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Harold Horton

*University of Massachusetts Boston*

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# Teaching African-American Children

# The Legacy of Slavery

*Harold Horton, Ph.D.*

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*The pathetic state of urban public school education offered to African-American children stems from slavery, when it was against the law to educate slaves, who were regarded as chattel. This article traces the history of the blighting of their minds by stripping those slaves of their African culture, and its effect on African-American children, as well as other children of color, today. Horton offers suggestions for coping with the problems of modern schools as related to respecting and teaching these children, pointing out that the system is the problem, not the children.*

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## **The Blighting of Minds**

American public schools have, for the most part, been effective in assisting children to actualize their potential to its maximum. They have also been effective in preparing children for full participation in mainstream America. But with regard to African-American children, the public schools have, in the main, been a complete failure, in not providing the educational experience that could help those children overcome the effects of racial discrimination and deprivation. The failure of U.S. public schools to educate African-American children adequately is a persistent source of grievance and resentment within the black community.

It is undeniable that despite the poor quality of education available to African-American children, some blacks have excelled academically and taken their rightful place in a wide variety of professions and businesses in corporate America.

The blighting of the minds of African-American children seems to have originated during slavery, when black people were defined as property or chattel. For 244 years it was against the law in the New World to teach black people to read and write; it was also a crime to give them a Bible, even though some slave owners misinterpreted the Gospel message, using sections of the Bible, out of context, to drill the fear of God into slaves.

*Harold Horton is associate director, William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts Boston.*

Literally millions of blacks were deliberately and systematically deprived of every right of person and dignity. The sanctity of the family was violated and black children were often sold from their parents at the slave owner's discretion. The rape of a slave woman, a Mississippi court ruled, was an offense unknown to common or civil law.<sup>1</sup>

Lerone Bennett, Jr., wrote that it was not unusual for slaves to receive a hundred or more lashes, often without cause. And few slaves, no matter how obedient, humble, or "masterlike," reached old age without having received frequent lashings. Psychotic and sadistic masters added embellishments. Bennett reported that even "kind" masters whipped the skin off the backs of slaves and then washed them down with brine.<sup>2</sup>

Frederick Douglass, a former slave, stated that the most common offense of slaves was imprudence. And imprudence, according to Douglass, might mean almost anything or nothing at all. It meant whatever the master or overseer interpreted it to mean.<sup>3</sup>

The American slave system was an extremely closed one. Slaves had no rights beyond those granted by their masters within the limited slave codes. Stanley Elkins characterized slaves as Sambos; that is, the typical plantation slave was docile but responsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; he was prone to infantile silliness and gibberish, his speech inflated with childish exaggeration.<sup>4</sup>

The slaves' relationship with their masters was one of utter dependence and childlike attachment, for indeed the childlike quality was the very key to the slaves' being. Slaves had to live, move, and identify with the slave master. They had to consider themselves as property, not as totally developed human beings.

These requirements were contrary to the character of the typical West African tribesmen who dominated the slave population. Although they were a distinctly warlike people, they had a profound sense of family and family authority. They were hard workers, accustomed to living by a highly formalized set of rules or laws that they themselves often helped to administer. The West Africans, as members of the upper classes of tribal society, may have had considerable experience as political or military leaders. Many were products of heroic cultural traditions. Therefore, something profound had to intervene to obliterate their past culture and habits to turn them, on the American plantation, into helpless, idiotic dependents.<sup>5</sup>

Almost all accounts indicate that the American system, the cruelest, coldest, most sadistic form of slavery that ever existed in any civilized society, was unique to the New World. And it lasted for nearly 250 years!

