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Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics

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For the last two decades, the published research on the history of education of African Americans in the south during the era of de jure segregation has shifted from a focus on the inequalities experienced by segregated schools to understanding the kind of education African American teachers, principals, and parents attempted to provide under externally restrictive circumstances. This review provides a synthesis of this line of research. Results indicate that exemplary teachers, the curriculum and extracurricular activities, parental involvement, and the leadership of school principals were critical characteristics influencing the communities' perceptions of the schools. Additional research is needed that will explore student outcomes, variance within the characteristics, and external influences.

The history of the de jure segregated education of African Americans in the South has been captured in distinct, and increasingly contradictory, ways by educational researchers. The more traditional and widely accepted portrait of the schools depicts a theme of almost complete inferiority. In this view, the African American segregated school is depicted as inferior because of inequality in facilities, lack of transportation, shorter school terms, teacher-pupil conflicts, overcrowding, poor teaching, and poor student attendance (Ashmore, 1954; Baker, 1996; Clift, Anderson, & Hullfish, 1962; Crow, 1992; Johnson, 1941; Kilpatrick, 1962; Philips, 1940; Pierce, Kincheloe, Moore, Drewry, & Carmichael, 1955). African American students and their parents are alternately portrayed as complacent or appreciative recipients of the contributions of philanthropic organizations. In addition, the literature reports quantitative differences in IQ levels between Black and White students, library books, school lunch availability, and other easily measured variables (Ashmore, 1954; Pierce et al., 1955). Although some of the authors sometimes concede the desire of parents to have their children educated (Johnson, 1941), provide explanations of the reasons for poor attendance (Crow, 1992), or note increasing trends of better education among African American teachers (Ashmore, 1954), the belief that the schools were inferior remains an inescapable conclusion.

In part, this conclusion may be related to methodological dictates and the limited knowledge and contact of many European American researchers with

the community. Prior to the proliferation and acceptance of oral interview as a mode of historical inquiry (Doughtery, 1999), historical researchers relied primarily upon archival sources. These archival sources focus primarily on the story of inequality, as, for example, can be found in a review of the archival files from the former Divisions of Negro Education in Georgia or North Carolina. If a researcher limited his or her analysis to this archived documentation, the story of inequality would be the reasoned narrative to construct. In cases where the archived information drives the story, the same conclusions are present in current work (e.g., Crow, 1992). In addition to the methodological limitation, many of the researchers lacked any internal familiarity with the schools beyond cursory visits and surveys (Johnson, 1941). It is unsurprising, then, that their conclusions focus on the easily observable and measurable inequities and never question what else may have been present in the schools.

Yet this history of assumed unilateral inferiority stands in stark contrast to the argument about the schools that has increased in volume and intensity since the first book, *The Dunbar Story* (Hundley, 1965), appeared in the mid-1960s. Led by African American scholars and others who have acquired an understanding of the African American community and riding the crest of new methodological approaches that validated ethnographic and other qualitative methods of inquiry, this literature argues that, inequalities notwithstanding, many African Americans valued the cultural form of teaching and learning that developed in the segregated schools. They propose that confining explanations of the education in the schools to descriptions of resources has not adequately explained the kind of education African American teachers, principals, and parents attempted to provide under externally restrictive circumstances. Moreover, they argue that failing to understand the forms of teaching and learning, except in negative portrayals (e.g., Johnson, 1941), has produced a history of education of African Americans that focuses only on inequalities and ignores the caring behaviors of teachers and principals, the support of parents, the forms of institutional support for students, and the high expectations placed upon students by the school and community (Cerelski, 1994; Dempsey & Noblit, 1993; Foster, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1997; Siddle Walker, 1993a, 1993b, 1996a, 1996b). While these scholars have conceded the presence of inequalities and documented objective measures of inequitable resource and treatment, they have focused more on elucidating through survey, interview, and document analysis the kind of learning environments created in spite of the inequalities. Their research thrust is focused on capturing what Bullock (1967) would term the "unintended consequences" of school segregation, that is, the ways in which African American schools strived to become intellectual institutions, despite the expectation of European Americans that any learning beyond menial employment was unnecessary (Ashmore, 1954; Crow,1992).

However, unlike the historical portraits of inequality, which have captured a wide audience even to the present (Baker, 1996), the scholarship that captures the type of teaching and learning that was valued within the segregated schools remains unsynthesized and largely unknown. Moreover, those authors most likely to have provided this view (e.g., Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967) limit their time periods to an era that precedes the emergence of large numbers of these schools, or they focus more on the legal suits to achieve equality. As a

result, scholars continue to reference the schools with an understanding of the earlier research that captures inequalities, but with little recognition of the subsequent studies that expand the historical picture. This omission is damaging in educational history textbooks that perpetuate the telling of only one portion of the story (e.g., Pulliam & Patten, 1999). It is also damaging in the scholarly community when researchers dismiss the one or two articles or books on segregated education with which they are familiar and, unaware of the other studies, do not allow their own work to be informed by the extant literature.

This review addresses some of these difficulties by providing a synthesis of the scholarship that has sought to expand understanding of the segregated African American schools by documenting the ways in which they held meaning to their participants. Specifically, it seeks to delineate what is known—and what is not known—about the segregated African American schools in the South from 1935 to 1969. The synthesis is based on the case studies and surveys that have attempted to characterize the nature of schooling and/or teaching during this era. The following questions guide the review:

1. What is known about the teaching and learning within segregated schools and what evidence exists to verify that this schooling produced some successful outcomes for students?
2. What are the common themes and characteristics that emerge from the most comprehensive studies about the schools?
3. What remains underdeveloped in the characterization of the schools and what are the implications for future research and educational practice?

Research Focus and Method

The literature that informs this analysis consists of case histories of particular African American schools and communities that rely on surveys, documents, and/or interviews with individuals who attended or taught in segregated schools. All of the studies are published papers, books, or conference papers, although some are published by less well-known presses. Where both unpublished conference papers and published papers or books are available by the same author, the review focuses on the published accounts. "Published" here also may include an ERIC document.

The articles and books were collected in a three-staged process. The first stage utilized the bibliographic references of articles and books known to focus on this subject and used these references to identify other articles that utilized a similar approach. Secondarily, local historical societies and book shows were scavenged for accounts of African American schools. In one case, a visit to a Southern school prompted the acquisition of the published book about the school during the segregated era. While the scavenging has produced books that significantly enhance understanding of the schools, this approach does leave open the question of how many more books may be available in local settings but which remain unknown to scholars. Finally, to ensure coverage, a search of the library systems was conducted using the indicators "segregated schools, South," "segregation, African Americans, Southern states," and "segregation, Afro Americans." ERIC was also reviewed using the descriptors "segregated schooling, African Americans, South," "segregated schooling, Blacks, South," "Black Schools, South," "Black education, South" (narrowed to "history, Black teachers, South"), and "history, African American teachers, South."

The following rules governed inclusion in this work. The review excludes general information on segregation and desegregation, such as studies of race relations, transportation, White perceptions, legal cases and strategies, religious influences, and higher education. Instead, it focuses specifically on studies that describe African American education in the South with a focus on the kind of education that was valued in the schools. Biographies and autobiographies of individual educators were not included.

The review is bound loosely to cover the period from 1935 to 1969. Although many of the works provide an earlier history of a particular school, this period roughly corresponds with the emergence of widespread state-supported education for African American segregated education, particularly the beginning of high school education in some settings, and concludes approximately during the dismantling of segregated systems through mandated busing plans in the South. As such, this period represents the most complete era of segregated elementary and high school education in the South and provides the most evidence of the cultural style representative of the community's values, norms, and expectations.

The review is also bound by geographical area and focus. Some studies exist where authors describe Northern education for African Americans or religious and other forms of private education for African Americans that are strikingly similar to the Southern accounts (e.g., Gibson, 1999; Irvine & Foster, 1996; Randolph, 1999). Like those of the Southern studies, these authors also describe strong leadership, caring teachers, and support from the community. However, these descriptions involve geographical regions with a history of de facto rather than de jure segregation, self-selected student bodies, and teachers and principals who sometimes did not share the ethnic background of their students. While the similarities merit further exploration, the more narrowed focus of this review will better facilitate understanding of a particular geographical region during a defined historical period.

