

Black Educators after *Brown vs. Board of Education*

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With its decision in Brown v. Board of Education, the Supreme Court mandated the desegregation of public schools. However, the Brown decision had an unintended negative effect on black educational institutions, not just black students but also black teachers, often the graduates of the rigorous educational process of HBCUs. Leaders had developed the intellectual foundations of early black colleges with a focus on attaining maximum academic superiority from their black students. The Brown decision, however, unintentionally had an adverse consequence on black education and community by disregarding these foundations, their rigor, and their success. Black educators, many of whom had been graduates from these HBCUs, were largely ignored and cut off from the integration process after the Brown decision. Ultimately, then, the Brown decision opened the door for the devaluing of black education, leading to the loss of black educators and their knowledge and experience.

“Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the *colored* children ... for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the *negro* group ... Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of *negro children* and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.”¹

May 17, 1954, in the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the United States Supreme Court argued that “the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the *negro* group.”² While the bundle of cases which made up *Brown v. Board of Education* dealt with the tangible effects of segregated public schooling, the rhetoric the courts used did not sufficiently challenge the negative stereotypes nor the generalizations of incompetence that plagued the black schools. This in turn negatively shaped the public’s views on black education as a whole. The Court’s argument left room for the assumption that black schools and the black educational process were an inferior institution in need of the “well-established” white schools. This notion of inferiority not only tainted views of black children’s general education, but also permeated the public’s perception of black teachers. As a result of this devaluing of black education and educators after *Brown*, the institutions that produced these teachers, historically black colleges, were also subliminally scrutinized and disregarded.

If only a lack of resources had plagued black schools, then when integration began to occur, the black teachers would not have been fired, as many were after *Brown*.³ Instead, however,

¹ “Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954),” JUSTIA US Supreme Court, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/case.html#F10>.

² *Ibid.*

³ Deidre Oakley, Jacob Stowell, John R. Logan, “The impact of desegregation on black teachers in the metropolis, 1970–2000” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, U.S. National Library of Medicine, Oct. 14, 2009.

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3769798/>

The results of the study undertaken by the Department of Sociology at Georgia State University show that the effects of mandated desegregation of public schools led to a decrease of black teachers, especially in the southern regions of the United States.

widespread racism led to ongoing negative rhetoric and beliefs regarding the institutions that produced these teachers, and in turn their graduate's abilities to succeed as educators. Despite this negative stereotyping that contributed to the loss of black teachers during integration, the intellectual foundations of early black colleges actually demonstrate just how successful black education could be with the proper resources, thus effectively dismantling the belief of innate cognitive deficiencies amongst the black race.

W.E.B. DuBois, a prominent African-American intellectual, illustrated the extensive and ambitious goals of the early black education that produced many teachers of the *Brown* era during a speech at Hampton Institute in 1906. DuBois argued that, "The aim of the higher training of the college is the development of power, the training of a self whose balanced assertion will mean as much as possible for the great ends of civilization."⁴ Instead of the more limited scope of industrial training that some black leaders supported, DuBois pushed for a more enlightened and empowering avenue of education which could only come through traditional liberal higher learning. In particular, DuBois believed higher learning at the college level had the ability to refine and then definitively place the black race in a position of validation. These beliefs and theories connected most of the early black colleges in a common mission and approach, and DuBois's position at Atlanta University and his connections to other black intellectuals at universities throughout the nation helped propel this creed to the forefront of black education.

In keeping with this mission, the success of HBCU's challenged the myth of implied inferiority that *Brown* later perpetuated not only about black children but also black teachers. The graduates from those successful black colleges became the teachers filling black schools for the next decades, including during and after *Brown*. While outright racism constituted the chief reason for post-*Brown* firings of black teachers, *Brown* did not help to combat those negative racist stereotypes about the black educational process, despite its successes. The racist ideas subconsciously entrenched within *Brown* distorted and denied the crucial role of these colleges. Therefore, genuine progress in the integration process following *Brown* was stagnated because notions of inferiority about black students and their black education taught by their black teachers followed them into integrated schools.

