an analysis on the topics and themes addressed by scholars of each period of African American education to date. Butchart's analysis draws extensively from writings within *The Journal* but fails to contextualize the significance of *The Journal* as a whole. "Editorial Comment," April 1, 1932; Edmund W. Gordon, "A Context for the Birth of 'The Journal of Negro Education,'" *The Journal of Negro Education* 76, no. 3 (July 1, 2007): 198–203; Christopher Haviland Ketcham, "What and How Will We Teach; for What Shall We Teach and Why? Aims-Talk in the 'Journal of Negro Education' 1932--1953" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2010), 35; Butchart, "'Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education."

<sup>112</sup> See "Current Events of National Importance in Negro Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1932): 91–97; H. Councill Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1932): 34–43, doi:10.2307/2292013; "Editorial Comment: Coordination of National Organizations," *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 2 (April 1, 1935): 155–58; Reid E. Jackson, "Rise of Teacher-Training for Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 4 (October 1, 1938): 540–47, doi:10.2307/2291802; Horace Mann Bond, "The Extent and Character of Separate Schools in the United States," *Journal of Negro Education*, 1935, 321–27; Horace Mann Bond,

The organizations most frequently discussed in *JNE* were the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools,<sup>113</sup> the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes<sup>114</sup>, and the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges. Each organization convened regular conferences and other functions and generated regular bulletins of their activities. The aforementioned column discussing trends in African American education occasionally reprinted articles from internal publications of these networks and associations to distribute them to a wider audience. The column also provided information on relevant governmental activities and the activities of other associations of African Americans, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. It also contained summaries of theses and dissertations that

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“The Evolution and Present Status of Negro Higher and Professional Education in the United States,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 3 (July 1, 1948): 224–35, doi:10.2307/2966359.

<sup>113</sup> The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NACTS) also known as the American Teachers Association (ATA) was organized in 1904 with a mission to unite agencies and individuals who represented the causes and issues of African American education. It is recognized as the largest African American educational organization. Its regularly published bulletins were circulated widely to teachers across the country. The organization studied educational problems and proposed solutions relevant to curricula, schools, teacher status and pay, and school accreditation. NATCS changed its name to the American Teachers Association in 1937. This work retains the organization’s earlier name as it mainly describes the group’s activities during the period 1904-1930s. Sonya Douglass Horsford, “Encyclopedia of African American Education,” *National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), <http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/africanamericaneducation/n174.xml>.

<sup>114</sup> The Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes was convened in 1932 to overcome the exclusion of African American schools by the Southern Association for Colleges and Secondary Schools. The “Association” became the governing body for the accreditation of African American schools, using the same measures as white schools. Schools that met these standards were considered approved schools. In *Hello Professor*, Siddle-Walker writes extensively about the activities and activism of the Association from the 1950s-1960s, through the lens of Ulysses S. Byas, Principal and member of the Association. Walker, “Original Intent: Black Educators in an Elusive Quest for Justice”; Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*, 259–260.

related to African American education. This content provided greater access and increased knowledge on the issues confronting African American education.

Dr. Edmund Gordon, Professor Emeritus at Yale University and Teachers College, Columbia University, wrote a 2007 *JNE* article reflecting the caliber of those contributing their thoughts and ideas to the early years of the publication. He states, “For the first thirty years of the life of The Journal, its list of authors was a virtual Who’s Who of Black America, as it was a major publication outlet for members of the Negro intelligentsia.”<sup>115</sup> Contributors to *JNE* included leading social scientists W. E. B. Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, and Sterling Brown, as well as Nobel laureate Ralph Bunche. Other important contributors included Alethea Washington, Professor of Education at Howard University, Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes in the U.S. Office of Education, and others holding influential positions in African American higher education and governmental leadership.

*JNE* published four issues a year, including a July yearbook that presented “a comprehensive, critical summary of the facts, proposals and significant events that have occurred in the field during the preceding year.”<sup>116</sup> The other three issues consisted of editorials on current practices, discussions and critical evaluations of existing or proposed practices, reports of studies in the field, educational research, current literature, and news or events of national importance that related to the education of African Americans. Through this format *The Journal* became “a virtual forum where educational researchers could assemble asynchronously to debate the issues that

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<sup>115</sup> Edmund W. Gordon, “A Context for the Birth of ‘The Journal of Negro Education,’” *The Journal of Negro Education* 76, no. 3 (July 1, 2007): 30.

<sup>116</sup> “Editorial Comment,” April 1, 1932, 4.

faced educators of African American—a substitute for the grand communities in mainstream educational research. The annual yearbooks were like micro-communities or forums to debate specific questions or issues.”<sup>117</sup>

Through their writings in *JNE* and within their various professional positions and networks, it is evident that the effort and work of African American educational leaders during this era was vast. Chapter 2 will show that they expanded K-12 educational infrastructure across the South by collaborating with the various philanthropies and quasi-governmental educational agencies that emerged during the period. In addition, they developed accredited rigorous secondary and higher education institutions and provided a mechanism to support and disseminate the best practices of those institutions, while also providing a vision for an expansive and culture-specific curriculum for all levels of schooling. As Chapter 2 will show, their efforts were not always successful, although they achieved great progress.

### **Description of Each Chapter**

The case of Lincoln High School asserts that African American educators were powerful pedagogues during the latter era of de jure segregation. They were the strategists for educational advancement, thereby expanding personal and collective freedom, livelihood, and fulfillment. Moreover, African American educators were an agentic force in the development of the entire southern system of African American education. The next chapter provides the context for understanding the case of Lincoln. In each locale, and throughout the southern region as a whole, African Americans

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<sup>117</sup> Christopher Haviland Ketcham, “What and How Will We Teach; for What Shall We Teach and Why? Aims-Talk in the ‘Journal of Negro Education’ 1932--1953” (Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin, 2010), 28, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/748312248/abstract?accountid=10920>.

concerned with the education of their children had to look within their racialized confines to other African Americans in order to find responsive leadership and governance. From the turn of the century up through the 1930s, in the midst of this era of legal and extra-legal suppression of African American freedom and rights, and often with violent reprisals for resistance, African American educators worked within and through the infrastructure of their networks and associations to challenge white educational oversight and dominance. African American educator networks challenged school funding inequities and the systemic narrowing of educational vision and content. Thus, Chapter 2 addresses the first and second set of the study's central research questions by describing the vision, advocacy, and abiding dilemmas of national African American professional educator networks during de jure segregation.

Chapter 3 ushers the narrative of Lincoln High School into clear view. It presents the development of Lincoln High School during its formative years: from 1921 through the early 1930s. This chapter also focuses on the first and second set of research questions, but with the intention of examining how African American education was perceived, conceived, and navigated at the local level. From its inception, Lincoln High School pursued an accelerated and ambitious path of development. In a single decade, the school expanded from a K-8 school to a K-12 institution, pursuing and attaining state accreditation as a high school. It earned the distinction of becoming the second African American high school accredited in the state of Florida. The chapter highlights the interplay of relationships between Lincoln High School's faculty and administrators and regional and national African American educator networks and white educational

governance to provide context to Lincoln High School's pedagogy, pursuits, and professional development.

Chapter 4 begins in the mid-1930s at Lincoln High School. It continues to examine the second set of research questions by describing the professional development strategies and practices of Lincoln High School faculty. Like many African American segregated schools, Lincoln High School faced significant challenges related to the needs of a growing student body in the midst of a national African American teacher shortage. To meet these challenges, Professor Jones began to "grow his own" teachers by guiding high school students to attain careers in education. In addition, the administration utilized the resources of African American professional networks to educate, recruit, and support the Lincoln High School faculty. The result was an engaged faculty with numerous team leaders effectively influencing and expanding diverse spheres of school operations, departments, and activities.

Chapter 5 examines the curricular and departmental revision at Lincoln High School that occurred as a result of the school's pedagogical aim and philosophy. Thus, the chapter attends to the third set of research questions. As the Lincoln High School community recruited and sustained a faculty of engaged teacher leaders, the school administration simultaneously examined and modified the high school's curriculum in order to address the urgency of a wider array of student post-graduation opportunities and occupational choices. All of these changes are discussed through an examination of teacher pedagogy and practice. Additionally, Professor A. Quinn Jones's own pedagogy underwent a change during this period, as he began doctoral study at New York University in 1936, focusing his coursework on the provision of guidance in the

secondary school. Using that knowledge, and drawing upon other resources engaging the issue of African American vocational guidance, Jones led the high school faculty through a series of readjustments that altered teachers' roles and duties, the school's offerings, and its curricular tracks. By linking networking strategies and suggestions to Jones's educational expertise and locale-specific knowledge regarding vocational education and guidance, the Lincoln High School community aided students in navigating the myriad of pathways into adulthood.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the case, its historical implications, and draws from the work's findings to pose questions for contemporary public education. We learn through this case that the activities and accomplishments of African American educators during the years of the study, 1921-1955 are propelled by an abiding aim of utilizing the endeavor of education to forward the projects of human freedom, transcending, reforming, and resisting oppression, and actively participating within democratic and civic life.

CHAPTER 2  
THE FOUNDATIONS AND THE FIGHT: THE VISION, ADVOCACY, AND ABIDING  
DILEMMAS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL LEADERS DURING DE JURE  
SEGREGATION

This chapter documents the national context in which Lincoln High School developed. It describes the emergence of a two-tiered, segregated system of education in the South and chronicles important developments in tier two: the southern African American education system. It is a complicated narrative. The period of Jim Crow can be equally characterized as a time of great expansion (e.g. public works in the South) and of massive tyranny. Huge coordinated building projects created an infrastructure for schooling out of the dust of the South.<sup>1</sup> However, within that expansion of public education, vast contractions related to educational purpose and content were imposed on African American schools.

The story begins at the turn of the century with a convocation on the southern education system. The actors were white education reformers, representatives from the elite white planter class, and northern philanthropists. Their strategy for the expansion of the southern education system ushered in decades of battles over African American education in the South that extended through the end of Jim Crow.

The first section of the chapter emphasizes the ideological differences between the two dominant structures of the southern education system at this time: the General Education Board (GEB), and African American education leaders, networks, and associations. The second section of the chapter centers on those African American

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<sup>1</sup> Kimberly Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age before Brown* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

leaders and their various associations. It investigates their aims for education, their vision for formal schooling, and describes what of that was translated into action during the decades of education under Jim Crow. The third section of the chapter examines the curricular agendas and pedagogies that emerged from African American educational leaders to guide the system of African American schools. Each of these elements affect how African American education was practiced on the ground at Lincoln High School, and are exhibited in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

### **What Happened to the Vision of the Ex-Slaves?**

During Reconstruction, African Americans in the South proposed and began laying the legislative foundations for a system of universal education for all southern children.<sup>2</sup> However, with the presidential election of 1876 and the ensuing Compromise of 1877, the South's white planter class regained political power, resulting in a shift of policy away from full universal education for black and white southerners.<sup>3</sup> To reassert their political and economic control, white planters redoubled the mechanisms that controlled the black labor force by reducing wages, restricting mobility, and decreasing competition between employers. Public education for African American children was particularly antithetical to their agenda. To this end, the planter class successfully stymied the progress of African Americans from the post-Reconstruction period well beyond the turn of the century.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Anderson, "Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915."

<sup>3</sup> James D. Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," *Chapel Hill*, 1988; Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988.

The South faced multiple challenges during this period: unifying conflicting southern economic interests, extending peace to the North, strengthening and diversifying the region's industries and agricultural endeavors, and creating some level of racial harmony while maintaining white supremacy. Even with the white South's successful repression, the subjects of the ex-slaves' system of universal education, a public education system in the South, and, particularly, the problem of education for African Americans continued to surface.<sup>5</sup> To address these challenges, a group of southern white educational reformers, northern philanthropists, and various political power movers came together in the early 1900s to hold the Conferences for Education in the South.<sup>6</sup> Their purpose was to design a plan to guide the development of public education in the region. At the meeting, white philanthropists and northern investors, interested in stabilizing the southern economy and paving the way for new industries, supported and advocated for an expansive public education system that would prepare white children for the new South.<sup>7</sup>

The education of black children was another, more complex matter. An agenda for black education needed to be designed; one that was progressive enough to satisfy African American educational leaders and the northern philanthropists eager to invest in their system, yet moderate enough to appease the white planter class, who were

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> James D Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (JSTOR, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Michael Dennis, "Schooling along the Color Line: Progressives and the Education of Blacks in the New South," *The Journal of Negro Education* 67, no. 2 (April 1, 1998): 142–56, doi:10.2307/2668224; Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988.

ardently against any type of education that would encourage blacks to aspire beyond the field and servitude.<sup>8</sup>

Robert C. Ogden, president of the Hampton Institute Board of Trustees, steered the group, convincing the planters, and those in attendance, that there was in fact a model for African American education that could instill the values of servanthood and labor in such a way that the tools of coercion and violence would no longer be needed. The Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial education relied on “an elementary academic program, the manual labor system, and a strict social discipline routine” to inculcate in students and pre-service teachers an ideology of racial submission and complacency veiled as dignity through labor and service.<sup>9</sup> Ogden lauded Samuel Armstrong’s work at the Hampton Institute as a successful example of this type of education. Samuel Armstrong was the principal of Hampton Institute from 1868 until 1893; during that time, he developed a particular industrial style of education based in a manual labor routine that inculcated “the dignity of labor.”<sup>10</sup> This ideology and plan, known as the Hampton-Tuskegee model, was co-named for its founder, Samuel Armstrong, and for Tuskegee Institute, where it was perfected. As one JNE writer puts it, “Hampton is the mother of Tuskegee—Booker T. Washington is the spiritual son of Armstrong.”<sup>11</sup> The Hampton-Tuskegee model was disseminated throughout the south

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<sup>8</sup> Dennis, “Schooling along the Color Line.”

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, “The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,” 1988, 55.

<sup>11</sup> Luther P. Jackson, “The Origin of Hampton Institute,” *The Journal of Negro History* 10, no. 2 (1925): 149, doi:10.2307/2713934.

through the establishment of two new foundations: the General Education Board and the Southern Education Board.<sup>12</sup>

As the process of promoting the Hampton-Tuskegee model moved forward, the General Education Board (GEB) provided leadership, and the Southern Education Board was its propaganda machine.<sup>13</sup> The GEB partnered with, advised, and encompassed all of the major philanthropic foundations supporting African American education from 1902-1950, including the George Peabody Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundations, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund.<sup>14</sup> With an initial investment of \$100 million by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., the GEB served as the principal administrator for the entire southern system of education during the first five decades of the twentieth century.

Anderson notes that the age of the Hampton-Tuskegee model (the late 1890s through the early 1920s) “was characterized by the worst treatment of black public education by state and local school officers since the end of slavery.”<sup>15</sup> It was not until after Washington’s death that African American public education in the South began to resurge<sup>16</sup>. Anderson continues, “Indeed, Washington’s generation was sandwiched between two important eras of progress in southern black public education, the two

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<sup>12</sup> General Education Board (New York N.Y.), *The General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902-1914* (General Education Board, 1915).

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 85–86.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–79; Matthew D. Davis, “The General Education Board and Institutionalization of Black Public Schooling in the Interwar South,” *American Educational History Journal* 33, no. 2 (2006): 71; Mildred M. Williams and Kara Vaughn Jackson, *The Jeanes Story: A Chapter in the History of American Education, 1908-1968* (Jackson State University, 1979).

<sup>15</sup> Anderson, “Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915,” 61.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

decades following radical Reconstruction and the two decades following Washington's death. Both progressive eras were sustained by grassroots movements in black communities designed to challenge rather than cooperate with Southern white authorities." The Hampton-Tuskegee model did not include the development of full academic high schools that would secure accreditation at the state or regional level and provide a bridge for students to attend liberal arts colleges and universities. Instead, the model supported the development of secondary institutions with limited academic offerings and post-secondary normal institutions for teacher training, which also provided limited academic offerings.

As a result, the entire system of education for African Americans was hindered. The view of the General Education Board, as summarized by its Secretary and Executive Officer, Wallace Buttrick, was that the future schools that were to be built with the support of GEB philanthropists, and all existing African American schools, should be "Hamptonized."<sup>17</sup> The existing schools included private secondary schools and normal institutions that were run by an assortment of missionary and denominational organizations. Buttrick offers the following curricular advice to these organizations: "As far as is practicable, they should largely eliminate Latin, Greek, etc., to say nothing of piano music and the like, they should teach agriculture and related industries with constant and growing appreciation of the educational values in such courses; in a word they should 'choose and object'...such training of the negro for the life that now is as shall make of him a producer—a servant—of his day and generation in the highest

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<sup>17</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 134.

sense.”<sup>18</sup> In short, the GEB sought to remove liberal arts curricula in African American schools.

These obstructions were intentionally designed to cripple the entire system. Strong, academically focused high schools were necessary for the entire African American educational system to function. High schools serve as a crucial link in the educational pipeline. Without the infrastructure to develop strong high school programs, the entire African American educational system would remain immature and weak.

Yet to develop strong high schools, capable teachers who had previously attained a high school degree were needed. The problems were cyclical. An article focused on expanding African American teacher training written in *JNE* highlighted this conundrum. Conner, the author, explains the situation to readers this way: “The development of schools for the education of Negro teachers has followed the same line as that which marks the development of elementary and secondary schools for Negroes.”<sup>19</sup> Many rural areas across the South were still struggling to secure an adequate elementary education for students. Far fewer areas could claim strong high school programs. Conner notes these weaknesses of infrastructure: “The lack of an adequate program of elementary education retarded the establishment and growth of secondary schools.”<sup>20</sup> Inadequate elementary and secondary schools fundamentally

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Miles W. Connor, “The Facilities and Practices of Negro Tax-Supported Teacher-Training Institutions,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 6, no. 4 (October 1, 1937): 624, doi:10.2307/2291963.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 627.

limited the development of institutions of higher education, and in this way confined the chief supplier of African American teachers.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Rise of National Associations for African American Education**

While the General Education Board was disseminating their education ideology across the South, African American leaders were coalescing into networks to regain control of African American schooling. Each network played a key role in resistance and in transforming the southern African American school system from the limiting expectations and social proscriptions embedded in the GEB's ideology to a workable system of education. Different networks focused on various phases of the system—elementary schools, secondary schools, or higher education—crafting proposals and strategies, then challenging the power structures and administrative bodies that governed each area. These associations and networks, along with the *Journal of Negro Education*, ultimately became a powerful counter-movement to the existing regime. The description of the counter-movement that follows is drawn primarily from articles in the *Journal of Negro Education* and publications of African American educator associations. This clash of ideology represented the heart of the struggle over African American education in the South. On one side were factions that held firm to the vision of full academic preparation for civic and professional life for the ex-slaves. This faction included African American educational leaders who served as presidents, deans, and faculty of private normal schools and colleges, as well as a host of advocates in other prominent sectors of black life. It also included a number of white missionary

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

organizations that supported and operated private colleges, normal schools, and theological seminaries for African Americans in the South.<sup>22</sup> However, the forces on the other side of the debate exerted considerable financial and political control over the system in the form of GEB governance and the philanthropic organizations that affiliated with the board. They maintained control of the direction of the system's growth well into the 1920s.

### **National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools<sup>23</sup>**

The earliest African American teacher association, and perhaps the most powerful, was the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. Established in 1907, the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) was the outgrowth of the National Colored Teachers Association, which was founded in 1903, (the organization's name was changed to denote the inclusion of non-black teachers also serving in African American schools). The explicit goal of the NATCS was to promote ideas, improve teaching methods, and enhance cooperation between teachers to adapt education to community needs.<sup>24</sup> Over its duration, NATCS was guided by "many of the nation's greatest African American educators."<sup>25</sup> Past presidents of

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<sup>22</sup> An assortment of secondary schools, normal institutions, and colleges were maintained by religious denominations during the era. For example, the American Missionary Association supported Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo, Straight and Tillotson colleges and forty-three normal institutions. The Methodist Episcopal Church supported one theological seminary, ten colleges, and twelve secondary schools and the African Methodist Episcopal church supported ten black college institutions. See also: Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 110–147.

<sup>23</sup> The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) is also known as the American Teachers Association (ATA).

<sup>24</sup> "Editorial Comment," April 1, 1935.

<sup>25</sup> Kofi Lomotey, *Encyclopedia of African American Education* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2010), 477.

NATCS included J. R. Lee, president of Florida Mechanical and Agricultural Institute, and Mary McLeod Bethune, president of Bethune-Cookman College, who served as president of NATCS in 1924 when Jones attended the national conference.<sup>26</sup> During the era, NATCS boasted the largest membership of African American teacher professionals of any organization.

NACTS was largely responsible for the growth of the African American high school during the 1930s through the 1940s. In 1926, it began a crucial “five-year effort” to force states and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) (the regional accreditation body) to begin accrediting African American high schools.

#### **The five-year effort of NATCS: Challenging secondary and higher education accreditation**

W. A. Robinson, principal of the Laboratory School at Atlanta University, launched the five-year effort in 1926 with a region-wide study on the state of African American accredited high schools. Robinson presented his study at the 1926 NATCS annual convention. Robinson’s study documented only 166 state-accredited high schools serving the ten million African Americans in the seventeen southern states.<sup>27</sup> State accreditation of African American high schools was not only sparse (at least two states, Alabama and South Carolina, had no mechanism for accrediting black schools), but haphazard, and reflective of the southern ideology of a circumscribed African American education system.<sup>28</sup> Where states did provide certification for African American high schools, they often used a less demanding set of standards, in effect

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<sup>26</sup> Kofi Lomotey, *Encyclopedia of African American Education* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE, 2010), 477.

<sup>27</sup> Trenholm, “The Accreditation of the Negro High School,” April 1, 1932.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

capping the kinds of course offerings and curricula that African American schools were recognized for providing. Students who attended schools with these lower-quality accreditation standards experienced limited curricula and “industrial education” and were funneled into lower-level colleges and/or professional work.

Southern states used accreditation as a mechanism to sanction second tier education. Robinson’s survey of the supervisors of high schools in southern states indicated that the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Maryland, South Carolina, and Texas had officially approved different standards for African American and white high schools, while Florida and Louisiana were “favorable” to different standards. Thus, the challenge was to force states to conform to one standard of school accreditation for African American and white schools. H. Council Trenholm, president of Alabama State College and contributing editor to *JNE*, underscores the importance of a single standard of accreditation across all southern states: “The big motive for accreditation is that of insuring adequate conditions of study for high school pupils. In no instance should the mere gesture of accreditation be used as a ‘placating and misleading influence’ which is usually the case when different and lower standards are employed.”<sup>29</sup> It would be too easy for white education reformers (and for African American communities) to tout their high schools as accredited institutions, without noting the bias in standards or the weaknesses within their institution’s curriculums, Trenholm and Robinson urged the NATCS membership to remain sharp and vigilant for these slights of hand.

Robinson also described state practices of inflating the number of African American schools accredited by lowering the standard for accreditation. In other words,

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

as pressure began to mount from African American educators to accredit their schools, some states, like Texas, simply designated more schools accredited and lowers the standards to the schools' current level of performance. Robinson remarks, "The facts, however are that since last year the stimulus of a goal of high achievement has been taken away from the Negro high school and lower standards of accreditation [sic] applied to these schools. The increased number, therefore, measures the extent to which standards have been lowered rather than the improvement of Negro high schools."<sup>30</sup> Thus, at the 1926 NATCS conference, members approved a resolution to focus on improving the processes of accreditation, both by states and regionally. Although the road to success was long, the NACTS's effort, with the support of other national African American educational networks, proved to be successful.

To encourage and challenge states, NATCS compiled and disseminated data associated with state accreditation of high schools throughout the region. They also enlisted the support of the US. Office of Education, requesting that the federal agency improve its efforts to compile and publish data related to African American education. Trenholm articulates the need: "[P]ractically every phase of Negro education has suffered from the lack of available data and many situations have been embarrassed because of the double difficulty of inadequate provision, and no report on what is actually provided."<sup>31</sup> NATCS reported any available data and the status of states' accreditation of African American high schools at its regional and national conventions. It also disseminated the information through its publication, "The Bulletin." This

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<sup>30</sup> Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," April 1, 1932.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 38.

advocacy work by the NATCS was instrumental in building the structure for governmental oversight and data collection that African American educational leaders needed to accurately assess the state of the system.

Anderson notes that this particular historical moment of NATCS's five year effort was opportune. At the same time that NATCS was engaged in this prolonged battle over high school accreditation, significant population shifts were bringing more African American youth from rural areas into southern and northern cities. The rise of African American youth in cities who were without schools to attend increased juvenile delinquency, "and posed serious social crises for youth, families, and cities." Ultimately, the concern over rapidly increasing urban African American populations forced white reformers to consider deeply the question of African American secondary education. This moment of interest-convergence led to the infusion of support for northern philanthropy and the investment of the General Education Board in African American secondary education.<sup>32</sup>

Over the course of several years, significant progress was achieved in state accreditation. By 1932, the U.S. Office of Education reported 350 state accredited African American high schools, Trenholm also reported a significant increase in the number of states accrediting all high schools on a single standard. While this was a significant victory, it took place at a time when regional accreditation was becoming a norm for white student college admission. The battle to open the process of regional accreditation to African American secondary schools and colleges proved to be far more

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<sup>32</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 200–205.

lengthy and complicated, and required the coordination of multiple African American educational networks.

The regional association that provided accreditation to white high schools and colleges in the South was the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Organized in 1895 as the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States, the name was changed in 1935. SACS formed to achieve some measure of uniformity in the course offerings, entrance requirements, and degree standards of secondary schools and colleges emerging across the South. Accreditation also motivated top secondary schools to continue to expand their offerings and develop into premier academies.

One of SACS's major goals in its early years was to convince colleges to move away from offering preparatory work during the first or second year of students' college curricula that should rightly have been accomplished during high school. Instead, SACS provided membership to colleges who required entrance examinations and to secondary schools that offered a full academic curriculum. SACS's conditions for membership were difficult to meet, however, and at first, growth in membership was slow. By 1913, SACS had begun to assist white secondary schools in developing a certified curriculum and had published a list of all schools meeting their standard. By 1920, SACS had developed standards for colleges and begun to certify higher education institutions as well. However, the association refused to certify African

American secondary schools and colleges, which significantly thwarted their ability to develop into, and be recognized as superior quality institutions.<sup>33</sup>

After the 1926 NATCS meeting, the organization appealed to SACS to change their policy of excluding African American high schools from its focus. A letter on behalf of NATCS was sent to the president of SACS and to several members of its Executive Committee, as well as to several of the high school supervisors in southern states. SACS responded by commissioning a special committee to study the question of Negro high schools. J. Henry Highsmith, state supervisor of high schools in North Carolina and a member of the General Education Board, was named chairman of the committee. Highsmith responded to his appointment as chair with these words: "I am of the opinion that the commission on secondary education will approve whereby colored high schools may be accredited upon the same basis as white high schools."<sup>34</sup>

Over the next two years, NATCS worked diligently to get the executive committee of SACS to start accrediting black colleges and secondary schools. First, the Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools generated a report with their position and recommendations on the issue. The committee noted that SACS was willing to "publish a list of approved secondary schools" but that they would not take on the extensive (and expensive) work of supporting and accrediting African American schools directly. Instead, the committee recommended that states provide the bulk of the labor in supporting and accrediting the most qualified African American schools, and then send

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<sup>33</sup> George Jackson Allen, "A History of the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1949-1975" (Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 1978).

<sup>34</sup> H. Councill Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 1, no. 1 (1932): 39, doi:10.2307/2292013.

SACS a list of black schools that “have met all the requirements set up [at the state level] for high schools of the white race.” In the report, SACS underscored that it did not intend to serve as the mechanism that evaluated and interacted with African American institutions. The report ensured that that work would not “involve the Association, except to the extent of approving the action of state committees” who had already evaluated the institutions and recommended their accreditation.

The second recommendation called for the formation of a new committee with three members from NATCS High School Division and three members from SACS’ Commission on Secondary Schools to have “entire charge of the matter.”<sup>35</sup> Although the report was worded in such a way that SACS would not actually *do* accreditation, African American educational leaders felt that it was a gain, in that it articulated a strong stance in favor of regional accreditation, created a pathway for it, and put NATCS, for the first time, in a position of prominence in the administration and leadership. Unfortunately, the Executive Committee of SACS never officially read the report; this was a strategic move to delay any action.<sup>36</sup>

To gain momentum, NATCS built strategic supportive relationships and mobilized an educated membership. NATCS convened a series of subsequent meetings with the GEB, the Slater Fund, and the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY) and members of SACS to gain momentum for the report and their agenda. In addition, NATCS began working with Arthur J. Klein of the United States Office of Education, who

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>36</sup> Trenholm, “The Accreditation of the Negro High School,” 1932.

became a supporter of the cause.<sup>37</sup> NATCS energized its membership around the issue of accreditation through continued discussions at its regional and national meetings in 1927 and 1928.

At SACS's 1928 meeting, the executive committee finally passed a resolution addressing the approval of black schools. However, the resolution was significantly weaker than the original proposal. Instead of approving African American schools, SACS resolved to "write the American Council of Education a request" in which the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY) would become a standardizing agency for Negro schools.<sup>38</sup> This resolution released SACS from any responsibility for the work of accreditation. It was not well received by NATCS. If SACS successfully avoided responsibility for accrediting African American schools, yet remained in charge of accrediting white institutions, then whatever Negro agency was appointed would be judging African American schools on a lower standard. The aim of NATCS and of ACNY was to have their secondary schools and colleges designated as excellent using the same high standard as white schools and by the same agency. After this 1928 recommendation by SACS, NATCS began to partner with ACNY on accreditation, presenting a formal paper at ACNY's 1929 annual meeting on their efforts to date.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> In 1928, Arthur Klein published a study surveying Negro colleges and universities on behalf of the Bureau of Education. The insightful report supports the infusion of resources into secondary schools and higher educational African American institutions, remarking on the teacher shortages and lack of financial support that plagued the system. At the same time, NACTS began to work strategically with the Association for Colleges of Negro Youth, who had also been working on accreditation issues, with a particular focus on college and university accreditation. See Arthur J. Klein, "Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities. Bulletin, 1928, No. 7" (Washington, D.C: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior., 1929), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED540145>.

<sup>38</sup> Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," 1932, 41.

<sup>39</sup> Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," 1932.

### **The Association for Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (ASSCN): An Elite Network of Accredited African American Institutions.**

The Association for Colleges of Negro Youth was an association of black colleges, established in 1913. Their aim was to perform the same types of activities that SACS was engaged in with white colleges. Thus, ACNY worked to strengthen entrance requirements, improve standards for college graduation, and control the transfer of dismissed students to other African American institutions.<sup>40</sup> ACNY tried to maintain similar standards of entrance and requirements for the baccalaureate degree across institutions, but without the ability to formally accredit institutions, this was difficult. In lieu of accreditation, ACNY offered membership to those colleges and universities whose educational programs met a common baccalaureate standard. ACNY's pursuit of high standards meant that it had a significant stake in forcing SACS to accredit black colleges and universities.

Following the 1928 SACS resolution, members of NATCS and ACNY continued to meet with members of SACS, its supporters in the GEB, and other interested parties. By 1930, SACS had embarked upon a program of accrediting black secondary schools and colleges. The vehicle for accomplishing accreditation was the Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools, originally created by SACS. Through the financial support of a special philanthropic grant made to SACS in 1930, Arthur D. Wright began inspections of colleges, and the first list of Negro colleges in the Southern Association list was compiled in December, 1930.

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<sup>40</sup> Walter G. Daniel, "General Progress," *The Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 2 (1935): 283–88.

High school accreditation followed in 1931, also under the direction of Arthur D. Wright. The process began with state committees that included the high school inspector, the state agent for Negro schools, and one or two representatives of the Negro high schools or colleges in the state. Schools approved by the state group were passed to SACS, which provided those schools with a formal invitation to apply for regional accreditation at no cost to the school. As a result, twenty high schools in seven states were accredited.

By 1934, the ACNY had developed a new membership and a new role. It was now composed of those schools accredited by SACS, and had changed its name to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (ACSSN). The ACSSN worked in partnership with SACS to support and administer the work of rating African American high schools and colleges through two commissions: the Commission on Colleges and the Commission on Secondary Schools. Two or more members from the ACSSN sat on SACS's Committee on Negro Schools in order to rate schools. Dues were collected by each member school and paid to SACS to defray the costs associated with inspection and rating of African American schools.

### **The Battle over Teacher Training**

At the same time that the NATCS and the ASSCN were engaging in a prolonged battle to get African American secondary schools and higher education institutions accredited, another crisis loomed: there were not enough professionally trained African American teachers available to teach at these emerging schools. In the 1920s, 7,000 teachers were needed per year to staff the new schools; however, only 2,500 were graduating and receiving certification annually. Anderson contextualized the importance of the African American teacher shortage and the larger issue of African American

teacher preparation that was embedded in the issue this way: Teachers socialize and impart norms; thus the beliefs of the teacher dictate the direction of the curriculum.<sup>41</sup>

Knowing this, national African American education leaders and the white architects of the southern agenda both saw the teacher shortage as “an opportunity to influence significantly the form and content of black teacher training.”<sup>42</sup> Therefore, each body of leadership attempted to sway the imagination of emerging teachers in the direction of their vision. Anderson continues, “Consequently, during the early twentieth century black teacher training departments became the primary battlefields for campaigns to translate particular ideologies of black education into institutional and bureaucratic forces.”<sup>43</sup> For African American educational leaders, a strong cadre of professionally trained educators armed with a vision to liberate their people and transform their society was central. Thus, they worked to eradicate any roadblocks in the way of this goal.

The obstacles to a strong teacher profession, particularly in the South, were highly interrelated. Insufficient teacher training resulted in lower certification standards and low teacher pay. All of these issues were the result of the “racist underdevelopment of African American education in the South.”<sup>44</sup> However, the provision of a higher quality of teacher training at African American higher education institutions would not necessarily affect salary differentials within states, nor alter the standards that states

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<sup>41</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 238–279.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

used to certify teachers. Thus, networks of African American educators attempted to solve this myriad of problems simultaneously. Fultz notes that these “efforts to achieve a sound, thorough professionalism . . . became the clarion call for black teachers’ organizations and the basis of accusations of state-sanctioned apathy and neglect.”<sup>45</sup>

Due to its wide base of membership, NATCS pioneered the movement. In 1932, NATCS articulated a “Five Point Program” in a stand against second-class education, discrimination against African American teachers, and low-quality teaching. The five points were: (1) equitable distribution of public tax funds for education purposes without regard to race; (2) state provision of funds for education and federal subsidy towards the equalization of educational opportunity on the basis of need; (3) a single salary schedule and tenure; (4) that over-crowded conditions, lack of sufficient buildings and equipment, and lack of adequate numbers of teachers “constitute a distinct menace” to the American democracy, and (5) the inclusion of Negro life, history and its contribution to civilization in school and public curricula, and the exclusion of all materials that develops prejudice of any race.<sup>46</sup> These five points were the focal points of all NATCS’s efforts.

Each challenge was engaged strategically. The first challenge was to recruit and train additional highly skilled teachers to staff emerging schools. This issue was intertwined with battles over educational ideology and with the issue of accreditation. As we have seen, white resistance to the accreditation of African American colleges and

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<sup>45</sup> Fultz, “Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940,” 197.