The slaves who were sold, captured, or snatched from their tribal villages undoubtedly had no inkling that they were embarking on a new way of life. They were destined to learn to think like their masters; they were forbidden to attempt to communicate with one another; they were forced to learn a new language. All of which they did. They were going to have to forget themselves, who they had been, their past, their friends, their family, their God. Elkins wrote,

[In Africa], under the glaring sun, through the steaming jungle, [the slaves] were driven along like beasts, tied together by their necks; day after day, eight or more hours at a time, they would stagger barefoot over thorny underbrush, dried reeds,



and stones. Hardships, thirst, brutalities, near starvation, penetrated the experience of each exhausted man and woman who reached the coast.<sup>6</sup>

Captured Africans were crowded into pens near the African trading stations. Slaves who were rejected or considered unfit for their new lifestyle were abandoned to starvation. Those who were bought by European slavers were branded, given numbers inscribed on leaden tags, and herded on shipboard to the Middle Passage. Historians have vividly portrayed the ship holds which, with squirming and suffocating humanity, became stinking infernos of filth and pestilence. Reports of disease, death, and cruelty in the terrible two-month voyage abound in the testimony that did much toward ending the slave trade forever.

Another phase of enslavement came with the Africans' introduction to the West Indies, where prospective purchasers boarded the ships and manhandled the slaves. The Jamaica legislature eventually enacted statutes that made it mandatory for the sale of slaves be held on shore. Henceforward naked African slaves were exposed to public examination, because were not considered to be human beings: they were property, without pride, past, feelings, and a future. The seasoning that followed completed the process of the enslavement of the Africans.

For more than two hundred years, millions of Africans were captured by or sold to slave traders, given a free ocean voyage, one that thousands did not survive, brought to the New World, sold, and seasoned or brainwashed for two to three years — to learn to become slaves.

And during these hundreds of years it was against the law to teach a slave to read or write!<sup>7</sup>

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## Slave Codes

In 1661, Virginia was the first settlement in North America to grant statutory recognition of slavery. By the time the colonies gained independence, chattel slavery and a body of codes that defined the status of slaves had been institutionalized. These codes covered every aspect of slave life. The slaveholder, according to J. H. Franklin, maintained absolute power over his "property." Therefore, for hundreds of years, slaves were at one and the same time "human beings" and property, and throughout the antebellum South the cold and harsh language of statutes and judicial decisions made it evident that, legally, slaves were more "things" than humans.<sup>8</sup> As such, they were virtually denied all rights, civil, political, and social, and they transmitted such status to their children. Slavery and black skin became synonymous, and black Africans were defined as innately inferior beings. As Kenneth Stampp noted, "[Slaves] were awarded as prizes in lotteries and raffles; they were wagered at gambling tables and horse races. They were, in short, property in fact as well as in law."<sup>9</sup>

Slaves who were accused of violating slave codes were harshly punished. They were most frequently whipped for minor violations, but harsher forms of punishment included burning and mutilation. The death penalty was common for offenses like striking a white person. Stampp said that the rigidity of the codes and the harshness of the punishments were to "accustom [the slave] to rigid discipline, demand from him unconditional submission, impress upon him his innate inferiority, train him to

adopt the master's code of good behavior, and instill in him a sense of complete 'dependence.'"<sup>10</sup>

Booker T. Washington, a one-time plantation slave, commented of his childhood,

I cannot remember having slept in a bed until after our family was declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation. Three children, John, my older brother; Amanda, my sister; and myself, had a pallet on the dirt floor, or to be more correct, we slept in and on a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor.<sup>11</sup>

E. Franklin Frazier summarized the impact of slavery on slaves as follows:

The African family system was destroyed, and the slave was separated from his kinsmen and friends. Moreover, in the United States there was little chance he could reknit the tier of friendships and old associations. If by chance he encountered fellow slaves with whom he could communicate in his native tongue, he was separated from them. From the very beginning he was forced to learn English in order to obey the commands of his white masters. Whatever memories he might have retained of his native land and native customs became meaningless in the New World.<sup>12</sup>

Carter G. Woodson, like other black scholars, maintained that many more survivors of African cultures were so pervasive that they have remained to the present day.<sup>13</sup> However, whatever their tribal status or occupation in Africa, slaves were usually forced to enter farming and domestic service in North America. Slave codes forbade them to practice their traditional religion openly; they were required to practice the religion of their oppressors. And although the codes denied slaves formal instruction, they had to understand or learn English in order to understand their masters. However, their speech was broken and simple, à la Stepin Fetchit. These Africans learned to use the English language to their advantage in order to survive. Their minds remained superb as evident from their ability to perform as expected by their masters. Negro spirituals clearly illustrate the slaves' use of words and music to communicate with one another.