From these search strategies and methods of elimination, seventeen authors whose works fit the criteria outlined were identified. Although they all review the historical period from 1935 into the 1960s in their research, their publication dates begin in 1965 and continue to the present. This literature can be summarized in three forms. The earliest form is in articles and books whose publication dates cluster in the late 1970s or early 1980s, with one exception in 1965. These descriptions provided the first documentation that segregated schools, particularly exemplary urban ones, held some value beyond that implied in the desegregation literature or described in the historical descriptions of African American schooling. For the most part, these works were ignored in the histories of education until renewed interest in the topic a decade later drew attention to their existence. The renewed focus began in the early 1990s and has produced several visible books and articles such as Michele Foster's *Black Teachers on Teaching* (1997), David Cecelski's *Along Freedom Road* (1994), and Vanessa Siddle Walker's *Their Highest Potential* (1996). Together with the increasing numbers of research presentations at local and national conferences, these studies have generated more public debate within the scholarly community. The final form of the literature crosses both time periods and is comprised of a few published book-length descriptions by little-known presses. Although

not widely known outside of their local audiences, these works provide some of the more complete descriptions of several segregated school environments, especially providing documentation of the schools over time.

To derive the thematic descriptions used in this paper, a first level of coding of content topics using categories that emerged from the literature was completed. These included such descriptors as "high expectations," "home visits," "teachers valued," and so forth. A matrix was then constructed (Miles & Huberman, 1984) that crossed emergent codes with each of the 17 studies; this process allowed me to note the consistency of a topic across several studies. In a second level of coding, the content topics were then collapsed to create broader categories, called "themes," that would govern descriptions of a particular area. For additional clarification on this process, see Appendix A. In these matrices, the general theme is listed at the top for each matrix and the analysis shows the topic codes that were used in the development of that theme and the frequency with which authors referred to particular topic codes. Since authors who have a variety of articles and/or books appear to utilize the same database for each of their works, the matrices in the appendix reference the authors only.

Findings from this process are used to provide the thematic categories discussed below. Additional references in the review outside these boundaries are included as a way of providing critique, expanding understanding, interpreting behaviors, and/or reconciling conflicting depictions. When these expansions are important to understand a particular theme, discussion has been provided in the context of the theme. More general comments are reserved until the end. This review begins by providing a historical context of events that led to schooling during this era, then provides a descriptive overview of individual studies, including a critical review of common themes and characteristics. Finally, the body of literature is analyzed in light of the general limitations in the knowledge and some suggestions for future research are offered.

Historical Context for Segregated Education

Anderson's (1988) description of African American involvement in the education of their children immediately after the Civil War and into 1935 provides an important context for understanding the schools that were created and sustained from 1935 to 1969. Anderson argues that the creation of a public school system in the South and the emergence of Black common schools were largely attributable to the interests of the ex-slaves in education as a means for liberation. While African Americans appreciated and benefited from the efforts of Northern philanthropists, they resisted "infringements that threatened to undermine their own initiative and self-reliance" (p. 12). Indeed, Anderson quotes Alvord, the inspector of schools for the Freedman's Bureau, noting that "self reliance is becoming their pride" (p. 15).

Anderson's description of African American initiative in starting and supporting their own schools is substantiated in other literature. A survey of the literature of African American parental involvement from 1866 to 1930 reveals at least seven forms of involvement that have been utilized by African Americans over time and in a variety of locations. These include founding new schools, providing financial and other support to existing schools, organizing institutions and using existing institutions to support education, petitioning govern-

mental agencies, convening conventions, participating in demonstrations and school boycotts, and using law suits to achieve educational equity (Siddle Walker, 1998). The most frequently documented form of involvement is financial contributions. According to Franklin (1974), by 1932 African American parents had already contributed 17% of the funds to build the more than 5000 Negro schools in 15 states that were spurred by the monies made available through the Rosenwald Fund; this amount was 2% more than the amount the Foundation contributed. Anderson (1981), Ashmore (1954), Bennett (1985), Bond (1966), and Bullock (1967) have also chronicled other financial contributions between 1865 and 1935.

Of note in these forms of financial contributions by African Americans is the persistence of the initiatives over several decades when oppressive external circumstances could easily have prohibited parental and community involvement. For example, although the former slaves and freemen had voted in large numbers in the latter 1800s under armed forces and federally supervised elections, after 1900 Whites effectively disfranchised African Americans in a South anxious to unite under a banner of White supremacy (Anderson, 1981; Bond, 1939; Franklin, 1974; Woodward, 1974). At the turn of the century, race relations were said to be at a lower ebb than at any time during the 35 years of freedom (Woodward, 1974) and racial conflict was so heightened that the Klan reach its peak membership of (reportedly) five million. In 1919 during a summer hot with racial tension, 25 race riots occurred, so many so that it would be called the Red Summer. By the 1920s and 1930s, Whites lynched African Americans with increasing regularity and legislatures implemented and expanded Jim Crow laws throughout the South.

In this climate of overt racism, comprehensive systems of segregated elementary and high school education for African Americans were created and sustained. Ashmore (1954) describes this educational climate as "dismal." African Americans were forced to compete with White schools for limited resources (Bond, 1939) and to confront perceptions that they did not need education or that they needed an education only for menial tasks (Ashmore, 1954). The self-help philosophy they embraced was one embedded in the realities of their era—that they had to provide for their own, if their own were to be provided for—and fueled by Northern and Southern beliefs that African American education was the responsibility of African Americans. As Anderson (1988) notes, "black education developed within this context of political and economic oppression" (p. 2).

And yet African American education did develop in those years before 1935. In Alabama, for example, Bond (1939) reports that Negro illiteracy decreased from 69.1 per cent in 1900 to 26.2 per cent in 1930 and records that the schools "enjoyed steady improvement" (p. 255). With the aid of the Rosenwald fund, new schoolhouses were built throughout the South. By the 1930s, Black elementary schools were available in a system that resembled universal education (Anderson, 1988). Although high schools followed much more slowly, especially in rural areas, by the 1930s Southern states were forced to provide some high school facilities as they sought ways to stem the tide of a Black working population that was shifting out of rural areas and into the North or the urban South. Bond (1939) reports that in Alabama 724 African Americans were re-

ported as being in high school in 1912; by 1920 this number had increased to 6,365. The Alabama figures correspond with the general Southern trend. Ashmore (1954) notes that African American high schools rose from 67 in 1916 to 1,860 in 1928. Due, perhaps, to the Depression and lack of work, by the 1930s African American attendance for the first time was proportionally as great as Whites.

However, with the development of increased educational opportunities came a number of continued challenges to the African American community. For example, although high school was becoming more widely available in 1930 in many areas, others were still without high school education (Bond, 1939; Siddle Walker, 1996), especially rural areas. Ashmore (1954) reports that in 1933, 200 counties with African American populations of 12.5 per cent or more still had no high schools. In comparison with White schools, which were receiving well-funded high school education, these omissions meant that the African American community continued to be challenged to find ways to provide high school education for many of its children of high school age. Moreover, African Americans continued to seek ways to circumvent Northern philanthropists and Southern citizens who sought to "provide Negro education in keeping with their conception of Negro place" (Bond, 1939, p. 290). Although the Northern philanthropists mandated industrial education for the county training schools (Anderson, 1988), African Americans refused to accept an industrial curriculum for their schools, continuing to focus instead on classical training. This training, they believed, would provide access to the liberation they sought through education because it gave them access to the "the best intellectual traditions" (p. 29).

Of equal concern was the continuing inequality in the distribution of resources. Suffering from the belief that African American education should be a function of the federal government or of private philanthropy and not a local responsibility, Whites refused to allocate appropriate funds for African American education. Although the accuracy of their perception has been challenged by Anderson (1988), Whites held the belief that African Americans did not contribute sufficiently to the tax base to be worthy of receiving an equitable share for their schools. As a result of these local attitudes, Ashmore (1954) records that the value of African American school property in the South was only about 8 per cent of the total, even though the students constituted 30 per cent of the South's total school attendance. The classrooms are described as "primitive one-room frame structures, wholly lacking in modern facilities" (p. 28). As a result, African American parents used churches, vacant tenant houses, and lodges for schools (Growth & Development, 1997). Fultz (1995a) reports that in 1918, 65.1 percent of African American school buildings were privately owned by the African American community, as compared to 22.2 percent of the White schools.

Teacher training, availability, and job demands also created problems to be surmounted in the early years. According to Anderson (1988), in 1900 in the 16 former slave states, only one African American teacher was available for every 93 school-age children (p. 111). Fultz (1995b) provides a summary of teaching trends from the 1890s through 1940. The 1920s and 30s show the largest increases in Black teachers, particularly in the South. However, as Fultz enumerates, the teacher levels of academic and pedagogical training during this early

period were on average below national norms. Moreover, the teachers faced tremendous challenges as a result of high teacher-pupil ratios and poor working conditions. He aptly the dismal conditions confronting African American students, teachers, and their parents during this era.