<sup>46</sup> “Editorial Comment,” April 1, 1935, 158.

universities had resulted in lower quality institutions. This, in turn, resulted in both fewer teachers and teachers of lower quality.

As Fultz and Anderson have shown, up through the 1920s, the majority of African American teachers in the South were prepared at private teacher training institutions. Arthur Klein's study of African American higher education found that 75% of African Americans attending college in 1926 did so at a private institution.<sup>47</sup> However, African American educators needed to increase access to *public* African American higher education institutions of high quality. At this time, African American public institutions were twenty to thirty years behind the development of white public higher education institutions, and their teacher-training departments suffered in kind.

During this period of prolonged advocacy and change, African American public institutions were just beginning to grant four-year degrees. Delayed federal financial support for higher education combined with no provision for the accreditation of southern higher education institutions led to significant variation in the landscape of institutions offering some form of teacher education training and degrees. At one end of the spectrum were Hampton-Tuskegee type of institutions (largely in rural counties) that provided teacher training and certification after an eighth grade education; at the other end of the spectrum were colleges and universities that provided a four-year degree in teacher education. A host of two-year normal institutions and industrial training centers offering programs of varying lengths lay somewhere in between the two.

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<sup>47</sup> Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities. Bulletin, 1928, No. 7* (Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior., 1929), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED540145>.

But the victory of NATCS and the ASSCN in providing accreditation to higher education institutions in 1934 and the push by public African American institutions to create academic four-year programs created a surge in four-year teacher education programs. Soon more African American graduates were going into teaching than in any other postgraduate occupation. The NATCS, regional and state teachers' associations, and other African American leaders then turned their efforts to staffing schools with qualified graduates from accredited higher education institutions who would receive equal pay for performing their professional duties effectively.

African American educational leaders wrote prolifically during this time, documenting and disseminating key information on the changing nature of the challenges and efforts within the teacher profession. In a 1935 report for the National Survey on the Education of Teachers, Ambrose Caliver prepared a volume on the education of African American teachers.<sup>48</sup> Caliver's report called attention to improving education levels among African American teachers and reported on the high-need areas that remained. Caliver found that 55 percent of Negro teachers in Washington D.C. and throughout the seventeen southern states had six weeks to two years of college, while more than 20 percent had not gone beyond high school during the 1930-1931 school year. Thus, over 75% of teachers serving in southern African American schools in 1931 had not attained a four-year college degree. Caliver was greatly concerned about elementary school teachers and teachers stationed in rural one- and

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<sup>48</sup> Ambrose Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers. Bulletin, 1933, No. 10. Volume IV: Education of Negro Teachers* (Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1933), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED543652>.

two-room schoolhouses, whose education levels were lower than those of any other group of teachers. Caliver states, “The problem of upgrading Negro elementary rural teachers is one of the most acute in the whole realm of education.”<sup>49</sup>

In 1933, *JNE* dedicated its July issue to surveying the state of African American Higher Education. Edna M. Colson wrote an article calling attention to the lack of coherent information about the various teacher-training institutions for African Americans throughout the country. Colson aptly states that, “[T]he United States Office of Education lists hundreds of books, pamphlets and articles on the training of teachers—many on colleges and normal, others devoted to Negro education in general, but none refers to the Negro normal schools and teachers’ colleges as a group, hence the necessity of this investigation.”<sup>50</sup>

The first issue tackled by Colson was the great variation of programs providing teacher education for African American teachers. Colson provides the following definitions for teachers’ colleges and normal schools from the standards of the American Association of Teachers Colleges: “A teachers’ college is a state, municipal or incorporated private institution, or an independent unit of a recognized college or university having at least one four-year unified curriculum; which is devoted exclusively to the preparation of teachers; which has legal authority to grant a standard bachelor’s degree...and which requires for admission the completion of a standard four-year

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>50</sup> Edna M. Colson, “The Negro Teachers’ College and Normal School,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (1933): 284, doi:10.2307/2292200.

secondary school curriculum.”<sup>51</sup> A normal school is defined as “a similar institution offering curricula of two or more years in length but not granting a degree.”<sup>52</sup>

Colson’s study focused on the catalogs of 30 institutions whose programs fell within these definitions. In categorizing the institutions by their catalogs, she notes that “The range in type of institution is wide, extending from a normal school whose curriculum offerings consist chiefly of ‘review’ courses to the college of education of Howard University various types.”<sup>53</sup> Howard University had the most extensive course and departmental offerings among African American institutions at the time, and thus served as an exemplary higher education institution. Ultimately, Colson found that enrollments at African American teachers’ colleges and normal schools were too low to meet the demand for well-trained teachers in elementary and secondary schools, and urged state, public, and private teacher-training institutions and agencies to coordinate their services in order to create a more efficient system of teacher education.

In a 1938 issue of *JNE*, Reid E. Jackson reports on the state of teacher training institutions for African Americans.<sup>54</sup> Jackson begins by providing readers with a history of teacher training for African Americans, drawing the reader’s attention to the federal government’s delayed support of African American land-grant colleges, “tardily provided for by the second Morrill Act of 1890.”<sup>55</sup> Due to this delay, it was not until 1933 that all

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>54</sup> Reid E. Jackson, “Rise of Teacher-Training for Negroes,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 4 (1938): 540–47, doi:10.2307/2291802.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 546.

seventeen land-grant institutions maintained collegiate divisions, schools, or departments of education.

Despite the delay, four-year institutions and teacher education departments providing adequate teacher training did eventually replace the lower-level training programs offered by county training schools. Jackson states, “With that increase, came a corresponding decrease in the county training school to prepare Negro teachers.”<sup>56</sup> Jackson also noted a shift from training African American teachers as part of a secondary school curriculum to education within full teacher education programs in higher education institutions. Still, he underscored the need to increase the numbers of African American teachers trained at colleges.

By the 1940s, as teacher education programs within higher education institutions strengthened and became the prevailing means of teacher-training, African American educators and leaders turned their attention to remaining entrenched challenges. In-service professional development that would improve the qualifications of educators in secondary and elementary schools abided as a concern. In 1942, J. Irving Scott reports out from Florida. Scott’s study is of a site-specific study of teacher training in Duval County, Florida.<sup>57</sup> He found that professional training in the Duval area had improved consistently from 1927 to 1942.

African American teachers in Duval County continually upgraded their classifications through engagement in summer school coursework, extension or

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> J. Irving E. Scott, “Educational Improvement of the Teaching Personnel in Negro Schools of Duval County,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (1943): 702–5.

correspondence coursework, and full-time enrollment in higher education. Moreover, Scott remarked that trends in Duval County mirrored larger trends for African American teachers across Florida.<sup>58</sup> D. E. Williams, State Supervisor for Negro Education, concluded this as well. By now, Williams found, 72.6 percent of Florida's African American teachers were certified. Scott quotes Williams as stating, "Negro teachers are making almost impossible sacrifices to improve their educational status."<sup>59</sup> Across the South, more and more teachers were urged to continue their education while still practicing in order to raise the standards of the African American teaching profession.

Pay and salary was another concern. African American teacher associations and the NAACP were beginning to raise legal challenges to racialized teacher salary differentials and teacher salary discrimination. These cases commonly had the full support and weight of African American teachers, through their state associations. In Florida, the Florida State Teachers Association provided the bulk of the finances for early crucial litigation that led the movement in the south. Moreover, when two plaintiffs were fired from their teaching positions as retaliation for their participation in legal action, the FTSA stepped in, providing full financial support for the families.

Florida was one of the first sites of legal action against salary discrimination. Harry T. Moore, teacher and pioneer of the Civil Rights movement in Florida (and murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in 1951) led the way for Florida's association of teachers. In 1937, when Moore was president of Florida State Teachers Association's District 4, two lawsuits were filed on behalf of Florida's teachers. The first case named N. W.

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 704.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Griffin, a principal in Pinellas County, as Plaintiff. Griffin was promptly fired after filing suit. The second case named John Gilbert, principal of Cocoa High School in Brevard County as Plaintiff. This case, too, was unsuccessful; the Florida Supreme Court dismissed Gilbert's petition on the grounds that Brevard County was not under legal obligation to use salary schedules to determine pay.

A 1947 article in *JNE* recounts the history of the entire salary equalization movement, noting that each suit attained a varied degree of victory. These individual victories in counties or states did not result in substantial change regarding the South's practice of salary discrimination. However, FTSA activists Porter and Leeland noted that these cases were the impetus that united Florida's African American teachers in their fight against segregation: In 1938, over a thousand new members attended FSTA's annual meeting. Although neither case—nor the wave of salary equalization cases brought throughout the South during the 1930s through 1940s—resulted in any systemic change, each case represented one battle in a larger “war.”<sup>60</sup>

In the end, salary issues continued to plague African American educational practice well into the 1950s. It would take the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to eradicate various aspects of discrimination in teacher pay, tenure, and school funding.<sup>61</sup> However, this same case would result in a massive wave of backlash across southern

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<sup>60</sup> Thurgood Marshall described the Salary Equalization Movement in Florida to African American teachers thusly. Caroline Emmons, “‘Not a Single Battle but Rather a Real War’: The Fight to Equalize Teachers’ Salaries in Florida in the 1930s and 1940s,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (April 1, 2003): 429.

<sup>61</sup> *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 US 483 (Supreme Court 1954).

school districts and a massive firing of African American teacher during the 1950s-1970s.<sup>62</sup>

### **Advancing Educational Philosophy and Curriculum**

African American educators defied these long-fought systemic roadblocks by maintaining their profession work and progressing toward their vision for an equitable system of southern African American education. Section one of this chapter described their movement into national associations with a unified vision for educational equity and universal high quality schooling. Section two described the strategic issues that these associates identified as systemic roadblocks and engaged as battles. This section addresses particular educational philosophies and curricular agendas that were proposed by African American educators to accomplish their vision within the “peculiar” arrangement of segregated education.<sup>63</sup> Keenly aware that a segregated, second-class African American education negatively affected *all* students psychologically, socially, and politically, educators and scholars funneled their expertise into devising a curricular experience within African American institutions that modeled the world they hoped to birth. The implications of separate schooling for African Americans were examined by educational leaders with nuance, and from all angles. Their ideas took root in African American schools. They are demonstrated within the pedagogies examined in Chapters

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<sup>62</sup> Michael Fultz, “The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis,” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2004): 11–45, doi:10.2307/3218109.

<sup>63</sup> The term peculiar was often used by African American scholars to denote the system of segregation and all of its ramifications. It became a common concept within scholarship. Christopher Havilland Ketcham’s dissertation discourse analysis of JNE articles concluded that, “The taint of segregation and its influences, its debilitations and the ‘peculiarities’ it created for the educators of African Americans were pervasive and colored nearly every article, idea, and consideration of the aims of education.” The term peculiar occurred 165 times in JNE articles during the period of 1932-1952, the era of Ketcham’s study. Ketcham, “What and How Will We Teach; for What Shall We Teach and Why?,” 2010.

3, 4, and 5 of this work, and in the character and rhetoric of the civil rights leaders who graduated from these southern schools.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, these ideas stand as an under examined resources for current educational practice. In this section, I examine the writings of three high level African American educators: W. E. B. Du Bois, Ambrose Caliver and Walter G. Daniels to distill the key elements of African American educational philosophy, pedagogy, and practice that were a part of the era's intellectual milieu.

The narrative begins with the thoughts and ideas of the leading statesman for African American intellectual pursuits, W. E. B. Du Bois. In 1935, *JNE* published Du Bois's "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" This article is a well-known treatise discussing the distinct needs of African American students given the prevailing racial prejudice in white America.<sup>65</sup> Du Bois favored African American educators for African American students. His rationale is wary, weary, and pragmatic. He concedes that the segregated system, while the product of racial hatred and prejudice, appears to be an intractable aspect of the American white psyche and the country's institutions. He states, "Much as I would like this, and hard as I have striven and shall strive to help realize it, I am no fool; and I know that race prejudice in the United States today is such that most Negroes cannot receive education in white institutions."<sup>66</sup> Thus, to ensure that

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<sup>64</sup> Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Continuing Problems and Forgotten Solutions: Resurrecting the Historical Resistance Strategies of Southern African American School Leaders" (Lecture, Educating Harlem, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY, October 24, 2014), <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/newsroom/articles/2015/january/tcs-gordon-lecture-siddle-walker-shares-lessons-from-segregation-era-schooling/>.

<sup>65</sup> WE Burghardt Du Bois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?," *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 3 (1935): 328–35.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

students received what they so deserved and required—high-quality effective instruction—Du Bois advocated for African American students to be taught solely by African American teachers.

Du Bois's then proposes to changes to the nature of African American educational organizing underway by African American leaders and networks. The first proposed change was for African American leaders to strategically shift their legal challenges from the moral high ground to an investigations of school finance inequities. In his opinion, the thrust of legal efforts needed to focus on the stark funding inequities experienced by African American schools, while discussions regarded curricular directions needed to be amplified.<sup>67</sup> He states, "The N.A.A.C.P and other Negro organizations have spent thousands of dollars to prevent the establishment of segregated Negro schools, but scarcely a single cent to see that the division of funds between white and Negro schools, North and South, is carried out with some faint approximation of justice."<sup>68</sup> After ensuring that schools are equally funded, he proposes, African Americans should be insisting on equal wages for teachers, proper facilities, and funds for scholarship and research at higher educational institutions.

The second proposed change, the amplification of discussions of a distinct African American curriculum, was embedded in Du Bois's assessment of a deficient curriculum that failed to provide African Americans with "a firm and unshakable belief that twelve million American Negroes have the inborn capacity to accomplish just as

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<sup>67</sup> Du Bois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?"

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

much as any nation of twelve million anywhere in the world has ever accomplished.”<sup>69</sup> In Du Bois’s estimation, African American schools needed to equip students with factual information regarding the personality, history, and achievements of African Americans in the United States and in the world.

DuBois reminds readers of the battle that he and others had fought, and were still engaged in to eradicate the myth of inherent intellectual deficiencies in African Americans, and of myriad other fallacies regarding African and African American people and culture still infecting the sciences. An education that focused on a study of the scientific disciplines through the lens of people of color was necessary to combat the prejudices of the mainstream intellectual community of scientists and explorers, who were “for the most part straining every nerve to erase the history of black folk from the record.”<sup>70</sup> Aware of the far-reaching effects of misinformation within primary and secondary school curricula, DuBois provided examples from his youth for his readers. As DuBois reminds us, “Children could read that history in vain to learn any word of what had been accomplished in American history by Benjamin Banneker, Jan Matseliger, Elijah McCoy, Frederic Douglass, or James Dunn.”<sup>71</sup> Beyond the misinformation, the concern was that students would not have the opportunity to investigate the wealth of information pertaining to African American professionals, scholars, and inventors and to pick up where they left off.

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 333–334.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 335.

Du Bois's argument is particularly important, as he was not just calling attention to the importance of a just and rich educational experience, but promoting a larger educational philosophy that would prepare students to guide the national and international community toward a more robust democratic experience for all people. He suggests that educational leaders use these separate schools as an opportunity to experiment beyond the limitations typically imposed by American public education. Assessing the political tide of the country through the rise of a working class, and international political landscapes on the horizons of Africa and Asia, Du Bois posits that African American education has the potential to uniquely contribute to national and world movements, truly progressing the possibilities of education. Although Du Bois's arguments have stood the test of time for their brilliance, many of his suggestions related to an African American curricula were never implemented on a wide scale.

Meanwhile, other scholars continued to explore the curricular potentials within African American schools as key sites for progress. Ambrose Caliver, and Walter G. Daniels and each presented arguments drawing attention to philosophical ideas and curricular issues in elementary and secondary African American education.

Ambrose Caliver was arguably the highest-ranking African American educator of the period. In 1930, he was appointed as the nation's first Senior Specialist for the Education of Negroes in the U.S. Office of Education. Over the duration of his career, Caliver catapulted issues of African American education into the national consciousness, compiling numerous nationwide studies, a plethora of articles, bulletins and reports, and continually working with other national African American educator

networks.<sup>72</sup> In 1933, Caliver delivered the keynote address at the national NATCS. His remarks are printed in a subsequent issue of *JNE*.<sup>73</sup> I include this address because Caliver's remarks are so wide sweeping; for the large and influential audience of African American teachers gathered he presents a comprehensive analysis of the curricular and pedagogical needs arising in American, and with it African American education.

Caliver starts with a wide-angle view, presenting an analysis on the state of American public education. He critiques the idea of progress within the western noting that the variety of scientific and technological advancements of western societies highlighting that these advances have not yet resulted in a peaceful democracy nor happier, more democratic lives for the majority of Americans. Instead, he notes, progress has evolved haphazardly, resulting in the disorganization and compartmentalization of the spheres of societal and individual life.

Caliver was concerned with the rise of individualism and a lack of collaborative investigation in scientific exploration and invention. Individuals with the verve and means to *make something happen* did so, without pausing for reflection, or utilization of thorough methods of inquiry and experimentation. Society and morality were suffering,

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<sup>72</sup> Ambrose Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers. Bulletin, 1933, No. 10. Volume IV: Education of Negro Teachers* (Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1933), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED543652>; Ambrose Caliver, "The Negro Teacher and a Philosophy of Negro Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 4 (1933): 432–77, doi:10.2307/2292053; Ambrose Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: Report of a Survey Conducted by the Office of Education. Bulletin, 1937, No. 38* (Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1938), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED542625>; Ambrose Caliver, *Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes. Bulletin, 1935, No. 6* (Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1935), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED542360>; Ambrose Caliver, "The Role of the Teacher in the Reorganization and Redirection of Negro Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 5, no. 3 (July 1, 1936): 508–16, doi:10.2307/2292127.

<sup>73</sup> Caliver, "The Negro Teacher and a Philosophy of Negro Education," 1933.

he argues, from the haste and self-interest growing within the fields of science and technology.

Like Horace Mann Bond, Caliver notes that society's assumptions about the role of the school in society were largely unfounded and over-reaching.<sup>74</sup> Schools, he explains, are assumed to have the power to transform society and its people for the better. They are expected to further the knowledge pool within the nation and increase the intellectual capital of its constituents. On them, we place "the hope of extricating society out of its state of confusion."<sup>75</sup>But, he argues, schools are not succeeding in meeting these expectations.

Caliver goes on to remind this large group of teachers that schools, teachers, and students exist within society, and as such have been victim to the same forces that affect the other spheres of society. He also suggests that schools are by no means the primary educative influence within the culture; instead, life itself serves as the foremost school. Schools, he states, had largely abandoned the task of developing moral character and thus could not be expected to create a moral culture in the nation. Rather, schools had become as compartmentalized and materialistic as the larger culture. Caliver offers the thesis that schools can assist in remodeling society if they reconstruct themselves, attempting to answer the larger questions of what and how we shall teach. He suggests that a new philosophy of education for African American students could direct the path for the entire educational system. In short, in his eyes, separate African

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<sup>74</sup> Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, 1966.

<sup>75</sup> Caliver, "The Negro Teacher and a Philosophy of Negro Education," 1933, 435.

American education had the potential to act as a laboratory for a new, progressive vision.

To accomplish all this, Caliver suggests that scientific, critical thinking be infused into all aspects of teacher education and professional practice so as to produce a class of students adequately prepared to lead America into a new (moral) era of discovery. Second, he proposes that the development of morals and character within students would follow if African American teachers were to exemplify this personally and underscore its importance. Third, individuals and associations, such as the members of the NATCS, should engage in conscientious study of the educational research and publications offered by various institutions and organizations involving themselves in African American life. Caliver's clear analysis of the trend toward testing, measurement, and evaluation was remarkably prescient. His call for a morally guided project of public and democratic education and teacher education still resonates.

While Caliver presents implications for the entire system of African American education, Walter G. Daniel focused on the critical years of secondary school. As chapter 1 has shown, high schools were key battle grounds in African American education. Without a strong system of high quality high schools, higher education remained unattainable.

In 1940, Walter G. Daniel puts forth distinct aims for African American secondary schools. Daniels, a professor in the department of education at Howard University, went on to serve as Editor in Chief of *JNE* from 1963-1970. Drawing on the seminal *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* issued by the Committee for the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1918, Daniel analyzes how these principles play out in the

peculiar institution of African American education, proposing specific modifications to achieve, and augment their goals. The result of Daniel's propositions were the unique arrangements of African American secondary institutions-in particular their functions as micro-societies and cultural hubs for African American civic, social, and recreational life.<sup>76</sup>

Although the *Cardinal Principles* describe seven principles for secondary education in a democratic society, Daniel summarizes them into the following four: "(1) to develop an individual who possesses physical health, emotional stability and mental poise so he is free from disease and psychological maladjustment, (2) who assumes his responsibilities as a cooperating member of the democratic society, (3) who engages in some occupation that enables him to be an economically productive member rather than a dependent, and (4) who pursues individual activities for personal pleasure, personality fulfilment and leisure time utilization as will further the general social good rather than conflict it."<sup>77</sup> Daniel asserts that these aims unequivocally apply to all students, but suggests that schools, and moreover, African American schools, must be aware of their own environmental factors and contexts so as to differentiate the content of the principals on the differentiated experiences of their students.

Like Caliver, Daniel underscores how the nature of education interrelates to the larger social order, delineating the effects of societal norms on African American students in each of these four areas. For those crafting curriculum for African American

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<sup>76</sup> National Education Association of the United States Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education*, 35 (Govt. print. off., 1928).

<sup>77</sup> Walter G. Daniel, "The Aims of Secondary Education and the Adequacy of the Curriculum of the Negro Secondary School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 3 (July 1, 1940): 465, doi:10.2307/2292618.

secondary schools, Daniel carefully adjusts the cardinal principles to reflect the additional barriers thrown up by a racist society and then provides the types of differentiated instruction needed to meet the original aim.

Daniel reminds us that African Americans suffer the physical and psychological effects of inadequate medical care, poor housing, and dangerous occupations and that African American youth are particularly susceptible to stress, strain, and other psychological hazards due to persistent prejudice and oppression.<sup>78</sup>

Daniel's discussion of the challenges inherent to the second aim for African American students in a segregated society warrants quoting him in full. In his estimation, there is a very great need for segregated schools to create structures which would allow this aim to be met for African American students, despite the larger societal messages which undermine any advancement of this aim for students. He states:

The development of an individual who is a citizen and cooperative member of society requires a growth in the knowledge of the institutions or agencies and their place in the social order, together with appropriate ideals, standards or habits; development of a knowledge of civic activities involved in the community life, together with the related ideals, standards and habits; the development of a knowledge of the major activities of the state and national life, together with appropriate ideals, standards, and habits; and throughout all the development of a social conscience or a sense of social responsibility.<sup>79</sup>

In short, Daniel firmly asserts that all students within a democracy have an obligation to develop ongoing knowledge of their rights, responsibilities, and collective political and social history including the ideas, assumptions and values that undergird that history.

This consciousness then guides them as adults. But, the caveat and obstruction to this

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<sup>78</sup> Walter G. Daniel, "The Aims of Secondary Education and the Adequacy of the Curriculum of the Negro Secondary School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 3 (1940): 465–73, doi:10.2307/2292618.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

is encoded in the “peculiar” and oppressive relationship of African Americans to the larger society. As long as Negroes are the victims of lynching, police brutality, disenfranchisement, residential covenants, higher rents, segregation, poor housing conditions, unsanitary living conditions, meager recreational opportunities, and other forms of discrimination, Daniel argues, the social-civic aim of education will continually be defeated by the influence of the society. To counteract this, the community must demand that the school provide education that will eliminate these handicaps and develop a strategy which will ameliorate the undesirable conditions.<sup>80</sup>

Daniel argues that to whatever extent possible the school must *become* the community, recreating the social environment in such a way as to provide as many pro-social encounters as possible. Daniel also notes the limited financing of African American schools as a barrier to providing occupational education when it comes to specific pre-professional coursework and vocational coursework. This call to action for local communities to create what was necessary in the space of absence, although a hefty order is the reason we see so many accounts of African American educational institutions as the center of the community, the birthplace of cultural functions, and an insular barrier against the outer societal world.

Daniel continues, providing an analysis of the accommodations and adjustments needed to achieve the fourth aim: the pursuit of personal interests and activities. He underscores leisure as an equally collective and individual pursuit. Teachers should view leisure with a wide lens, teaching students to engage in activities that are personally pleasurable, yet further the uplift of society. Daniel notes, “The library, the art

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 469.

museum, the church, the community center, or the park are too frequently either closed or open under restrictions to the Negro patron. Yet, when they are open, psychological inhibitions of the early environment operate to prevent freedom of use.”<sup>81</sup> Thus, differentiation is needed to develop a desire within youth for these activities, and to support them in learning how to participate within them, while also creating strategies to ensure that students can indeed access these activities. Once again, the responsibility fell to the African American schools to create what society denied.

Daniel concludes by suggesting a wide revision of African American schools, based on their inability to fulfill these four aims within the context of the social order. In order to undertake this revision, Daniel suggests the following. First, specific outcomes should be developed for African American students in light of their societal oppressions and the long term project of school reorganization. Second, educational leaders should engage in case studies to revise curriculum based on the needs of specific student groups. Third, a course of study should be crafted for African American educational leaders and practitioners that draws from academic literature on the problems associated with specific aspects of the four aims. Daniel specifically mentions studies produced by the American Youth Commission, the Carnegie Corporation’s ongoing study on the Negro in America, and the Secondary School Study in progress by the Association of Colleges of Secondary Schools for Negroes. And while his article does not provide a magic bullet for the reorganization of African American schools, it did

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

provide a point of departure for educational leaders interested in engaging in curricular reform.<sup>82</sup>

Together, the ideas of Du Bois, Caliver, and Daniels present compelling ideas for educational philosophy and curricular development. Each scholar asserts that in spite of the practice of segregation, African American still contained the potential to resist oppression. Du Bois identifies school curriculum, texts, and disciplinary studies as key sites with transformative potential through African- and African American centered investigations and curricular additions. Caliver builds on Du Bois's analysis of possibility to argue that the peculiar injustice of segregation contains within it a unique potential—the creation of a distinct African American educational philosophy and practice that can both inform and reform the larger American public system. Although Caliver does not articulate a concrete plan to accompany his sweeping vision, he lays the foundation: scientifically based critical inquiry diffused into all aspects of teacher education and public education, with a cadre of moral, ethical, professional educators at the helm. Daniels uses the language of differentiation to describe the huge task set before southern African American high schools: to create educational environments that can compensate for the structural deficits and psychological effects of living within a segregated world. Using the same standard developed to guide white public high schools to excellence, Daniels carefully measures the gap of opportunity imposed on African Americans and articulates necessary measures to overcome, or at least mitigate.

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<sup>82</sup> Daniel, "The Aims of Secondary Education and the Adequacy of the Curriculum of the Negro Secondary School," 1940.

These ideas represent key moments when national African American educators sifted through the particulars of segregation and identified practical strategies to continue the project of expanding human freedom through African American education. In particular, this section has elevated specific rhetoric and ideas that were intended to guide associations, administrators and local teachers in developing their schools' philosophies, organizational structure, and pedagogy (including the selection of curricula, and coursework).

Communities like Lincoln High School, which established contact with various networks and associations early and deeply, were significantly and positively impacted by their exposure to these ideas, and were embedded within these networks. Their contact guided them in providing successful educational and post-graduation experiences for their students. Through larger efforts, such as the ASSCN's Secondary School Study, which is discussed in depth in Chapter 4 of this work, associations also engaged in research-based experimentation aimed to improve practice across the southern region in collaboration with local schools.<sup>83</sup> The best practices flowing from these and smaller efforts were easily disseminated from principal to principal across the South, using national, regional, and state teacher associations. Thus, each school was able to replicate and adapt successful strategies under the leadership of the school principal.

This chapter examined how and why African American educational networks formed, their ideas, activities and agendas and how these topics were disseminated

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<sup>83</sup> W. A. Robinson, "A Secondary School Study," *Phylon (1940-1956)* 5, no. 2 (1944): 145–58, doi:10.2307/272459.

across the southern region. Figure 2-1 below denotes the structure of African American educational governance through its network of associations. To summarize, African American educators coalesced into their own professional networks in order to resist oppressive white education governance and domination and provide their own. The governance structure African Americans utilized contained related tiers of leadership and association nationally, regionally, and locally. The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools and the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes were the two largest national associations of the era. The Florida State Teachers Association was the foremost state association for African American educators in Florida, and local schools—in Gainesville, this was Lincoln High School—served as the hub of African American educator agency. Local schools often served as sites for district-wide African American educator meetings and trainings.

## African American Educational Networks Governance Structure

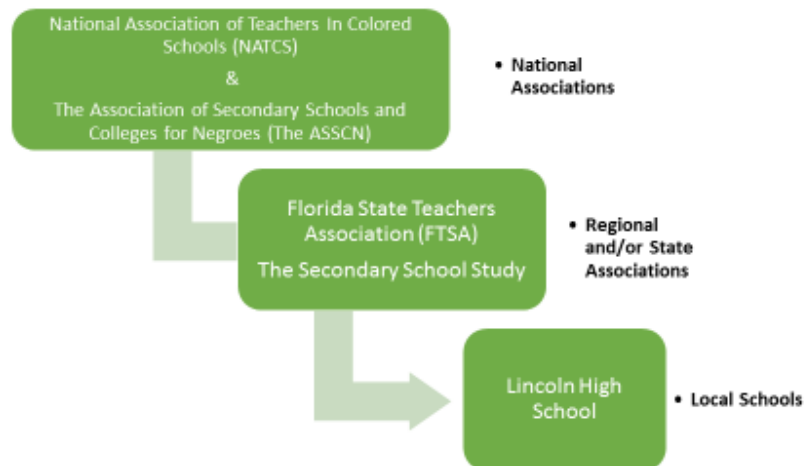


Figure 2-1 Governance Structure of African American Educational Networks

The advocacy, vision, and educational ideas of national African American educators practicing from 1920 through the 1940s provided a foundation for local climates like Lincoln High School in Gainesville. Through engaging with these groups directly and through participation and leadership in statewide teacher associations such as the Florida State Teachers Association (FTSA), A. Quinn Jones and other local African American principals were enabled with resource, strategies, mentoring and dialogue. This was a proactive collective effort addressing challenges common to African American segregated schools.

Although the era consistently remained a period of challenge, obstacle, and entrenched oppression, through strategic perseverance, African American educators preserved a vision for high-quality expansive formal schooling, methodically achieving components of that vision. During the 1920s-1950s, the Lincoln High School community would bear much fruit as a result of this and the agency of the local school.

### CHAPTER 3

## THE STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT OF LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL: BUILDING FOUNDATIONS FOR STUDENTS' HEADS, HEARTS, AND HANDS

This chapter presents the development of Lincoln High School from 1921 through the early 1930s to answer the question: How was African American education perceived, envisioned, and structured by African American educators at the local level, given the ideological struggle described in Chapter 2?

Starting in 1921, when The Union Academy hired a new principal, A. Quinn Jones to lead their new school, Lincoln High School, the school community pursued a focused and accelerated trajectory of progress and development, even in the midst of the Great Depression. The school quickly achieved the uncommon distinction of possessing an accredited high school program—one that would continue to grow in the ensuing years.

At the same time Lincoln pursued this accelerated path, as Chapter 2 has shown, national associations of African American educators were advancing their vision for education by advocating for the expansion and development of academic institutions in the South, particularly secondary schools. Despite Lincoln High School's relative isolation in the middle of North Central Florida, A. Quinn Jones was influenced by this national vision. Taking the direction of the leadership seriously, Jones set forth to create a school where students' "heads," "hands," and "hearts" were educated and nurtured as they moved toward their eventual passage into adulthood.

Underlying Lincoln's aims for education and pursuits were a range of strategies, mechanisms, relationships, and dilemmas that webbed to and from regional and national African American educator networks and white educational governance—most

visibly the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction—all of which provided context and direction to the activities at Lincoln High School. This chapter attends to this study's following questions: What were the aims of education at Lincoln High School during its early years? Why were these aims chosen? How were these educational aims demonstrated in the school's pursuits? Finally, how were these aims related to the aims of national and regional African American educator networks during this time period?

### **Contextualizing African American Aims for Education During Jim Crow**

It was necessary for the architects of African American education to erect a barrier between the beliefs, behaviors, and dominance of the white world and their own lives, hearts, and spirits. To absorb the dominant culture's messages regarding African Americans' supposed intellectual inferiority and sub-human status could be deadly. The text, *Remembering Jim Crow*, masterfully draws on oral histories from the Behind the Veil: Documenting African American Life in the Jim Crow South Collection to describe the experience of being black during this harrowing period.<sup>1</sup> Together, the narratives portray incredible resilience and a dogged determination to survive. Not all thrived. Some, like Willie Harrell suffered beatings, stealing away in the night from plantations that bore little difference from their former incarnations during the time of enslavement.<sup>2</sup> Others survived in stark poverty, with poor or no medical care, brutal violence and racial terror. As the authors note, no black person was immune from “navigating the treacherous waters” of the Jim Crow South.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W.H. Chafe, R. Gavins, and R.R. Korstad, *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell about Life in the Segregated South* (New Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

As Chapter 2 has shown, the Jim Crow educational ideology etched out its stake on African American lives early. The black child was targeted for their potential and imbued with messages intended to poison their spirit and weigh down their dreams and ambitions. Chafe, Gavins and Korstad continue describing this weighty realization during childhood: “Among the most poignant of the realities emerged when African American children came to understand that blacks and whites were different in the eyes of society. Often, the circumstances that led up to this realization were mundane, but the realization itself could be devastating.”<sup>4</sup> Parents, pastors, teachers, and loved elders were necessary shields for children. They stood in the gap, recreating the contours of life out of shards, remnants, and sheer will.

Schools and schooling were critical grounds where this ideological formation took place. The messages that African American schools, with its cadre of teachers, volunteers, administrators and parents inculcated in children had the potential to either reify the poisonous ideology of the white supremacist world or to offer a powerful alternative that could shield and transcend, arm and resist, create and reshape. Not all schools chose the latter. For example in *Remembering Jim Crow*, William J. Coker Jr retells his experience in Norfolk, Virginia. As a child in an all African American school, Coker experienced extensive color prejudice as a dark-skinned child who was assigned a back row in the classroom, year after year, denied the opportunity to learn at the hands of African American teachers who reinscribed the caste of race on the minds of their charges. “This has stuck in my craw for a very long time”, relayed Coker Jr. “We

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

must assure ourselves on an intragroup basis that this must never happen again.”<sup>5</sup>

Coker’s experience is a profound reminder that the Jim Crow ideology achieved what it was intended to—at least for some—however tragic that truth may be.

Although we are unable to ascertain to what extent this insidious ideology infiltrated African American schools and schooling cultures, it is evident that it existed. It is equally evident that it was combatted, and supplanted within every level of African American educational governance. Through their networks, associations, publications and positions in leadership, African American educators, remained vigilant, posting themselves, their scholarship, and their collective agency at the door house of schools, signaling a defense over the border of African American minds.

The *Journal of Negro Education (JNE)* is a powerful testament to this collective and brilliant effort: each year’s summer yearbook is an example of this resistance. Each summer yearbook was devoted to “some important aspect or problem in the field of Negro education”.<sup>6</sup> In 1947, *JNE* provided for its readership a comparative analysis of educational opportunity across the seventeen segregated states at each level of formal schooling-- elementary, secondary and post-secondary. As expected, at each level, African American educational opportunity is disproportionately lower than whites. Alethea Washington, professor of Education at Howard University has the task of summarizing the findings related to elementary education in individual states within a summary publication in part II of the yearbook entitled “Availability of Education in the Elementary Separate School”. As Washington issues recommendations to improve the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 158–159.