As the institution of slavery developed in North America, for whatever reason, it led to an unparalleled system of human bondage. Frank Tannenbaum wrote that slavery in North America differed from other systems of human slavery, especially from that practiced in Latin America, because North American slaves were denied, in law and in practice, moral personalities.

While the impact of the law did not and could not completely wipe out the fact that the Negro slave was human, it raised a sufficient banner to make the humanity of the Negro difficult to recognize and legally almost impossible to provide for. This legal definition carried its own moral consequence and made the ultimate redefinition of the Negro as a moral person most difficult. Hence, rather than being reacted to as human beings possessing moral personalities, slaves in North America were considered simply to be "beasts of the field."<sup>14</sup>

Of course, not all white people of this period were strongly negative toward slavery; however, they considered most blacks uniquely suited to be slaves owing



to the racial traits that made it impossible for them to adjust to the civilized world of the Anglo-Saxon.<sup>15</sup>

It appears that many whites believed that slaves or black people were “destined or ordained by God” to serve them, because in their minds blacks constituted an inferior race. It is evident that this attitude became dominant and governed the behavior directed toward black people. Thus, racial inferiority and racial superiority became the justification for the miserable institution of slavery. Stampp cites many examples of psychopathic slaveholders who seemed to enjoy inflicting extreme brutality on their slaves.<sup>16</sup>

Individuals and organized groups have resisted and revolted against the institution of slavery from day one. However, even today black Americans struggle individually and collectively to overcome negative racial connotations and to develop a mind-set that in essence says, as Jesse Jackson often chants, “I may be poor, I may be black, I may be uneducated, but I am educable; I am a child of God, I am somebody worthy of respect and dignity.” To reflect history and the experience of African slaves in America is to respect and salute their great-great-grandchildren for their sense of sanity and dreams for a better life.

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### **Jim Crowism**

American blacks were predominantly rural people until the second half of the twentieth century. But rural or urban, in the North or in the South, formally educated or not, and regardless of their individual wealth, most blacks have been forced, with the support of the law and banks, to live in segregated neighborhoods. Although there has been some change with regard to residential discrimination, other general patterns hold. Black people who attempt to exercise their rights and privileges as American citizens often experience great resistance.

By 1960 the black population in the United States was predominantly urban, but in rigidly racially segregated sections of cities in deteriorated or deteriorating housing. Karl and Alma Taluber developed a segregation index that was applied to census data for 207 American cities. It indicated that until congressional legislation in the 1960s, low-income and well-off blacks alike resided in racially segregated neighborhoods. Among the chief characteristic of residents in black communities was their powerlessness and dependence on the frequently hostile surrounding white communities. And just as they did in slavery, uneducated blacks made up most of the cheap labor supply. The school systems in black communities were operated and maintained by individuals who lived outside the area and were usually unresponsive to the needs of black children.<sup>17</sup>

From the end of slavery in 1865 until the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, perhaps white Americans did not believe that the mission or purpose of education was applicable to the new colored citizens who spoke a ghetto form of the English language, had been thought of as inferior, and were believed to be uneducable.

White Americans appeared to forget that just as it took a deliberate and systematic approach to maintaining a most inhumane system of enslavement for hundreds of years, it took a determined and exceptionally wise effort to learn how to exist under most miserable and unimaginable conditions for hundreds of years. Whites had to realize that one day the great-great-great-grandchildren of slaves would take their

rightful and deserving places at the welcome table in one of the most powerful and wealthiest nations in the world.

Charles S. Johnson described a typical rural black school as follows:

It is in a dilapidated building, once whitewashed, standing in a rocky field and unfit for cultivation. Dust-covered weeds spread a carpet all around, except for an uneven, bare area on one side which looks like a ball field. Behind the school is a small building with a broken, sagging door. As we approach, a nervous middle-aged woman comes to the door of the school. She greets us in a discouraged voice marred by a speech impediment. Escorted inside, we observe that the broken benches are crowded to three times their normal capacity. Only a few battered books are in sight, and we look in vain for maps or charts. We learn that four grades are assembled here.<sup>18</sup>