> Black teachers in the South during this period had substantially higher teacher-pupil ratios than did their White Southern (or Northern) counterparts and confronted potentially chaotic classrooms. The problems of overcrowding, irregular attendance, skewed grade distributions, and the general "overagedness" of African American students—compounded by a dearth of supplies and equipment—all contributed to an environment that might "tax the ingenuity of the best trained teachers," as Ambrose Caviler [has] commented. (p. 404)

These difficulties related to funding and curriculum and the negative or dismissive attitudes about African American education that plagued early generations of African American parents are important for understanding the behaviors of schools and communities after 1935. Although the circumstances would change, as will be discussed in subsequent sections, these behaviors appear to have been rooted in the reproduction of values and beliefs modeled by their predecessors. This review will now move on to the values, evidence, characteristics, and limitations of what can be summarized about the education offered during the period when segregation was at its height.

"Valued" Segregated Schooling and Evidence of Successful Outcomes for African American Students

None of the authors in this review ignore the limited resources that were available to segregated schools—in fact, each is explicit about the inequalities and their influence on the schools. Notwithstanding this acknowledgement, however, everyone makes the claim that the schools were "valued" by the community. By this, they seem to argue that the community saw merit in the schools in spite of the limited resources. But what was the collective valuing and what evidence is available to support the claim that the schools held merit? Moreover, what are the limitations of the studies?

Writing of well known Dunbar High School in Washington, Hundley (1965) provides the first available book-length description of an African American school community valuing its academic traditions. Hers is a work that shows some internal change in the institution and particularly bemoans the loss of the academic tradition in the later years. However, Hundley maintains her proposition that Dunbar was a stellar institution. She concludes that Dunbar High School of Washington spent 85 years "inspiring youth, developing talent, maintaining standards, meeting national competition, and bringing to ambitious youth every cultural contact within her reach" (p. 178). Her findings are confirmed by Sowell (1974, 1976), whose study of six high schools and two elementary schools that "exemplify educational excellence" included Dunbar of Washington, DC, among other schools. Although some of the schools are outside the geographical parameters of this review, the descriptions of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta and Frederick Douglas in Baltimore reflect the same type of memories as Dunbar. Of Washington, Sowell (1976) recounts an alumnus who described it as a "happy school with hard taskmasters" (31). Similarly, Jones's (1981) de-

scription of the other well-known Dunbar High School, this one in Little Rock, Arkansas, utilizes survey data, interview data, and quantitative analysis to report and describe the value the school held to participants, teachers, principals, and members of the community. Reporting results from graduates from 1930 to 1955, she argues that the school provided a supportive, academic climate and that graduates were successful "despite an institutionalized system which was stacked against them in their former years" (p. 72). Indeed, Dunbar is deemed, as the title of her book indicates, to be a "model of educational excellence."

Central High School in Louisville, Kentucky is another of the urban schools that boasts a stellar history. Written by a former student and teacher who spent 44 years at the school, Tilford-Weathers (1982) uses some personal memories as well as extensive documents from the Louisville Free Public Library to chronicle the school's history from 1882 until 1982. Acknowledging that facilities were "highly inadequate," she writes of the instructors as being "thoroughly competent" (p. 16). She describes the history of the extracurricular program, the activities of principals, the curricular focus, and the involvement of parents. Of Central, she asserts that the school was one "respected and loved by thousands of students who have passed through her doors" (p. 1).

Yet the valuing is not confined to well-known urban schools. Although Sowell (1967, 1976) indicates that his excellent schools are exemplary because of the urban settings in which they were located and notes the distinctiveness of the cities as places that had a concentration of free persons of color during the antebellum era, descriptions by other authors have indicated that the lesser known, small town, and rural school communities report similar stories. In Beaufort, a coastal town in the Southern part of North Carolina, biographer of Queen Street High School Lenwood Davis (1996) reports that Beaufort/Queen Street High School between 1928 and 1968 had "a tremendous impact on its students" and reports that the graduates have made "outstanding contributions to society in spite of a segregated and racist society" (p. 1). As with the more well-known schools, he attributes success to the attributes of the school. In another coastal North Carolina town further north, David Cecelski (1994) writes of the one-year boycott African Americans sustained in an effort to save their schools in the face of forced desegregation. Their own schools had a "rich educational heritage that dated back at least a century" (p. 60); the teachers "set high standards and constantly put new challenges in front of their students" (p. 64). Parents were willing to have a desegregated system, but unwilling to have their heritage sacrificed.

Although no boycotts were held to preserve the schools, two other book length descriptions accompany the others and describe piedmont areas of North and South Carolina where the schools were deemed exemplary by their communities. Writing of rural Caswell County, Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) describes Caswell County Training School from 1933 to 1969. The work generated from the community's evaluation of their school as a "good one." It was a place, according to one grandmother, where "colored children learnt something" in school. Likewise, a former principal of Halifax Training School in rural Halifax, Virginia utilized his files and community resources to provide a detailed overview of the education in segregated schools in the county. In collaboration, Edwards, Royster, and Bates (1979) report that Halifax County Training School,

which in the 1950s was Virginia's largest rural Negro high school, was purported by some to be "better than the White schools" (p. 64). The other smaller high school in the county was reported to be much like the smaller White high schools—"a fine facility with well-qualified staff," though with limited curriculum offerings because of its size.

These book length descriptions are accompanied by research articles, book chapters, and conference presentations that speak to the same themes. McCullough-Garrett (1993), Noblit and Dempsey (1993), Philipsen (1994), and Jeffries (1994), all working from related data sources, make similar characterizations about an elementary African American school in an urban area in central North Carolina. The authors worked in an African American community they call Centerville or Rougemont and describe an elementary school that held values consistent with the community and that was deemed to have been a successful school. Their work is complemented by Edwards (1998) description of Booker T. Washington in South Carolina, Morris's (1997) examination of desegregation in St. Louis which included some analysis of the African American school, and Owens' (1999) description of a segregated school principal in Mississippi. Although outside the parameters of this review, and sometimes claiming a unique relationship because of the schools' Northern status, it is worth noting that Randolph (1999) has found similar valuing of an African American school in Ohio and Judith Gibson (1999) in the northeast. In every case, these papers describe themes consistent with those of the book-length descriptions.

Two other authors have provided a survey of attitudes that encompass information about segregated schools beyond a single site. In a book-length description of Black teachers across the United States, Michele Foster (1997) captures the memories of teachers in the first two sections of the book who taught in segregated schools. Her Southern teachers recount and elaborate upon themes similar to ones described in the case studies and in so doing suggest generalizability of the ideas beyond the particular locales of the case studies. Likewise, Frederick Rodgers's (1967) survey data of African American principals describing their schools during the 1960s provides a characterization of segregated school communities across North Carolina. His findings too suggest that the schools were valued by participants prior to their closing, and in so doing diminishes some of the argument that the valuing of the schools is a contemporary phenomena that was not true in real time.

The perceptions by insiders that theirs was a good school community, often written in ways that suggest the extent to which they are unaware of the similarity their school held with other Southern segregated schools for African Americans, are accompanied by some limited evidence of the schools' successes. Authors capture this in college attendance rates, reporting the positions graduates hold, reporting Southern Association of Schools and Colleges accreditation compliance and, in fewer cases, using IQ scores. Dunbar in Little Rock and Dunbar in Washington boast the highest college attendance rates. According to Jones (1981), 60% of the Dunbar graduates attended college in the 1950s. Hundley (1965) reports that 80% of the Dunbar graduates in Washington attended college. Particularly at Dunbar in Washington, graduates are listed as attending some of the top schools in the country, many Ivy League, especially

in the 1920s (Hundley, 1965). In rural Halifax the class of 1967 is recorded as having 67 students and 40% college-bound graduates. The author notes that this is a good deal more than the 20% that was true for American high schools as a whole during this era (Edwards et al.,1979). Davis (1996) does not report college attendance rates, but a rough analysis of the list of colleges students who attended in comparison with graduation lists suggests a college attendance rate of perhaps 35%. In these descriptions, the reported data represent rural and urban schools and suggest the additional academic strength that likely existed in urban schools.