<sup>6</sup> Chas H. Thompson, “Editorial Note: The Availability of Education in the Negro Separate School,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (1947): 263.

disparities and inequities, she states this caveat: “Specifically, and for the betterment of Negro elementary education, the only answer with reality back of it is the elimination of the separate negro school with all the shifty, illegal, unethical, disintegrating measures it brings into being.”<sup>7</sup> Washington’s edict is totalizing. It is only the toppling of the entire system, and the ideology that undergirds it which can create the space for the freedom needed. Her words—“shifty, illegal, unethical, disintegrating” capture powerfully the system and worldview that African American educators contended with.

The world that encircled Lincoln High School was full of negations, denials, and opposition of the African American self. Yet, the narratives of students who graduated from this particular school and this local community denote a different ideology in operation. This ideology transcended the harmful naming and the limits constructed within the social order to bring another world into being. As a result of this set of beliefs children were loved, elders were respected, and families went about the business of taking care of each other and living. The challenge of the educational pedagogy was to help children to understand the paradoxes of their circumstance and to teach them to resist the messages of the outer world, while instilling the ideas, knowledge, and beliefs that would form a mature character in a functioning adult. At Lincoln, this pedagogical work is undergirded by the tenets of the African American Christian tradition.

African American Christianity is a specific practice that has historically been different from the dominant practice of Christianity in the United States. Howard Thurman’s classic theological work, “Jesus and the Disinherited,” addresses the

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<sup>7</sup> Alethea H. Washington, “Availability of Education for Negroes in the Elementary School,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (July 1, 1947): 448, doi:10.2307/2966353.

question: What purpose does a belief in Jesus, and the understanding of his doctrine, serve for the disenfranchised African American? Thurman, a child of the inhospitable South, lived and worked during the era of Lincoln. He was born and raised less than two hours away from Gainesville, in Daytona Beach, Florida. He became an ordained minister, a scholar, and theologian, and a close friend of Martin Luther King Jr., but he credits his personal faith and philosophy. to the prophetic tradition that he inherited from his grandmother who was born enslaved.

In the prophetic tradition that he learned, Jesus stands as the chief Prophet of God, calling his people back to their identity through love, and proclaiming their liberation from their captors. Jesus' core message is that all of humankind are God's beloved children who, through God's choice to send his beloved Son to live in the world and then to die at the hands of hostile world, are indeed the rightful inheritors of his grace, mercy, blessings, and tender care. The African American prophetic tradition draws on the Old Testament narratives of oppressed people and divine liberation as their model for their relationship to Jesus and through him to the universal Father.<sup>8</sup> As he lived and led, so they should live and lead lives of purpose, service, mercy and justice, often in the face of great sacrifice and loss of life.<sup>9</sup>

Thurman describes the predicament of African Americans—the disinherited—this way: “The socially disadvantaged man is constantly given a negative answer to the most important questions upon which mental health depends: ‘Who am I? What am

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<sup>8</sup> David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Beacon Press, 1949).

l?"<sup>10</sup> It was these questions that Lincoln faculty members addressed as they envisioned and erected educational experiences for African American boys and girls.

Thurman continues, discussing the plight of the so-called disinherited child. He states, "The doom of the children is the greatest tragedy of the disinherited. They are robbed of much of the careless rapture and spontaneous joy of merely being alive. Through their environment they are plunged into the midst of the overwhelming pressures for which there can be no possible preparation.... Youth is a time of soaring hopes, when dreams are given first wings and, as reconnoitering birds, explore unknown landscapes. Again and again a man full of years is merely the corroboration of the dreams of his youth."<sup>11</sup> To nurture children, the pedagogy at Lincoln had to teach children to believe and dream, as well as to do and know. This was deeply necessary if they were fulfill one of the key aims of the school: to produce adults who were able to engage in a full life of opportunity and experiences.

### **The Aims of Education at Lincoln High School**

This chapter will show that the purpose of education at Lincoln High School was to provide a range of rich experiences that would prepare the "heads," "hands," and "hearts" of boys and girls for their eventual passage into adulthood. The metaphor of "heads", "hands" and "hearts" was used by Professor A. Quinn Jones in a commencement address to signify various cognitive, emotional, and spiritual spheres operating within individuals and societies.<sup>12</sup> The head signified activities related to

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>12</sup> "Commencement Address," n.d., Administrative Files 1922-1937, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

academic preparation, the hands signified artistic, recreational, vocational preparation, and the heart signified spiritual and civic preparation. Activities related to the spheres of the hands and the heart often occurred without clear distinctions. For example, training in the fine arts was closely woven with “heart” aesthetics of beauty and pleasure. The convergence of all three areas prepared students to transcend oppression, embrace their potential to partake in a rich adult life that was expansive in opportunity, despite the clamor of voices outside of the school sending a very different message.

A speech by Professor Jones to students at another high school on the occasion of their graduation illustrates his reasoning regarding the purpose of education. The address was given by Jones sometime in the 1930s. It is unclear where the remarks were made, but the tone of the address indicates that these were not Jones’s students; rather, they were other African American young men and women at another school. It was a remarkable address, laden with metaphor and parable to best convey his complex point to the young people. He began: “The object of education is not primarily to fit students for becoming teachers, preachers, doctors, nurses or business men or some other chosen profession but it is to make men and women.”<sup>13</sup> He continued, “Education is a safeguard to all races and nations. It comprehends not only instructions but results in a well-formed mind and the establishments of right principles and makes one better prepared to confront the problems of life. It ought to make of you better prepared to confront the problems of life. It ought to make of you better boys today than you were yesterday, better girls today than you were yesterday.”<sup>14</sup> Jones’s address was

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 6.

written with the ring of a mighty orator delivering a sermon to his most intimate followers. It was the speech of a learned man who, having counted the costs was clear for whom he toiled, and for what purpose. His theme, that education's purpose is to broadly enlarge each human in every sphere of his or her individual character and within a collective life, is developed throughout the address.

In this address, Jones acknowledges the significance of teachers as role models and mentors, and encourages students to emulate them and become something great. Early on in the address, he stated, "I wish further to congratulate the teachers of this institution for the very earnest endeavor—for their patience in dealing with boys and girls of this community with the hope of inspiring them to get a greater inspiration—a greater vision, of the thing that makes for life and more worthy ideals of citizenship."<sup>15</sup> Drawing on the wisdom of a cast of great men throughout history, the Professor impressed upon the youth that they were indispensable; *their* minds held the sum of humankind's past accomplishments, and they had a duty beyond themselves to safeguard and preserve humanity's progress. He also stressed that education has the ability to shape one's mind to aim for the best that life had to offer.

Jones concluded this address with an allegory urging students to pursue more than mere education. The allegory is of two boys, one who used his "hands" for manual labor to earn an income, and the other who used his "head" for academic pursuits.<sup>16</sup> Jones described the moment in the boys' youth where they decided upon their

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 6.

ambitions. The first boy decided that he would pursue a path of skilled labor: “I am going to learn a good trade, stick to it, save my money and invest it as best I can, and let it grow and grow.”<sup>17</sup> The second boy proposed an academic path: “I am going to make my fortune with my head, aided by my hands.”<sup>18</sup> However, Jones did not privilege either of these two paths by comparing them against one another. He asserted, “Heads are made for use, just as hands were made for use. A head that works, and has willing hands to supplement that work and utilize it, is the only kind of work that eventually counts. Head work without hands counts for little. Handwork without head, counts for less. The two combined in any degree either way, will score invariable success.”<sup>19</sup> Repeatedly, Jones underscored that the path of labor and the path of scholarship were each valid, and both required the use of the other to achieve success.

Professor Jones was aware that the achievement of a high school diploma would allow some students to travel outside of the confined world of the segregated South to seek possibility. Chapter 5 will show that the Professor prepared students to follow the wisest possible path when met with opportunity. He taught them to be careful with abundance and opportunity, for, “In all these things, the world will be able to supply your wants and your desires. If your heart’s desire is to have an abundance of more or less innocent worldly good, of which the world has a fairly good, though not infinite supply, you may have your heart’s desire fulfilled and you may not.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 11.

For the boys and girls in the audience, the attainment of a high school degree was momentous. But the Professor's purpose was to push them beyond the acquisition of education's tools toward something more transcendent and essential. He summarized the ultimate aim of their pursuits this way: "If you reach out for the things of the spirit; if you aim to live a life of helpfulness and of service; if you are aiming to build in you and your fellows noble ideals of virtue, of humor, of truth, and of beauty, you are in a field that is as wide as the world, and as high as the heavens, without limits and bounds, which you will find an inexhaustible source of the richest and most satisfying experiences of life."<sup>21</sup> Lincoln's task, to support students to reach their potential, was always the development of purposeful and diverse learning opportunities—in the classroom, through ceremonies such as commencement, and in a range of recreational, vocational, and social activities that provided students contact and practice with a range of life enriching opportunities.

In his vision for Lincoln High School's educational experience, Professor Jones combined the best aspects of spiritual formation with academic, vocational, and social training. In this, Jones, echoed the central aims articulated by national African American educators, such as the one expressed by Ambrose Caliver as he stood before the membership of the NATCS. Hear the similarity between Jones's remarks and Caliver's as Caliver exhorts the community of African American educators: "[Teachers] must bring to their tasks sound principles of the fundamental values of life and a high

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 6.

conception of the aims and purposes of living. And, they must be imbued with the true meaning of confidence, goodness, truth, duty, service, loyalty, home, and love.”<sup>22</sup>

As this chapter will show, Jones and the entire Lincoln community were assuredly aware of the prevailing narratives regarding African American people; they were diffused through the very air during segregation. Moreover, as an experienced academic, the professor no doubt possessed deep knowledge of the ongoing discussions over the direction of African Americans, captured most profoundly by the Washington-DuBois debates.<sup>23</sup> The aim then was to embrace all of these contradictions and marshal them toward creating a full life of opportunity as students entered into the adult world.

### **Transcendent Pedagogy to Teach The Aims**

Within this chapter and in Chapters 4 and 5, the pedagogy of administrators and teachers at Lincoln is showcased and analyzed. As Chapter 1 has shown, pedagogy is a rich construct. It encompasses the visible aspects of teaching, such as the teacher’s instructional method, the materials used to teach, and the curriculum of the course. It also includes unseen internal realities of the teacher, such as the teacher’s theoretical schema, opinions and beliefs, and tendencies. Finally, the construct of pedagogy is enacted within and understood through the relationships between teacher and student, the school and the society, and the society and the world. Lincoln High School’s administrators, teachers, and community members maintained an analysis on

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<sup>22</sup> Ambrose Caliver, “The Negro Teacher and a Philosophy of Negro Education,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 4 (October 1933): 447, doi:10.2307/2292053.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Edward Harris, *Analysis of the Clash over the Issues between Booker T. Washington and WEB Du Bois* (Garland Publishing, 1993).

themselves, their society, and the world which was both critique and possibility; it eschewed the oppression of racial caste and self-denial. They taught students to supplanting that ideology with a transcendent ideology of purpose, human connection and potential. The numerous interconnections between concepts and relationships is what makes the idea of pedagogy so weighty: an “art” and a discipline.<sup>24</sup>

I found no use of the term pedagogy in the large archive of materials related to teaching and learning at Lincoln. Nevertheless, pedagogy is there. The pedagogy at Lincoln was carefully crafted to inculcate in students beliefs about themselves, their world, and their place in it. It provided students with academic knowledge and skill within a variety of disciplines, but used specific texts and viewpoints to convey essential truths about essential ideals and humankind. Pedagogical ideas, mechanisms and artifacts are woven through the school’s organizational structure, the school’s choice of curricular materials, and the records of its teaching. The collective pedagogy of Lincoln also included practical education so that students possessed the knowledge and skills to be responsible, and to care for themselves and their environments.

The next section describes the context that Lincoln had to operate in and overcome, the following section presents the school’s actions during its formative years (1921-1931): during this early period, the pedagogy used at Lincoln is especially visible in the school’s administrative and organizational trajectory and goals. These years set a course and a foundation for the kind of education that Lincoln would offer. Chapters 4 and 5 discusses how the pedagogy was then developed within the faculty and translated academically.

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<sup>24</sup> Tintiangco-Cubales, Kiang, and Museus, “Praxis and Power in the Intersections of Education,” 2010.

## **African American Education in Florida, 1921-1931**

In his 1988 text, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1880-1935*, Anderson shows that local school board neglect of African American institutions was one result of the white southern ideology which governed the education system. However, this neglect was not a matter of chance, it was an intention outflow of a system that was designed with two-tiers, and operated under two visions for education's aims: For white students, the aim of education was to support persons in attaining the benefits of full citizenship, and with that a focus on the provision of economic and professional opportunities. For African American students, the aim was to produce a servile class of domestic workers and unskilled laborers.

This vision for southern education was operationalized through the General Education Board's various programs, philanthropic efforts, and administrated through an assortment of roles and positions created by the GEB. Beginning in 1911, the GEB provided grants to each southern state to establish the role of State Supervisors (also known as state agents) for Negro Rural Schools. Although housed within each state's department of education, state supervisors worked under the guidance and direction of the GEB, which required them to provide monthly summaries of their activities. By creating this role the GEB hoped to improve the "curriculum, especially along industrial and domestic lines."<sup>25</sup> These state agents were the arm of GEB's ideology at the local level, saturating their plan and strategy across the region. Florida was one of the last southern states to appoint a state agent in 1920.

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<sup>25</sup> N.Y.), *The General Education Board*, 193.

From 1911 until the 1920s, these hand-picked state agents “were white men who have had large and successful experience in school management”—in other words they were a small group whose views were the same as the GEB’s and who were knowledgeable enough about the South to say the right words to bring into effect the plan.<sup>26</sup> But D. E. Williams, an African American, was appointed to the State Agent position in Florida at a time when the GEB’s vision for African American education was in flux. Chapter 2 has shown that this flux, and the favorable results of it were directly related to the sustained campaigns of the National Association for Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) and the Association of Accredited Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (the ASSCN). Thus, Williams became Florida’s second State Agent of Negro Schools.

He described the state of African American educational governance in Florida during the 1920s in a report filed to the Southern Education Foundation.<sup>27</sup> According to Williams, the entire operations of Florida’s State Department of Education at that time were so small that they filled only three rooms. Although the first State Agent of Negro Schools had been hired seven years earlier, when D. E. Williams accepted the post in 1927, the role was still ill defined, with “no statement or outline of functions, duties, and responsibilities of the position.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>27</sup> DeWitt Everett Williams, *A Brief Review of the Growth and Improvement of Education for Negroes in Florida, 1927-1962* (Southern Education Foundation, 1963).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 9.

Williams contextualizes the apathy and neglect of white school boards toward African American education. He stated, “On my first visit to the counties I learned that most of the county superintendents possessed little definite information about their Negro schools and manifested a degree of indifference about them.”<sup>29</sup>To assess the state of African American schools, Williams visited each school in the state and worked to pull superintendents into relationship with their African American students. He quickly found that most county superintendents were disengaged from the African American schools under the school board’s purview. Williams’s visits, then, were important: they served as the impetus for superintendents to make contact with the African American schools under their charge. Over the next three decades, William’s would continue these visits, and partner with the Florida State Teachers’ Association to maintain a rigorous system of contact, professional development and support.

African American state agents acted as brokers between the white and black world, negotiating at the racial boundaries of education.<sup>30</sup> Through his long alliances with African American educators in the state, such as Mary McLeod Bethune, and institutions such as FAMU, Williams was strategically poised to act on behalf of African Americans inside the GEB while participating in and promoting the network of activities conducted by African American educational leaders. This changing context, which took place against a backdrop of local school board disinterest in African American education, provides the background for the developments that occurred at Lincoln High School from 1921-1931.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 2 for an extensive discussion of the activities and agenda of the General Education Board (GEB).

## The Role of Advisory Boards in African American Education

It would take more than the infrequent visits of African American state agents to disrupt the cycle of apathy, neglect, and control at work at within the structure of local white school boards. African American educator networks were aware of this and created strategies that would wedge open the system of schooling at the local level. This section discusses those strategies, tracing their conception and dissemination from the national area into Lincoln High School.

To understand how southern African American education operated at the local level, we must understand the financial flow which undergirded the system that controlled and administered all education throughout the South. Starting in 1902, the General Education Board began to spend the funds of northern philanthropists to institutionalize a system of public education in the South for both races.<sup>31</sup> However, in keeping with its vision which favored and fostered white education, the Board deployed its finite resources more abundantly to support white infrastructure, teacher pay and education, and learning materials and resources than to aid African American educational needs.<sup>32</sup> White education was supported directly by aid to each state's department of education, who in turn distributed funds to local county governments. This supplement the funds raised by local taxes. Additionally, although local

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<sup>31</sup> Jim Gerber, "Public School Expenditures in the Plantation States, 1910," *Explorations in Economic History* 28, no. 3 (July 1991): 309–22, doi:10.1016/0014-4983(91)90010-G; Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, "Why the United States Led in Education: Lessons from Secondary School Expansion, 1910 to 1940" (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1997), <http://www.nber.org/papers/w6144>.

<sup>32</sup> Charles D. Biebel, "Private Foundations and Public Policy: The Case of Secondary Education during the Great Depression," *History of Education Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (April 1, 1976): 3–33, doi:10.2307/367780.

governments taxed African Americans and Whites using the same standard, the funds generated by taxes were disproportionately distributed by county school boards in favor of White schools, as reflected in higher per-student allotments and teacher pay.<sup>33</sup> Thus, African American education was denied both county tax dollars and state aid.

County school boards held power, influence, and capitol. The challenge, then, was for African American educators was to create some strategy to circumvent the neglect, obstructions, and the stymying of finances at the county level.<sup>34</sup> To this end, African American “auxiliary boards” or boards of trustees emerged from the community to provide strong governance and much-needed financial support for African American public schooling.

This crucial idea seems to have originated at least in part with George Washington Trenholm. In 1911, at its annual meeting in St. Louis, the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) drew on the expertise of Trenholm, then principal of Tuscumbia Public Colored School in Tuscumbia, Alabama. Trenholm presented his experiences with the use of an auxiliary board structure to build Alabama’s second high school for African Americans.<sup>35</sup> Trenholm was a well-respected educational leader in Alabama. An active participant in the Alabama State Teachers’ Association, he served as the association’s president from 1910-1912. (In 1921, Tuscumbia Public Colored School was renamed Trenholm High School in his honor.)

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<sup>33</sup> Gerber, “Public School Expenditures in the Plantation States, 1910.”

<sup>34</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Vivian Gunn Morris and Curtis L Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> Morris and Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community*, 2002.

Trenholm suggested that each county create an administrative structure—an “auxiliary board” —that would serve the needs of African American children. This auxiliary board would serve as a de facto second school board for African American education in the county, mitigating the effects of white school board neglect in governing and funding African American education.<sup>36</sup> Trenholm states, “This auxiliary board should be the nucleus of an educational association of the city and town.”<sup>37</sup> Trenholm suggests that in their roles as the administrative structure governing local African American education, each board should hire and employ teachers for a high school department and assume responsibilities for their salaries, working cooperatively with the local public school board.

Trenholm’s strategy was sophisticated, with long-term aims. By assuming the responsibility to pay for and supervise high school teachers in the same way that a private organization would, auxiliary boards could achieve their intended goals quickly and proactively. Yet by deploying these efforts as a part of the public school system, the auxiliary boards would refuse to concede public education’s responsibility to provide high-quality education for African American students. This was strategic resistance, veiled as cooperation.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, in creating ongoing associations with public school boards, Trenholm’s strategy (as disseminated by the NATCS) was anticipatory. It created a long-term partnership that could easily be merged into one school board in

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<sup>36</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>37</sup> Jerome E Morris, “A Pillar of Strength: An African American School’s Communal Bonds with Families and Community Since Brown,” *Urban Education* 33, no. 5 (1999): 44.

<sup>38</sup> Walker, “Organized Resistance and Black Educators’ Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938.”

the event that the moral imperative of an equalized, desegregated school system occurred.

Gainesville's Union Academy already had a somewhat similar structure in place. From its beginning during Reconstruction, the Union Academy had relied on the leadership of its board of trustees (the school's version of an auxiliary board) to advocate for the school's needs with the local school board and city government. Indeed, even before the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction was formed in 1869, the Union Academy's powerful board of trustees had purchased a deed for the school, working together with the Freedman's Bureau, the American Missionary Society, and the George Peabody Fund to govern the school and provide support to the two white teachers then employed.<sup>39</sup> And even in 1883, as political power in the South shifted back to white conservative control and the support for African American education dwindled, the board of trustees continued promoting the needs of the school by petitioning the city of Gainesville for a bond to make repairs and additions.

Even as support for African American education deteriorated during the post-Reconstruction period, as white supremacy re-entrenched across the South, the advocacy of Union Academy's board resulted in the Alachua County Public Board of Instruction maintaining modest levels of support for the school. This was not the case in many other counties, where white supremacy flatly suppressed all African American

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<sup>39</sup> Board member John Chestnut was a Gainesville city commissioner. Board member Henry S. Harmon was the first African American attorney in Florida elected to the state legislature. Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida"; Darius J. Young, "Henry S. Harmon: Pioneer African American Attorney in Reconstruction-Era Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (October 1, 2006): 177–96.

organizing, or in locations where African American leadership was fledgling and disconnected to a wider network of support.

In 1899, the United States Supreme Court decision regarding the case of *Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia* effectively sanctioned local school boards to stymie African American education by withholding funds from African American schools.<sup>40</sup> The case, brought before the Supreme Court by Augusta, Georgia's African American community, centered on Ware High School. Founded by African American educator, Richard A. Wright, Ware High School was Georgia's only public high school at the time. A center of African American educational organizing through the activities of the Georgia State Teachers Association, Ware was "a solid academic secondary school, a source of pride and an avenue of mobility for Augusta's striving black community."<sup>41</sup> However, the local white school board decided to close Ware citing financial strain, choosing instead to use its annual budget to hire four new teachers for Augusta's African American elementary school. The Supreme Court's ruling to uphold the school board's decision ensured that local school boards had free reign to obstruct and deny African Americans secondary education.

Nevertheless, African American educators persisted in their pursuit of secondary education. Indeed, by 1920, the Union Academy board of trustees, composed of a group of African American professionals able to wield power and influence, began a plan of action that would significantly strengthen the school and launch it on the course

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<sup>40</sup> *Cumming v. Richmond County Bd. of Ed.*, 175 US 528 (Supreme Court 1899).

<sup>41</sup> Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988, 192.

it would follow over the next fifty years.<sup>42</sup> First, the board advocated for a city bond to fund a new building to replace the overcrowded and antiquated structure of the Union Academy.<sup>43</sup> Aggressively championed and supported by the African American community, the bond passed in a city vote, ensuring that the funds for a new school were provided. Second, the board envisioned a more robust curriculum for the large number of African American boys and girls in the county who would soon graduate and would be seeking opportunities. Thus, the next crucial step was to recruit a principal with the vision and training to lead the community and school toward a new era of progress. Although the recruitment and hiring of the Union Academy's new principal was the purview of the Alachua County Public Board of Instruction, the board of trustees proactively arranged the entire process on its own.

### **The Formative Years at Lincoln High School: An Accelerated Path**

A letter sent on May 23, 1921 by Benjamin F. Childs on behalf of the Academy's advisory board to the president of FAMC illustrates its strategic oversight and powerful influence.<sup>44</sup> In order to find a strong and accomplished educator to lead the new school at a time when educated African Americans were scarce, the board accessed the statewide network of African American educational leaders. It requested the aid of Dr.

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<sup>42</sup> Board members Benjamin F. Childs and Drew Days were the two first African American mail carriers in Gainesville.<sup>42</sup> Dr. Julius Parker Jr. was a practicing medical doctor. Mr. Samuel Hendley was the owner and proprietor of Hendley's Store, and Dr. R. B. Ayer served as the board Chairman. White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> In 1920, a city bond passed to build two new high schools, one for white students and the other for African Americans. Both buildings were similar and made of brick. This was an unusual investment in African American school infrastructure for the period. Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida."

<sup>44</sup> The letter is reprinted in Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 36.

Nathan B. Young, the president of Florida Mechanical and Agricultural College (FAMC).<sup>45</sup> The correspondence begins, “Dear Sir: Please put me in touch with a real Red-Blooded man for the principalship of Union Academy. No one knows better the type of man we are seeking.”

This letter was worded very strategically. In requesting a “real Red-Blooded man,” the board alerted Dr. Young that it wanted an active and aggressive leader. They envisioned an expansive education for African American students in Gainesville. This was contrary to the prevailing ideology relegating African American education to industrial education. The letter closes by requesting that Dr. Young, “Be careful to have all communications relative to the above addressed to me, as our trustees prefer to have first-hand information in this matter.”<sup>46</sup> Directing Dr. Young to communicate his response to the trustees assured that the selected candidate would reflect their vision for education, not the vision of the county school board. In its sure-handed steering of this matter, the Union Academy board of trustees was using governance strategies that were funneled to communities by African American networks.<sup>47</sup>

Dr. Nathan B. Young, FAMC’s president at the time, was one of the most progressive, radical, and vocal advocates of African American education in the state during the era. Under his leadership as president, FAMC was the first of the black land-grant institutions created by the Morrill Act of 1890 to establish a baccalaureate

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<sup>45</sup> In 1953, FAMC was elevated to university status, and the name was changed accordingly to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU).

<sup>46</sup> Jones, “Retrospections,” 2003, 36.

<sup>47</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Morris and Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community*, 2002.

department.<sup>48</sup> In addition to his leadership at FAMC, Young was an active member of the Florida State Teachers Association (FSTA) and served as the association's president from 1907-1910.<sup>49</sup> A graduate of Oberlin College, Young ardently advocated for a liberal arts academic program of study for FAMC. However, the school's board of control supported a vision in line with the GEB's plan of industrial education and consistently opposed Young's leadership and direction. In 1921, Young was forced to resign from the presidency at FAMC by the board of control. Upon his resignation, Young presented a statement to *Crisis* magazine describing the circumstances of his departure.<sup>50</sup> In the year after his removal, FAMC's student body protested and rioted, criticizing Young's replacement for his lack of education and vision.<sup>51</sup>

Upon receipt of the board's letter, Dr. Young recommended a recent graduate of the FAMC, A. Quinn Jones, a man of "considerable experience in teaching and of "excellent character".<sup>52</sup> Jones had graduated from FAMC in 1915 with a bachelor's degree in mathematics. In 1916, the U.S. Bureau of Education could find only 12

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<sup>48</sup> Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

<sup>49</sup> The Florida State Teachers Association (FSTA) was the primary professional network for African American education and teachers in Florida from its incorporation in 1890 until its merger with the Florida Education Association (FEA) in 1966. FSTA's roster of presidents included many nationally known African American educational advocates. James Weldon Johnson, the composer of the black national anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing" and long-time executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), served as the second president of FSTA during his principalship of Stanton High School in Jacksonville. Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune also served as president of FSTA. The FSTA pushed an aggressive education for teacher educational opportunities, professional development, equal pay, and support for the state's primary and secondary schools. Porter and Neyland, *The History of the Florida State Teachers Association*.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Julian B Roebuck and Komanduri Srinivasa Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Praeger Westport, CT, 1993); Porter and Neyland, *The History of the Florida State Teachers Association*.

<sup>52</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 37.

students in baccalaureate programs at African American land grant institutions; all were enrolled at FAMC.<sup>53</sup> Jones was a forerunner to those twelve, graduating in FAMC's first baccalaureate class of three students.

Jones had graduated as president of his class and was awarded the distinction of having maintained the highest grades in his class. Over his seven years at FAMU, his course of study included German, advanced physics, trigonometry, analytical geometry, five years of Latin, and a three-year course of tailoring during high school.<sup>54</sup> After graduating from FAMC, Professor Jones took the state teacher's certification examination, securing a second-grade certification, which was valid for three years. The first-grade certification was conferred after the most extensive of the examinations and provided the longest period of certification. Second-grade certification allowed three years of teaching, and third-grade certification allowed one year of teaching.<sup>55</sup> Dr. Nathan B. Young referred Jones for his first position as principal and continued to recommend Jones for his subsequent positions in Gadsden, Liberty, and Escambia Counties prior to referring him for the principalship at Union Academy.<sup>56</sup>

After being referred to the board of trustees by Dr. Nathan B. Young, Professor Jones submitted an application to the Alachua County Board of Instruction for the position of principal, along with a letter of referral from the board of trustees. The board of instruction offered him the position of principal for the 1921 school year term.

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<sup>53</sup> T.J. Jones, "Negro Education; a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. : United States. Office of Education," 1917.

<sup>54</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>55</sup> Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

<sup>56</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

## High-Quality Liberal Arts Education

From the outset, A. Quinn Jones and the board of trustees demonstrated unwavering commitment to establishing a high-quality academic institution. Together, their cumulative expertise, range of skills, community, regional and national connections created a foundation to propel African American educational opportunities in the county far beyond that of neighboring regions across the state. During his first five years as principal, Jones enacted swift change. The old school was closed and replaced by a newer, larger school. The school term was extended. The new school would become the second African American high school accredited by the state of Florida. These ambitious goals reflect the principal and board's sense of urgency and agency, and their strong will to alter the life outcomes of the local African American community.

In prior decades, the Union Academy had achieved a modicum of success as one of only two public African American teacher preparation institutions in the state.<sup>57</sup> However, the school was old and over capacity, with 700 students filling a building that was meant to hold only 500.<sup>58</sup> Due to the board's leadership in 1920, a new building was being constructed. The Union Academy was closed and Lincoln High School was opened in a new location, under the same management and still within the Pleasant Street community.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011; Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida."

<sup>58</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>59</sup> Laurie, "The Union Academy: A Freedmen's Bureau School in Gainesville, Florida"; Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

Jones was assisted by a savvy pro-active board. During the 1920-1921 school year, they were engaged in raising funds to lengthen the school term to eight months. The Alachua County Board of Public Instruction had only appropriated enough of the county's tax monies to pay the teachers for six months.<sup>60</sup> The Board's fundraising strategy was to divide the city's African American areas into districts. In each district, solicitors went door-to-door weekly collecting funds from residents. Additionally, teachers sold sandwiches at school lunchtimes, and organized concerts, plays, and fish fries on behalf of the expansion plan.<sup>61</sup> The fundraising plan was a success. By the 1922-1923 school term, the school operated for a full eight months.

These fundraising interactions also introduced the new principal, Professor Jones, to the community. Door-to-door informal conversations with parents and community members established his credibility and his dedication to the children of Gainesville, and his appearance on doorsteps with long-time respected members of the community from the institution's board assured the community that he had been chosen by insiders.

### **Accreditation of Lincoln High School**

Extending the school term provided more time to cover a wide breadth of material at each grade level. This was the first step toward an ambitious goal: transforming Lincoln High School's secondary grades into a state-accredited high school. As Chapter 2 has shown, an "accredited" designation by a state or regional

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<sup>60</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

agency validated a high school's curriculum, signifying that it met a high standard and was college preparatory.<sup>62</sup> For Professor Jones, the accreditation of Lincoln High School was essential to providing students with the best odds to access the limited higher education opportunities available to them; as one of only three African American students at FAMC during his college years ten years earlier, he was well aware of the challenges ahead.<sup>63</sup> For the large number of students who would not attend college, a degree from an accredited high school ensured that they would successfully acquire a sound foundation of knowledge within the established canons of literature, science, mathematics, history, English, and other important areas. This foundation provided access to a range of occupational opportunities and also positioned graduates of Lincoln to serve as leaders in cultural, social, and civic organizations. For these reasons, Lincoln High School pursued plans to acquire state accreditation.

At the time, the U. S. Office of Education suggested that accredited high schools provide a curriculum encompassing "fifteen units of secondary work, four years of schooling at 36 or more weeks, at least three full-time high school teachers, an adequate library and a science department with adequate laboratory equipment."<sup>64</sup> These requirements were similar in Florida. Lincoln would have to undergo substantial development to achieve this standard.

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<sup>62</sup> Trenholm, "The Accreditation of the Negro High School," April 1, 1932.

<sup>63</sup> Professor Jones graduated in 1917 from Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. His class of three was the first to receive baccalaureate degrees from the institution. Prior to that, Florida Agricultural and Normal College only offered a two-year normal degree and a high school diploma. Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>64</sup> Margaret J. S. Carr, *Accredited Secondary Schools in the United States. Bulletin, 1930, No. 24* (Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1930), 1.

In fact, it would take four years of strategic planning to overcome the obstacles to accreditation facing Lincoln. In addition to lengthening the school term, the eleventh and twelfth grades needed to be added to the secondary school. Grades were added cumulatively; as each class moved forward, the next grade level's curriculum was developed. D. E. White, a local reverend and schoolteacher, served as the Assistant Principal and taught the first ninth-grade class in 1921. Professor Jones taught the first tenth-grade course. Over the next several years, Jones then taught the eleventh- and twelfth-grade courses, including English, mathematics (algebra and plane geometry), science (biology and physics), and foreign languages (Latin). He also served as the department chair of the school's growing science department.<sup>65</sup> The school purchased extensive supplies to provide a working science laboratory and stocked the library with appropriate books.

### **Overcoming School Board Obstructions**

By the 1924-1925 school year, Lincoln High School produced its first senior class. However, in another difficulty, the Alachua County Board of Instruction announced a shortage of funds and ordered the school to close early, at the end of the sixth month.<sup>66</sup> Lincoln's ties to the county school board's funds would remain a site of resistance and battle over the next decade, as the Great Depression spread throughout the South and the nation.

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<sup>65</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003; Joel Buchanan, Claronelle Smith Griffin, April 21, 1985, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>66</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

Florida's economy began to suffer the first waves of the Great Depression in 1926, due to the collapse of its land boom, two hurricanes, and a fruit fly invasion in citrus groves.<sup>67</sup> This affected the tax base for local schools. Feeling the financial consequences, The Alachua County Board of Instruction was forced to borrow money consistently for several years to pay teachers' salaries.<sup>68</sup> In addition, they sought to close the expanding African American school early in its term as a measure to save money.

Instead of following the school board's order to close the school at the end of the six months, the administration and the board of trustees resisted. They made the decision to keep the school open and reach into the local African American community for the finances needed. The school community rallied. The Advisory Board, the Parent-Teachers Association, and the teachers organized another fundraising drive. Community members pledged subscriptions to provide for teacher pay for the full eight-month term. The drive was "overwhelmingly successful."<sup>69</sup> This demonstrated the support and sacrifice that the community was willing to make to support education for African American children. Through this and other fundraising efforts organized by students, the school was able to procure the expensive materials that the county school board was not providing to African American schools. Without these materials and a

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<sup>67</sup> Nick Wynne and Joe Knetsch, *Florida in the Great Depression: Desperation and Defiance* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2012).

<sup>68</sup> Jim Fouche, A. Quinn Jones and Daphne Duval Williams, April 18, 1975, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>69</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 47.

school term long enough to cover each grade level's curriculum, the school could not have met the standard for accreditation.