Black-Led Education

According to black intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century, education provided the essential element to progressing the race towards credibility.⁵ With that credibility came new opportunities for success in the economic and political arenas. But many of those intellectuals not only wanted education but also wanted blacks to control that education. They argued that black-led education could prove that the race was able to maintain its own state of affairs without constant

⁴ W.E.B. DuBois, "The Hampton Idea," in *The Education of Black People*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 13.

⁵ Henry N. Drewry and Humphrey Doermann, *Stand and Prosper: Private Black Colleges and Their Students*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 92.

input from the white race, disproving the slavery-era myth that blacks were unable to effectively organize.⁶ Black-led education also provided and perpetuated a healthy pride for community as black teachers became figures of hope and opportunity for their young pupils. Most importantly, black-led education fought the social stigma of racial inferiority as blacks looked to the power of their own intellect. As a result, black education became professionally cultured and tailored to specifically meet the needs and growing demands of the community.

Leaders also understood that with instances of widespread racism increasing and the implementation of convict leasing and Jim Crow laws, in the early twentieth century, black education allowed African Americans to internalize equality even if outward proof never fully materialized. DuBois wrote in, *The College-bred Community*, that, “What the Negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his own people. His conceptions of social uplift and philanthropy must come from within his own ranks, and he must above all make and set and follow his own ideals of life and character ... this race is not stopping to await justice in this matter.”⁷ DuBois thus expressed blacks’ desperate need for education, but in so doing, he also emphasized that the process could be exclusively black and still prosperous. According to this philosophy, black education would allow for traditions and culture, and most importantly leaders specific to the black community to gradually develop without being vulnerable to physical and psychological violence. This desire for black-led education became the foundation and purpose for the black institutions such as Atlanta University, Fisk, and Howard, who agreed to meet the call of developing refined intellectual individuals capable of leading the charge in the fight for equality. This is the same foundation that *Brown* was later indifferent towards.

In 1900, the *Atlanta University Publications*, a collaborative effort between several different colleges all-throughout the South and spear-headed by Atlanta University, detailed the whereabouts of college-educated blacks after graduation. Similar to DuBois, the *Publications* envisioned the advent of education as having loftier goals that went beyond the education itself and would compel its graduates to establish themselves in society as cultural leaders. Within the *Publications*, Atlanta University also defined its mission as a college in coherent and concise terms, giving readers insight into the philosophy behind the school and its expectations of itself in saying that, “Atlanta University is an institution for the higher education of Negro youth. It seeks, by maintaining a high standard of scholarship and deportment, to sift out and train thoroughly talented members of this race to be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among the masses. Furthermore, Atlanta University recognizes that it is its duty as a seat of learning to throw as much light as possible upon the intricate social problems affecting these masses, for the enlightenment of its graduates and of the general public.”⁸ The *Publications* provide insight into

⁶ *Ibid*, 88.

⁷ W.E.B. DuBois, “The College-bred Community,” in *The Education of Black People*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 37.

⁸ “The College-bred Negro: Report of A Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Fifth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, Held at Atlanta University, May

the rigors of the curriculums established by these HBCU's and how influential higher education was on the black community following their students' graduation.

The Talented Tenth - Teachers of the Masses

Even as HBCU's developed and began to thrive, racist notions about the limited capabilities of blacks ran rampant. With Jim Crow in place, discriminatory legal and social practices cornered blacks into submissive behavior. This constant enforced subservient nature in turn only strengthened ideas of inferiority. Black colleges took a leading role in challenging these stereotypes, in part by developing highly educated leaders for the larger community. DuBois widely publicized the name 'The Talented Tenth' to define this important class, which he argued should lead the rest of the race to equality, although critics often accused DuBois of promoting elitism within the black community. DuBois later clarified that, "We did not regard ourselves as separate and superior to the masses, but rather as a part of the mass which was being equipped and armed for leadership and that leadership was of course for the benefit of the masses."⁹ However critics felt about DuBois' terminology, most agreed that education transformed the lives of black students who stepped through its threshold with explicit tangible results. The Talented Tenth would play the crucial vanguard position in the mass exodus from communal dilapidation towards economic, political, and social autonomy and no other social institution grappled with this toiling agenda like the black college. The fruits of the college's labor were an affluent black middle class that dispersed out among the community, often as teachers in segregated schools. These teachers could identify as part of the Talented Tenth. They were using their education to give back to their communities in a manner that would achieve social uplift. The effects of *Brown* hurt this process by substantially reducing the number of black teachers in schools.