Intelligence tests and standardized test scores are also used to document merit. However, these are only incomplete snapshots. For example, Sowell's description of Dunbar in Washington indicates that in 1938-39 the average IQ was below 100 for only one year (when it was 99) and was a high as 111. His analysis appears to be confirmed by Hundley (1965) who reports that 18% of the students had IQs of 115 or higher, 20% had IQs between 105 and 114, 28% between 95 and 104, 21% between 85 and 94, and 8% below 85. Unfortunately, Hundley provides no dates on these scores. This perspective on Dunbar is consistent, however, with its history when, in 1899, graduates scored higher than White high school students in the District of Columbia, attendance rates were better, and tardiness was lower (Sowell, 1976). These results may also be related to the middle class community that populated the school.

The most common way of documenting school success in the studies is to list graduates and accomplishments (Davis, 1996; Edwards et al., 1979; Hundley, 1965; Jones, 1981; Tilford-Weathers, 1982). In cases where lists are not provided, authors note the "first" African Americans that came out of particular segregated school environments, as for example, the number of known graduates from Booker T. Washington in Atlanta (Sowell, 1976). In her survey of Dunbar students in Little Rock, Jones (1981) reports that, when asked to describe their current occupations, 55% of the respondents indicated that they belonged to the highest two social classes. In related work, Delpit (1992) reports on the success rates of 35 students in a segregated elementary school in Richmond, Virginia.

Some authors also attempt to verify the credibility of the schools by noting their accreditation status. Rodgers's (1967) survey of principals provides the most comprehensive view of a state system. In his survey, 75% of the reporting principals noted that their schools were fully accredited, although he does not indicate by which agency they were accredited. Caswell County Training school, as reported by Siddle Walker (1996), would be among this number, having been accredited by the Association of Colleges and Schools in 1954, whereas the comparable White high school was still unaccredited when desegregation occurred in 1969 (Siddle Walker, 1996). Tilford-Weathers likewise uses Central's 1935 admission in the Association as evidence of its excellence.[1]

What emerges from these accounts is a summation of the schools is a clear trend that some components of the schooling were valued by the principals, teachers, students, and parents who were part of the schools. This argument of valuing crosses the decades in elementary and high schools—though we have more information on high schools—and is consistent across a number of geographic locations. However, the evidence confirming the relationship between

the valuing and educational outcomes is scanty and provides only snap-shots of the extent to which all or most graduates experienced success based on test scores, college attendance rates, or occupation. Moreover, all of the evidence on occupations, where reported, has a low return rate from the graduates, making it difficult to assess how representative the claims are for a whole class or throughout the years of the school. Thus, while it is clear that the schools were valued, the data are less clear on what the valuing actually meant as it related to outcome.

The studies are also limited in some other areas. For example, their heavy reliance on self-report is problematic. Although some authors directly address the question of nostalgia and employ a methodology linking self-reports with documents to substantiate the existence of the themes during the era being described (Siddle Walker, 1996), for the most part, triangulation is absent in the reported results. This is particularly true in the articles. In many ways, this omission is understandable. As Cecelski (1994), Noblit and Dempsey (1996), Tilford-Weathers (1982), and Siddle Walker (1996) have indicated, many records were destroyed after desegregation, making it difficult to retrieve the documents that would lend additional credibility to the oral argument. However, explicit attention to providing information on the available documents and how they do or do not confirm the oral reports would enhance the believability of the cases.

In addition, although Foster (1997) and Rodgers (1967) provide powerful indicators that the valuing was true in many locations in the South, all the information needed to argue convincingly for generalizability is not present. The schools that have been written about do tend to cluster in urban areas or in particular states, such as North Carolina, which has historically been viewed as a progressive educational state in the South. While data are clearly available in other locations, they say little about the generalizability of the ideas in elementary schools and in poorer states.

Notwithstanding these limitations, however, the studies are sufficiently methodologically and conceptually sound to support the argument that among many African Americans a form of teaching and learning in the segregated schools was valued, whatever its external outcomes may have been. Moreover, the consistency of the theme in a variety of locations suggests that an understanding of the characteristics and themes of these schools must be included as part of the historical record. Indeed, the studies report some compelling conclusions that beg for further elucidation.

Common Themes and Characteristics of the Segregated School

The characteristics of the segregated schools can be captured in four themes. Although each theme exists in relationship with the other, this discussion separates them into the following categories: 1) exemplary teachers, 2) curriculum and extracurricular activities, 3) parental support, and 4) leadership of the school principal.

Exemplary teachers

African American teachers and principals embodied the spirit of schooling that pervaded the African American school environment after 1930. Consistently remembered for their high expectations for student success, for their dedica-

tion, and for their demanding teaching style, these teachers appear to have worked with the assumption that their job was to be certain that children learned the material presented. These descriptions are consistent, cross disciplinary boundaries, and overshadow any discussions about individual teaching styles (Sowell, 1976; Siddle Walker, 1996, 1999). While the definitions for what is meant by their "high expectations" and being "demanding" are somewhat elusive in the literature, the language describing their behaviors is remarkably consistent. The teachers "made" the students do their work (Edwards, 1979, p. 15-16). They "made sure you got your lessons" (Davis, 1996, p. 116). They "wouldn't let you" fail to complete your work. According to Sowell (1976), teachers were "hard taskmasters" who gave lots of work, refused to lower the standards, and "if you didn't learn, you stayed after school as long as necessary to learn" (p. 31).

In this view, teachers assumed the responsibility of interacting with students beyond the confined class periods and interceding when external difficulties could prohibit the objectives they held for a particular child. Teachers held extracurricular tutoring sessions, visited homes and churches in the community where they taught, even when they did not live in the community, and provided guidance about "life" responsibilities. They talked with students before and after class, carried a student home if it meant that the child would be able to participate in some extracurricular activity he or she could not otherwise participate in, purchased school supplies for their classrooms, and helped to supply clothing for students whose parents had fewer financial resources and scholarship money for those who needed help to go to college. As one teacher described the personal and financial sacrifices made, "it hurts, but you have to do these things some time" (Siddle Walker, 1996). Indeed, the teachers' apparent willingness to assume so many extra responsibilities to ensure student success may explain the "missionary" spirit they are described as having.

In many ways, the commitment the teachers held to teaching the children is embedded in the culture of the era. As Hundley (1965) describes, the teachers were self-made. They were in "sympathy with the youth whose problems and aspirations they understood only too well" (p. 13). Usually products of Southern segregated schools themselves, these teachers both implicitly identified with student needs and aspirations and, simultaneously, understood how to negotiate the world beyond the local community. Having lived the benefit of education, the teachers could also tell students how to move beyond the limited life possibilities of a segregated world and how to use education to achieve a middle class life. In espousing the philosophies they held, they both recreated themselves in their students and made possible the continued advancement of a people with whom they identified (Irvine & Irvine, 1983). Their point of identification with the children is captured vividly in Sowell's description of a principal who noted: "you are pushing for them, and dying inside for them, [but] you have to let them know that they have to produce" (Sowell, 1979, p. 36).

In this intimate venue, students reportedly responded to their examples and descriptions of success. Their teachers are said to be "inspiring." Students did not want to let them down. Consistently, they attribute their success and self-confidence to the work of their teachers. Quipped one student in Rougemont, "preachers were good, but teachers were great!" (Noblit & Dempsey, 1996, p. 129).

Yet the attributes of teachers are not solely defined by their reflection of and identification with the values of the community. The teachers were also highly trained. Although their average education was below that of Whites in the 1920s, by the 1930s their levels were increasing to the point that by the end of the decade, only 6.8% of Negro high school teachers were more poorly prepared than their White counterparts in the South. Even rural areas such as Halifax, Virginia and Caswell County, North Carolina reported their high school teachers as all holding class A certificates. In places like Dunbar High School in Washington, several teachers held Ph.D.s from prestigious Northern universities. During the 1940s, the professional preparation of teachers continued to rise. By 1949-50 African American teacher preparation exceeded that of White teachers in many Southern states (Rodgers, 1967). These states included Washington, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. South Carolina and Florida lagged somewhat behind; only in Mississippi did the trend not hold (Thompson, 1953).