The next fall in 1925, on "a rainy day before the holiday season," the school was visited by Dr. R. M. Sealey, State Inspector of High Schools for inspection.<sup>70</sup> In a triumph for the school and the region, the official designation of accreditation for Lincoln High School was conferred in the fall of 1926. Over the course of five years, under the leadership of the board and Jones, the school community had met their ambitious goal through a series of well-planned strategies.

During these formative years, Lincoln circumvented and withstood direct challenges by the local white school board to their pursuits. The suggestion that Lincoln should end its school year early due to school board funding shortages was made several times from 1921 through the end of the Great Depression. At each threat of an early closing, Lincoln High School's board of trustees, its Parent Teacher Association, and its faculty resisted closing, and organized to provide the funds needed to support teachers privately. This confounded, angered and challenged the county Board of Instruction, who expected African American institutions to bear the brunt of the Great Depression as part of their lower tier of education.<sup>71</sup>

A letter sent by school board Superintendent E. R. Simmons to Professor Jones illustrates the board's ideology, disapproval and obstruction. In 1931, in the midst of another shortage of funds, Superintendent Simmons ordered Jones to close Lincoln to

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> A. Quinn Jones, *Retrospections: November 1967, Gainesville, Florida*, 2003; Jim Fouche, A. Quinn Jones, and Daphne Duval Williams, April 18, 1975, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

save the school board money. Once again, Jones disregarded the order, and worked the advisory board formula to fundraise from the community and advance African American education. Simmons lashed back, aggravated and in an uproar. He wrote, “I understand the colored folks are still trying to raise money for a nine months term in both Elementary and High Schools. I think it is absurd to ask people to run the school nine months when money and labor are as scarce as they are at present.”<sup>72</sup> Issuing a strong reprimand, the Superintendent continued with an order. “You better conduct your examinations and close your High School at once.”<sup>73</sup> Simmons refused to understand the persistence, and determination and will forged by vision in, around and through injustice.

Although Lincoln was willing to fund the additional months through private donations, Simmons understood that the county board would be publicly humiliated by the school’s continued operation. The humiliation was more pronounced, outrageous and unacceptable because this was the African American school—it was expected that this school would receive less funds and withstand the worst of the burden. Finally, the Superintendent drove this point home with his closing statement. “I understand that a number of the white people have gladly donated to your school. At the same time they will resent the proposition when they realize that the white elementary school is running

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<sup>72</sup> “E. R. Simmons, Superintendent of Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, Letter to A. Quinn Jones. May 11, 1931,” May 11, 1931, 1, Box 6, Minutes of the Lincoln H.S. Advisory Board. 1926-1937, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>73</sup> “E. R. Simmons, Superintendent of Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, Letter to A. Quinn Jones. May 11, 1931.”

only eight months and the colored people are undertaking to run nine months.”<sup>74</sup> Here, the Superintendent reminds the Lincoln High School community of its supposed rank in the racial and human hierarchy—they are behind whites, and if word gets out they they are getting ahead of them, there will be problems. Fortunately, due to its sophisticated organizational strategy, The Lincoln High School community ignored the superintendent’s order, successfully raised the funds, and thanks to the successful strategizing of the board, operated a full nine-month term.

### **Creating an Achievement Culture: Lincoln’s Commencement Ceremonies**

Having demonstrated advocacy, agency and collective determination in conflicts with local white governance—the school board-- and in widening relationships with African American students, parents, and the community at large, Lincoln emerged during its formative years as a strong academic institution. This was cause for celebration. In their deliberate efforts to create an accredited high quality institution, Lincoln aimed to expand students’ entry in the traditions, activities, and events associated with success and achievement within the nation’s social and civic spheres, thus their celebration activities provided an opportunity to enact that aim. Starting with the first class of graduates in 1925, the school staged extensive commencement activities. During commencement, Lincoln celebrated the achievements of each term’s graduating class. Figure 3-1 is a copy of the 1925 commencement program.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 2.



response was provided by the president of the junior class, John F. Jones, who would also return to the school later as a teacher.

Commencement was an extensive community affair. The weekend continued with an Annual Sermon Service on Sunday, May 17, at Bethel A.M.E., a prominent African American church in Gainesville that remains so to this day. As the program shows, the president of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Dr. J. R. E. Lee, was the keynote speaker for the occasion. His presence in the small town indicated the significance of establishing this graduating institution within the state of Florida.

However, Commencement activities were not simply celebrations. They were a mechanism for the school to achieve what Walter Daniel put forth as a social civic aim of education for African American secondary schools. As chapter 2 noted, Daniel contended that African American schools had to do more than educate academically to ensure that their students were prepared for a full and expansive adulthood. In the face of the deficits of the white social world, they had to provide students with opportunities to learn ideals and values of the democracy and engage in social and civic events that would cultivate experience and knowledge. Thus, Lincoln constructed their commencement activities to inculcate students with the mores and values of the professional and middle class. Jones carefully designed the commencement activities to simulate the distinction and formality of graduation from a university. In doing this, he brought the dream of entering into a middle-class experience directly into his students' midst.

An interview with Dr. John C. Rawls, former Lincoln High School teacher, and graduate of the 1941 class, illustrates this vision. Rawls stated, "His [Jones's] idea was

you don't learn everything in the classroom. You learn outside of the classroom a great deal."<sup>78</sup> Social customs are subtle and often difficult to acquire. Activities like commencement allowed students to learn these customs by experience.

Through commencement, Jones facilitated an entry into the world of academia for the entire Lincoln High School community of parents, students, faculty, and other community members. Students and faculty members were set apart by their dress. Faculty members wore gowns with professional hoods, and students were identified by their academic achievements. Dr. Rawls recollected, "We [students] were identified as valedictorians and salutatorians graduating with A, A-, B+ averages and... all of that was on the commencement programs."<sup>79</sup> Providing this regalia and denoting students' academic achievements highlighted the significance of the endeavor of education. For the African American men and women in the audience who were routinely denied access to the privileged space of education and instead spent their life doing difficult manual labor, this was surely a memorable occasion.

Based on the accounts of former students, Lincoln's commencements achieved their intended outcome of a valuable social and civic experience. Memories of various years' commencement activities were a common theme in the oral and written narratives of Lincoln High School graduates. In an interview conducted by Joel Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, graduate of the 1939 class, reminisced at length about the complexity and largesse of Lincoln High School commencement activities in the 1930s and 1940s. Comparing her experience with graduation ceremonies of the 1980s, she

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 5.

stated, “And what they call graduation now, I could cry. When I go to these high school graduations here and these class nights, I could just cry...the quality that we had, and just look at what they are doing now.”<sup>80</sup> Dorsey would become a central force at Lincoln, returning to the school in the 1940s as a teacher and department chair.

Commencement was but one example of many activities that were added to the academic curriculum in order to enact Daniel’s recommendations and aims for secondary education—to provide students with an expansive educational experience.<sup>81</sup> Jones was purposeful and strategic, with a vision for the potential life outcomes of students, should they have the right preparation.

### **Pedagogy In Co-Curricular Activities**

#### **Chapel**

“Chapel” or “assembly” was an integral component of the pedagogy of the school, as noted by Dr. Rawls in his interview.<sup>82</sup> Professor Jones’s autobiography corroborates these daily devotional exercises.<sup>83</sup> Chapel occurred as a whole school activity every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The schedule consisted of a choral song, a recitation from the Bible, a prayer, and then a program. Every grade had a scheduled day to lead the program, when they presented some information or lesson to

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<sup>80</sup> Joel Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, October 8, 1984, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>81</sup> Daniel, “The Aims of Secondary Education and the Adequacy of the Curriculum of the Negro Secondary School,” 1940.

<sup>82</sup> Houchen, John C. Rawls.

<sup>83</sup> Jones, “Retrospections,” 2003, 45.

the student body. On days when there was no organized program from a class, the Professor led the program.

Dr. Rawls provided this description of the Professor's pedagogy during chapel: "Prof. would get up on the stage and mostly he would call on a senior to come to the stage, and you better walk on up there... and don't take your time getting there!"<sup>84</sup> Engaging with students individually before the school audience, the Professor expected students to speak confidently and competently on their studies to date. He assessed students' comprehension of materials and judged their ability to apply and explain knowledge. Dr. Rawls continued, "He would want you to tell us what you learned this morning, well you better tell him this morning!"<sup>85</sup> Students shared with parents what happened in the daily assembly. Students would discuss the day's activities, who was called to stage, and how they responded. Dr. Rawls noted that parents approved and supported the strategy, as it instilled confidence and diligence in their children. He stated, "[It] would teach them not to be stage frightened. Well, parents liked that; my child is taught before the students to testify on what he learned this morning, well he better learn something this morning."<sup>86</sup> Chapel then, served to reinforce the knowledge learned in classrooms and presented opportunities to practice them in a public forum. Children practiced being strong, self assured, and vocal. Inner qualities of courage and polished demeanor were brought to the forefront and honed, pedagogically equipping students with eloquence, leadership, and team effort, even under pressure.

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<sup>84</sup> Houchen, John C. Rawls, 7.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

Chapel at Lincoln, along with the pedagogical reinforcements that occurred throughout the school day, was designed to build the “soaring hopes” described by Thurman within students.<sup>87</sup> This was the aim that Jones intended as he described an education “of the heart”: a capacity to dream of a future that was not yet possible.<sup>88</sup>

This capacity to dream was also furthered through the school’s artistic activities, such as music, drama, and speech.<sup>89</sup> Although there were no formal courses in these arts, they were interwoven within courses and through before and after school study.

## **Music**

One example of the influence of the effects of the musical education provided by Lincoln comes in the person of Dr. John Rawls. In his interview, Dr. Rawls reflected on the influence that musical study through the school had on the trajectory of his life and career. After performing the famous “Prelude in C Sharp” by Rachmaninoff at his school’s commencement, he dreamed of becoming a concert pianist—a field he would have seemed to have little chance of entering, judging by the prejudices and expectations of the white world. But the pedagogy of teachers at Lincoln convinced him that this was an attainable goal. Dr. Rawls matriculated from Lincoln and attended Talladega College in Alabama, where he studied music.<sup>90</sup> Over the course of his higher

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<sup>87</sup> Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited*, 55.

<sup>88</sup> “Commencement Address,” 7.

<sup>89</sup> Elocution is the formal study of public speaking through pronunciation, grammar, style, and tone. Professor Jones notes the infusion of elocution into the curriculum during the early years of the school in *Retrospections*. Jones, “Retrospections,” 2003, 29–30.

<sup>90</sup> Talladega College, is a private historic black college established in 1867. The education at Talladega was aimed at preparing African American men and women for leadership through classic liberal arts training.

education, his goals altered a bit and he eventually earned a PhD in French and Economics, but continued his pursuit of music, demonstrating the power of Lincoln to impact children's hopes and dreams. As a result of his experiences at Lincoln, he traveled extensively, attending performances by others and performing himself. He also maintained a position as the organist for Mount Pleasant Baptist Church for over thirty years, in addition to his long tenure as teacher and principal within the Alachua County School System.<sup>91</sup>

Indeed, musical training was the dominant artistic pursuit at Lincoln, in keeping with a New England classic liberal arts curriculum. James D. Anderson contextualized the use of a classical liberal curriculum in southern black education: "Black leaders did not view their adoption of the classical liberal curriculum or its philosophical foundations as mere imitation of white schooling. Indeed, they knew many whites who had no education at all. Rather, they saw this curriculum as providing access to the best intellectual traditions of their era and the best means to understand their own historical development and sociological uniqueness."<sup>92</sup> A number of classically trained musicians served as teachers at Lincoln, providing access to this privileged world. Musical performances were woven into assemblies, school programs, and afterschool programs, and a choral class was offered as part of the curriculum. Although no financing was provided by the county school board for music teachers until 1947, staff

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<sup>91</sup> Houchen, John C. Rawls.

<sup>92</sup> Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988, 29.

members volunteered their efforts, making significant contributions to the school's character and students' ability to appreciate fine arts.<sup>93</sup>

In his autobiography, Jones listed five teachers who, in the early years, volunteer-directed the school's choral class and served as musicians and directors for assemblies and programs: Judith P. Rainey, Mayme T. Cook, Daphne A. Duval, and Frederica Jones. At that time, musical activities throughout the school were administered by a faculty music committee that planned and practiced for events. Additionally, Jones noted that six teachers formed a volunteer music committee to administer the school's musical offerings. Their duties encompassed directing "the musical parts of elementary as well as high school assemblies and special programs; train[ing] children in connection with preparation for musical activities; rehears[ing] pupils and accompan[ying] elementary school closing exercises in music and high school commencement exercises."<sup>94</sup> Later, these activities developed into Lincoln's acclaimed music department, which offered courses in band, voice, and choir.

In her interview with Joel Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey reflected on the doors that opened for her, in part, due to her participation in Lincoln's music offerings: "There were clubs that you could belong to and one thing that really stands out in my mind is the fact that I could sing and during those years in high school we had a quartet, the Lincoln High School Quartet. It was composed of myself, my sister, Pauline Holmes and Marjorie Stanley and we would sing throughout this county. From my being able to sing,

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<sup>93</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

through 4-H club, I received a scholarship to attend Bethune-Cookman College.”<sup>95</sup> The benefit Dorsey received from the music program resulted from the commitment of faculty to using whatever resources they possessed in order to craft a curriculum deeply rooted in a wide spectrum of academic and aesthetic arts that would support students’ whole development. Despite the larger white educational structure’s lack of administrative vision and financial support for these types of activities, the administrative team and faculty at Lincoln managed to provide them, demonstrating their deep commitment to a higher aim for African American education.

### **Drama**

Dramatic activities at Lincoln were interwoven with musical studies and English coursework. They provided students with the opportunity to maximize their knowledge of the English language and literature in culturally relevant and energizing ways. At the first commencement in 1925, four orations were delivered by students. During our conversation, Dr. Rawls credited Frederick Douglass’s influence on Professor Jones as the driving force behind the emphasis on oratorical speaking. Frederick Douglass was born into enslavement, but acquired an education in secret and escaped to freedom. Studying the great speechwriters, and practicing from *The Columbian Orator*, he became a salaried speaker for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, extolling the virtues of equality and self-help.

The larger thread of racial pride and uplift is interwoven through the first commencement orations presented by students; Benjamin Childs followed in

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

Douglass's shadow, presenting an address on *Self-Help*; Edgar Daniels Jr. delivered an address on *The Patriotism of the American Negro*; and Claronelle Smith Griffin's address was entitled *The Negro's Contribution to Literature*.<sup>96</sup> Each of these orations provided an expansive response to the essential questions named by the great theologian Howard Thurman: "Who am I? What am I?" This was an instance of Lincoln's core pedagogy. The texts were selected to resist the social messages outside the school and instead instill a foundation that would inform students' identity in the world, in their race, and in society.

Using texts that grounding students within their race's collective achievements and their racial identity was intentional, an outflow of the national African American educators suggestions to address the peculiarity of the African American social condition. Du Bois' recommendations for an educational experience that would secure and sustain the collective efforts of the black race are echoed by Professor Jones as he states, "Education conserves the advances of the race in a way that the contribution to civilization by those who have lived was not in vain...If it were not for this safeguard, where would our race be today? We do not rejoice to know that our foreparents were slaves, but we do rejoice to know that education along with Christianity, thrift, industry and moral stamina have safeguarded us to the present. If Negro history were not compiled, the achievements of the Negro would never be a reality."<sup>97</sup> Thus, the pedagogy at Lincoln included a strategic study of African American and African history.

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<sup>96</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 49.

<sup>97</sup> "Commencement Address," 3.

Imagine the atmosphere in the room as Claronelle Smith Griffin stood up in her cap and gown and proudly recounted the contributions of African Americans to English literature. I suggest that in that moment, the audience in attendance were at the edge of their seats, backs erect, wholly free and whole people; and that was the aim.

Lincoln's dramatic performances also provided an opportunity for students to co-manage an effort from start to finish. Students built sets, played the parts, sang songs, practiced for perfection, and then offered the effort to community. In her interview with Joel Buchanan, Claronelle Smith Griffin reminded him that, "Affairs like concerts were about the only source of entertainment for people in those days, because there were no movies, theater houses or places to go. So whenever schools or churches had parties, plays or programs, people turned out because that was their source of entertainment."<sup>98</sup>

However, the performance was not merely for entertainment. Plays and performances served the very real purpose of raising funds for the school, and thus students learned that they, and their talents and abilities, were essential to the school's continued operation. In effect, the boys and girls understood that they had real worth in the world. In the 1924-1925 school year, student fundraisers were part of the contributions that provided teachers' salaries during the seventh and eighth months of the school year, after the district support ran dry. Students learned that their talents, combined with quality artistic pursuits, were meaningful and valued. Smith Griffin recollected to Joel; "We had operettas and plays that were the entertainment for the whole community...Two, three or four-act plays with special props."<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Buchanan, Claronelle Smith Griffin, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 7.

## Recreation and Sports

Recreation at Lincoln provided a place for learning discipline, health, and the importance of interdependence. During the early years, football and basketball served as the primary recreational activities of the school. Smith Griffin remembers taking basketball lessons beginning in the sixth grade from teacher Ella Childs, with the assistance from volunteer coach Charles Chestnut Sr.<sup>100</sup>

The real jewel of Lincoln sports during this era was the Lincoln Red Terriers football team. Football provided an activity that the entire community of Lincoln—parents, students, band members, faculty and friends—could rally around, allowing all to enter into the life of the school. The first coach of Lincoln’s football team, Charles Chestnut Sr., volunteered at the school and founded the team in 1921. His service to the Lincoln community set a standard of excellence, sacrifice, and cooperation that would characterize the team over the years to come. The Chestnut family were pillars of the African American business community in Gainesville. Having originally emigrated to Gainesville as enslaved laborers for the prominent Haile family, the Chestnuts later went on to own the city’s first African American funeral home.<sup>101</sup> Charles Chestnut Sr. served as a member of the advisory board that guided the Union Academy and later Lincoln High School.

T. B. McPherson, Lincoln graduate of the class of 1928, played on the football team during his high school years. In an interview with Joel Buchanan, he reflected on the impact that Chestnut had on boys and girls in the school, particularly those who

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<sup>100</sup> Buchanan, Claronelle Smith Griffin.

<sup>101</sup> “Chestnut Family Celebrating 100 Years of Funeral Business,” *Gainesville.com*, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.gainesville.com/article/20140214/ARTICLES/140219721>.

were disengaged or apathetic academically. Many of those students were recruited by Coach Chestnut to participate in sports, and through his mentorship, learned determination, discipline and perseverance, qualities that translated to their academic lives. McPherson affirmed, “Charles Chestnut Sr. was not only the coach of the team, he was the leader of turning kids around.”

Under Coach Chestnut’s Sr.’s direction, the football team went from a “just a little raggedy thing” to a formidable team that played against college teams.<sup>102</sup> T. B. McPherson described the team’s early victories this way: “We had a very good football team...and we played a lot of the top Negro colleges in the country. We played Clark University here. That is where Charlie Chestnut gained fame. We beat Bethune-Cookman College and the Florida Normal College.”<sup>103</sup> For a small team in Gainesville to play against college teams was unusual. For them to win was extraordinary. Football exposed the students and parents of Lincoln to many of the African American colleges and universities surrounding the school across the region. As the team began accumulating wins, the entire African American community swelled with pride over their high school and its prominence across the state. By 1923, the Red Terriers had won the state championship. The team would continue to be a rallying element for students and the community over the next thirty years.

T. B. McPherson returned to Lincoln as a faculty member in 1932 and became Lincoln High School’s second football coach. He continued the legacy of service and

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<sup>102</sup> Joel Buchanan, T. B. McPherson, March 7, 1984, 4, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>103</sup> Joyce Miller, T. B. McPherson, December 10, 1976, 6–7, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

excellence that Chestnut had built. In addition to teaching students to persevere through loss, struggle, and hardship, football also provided students with a means of financial support while pursuing higher education. In his interview with Joel Buchanan, McPherson remarked on the kinds of support African American athletes could expect during this era, stating, "If you were a good athlete you might have a job working in the afternoon, polishing the doors or working in the dining room somewhere."<sup>104</sup> Although few schools provided African Americans with athletic scholarships during this era, many boys did attend college based on the access that football provided, while working for tuition.

Recreational activities then served to provide access to higher education, along with teaching the values of excellence, hard work, fitness, and cooperative goal setting. These values had launched McPherson into college, and then brought him back to Lincoln as a teacher, coach and community leader. When asked by Joel Buchanan, "What made T. B McPherson come back to Gainesville to work at Lincoln?" McPherson humbly replied, "What Lincoln did for me before I left Lincoln. A foundation. Fundamentals, wanting to be the tops. Not outstanding, but wanting to be in the top bracket that was making a contribution to the growth of its citizens and students."<sup>105</sup> The pedagogy of the teachers and school deeply instilled in McPherson the qualities of personal and collective excellence, loyalty, service, and citizenship. These qualities eventually led him back to Lincoln after he had become the kind of adult that the

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>105</sup> Buchanan, T. B. McPherson, 10.

pedagogy had hoped to produce—a contributing member of the community and world who worked for its good.

### **“Just Look at the Outcomes!” Rapid Expansion in the Lincoln Community**

Beyond the achievement of an accredited high school, or the development of a wealth of artistic, spiritual, and recreational activities, the conclusive evidence as to whether the school had achieved its desired outcome was whether its core values were expressed in the adult lives of its graduates. In my interview with Dr. John Rawls, I posed the question: What made Lincoln and the Professor’s philosophy so respected throughout the African American community in Gainesville? He replied, “Just look at the outcomes!”<sup>106</sup>

He went on, listing in detail some of the achievements of that first class of eight students who graduated in 1925: “[One went] to Clark University Atlanta [and] ended up getting his PhD, not in the teaching of math, but pure mathematics at Northwestern [University].”<sup>107</sup> The remainder of those first eight became a doctor, a nurse, a sportswriter, a musician, and a principal. Three returned to Lincoln as teachers or department chairs.<sup>108</sup>

Potential students looked to the success of this first class, and those successes encouraged them to enroll. The school’s population and the number of graduates began to climb each year. By 1934, graduation rates had quadrupled, ushering in a new era of growth and expansion for the school. The figure below presents a tally of high school

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<sup>106</sup> Houchen, John C. Rawls.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>108</sup> Joel Buchanan, Frederica and Professor A. Quinn Jones, July 30, 1985, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

graduates, beginning in 1927, and ending at 1957, when the Professor retired. The overall population of the school doubled and then tripled in these decades.

The image shows a handwritten table with the following data:

School Year	Number
1924-25	8
1925-26	5
1926-27	4
1927-28	5
1928-29	14
1929-30	17
1930-31	16
1931-32	9
1932-33	10
1933-34	30
1934-35	39
1935-36	33
1936-37	22
1937-38	37
1938-39	39
1939-40	37
1940-41	35
1941-42	43
1942-43	36
1943-44	38
1944-45	40
1945-46	36
1946-47	48
1947-48	57
1948-49	41
1949-50	59
1950-51	47
1951-52	53
1952-53	62
1953-54	53
1954-55	58
1955-56	72
1956-57	85
<b>Total</b>	<b>1185</b>

Figure 3-2 Lincoln High School Graduates, 1925-1957.<sup>109</sup>

An influx of families from neighboring counties flocked to the school. Lincoln was the only African American school in the region that was accredited and providing high school diplomas. African American families began to host “boarding” students, acting as surrogate families for the enrolled. As John Rury and Shirley Hill note, “By the time of World War I, fewer than 40 public high schools served a Black population of nearly 9 million across the region [the South], and most states of the Deep South, where the vast

<sup>109</sup> “List of Lincoln High School Graduates, 1925-1957,” n.d., Administrative Files 1922-1937, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

majority lived, had none.”<sup>110</sup> Lincoln High School provided a rare opportunity for the families of north central Florida to acquire a high school degree.

Two teachers’ oral interviews provide details about the experience of leaving home to study at Lincoln. The narratives of students and families who migrated so that they could enroll in African American high schools are compelling, although they rarely receive attention in literature. They demonstrate the commitment of African American families to the pursuit of education of children in the African American community. Families sent their youth to other community members who welcomed them and cared for them as the students pursued their education. John Dukes, mathematics teacher and mathematics department chair, moved to Gainesville in 1941 as a young boy to enroll in Lincoln High School. Mabel Dorsey came earlier in 1935.

In an interview with Joel Buchanan, Dukes described his move to Gainesville, saying, “My dad came home one Thursday, and I never will forget. He said, ‘Pack up everything you got, your rags.’ That is just about what they were—“You are going to Gainesville, and you are going to high school.”<sup>111</sup> Dukes boarded with a local family and although she was a stranger, his host was warm, caring, and hospitable. He recollected, “He took me to a lady’s house by the name of Mrs. Catherine Cobbs, a lady whom I had never met, did not know prior to my coming to Gainesville. She took me right in and started treating me as if I were her own.”<sup>112</sup> To pay for his room and board, Dukes

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<sup>110</sup> John L. Rury and Shirley A. Hill, *The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980: Closing the Graduation Gap* (Teachers College Press, 2012), 3.

<sup>111</sup> Joel Buchanan, John Dukes, Jr., August 2, 1985, 3, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

worked after school as a dishwasher and cook. He stated, "I think my dad paid for two or three weeks in advance, and then it was not long before I started washing dishes at a place here called Sandwich Park. Soon I became a short order cook in the same establishment and was able to meet my obligations while I was going to school."<sup>113</sup> As can be seen here, Lincoln's academic success contributed to local African American economy through the many boarders and teachers who moved to town. Because education was prized and a scarce commodity, an entire culture was built around the school.

Mabel Dorsey, another Lincoln student, described the move of her whole family from Rochelle, Florida to Gainesville. In 1935, Dorsey's mother made the decision that the family would relocate. Dorsey stated, "Well, it was hard to get Dad to leave Rochelle. He loved Rochelle, but my mother was determined to come to Gainesville so we could go to school. So, she just got up one morning and told him we were going to Gainesville and to find a house so that we can move."<sup>114</sup> In one day, Dorsey's mother came to the African American community, found housing for her family and returned home to inform the family. Dorsey continued, "Momma came over here and it took them all day long, but when she came back she said I found a house and in the morning we are leaving Rochelle and we are going to Gainesville. And that is how it was accomplished."<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>114</sup> Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, 4.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

In this way, the Fifth Avenue district of African American residents swelled with families involved with Lincoln. As students graduated and left the school, some finding employment and others attending colleges, they too bought homes and sent their children to Lincoln. Lincoln culture spread through the African American churches and social clubs as students were lauded for their achievements and their continued efforts at school. Lincoln had achieved its aim; it had “made men and women” whose life experiences were better based on their participation in the school.<sup>116</sup> Beyond the development of students’ minds, the Professor had also inculcated virtues of service and loyalty into a generation of leaders, many of whom demonstrated this by returning to their school as teachers.

If we assume then, that the spaces erected by African-Americans were reactionary, built to establish a counter-narrative and negate harmful ideas, we miss much of the richness of the pedagogy. Instead of being reactionary, African American pedagogy was transcendent, treating the case of white supremacy as a (very real and dangerous) cautionary tale. Students learned that domination, competition, and greed brought both the perpetrator and the victim down to sub-human levels of bitterness, envy, and ignorance, but that the pursuit of interdependence and cultivation of loving kindness, humility, service could restore and free the individual spirit and the civil order. They learned that they had a responsibility as a human, a child of God, and a member of the African American community and the nation to aspire for greatness-and to demonstrate that through their academic, social, and leisure endeavors. They learned

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<sup>116</sup> “Commencement Address,” 2.

firsthand that a community could and should come together to support individual and collective dreams and aspirations, and at Lincoln they were taught how this was done.

Thus, based on its dedication to instilling these values in students and throughout the school community, the organizational structure of Lincoln was strengthened. Over the next decade, the school developed its departments, professional development, and mechanisms. The next chapter will discuss these aspects of the school's operations.

## CHAPTER 4 TEACHER RECRUITMENT, FACULTY PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LHS'S ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

By the 1930s, national and regional African American educational networks had significantly redirected the system of African American southern education, moving it away from the direction of industrial-manual education and back to the vision of preparation for full democratic participation.<sup>1</sup> In doing so, they proposed specific curricular agendas that reflected a liberal arts emphasis, and made recommendations for governance that would support elementary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions.

To address the shortage of African American teachers in southern elementary and secondary schools, teacher education programs were strengthened.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, teacher certification levels and professional development slowly improved across the South, while African American teacher professionalism also remained a focal issue for activism and advocacy. Through the establishment of a new professional network, the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (ASSCN), a structure emerged to accredit, support, and stimulate the region's public and private African American universities and secondary schools. Hence, local African American secondary and elementary schools, like Lincoln High School, began to flourish.

Given that Lincoln High School had established a successful institution with an accredited high school, African American families in the county and from surrounding

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Connor, "The Facilities and Practices of Negro Tax-Supported Teacher-Training Institutions."

regions flocked to the school, expanding its student population beyond the capacity of the school's infrastructure and resources. In order to meet the dual challenges of hiring adequate numbers of well-prepared teachers and providing a rich curricular experience for their growing student body, Lincoln High School's administration utilized the resources of African American educator networks to educate, recruit, and support the Lincoln High School faculty. The result was an engaged faculty with numerous team leaders effectively influencing and expanding diverse spheres of school operations, departments, and activities.

### **Changing Standards in African American Teacher Certification and the Profession**

As Chapter 2 showed, the system of African American schools that emerged throughout the South at the turn of the century until the early 1920s was based on the Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial education.<sup>3</sup> The concurrent model of teacher training included minimal academic preparation—up through seventh grade at the turn of the century, and one to two years beyond high school by 1915.<sup>4</sup> This pre-service education was the prerequisite for state-issued teacher certification. Teacher certification was routinely administered through a process of examinations. Upon passing examinations in one or more subjects, a teacher's certification was conferred and classified as one of three grades: first, second, or third.

By the 1920s-1930s, as African American institutions regained control of the system of black education, historically black colleges and universities began developing

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<sup>3</sup> Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988.

<sup>4</sup> Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

baccalaureate programs. Teacher education programs were often the first programs developed, in order to extend the pipeline of prepared students.<sup>5</sup> A high standard of African American teacher professionalism through excellence in teacher preparation and in-service professional development was at the forefront of the advocacy agenda of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS), the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (ASSCN), and the Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges during the era.

The various routes to teacher certification during this transitional period were visible within the pool of Lincoln High School's faculty members. Staff members who were hired in the early 1920s attained their certification after the completion of the eighth grade, while those hired later attained their certification after high school or two years of college. Those hired during the late 1920s or during the 1930s arrived at Lincoln with a bachelor's degree, most commonly from a historically black college or university. This presented school leaders with the challenge of providing adequate professional development opportunities to a staff with diverse levels of education and experience, especially in light of Professor Jones's goal of a high quality institution that required a highly trained staff. Thus, after employment, staff members were expected to continue their education in-service, taking summer or extension courses to attain a two-

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<sup>5</sup> Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers. Bulletin, 1933, No. 10. Volume IV*, 1933; Edna M. Colson, "The Negro Teachers' College and Normal School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 2, no. 3 (July 1, 1933): 284–98, doi:10.2307/2292200; Anderson, "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935," 1988.

year or baccalaureate degree.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, due to the high levels of education attained by a few members of the staff, Lincoln High School served as a site for the General Education Board (GEB)-led County Training program for teachers.<sup>7</sup>

Study participant Frederica Jones's experiences during this time of change exemplified several of the pathways to teacher certification. Jones was the wife of A. Quinn Jones, an elementary teacher, and one of the school's (unpaid) musicians. She attended the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville for high school.<sup>8</sup> A member of the last class of the Cookman Institute, she graduated in 1923, the year before the institute was merged with Mary McLeod Bethune's Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School, and moved to Daytona Beach.

After her high school graduation, Jones decided to enter into the workforce as a teacher to help her sister pay for college. She described her pathway to certification to interviewer Joel Buchanan this way: "There is a group of people that comes and gives examinations in all the subjects, and awards first, second or third-class [grade] certificates. The first time I went to take the test, I was so scared to death. I imagine that I could have done better, but I was so afraid. There I was, just out of high school trying to pass a test, so I made a third-class certificate. That meant I could teach for one year. I got a school in Greenland, Florida. It was only a one-teacher school, but these people

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<sup>6</sup> "Faculty Questionnaire," n.d., Box 8, Teachers, Guidance, Schedules, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>7</sup> Leo M. Favrot, "A Study of County Training Schools for Negroes in the South," *Internet Archive*, accessed May 5, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/studyofcountytra00favr>.

<sup>8</sup> Buchanan, Frederica and Professor A. Quinn Jones.

were very nice.”<sup>9</sup> After one year of teaching, Jones re-took the certification examination, earning a second grade certification. By 1928, however, the processes for certification had altered, providing certification only after the completion of a two-year or four-year degree. Jones’s interview illustrated this change: “From then on I went to summer school every summer. I took correspondence work from the University of Florida and extension classes from FAMU. I went to summer school religiously until I had gotten my first professional certificate.”<sup>10</sup> A professional certificate ensured that teachers had attained proficiency in the standards of teaching.

### **Recruiting Teachers in the Midst of a National Shortage**

When Lincoln High School began in 1923, it had a modest faculty of 13 teachers. Due to its success in establishing an accredited high school, student enrollment at Lincoln steadily increased. By 1928, school enrollment was between 800-900 students— up from 500 students in 1923. In part, this was due to the influx of students from neighboring counties.<sup>11</sup> This increase necessitated the hiring of new teachers, but as Chapter 2 documented, there were few qualified African American teachers during this period. Having begun the institution with the aim of providing students with a full training in liberal arts (supplemented by other life experiences), Professor A. Quinn Jones worked to maintain a teaching staff that was proficient in academic coursework and certified at the highest levels. The school needed to create mechanisms and strategies to recruit, train, and support a burgeoning faculty prepared for the task.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>11</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011.

## Lincoln's County Teacher Training Program

Because of the urgent need for more professionally trained African American teachers across the region, the state Department of Education authorized Lincoln High School, through the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, to offer a high school teacher training course as part of the high school curriculum for three terms. The County Training Program was established in 1911 through a partnership with the John F. Slater Fund and the GEB. It provided support for the advancement of African American education in the rural south.<sup>12</sup> The program provided model schools in rural counties with a threefold mission: to provide coursework beyond the elementary years, to train students in domestic, moral, and industrial education, and to provide a short course of teacher training for elementary service.<sup>13</sup> The County Training program was effective in expanding access to schooling across the rural South, but in a particular path: industrial education or low-skill teacher training.<sup>14</sup> Educational researcher and historian Michael Fultz underscores that the curriculum of the County Training school movement introduced industrial alternatives to traditional high schools, often providing education for students up through the tenth grade and then a modest teacher-training curriculum. Although this was the program's aim, the program was unable to standardize curricula across the hundreds of schools running County Training programs.<sup>15</sup> This was largely due to the lack of central administration for the system of

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<sup>12</sup> Edward Edgeworth Redcay, *County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education for Negroes in the South* (John F. Slater Fund, 1935).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Davis, "The General Education Board and Institutionalization of Black Public Schooling in the Interwar South."

<sup>15</sup> Favrot, "A Study of County Training Schools for Negroes in the South."