Early Black Curriculum

In addition to their lofty goals, the rigorous academic curriculum and admission standards of black higher learning directly challenged the parameters of the allegedly inferior mental capacity of blacks by matching or nearly matching the rigor or curriculum of elite white schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The curriculums black colleges used represented the apex of black academia producing high levels of prosperity and success despite standing separate from white academia. The *Atlanta University Publications* showed that Howard University, a Freedman's Bureau school founded in 1867 and located in Washington, D.C. had the most stringent entrance requirements of the black colleges, almost equal to the smaller New

29-30, 1900," in *Atlanta University Publication (Numbers 1-6 --- 1896-1901)*, ed. W.E.B. DuBois (New York: Octagon Books Inc.: 1968), 3.

⁹ Juan Battle and Earl Wright II, "W.E.B. DuBois Talented Tenth: A Quantitative Assessment," *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 6 (July 2002): 657, JSTOR

England colleges.¹⁰ Thereby, implying that the students entering Howard University could very well have, without the barriers of race, been admitted to top white colleges in the New England region. Other top black schools including Atlanta University, Fisk, Wilberforce, Leland College and Paul Quinn, fell only one to two years behind those New England schools in entrance requirements.¹¹ Black colleges maintained not only rigorous admission standards, but also intensive curriculums. The *Publications* revealed that similar to elite white institutions, a student at Fisk for example would have been introduced to Latin Prose Composition, Trigonometry, and Cicero's *De Senectute et De Amicitia* during his freshman year. By his senior year he would have been delving into English Literature, the Elements of Logic and advanced courses in Political Economy. Almost seven hundred miles away in the nation's capital at Howard University students first familiarized themselves with Greek, Latin, Mathematics and Bible Study. By senior year they would be deep in study in Mental and Moral Philosophy, the Constitution an International Law, and Advanced Chemistry or Physics.¹² These types of courses demonstrate the quality and also equality of education that these black students and future teachers received, and despite their later rejection from the educational system with the firing of black educators after *Brown*.

The *Atlanta University Publications* also found that over fifty percent of the black graduates from these colleges went on to become educators, including nineteen presidents and deans and six hundred and seventy-five as professors, principals, and teachers.¹³ These students, having transformed their lives, began to take up one of the most influential roles in society, the teacher. They now occupied positions of chief influence that would help provide social and economic mobility and set the pace and agenda for the next generations to follow. Black teachers' role in their respective communities gave them significant influence in that they had the opportunity to expose their black students to a level of success that went beyond the context of the black students' daily lives. At the same time however, coming from a more similar cultural background, they could also connect to black students' perspective in a much more authentic manner than the white teachers could, after *Brown*. In addition to being fit for the task of education, they could also set the cultural and community standard of black excellence for generations.

The Educators

James Weldon Johnson provides an example of this direct link between HBCU's and their missions and role in segregated black schools. A contemporary of DuBois, Johnson graduated from Atlanta University in 1894 and that background and experience with the Atlanta University curriculum greatly influenced his philosophy behind education and in turn molded his personal goals and beliefs. While at Atlanta, for example, he became acutely aware of the racial strife facing African-Americans and began to sense what his role and purpose in life would be as a leader and

¹⁰ "The College-bred Negro: Report of a Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University," 17.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 17.

¹² *Ibid*, 18-25.