The teachers also engaged in continuing professional preparation. They participated in summer schools and traveled as ways to enhance their own learning and "refresh" their spirit (Hundley, 1965; Kluger, 1977). As Perkins (1989) indicates, throughout South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Georgia, Louisiana, and other Southern states, descriptions have been written of the Negro Teacher Association meetings where teachers attended sessions on how to work with slow children or how to work with advanced students. Many schools report 100% membership in the professional organizations and oral histories indicate that the teachers traveled to these local meetings and some attended national meetings. In a style consistent with the African American church, they reported what they learned from these meetings back to the school community so that non-attendees could remain abreast of the national trends. Sometimes these reports occurred in PTA meetings (Siddle Walker, 1996); frequently, they were part of staff development activities for teachers (Jones, 1981; Siddle Walker, 1996). The newsletters from these state and local associations also demonstrate the familiarity of African American teachers with national trends in education and provide a written record of how they assumed the responsibility of addressing these issues as they related to their tasks. Among the articles remaining are ones on "Quality Teachers: The Responsibility of the College and University," "Our Executive Committee Accepts the Supreme Court's Challenge," as well as articles on teaching science to young people (Murray, n.d.).

What emerges is a portrait of African American teachers who were professional educators steeped in an understanding of philosophies about children and teaching, but also committed to the development of the particular children they served and having their own set of beliefs about how the children should be motivated to achieve. As has been demonstrated to be true in some African American higher education institutions where the expectations of the African American community and the New England model of curriculum were blended to form a special form of education for African American students (Byas-Smith, in progress), the very nature of teaching in the segregated school appears to have been transformed by these educators who expanded the dominant ideology with their own commitments to the elevation of a people. In so doing they developed a cultural teaching style that assumed their children would be, and

must be, taught the curriculum available at White schools, but that also assumed that the students must be motivated to believe they could achieve and be held accountable for learning. This task they appear to have embraced in their construction of what it meant to be a teacher.

Of note also is that in adopting this sense of accountability, the teachers were modeling for students the admonitions they preached to them: "You have to better than good if you want to succeed." Through their education and continuous pursuit of additional education, the teachers demonstrated their own desire to be better than what was expected of White teachers. Just as important, when they told African American children they could "be somebody," they in effect were examples of the truths they espoused, thus making themselves significant role models.

Curriculum and Extracurricular Activities

As evidenced by the curriculum and extracurricular activities, the segregated school apparently supported the private and classroom messages of teachers and principal, reinforcing the aspirations that students could grow up to "be somebody." By "being somebody," the teachers and principals suggest that students were not to feel bound by the segregated world in which they lived, but were to be made to believe that if they worked hard enough they could "be anything they wanted to be." As such, the staff prepared the students to be participants in a non-segregated world, even though this world did not yet exist in the South. The manner in which they reinforced these messages in the school at large is evident in the academic focus of the curriculum and the extracurricular focus.

Academically, the schools surveyed sought whenever possible to be certain that the same curriculum was being offered to African American boys and girls as was being offered at White schools. Although they note the second-hand books they were given by the school boards, the schools followed the standard curriculum prescribed by the state in which the school was located (Edwards et al., 1979), including offering Latin and other academically accelerated courses (Foster, 1997; Sowell, 1979; Siddle Walker, 1996) and these courses changed over the years to meet new curricular requirements. Eschewing the argument about industrial or classical training, the schools unabashedly offered both vocational and classical courses and children who took vocational courses also took the classical courses (Cecelski, 1994; Edwards et al., 1979; Edwards, 1998; Jones, 1981; Siddle Walker, 1996). According to most authors, however, the focus of the schools was primarily classical.

These efforts of African American schools to emulate, and even exceed, the White curriculum were constrained in at least two ways. First, the curriculum was limited by financial constraints and school size (Edwards et al., 1979; Siddle Walker, 1996). When the schools were too small, the additional courses evident in White schools, such as increased offerings in industrial arts, were not available at African American schools (Davis, 1996). Likewise, the more limited resources inhibited course offerings. Second, in some settings the aspirations of African Americans were reportedly rebutted because of a desire by White school boards to be certain that the African American school did not offer academic courses that equaled or exceeded those being offered at the White school. For example, Dunbar in Washington "fought a losing battle" to add calculus in the

1940s (Sowell, 1979, p. 51). Foster (1997) describes teacher Everett Dawson's introduction of advanced math into the rural school curriculum at all-Black Horton High School. It was the first advanced math class in the county and county officials reportedly "blocked" it when they found out. According to Dawson, "They cut it out until the White school could establish the course and catch up with us. That's how determined the White folks were to be better than we were" (p. 5). The full extent to which school boards rebutted such efforts is unclear in the literature as some contradictory evidence is also available. For example, Caswell County Training School did have more curricular offerings than the White high school (Siddle Walker, 1996).

The philosophy that motivated African American teachers and principals in their curricular efforts appears to be embedded in their understanding of the needs of students and, in some settings, driven by their understanding of the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education and National Education Association objectives. These principles overlapped in a number of areas, including health, human relations, civic responsibility, worthy home-membership, command of fundamental processes, and workmanship. These principles also appear to overlap with the needs teachers and principals perceive students as having in some schools. In at least two settings, the national objectives are directly linked to the school, Dunbar of Little Rock and Beaufort/Queen Street High School (Jones, 1981; Davis, 1996). Additionally, some evidence suggests the curriculum shifted based on changing demands. In Caswell County, principal Dillard speaks of the curricular challenge, pointing out that changes in the society demanded a change in curriculum (Siddle Walker, 1996). Teachers too reflect the belief that the schools were always challenged to change their curriculum to meet new needs. In general, however, the forces that drove curricular change are not well described.

An extracurricular activity program that appears to be a hallmark of many schools, and which included clubs, all-school events, and special observances, complemented the academic curriculum. Although historian Hollis Long (1932) declared that interest in activities had barely been aroused among the Negroes, the histories of the segregated schools suggest his conclusion is inaccurate. Beginning as early as the 1920s and continuing into the 1960s the schools offered a variety of club activities, including those that (a) focused on musical ability (e.g., glee club, rhythm band, choral club, band, dance orchestra); (b) emphasized speaking abilities (e.g., Better English club, Dramatic Club, Newspaper); (c) prepared students for future responsibilities (e.g., New Homemakers of America, Future Teachers of America); (d) reinforced values the school and community believed were important (e.g., Hi-Y club whose purpose was to "create, maintain, and extend throughout the school and community higher standards of Christian character" and the Just Us Club, for 7th graders "eager and anxious to do something good"); (e) recognized scholastic accomplishment (e.g., Crown and Scepter Club, Beta Club); (f) enhanced interest in academic content areas (e.g., La Circle Francais Club); and (g) encouraged individual student interests (e.g., Library Club, Pep Club, Aviation club). Rodgers (1967) provides an excellent description of the kinds of activities within schools in North Carolina.

Several reasons are given in the literature for the existence of the club structure. Foremost was the need to provide students an opportunity to develop their interests and talents. With many students unable to take dance lessons or music lessons or participate in other culturally enriching activities in the segregated worlds in which they lived, the schools used the club period to meet this need. Jones (1981) describes how the activities taught students "to appreciate music, art, the classics" (p. 69). The clubs also supported the academic program by reinforcing some of the disciplinary content areas. Although the researchers do not elaborate on this link, the reinforcement surely occurred on at least two levels. First, students had opportunities to learn more about the content area, history, for instance. Second, students developed critical thinking skills in their work with projects and developed closer relationships with teachers who had similar interests. Both of these opportunities must have had a positive influence on classroom performance. Clubs have also been described as places where leadership was developed and where students were able to identify with the schools, learn to interact with other, and have fun (Rodgers, 1967).

Significantly, many of the clubs existed in a web that included relationships with other schools and the community. Students participated in debate and band as part of district and state champoinships, always competing against other segregated African American schools. Often times these were hosted at traditionally Black colleges which provided students additional exposure to academic excellence. At least some schools also maintained an exchange program where choral groups, band groups, and drama groups regularly visited the campus of another school and performed for that school's student body (Siddle Walker, 1996). African American churches and other community events, such as Christmas programs, also hosted student groups from the schools. These were most often musical groups.

The segregated schools also offered athletics, commonly baseball and basketball, as part of their extra-curricular activities. However, in his survey of activities in five Negro high schools in 1942, Dillard notes that "it is highly significant that the first two ranking school activities are not athletics." In part, this statement reflects his belief that athletics were just one way students developed and were not to overshadow students' academic development. Of course, the inability of many African American schools to host full athletic programs because of inequities in funding may also explain some of the lower participation rates in athletic programs. Limited facilities, including the absence of a gymnasium (Jones, 1981), could be another reason.