Prior to 1861 little if any progress was made in providing equal educational opportunities for African-American children — and we must remember that African slaves landed in Virginia in 1619. In the colonial period, however, a few blacks made their way into Quaker schools in the North, which were open to all. In 1833 a Quaker teacher, Providence Crandall, was severely criticized for admitting black girls to her school in Connecticut. And in 1846 Benjamin Roberts of Boston filed suit because his son was forced to attend a racially segregated school for black boys. The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that the school committee had a right, according to the law of the land, to keep schools segregated. However, by 1857 Massachusetts passed a law that prevented discrimination, but it was not until 1974 that Boston, Massachusetts, with the prompting of the court, decided to substantively desegregate its public schools.<sup>19</sup>

Public educations for blacks in the South, as well as in the North, was almost nonexistent before the Civil War. When President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, nearly four million illiterate slaves were liberated. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1866 specified that states must not deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of the law. Nevertheless, blacks were considered second-class citizens. Jim Crow laws of the 1880s were passed to keep colored people in their place, and racial discrimination, with few exceptions, was practiced throughout the United States. In fact, the “separate but equal” doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 legalized racial segregation until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled otherwise fifty-eight years later, in 1954.

States often claimed to be providing equal fiscal support for their public schools and colleges, but that has never been the case. As recently as June 1993, Connecticut governor Lowell P. Weicker signed into law a public school desegregation plan that requires communities throughout the state to take part in regional planning. In signing that law, Governor Weicker stated that

Connecticut is willing to confront a nationwide problem [a nationwide problem!] . . . This recognizes something that is going on all over the United States . . . Some people turn their backs. But we didn't choose that path in the state of Connecticut . . . This legislation will at least get the state moving in the right direction.<sup>20</sup>



Because education is their legal responsibility, states across this nation are being confronted by parents, students, and other plaintiffs to provide quality educational opportunities for all children in the public schools, including African-American and other students of color. This has never been provided since the beginning of the public school system in the United States.

Over the centuries the founding fathers and other Americans have primarily offered rhetoric and plenty of lip service relative to providing equal educational opportunities for all American children. As stated earlier, two separate school systems, completely separate and unequal, have existed since the implementation of the notion to have an educated citizenry, which is thought to be the backbone of a democracy. With the rapid approach of the twenty-first century, it is to be hoped that all U.S. children, those of color as well as those who are white, will be given quality education, not merely such fancy school jargon as school-based management, multiculturalism, school choice, vocational education, the voucher system, and the like.

Since 1896, and prior to Thurgood Marshall and his colleagues who argued in 1954 that segregated schools were inherently unequal, there was universal agreement that schools attended by African-American children, as contrasted with those attended by white children, had less or no equipment, few school supplies and textbooks, fewer academically trained teachers, and were located in shabby buildings. Hence, when test scores of white children and black children were compared, white children tended to score higher on standardized tests. Some “educators,” like Arthur Jensen, Robert Schockley, reverted to the old tune or notion that blacks were innately inferior and uneducable, that blacks were a happy, ignorant group who did well with their “cotton-picking” fingers and their “tap-dancing” feet to please the more civilized, superior race.<sup>21</sup>

The contemporary struggle for equal and quality educational opportunities for all children in U.S. public schools has just begun, because the vast amount of research and literature on urban education places the blame for poor urban education on the children and their parents. There is no question that the quality of education offered in urban schools in America is low.

Urban schools have failed miserably to provide the quality of teaching that African-American children so deserve and of which they are quite capable of taking advantage. No major scholarly educational studies or reports conclude that the education offered in American urban schools is of good quality. Certainly, in all urban school districts across the nation, at least one exemplary school does exceedingly well in teaching urban students. Such schools usually are the recipients of awards and accolades for academic excellence.

African-American students nationwide, regardless of their parents’ level of academic accomplishment or income, begin school extremely capable of learning academically, given proper instruction. The Head Start program has been successful primarily because of the students, not necessarily because of creative methods that teachers employ. Numerous studies have revealed that most normal children are curious and desirous of learning. But the longer African-American children are in school, the farther they fall behind their white counterparts.