¹³ *Ibid*, 64.

educator. He immediately put this into action as he quickly became a leader for his community back home in Jacksonville, Florida as he began his career as a teacher and administrator at the local elementary school.¹⁴ By 1895, he had started *The Daily American*, a black newspaper used to facilitate news and commentary relatable to the black experience, and in 1917 he became a field secretary for the NAACP.¹⁵ During the 1920s he became acclaimed for his role in the Harlem Renaissance as a poet and author on black topics.¹⁶ Through his work he helped to lay the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement to come. His intellectual fervor and commitment to the black community provides a clear example of the HBCU-educated black who did not allow racist notions to prevent him from standing for justice.

Johnson was not alone in his endeavors as one of his closest friends at Atlanta University, George Alexander Towns, also demonstrated the achievements of the college-educated black. Towns entered Atlanta before his college years as a student in the highest primary grade at the age of fifteen. He quickly mastered his grammar, reading, and composition courses and also learned the trade woodworking. By 1890 Towns entered the college as one of only twenty students.¹⁷ The concentrated student number not only reflected the financial and academic burdens of attending college, but also provided a testament that these college students represented the select few chosen with an opportunity to lead the masses. After enrolling at and graduating from Harvard in 1900, Towns immediately joined the Atlanta University staff as a teacher instructing high school age and college-age students in the Mechanical Arts department and the Sciences department.¹⁸ Towns also helped to establish a public-school system back in his hometown of Albany, Georgia.¹⁹ The educational efforts of Towns show the effectiveness of HBCU's, which the *Brown* decision later disregarded, arguing that this type of segregated education was not working for its students. Towns and Johnson were well-known figures at prominent schools, but they in many ways represent the large and less well-known numbers of students from HBCU's who went on to teach at local inner city and rural schools.²⁰ These students-turned-teachers taught at segregated schools and fought to uphold rigorous standards in their schools and represent the black educators that the *Brown* decision hurt.

These teachers represent hundreds of college-educated blacks who decided that using their education to teach the next generation provided a powerful opportunity to push for equal footing in the fight for equality. As the decades progressed, their alma maters increasingly agreed with this goal, identifying more and more strongly with this agenda of training their students to educate the

¹⁴ Lynn Adelman, "A Study of James Wheldon Johnson", *Journal of Negro History* 52, no. 2 (Apr. 1967), 128-145.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 141.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 136.

¹⁷ Dean Rowley, "George Alexander Towns: A profile of his Atlanta University Experience, 1885-1929," (1975), ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library, Paper 2183, 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 25-26.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰ The number of black students who graduated from HBCUs and began their careers teaching in segregated black schools creates a rather exhaustive list, including the following small selection: Fannie C. Williams and Lucille Levy Hutton both attended Straight University, now Dillard University in New Orleans; Edna Meade Colson graduated from Fisk University; and Dr. C.A. Johnson graduated from Howard University.

minds of young black children. With the onset of the forties and fifties, as civil rights efforts began to increase, these teachers took up the duty of explaining to their students the immense history of the social context influencing their daily lives.

Brown vs. Board of Education

As black teachers worked to educate and empower their students, other activists took a different, more legalistic approach to fighting inequality and oppression. Most notably, the NAACP took the lead in the fight for equality by arguing several cases throughout the thirties and forties that dealt specifically with school segregation. These cases culminated in 1952, when the NAACP presented the landmark case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* to the Supreme Court directly challenging the 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision that provided the platform for legal segregation following Reconstruction. In *Brown*, the NAACP argued that ‘separate but equal’ in the schools was not working because separate but equal was inherently unequal. Because of this inherent inequality, black schools lacked the resources necessary to properly function. Furthermore, the NAACP argued, if black children wanted to attend white schools they should be able to. In 1954, the Court agreed, ruling that “separate but equal” violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and also that race-based segregation had a negative effect on the development of black children.²¹