Student participation in the club program appears to have varied, but was most often high when reported. Although reported participation does not reveal very much about actual involvement, a review of what is known about reported participation is useful. Rodgers (1967) notes that 36% of the North Carolina principals reported that half of their students participated in extracurricular activities. Thirty-eight percent of the principals gave percentages of participation from 25% to 50%. The case studies report higher percentages. Reporting on the 1944 class, Jones records that only 5 of 91 seniors listed no extracurricular activities. The average number of extracurricular activities per student was three, which the range of such activities was from one to nine (Jones, 1981). Additional exposition of cases is available in a master's thesis where Dillard (1942)

surveyed 917 students representing 70% of students enrolled in five Negro high schools that were located in rural or small-town North Carolina in 1942. The survey indicated an average of 42 school activities with the range from 39 to 51. Dillard also noted that in the five schools there were 288 officials, or one office for every three students. Most students held only one office. Notwithstanding these numbers, a full understanding of the participation rates is limited because many authors do not address the number of students participating, but focus instead on the types of activities. Rodgers (1967) provides some additional insight when he notes that the extensiveness of the extracurricular programs appears to be related to geographic locations and size. He also notes that the programs seem to have peaked in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Complementing and extending the activity program were the all-school events. Most often this event was "Chapel," or a school assembly, where students had an in-school forum to present the work of their clubs and were taught to listen to the works presented by others. In this forum, students also were exposed to ideas from their principal or another speaker. As was true within the clubs, these talks appear to have emphasized some of the values the teachers and principal believed were important to communicate to students. Davis (1996) describes these values as "self-improvement, discipline, responsibility, leadership, respect for authority, and thriftiness" (p. 32). These were grounded in a Christian ideology, embraced democratic values, and included references to the needs of the African American race. In addition to talks by the principal or local speakers, some schools also record instances of nationally known African American speakers or entertainers who visited the schools (Davis, 1996; Hundley, 1965; Jones, 1981; Tilford-Weathers, 1982; Siddle Walker, 1996). Hundley (1965) writes that these cultural figures were brought to school because students were "barred from theaters . . . and were seldom exposed to those stimulating discussions with people of other backgrounds that lift the spirit and develop self confidence" (14). Although the national prominence of the speakers must surely have been related to principal or other teacher contacts, the inclusion of these guests in the school assembly was not a practice confined to urban areas (e.g., Davis, 1996).

In addition to clubs and assemblies, segregated schools featured some other all-school events that were open to the community. A common activity was "May Day," where students crowned the May queen and wrapped the May pole. The events included races, contests, and exhibitions (Davis, 1996; Dillard, 1942). The annual Christmas Musical Program also appears to have been central in many schools. Students dressed in costumes as angels and shepherds, the choirs usually sung, and the band performed. Elementary schools often describe operettas—dramatic performances by students in the evening for their parents and the community—as important year-end events. Various schools also describe socials, class day exercises, and awards nights as other types of all-school activities (Davis, 1996).

A final form of extracurricular activity is evident in the special observances that were part of many schools. The segregated schools observed Negro History week, Emancipation Proclamation Day, and other national events that varied at different school locations. Although African American history was not part of the written curriculum, these observances were formalized opportunities for students to learn more about the history of the race. Reporting on Rougemont in

Durham, North Carolina, Noblit and Dempsey (1996) note that students were taught pride in being African American because they formed an understanding of "where we've been and what we need to do" (p. 129).

Of the extra-curricular activities, Davis (1996) writes, the students were being "educated inside the classrooms, as well as acquiring an education outside of the classrooms" (p. 32). In their emphasis on such training, the schools paralleled the extracurricular activities provided at White schools and embraced the professional belief prevalent at the time that activities offered opportunities for growth mentally, physically, socially and morally (Dillard, 1942). Evidence also suggests that students understood and appreciated the significance of these activities in their education. Ninety-two percent of Jones's respondents felt that the emphasis placed at Dunbar (in Arkansas) on activities helped them "discover and fulfill themselves as persons" (Jones, 1981, p. 35), although some students did complain about the lack of variety available in the athletic program. Interestingly, however, Jones's survey suggests that while students valued the extracurricular program, it was viewed as just one of the schools strengths and seemed to hold no prominence over other strengths, such as caring teachers, high expectations, or the firmly held belief that the segregated school was like a family. N.L. Dillard's 1942 master's thesis at the University of Michigan confirms the importance of this view.

Parental Support

Building upon the parental involvement evident among African American parents from the post-Civil War forward, African American parents from the 1930s to the 1960s continued the tradition of helping their children acquire education. Their contributions during this period are most often linked with the philosophy of self-help, which had motivated their parents, and are driven by the financial needs of the schools. For example, from 1932 into the 1960s African Americans are recorded as buying pianos, playground equipment, books, science equipment, and other supply items for the schools. "Patrons," as they were called, also donated grass seed, and other articles and items to beautify the school grounds or in other ways meet school needs. These items sometimes included school buses, land, and lumber for new school houses. When necessary, patrons also contributed labor to the school for repair and moved old school houses belonging to White children to new locations for the use of African American children. On a smaller scale, parents regularly supplied food or other items to be used in conjunction with a variety of fund raisers. Although no exact figures remain on these contributions, researchers are consistent in their descriptions of these types of activities among parents in schools throughout the South.

A more visible form of parental support is the "advocacy" role (Siddle Walker, 1996). "Advocates" were parents and community leaders who interposed themselves between the needs of the school community and the power of the White school board and made requests on behalf of the school. Sometimes they made these requests directly to local school boards; sometimes they appealed to school supervisors at the state capitols. Like the financial contributions, this form of support can also be identified throughout the period of this review. In the 1930s, advocates most frequently sought high school programs and transportation. In

the 1940s, advocates pressured school boards for new buildings and other equal facilities, sometimes threatening and executing law suits. Most often they waited a decade or more for these buildings to be constructed. In the 1950s as more money began to be available, advocates lobbied for gymnasiums and other structural needs that the schools did not yet have that would make them "equal." This continued into the 1960s.

The 1960s also saw another form of advocacy and sometimes advocates who were different from the ones who had traditionally assumed the role. These parents were most frequently involved in school desegregation suits as ways to assure equal educational opportunities. Examples also exist of parent committees who worked to structure school desegregation. Throughout the decades advocates were most often a small group of parents, usually those who had more financial assets and who had jobs that made their financial stability less vulnerable to White retaliation. They often included ministers and businessmen. In 1960s teachers also assumed a larger role in advocacy than they had traditionally held during the earlier decades when their jobs were in jeopardy if they sought to influence school decisions.

Another visible form of parental support was attendance at school functions. Parent teacher association meetings were reportedly well attended, as were spring and Christmas concerts, and operettas. Athletic events were also occasions of parental activity. These forms of support place the school as the cultural city of the segregated community. In reporting the greater participation at school events among African American parents than White parents, Rodgers (1967) posits that this may have been because there was "nothing else" for African American parents to do (p. 46).

The records are unclear on the actual numbers of parents involved in the various activities. Rodgers (1967) reports that 48% of principals reported parental involvement in school activities as moderate in the mid 1960s, although what African American principals of that era considered to be "moderate" is ill-defined. He did not request data for an earlier period and it is unclear whether involvement included PTA or attendance at schools events or some other form. Siddle Walker (1996) reports that in the years after the new school opened in Caswell County in 1951, the 722-seat auditorium was one-half to three-fourths full (excluding the balcony) on most PTA nights. An estimate by the principal in the early 1950s is that the PTA association represented 50% of the homes. Noblit and Dempsey (1996) say the PTA at Rougemont always had a "large crowd" (p. 132).

A final form of involvement has been described in the parental support of schools that was unrelated to their presence. This type of support may explain the lower attendance rates when contrasted with the high support remembered in the oral accounts. By sending their children to school each day, many parents made a financial sacrifice to support education (Hundley, 1965), since the absence of a child, especially for a tenant farmer, had a direct influence on the family's working capacity. These parents also participated in the complementary reinforcement of community values. For example, parents taught respect for teachers and provided a second disciplinary action at home if students disobeyed the teacher. Such actions constituted support for school authority and minimized the disruptions teachers had at school.

The activity attributed to African American parents during this era does not imply consistency in attitudes and beliefs. The records also indicate that some African Americans were not interested in supporting the school (Davis, 1996). Siddle Walker (1996) describes teachers as expressing concern about school attendance and going to talk with parents in local churches about why it was important to keep children in school. Such evidence indicates that not all African American parents held the attitudes described. The evidence also shows that African American parents sometimes disagreed on the most effective approach to gain equality of resources for the schools. First evidenced in the 1940s after World War II, the division reflected the attitudes of some African Americans that rights should be demanded through litigation. Others held to the belief that they should continue to work with local officials.