African American southern schools. Thus, African American educators who possessed the training and strategies were able to repurpose the County Training Program, instead of providing industrial education, they provided an advanced course of study in the secondary school and in teacher training. Anderson notes that the philosophy of the County Training program (providing industrial high schools and manual teacher training) was rejected by the African American community in the districts where this was proposed.<sup>16</sup>

Lincoln utilized the funds from the County Training Program to provide students with high-quality teacher preparation so that they could pass state certification tests. Unlike many students in other County Training Programs, the students enrolled in Lincoln's program had previously received their high school diploma.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, they received the diploma from Lincoln: a state-accredited school certified for its expansive liberal arts-based curriculum. These students entered into the teacher-training program with a solid academic foundation. They then studied the fundamentals of teacher education under Daphne Duval Williams and A. Quinn Jones, who were both experienced teachers with bachelor's degrees from a reputable institution.<sup>18</sup> Duval Williams had received a B.S. in mathematics during the 1920s, and then accepted a

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<sup>16</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 210–220.

<sup>17</sup> Favrot noted that participants in the County Training Program's teacher education coursework had a diverse assortment of previous preparation. Some had finished only elementary school while few others held high school diplomas. Moreover, since the southern system of African American education was decentralized and in a period of flux, each program provided its only kind of degree or diploma upon completion, with very little standardization of content or curriculum. By the mid-1930s, the County Training program phased out its teacher preparation program entirely, as African American colleges and universities began to flourish across the south taking over the work of teacher preparation. Favrot, "A Study of County Training Schools for Negroes in the South."

<sup>18</sup> Fouche, A. Quinn Jones and Daphne Duval Williams.

faculty appointment in the elementary department at Lincoln High School. In a joint interview with Jim Fouche, Professor Jones and Duval Williams reflected on that period of Lincoln's development. Jones stated to Duval Williams, "When you became a faculty member, we had grown probably up to between eight and nine hundred [students] roughly speaking. The year that you came the teacher-training department was added to the school . . . all due to the increase in the enrollment."<sup>19</sup> Duval's duties were twofold: to teach in the elementary grades and to teach teacher education coursework for high school graduates. The County Training Program provided new teachers for the school, many of whom were graduates of Lincoln High School. After passing state teacher certification tests, some returned to serve in Lincoln's elementary department. This employment often served as a source of income so that students could continue their schooling through college.

Despite the additions to the faculty through the years of Lincoln's operation of the County Training program (approximately 1931-1934), student enrollment, particularly in the elementary department, continued to outpace teacher hiring and school capacity.<sup>20</sup> To ensure that no students were turned away, Lincoln's elementary department provided two sessions of school. One class of students arrived in the morning and attended school until 1:00 P.M. After their dismissal, another group of students attended classes in the afternoon until 4:00 P.M. Double sessions in the elementary department continued intermittently until 1956, when Lincoln moved into a larger new facility. Professor Jones noted, "Before we moved, there were really about thirteen or fourteen

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>20</sup> Fouche, A. Quinn Jones and Daphne Duval Williams.

hundred elementary and high school students right here in this school. When the reality [of] the capacity of the school would accommodate probably just about one half of that number.”<sup>21</sup> The bustle of increased students, and abundant activities at Lincoln required other measures of teacher recruitment to keep pace with growth.

### **Growing Our Own: Recruiting Teachers from Within Lincoln’s Ranks**

During this period of persistent teacher shortages, Lincoln began to recruit former students to return to the school after completing college and attaining a degree. Professor Jones noted, “After students began graduating from Lincoln High School in 1925, the principal began to advise students furthering their education in various colleges to do their major studies in college areas where demands [were] greatest for employment in education. Four years following the first high school graduates, the principal began recommending the hiring of some of the recent graduates to fill positions on the Lincoln Faculty.”<sup>22</sup> Three students who graduated in Lincoln’s first two classes, Dr. Joe Dennis (class of 1925), Claronelle Griffin (class of 1925), and John Franklin Jones (class of 1926), served on the Lincoln faculty for long periods after attaining their bachelor’s degrees. Dr. Joe Dennis ultimately left the faculty to continue his studies, becoming a professor of mathematics at Clark Atlanta University. John Franklin Jones, who attended summer school while in service as a teacher at Lincoln, served as the head of Lincoln’s science department, and remained on Lincoln’s faculty for over thirty years.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>22</sup> Jones, “Retrospections,” 2003, 53.

Dr. John Rawls, who graduated from Lincoln in 1941 and returned as a faculty member in 1956, described Professor Jones as a visionary leader because he was able to “look at the present, anticipate the future, and try to get the students prepared for that future.”<sup>23</sup> For Professor Jones, this anticipatory vision, along with values of rich life experiences, determination, hard work and sacrifice, was the essence of his philosophy of education. Further, the Professor intentionally inculcated this philosophy in his staff. Dr. Rawls described this process, “You had a lot of the teachers through the county [who] through the years graduated under Professor Jones. And when he had to select teachers, he selected teachers who would carry out his philosophy. It just so happened that it was a beautiful philosophy.”<sup>24</sup> As Chapter 3 has shown, Jones’s pedagogy was that teachers and the school should instill the qualities of a rich life, determination, hard work, and sacrifice in students by embodying these characteristics in themselves, reinforcing them in the school’s activities, its coursework, and in the messages of the texts used. Rawls experienced this pedagogy firsthand through the patient instruction of his teachers, and most especially through his prolonged musical education at Lincoln. It affected his character and career path. Among those students who left Lincoln, attained a college degree, and returned to the school as teachers, a number founded departments, served as long-time department heads, or served in key volunteer roles that expanded the school’s offerings.

Perhaps the most widely recognized student of Lincoln High School’s graduating classes who returned to become a faculty member was T.B McPherson, for whom a city

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<sup>23</sup> Houchen, John C. Rawls, 2.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 8.

of Gainesville Recreation Center close to the location of former Lincoln High School is named. Under McPherson's direction, Lincoln established its first physical education (PE) department. Lincoln's P.E. department, in the following decades, became a strong competitive force locally and nationally in football, basketball, tennis, and swimming.

As coach of Lincoln's football team, T.B. McPherson was a force to be reckoned with, leading the team to a seven-year undefeated streak. His impressive coaching caught the attention of University of Florida coaches Nash Higgons and Charlie Backman, who established a relationship with McPherson at a time when relationships between black and white professionals were uncommon.<sup>25</sup> Through their recommendations, T.B. McPherson was accepted into a master's program of physical education at Columbia University.

He attended Columbia University during the summers of 1935-1939, when he graduated with a M.A. in physical education. Subsequently, he was employed by the National Recreation Association through Columbia University as a physical education speaker all over the country.<sup>26</sup> In an interview conducted by Joyce Miller, T.B. McPherson was asked to speak on his relationship with Professor Jones. Miller asked, "How was your relationship with A. Quinn Jones, as principal-and-coach relationship, or as friends, or whatever relationship you had? T.B. McPherson replied, "I was a little boy when Jones came here to teach, and I shall never forget that one day I wanted to bully up and jump on him and probably kill him."<sup>27</sup> But a transformation of character took

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<sup>25</sup> Buchanan, T. B. McPherson; Miller, T. B. McPherson.

<sup>26</sup> Miller, T. B. McPherson.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

place. T.B. McPherson continued, “I grew up, and I had been an honor student and went to college. When I came back he hired me. He was a tremendous inspiration.”<sup>28</sup>

Chapter 5 will show that during his tenure at Lincoln, McPherson was a huge asset to the school, growing the athletic offerings through recruiting other faculty members so that they came to include tennis, swimming, and other recreational activities. These offerings created uncommon opportunities for African American children. His advocacy for recreation as part of the range of experiences for health and a full life for students extended beyond the classroom into volunteer activities during the summers. He noted his views of education for African American children in a staff questionnaire administered in 1941, stating, “I have spent much of my time working with community projects; I feel that this type of work not only make(s) a better community but a better world. I have spent a lot of time as a Vocational Counselor as I know the type of education our group is receiving is twenty-five years behind time.”<sup>29</sup> His comments reflect an urgency to ensure that the pedagogy students received at Lincoln prepared them to transcend and resist the limitations of the social order prescribed for African Americans and African American education. As a community leader and department chair, McPherson gave back what he received in his education from Lincoln many times over.

Another example of a Lincoln graduate who later became an exemplary teacher at the school was Cornelia Smith. Cornelia Smith graduated from Lincoln High School in 1938. She returned to Lincoln as an elementary school teacher in 1942. Upon the

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> “Faculty Questionnaire.”

recommendation of Professor Jones, Smith returned to school to attain the education necessary to become Lincoln High School's first full time librarian. As a high school student, Smith volunteered in the school's reading room; this was prior to the school having a functioning library. Smith recalls this experience: "[Professor Jones] gained books from folks who would clean their attics and would give him books, and Doris Goering, Lela Jackson, Theresa Carvin and I would take turns at keeping this reading room during our free period. And by doing so, I was able to read a number of books. I became interested in the work." After high school graduation, Smith attended Barber-Scotia Junior College for Women, where she continued her work in their library and attained a two-year degree. She continued her education at FAMU, attaining a bachelor's degree in 1942.

At the end of her first year on the faculty at Lincoln High School, teaching elementary school mathematics, Smith was called in to Jones's office, where he counseled her to continue her studies in library science. She recalled the conversation. He said, "You are the only person I have on my faculty who said that you have had a little experience working in a library. I am going to need one [a library] next year. Go to school this summer and get some hours in it and I will let you work in there part-time." So Smith enrolled in North Carolina College at Durham, which she attended for the next four summers, attaining a B. S. in Library Science. Her position as the school's librarian progressed from part-time to a full-time position during the mid-1940s. Due to Jones's vision and his ability to provide encouragement and support for the development of Smith's skills, she provided a full time library program for LHS and coordinated a full

day's schedule of activities and academic support in the school's emerging library program, as shown in the figure below.

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Remarks
8:30 9:00	Grade 10 Mrs. Morgan Teacher	Grade 11-12 Mrs. Pealy Teacher	Grade 10-1 Mrs. Johnson Teacher	Grade 9-1 Mrs. Hill Teacher	Grade 8-1 Mrs. Johnson Teacher	Teachers do not open books at this time for reading and work
9:30 10:00	Grade 10-1 Mrs. Pealy	Grade 11-1 Mrs. Morgan	Grade 10-1 Mrs. Johnson		Grade 8-1 Mrs. Johnson	
10:30 11:00	Grade 10 Mrs. Pealy			Grade 9-1 Mrs. Hill	Grade 8-1 Mrs. Johnson	
11:30 12:00	Grade 9-1 Mrs. Johnson					
12:30 1:00	<del>Grade 11-1 Mrs. Morgan</del>	Grade 11-1 Mrs. Morgan	Grade 10-1 Mrs. Johnson			
1:45 2:15		Grade 10-1 Mrs. Morgan			Grade 8-1 Mrs. Hill	
2:45 3:15	Grade 10-1 Mrs. Johnson	Grade 11-1 Mrs. Pealy	Grade 9-1 Mrs. Morgan	Grade 8-1 Mrs. Hill	Grade 7-1 Mrs. Johnson	

Figure 4-1 Lincoln High School Library Schedule, 1946-1947, created by Cornelia Smith.<sup>30</sup>

Mabel Dorsey was another student from Lincoln who returned to the school's faculty at the request of Professor Jones and ultimately established one of the school's major departments. Mabel Dorsey graduated from Lincoln High School in 1939. As described in Chapter 3, Dorsey's family moved into Gainesville to ensure that the children received high school diplomas from Lincoln. Dorsey's participation in the school's music activities and the county's 4-H program provided her with partial funding for college. She attended Bethune Cookman College, graduating with a two-year

<sup>30</sup> "Library Schedule," n.d., Box 8, Administrative Files, 1945-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

degree in home economics. She then continued at FAMU, attaining a B. S. in home economics. She returned to Gainesville as a faculty member at Lincoln in 1944.

In an interview conducted by her former student, Joel Buchanan, Dorsey described her recruitment to the Lincoln faculty. She stated, "My first year of teaching was in Levy County in a little junior high school named Royal Junior High School. And before I completed the first year, Professor Jones wanted me to come to Lincoln, but I asked him to let me complete my one year here and then I came on over to Lincoln High School and I was there until I decided to quit teaching. . . in 1968."<sup>31</sup> She taught home economics courses upon her appointment, eventually developing a full home economics department that provided curricula of courses for the sixth through twelfth grades. Buchanan recollected his experiences as a student of Dorsey: "The reason I can do some things at home now is because of some things I learned in your class."<sup>32</sup> As an instructor, Dorsey provided African American students with experiences that they were barred from in the segregated world, simulating expensive elite restaurants and other social settings within her classroom laboratory. She remarked to Buchanan that, "I wanted my students to be able to measure up to any white student in home economics. And it was not going to be my fault and I was not going to sit there and say I do not have. I make my own way to have it. I will provide some things for them."<sup>33</sup> Dorsey attributed her expertise and perspective to her training and experiences at Bethune-Cookman College.

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<sup>31</sup> Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, 11.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

She stated, “It was the most thorough training, because it was almost one to one. Only three people in my class, so you had to get your lesson.”<sup>34</sup> At Bethune-Cookman, Dorsey’s education in home economics included cooking and catering, cloth making, tailoring, and service. Due to the fame of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, the events held at Bethune-Cookman were often attended by dignitaries, notables, and an exclusive class of rich whites. All of these dignitaries came to campus at the request of Dr. Bethune, “to see our line march and hear the chorus sing and to browse and buy things that we had made on the campus—like ties and shirts, and to buy cookies and things we had made in the home economics department.”<sup>35</sup> True to her training under Dorsey’s direction, the home economics department at Lincoln was a foundational part of Lincoln’s extracurricular world, providing meals and support for the athletics program and training large numbers of girls and boys throughout the ensuing decades.

These members of Lincoln faculty became key leaders able to embody and transmit the vision and philosophy of the school throughout departments, with incoming faculty and among students. Many of these faculty members further served the school as key leaders in organized faculty professional development activities, which served as a cohesive mechanism to support the growth of the Lincoln faculty as a whole.

During the 1930s, the recruitment of teachers took priority in order to meet the needs of the growing student body. Due to the variance within colleges and institutions offering degrees certifying teachers for service, the staff of Lincoln were not uniformly educated to the same standards. As a result, the Professor encouraged teachers to

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>35</sup> Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey.

continue their education through enrollment in higher-education institutions that provided summer school and extension courses for teachers continuing their education towards bachelor's or master's degrees in subjects related to education.

### **Assessing Teacher Needs and Training a New Faculty**

The figures on the next page are copies of faculty questionnaires administered by Professor Jones in 1941. The questionnaire requested that teachers indicate the grade or subjects taught, college graduated from, degree or diploma held, specialization in college, summer school expected to attend, names of intended courses, extension courses taken during the school year, indication of the last year in summer school attendance, grades or subjects preferred to teach, and extracurricular activities they were able to direct. While one purpose of the questionnaire was to aid in planning the next year's teaching, it also denotes an explicit expectation that staff continue their professional development and academic training throughout the summer.

Of the forty or so questionnaires available in the archives, the majority of teachers indicated some type of summer school attendance. Only one teacher, Bessie M. Brown, flatly refused summer coursework. She noted in her comments that "Because I am near the retirement age, I do not wish to work toward a degree or diploma. I will cheerfully do what I can for professional improvement."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> "Bessie M. Brown Faculty Questionnaire," n.d., Teachers, Schedules, Guidance, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

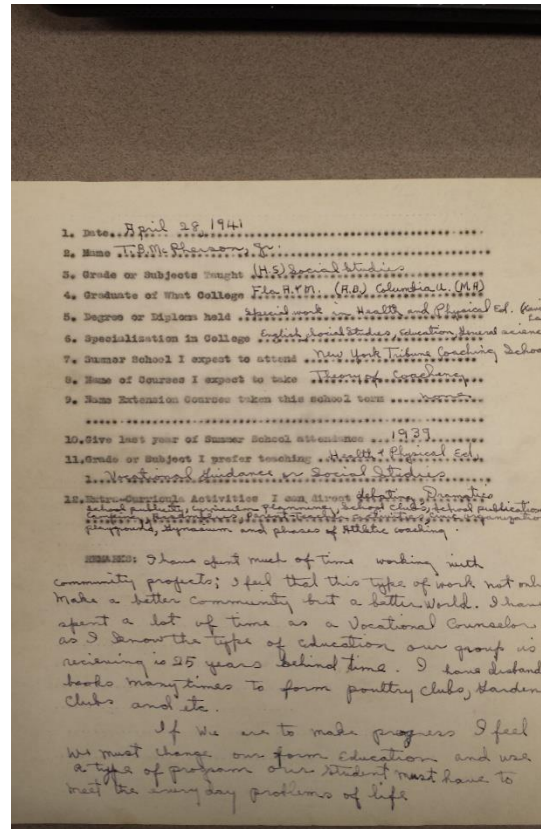
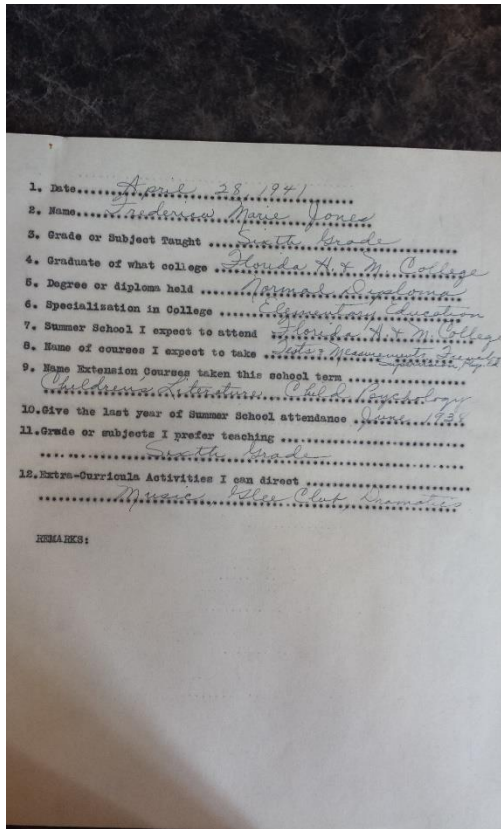


Figure 4-2 Frederica M. Jones and T. B. McPherson, Faculty Questionnaires.<sup>37</sup>

T. B. McPherson, who had already received a master’s degree from Columbia University in 1939, indicated on his questionnaire that he would enroll in the New York Tribune Coaching School for the summer of 1941. McPherson’s comments clearly reflect a strong concern for the welfare of African American students in the larger world. He states, “If we are to make progress, I feel we must change our form of education and use a type of program our students must have to meet the everyday problems of life.”<sup>38</sup> As will be shown in Chapter 5, over the course of the next decade, Lincoln would take T. B. McPherson’s recommendation to heart, and revise its curriculum dramatically.

<sup>37</sup> “Faculty Questionnaire.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

## **African American Teacher Professional Development 1930s-1940s**

There is a dearth in the literature that examines African American teacher professional development during this period; hence, it is difficult to ascertain what standards or expectations were provided by school boards or states to school administrators or how that translates into practice. Literature, however, suggests that the prevailing attitude of neglect by white school boards left African American principals to figure out solutions to their challenges on their own. African American educational associations, networks, and higher education institutions stepped into this void, providing the mentorship and resources needed at the school level. This section describes three major trends of teacher professional development that arose from African American educator networks during the 1930 and 1940s: teacher education at higher education institutions, the region wide Secondary School Study and state level professional development organized by the Florida State Teachers Association (FTSA). Together, these efforts provided a powerful foundation for Lincoln's teachers to advance their practice and collective efforts.

### **Summer Courses, Extension Courses, and Higher Education Pursuits of Teachers**

Scores of African American teachers from African American elementary and secondary institutions went back to school to attain associates, bachelor and master's degrees. There, they coalesced into a unified professional identity, studying their practice immersed in the ideas and thoughts of African American scholars and educators. Their diligence demonstrates their commitment to the provision of high quality education to their students, as well as their own professional standards and upward mobility. In her interview with Joel Buchanan, Frederica Johnson painted a picture of this collective experience for teachers in Florida. In her example, teachers are

taking the trip to FAMC in Tallahassee, Florida during the summer. She states, "There were quite a number of us who would leave to go to Tallahassee. We would ride up there by train and stay eight weeks. The train would leave from Jacksonville with twelve, fifteen, as many as twenty coaches of nothing but Negro teachers going to Tallahassee to summer school. They would come all the way down the East Coast from as far away as Miami. All along the way the train would stop and pick up teachers. It was a regular train of teachers going to summer school."<sup>39</sup> FAMC provided a rare opportunity for these "coaches of nothing but Negro teachers" to access the networks of African American educators. Michael Fultz noted that attendance in summer schools by African American teachers was a major factor contributing to increased overall enrollments at black land-grant colleges.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to offering summer coursework on campus, historically black colleges and universities provided extension courses at satellite locations during the winter. At the request of Dr. J. R. E. Lee, president of FAMC, Jones established an extension center in Gainesville, providing coursework for teachers throughout the 1930s and well up into the 1940s. Jones noted, "Some of the Negro teachers in Alachua County had not completed high school, while others had completed high school and junior college and were pursuing these extension in service in winter and Summer school attendance to meet requirements for graduation from college and to qualify for proper teaching certificates in the various fields of teaching."<sup>41</sup> Jones taught a range of courses that

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<sup>39</sup> Buchanan, Frederica and Professor A. Quinn Jones, 20.

<sup>40</sup> Fultz, "Teacher Training and African American Education in the South, 1900-1940."

<sup>41</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 78.

included tests and measures, elementary school supervision, and world geography.<sup>42</sup> Jones also provided extension classes for Bethune-Cookman College.

A letter dated June 21, 1935 from Dr. Bethune to Professor Jones demonstrated her pleasure at Jones's performance in establishing extension classes in Gainesville. She stated, "My dear Mr. Jones. We wish herewith to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, lists, report and remittances covering the Gainesville Extension Classes. May we thank you for the very splendid work you have done in these classes."<sup>43</sup> By utilizing summer coursework and extension courses as a mechanism to advance each faculty member's individual development, Lincoln was able to produce a stable staff of professional educators from the various pathways of teacher certification and pre-service education.

### **Region-Wide Professional Development: The Secondary School Study**

During this same period, national organizations, such as the Association for Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (ASSCN), were beginning to direct their energies toward strengthening school-based faculty development practices, primarily in African American secondary schools. One large effort that grew out of this was the Secondary School Study, which took place from 1940-1948. In 1939, the ASSCN sought and received grant funding from the General Education Board (GEB) to coordinate a study for African American secondary schools that would be similar to the

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<sup>42</sup> "Correspondence Regarding FAMC Extension Coursework 1945-1946 School Term," n.d., Box 13, FAMU - FAMU Extension Course- Correspondence. 1930-1947, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>43</sup> Mary McLeod Bethune, "Correspondence from Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune," July 21, 1935, Box 5, Correspondence. 1928-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

previous Eight-Year Study for white schools financed by the GEB in the preceding three decades.<sup>44</sup> Both studies were experiments in incorporating progressive education.<sup>45</sup> In 1940, sixteen secondary schools were chosen to participate in the study with the support and assistance of college deans, teachers of education, state Jeanes supervisors, state Negro high school supervisors, state agents, and members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACS). This study of secondary schools would span eight years.<sup>46</sup>

The purpose of the study was to assist high school teachers and administrators in experimenting with their administrative, curricular, and instructional practices by reviewing the problems of African American high schools, providing a means for each school to study its own particular challenges, and finding ways for schools to share those experiences with other schools. One major outcome of the secondary school study was a surge in the use of research-based faculty study as a means of solving problems regarding the teaching practices of African American faculties.<sup>47</sup> The lessons of the Secondary School study caught on in African American teacher practice, and the efficacy of the approach was studied. In a 1945 issue of the *Journal of Negro Education* (JNE), William H. Brown reported a study of “workshop-type” professional education

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<sup>44</sup> Craig Kridel, Robert V. Bullough Jr, and John I. Goodlad, *Stories of the Eight-Year Study* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), <http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9780791480250/>.

<sup>45</sup> Craig Kridel, “Progressive Education the Black High School: The General Education Board’s Black High School Study, 1940-1948” (Report, Columbia, South Carolina, 2013).<sup>46</sup> W. A. Robinson, “A Co-Operative Effort among Southern Negro High Schools,” *The School Review* 52, no. 9 (November 1, 1944): 532–42, doi:10.2307/1081232.

<sup>46</sup> W. A. Robinson, “A Co-Operative Effort among Southern Negro High Schools,” *The School Review* 52, no. 9 (November 1, 1944): 532–42, doi:10.2307/1081232.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

that occurred with 200 principals and teachers from Southern states. The study found that professional development study workshops increased voluntary professional reading and inspired the formation of professional committees, which would study important phases of life in the school and make recommendations.<sup>48</sup> Lincoln used the recommendations of the Secondary School Study to create the largest professional development undertaken at the school to date, their Faculty Study Program, which is addressed later in this chapter.

### **Statewide Professional Development in the Florida State Teachers Association**

As part of this collective drive toward enhanced professional education, The Florida State Teachers Association (FTSA) provided multiple opportunities for teachers to remain abreast of current trends, engage in collective learning, and marshal their efforts to advocate for high quality African American education. FTSA was the primary professional organization for African American teachers and principals within the state.

A. Quinn Jones maintained membership in the FTSA from his years as a student at FAMC. In 1931 at the FTSA Annual Meeting, he led the section related to high school development in Florida.<sup>49</sup> Jones's extensive participation in FTSA provided an opening for other faculty members. In fact, he is credited with furnishing much of the historical material from the early years of the association for a book entitled *History of the Florida State Teachers Association*, written by Professors Gilbert L. Porter and Leedell W.

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<sup>48</sup> William H. Brown, "An Experimental Study of Workshop-Type Professional Education for Negro Teachers," *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (1945): 48–58, doi:10.2307/2292773.

<sup>49</sup> "Correspondence Regarding High School Section, FSTA Annual Meeting 1931," 1931, Florida State Teachers Association. 1920-1959, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Neyland.<sup>50</sup> The A. Quinn Jones Collection at the George A. Smathers Library of the University of Florida attests to Professor Jones's continued participation in the FSTA. It contains numerous issues of the Professor's personal copies of *The Bulletin*, FSTA's periodic publication. The Black Archives Research Center at FAMU also contains FSTA materials from Jones's personal collection.<sup>51</sup> By 1936, the entire Lincoln faculty became members of the FTSA, each paying the \$1.00 dues for membership.<sup>52</sup>

As chapter 2 has shown, African American educators organized a sophisticated system to disseminate ideas, practices, and agendas from and within national circles to regions and throughout the southern states. FSTA was a powerful voice of the state's educators. Its roster of presidents and executive secretaries were a veritable who's who in African American education: including James Weldon Johnson, Nathan B. Young, Mary McLeod Bethune and Gilbert L. Porter. FSTA used two main mechanisms to organize its members and disseminate information: a recurring publication called *The Bulletin* and an annual conference open to all teachers in the state.<sup>53</sup>

The *Bulletin* was a vast conservatory of materials for practice and organizing. It contained articles on current trends, research, practices and challenges facing the field, as well as commentaries, reports, and other publications. By reading the *Bulletin*,

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<sup>50</sup> Porter and Neyland, *The History of the Florida State Teachers Association*, 11.

<sup>51</sup> "Florida State Teachers' Association Materials," , Leedell W. Neyland Collection, The Black Archives Research Center, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College.

<sup>52</sup> "Florida State Teachers Association Membership Dues, Lincoln High School, 1936," 1936, Box 11, Florida State Teachers Association Membership Dues- Lincoln H.S. 1936, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>53</sup> "Florida State Teachers Association Bulletins," n.d., Box 11, Florida State Teachers Association. 1937-1953, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

teachers were kept abreast of critical dates regarding summer and extension coursework, and other programs of interest for African American teachers.

The *Bulletin* served as a key mechanism to call teachers to action and discuss issues related to the specific needs of African Americans. For instance, in 1937, two years after Du Bois argues for the inclusion of African American history in *JNE*, E. Delorus Preston, Jr., Dean of Edward Waters College, in Jacksonville, Florida authors a commentary on “Teaching Race Appreciation Through Negro History” in the *Bulletin*. In it he states, “The teachers of Negroes should effect a method whereby Negro History is so taught as to enable the Negro student or pupil to grasp the importance of his race in world affairs and in the development of the United States. The past deeds of the Negro should be exposed to the eager and scrutinous eyes of Negroes attending school in order that they might learn something different about their race from that which they read in the average History.”<sup>54</sup>

Beyond disseminating these collective ideas to Florida’s African American teachers, the *Bulletin*, motivated teachers to act in pressing collective pursuits such as the salary equalization lawsuits within the state. Hear the strong call to action issued to teachers by the FSTA president, Edward D. Davis in 1943: “I should like to call the attention of every Negro teacher in the sixty counties which have not and are not now in the process of having their salaries adjusted; the fact that the LAW is clear on this point. The longer you wait in the matter, the longer you continue to “Donate” hundreds of thousands of your well earned money to other sources.”<sup>55</sup> As chapter 2 has shown,

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

Florida's teachers took an early and lead role within the salary equalization movement, and although the cases levied by Florida's teachers in the 1930s did not result in victory, the association remained firmly committed to continuing this battle and urged Florida's teachers to stand in agreement.

During the early 1940s, WWII brought unprecedented change to the nation and to the state. It affected Florida's teachers individually—as teachers were drafted into service, and as a collective unit. The war and the focus on securing freedom abroad created a rallying cry across the nation as African Americans called for freedom at home—it emboldened an outraged public, and veterans who were dying abroad and at home. WWII presented an uncommon opportunity for African American educators to reflect upon their role in the democracy, in safeguarding the nation, and in demanding their rights at home. These themes and related ideas emerge repeatedly through the *Bulletin*. Hear Edward D. Daniels again, as he presents a letter to teachers in 1943. This letter opens the *Bulletin* in the column, *A Message from the President*. Daniel states, “This war is being fought for the ‘freedom of the world’. We, as members of America’s largest minority group, must fight consistently for freedom in America.”<sup>56</sup> Daniel continues to remind teachers of their obligation to teach students democratic principles, continue to fight for their profession and expand educational opportunities in each county. He concludes with, “In the final analysis, we are simply contending for genuine democracy.” This theme of contending for true democratic participation and access was a refrain that echoed from each level of African American educational networks.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

Lincoln used the *Bulletin*, and the annual conferences of FSTA extensively to create unique and effective faculty professional mechanisms. Participation in FSTA annual conferences provided an opportunity for staff members to hear and learn from acclaimed national leaders and efforts. For example, in 1939, Ambrose Caliver presented the same address to Florida's teachers at the annual FSTA conference in Ocala, Florida that he presented to the national NATCS audience. The address, discussed in Chapter 2, was entitled for the Florida audience as "The Philosophy of the Negro Teacher, What It Is and What it Should Be."<sup>57</sup> In this way, Caliver reached an ever-growing audience with his message to use African American education as a testing ground for revolutionizing American education. In that same annual conference, W. A. Robinson from Atlanta University described the efforts of the Secondary School Study to the Florida audience. In the next five years, this effort continues to be reported on updating teachers on its progress, benefits and implications.<sup>58</sup>

### **Faculty Professional Development at Lincoln High School 1940-1950**

In accordance with the trends of these national and regional efforts, Lincoln engaged in extensive faculty professional development efforts during the decade of the 1940s. Their system of professional development was incredibly sophisticated. It took the recruitment efforts of the 1930s and transformed the staff into an integrated body of professionals deploying leadership synergistically and simultaneously. At Lincoln, professional development occurred through three interrelated structures: whole faculty study and development, departmental study, and individual teacher development. The

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

next section describes these three efforts and their effects on the school as an organization and as a faculty.

### **The Faculty Study Program**

Whole faculty development occurred through Lincoln's Faculty Study Program. The Faculty Study Program emerged in 1940. It operated as a organized course of curriculum study which took place over the school year. Each year, Lincoln's staff selected a theme and approached that theme from various vantages discussing topics related to curriculum, school administration, student needs and demographics, and teacher pedagogy and preparation. The Faculty Study Program incorporated the recommendations of the Secondary School Program by creating a democratic teacher-led process of inquiry that was site specific. The program engaged teachers as leaders, empowering them to rise to the occasion as professionals and agents of change within the school and the culture. In the following pages, Lincoln's Faculty Study program for the school terms 1940-1941, 1942-1943, and 1944-1945 are showcased and examined.

LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL  
GAINESVILLE, FLA.  
1940-41

Faculty Curriculum Study Group Program

Theme: MEETING THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHILD  
AS A MEANS OF SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRACY.

DATE	TOPIC AND REFERENCE	LEADER
1940		
November 4,	*WHAT THE HIGH SCHOOL OUGHT TO TEACH* American Youth Commission, 36 pp.	Daphne A. Duval
" 18,	*STUDYING THE CHILD*--Nineteenth Year- book National Elementary Principal, Chapter II.	Princ. A.Q. Jones
December 3,	*COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMS OF INDIVIDUAL GUIDANCE*--Nineteenth Yearbook, Na- tional Elementary Principal, Chapter III.	Rosetta Taylor
" 8,	*HEALTHFUL SCHOOL LIVING*--Florida's School Health Program, Bulletin 4, Part III.	Lula H. Strachan
" 9,	*HEALTH SERVICE*--Florida's School Health Program, Bulletin 4, Part IV.	Marion Burgess
" 16,	*PROBLEMS WHICH CHALLENGE FLORIDA SCHOOLS*--WAYS to Better Instruction in Florida Schools, Bulletin 3, Chapter II.	Lillian H. Tolbe
" 16,	*TENTATIVE POINT OF VIEW*--WAYS to Better Instruction in Florida Schools, Bulletin 3, Chapter III.	Mary L. Parker
1941		
January 6,	*HEALTH INSTRUCTION*--Florida's School Health Program, Bulletin 4, Part V.	Teresita Funder
" 6,	*SUGGESTIONS FOR EVALUATING THE SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAM*--Florida's School Health Program, Bulletin 4, Part VI.	T.B. McPherson
" 30,	*AIDS IN DEFINING A SCHOOL'S OBJECTIVES* WAYS to Better Instruction in Florida Schools, Bulletin 3, Chapter IV (Please turn over to next page)	B.F. Childs, Jr.