While *Brown* represented a huge milestone in the fight against inequality, it left the door open for some negative unintended consequences, particularly the devaluing of black education and the firing of black teachers. The year following the *Brown* decision, for example, several black teachers in Topeka, Kansas were not renewed in contract to teach again. Similarly, fifty- nine percent of the black teachers in the Kansas City region also lost their jobs.²² Another district, Moberly, Kansas employed over one hundred teachers spread out over eight schools, including Lincoln school, which was black and entirely staffed by eleven black teachers.²³ After *Brown* however, the school board decided to close Lincoln and integrate the schools, cutting fifteen teacher positions and, in the process, firing all eleven of the black teachers.²⁴ These black teachers sued claiming that they were fired for unjust reasons, particularly because they displayed superior academic knowledge in comparison with the white teachers who were kept. In an oral history, Ms. Barbara Ross, a teacher at Washington School, explained that most of the black teachers had master’s degrees and were very qualified to teach.²⁵ Despite these qualifications, they lost their

²¹ “Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954),” JUSTIA US Supreme Court, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/347/483/case.html#F10>.

²² Jessica McCulley, “Black Resistance to School Desegregation in St. Louis during the *Brown* Era,” *The Confluence*, (Fall/Winter 2010): 35.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ “African American Teachers in Kansas,” Kansas Historical Society, last modified December 2017, <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/african-american-teachers-in-kansas/11995>

case at the trial court and with the court of appeals.²⁶ Yet this type of action by school boards became very common not just in Kansas but throughout all the states, demonstrating the detrimental effects of *Brown* on black children and their opportunities to form valuable relationships with black teachers.

The *Brown* Decision

The actions many school boards, influenced by racism, took after *Brown* ran directly counter to many blacks' educational goals and desires both before and during the court case. The arguments of Leola Brown, the mother of the plaintiff Linda Brown, from this case foreshadow its eventual negative impact on black teachers and education and echo the goals of DuBois and earlier leaders to establish viable black education. Leola and her husband Oliver argued not for the dismantling of black education, but simply that their daughter Linda should have the opportunity to attend any school they wanted to send her to and if the law wanted to restrict that opportunity, it was unjust to restrict it on the basis of race. In a later interview with the Kansas Historical Society, Leola recounted candid memories of her own time at Monroe, the local black school in Topeka. She said that she had no problem with the school and, in fact, the education was great, and the teachers were credible and qualified. However, her daughter having to walk seven blocks to Monroe instead of being able to attend the white school, Sumner, simply because she was black was unfair. Many blacks, like Leola, took pride in their education and the quality of their teachers, and felt that black schools played a major role in their communities.²⁷

However, the language in the Court's argument present a contrast to the Brown's views. The NAACP argued, and the Supreme Court agreed, that segregation hurt the psychological development of black children by retarding their self-esteem. Contrary to Leola Brown then, the Court implied that Monroe, because it was a separate segregated institution of education, deteriorated the self-esteem of its black students. Thus, while the Court did not explicitly attack black education, its assessment that a long history of racial prejudice in America with separate schools led to psychological harm in turn allowed for the devaluing of black education simply because it was separate from white education, rather than because of the lack of resources in black education.

The NAACP LDF lawyers used the famous Kenneth and Mamie Clark "doll studies" as sociological evidence to solidify their points. In the doll studies, students from Clarendon County, South Carolina were shown four dolls, identical except for race, two black and two white, and were asked a series of questions to interpret their thoughts on the dolls. The results showed that the children chose the white dolls over the black dolls when asked which ones were nicer and smarter and which ones they preferred overall. For the Court this proved that segregation hurt

²⁶ Brian J. Daugherty and Charles C. Bolton, ed., *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education*, (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2008), 180.