No researchers record evidence of parents as decision makers, and, with few exceptions, most researchers do not note the omission (Sowell, 1979). Rather, parents appear to have viewed themselves in a supportive role for the school. Since many were still not college-educated, especially before the 1960s, parents appear to have left educational decision making to those in the community who were educated. They helped with classrooms when asked, but did not "intrude" on the teachers work (Siddle Walker, 1996).

The forms of parental support appear to be linked to the continued needs confronting the African American community. Although the thrust to achieve high school education and transportation had been accomplished in many school districts by the period of this review, the neglect the schools experienced had not abated, particularly in the earlier decades. All of the authors provide descriptions of the problems with resources that challenged the schools. They argue that the facilities were not the same as those of the White schools and were never adequate to meet schools needs (Edwards et al., 1979; Hundley, 1965; Rodgers, 1967). Edwards writes of the school board's "tightfistedness" and describes it as being a problem "for decades." Of the elementary school allotment, he writes that they "got one or two brooms, one or two water pails, one to two boxes of chalk, two to three gallons of oil, and sometimes a half ton of a ton of coal" (p. 41). Some schools got no supplies; occasionally some others received some academic materials. The 1934-35 school year of equipment is instructive: For 231 high school students, $24 was spent on laboratory equipment for physics, $45 for chemistry, $50 for general science, $114 for agriculture, $135 for biology. No money was spent for home economics and industrial arts. In 1944-45 this number had changed little in portion to the increased numbers of students. Hundley (1965) describes Dunbar's blackboards as cracked and the cafeteria dark and crowded. In Little Rock in 1938-39, $39.59 was being spent on each Negro student compared to $66.56 on each White student (Jones, 1981). Of the second-hand materials and reluctance to provide anything new to the segregated schools, a former principal in Alabama quips: "They just couldn't figure out how to burn coal before they gave it to us" (Owens, 1999).

Into the 1950s, descriptions of inadequate resources continue to appear in the studies, as school communities sought gymnasiums, cafeterias, activity buses, public address systems, libraries, and lunch rooms. Davis describes the strike students held at Queen Street in the 1950s that was 90% successful as one

means by which students and communities attempted to bring pressure upon school boards. Many accounts provide the number of years African Americans waited for new facilities, sometimes as many as 15 (Noblit & Dempsey, 1996).

The era of the 1950s, however, does begin to bring a different response from the school board that is directly linked to the larger national events. During this period, after another world war had helped to prompt new employment opportunities for African Americans in the larger society and increasing numbers of law suits were filed to challenge the separate but equal doctrine of Plessy, school boards began to respond to long-standing concerns of African American parents. In this new national climate, providing buildings for African American schools became a priority as school boards sought desperately to make African American schools "equal" as a way of forestalling the implementation of Brown. For example, prior to 1950, the amount of money spent for each African American child was 65% of that being spent on each White child. By 1950, 85% more was being spent on each African American child than each White child (Ashmore, 1954). Also, after Brown school boards gave more money for science education (Jones, 1981) and special education programs. In this era, while the schools were not yet equal in resources, the school boards were more receptive to their requests. This response continued into the 1960s until the Kent county case in Virginia made massive desegregation in the South inescapable.

The poor resources thus appear to be inextricably linked to the forms of parental involvement that occurred in the schools. Though Jones's (1981) graduates bemoan the time that was taken to raise funds to make up for the inadequacy of the school board and some question the justice of the double-taxation parents had to endure, the lack of funding appears to have the unintended consequence of mobilizing community support. Arguably, the lack of funding provided a focal point for parental involvement and created a sense of community and connectedness among the school's constituents.

Leadership of the School Principal

The single central figure in the segregated school was the principal. Although the school board employed the principal to be the administrator of the school, in the segregated high schools the principal also served in several other capacities. In his most visible role, the principal was the conduit through which the needs of the school were translated to the community. In this role, the principal motivated parents to provide resources for the school and alerted them to the needs of the school. His interactions happened in community space, such as gas stations, homes, and churches, where African American etiquette would always have him recognized and asked to speak. However, he also communicated needs in formal school settings such as the PTA. In this capacity, the principal served as chief fund-raiser for the school (Rodgers, 1967).

The principal also served as a model for the service attributes he sought to instill in children. He provided leadership for local initiatives designed to help the African American community, such as credit unions, clubs (Rodgers, 1967; Siddle Walker, 1996) and for other community service projects, such as the United Way, or Red Cross during World War II. He was a counselor, often providing marital and financial advice, and he often provided financial assistance from his personal resources to people in need. The principal was also an

active member of the church community. He attended funerals and taught church classes.

Implied rather than described in the articles, the principal also served as a role model for his professional staff. According to Rodgers, in North Carolina 93% of the principals held masters degrees in the mid 1960s, a finding that confirms other studies suggesting that the principal was among the most educated African Americans in the community (Siddle Walker, 1996). With this background, the principal offered advice to teachers on matters relating to their professional growth and their finances. He attended the national meetings he encouraged teachers to attend and participated in educational panels. Likewise, he modeled for teachers the kinds of interactions they should have with parents. As one teacher of Caswell County Training School recalled, "These were the kinds of things we knew growing up, but when we saw Mr. Dillard being that way, it made us want to be that way to" (Siddle Walker, 1996).

In addition, 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. Because of this neglect, the principal held the authority to hire teaches in line with his vision and fire those who did not conform. He held almost complete power over the school program. Although the studies laud his positive contributions to the school and community, no studies elucidate an understanding of when and how the power may have been abused.

Finally, the principal was the liaison with the White community. In this capacity, he advocated for the needs of the school—though always having to be politically astute if he wished to preserve his job—and reported back to the African American community the disposition of the board. He was the "middle man." Larkins (1959) notes, however, that it was in this role that the African American leader was restricted: He could consult with the White community, but he held little power to make policy decisions.

Rodgers's (1967) extensive description of the African American principal does not use the same categories previously mentioned, but does capture the same roles. In his analysis, the African American principal is described as a superintendent, supervisor, family counselor, financial advisor, community leader, employer, and politician. The complexity of these interrelationships he describes as follows:

> The man who headed this important community structure, the principal, was the man who ran the school and, in many cases, the Black community. His influence in community affairs was almost without exception great. He was, therefore, central in community life and was indeed more knowledgeable about what was going on than anyone else. Also, as head of the Black high school, he had a role in the White power structure as well. This usually put him in the position of knowing more about the larger community than any other Black in the Black community. He was often the only Black with whom influential members of the White community had anything approaching professional contact. . . .When we say

> that the high school played a major role in the functioning of the community and in its development, this implies that the principal of the Black high school played a major role in the functioning and development of this community because of the importance of his role in the school. (p.16)

In this intimate and complex role, African American male principals of high schools are noted as making significant contributions to their school communities. Indeed, they provided the leadership and the model for the attributes that students and teachers were to exemplify. Their influence was so great that many problems reportedly were assuaged because no one wanted to disappoint the principal (Siddle Walker, 1996).

Conclusion

The available literature indicates that the segregated schools in the South appear to have certain consistent characteristics. These include exemplary teachers and principals who increasingly were well trained and who created their own culture of teaching; curricular and extracurricular activities that reinforced the values of the school and community; parental support of school, both in its financial needs and its cultural programs; and school principals who provided the leadership that implemented the vision that parents and teachers held about how to uplift the race. Accompanying descriptions of these attributes are also descriptions of the inequities the schools faced and the challenges that were created as a result.

Indeed, many of the schools' characteristics appear to have been a direct response to the challenges they faced and intimately connected to the oppressive circumstances in which they operated. In their world, there was a clear "enemy"—racism. As such, the schools operated with a well-defined purpose for African American uplift that was shared by teachers, principal, and community members. All the training and modeling by teachers and principal were aimed at helping themselves and their students overcome that enemy. The curriculum and extracurricular activities were other avenues to support the same goal. Even parents supported the goal, as they provided for the schools what the schools could not provide for themselves—financial support. In this world, all worked together to achieve the common goal of educating students to function and achieve in a world where the odds were stacked against them.