Figure 4-3 Faculty Study Program, 1940-1941.<sup>59</sup>

LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL  
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA  
1942-1943

TEACHERS' MEETING PROGRAM

Theme: Educating for National Defense and Making Here Real the American Way of Life

DATE	TOPIC	LEADER
1942		
October 5	"Formulating Faculty Study Program."	All Teachers
October 19	"Formulating Faculty Study Program." (Continued)	All Teachers
November 2	"Arithmetic from Grade One through Nine."	Mrs. Daphne A. Duval Miss Eloise L. Duff Mrs. Grace W. Willis Mrs. Mattie A. Head
November 16	"How Science and Mathematics in Lincoln High School."	Mr. J. F. James Miss E. A. Hensley Mrs. Mark H. Johnson
November 27	"Ways and Means of Developing an Effective Physical Fitness Program."	Mr. J. N. McPherson Mrs. S. C. Kelly Mrs. I. V. Holt Mrs. L. W. Strachan Miss H. L. Marshall Mrs. A. P. James
1943		
January 4	"How May Scholarship Be Improved in This School?"	Mr. F. W. Roberts Mrs. Rosetta H. Taylor Mrs. Marie H. Smith
January 18	"Teacher Rights vs. Students' Rights and Methods of Supervising Disciplines."	Mrs. Rosetta H. Taylor Mrs. E. A. McCallum Mrs. H. L. Hensley
February 1	"The School as a Means of Creating Good Citizenship."	Mrs. W. F. Duff Mrs. A. C. Realy
February 15	"Who Is to Blame for the Present Attitude of the Child -- the State, the Teacher or the Parent?"	Mr. Robert Strachan Mr. G. T. Cook
March 1	"The Teacher's Duty to the Community."	Mrs. F. H. James
March 15	"Ways in Which Our School Peak Our Community- Value in the Community." "Summary and Evaluation."	Mrs. Martha H. James Mrs. E. H. Strachan Mr. J. F. Childs, Jr. A. Quinn Jones, Principal

Figure 4-4 Faculty Study Program, 1942-1943.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> "Faculty Study Programs," n.d., Box 4, Administrative Files. 1945-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

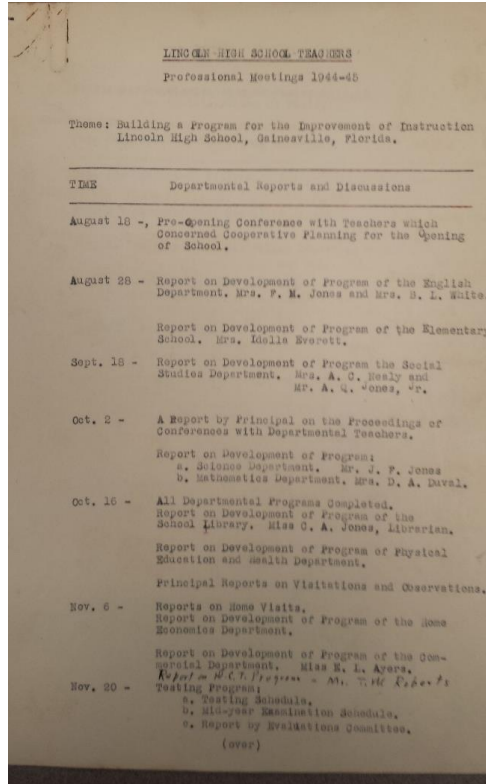


Figure 4-5 Faculty Study Program, 1944-1945.

For the school term 1940-1941, the faculty's theme was "Meeting the Special Needs of the Individual Child as a Means of Safeguarding Democracy".<sup>61</sup> This theme reflected the nation's preoccupation with the impending threat of war on the brink of World War II. The theme also mirrored FSTA's theme of safeguarding democracy for the same year.<sup>62</sup> The format of the faculty study program for the first year included a presentation by a faculty member on some aspect of curriculum development, departmental development, or child or youth developmental needs. For example, on

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "Florida State Teachers' Association Bulletins," Box 11, Florida State Teachers Association. 1937-1953, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

May 17, 1941, faculty member Emma L. Williams presented the topic, “Providing for Children of Superior Ability” to the staff. The faculty study program indicates that Chapter Five of the National Elementary Principal’s Nineteenth Yearbook was used as a source of information for Williams’s presentation.<sup>63</sup> This text was published by the National Education Association (NEA). The NEA was the national white teachers association; it did not allow African American members. Yet the information contained within the association was vital for practitioners and administrators. Although Lincoln’s faculty could not attain membership they circumvented this obstruction to knowledge using the materials to craft their own study and supplementing the materials with those of African American educational networks that spoke to their circumstance and unique potential.<sup>64</sup>

During the school term 1942-1943, war continued as a theme. The stated theme was “Educating for National Defense and Making More Real the American Way of Life.”<sup>65</sup> However, in the same way that FSTA used the theme of war to advance the rights and opportunities of African Americans at home, Lincoln used this theme to infuse the school with that consciousness. The topics addressed by staff members included “teacher rights v. students’ rights”, “citizenship and the school” and other issues related to academic improvement, teacher development, and classroom management. This year’s study was more specific, and more organized. Instead of individual presentations that were drawn from other publications as in the prior year’s

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<sup>63</sup> “Faculty Study Programs.”

<sup>64</sup> *The National Elementary Principal* (National Association of Elementary School Principals., 1922).

<sup>65</sup> “Faculty Study Programs.”

study, faculty worked together in small groups to present on topics that they generated, drawing their information from an assortment of research publications. For instance, on November 16<sup>th</sup>, three faculty members presented “More Science and Mathematics in Lincoln High School” as a topic for study. In this year’s study, Lincoln’s faculty practices a deeper inquiry based reflective practice immersed within the context of the school.

By 1944, Lincoln’s Faculty Study Program seemed to have hit its stride. The theme for the year was “Developing a Functional Program for Lincoln High School.” The year’s curriculum for faculty study was straightforward; each month, one department reported on its program and its progress toward development of the program. The 1944 faculty study marked a shift of ownership concerning the process of faculty study. The school began to use the study program to focus inward on its own departmental and whole-school goals, empowering faculty members to chart a course towards those ends.

By 1946, Lincoln was focused on mastering challenges that remained. One issue that surfaced during this time was standardized assessment. The theme for 1946-1947 was “Evaluating Certain Areas of the Educational Program of Lincoln High School,” and the year was spent largely focused on incorporating measurable objectives and assessments into teaching and learning.<sup>66</sup> In 1945, for the first time, district-wide standardized achievement tests were administered in Alachua County. The following year’s faculty study program dealt comprehensively with the results of those tests. These standardized achievement tests were part of a two-year survey of education

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

conducted by the Florida Citizens' Committee on Education.<sup>67</sup> The Stanford Achievement Test was administered at the fourth grade, eighth grade and to the few eleventh- and twelfth graders in African American schools, the Cooperative Achievement Tests were administered. Although Lincoln's students were still behind the white norm, they outperformed the median for African American students across the state, who were approximately two years behind at the eighth grade.<sup>68</sup>

The following is from Lincoln's Faculty Study Program in 1947. That year, Lincoln High School expanded its Faculty Study Program further by cooperating with two African American elementary schools within the county, Williams Elementary School and Duval Elementary School.

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<sup>67</sup> Helen Harris Bracey, "The Education of Negroes in Florida," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (1947): 340–46, doi:10.2307/2966340.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

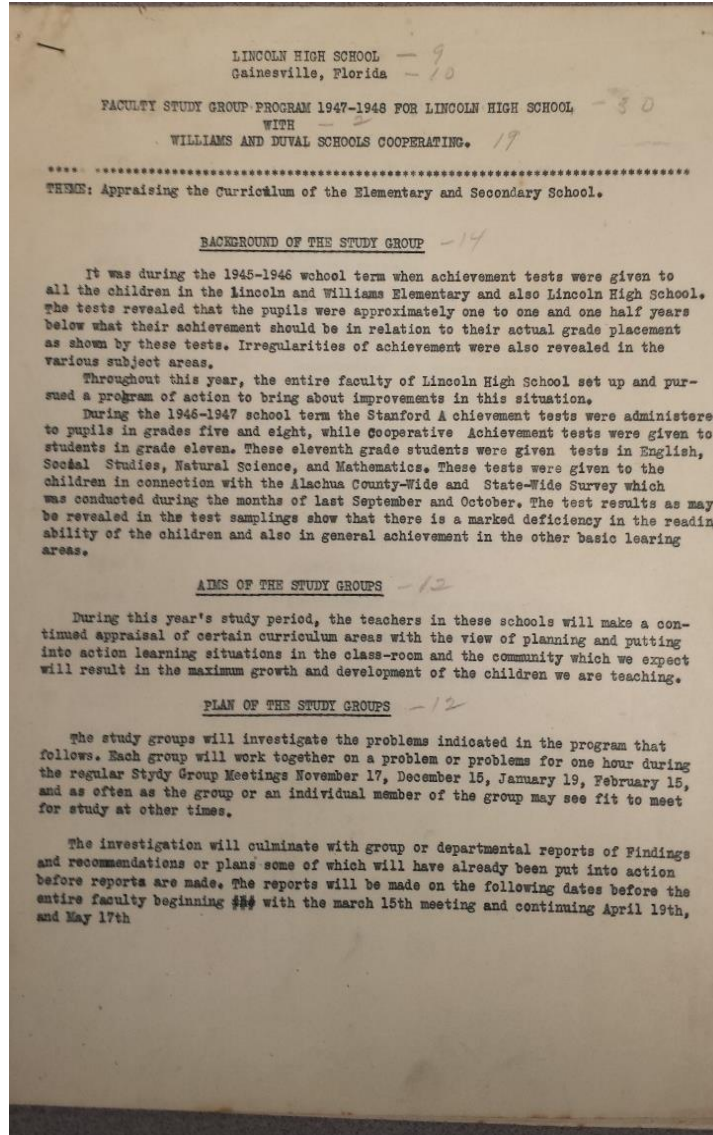


Figure 4-6 Faculty Study Program, 1947-1948.<sup>69</sup>

Lincoln took the lead. The faculty devised that year's student program to address student weaknesses on the preceding year's standardized achievement tests and then extended an invitation to the two other schools to participate in the Faculty Study Group

<sup>69</sup> "Faculty Study Programs."

program. Students in each of the schools demonstrated similar weaknesses, with their achievement “approximately one to one and one half years below what their achievement should be in relation to their actual grade placement.”<sup>70</sup> The document, constructed by Lincoln’s educators, was a well formed plan of action. It indicated that teachers were to assess certain areas of the curriculum, “with the view of planning and putting into action learning situations in the classroom and the community” which were expected to result in the maximum growth and development of the children.<sup>71</sup>

Lincoln’s leadership across the three schools’ joint faculty study efforts indicated that the district and the other schools had confidence in Lincoln’s abilities to remediate the African American students in the district who were part of this pivotal study and exam. Based on the prior seven years of faculty studies, Lincoln’s faculty had become adept at teacher-led investigations intended to solve problems of practice.

Over the decade, Lincoln’s faculty study program became more proficient in developing a course of professional study derived from professional knowledge and specific to the needs of the school. This increased competency was most likely a result of repeating the effort, gaining insight from the Secondary School Study in progress across the South, and learning from the recommendations being made by the schools participating in that program. Progress related to the Secondary School Study was reported yearly at national and regional teachers’ conferences<sup>72</sup>. Since Lincoln High School in Tallahassee, Florida was a participant in the study under the leadership of

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<sup>70</sup> Bracey, “The Education of Negroes in Florida,” 1947, 343.

<sup>71</sup> “Faculty Study Programs.”

<sup>72</sup> Robinson, “A Co-Operative Effort among Southern Negro High Schools.”

Principal Gilbert L. Porter, past president of the FSTA, Lincoln High School in Gainesville surely remained aware of the study's progress and on-going findings.<sup>73</sup>

The faculty study program was structured to engage teachers in systematic professional development through repeated contact in diverse areas of school administration, departments and subject areas. One outcome of faculty study was the provision of real-time data. The research generated by the faculty on particular areas of teacher practice and student performance could be incorporated within individual classrooms, with the assistance of departmental efforts and subject area focal points. This created a unified staff working toward the same goals of instruction and performance. In addition to whole faculty study, departments incorporated the faculty study into their content specific work, conducted ongoing meetings to plan and developing curriculum, and revise curriculum based on the findings of the faculty on going group efforts.<sup>74</sup> This was inquiry practice at its best.

### **Departmental Faculty Development**

Lincoln maximized its organizational structure to develop and disseminate the ideas and processes of professional development. Subject area departmental meetings were used as times when fellow faculty members could analyze problems of practice together from the perspective of their subject and curriculum. For example, the following figure details a Lincoln High School English departmental memo from February 19, 1946 that shows the team members were investigating the findings from the previous

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> "English Departmental Group Conference, February 19, 1946," n.d., Box 8, Teachers, Guidance, Schedules, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

year's achievement tests and incorporating them into curriculum development within the school's high school English department.

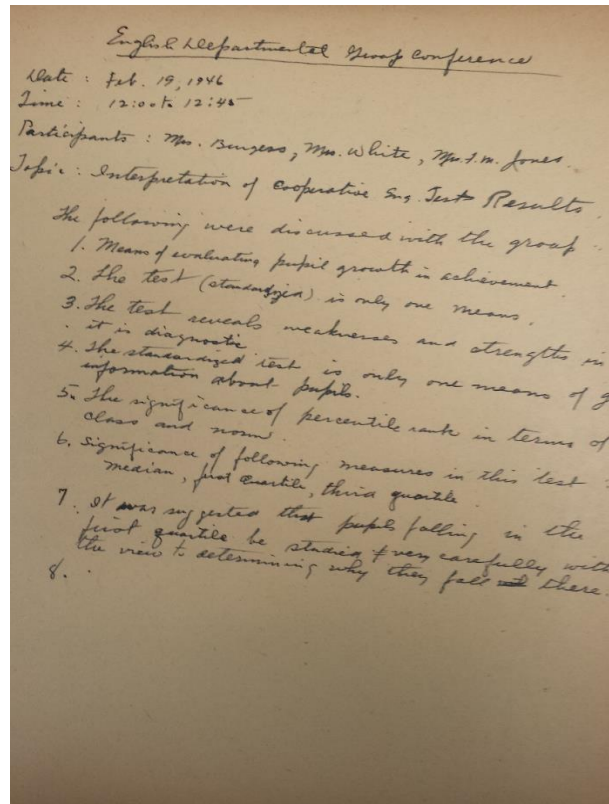


Figure 4-7 English Departmental Group Conference, February 19, 1946.<sup>75</sup>

The topic of the meeting was Interpretation of the Cooperative English Test Results. At the English department's meeting, the focus was on using the achievement tests results as a diagnostic for teacher practice, to ascertain which units of the curriculum needed strengthening and to identify the qualities of students falling within the lower quartiles of test results so as to remediate them. Included in the day's conference was a tutorial (presumably by the department head) on how to correctly interpret the data, including a discussion of relevant terms, such as median, first

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

quartile, third quartile, and percentile rank. The note-taker for the conference clearly stated the oft-repeated teacher response: “The standardized test is only one means of gathering information about pupils.”<sup>76</sup> In the 1940s, Lincoln’s faculty was already grappling with how to incorporate standardized assessments into an effective vibrant teaching practice.

Faculty professional development at Lincoln was an inquiry-based method to address the concerns of the school democratically and concertedly. Over the decade of the 1940s, Lincoln’s staff consistently noted and responded to trends of practice, issues existing within the larger society, and the needs of students. In doing so, Lincoln’s teachers honed their individual professional practice, acquired professional education, and emerged from the decade as a strong group of individual and collective leaders equipped with strategies, skill, and perseverance.

### **Individual Teacher Conferences**

In addition to whole faculty professional development, and departmental study, Professor Jones also supported teachers through individual coaching by teacher observations, reflections and conferences. Figure 4-8 below is one example of many teacher observations contained in the A. Quinn Jones Archives.

In each observation, the Professor’s remarks followed a general order and format: comments regarding the classroom’s physical environment, comments on student engagement (including specific notations regarding off-task students or behaviors), comments on pedagogy, and then additional remarks about areas needing

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<sup>76</sup> “English Departmental Group Conference, February 19, 1946,” n.d., Box 8, Teachers, Guidance, Schedules, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

further attention. For example, in a 1942 observation of Miss Murrell, the Professor remarked that although the general appearance of the classroom was acceptable, the teacher should make efforts to “make it more attractive. Probably a few more potted flowers might add to the general surroundings.”<sup>77</sup> While this attention to detail might seem insignificant, it is not. This school was to model for how life should be, and what it should look like. Jones wanted to ensure that his teachers knew how to embody those values within the material environment.

In other observations, Professor Jones remarks were more centered on the use of pedagogy by the teacher. For example, he remarked that a seventh-grade English teacher was to be commended on his motivating lesson on letter-writing for the “natural situation” that was the focus of the lesson. In other words, the teacher had students practice the procedures and content of writing formally by creating an authentic opportunity for students to write letters. In other observations, after providing specific points for improvement, the Professor invited the teacher to schedule an individual conference with him to discuss the area further. It is evident that the Professor’s engagement with staff was personal and individualized.

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<sup>77</sup> “Teacher Observation,” n.d., Box 4, Administrative Files. 1945-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Miss Carolyn Parker - Pl. Geom. class -  
Friday, Nov. 17, 1939 - 10:30 A.M.

Your pupils were orderly and courteous  
I find that all were interested and  
gave close attention to everything which  
was going on. Some students gave attention  
but seem not to have the tools to work  
with. One student was a recent entrant. What  
can she do?

Your work seems to be well planned!  
I note the periodic checks on pupil mastery a  
change in the use of progress books. This is  
a commendable feature. These checks will also  
relate pupil activity.

I visited your classroom # 12 a few  
days ago. The general appearance was fair. But  
flowers might add to its appearance. I noticed  
evidence of class work in the room. You are  
 urged to continue worthwhile displays. The  
general appearance of classroom could be  
improved. There were bits of paper on floor.

I shall visit you again soon. I shall be  
glad to confer with you at your convenience  
at which time if there are problems which you  
desire to take up with me, I shall do what I can  
to help you may I look over your curriculum. Feel free  
to call with me. A.P.A. 11-17-39

Figure 4-8 Plane geometry Class, Teacher Observation, November 17, 1939.<sup>78</sup>

For faculty members at Lincoln High School during the 1930s-1940s, the era must have been incredibly demanding and fast-paced. Based on their participation in summer school and extension coursework, faculty members clearly maintained a high level of commitment to the school and its mission. Through their willingness to participate in these activities, the faculty emerged from the 1940s as a strong and cohesive unit of professionals who had successfully met the challenges to educate African American students beyond the limitations conscribed by a racist society. In a time when this type of education was rare in the segregated southern education system, Lincoln stands as an example of a successful school for African American students. As

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

the next chapter will show, Lincoln's accelerated trajectory of development would continue through 1955. During the '30s and '40s, the courses and curricular tracks that emerged grew into distinct departments, providing a wider range of students with employment and vocational options beyond high school.

## CHAPTER 5

### GUIDING STUDENTS TO OVERCOME SUSTAINED RACIAL OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION: THE EXPANSION OF LINCOLN'S SECONDARY SCHOOL

By 1930, the national and regional African American networks and association had achieved measurable success in their efforts to widen and strengthen the southern African American educational system. From the later 1930s through 1955, national and regional associations turned their attention to increasing economic and professional opportunities through education. Although building projects were increasing the number of elementary and secondary schools throughout the rural South<sup>1</sup>, and teacher preparation was improving, post-high school occupational opportunities remained an abiding dilemma. African Americans were continually held back from their chances to obtain opportunities and employment due to their entanglement in a web of racial oppression, expressed as discrimination in occupational fields and labor practices and depressed wages. African American leaders engaged these topics by collecting data on employment rates, overt and covert discriminatory practices, and legislative responses to racial employment in discrimination.<sup>2</sup> At the same time as they pursued this course of directly challenging authority and exposing these issues, they also strengthened the African American educational system through curricular recommendations, reports, and region-wide professional development, building pathways to circumvent these

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<sup>1</sup> Rury and Hill, *The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980*.

<sup>2</sup> See Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*, 1938; Robert C. Weaver, "The Employment of the Negro in War Industries," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (July 1, 1943): 386–96, doi:10.2307/2293058; Chas. H. Thompson, "Editorial Comment: The Fair Employment Practice Act Temporarily Shelved," *The Journal of Negro Education* 15, no. 2 (April 1, 1946): 129–33; Willard S. Townsend, "Full Employment and the Negro Worker," *The Journal of Negro Education* 14, no. 1 (January 1, 1945): 6–10, doi:10.2307/2292768; John Hope, "The Employment of Negroes in the United States by Major Occupation and Industry," *The Journal of Negro Education* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 1953): 307–21, doi:10.2307/2293203.

obstacles. High school and post-secondary vocational education and guidance programs emerged to provide training opportunities and apprenticeships. These opportunities allowed students to develop their abilities in skilled labor occupations and equipped them with the knowledge and guidance to assertively and strategically seize collegiate and employment opportunities.

With a focus on the provision of guidance to broaden students' post-high school opportunities, Professor A. Quinn Jones began doctoral study at New York University in 1936. Jones's choice to attend an elite university to continue his professional development and education was common among select African American school principals; in the aggregate, such choices strengthened the entire southern black education system.<sup>3</sup> Using the knowledge from his studies and drawing upon other resources that engaged the issue, Jones led the high school faculty through a series of adjustments that altered teachers' roles and duties, the school's offerings, and its curricular tracks. Chapter 5 examines the revamping of teacher roles and the changes to the curricular and departmental offerings at Lincoln High School that occurred from the late 1930s through 1955. By combining various strategies learned through African American education networks with Jones's educational expertise and local specific knowledge, the Lincoln High School community aided students in navigating the myriad pathways into post-high school opportunity and employment.

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<sup>3</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

## **The Need for Vocational Education, Training, and Guidance for African American Youth**

As the post-Depression economy developed, rapid shifts in occupations and occupational training occurred across the nation. Because most African Americans in the South were employed in manual labor, the effects of these swift changes were acute. As Anderson shows in his 1988 book, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, one effect of racial oppression was that industrial opportunities designated for African Americans were constantly in a state of flux depending on the state of the southern economy. Anderson states, "In periods of economic prosperity this meant that 75% of southern black workers were farm workers, day laborers, and laundry women. . . In periods of economic repression, however, many of these workers, particularly in the urban South, were pushed downward, and long-standing 'Negro jobs' became 'white jobs.'"<sup>4</sup> For African American workers, the concept of "Negro jobs" essentially disappeared during the shortage of work in the 1930s as white workers organized to take over manual labor positions and forced employers (often using violence) to hire exclusively white labor forces.<sup>5</sup> Yet skilled labor positions and professional employment opportunities for African Americans required significant preparation that was lacking within the education system.<sup>6</sup> To counter all this, it was vitally important to provide vocationally focused educational experiences that strategically taught African American

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<sup>4</sup> Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 1988, 229.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*, 1938; C. H. T., "Editorial Comment: A Neglected Phase of Vocational Education Among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 1938): 1-4.

students how to consider and enter into emerging occupations as much as was possible, given the restrictive regime.

In 1937, Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes in the U.S. Office of Education, called attention to the problems associated with employment and occupational opportunities for African Americans through a survey of vocational education within high schools and colleges.<sup>7</sup> Two major conclusions emerged from Caliver's study. The first was that urgent and widespread improvement was needed in every area of vocational education for African American students. He noted that funding was essential for more high school vocational education programs that would feature better facilities, more modern occupational coursework, and highly trained teachers. The second conclusion was that fully functioning guidance programs were needed to accompany each program in order to support students in making strategic decisions regarding educational and occupational opportunities.<sup>8</sup> Caliver noted that guidance programs were sparse and inadequate in African American high schools, and recommended, "That, as rapidly as possible, schools for Negroes institute a definite program of guidance in charge of qualified persons, beginning with the junior high school grades and continuing through college."<sup>9</sup> During the 1940s, under Professor Jones's direction, Lincoln's secondary school division instituted the thrust of Caliver's recommendations.

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<sup>7</sup> Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers. Bulletin*, 1933, No. 10. Volume IV, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*, 1938.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

## **Lincoln High School's Vision for Guidance and Vocational Education**

This increasing attention given to guidance and vocational education by national and regional African American networks resonated with Professor A. Quinn Jones. Thus, he began doctoral studies at NYU, focusing on guidance education in secondary schools. Although he did not complete this degree, he engaged in sustained coursework that increased his professional knowledge and provided an opportunity to assess the local situation. In 1936, Jones wrote two guidance-related term papers. The first was entitled "The Role of Administrative Officers and Guidance Specialists in their Relation to the Advisory Function of the Classroom Teachers," and the second was entitled "The Supervision of Guidance."<sup>10</sup> Each honed his expertise in providing leadership to the local school.

As part of his doctoral studies, Jones submitted to his professors a Guidance Plan for Lincoln High School that would shape the secondary school's course of action over the next decade. The Guidance Plan identified local trends in employment and presented data on student outcomes for the previous decade. These data showed that only a small percentage of Lincoln's graduates were pursuing college; the remainder were pursuing occupations and jobs immediately. Jones wanted to ensure that the education students received at Lincoln would prepare them with the knowledge, skills, and savvy to navigate the occupational worlds they would encounter. So he proposed an addition to the pedagogy of the school: instruction in decision-making and

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<sup>10</sup> "NYU Course Materials 1936."

occupational skills that would improve these students' post-graduation outcomes and provide more concerted support for their educational decision-making.<sup>11</sup>

Just as Caliver's study was propelled by the increasing complexity in the nation's occupational terrain and social order, Jones's guidance plan also incorporated this national context as an impetus for the school's new direction. In the plan, Jones states, "A guidance plan should be put into this school for the following reasons: 1. Because of the increased complexity of the social order. 2. Because of the rapidity of the change of the social organization. 3. Because of the changing characters of sanctions as determined by the home, the community and the church."<sup>12</sup> Jones also considered the occupational context for African Americans in the region, including analyses of data related to Gainesville's African American population rates and available industries within the region. Jones analyzed the range of agricultural, domestic, and professional businesses in the county, noting that, "The people in the town engage in truck farming, processing Tung Oil, creosoting lumber...while a fair percent of the population engage in business enterprises and professional service."<sup>13</sup> These data helped Jones predict future occupational opportunities for his students.

The Guidance Plan described student outcome data, revealing high school graduation patterns and their implications. Each year, the number of graduates had increased, beginning with the original eight students in 1926.<sup>14</sup> The plan, written in

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<sup>11</sup> A. Quinn Jones, "Guidance Plan," n.d., Box 8, Teachers, Guidance, Schedules, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Guidance Plan

<sup>14</sup> Jones, "Guidance Plan."

1937, indicated that on average, Lincoln was graduating about 35 students per year at that time. Of those graduates, approximately 10 percent matriculated to college. For this small rural school to achieve this matriculation rate during the 1930s was laudable; Lincoln's secondary school population had effectively achieved Du Bois's vision of preparing a talented tenth for college education and community leadership.<sup>15</sup> However, Jones noted that the school needed to significantly expand its options, especially for those students not seeking college entrance, while improving its practices to better support those who would.

Before this focused plan, Lincoln's high school curriculum was essentially a precollegiate program, preparing students with the assumption that they would attend college. That program of study included four years of English, four years of Latin, three years of science, three or four years of social studies, four years of math, and physical education.<sup>16</sup> Gradually, during the 1930s, additional courses were added to the curriculum in accordance with the professor's plan to augment postgraduation paths. Two of the first courses that were added were home economics, taught by Mabel Dorsey, and woodworking, taught by Thornton Roberts. Chapter 4 described Dorsey's recruitment to the faculty and the beginnings of the home economics department in the 1930s. The home economics and woodworking courses provided opportunities for young women and men to attain employment immediately after high school as domestic workers and tradesmen in the local economy. Although this was a modest step toward

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<sup>15</sup> Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*.

<sup>16</sup> Fouche, A. Quinn Jones and Daphne Duval Williams.

Lincoln's ambitious goal for fuller life opportunities for its graduates, it would soon be followed by more prolific course offerings.

### **The LHS DCT Program**

The Lincoln High School Diversified Coordinated Training Program was the first full-scale departmental addition to the school's liberal arts curriculum. In 1942, Professor Jones hired Thornton Roberts as the Diversified Coordinated Training (DCT) coordinator for Lincoln's secondary school division. Roberts graduated from Lincoln High School in 1929 and was a business owner in the African American Fifth Avenue District. As a faculty member, Roberts advocated for students to gain work-related skills as part of their education. In his autobiography, Jones notes that Roberts was "very enthusiastic, efficient and a relentless agitator for vocational training at Lincoln."<sup>17</sup> The DCT program that Roberts coordinated was part of a larger effort underway within the southern region.

Regionally, DCT programs were established in July, 1933, when C.E. Rakestraw, a regional agent for trade and industrial education, met with vocational educators from across the south to establish a plan for vocational training in high schools.<sup>18</sup> At the time, across the south, DCT programs were segregated by race, as were all educational offerings. A 1949 study of Florida's white DCT programs provided the background for the program.<sup>19</sup> The purpose of DCT was to assist high school students with the transition between school and full-time employment, but it did not exclude those going

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<sup>17</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003, 73.

<sup>18</sup> Roy F. Bergengren, "A Study of Florida's Diversified Cooperative Training Program" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1949).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

to college. At the time, many students earned a portion of their college expenses through the trade they had acquired in the DCT program.

Enrollment in DCT programs was limited to eleventh- and twelfth-grade students. Students gained credits toward graduation as part of the regular high school framework. Students spent half of their school day taking courses and the other half at a job site. In a typical program, the school portion of the day included two periods focused on academic subjects that fulfilled requirements for graduation and two periods in the DCT classroom studying material related to work. The other half-day was spent working in a place of employment. The employer provided training and the students were provided the same pay scale as other employees and were expected to follow the same rules. Employers working with the DCT program recognized that students were in training and created a 1000-hour schedule of training for the student apprentice. DCT's aim was to provide training in skilled labor positions that would require approximately 1000 hours of training to learn. The program was financed in part by the Smith-Hughes Act and the George-Barden Act.<sup>20</sup>

In order to be eligible for DCT programs, the administration of the local high school had to apply to the state Department of Education and present a plan for the local DCT program. The plan proved that they had the ability to support the DCT program within the local community. A DCT program needed the fiscal infrastructure to support the program, and had to be able to maintain extensive relationships with occupational leaders outside of the school.<sup>21</sup> Hence, Lincoln's ability to secure a DCT

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<sup>20</sup> Roy F. Bergengren, *A Study of Florida's Diversified Cooperative Training Program*, 1949.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

program speaks to its sound administrative governance and to the depth of the relationships between the local African American business community and the high school.

As the DCT coordinator, Roberts's role was pivotal to the success of the program. His duties included surveying the occupations represented in the community, soliciting and interviewing potential students for the program, publicizing the program to business and community leaders, selecting students, and employing partners. One of Roberts's first tasks was to alter Lincoln's physical infrastructure to provide classroom space that would be adequate for instruction in trades. Jones noted that Roberts volunteered his time to make these adjustments. With the assistance of several students, he altered an old woodshop into the school's first vocational education classroom and made other necessary additions to begin instruction in carpentry, cabinetwork, tailoring, agriculture, and auto mechanics.<sup>22</sup> These were the first trades offered within the school's DCT program.

### **Other Early Expansions in Coursework**

After Lincoln began offering the DCT program, it added typewriting and business mathematics classes. Thus, by 1945, students had the ability to select additional course offerings in home economics, typewriting, and business mathematics, or to enroll in the DCT program during their junior and senior year. Each of these courses had specific vocational aims and potential real-life economic consequences and benefits. By the school year 1949-1950, Thornton Roberts had become the department head for vocational and industrial education at Lincoln, and the range of vocational coursework in

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<sup>22</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003.

the high school had grown to include arts and crafts, mechanical drawing and  
woodwork, vocational agriculture, tailoring, business education, food and related  
courses, clothing and related courses, and DCT. Lincoln's administration strove to  
ensure that it provided a parallel course of study in informed decision-making to  
accompany the variety of options it was providing. The records of these vocational  
options are housed within a set of documents entitled "Vocational and Industrial Arts  
Courses."<sup>23</sup> The documents begins by stating, "Having the full conviction for the need of  
Industrial Education in the general school program in order to give a fuller educational  
value to the student for the making of better citizenship or better living, we attack the job  
of constructing this course."<sup>24</sup> Within the document, each industrial or vocational track is  
described and addressed. The aims and objectives of each course are provided, and  
the sequence of coursework over the duration of the program is addressed in detail. For  
example, the aim of the division of arts and crafts was to "offer opportunity through a  
variety of experiences, tools, and materials representing many industries and crafts;  
with emphasis being placed upon exploration and participation rather than skill and  
efficiency."<sup>25</sup> The coursework for this particular division included freehand drawing,  
sketching, and charcoal drawing in the first year, proceeding to rubbercraft, woodcraft,  
clay modeling and metal projects in the second year. Lincoln's industrial and vocational  
program provided students with a wide range of exploration in a large variety of applied

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<sup>23</sup> "Lincoln High School Vocational and Industrial Courses, 1949-1950," n.d., Box 6, Guidance Counselors. 1949-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

settings to ensure that students had the experience to make informed decisions regarding their occupation of choice.

### **Extensive Reorganization in the Secondary School Division: Four Curricular Tracks**

By 1949, Lincoln had developed substantial vocational educational offerings providing students with four different curricular tracks. Figure 5-1 below, entitled, “Lincoln High School Curricula,” is from the 1949-1950 *Teachers’ Handbook*. It presented the courses offered within each curriculum track and noted that “pupils are advised to follow Curriculum I, II, III or IV for all three years of senior high school.”<sup>26</sup> While students were required to choose a specific track by tenth grade, a diverse assortment of vocational, artistic, and recreational courses were offered, beginning in the seventh grade. In the school year 1949-1950, in addition to the required courses, the school offered science and the home living (home economics), shop and industrial arts, agriculture, directed library reading, and music for students in seventh through nine grades.<sup>27</sup> Thus, a mature level of decision-making for these young high school students was imperative.

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<sup>26</sup> Lincoln High School Curricula

<sup>27</sup> Tentative courses offered during 1949-1950

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULA

GRADE TEN	GRADE ELEVEN	GRADE TWELVE
<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM I</p> Physical Education English Social Studies Biology Algebra	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM I</p> Physical Education English Social Studies(Hist.) Chemistry Spanish or Germ.	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM I</p> Physical Educat English Social Studies Mathematics Spanish or Phys
<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM II</p> Physical Education English Social Studies Biology Home Economics or Agriculture	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM II</p> Physical Education English History Chemistry Home Economics or Agriculture	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM II</p> Physical Educat English Social Studies Mathematics Home Economics Agriculture
<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM III</p> Physical Education English Social Studies Biology Spanish or Hist.	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM III</p> Physical Education English History Home Economics and Bookkeeping Typewriting	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM III</p> Physical Educat English Social Studies Physical Science Typewriting
<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM IV</p> Physical Education English History P.E.	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM IV</p> Physical Educat English Social Studies P.E.	<p style="text-align: center;">CURRICULUM IV</p> Physical Educat English Social Studies P.E.

NOTE: 1. Pupils are advised to follow curriculum I, II, III, or IV throughout the three grades in the senior high school.  
 2. The typewriting class must be limited to twelve or fifteen pupils.

Figure 5-1 Lincoln High School Curricula, 1949-1950.<sup>28</sup>

Within the upper grades of the high school, each curricular track was structured to prepare students for different outcomes postgraduation. Curriculum I was the precollegiate track, providing students with advanced studies in science, mathematics, and languages. Curriculum II was the home economics and agriculture track, intended to prepare boys for work in farming and agriculture and girls for domestic labor or

<sup>28</sup>"Lincoln High School Curricula," n.d., Box 5, Curriculum, Faculty, Budget, etc. 1928-1958, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

homemaking. Curriculum III was the business track, with advanced coursework in business mathematics, typing, and bookkeeping. Curriculum IV included the Diversified Cooperative Training program. A range of courses at each grade accompanied each curriculum. During this time period, Lincoln's faculty expanded significantly to include a number of new subject area teachers in various departments.