²⁷ "Kansas State Historical Society. State Archives and Library, *Brown v. Board of Education* oral history collection," The Library of Congress: The American Folklife Center, <https://www.loc.gov/folklike/index.html>.

black children's sense of self-esteem. Chief Justice Warren concluded that, "To separate them [children in grade and high schools] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone."²⁸

As a result of this finding, the Supreme Court's approach to explaining and justifying integration of the schools, while undermining legal segregation, also had an unintended adverse effect on the black community by opening the door for the dismantling of black education and the loss of black educators. Although the Court did not explicitly state that the black educational process was inferior, a large majority of the public, influenced by long standing racism, took this message from the ruling and subsequent school board actions. As integration proceeded in the decades after *Brown*, then, black students often faced busing to white schools as school boards closed many black schools and fired black teachers.

While black schools had included black teachers from an array of backgrounds, many had graduated from those prestigious black colleges, which held the same elite status if not for the barriers of race as the white colleges. Yet the closing of black schools and the firing of uncharted numbers of black teachers, forced the black teachers to endure negative effects of *Brown* because of the powerfully influential rhetoric of the Court's decision. Celestine Porter, a former teacher from Matthews County Virginia, offered a simple yet profoundly revolutionary counter-approach to integration in her interview with the Duke University: Behind the Veil project. She argued that teachers should have integrated rather than students. White teachers could have been sent to the black schools just as black children were sent to the white schools.²⁹ Instead, the entire task was placed on students and black teachers were forgotten about.

Conclusion

Even years before the *Brown* decision, black leaders envisioned a different possibility for education. George Alexander Towns, the teacher at Atlanta University wrote that, "For notwithstanding all that the Negro may do, the disabilities of caste will yet continue to hover around him, unless the whites are so changed that they are willing to and do actually accord to him those civil and political rights which they receive for themselves and their children."³⁰ Towns hoped that when educational integration occurred black teachers and black schools would not be rejected but accepted beside the white teachers and the white schools to construct a cohesive unit

²⁸ "Key Excerpts from the Majority Opinion, Brown I (1954)," Landmark Cases of the US Supreme Court, http://landmarkcases.org/en/Page/519/Key_Excerpts_from_the_Majority_Opinion_Brown_I_1954.

²⁹ Interview with Celestine Diggs Porter, interviewed by Kisha Turner, Norfolk (Va.), August 2, 1995, Behind the Veil: Documenting African-American Life in the Jim Crow South Digital Collection, John Hope Franklin Research Center, Duke University Libraries.

<https://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/media/pdf/behindtheveil/btvct08070.pdf>

³⁰ Dean Rowley, "George Alexander Towns: A profile of his Atlanta University Experience, 1885-1929" (1975), ETD Collection for AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library, Paper 2183, 17.

that propelled the entire community forward.³¹ Integration only justified by political correctness or a distortion of social science, as some argue happened after *Brown*, fails to accomplish this goal of a truly harmonious society. Education that accounts for all the members of the collective society is the education necessary to provide growth and prevent backward thinking concerning blacks and their educational institutions.

Brown v. Board of Education represented a crucial step in ushering the nation towards racial equality, however, it did not prevent ongoing negative racial stereotyping, particularly of black education, which opened the door to its dismantling during the later integration process. Black education largely lacked only in resources, and the segregationist agenda that forced it to be exclusively black made it unjust. Black education standing separate from white education could be prosperous, as seen in the success of HBCUs, but this separation being solely based on race was unfair. The intellectual foundations of these HBCUs, inspired by leaders such as W.E.B. DuBois helped to create an atmosphere of academic superiority for its students. And graduates then carried this atmosphere into the classrooms they would reign over for the next decades until *Brown*. Yet, *Brown* unintentionally distorted the mark of excellence those teachers set. This distortion followed black students into the “integrated” schools and followed black teachers right out of their jobs. The role of black colleges preparing those black teachers dissipated. As Towns suggested, true education would allow both races to exist together, rather than eliminating black education. Only with this true integration would the same equality afforded whites, their children, and their institutions, also be given to blacks and theirs.

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³¹ Deidre Oakley, Jacob Stowell, John R. Logan “The Impact of Desegregation on Black Teachers in the Metropolis, 1970–2000,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, U.S. National Library of Medicine, Oct. 14, 2009, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3769798/>.

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