Finally, the closed segregated community minimized difficulties in role, language, values, and behaviors; it also minimized possibilities for miscommunications, conflict in values, and so forth. In this view, the African American school is revealed, as Rodgers (1967) writes, as a "world of its own, with its own dynamic quality and its own ecological structure" (p. 11); it was "a complex, interdependent system" (p. 15). Indeed, in this closed system where school members and community members interacted in a number of settings and where school and community values reflected the beliefs of the other, the schools, as Irvine and Irvine (1983) note, "took on uniquely styled characteristics reflective of their members' patterns of communication, cultural preferences, and normatively diffused modes of behavior" (p. 416). The school was thus as extension of the community.

Implications for Research

A most significant finding of this review is that none of this scholarship contradicts the earlier historical accounts in their frank descriptions of inequality. To the contrary, they confirm the presence and injustice of a system that failed to meet the needs of some of its students based on color. However, the studies do extend understanding of the schools by providing an up-close view of the education that occurred in these settings and they stand in opposition to the studies that depict African American segregated schooling as unilaterally inferior. What emerges in these accounts is a particular kind of schooling born of the struggles associated with inequality, but nevertheless associated with successful schooling practices in the minds of constituents and on some limited objective criteria. The consistency of this perspective demands that it be welded into a comprehensive understanding of the era of segregated education.

Yet, work in this field is not complete since many of the themes and characteristics invite clarification. Although some of the difficulties relating to individual themes have already been noted, there are also larger difficulties that cross themes and need exploration. For example, the relationship between the caring environment and the educational outcomes needs expansion. In exactly which ways did the schools produce outcomes? Were these related to the strong memories of caring and, if so, how? While it may be unfair to compare test scores with those of White students, it may be reasonable to look for increased test scores over time. Such an increase, if it existed, would be an especially important trend to document if claims are valid that the schools were succeeding in their efforts to facilitate racial uplift. Researchers might also construct a cross generational study of occupational mobility, as this evidence too would indicate whether or not the schools were meeting their objectives.

Additional information on how the African American segregated school compared to the White segregated school is also important for documenting the claim that the schools represented a cultural form of teaching and learning. Except for Noblit and Dempsey (1996), published data sources within this time period do not provide significant data for comparison. This omission makes it unclear which attributes were an African American form of schooling and which attributes represent schooling of the era. Such comparisons are critical for the argument made by Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999) that the teaching informs culturally relevant pedagogy and for other comparisons scholars may wish to make. The argument about the cultural form of teaching and learning would also be enhanced by a linkage of the behaviors of the teachers and principal to the behaviors of the African American community. For example, slave narratives describe children as community property; this sharing of responsibility continued to be documented in the 1970s by Stack (1974) and by Collins (1991). A discussion of the school history in relation to these other cultural behaviors would strengthen an understanding of teaching behaviors.

The segregated schools as they have been described also provide little understanding of the variance within particular themes. Parental involvement provides a good example. That it existed is unsurprising. The embracing of the values of self-help was likely a form of older philosophies about racial uplift and no record exists of those values shifting until a new model emerged with the civil rights suits of the 1940s. But, what was the relationship of involvement

to classroom performance? Who was involved and who wasn't? Might support really be a better word to describe African American interaction with schools? These are questions on which the studies are silent.

Other breakdowns in the descriptions of the themes are also critical for future researchers to address. For example, the case histories almost uniformly discuss high schools. Even when elementary schools are part of the high school environments, as was the case in many schools, these descriptions are more limited. In addition, the ways in which elementary school principals, who more often were female, differed from high school male principals is unclear, as are all other issues related to gender in the daily functioning of the school. In general, these differences in school structures and personnel and how they influenced school behaviors, community interactions, and curriculum would be useful.

Exactly how did the curriculum change over time and in which ways were ability groups handled? How were these decisions consistent with verbal expectations that all students were to perform? While we have some evidence on curriculum, especially at Central High School in Louisville, Kentucky, and some references to grouping, an expansion of curricular activities and how they were delivered to students could elucidate additional understanding about teacher/principal philosophies as they operated during the era.

The case studies also need a more complete discussion of external influences. For example, a discussion of the schools that closely interweaves larger educational movements and society issues with schooling concerns is needed. While the research indicates there was some influence, that influence is largely anecdotal and sparsely recalled. The literature also tells little of organizational influences on the schools. To what extent did the PTA national activities and professional teacher associations influence the daily functioning of the school? These questions remain unanswered. The professional activities of teachers is also described, but no parallel discussion of how these activities translated into classroom behaviors.

Finally, the consistency in values in actions among the schools is intriguing. The research indicates that there was some network among African American schools, but is unclear as to its source. Perhaps the network is linked to the professional education meetings, which gave principals an opportunity to talk with one another on a regular basis. The simultaneous development of so many similar activities is striking and invites further exploration.

These are questions that should guide some of the future inquiry into this topic. Additional work on the implications for contemporary schooling also begs to be addressed by this line of work, especially as it relates to current issues in school desegregation. But a full exploration of the implications for current schooling must await another forum. In the meantime this review indicates that it is no longer sufficient for researchers to describe the segregated schools for their inequities and fail to include the themes and characteristics that were valued by the school community. As these studies confirm, the history of the education of African Americans in the segregated South has moved beyond that point.

Appendix

Exemplary Teacher

Authors	High Expectations	Home Visits/Lived in Community	Reflected Values of Community	Teachers Valued	Teaching with a sense of Mission	Teacher Training	Positive Relationships
Hundley (1965)	X		X	X	X	X	X
Rodgers (1967)						X	
Sowell (1979)	X					X	X
Edwards, Royster, & Bates (1979)		X		X	X	X	
Tilford-Weathers (1982)	X			X	X	X	X
Irvine & Irvine (1983)	X		X				
Jones (1983)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
McCollough							
Garrett (1993)	X	X	X				
Cecelski (1993)	X	X		X	X		
Phillips (1994)							
Jeffries (1994)							
Noblit & Dempsey (1996)	X	X		X	X		
Walker (1996)	X	X		X	X	X	X
Davis (1996)	X		X	X	X	X	X
Foster (1997)							
Edwards (1998)	X			X	X	X	X

Curriculum and Extracurricular Activities

Authors	Extra-curricular Activities	School as Family	National Figures in School	Christian Values	Event/ Democratic Influence	Climate of High Expectations	Philosophy that Focused on Needs of Students	Philosophy Related to National Objectives	African-American History
Hundley (1965)	X		X	X	X		X	X	
Rodgers (1967)	X				X	X			
Sowell (1979)	X		X						
Edwards, Royster, & Bates (1979)				X	X				
Tilford-Weathers (1982)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Irvine & Irvine (1983)							X		
Jones (1983)	X	X	X			X	X	X	
McCollough-Garrett (1993)				X					
Cecelski (1993)	X	X							
Phillips (1994)									
Jeffries (1994)									
Noblit & Dempsey (1996)	X	X		X					X
Walker (1996)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		**[x]**
Davis (1996)	X	X	X		X				X
Foster (1997)									
Edwards (1998)	X			X				X	

Parental Support

Authors	Self-Help Philosophy	Parental Help	School and Community
Hundley (1965)		X	
Rodgers (1967)		X	X
Sowell (1979)		X	
Edwards, Royster, & Bates (1979)	X	X	
Tilford-Wearther (1982)			
Irvine & Irvine (1983)			
Jones (1983)		X	X
McCollough-Garrett (1993)		X	
Cecelski (1993)		X	X
Phillips (1994)			
Jeffries (1994)		X	X
Noblit & Dempsey (1996)		X	
Walker (1996)	X	X	X
Davis (1996)	X	X	X
Foster (1997)			
Edwards (1998)	X		

Leadership of Principal

Authors Style	Leadership Community	Involvement in Central Office	Relationship to
Hundley (1965)	X		[x]
Rodgers (1967)	X	X	X
Sowell (1979)	X	X	X
Edwards, Royster, & Bates (1979)	X		X
Tilford-Wearther (1982)			
Irvine & Irvine (1983)			
Jones (1983)	X	X	X
McCollough-Garrett (1993)		X	
Cecelski (1993)			
Phillips (1994)			
Jeffries (1994)			
Noblit& Dempsey (1996)			
Walker (1996)	X	X	X
Davis (1996)	X		X
Foster (1997)			
Edwards (1998)			

Note

[1]The Association of Schools and Colleges was the arm of the Southern Association that was used to accredit African American schools. Although the same criteria were used in the accrediting process for African American schools as was used by White schools (a point insisted upon by the African American members of the Association) the two groups would not merge officially until 1965 (Cozart, 1967).

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