As the programs of study diversified, the requirements for graduation from the high school also became more complex. In the 1949-1950 school year, the requirements for graduation included seventeen and one-half or eighteen credits for graduation (down from eighteen in 1940). The required coursework for graduation also changed dramatically. It included:

- Four units of English, three units of social studies (one of which had to be American History and Government);
- One unit of mathematics;
- One unit of biological science;
- One unit of home economics( only for girls);
- One unit of physical science above ninth grade (this could be met through physics, chemistry, two units of agriculture, two units in shop or trade [DCT], or one unit of industrial arts);
- One and one half or two units of physical education;
- Units of a foreign language could also be substituted for one unit of social studies.

This sophisticated set of graduation requirements necessitated that students stay abreast of their course of study and their pace toward graduation. Teacher and administrative guidance were essential to the success of the school's new direction.

One way that Lincoln codified its rules and policies was through the use of handbooks. Teacher handbooks were widely disseminated at the school during the

1940s, with student handbooks emerging in the mid-1950s. Figures 5-1 and 5-2 below are images from various versions of the *Lincoln High School Teacher Handbook*. The first figure is the hand-drawn cover of the 1947-1948 *Lincoln High School Teacher Handbook*. The 1947 *Teacher Handbook* was the earliest copy of a handbook available from the A. Quinn Jones Archives. This copy of the handbook is peppered throughout with Jones's editorial remarks prior to its final printing. The second figure is the cover of the 1957-1958 *Lincoln High School Teacher Handbook*.

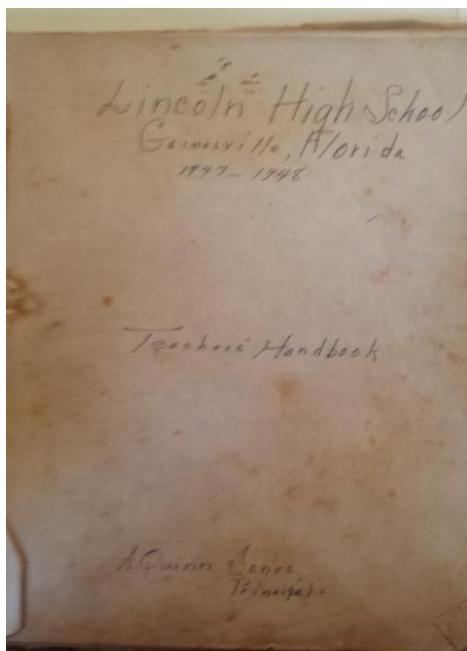


Figure 5-2 LHS Faculty Handbook, 1947-1948.<sup>29</sup>

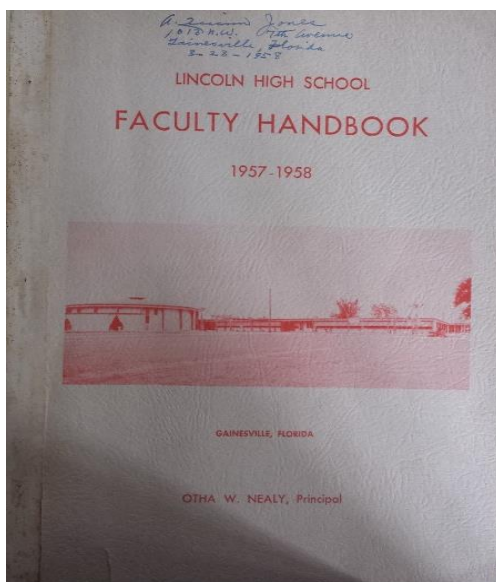


Figure 5-3 LHS Faculty Handbook, 1957-1958.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> "Lincoln High School Teachers' Handbook 1947-1948," n.d., Box 8, Teachers' Handbook 1947-1948, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>30</sup> "Lincoln High School Faculty Handbook 1957-1958," 1957, Box 6, Faculty Handbook. 1957-1958, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Both faculty and student handbooks presented information that explained school protocols and procedures, including school hours, the school calendar, and school rules. Given the increasing complexity of the school's curriculum, this information was essential for parents and students. School rules for students included behavioral expectations and consequences for infractions. The school's attendance policy and guidelines for participation were also addressed in the handbooks. Both handbooks provided requirements for graduation from Lincoln's high school and specific requirements for academic awards and other graduation distinctions. During the 1940s and 1950s, teacher handbooks evolved substantially to reflect the school's sophisticated system of professional development, curricular development, school regulations, student rules and teacher rules.

### **Formalizing Lincoln High Schools Aims into A School Philosophy**

The first item in both handbooks was the school's philosophy statement. This statement presented beliefs regarding the processes of education and enumerated Lincoln's responsibilities related to those beliefs. It was an explicit articulation of the aims for education discussed in Chapter 3, and reflected Lincoln's core values: to provide a variety of life experiences to enrich students' heads through academic preparation, their hands through recreation, vocational, and artistic preparation, and their hearts through spiritual and civic preparation. The 1947-1948 *Teachers' Handbook* demonstrated a commitment to these aims. The philosophy statement began by affirming a belief in education as a life process in which the school's responsibility was to provide, "life situations of a versatile nature... which will enable them [students] to be worthy citizens, living abundantly in our immediate community in particular, and our

country generally”.<sup>31</sup> Beyond this statement of belief, the philosophy statement attended to the specific responsibilities that the school shouldered to meet the needs of students.

These specific responsibilities were encapsulated in eleven focal objectives. The set of objectives in the school’s 1947-1948 philosophy statement were taken directly from the guidance plan developed by Jones<sup>32</sup> and reflected this emphasis on student guidance and vocational education. Seven of the eleven objectives focused on the role of the school in developing students’ skills, proclivities, and knowledge to assist them in strategically navigating the decision-making that would be necessary in their future lives. In an age of changing work-related opportunities, Lincoln wanted to ensure that students were equipped with increased sophistication in academics, postsecondary education, and occupational training and employment.

As part of these eleven objectives, the school identified its responsibility to “help pupils set up situations for themselves to enable them to choose intelligently and help them delay choices until adequate information is obtained.”<sup>33</sup> Here we see the Professor’s aim for education echoed. He underscores the school’s role in maturing students adequately so that they are able to enter into the adult (and the segregated) world carefully and wisely. These focal objectives repeat the curricular ideas discussed in Chapter 2. In the same way that Daniels notes that African American public high schools must provide experiences that compensate for the deficits within the larger social order, the focal objectives note that Lincoln High School’s responsibility is to

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<sup>31</sup> “Lincoln High School Teachers’ Handbook 1947-1948.”

<sup>32</sup>Jones, “Guidance Plan.”

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

“offer try out experiences, when possible, in activities which present themselves to him for choice.”<sup>34</sup> Lincoln’s aim was to operationalize Daniel’s suggestions by cultivating an environment where students could have opportunity: the ability to experiment, the chance to learn how to make sophisticated choices, and the time and space to find out what was best for them personally.

### **Teaching Teachers to Guide Students**

To operationalize these objectives, the secondary school teachers needed skills and knowledge related to teaching decision-making, as well as a more robust knowledge of the post-high school terrain. Therefore, significant professional development efforts focused on this aspect of the teacher’s role. Lincoln’s Faculty Study Program during the 1940-1941 school year included two sections of professional development related to guidance. On December 2, 1941, the faculty assembled to study the text, *Comprehensive Programs of Individual Guidance*, taken from the Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Elementary Principal. On February 17, 1941, the topic of study was “Guidance: Ways to Better Instruction in Florida Schools.” Moreover, school records show that Lincoln established a Guidance and Discipline Faculty Committee to support the development of skills for this new role.

One mechanism that LHS utilized to provide guidance and counseling was the creation of homeroom classes. Records from the era show that the majority of teachers serving in the secondary school division were responsible for teaching a homeroom class. Within white public education, homerooms had emerged during the 1920s, and

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<sup>34</sup> “Lincoln High School Teachers’ Handbook 1947-1948”; Daniel, “The Aims of Secondary Education and the Adequacy of the Curriculum of the Negro Secondary School,” July 1, 1940.

by the 1950s most high school programs included homerooms to provide guidance counseling and foster a culture of connectedness.<sup>35</sup>

An article in a 1950 issue of the National Association of Secondary School Principals' Bulletin suggests that homeroom guidance should include guidance to "assist those going to college to choose the one [curriculum] which will best fit his needs. It includes vocational guidance, helping the student to select a career best suited to his abilities and interests. It also includes advice on personal development, social ability, spiritual and moral values, recreation, and other problems with which young people are constantly faced."<sup>36</sup> However, the institution of homerooms was rare in African American schools during the time. Caliver's study in 1937 urged African American high schools to build guidance programs, as only 35.5 percent of the African American high school pupils surveyed participated in guidance activities.<sup>37</sup> A later study by Boykin in 1948 continued to draw attention to the absence of guidance programs and vocational education in African American high schools. Boykin notes that, "Despite the findings of the [Caliver Study], it does not appear that fundamental changes have been instituted in Negro secondary schools and colleges to better prepare Negro youth to meet effectively the technological changes that were and are taking place in our industrial life."<sup>38</sup> Lincoln's foresight in providing homerooms as a mechanism for guidance was rare for African American schools during the 1940s.

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<sup>35</sup> Grayson Kefauver and Robert Scott, "The Home Room in the Administration of Secondary Schools," *The Teachers College Record* 31, no. 7 (1929): 624–41.

<sup>36</sup> Gerald M. Van Pool, "Chapter XIII The Home Room," *NASSP Bulletin* 36, no. 184 (1952): 150–56.

<sup>37</sup> Caliver, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers. Bulletin, 1933, No. 10. Volume IV, 1933.*

<sup>38</sup> Leander L. Boykin, "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negro Youth in a Changing Social Order," *The Journal of Negro Education* 17, no. 1 (1948): 44, doi:10.2307/2966079.

Figure 5-4, entitled Home-Room Guidance Activities for Class Sponsors or Advisors in the Junior and Senior High School, was prepared by Lincoln's administration and given to high school teachers. It lists the duties of the homeroom teacher related to guiding students.

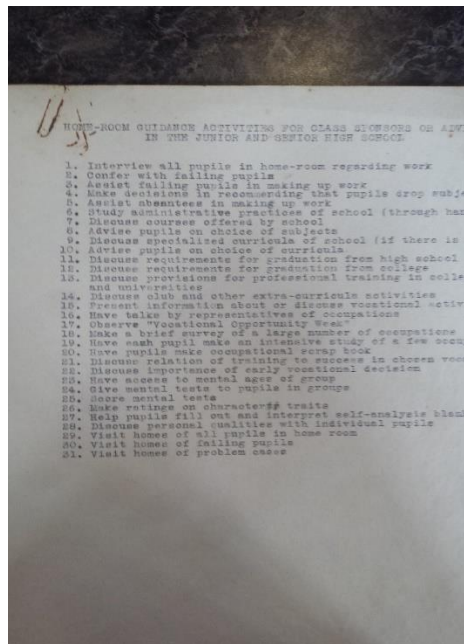


Figure 5-4 Homeroom Teacher Responsibilities and Activities.<sup>39</sup>

The list of thirty-one activities in Figure 5-3 indicates the full range of teachers' duties related to guidance and counseling. Four categories of duties are apparent: duties related to school protocols, procedures, and requirements; duties related to testing; duties related to student performance or failing/challenging students; and duties related to vocational education. This cluster of duties was intended to support students in making informed choices regarding their course of study. For instance, homeroom teachers' guidance regarding protocols, procedures, and requirements prepared

<sup>39</sup> "Home-Room Guidance Activities List," n.d., Box 8, Teachers, Guidance, Schedules, etc. 1945-1949, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

students to navigate the opportunities and choices they faced should they matriculate. In order to provide a uniform orientation to the various rules and policies of the school, Lincoln's administration also required teachers to lead students in studying the school's handbook. Thus, homerooms served as a time to inculcate students into the norms, expectations, and practices of the school with the assistance of peers and teachers.

The second set of teacher duties regarded testing. As intelligence tests became more prevalent in schools, Lincoln began to incorporate them as a diagnostic measure. Professor Jones noted that mental tests were incorporated with other measures—pupil abilities, interests, home background, strengths and weaknesses, previous experiences, and likes and dislikes—to create a portrait of data that assisted student decision-making regarding course selection at the high school and for subsequent vocational opportunities.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the school administered a student self-analysis measure that allowed students to explore and discover their personal qualities. Students and their families made decisions related to their academic path and were provided guidance and support by teachers and administration to make educated, informed, and responsible decisions. The duty of the teacher was to administer mental ability tests, score them, and interpret the results for students.

The third set of duties related to coaching students who were struggling. This ensured that an adult at the school monitored each student's academic progress. Teachers interviewed homeroom students regarding their academic assignments, conferred with failing pupils, and visited their homes. Teachers were instructed to "assist failing pupils in making up assignments," indicating that Lincoln cultivated an

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<sup>40</sup> Jones, "Guidance Plan."

environment where students were supported to succeed through the provision of multiple chances.<sup>41</sup> However, in cases where mismatches existed between students' abilities, interests, and preferences in courses, teachers were instructed to aid students in making decisions regarding dropping a subject.

The fourth set of duties, those related to vocational education, required that teachers have a great deal of knowledge related to various vocations and that they connect with professionals and those in occupations in the local community. Teachers presented information about vocational activities occurring at the school and observed Vocational Opportunity Week. They invited representatives of various occupations into the homeroom class to inform students of options and explore potential occupations. They also presented a brief survey of occupations and had each pupil make an intensive study of a few occupations. Additionally, teachers discussed the training required by various vocations so that students could structure their plan of study in the high school accordingly.

Mabel Dorsey, graduate of Lincoln's 1939 class, who returned as an elementary teacher in 1944 and established the school's home economics department, described her actions counseling students to Joel Buchanan in her interview. She stated, "They came to me for problems."<sup>42</sup> The problems included concerns about other teachers, selecting courses, and small things like assistance in selecting clothing for school performances or activities. Dorsey provided examples of the kinds of support that she provided to students on minor matters of professional and appropriate dress. When

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, 23.

speakers or dignitaries visited Lincoln, students were expected to dress with some measure of formality to receive the visitor. Dorsey helped the students to prepare. She explained, "I was able to tell them, now remember Jesse Jackson is coming here tomorrow. Now, you don't embarrass me."<sup>43</sup> Dorsey asked students about their wardrobe choices and if, in her opinion, they were inappropriate, she would suggest choices that were more appropriate. Dorsey provided other examples of her guidance to students in matters unrelated to their academic performance. She stated, "[They] had so many problems. They were crying on my shoulder, some days they were hungry, you would give them money to eat. If it was a prom coming up and they did not have a dress to wear, I would say I will buy you a new dress."<sup>44</sup>

As the first generation of professionals within the community, the role of African American teachers in modeling the standards and mores of professionalism to students and families was extensive. Often the teacher was the only reservoir of knowledge and financial resources that students could draw upon in making social and occupational choices. Both parents and students were counting on teachers to instill this knowledge in students for the future of the community.

John Dukes, Jr.'s life and history serves as a prime example of the kind of adult Lincoln aimed to produce. Dukes's path after graduating from Lincoln is marked with accolades and success. He attended Lincoln High School from 1941-1945, at the height of the school's professional development activities and curricular restructuring. After his graduation and a stint in the army, he attended FAMU, attaining both a bachelor's and a

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 22.

master's degree. He returned to Lincoln as a high school mathematics teacher, and then became principal of the school. Later, he served as the Assistant Superintendent of the Alachua County School Board. In his interview with Buchanan, Dukes attributed his success in navigating post-high school decision-making to the education he received at Lincoln. Dukes highlighted specific teachers who served as key mentors during his development. Moreover, he described the staff as a whole group of role models who, through constant and personal interactions and relationship building, provided students with nuanced knowledge and direction on a range of information beyond the content area in which they taught. Dukes states, "The teachers were really our parents. They acted just like your parents. They were genuinely concerned. They provided guidance; they did not leave anything to chance."<sup>45</sup> This notion of "not leaving anything to chance" was, indeed, the aim of Lincoln's increased focus on guidance and decision-making. For Dukes, this diligence reaped the intended benefits.

The addition of guidance, homerooms, and curricular tracks at Lincoln necessitated expansions in the school's departmental structure. For example, Lincoln did not have a guidance department until 1950. At that point, it became a formal part of the structure of the school. The next section describes the additions to the school's organizational structure through committees and departments that developed from the late 1940s through 1955.

### **Departmental Developments and Growth**

Lincoln High School's organizational structure became more sophisticated as the school's curricular offerings increased. Faculty members were organized into

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<sup>45</sup> Buchanan, John Dukes, Jr.

departments within the elementary school and high school based on subject area. In addition to the departmental structure, a committee structure supported the operations of the school and the various departments. Each department was led by a department head, and each committee was led by a chairman. The departments and committees shouldered some of the administrative and governance responsibilities and duties for the school.

In the 1947-1948 school year, there were eleven departments. They included:

- English, which was headed by Frederica M. Jones and employed three teachers;
- History and social studies, which was headed by A. Q. Jones and employed two teachers;
- Home economics, which was headed by Mabel Dorsey (Strong) and employed two teachers;
- Mathematics, which was headed by Daphne Duval and employed three teachers;
- Science, which was headed by J. Franklin Jones and employed four teachers;
- Physical education and health, which was headed by T. B McPherson and employed four teachers; and
- Vocational and industrial training, which was headed by Thornton V. Roberts and employed six teachers.
- The Library was headed by Cornelia Jones and employed three teachers.
- An additional department, co-curricular activities, was headed by John Franklin Jones and employed three teachers.

In some cases, teachers served in two or more departments as they taught an assortment of subjects.

In addition, teachers served on standing committees designed to handle nonacademic functions of the school. Standing committees included registration and classification, music, public relations or community relations, and public programs,

including sub-committees for decorations, ushers, auditing, commencement, grounds and buildings, visual aids, and guidance. These committees were made up primarily of faculty members but also included community members, parents and advisory board members.

In 1950, Lincoln expanded its focus on student guidance by establishing its first guidance department with the hiring of Anna Cooper Nealy as the school's first guidance counselor. Anna Cooper Nealy had joined the Lincoln faculty in 1942, first serving as a fifth-grade teacher and then as an English instructor within the secondary school. In an interview with Joel Buchanan, she discussed her choice to change career paths and become the school's first guidance counselor. While providing guidance through Lincoln's homeroom guidance program, Nealy found that she was stimulated by the role. She states, "Now, I tell you what encouraged me to get my counseling [degree]. It really started as a vocational thing, you know, encouraging students to select the right careers . . . So I felt as if I could do a little more. I could help in a better situation, individuals, if I went into counseling."<sup>46</sup> Nealy attended New York University, attaining a master's degree in counseling in 1949. The next year, her duties were split evenly between teaching and counseling. By 1951, Nealy's position as guidance counselor was full time. Nealy's primary role as guidance counselor was to support students in planning their academic and occupational futures, given the emergence of new opportunities for African Americans. She states, "Before, the only thing Negroes could do was teach if they wanted to go to college, and I could see that other areas

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<sup>46</sup> Joel Buchanan, Anna Cooper Nealy, July 25, 1985, 7, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

were opening up.” With the support of its new guidance department, Lincoln was able to better support students’ decision-making, host college recruiters, and provide for students’ interpersonal and social needs.

Other departments, such as Lincoln’s music department, were significantly expanded during this period to maintain a focus on student’s “hands” and “hearts” through artistic, recreational, vocational, and spiritual preparation. In 1946, Jerry Miller joined the faculty as the first full-time music instructor and director of the music department. Under his direction, all students in the junior high school were required to take a music class. Miller established Lincoln High School’s much acclaimed marching band.<sup>47</sup> Through donations, Miller raised over \$1,400 in funds and secured donated instruments to equip a forty-member marching band.<sup>48</sup> In 1947, the band gave its first concert. Each student was dressed formally “in white shirts, white pants, black shoes and black tie.”<sup>49</sup> The Lincoln High School Band performed regularly for the community at local parades, homecoming and commencement activities, school football games, and school performances. In 1951, Geraldine Fields joined Jerry Miller in the music department as choral director. Jerry and Geraldine were married in 1961. Under their combined direction, Lincoln’s music department was an outstanding and prolific department, regularly competing in vocal and instrumental competitions across the state and achieving high honors.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Joel Buchanan, Geraldine Y. Miller, February 6, 1986, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>48</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>50</sup> Buchanan, Geraldine Y. Miller.

In addition to these diverse curricular offerings, Lincoln continued to expand the depth of its co-curricular and afterschool activities. Band and choral practices extended into the evening hours, and were combined with other sports activities such as basketball, tennis, and swimming. Lincoln's Mighty Red Terriers Football team continued their stellar record of wins, playing under the direction of Athletic Director T. B. McPherson until 1949. At that time, the Red Terriers boasted an impressive record of 222 wins, 13 losses and 22 ties.<sup>51</sup> The next coach, Mr. Jesse Heard continued McPherson's tradition of excellence and continued the winning streak. Under the direction of Mabel Dorsey, the home economics department continually supported all of the recreation activities of the school by providing meals for the traveling football team and other teams.

Due to the consistent course of improvement and expansion that Jones and faculty had pursued, by 1955, the old Pleasant Street location of Lincoln High building was bursting at the seams, teeming as it was with life-giving activities. The professor's successful efforts toward increased guidance, extensive vocational education, and diverse curricular tracks had successfully expanded departments, course offerings, and activities at the school. Graduation rates had continued to increase and by 1955, seventy-two students were taking part in the extensive commencement activities.

Lincoln's success was intrinsically related to the strong system of faculty professional development during this period, as described in Chapter 4. Without the leadership of a highly trained and dedicated faculty, each department could not have expanded to its potential. This faculty engagement was supported by the efforts of

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<sup>51</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011.

larger African American professional development structures that the Lincoln faculty participated in and benefitted from. Chapter 5 has shown that Professor Jones's own professional development through advanced study at New York University also significantly impacted the direction of the school. Jones's focus at the time of his graduate studies drew directly from the focus of the larger national African American educational leadership at the time, equipping Jones to come back to Lincoln and meet the challenges of preparing African American boys and girls to navigate adulthood with as much skill and poise as was possible.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

For five decades, Lincoln High School altered the lives of African American young men and women by creating and sustaining an institution that prepared students to be agents of change in the adult world. At a time when education for African Americans was contested and academic institutions were inadequate, the teaching pedagogy and organizational efforts of Lincoln High School overcame many of Jim Crow's limitations to provide students with a high school diploma from an accredited African American institution. In addition, the school exposed students to a wide variety of vocations and social, civic, and cultural opportunities, guiding students into full participation within democratic life. Lincoln High School was an accomplished educational institution: a nurturing safe haven, teeming with life and dreams, in the midst of a hostile world.

### **Case Summary**

This work has examined three sets of questions about African American segregated institutions. Together, these three sets of questions illuminates how African Americans conceived, perceived and negotiated education during de jure segregation. It has considered their particular aims for education, and their processes for achieving those aims despite the existence of dominating counter narratives and systemic oppression. It has shown that the pursuit of an expansive educational experience was pervasive, existing within national, regional and local spheres such as Lincoln High School. As Figure 6-1 below shows, Lincoln's accomplishments and activities align with the activities and accomplishments of African American educator networks during this era. More precisely, Lincoln's activities were integrally related to these larger

movements. In a very real way environments like Lincoln were the very foundation that made the larger movement possible (by educating future leaders, teacher educators and the local African American community at large), yet Lincoln could not have achieved such an education were it not for the leaders, associations, and networks on which it relied. Interdependence and community collective goals were paramount to African American educators' entire process of advancement.



Figure 6-1 African American Educator Pursuits and Professional Development

Lincoln’s achievements and trajectory were characterized by perseverance and collective participation. To form the institution, Lincoln’s advisory board partnered with faculty, parents, students, and community members to create a thriving institution. Then, through participation in regional and national networks, Lincoln’s administration and faculty acquired strategies and knowledge to administrate and govern effectively, despite faulty school board oversight. Together with the community, they supplemented the school’s allotted funding to provide teacher salaries for an extended school term and

all of the necessary materials to become a high-quality liberal arts institution. During the 1930s-1950s, the educational efforts of the administration and faculty were sustained through continued participation in professional development and in-service teacher education that enabled them to develop a stable body of committed professionals in an era when African American teachers were scarce.

### **Aims and Philosophies**

This work first set of questions engaged the aims of education and school philosophies that guided the pursuits of Lincoln High School from 1921 to 1955. Lincoln High School's implicit and stated aim was to equip students with the knowledge, dispositions, and skills required to thrive as adults in a complex and antagonistic world. In the school's formative years (1921-1931), this aim was implicit within the school's goals, pursuits, and trajectory of growth. Later, this aim was explicitly stated within the school's mission and philosophy statement.

Lincoln's distinction is that in using a larger network to assist with its pursuit of a high-quality K-12 institution, it attained these aims much earlier than other African American schools in the South and in the state of Florida. For example, in the school year 1919-1920, only 33,341 African American students across all seventeen segregated states were enrolled in high school at all.<sup>1</sup> Nine years later, in Florida, only 3% of African American students were enrolled in high school.<sup>2</sup> By that time, 53 students had already graduated from Lincoln High School; in the next decade, the total number of Lincoln graduates would rise to 737.

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<sup>1</sup> Walter G. Daniel, "Availability of Education for Negroes in the Secondary School," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 3 (July 1, 1947): 450–58, doi:10.2307/2966354.

<sup>2</sup> Helen Harris Bracey, "The Education of Negroes in Florida," *Journal of Negro Education*, 1947, 340–46.

Given that context, Lincoln’s achievements during its first decade—securing and financing an adequate building, expanding grade level coursework to encompass a full high school program, and achieving state accreditation in 1926—demonstrated a concerted effort of perseverance and ambition on behalf of the African American community.

### **Associations and Mechanisms**

The second set of questions examined the visible associations between Lincoln High School and African American educator networks operating during Jim Crow. The aims directing Lincoln’s pursuits were not conceived in isolation. They were influenced by the collective thoughts, discussions, and actions of African American scholars and educators working within their respective spheres of influence at the time. These scholars and educators began to coalesce into networks at the turn of the century. They emerged to move the agenda of southern African American education forward “as a result of [the] exclusion” of African American educators from white teacher associations.<sup>3</sup>

The roles of these networks and those operating within them were crucial. They strategically engaged problems of practice and system-wide obstructions to African American education that local teachers otherwise would have had to overcome in isolation. These strategies, such as the formation of advisory boards, often required African American educators to act with subterfuge and subtlety to find pathways around white obstructionists. Lincoln High School successfully enacted the recommendations of one such network, NATCS, in establishing its public high school program. Thus, Lincoln

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<sup>3</sup> Vanessa Siddle Walker, Edmund Gordon Keynote Address, Columbia University 2014.

High School's advisory board propelled the school on an early path to success, well prior to the arrival of Professor A. Quinn Jones.

In fact, in accordance with the strategies disseminated by NATCS, Lincoln's all-African American advisory board acted as the de facto administrators of the school for more than two decades. Board members conscientiously administrated and managed the affairs of the Union Academy from the late 1890s until 1921. By 1920, they had successfully devised a strategy to secure the funds to build a newer facility that could provide adequate space and materials for larger numbers of pupils. Simultaneously, they engaged in fundraising to extend the school term from six to eight months so that the subject material being taught could be covered adequately.<sup>4</sup> Both efforts were achieved. Finally, their actions in coordinating the recruitment process of a new principal and in soliciting the expertise of other African American educators in Florida was a skillful act of subterfuge. Had the advisory board not acted with such subtlety and skill, the candidate for the principalship would have been chosen by the white school board, and surely the trajectory of Lincoln High School would have taken an unwanted path.

A. Quinn Jones was a powerful pedagogue. Due to the Professor's advanced education, he was able to fill in educational gaps at the school so that Lincoln was able to achieve state accreditation. He continued to serve as the primary teacher for higher grade levels well up until the latter 1930s, in addition to his duties as principal. Thus, Jones's own educational experiences with other African American educators became a requisite component of Lincoln achievement of state accreditation.

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<sup>4</sup> Arthur O. White, "The History of Lincoln High: 'The Big Red': The Lincoln High School History Project, Written and Administered by Arthur O. White," accessed September 23, 2015, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00008787>.

Jones matriculated into an elite cadre of African Americans attaining college degrees in the early decades of the twentieth century. Thus, he was keenly aware of the dearth of African American educational opportunities available at that time, and embarked on a path to make a difference. Jones benefited from a sustained relationship with one of Florida's most vocal and active African American educators, Dr. Nathan B. Young, president of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. During Jones's studies at FAMC, Dr. Young maintained a visible role in the Florida State Teachers Association, and Jones was influenced to do the same. He continued his membership with FTSA throughout his career, drawing on the organization as a resource to support the development of Lincoln's faculty. Dr. Young also provided other visible kinds of mentorship to Jones. Jones maintained contact with Dr. Young for many years, drawing on his expertise to address specific challenges and maintaining general correspondence with his former professor.

During his early professional years, Jones also participated in other networks where he was mentored and advised. As a college student, he served as a field agent, collecting fees and circulating *The Crisis* magazine, the official publication for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He maintained a membership with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS), attending their national conference in 1924.<sup>5</sup> That year, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune was president of NATCS.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools Conference Documents, 1924," n.d., Box 5, Correspondence. 1928-1956, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Jones maintained a relationship with Dr. Bethune during the ensuing decades, drawing on her expertise and wisdom and participating in Bethune-Cookman's professional development opportunities for principals and faculties.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Bethune even came to Gainesville, speaking at Lincoln High School on February 23, 1940. During the 1930s, Professor Jones served as an instructor for Bethune-Cookman College's extension program under Dr. Bethune's direction, disseminating the wise leader's teachings to other African American teachers throughout the Gainesville region and using them to bolster the Lincoln faculty.

Through the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, regional and national networks of African American educators continually pioneered paths for local African American educators. They widened access to accreditation for African American schools, and made sure standards for accreditation were adequately high. They created a mechanism for the highly coveted status of regional accreditation with the birth of a new association: the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges for Negroes (the ASSCN). Together with the NATCS, the ASSCN strengthened access to and improved the quality of secondary and higher education for African Americans across the South in marked ways.

In the 1920s, we see these associations combine their efforts to become a formidable voice for African American southern education. By the 1930s, the ACNY rises to prominence, changing its name to the Association of Colleges and Secondary

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<sup>7</sup> "Correspondence from Mary McLeod Bethune Regarding Gainesville Extension Classes," n.d., Bethune Cookman College - Extension Classes- Bethune Cookman College. 1934-1935, A. Quinn Jones Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.; "'Summer Institute for Principals of Negro Schools in Florida' :: Central Florida Memory," accessed January 20, 2015, <http://digital.library.ucf.edu/cdm/ref/collection/CFM/id/69647>.

Schools for Negroes (the ASSCN), taking over the mechanisms for accreditation for African American colleges and secondary schools. Without the combined efforts of NATCS and the ASSCN, the African American teacher profession would not have expanded to meet the needs of the emerging elementary and secondary schools across the South. Thus, Lincoln High School would not have had the labor force to expand its program to the many boys and girls in the region clamoring for an education. Moreover, without the diligence and foresight of these African American educator networks, the entire southern system of postsecondary and K-12 African American education could not have progressed, firmly entrenched as it was in the mire of a racist agenda. As these networks grew in numbers and gained agency, they began to develop and enact policies and organizing to redirect the southern system of schools back to the original vision of the ex-slaves during Reconstruction: an expansive public education system of first-class institutions where students' minds, bodies, and spirits were educated to their highest potential.

### **Pedagogy and Professional Development**

The third set of questions about African American institutions examined the pedagogy of teachers and faculty professional development at Lincoln High School. Tintiangco-Cubales, Kiang, and Museus remind us that pedagogy is informed by the positionality, ideology, and context of the teacher in the larger social world.<sup>8</sup> Lincoln's administration intentionally cultivated strong beliefs in the ability of African American children, the school community's capacity to persevere in all of its endeavors (even in

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<sup>8</sup> Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, Peter Nien-chu Kiang, and Samuel D Museus, "Praxis and Power in the Intersections of Education," *AAPJ Nexus: Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders Policy, Practice and Community* 8, no. 1 (2010): v – xviii.

the face of great difficulty and sacrifice) and the faculty’s aptitude to successfully teach content. Lincoln’s pedagogy was an outflow of its aims for education. African American educators believed that the purpose of education was expansive: it prepared humankind for their responsibility in advancing human freedom, combatting oppression, and contributing good to the world, the nation, the group, and the community. Thus, they envisioned and crafted educational environments to pursue these aims. The purpose of pedagogy was to transmit and operationalize this vision into practice and experience. Figure 6-2 below summarizes the central features of Lincoln High School’s vision for education and the pedagogy used to enact this vision.

## Lincoln High School Aims, Vision, and Pedagogy

<p><b>The Aims of Education at Lincoln High School</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fulfilling full individual and collective human potential, furthering the good of humankind.</li> <li>• “The object of education is not primarily to fit students for becoming teachers, preachers, doctors, nurses or business men or of some other chosen profession but it is to make men and women.” A. Quinn Jones</li> </ul> <p><b>The Vision of Lincoln High School: An Education to Prepare Students’ Heads, Hearts, and Hands</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberal Arts Education- (Heads)</li> <li>• Spiritual, Leisure, and Civic Activities (Hearts)</li> <li>• Vocational, Recreational, and Social Activities (Hands)</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Transcendent Pedagogy of Lincoln High School Faculty</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Transcend=To go beyond the limits</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assumed <u>full human potential</u> and responsibility to <u>contribute and serve</u> humanity</li> <li>• Utilized a variety of instructional methods (e.g. direct instruction, experiential learning, cooperative learning)</li> <li>• Employed curricula (sequence and texts) that were expansive and culturally-situated</li> <li>• Bore the responsibility for maintaining a standard and practice of excellence and providing opportunity</li> </ul>
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Figure 6-2 Lincoln High School Aims, Vision, and Pedagogy

Lincoln’s pedagogy is demonstrated both by its collective pursuits, and within individual instances of teaching and learning. To create a cohesive and highly

functioning agentic cadre of teachers, the administration inculcated its aims and vision within teachers through its recruitment and retention efforts.

In the 1930s, the administration capitalized on its new degree-granting high school program by recruiting teachers from within its own ranks. This group of former students had learned the values that they were expected to embody throughout their enrollment as students. Lincoln's County Teacher Training Program provided these students with two years of additional schooling in which they learned the art of teaching. Although the County Training Program was intended to train teachers who would then produce a class of docile, servant laborers, Lincoln repurposed the program in a more liberal-arts vein. This education, under the direction of Professor Jones and, Daphne A. Williams (graduate of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College) stressed the right and duty of personal and collective agency.

Additionally, during the 1930s and 1940s, Lincoln extended access to the network of African American higher education institutions by serving as an extension site for Florida Mechanical and Agricultural College and Bethune-Cookman College in Gainesville, Florida. Professor Jones served as an instructor for both institutions, providing much coursework for practicing teachers at area African American schools who were striving to attain associate's or bachelor's degrees and unable to return to college full time. Through summer coursework and extension courses, many African American teachers who had entered the profession with less education attained higher education degrees. Moreover, these courses inculcated in teachers the same values, discussions, and pedagogical principles then being expressed by national and regional

African American educators, thereby providing valuable professional development opportunities to teachers on the ground.

Finally, A. Quinn Jones augmented his faculty by mentoring and advising his young high school graduates. He counseled students to attend specific colleges and universities, pursue specific career paths, and then to return to Lincoln to take over roles for which he anticipated salary lines and positions. Due to his counsel, a number of students acquired their bachelor's degree or master's degrees and then returned to Lincoln and served as faculty members, some for the duration of their careers. These recruitment practices and teacher education pathways combined to immerse the Lincoln faculty in the ideologies and practices of the broader network of African American educators at the time. In doing so, it equipped them to help their particular community of African American children to thrive academically, morally, and socially.

Professor Jones modeled the kind of professional development practice he expected from staff members by deepening his own practice. He applied his coursework in guidance education at New York University to create the school's first guidance plan. As a result of these combined efforts, four distinct curricular tracks were developed in the high school. Each track was intended to provide students with access to a range of postgraduate vocational or professional opportunities. To educate students to make wise decisions for their future lives, Lincoln established homeroom classes, where faculty members guided, supported, and counseled students. For this effort to be successful, Lincoln's faculty, made up of trained subject-area teaching experts, needed to learn a new set of skills in guidance and vocational and academic counseling. The faculty focused a considerable amount of its professional development activities on

learning to guide students to pursue a course of studies that positioned them to enter into full citizenship and a productive career.

Lincoln's focus on vocational education, guidance, and academic specificity was influenced by national African American educators who were amplifying this as a concern. As the Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes for the U. S. Office of Education, Ambrose Caliver was arguably the most visible African American educator of the era. His 1937 study of vocational education and guidance for Negroes launched this topic into the consciousness of African American publications and professional circles.<sup>9</sup> Caliver called attention to the lack of high school programs offering competent occupational guidance and vocational education to African American students, and Lincoln responded in kind, strengthening its program and providing more opportunities to learn vocational skills on-site.

In response to an ever-growing demand for an education at Lincoln, particularly in the 1940s, Lincoln faculty sharpened and deepened their functions and became a highly effective, synergistic unit. They used a democratic inquiry-based model of faculty study to make decisions about curricula, school organization, and teaching pedagogy, with student achievement and student performance as their primary motivator. This period of extensive professional development resulted in massive reorganization and expansion of the curriculum. Lincoln's faculty study program paralleled a larger network

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<sup>9</sup> Ambrose Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes: Report of a Survey Conducted by the Office of Education. Bulletin, 1937, No. 38* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, United States Department of the Interior., 1938), <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED542625>; Doxey A. Wilkerson, "The Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 2 (April 1, 1940): 259–66.

activity, the Secondary School Study, which was underway through the efforts of the ACSSN.

Throughout the 1940s, Lincoln High School maintained momentum in population growth, faculty growth, and accomplishments. The number of graduates continued to expand—36 students graduated in the 1920s, then 252 students in the 1930s, and finally 411 during the 1940s.<sup>10</sup> Lincoln High School emerged from the 1940s as a thriving institution, busy with activities from morning well into the evening.

Extracurricular clubs and activities provided students with opportunities to learn beyond the classroom. Sports flourished under the direction of long-time faculty member T. B. McPherson, who became the school's athletic director. In 1946, the music program blossomed thanks to the hiring of Jerry Miller as its head; Miller established "the mighty Lincoln band."<sup>11</sup> In 1947, the marching band performed its first concert for the community. Additionally, Lincoln's faculty produced student plays, operettas, choral performances, organized speech competitions, contests, and school fundraisers. Across these decades, Lincoln High School's activities were a vital source of community activity and entertainment.

By the 1950s, Lincoln was poised to enter into its next phase of evolution. In 1955, at the endpoint of this study, Lincoln's faculty were packing up all of their materials and the school's resources to move across town to a new facility. The last fifteen years of Lincoln High School, from 1955-1970, warrant an additional study.

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<sup>10</sup> Jones, *Retrospections*, 2003; Arthur White and Kevin McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy* (Gainesville, Florida, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> White, "The History of Lincoln High," 8.

Lincoln's development during this post-*Brown era* was influenced by the school equalization movement and desegregation efforts on the rise during this period.<sup>12</sup> In many ways, Lincoln benefitted from these efforts; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's campaign for equalization of school facilities and teacher salaries led to increased teacher pay for African Americans in Alachua County, materials, and resources began to roll into the school.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, Lincoln received a new and larger facility tailored to the specifications of Lincoln's faculty members who participated in the design process.<sup>14</sup> The facility still stands today in Gainesville, serving as a public middle school (Lincoln Middle School) with a highly segregated largely white elite magnet program, The Lyceum at Lincoln High School.

However, the all-African American Lincoln High School that once operated there was closed in 1970 as a result of the school board's desegregation plan.<sup>15</sup> At the time of its closure, Lincoln High School students protested the closing of their school, reluctantly attending and integrating the all-white Gainesville High School. Lincoln's former faculty, administrators and the community that surrounds the school still lament

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<sup>12</sup> Orley Ashenfelter, William J. Collins, and Albert Yoon, "Evaluating the Role of *Brown v. Board of Education* in School Equalization, Desegregation, and the Income of African Americans," *American Law and Economics Review* 8, no. 2 (2006): 213–48.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*; Ada F. Coleman, "The Salary Equalization Movement," *The Journal of Negro Education* 16, no. 2 (April 1, 1947): 235–41; Doxey A. Wilkerson, "The Negro School Movement in Virginia: From 'Equalization' to 'Integration,'" *The Journal of Negro Education* 29, no. 1 (January 1, 1960): 17–29, doi:10.2307/2293542; Emmons, "Not a Single Battle but Rather a Real War."

<sup>14</sup> Jones, "Retrospections," 2003; Joel Buchanan, Andrew Mickle, July 31, 1985, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

<sup>15</sup> White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011; Garner, "School without a Name: Desegregation of Eastside High School 1970-1987, A"; Caron, "That Young Generation Felt as If They Were Being Uprooted": How a Community Was Affected by the Forced Closing of an All-Black High School."

its closing.<sup>16</sup> Mabel Dorsey said it well, “Lincoln still lives in the hearts of every child that graduated from Lincoln High School.”<sup>17</sup> Their collective allegiance to the school that they built and worked in, a place where light sparked and knowledge was cultivated is demonstrated in the reunions held in Gainesville by former Lincolnians. Dorsey continues her reflection, “I think I attended three this summer. There must have been about five reunions and these kids come back still with that love for Lincoln High School. Because Lincoln was, I do not know, there was something about it I cannot describe.”<sup>18</sup> Joel Buchanan, Dorsey’s interviewer, and former student from Lincoln describes this “something” beautifully and clearly in another conversation about the school’s closing. It is another “front porch” conversation: this time, with Lincoln’s long-time beloved faculty member, T.B. McPherson. McPherson has talked long about what the community lost when Lincoln closed. He has covered the ground of the wonder that Lincoln was. To close, Buchanan asks, “So, when they closed Lincoln, they closed a heritage. Is that it?”<sup>19</sup> By all accounts, Mr. Buchanan, it seems that it was.

### **Historical Implications**

Research on the experiences of African American segregated schooling is still in its genesis. Although a number of case studies examine the history of single institutions, significant gaps have remained, leaving scholars, students and the general public unsure of how segregated African American education functioned as a system, under

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<sup>16</sup> Buchanan, T. B. McPherson; Buchanan, Geraldine Y. Miller; Buchanan, John Dukes, Jr.; White and McCarthy, *Lincoln High School, Gainesville, Florida: Its History and Legacy*, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Buchanan, Mabel Dorsey, 22.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>19</sup> Buchanan, T. B. McPherson.

what leadership, for what purpose, and to what extent it was successful. This dissertation represents one of the few full studies that explicitly connects activities of a single segregated institution to system-wide trends and directions in African American southern education during the 1920s-1950s.<sup>20</sup> It is the only work to provide an analysis of the curriculum, pedagogy, and professional development efforts of a single institution during this period. As such, this study augments the history of African Americans and their schooling by tracing the development of the southern African American educational system during the latter era of Jim Crow (1920s-1950s), and exploring distinctly African American practices of recruitment, professional development and pedagogy.

### **Educational Policy 1920-1940**

The scholarship of Anderson, Fultz, and Butchart has laid a sound foundation for scholars to understand how educational policy was negotiated by African American organizations and educators across the south; however, their studies stop short of a deep investigation of the agency of African American networks from 1920-1940. Anderson's body of work provides a foundation, examining the deep ideological division between African American educators and the white system of governance that began during the post-Reconstruction period. His account ends during the Great Depression, as African American education began to expand. This work extends Anderson's analysis by inserting the activism of associations into the history of African American education during the 1920s and 1930s. As chapter 2 shows, both the NATCS and the ASSCN enacted lengthy campaigns during this period to change facets of the

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<sup>20</sup> Morris and Morris, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community*, 2002; Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Dempsey and Noblit, "The Demise of Caring in an African-American Community."

accreditation process, and to strengthen the teacher profession, each campaign contributed to the expansion of African American education noted by Anderson.

This work continues the historical narrative beyond the 1930s to describe other contributions of African American educators and their networks during WWII and the post-war period. It describes the rise of the ASSCN, as the lead agency for African American educational professional development and advocacy and highlights significant region-wide professional development activities led by the ASSCN, such as the Secondary School Study. It also discusses the abiding dilemmas of educational practice as voiced by national leaders, such as the provision of guidance for vocational education and employment. Generally, in the 1940s and 1950s, African American educators refined their battles to address systemic barriers still prevalent in the system they had built in prior decades.

### **African American Teacher Education and Higher Education 1920-1950**

This work also contributes to literature on the African American teacher profession and African American higher education during de jure segregation. Michael Fultz's has highlighted that the advocacy of African American educator networks positively influenced the African American teacher profession, and African American higher education. However, as Fultz notes, the practices and implications of African American educators pursuing summer or extension courses at higher education institutions remains under examined. This leaves lingering questions: How was African American teacher education practiced in extension and summer courses? And what were its effects on African American higher education? This work contributes narratives of teachers who pursued their education in this manner. As Frederica Jones notes, the "scores" of African American teachers traveling by train to Florida Mechanical and

Agricultural College created an environment of cohesive study, collective goal sharing, and concerted professional development. This was another opportunity for the network of African American educators to generate and share ideas amongst themselves, and to strengthen their colleges.

Furthermore, this work has investigated the implications of in-service teacher education for faculty development and regional professional opportunities. Lincoln's administrator extended access to higher education for African American teachers practicing within the region's schools. At a time when there was no college or university located in the region that would allow African Americans entry, Lincoln's administrator stepped into the gap by serving as a teacher education instructor for two universities. Higher education provided teachers with many benefits: it provided skills, and time to study their practice, learn of contemporary issues in education, connected them with a community of learners, and eventually contributed to higher certification grades and salaries. As Fultz's research notes these practicing teachers who were enrolled in summer and extension coursework significantly augmented the numbers of African American students pursuing higher education during the era.

### **African American Secondary Schooling 1920-1955**

Rury and Hill's work is a broad examination of African American's pursuit of secondary education from 1940-1980.<sup>21</sup> Their analysis begins with comparing high school graduation rates of whites and African Americans during the 1940s and beyond and continues to trace the trends of high school enrollments across the country for four decades. The disparity is stark: in 1940, on average, 14% of African American

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<sup>21</sup> Rury and Hill, *The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980*.

teenagers graduated from high school annually, while 46% of their white counterparts did so. Over the decades, this gap lessened, while graduation rates for both groups steadily climbed. Yet by 1980, African American high school students were still graduating at a rate of ten percent less than whites.

This dissertation adds two important caveats to Rury and Hill's general trends. The findings from Lincoln suggest that the development of African American high schools was correlated with the ability of the community to access a wider network of African American educators. We learn from the case of Lincoln High School that professors worked within the context of regions that influenced their growth, or lack thereof. Their ability to access institutions of higher education for themselves and to build and support a faculty was crucial to the development of the local school. At Lincoln, the parents of students, the advisory board members, and the students themselves also were essentially the financiers of the school, backing it through periods of depression and difficulty. If not for their financial assistance, Lincoln would have failed to expand its infrastructure, school term, or faculty. Implied in the story of Lincoln is a key concept: the growth and distribution of African American high schools in the South during the 1930s and 1940s was unevenly spread across regions, occurring most productively in those areas where there was lively participation within networks of professional development, teacher education, and school building. Therefore, to properly contextualize how African American secondary education proliferated during the era of Rury and Hill's study, scholarship documenting the patterns and context of growth across particular regions in the South still needs to occur. In essence, the question is why did schools like Lincoln High School thrive and not others? This

scholarship would explicate the impetus behind the trends revealed by Rury and Hill, revealing what factors influenced the trends. This study has documented that impetus and factors within the north central region of Florida.

### **African American Educator Networks and Segregated Institutions**

Siddle-Walker, arguably the leading scholar on African American segregated education, essentially put forth a call for additional research with the publication of *Hello, Professor*.<sup>22</sup> The findings within *Hello, Professor* describe a case from Gainesville, Georgia of an excellent segregated African American school that became that way because it was administrated by an experienced and savvy professor who was supported and advised at every turn by an extensive professional network. Siddle Walker stresses that the similarity of high achieving African American schools across the South that operated with the same vision and used the same strategies “def[ies] explanation” if not understood within the context of African American educator networks at the time.”<sup>23</sup> The case of Lincoln High School in another Gainesville echoes these findings from Georgia. They show that African American segregated institutions were able to succeed by coalescing together under a common aim to provide a liberal, expansive education, and embodying within themselves the value of education—a more expansive adult life, characterized by dignity, perseverance, and a will towards the common good. This aim was envisioned for all African American children, everywhere. At Lincoln, the vision can be traced to the national body of African American leaders through the state network—the Florida State Teachers’ Association, college presidents,

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<sup>22</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

and institutions such as Bethune Cookman College and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, as well as ancillary leadership, such as the state agent for Negro Education, D. E. Williams. The same aims, vision, and pedagogies we find within these bodies existed at Lincoln High School.

Thus, the similarity that Siddie Walker notes across regions occurred in intentional and distinct trajectories. Lincoln's case corroborates that African American principals were "the first agent to challenge inequality in the local setting" as part of a larger effort to challenge school inequities.<sup>24</sup> For Gainesville, the hiring of Professor Jones signaled a new era of educational expansion. Jones essentially stood at the crossroads of educational access and ignorance and opened the door to teachers, students and the wider community. His own education at FAMC provided a starting point, and he then created the plan to undertake the rest of his vision. This was the expected outcome of the network's collective efforts to broaden access to higher education—that individual leaders would learn while away, return home, and make inroads across the South.

This work also widens our understanding of educational policy during the pre-*Brown* era. This study contributes a succinct analysis of the philosophies, agendas, and activities of politically active African American leaders, networks, and associations. It presents the ideological underpinnings driving African American educational thought during the 1920s and 1930s and relays the specific battles over educational content, teacher education, and high school and higher education accreditation that were waged because of African Americans' vision for education. In doing so, this work adds to the

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

historiography of the African American struggle for education, by explicating the activities of African American networks into the current analysis of topics, themes, and trends of African American education.<sup>25</sup> Butchart provides a comprehensive examination of salient topics addressed by individual African American scholars during the era, yet his examination does not include the focal topics and agendas of African American educator networks as significant. As Chapters 2 and 4 have shown, the research publications of African American educators (such as the *Journal of Negro Education* and *Phylon Quarterly*, along with the bulletins of state teacher associations) provide a valuable source of information on these group agendas and focal topics, yet they remain un-synthesized.

This study of Lincoln High School relays the activities of one local school community in relationship to national currents and a state teachers' association. As Siddle Walker's scholarship has shown, state African American teacher associations displayed tremendous agency in their organizational efforts.<sup>26</sup> In Florida, the state association FSTA was politically active in leading in the fight for teacher salary equalization and voter registration campaigns. However, its participation within pre-*Brown* struggles for civil rights is yet untold. Beyond these acts of advocacy, the FTSA maintained a quiet presence in educational activism by coalescing Florida's educators

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<sup>25</sup> Butchart, "Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World': A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education."

<sup>26</sup> Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South*; Walker, "Organized Resistance and Black Educators' Quest for School Equality, 1878-1938"; Walker, "Tolerated Tokenism, or the Injustice in Justice: Black Teacher Associations and Their Forgotten Struggle for Educational Justice, 1921-1954."

into a cohesive community of practice. Through this collective effort, African American teachers strengthened each other and provided leadership for state schools from within.

Lincoln's teachers and administrators also developed a powerful practice of pedagogy that combatted the oppressive environment that surrounded the school. The pedagogy armed students with an identity that transcended the harmful naming by others. The pedagogy of Lincoln's teachers took its cue from the African American prophetic tradition of the church and taught that all people—which included the teachers themselves, and the students of whom they were in charge—were children of God, and as such, his heirs and only his to name. This was a powerful message that provided the potential to dream, and to become.

The pedagogy at Lincoln built layer upon layer on this belief. It inculcated within students the disposition to persevere and to desire. In fact, Lincoln's pedagogy intentionally taught students to desire the best that the world had to offer, despite the fact that what they encountered outside the walls of the school might suggest setting their sights far lower. To ensure that students were equipped, Lincoln's pedagogy also taught students the skills necessary to acquire postsecondary education, or a vocation. Thus, students were taught not just to desire, but how to acquire what they desired. The outcome of Lincoln's pursuits and pedagogy was that students, beginning with the first eight graduates in 1925, had the ability to transcend the expectations the world had for them in the segregated South and to achieve a measure of success for themselves and their community. This is evidenced by the lives of specific Lincoln graduates, such as John Rawls, who went on to become an accomplished musician and a well-respected school administrator. It is also evidenced by the sheer numbers of students who left

Lincoln equipped with a high school degree, a rare entryway into employment during the era.

### **Implications in Teacher Education and Contemporary Public Schooling**

The findings from this work present various considerations for our current project of public education. In this section, I pose a series of questions, drawn from my reflections on this case as well as from the history of African American education more broadly. To begin with, I am struck by the magnitude of the large community of African American educators who worked together across (naturally disconnected) national, regional, and local spheres, effectively collaborating to propel forward a single, readily identifiable, and salient vision for education. The evidence from this case study shows that teachers, principals, and community members in Gainesville, Florida knew of this vision and ascribed to it. So did scholars at large, African American state and federal education employees, and professors of education. To summarize, their cumulative efforts and skills were employed to build public education institutions that were widely accessible to students, families, and the surrounding community, and then to acquire, organize, and teach sequences of content within those institutions that developed students intellectually, psychologically, and morally. Their vision contained an implicit assumption that students possessed the inherent capacity to learn what was being taught, and together with that assumption, a call to action: an obligation to contribute their individual and collective expertise to their community and to the larger United States through thoughtful democratic participation, their vocations, and their civic and leisure activities. To attain this set of goals was to reach their highest potential.

## What is the Vision?

What is the vision that guides the contemporary educational system? Through its mission statement, the United States Department of Education suggests that the vision is to “promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness.”<sup>27</sup> The Common Core Standards, a sweeping curricular initiative championed by the U.S. Department of Education and adopted by 47 states, describes its purpose as being to “ensure [that] all students are ready for success after high school . . . in a world in which colleges and businesses are more demanding than ever before.” This vision differs from that of African American educators during de jure segregation. Although African American educators’ vision contained within it the imperative of preparing students for vocational success, their vision was more expansive: It included instilling in children a process for life-long intellectual growth, and necessitated the study of content that would prepare students for active roles within the democracy.

That the visions of African American educators and of current federal education policymakers differ is no surprise; these educators’ vision differed from that of the governance during their day as well. We see that clearly in the battles between the African American educators and the collective forces of the General Education Board, who governed the southern public education system at the time. Yet this difference in visions begs the question: what do we as citizens and as an educational community stand to gain or lose in accepting the contemporary government’s vision for education—

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<sup>27</sup> “About ED: Mission,” *U. S. Department of Education*, October 20, 2011, <http://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/mission/mission.html>.

that is, in narrowing our vision for education to focus solely on success in college and workforce preparation?

The findings from this work, and from the field of African American education during segregation at large, suggest that what we as a nation gained from this tradition of schooling was arguably the largest period of democratic advancement and extension of human rights in America's history: the civil rights movement. My study ends in 1955. It has traced how African American educators, noticing the difference between their vision and the governing vision of education, coalesced to respond. Siddle-Walker has traced this vision beyond 1955, through the same associations and into schools where civil rights leaders learned as children. For instance, at Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, Georgia, where Dr. Martin Luther King learned as a high school student in 1942, students were taught that they were world citizens, who were to "reorganize the world."<sup>28</sup> The African American principal of Booker T. Washington, Charles Harper, went further and stated to students: "You must not hate. If other people hate, you must respond with love."<sup>29</sup> What we stand to lose in reducing the purpose of education to student achievement and success in higher education and the workforce is the potential for students to reorganize and reimagine our world in ways that we have not yet dreamed.

### **What Are the Interests?**

This work has shown that the vision of the white educational establishment during de jure segregation reflected white political and economic interests. The General

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<sup>28</sup> Walker, "Continuing Problems and Forgotten Solutions: Resurrecting the Historical Resistance Strategies of Southern African American School Leaders."

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Education Board was composed of southern, white, middle-class educational “reformers,” white elites from the planter class, and northern wealthy elite philanthropists. Their common concern was a stable southern economy that would sustain and expand their station and white supremacy in society and in the world. In the same way, can we name the interests, political agendas, and ideologies undergirding the prevailing vision of education in the contemporary context?

Educational researcher and indigenous scholar Eve Tuck summarizes the contemporary reform agenda this way: “The defining feature of U.S. school and teacher education reform since the 1990s has been the relentless pursuit of accountability.”<sup>30</sup> The reasoning of the accountability movement, as demonstrated by No Child Left Behind policies and the Obama-era “Race To The Top” program, is that teachers, schools, school districts and, increasingly, teacher education programs should be able to prove (to account for) their teaching and learning activities through their students’ performance on one or a series of tests that have been “standardized” (developed by testing companies to be administered to large populations of students).<sup>31</sup> For decades, education scholars have responded to the rising trend of accountability, pointing out its failures and flaws extensively. They have traced the history of the accountability movement, noting that while it was originally proposed as an educational reform effort to benefit those most marginalized in schools, poor children, and children of color, its

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<sup>30</sup> Eve Tuck, “Neoliberalism as Nihilism? A Commentary on Educational Accountability, Teacher Education, and School Reform.,” *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 11, no. 2 (2013): 324.

<sup>31</sup> Patrick McGuinn, “Stimulating Reform: Race to the Top, Competitive Grants and the Obama Education Agenda,” *Educational Policy*, 2011, 0895904811425911.

initiatives have had “disastrous academic outcomes” for these very students.<sup>32</sup> A wide group of scholars have disagreed with the use of standardized tests as a central (or single) measure of assessing student learning, pointing out the tests’ intrinsic biases, poor reliability, and lack of validity, and judging the premise of “externally generated assessments as fundamentally anti-intellectual.”<sup>33</sup> Yet the accountability movement persists, gaining steam and public interest.

In “Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What’s at Stake?” researchers Michael Fabricant and Michelle Fine draw our attention to the charter school movement, using it as a lens to analyze the interests, political agendas, and ideologies at work in the current climate.<sup>34</sup> Fabricant and Fine use the rise of the charter movement, as spearheaded and supported by federal policy-makers, market-driven for-profit businesses, and philanthropic foundations, to explore the increasing privatization and decentralization of public education.

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<sup>32</sup> Brenda L. Townsend, “‘Testing While Black’ Standards-Based School Reform and African American Learners,” *Remedial and Special Education* 23, no. 4 (July 1, 2002): 222, doi:10.1177/07419325020230040501. See also A.G. Hilliard, “Excellence in Education versus High-Stakes Standardized Testing,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 51, no. 4 (2000): 293–304; Houchen, “‘Stakes Is High’ Culturally Relevant Practitioner Inquiry With African American Students Struggling to Pass Secondary Reading Exit Exams”; L. Darling-Hammond, “Race, Inequality and Educational Accountability: The Irony of ‘No Child Left Behind,’” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (2007): 245–60; Linda Darling-Hammond, “From ‘separate but Equal’ to ‘No Child Left Behind’: The Collision of New Standards and Old Inequalities,” *Many Children Left behind: How the No Child Left Behind Act Is Damaging Our Children and Our Schools*, 2004, 3–32; David Hursh, “Exacerbating Inequality: The Failed Promise of the No Child Left Behind Act,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (2007): 295–308; Geneva Gay, “The Rhetoric and Reality of NCLB,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 10, no. 3 (2007): 279–93.

<sup>33</sup> Michelle Fine, “Not in Our Name,” *Rethinking Schools Online* 19, no. 4 (2005), <http://coveringeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/ED-Covering-Ed-Fine-Small-Schools-Research.doc>.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Fabricant and Michelle Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012).

The privatization of public education recurs as a common concern and critique of the accountability regime. Charters, standardized tests, and measures of increased “accountability” are receiving more and more support from philanthropic concerns and the business sector. In a study on charter school reform in Washington State, Au and Ferrare found that “compared to the average voter in Washington, an elite group of wealthy individuals, either directly through individual donations or indirectly through their affiliated philanthropic organizations, wielded disproportionate influence over the outcome of the charter school initiative in the state, thereby raising serious concerns about the democratic underpinnings of an educational policy that impacts all of the children in Washington state.”<sup>35</sup> The parallels between Au and Ferrare’s findings and the segments of interests at work within the southern educational system in 1902 are striking. Behind the GEB’s vision for a two-tiered educational system were the same actors—“an elite group of wealthy individuals...who wielded disproportionate influence.” Their interests were the southern agricultural and industrial markets that would be built on the backs of black (and working-class white) labor. Securing their interests required securing the system which would educate their future workforce. Eve Tuck’s commentary on the current accountability movement names this ideological framework “neoliberal school reform models” and argues that it is an “unworkable logic for teacher education and schooling.”<sup>36</sup> Tuck reminds us that as a community of scholars, “there are

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<sup>35</sup> Wayne Au and Joseph J. Ferrare, “Sponsors of Policy: A Network Analysis of Wealthy Elites, Their Affiliated Philanthropies, and Charter School Reform in Washington State,” *Teachers College Record* 116, no. 11 (2014): 116.

<sup>36</sup> Tuck, “Neoliberalism as Nihilism? A Commentary on Educational Accountability, Teacher Education, and School Reform.,” 339.

other axes of thought, other spectrums of possibility that can interrupt the continuum of government vs. private business; there are other frameworks that can guide the remaking of public schools and the preparation of fabulous educators.”<sup>37</sup> In part, the work of this study was done to that end: to reinsert the framework and lessons of African American educators fighting similar battles into the contemporary discussion.

Here, Ambrose Caliver’s remarks delivered to educators in 1933 (as discussed within Chapter 2) prove prescient. Caliver states, “[T]he materialism of the age is reflected by our emphasis on units, credits, diplomas, certificates and degrees. And finally, the speed complex of our western culture is revealed in our time schedules and the desire to cover as much academic ground with as heavy a load, as in a short a time as the “traffic” will stand.”<sup>38</sup> Caliver spoke to the trend upon us and urged educators to “unify” their activities and “synthesize” their goals with “motives and purposes which will not only have vital connections with the dominant cultural forces of life, but which will give us a deeper sense of individual and social responsibility for our conduct and will cause us to cooperate toward a common goal of civic righteousness in the spirit of goodwill and love.”<sup>39</sup> Have we heard, and then heeded, Caliver’s suggestion?

This study was undertaken with the awareness that there is a critical mass of scholars, educators, students, and parents who are concerned with the current trends in public education. As a doctoral student, I have benefitted greatly from working with a number of the scholars I have cited in this work. Their collective body of research

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 340.

<sup>38</sup> Caliver, “The Negro Teacher and a Philosophy of Negro Education,” 1933, 436.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 437.

testifies to alternate, expansive, emancipatory, and democratic educational practices. Paris and Alim have collected an assortment of this pedagogical work—in particular, asset-based cultural pedagogical frameworks—under the umbrella term of “culturally sustaining pedagogies.”<sup>40</sup> Additional studies of African American teacher pedagogy during segregation as a historic culturally sustaining practice are warranted, as are studies that link the pedagogies of African American educators during segregation to later pedagogical frameworks of African American teachers in contemporary contexts. Siddle-Walker draws attention to this, asserting that further scholarship has the potential to construct “an African American epistemology of teaching.”<sup>41</sup>

### **Can We Unite?**

To the collective body of research named by Paris and Alim, one that seeks to nourish and support vibrant schools and with them vibrant community heritages and a thriving democracy, I add the epistemological frameworks from cultural vantages (such as blues, Endarkened feminist, and indigenous), and methodological stances, such as critical participatory methods and public oral history projects. I also add collective subassociations, such as the Commission On Research in Black Education (Coribe) and other “special interest groups” within the American Educational Research Association.<sup>42</sup> But I have yet to see our collective interests unite to propose one vision

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<sup>40</sup> Django Paris, “Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy a Needed Change in Stance, Terminology, and Practice,” *Educational Researcher* 41, no. 3 (2012): 93–97; Django Paris and H. Samy Alim, “What Are We Seeking to Sustain through Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy? A Loving Critique Forward,” *Harvard Educational Review* 84, no. 1 (2014): 85–100.

<sup>41</sup> Walker, “African American Teaching in the South: 1940-1960,” 753.

<sup>42</sup> King, “Critical and Qualitative Research in Teacher Education”; C.B. Dillard, “The Substance of Things Hoped For, the Evidence of Things Not Seen: Examining an Endarkened Feminist Epistemology in Educational Research and Leadership,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 13, no. 6 (2000): 661–81; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “Building a Research Agenda for Indigenous Epistemologies and

for public education in the same way that African American educators did during de jure segregation. Is that kind of effort even possible today, given the diversity of the educational community and its collective voices, frameworks, and ideologies? Whether or not it is possible (and I believe it is), hear Fabricant and Fine contextualize the significance of the present: “At this historic moment of watershed change, our national commitments to shared fates, democratic participation, concerns for equity, and deep accountability are in jeopardy: increasingly understood as a sweet thread of nostalgia.”<sup>43</sup>

Fabricant and Fine continue:

At this juncture in the history of public education, Democrats and Republicans have found a troubling space to agree, ushering in the ‘new normal’ of disinvestment in poor communities of color and the upward redistribution of tax breaks for the rich...We find ourselves worrying about the future of democracy, equity, and accountability and the erosion of the ‘public’ in public education.<sup>44</sup>

With or without our unification as a community of scholars concerned with a public and *democratic* education, interests are converging around us. Perhaps the history of African American educators can offer us insights as we proceed.

Finally, the work of this dissertation was personal and part of my own educational praxis. While it was motivated for my concern for public education at large, it was also

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Education,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (2005): 93–95, doi:10.1525/aeq.2005.36.1.093; Julio Cammarota and Augustine Romero, “Participatory Action Research for High School Students: Transforming Policy, Practice, and the Personal With Social Justice Education,” *Educational Policy* 25, no. 3 (May 1, 2011): 488–506, doi:10.1177/0895904810361722; M. Fine et al., “Youth Research/participatory Methods for Reform,” *International Handbook of Student Experience in Elementary and Secondary School*, 2007, 805–28; Caroline Eick, “Oral Histories of Education and the Relevance of Theory: Claiming New Spaces in a Post-Revisionist Era,” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 1, 2011): 158–83, doi:10.1111/j.1748-5959.2011.00328.x. For a discussion of the CORIBE effort, see King, *Black Education*.

<sup>43</sup> Fabricant and Fine, *Charter Schools and the Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What*, 8.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

propelled by a professional responsibility to hear the voices of educators from this particular region, where I work to teach and guide their grandchildren and my own son. What did these ancestors want me to know about their heritage? How did they want their grandchildren taught? This study has armed me with the knowledge of their will, struggle, and purposes as I advocate for their children and work alongside them to explore the world.

While reading the transcripts of Lincoln High School's teachers, and the autobiography of Professor A. Quinn Jones, this narrative began to build on my existing schema in exciting ways. I heard echoes of my mother's schooling experience on the small island of Jamaica, an experience separated by a continent and many cultural distinctions. Remnants of her schooling memories are deeply seated in my psyche; I grew up listening to her and aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents at the dinner table (as is the custom in oral cultures) while they regaled us with stories of a different day. In that day, my mother lived in an extended network of generations, drew water from a well, caught lobster from the sea for dinner, made chocolate from Cacao pods, and lived in a very rural part of Jamaica, an area known to the residents as Fellowship Hall. To my childhood ears, this place was paradise. My mother loves her home country and thoroughly enjoyed her childhood and youth. Although Fellowship Hall is not identified on most maps, the community is still there, thriving and existing, as are the members of the Lincoln community today. People who deeply love and are connected to a place honor their roots.

My mother's education was (to her, and as it has been passed on to me) brilliant. Here was a school, and schooling society, that left its indelible imprint on its students in

marked ways, and I developed in its shadow. By their account, the Jamaican teachers who stewarded my mother's generation drew on the world's traditions, ideas, and concepts to prepare them for entry into the adult world, equipped them with knowledge that affirmed their place in it. Jamaicans are a strong and proud group, with big voices and fabulous passion. I grew up listening to my mother and aunt's recitations of Edgar Allen Poe's, "The Bells" and "Polonius' Advice to Laertes" from Shakespeare's, *Hamlet*, at the same time that I was enriched by Jamaican renditions of West African proverbs that delivered timeless wisdom. "To thine own self be true" hung on my refrigerator door for years as a child, and lecture upon lecture was delivered to me on the meaning and the personal cost of integrity implicit in a lie.

The cultural, personal and human harm that occurred (or occurs) as a result of the projects of colonialism, enslavement, and de jure segregation was, and is, often deadly; it is unjust and horribly oppressive. Yet, as a descendent of this legacy, and as a student of educational excellence, however known and from whatever culture it originates, I wholly appreciate the gifts I was given by my mother's treatment of the moral, spiritual, and technical adages of Shakespeare. In the same way that I received the benefits from my mother's expansive education, the teachers and faculty at Lincoln High School and at other African American schools during segregation ensured that their students learned from all the world's thinkers. At the same time, they grounded them firmly in their own roots, souls, heritage, and space in the world.

For me, this was the gift of this dissertation: that educational brilliance both transcends, transforms, and exists within cultural contexts. Moreover, if we, as teachers, invite brilliance into the room, it will never fail us. Given this, how can we, as teacher

educators, return to a place where brilliance in subject area, student learning and in our professional lives is revered, as it should be? How can we begin to mine our collective cultural knowledges and our vast advances across many scientific disciplines to invite those voices, discoveries, and immense legacies into the education of teacher and student in order to transform student classrooms?

I have learned from this dissertation, from my heritage, and from my mentors that we absolutely must abandon all excuses that relate achievement and potential to culture, race, or poverty. The case of Lincoln High School and the concerted efforts of African American educator networks during de jure segregation stand as a testament to what can be achieved even with scarce material resources and huge obstacles in the path. In many ways, the actors of my study could be classified—as they have been repeatedly within literature and popular media—as the "least of these": inheritors of a second class system, with limited resources, and few opportunities. However, despite all supposed odds, they maintained a standard of performance that was, in fact, excellent. Moreover, they themselves set out to produce the effects of excellence, however long, hard, and tedious the journey toward that standard might be. In my spiritual tradition, we would say that these teachers, administrators, students, and community members “counted the costs” —and were willing to pay the price.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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