The Urban Coalition’s report on the assessment of the urban schools reported:

Black students start school with slightly lower scores than white students on standardized achievement tests: by sixth grade they are 1.6 grades behind, and by 12th



grade (if the African-American child has not been pushed out of school) they are 3.3 grades behind. By 12th grade, many have left.<sup>22</sup>

Contrary to what's been advocated about black children's being innately inferior, that is simply not the case. Black children plainly, in most cases, have not been properly taught.

It has been often stated that the poor academic performance of African-American children is the fault of their parents. It is clear and understandable that parental influence plays a significant role in educating children. But one of the reasons some black parents become negative toward the public schools is because their children, like their parents before them, appear not to benefit from school attendance. Some black parents who send their children to school for thirteen years find that after all that time the children may not know how to read or write or articulate, let alone be prepared for a fairly good-paying job.

White college professors who lecture about urban schools and urban students characterize them as negative and problem-oriented. White scholars and researchers who publish studies and reports about urban schools and urban students characterize them as negative and problem-oriented. White city mayors, school board members, teachers, and almost all others who discuss urban schools and urban students characterize them as negative and problem-oriented. The official title of the course I am scheduled to teach at the University of Massachusetts Boston is "Problems in Urban Education." However, I use the word *issues* rather than *problems*. Jonathan Kozol, Christopher Jench, and Frank Riessman write negatively about urban schools and urban students. Children of African descent are no longer called slaves; they are referred to as "problems." The most insidious consequence of these assumptions is that they are self-fulfilling prophecies. Kenneth Clark said, "Children who are treated [and thought of] as if they are [nobodies and] uneducable almost invariably become [nobodies and] uneducable."<sup>23</sup>

A significant percentage of the African-American children who attend the Boston public schools are in a problem or special needs class. When the president of the Boston Teachers Union came to guest-lecture in one of my classes, he urged the students in education to be sure to take courses that deal with children with special problems if they were interested in teaching in the Boston public schools. He did not encourage the education majors to take courses that deal with teaching the gifted or bright children, nor did he encourage them to take any ethnic or race-related courses.

The ancestors of today's African-American children were enslaved in North America for 244 years. Their great-grandparents have faced white racism for 128 years since slavery. Thus, it's really about time that the American public schools get on with the business of properly teaching African-American children and cease the nonsense, in studies and rhetoric, that black children aren't capable of learning academic content. The future of America is reliant upon an educated citizenry. And the key to a successful and bright America is to invest heavily in teaching African-American children and other children of color, just as America has invested in teaching white children. Jonathan Kozol wrote,

Surely, there is enough for everyone within this country. . . All our children ought to be allowed a stake in the enormous richness of America. Whether they were born to poor white Appalachians or to wealthy Texans, to poor black people in

the Bronx or to rich people in Manhasset or Winnetka, they are all quite wonderful and innocent when they are small. We soil them needlessly.<sup>24</sup>

African-American children, like other children, enter school innately curious and desirous to learn. And without question all American parents, black or white, rich or poor, want their children to do as well as or better than they have done in life. Many black parents realize that their own schooling was of inferior quality. They also know that almost nothing has changed since they were in school. Therefore, they and their children become negative critics, not allies of the schools. The way to gain their support is to ensure that quality education is available in their neighborhood public schools. African-American children should not have to sit beside a white child to experience good teaching. The corollary is that urban school districts should not aim for racial balance. While providing quality education should be the primary aim, multicultural racial activities should also be included in urban as well as suburban school district academic programs.

U.S. education is primarily a state function, therefore each state has the obligation to see that all school districts are equally funded, that is, per pupil expenditure should be equal for all. Per pupil spending in Boston public schools should be comparable to that in the public schools of Brookline, Cambridge, Newton, or any other Massachusetts community. However, it appears that Massachusetts citizens and those of other states prefer to spend \$35,000 to \$50,000 per year to keep an African-American youth incarcerated than \$10,000 a year to educate that youth.

The Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* stated that segregated education was unconstitutional because it was inherently unequal, a situation that required correction with all deliberate speed. But the mandate referred primarily to correcting inequities in spending per pupil rather than transporting students for racial balance. Students aren't concerned about gender balance, so why should they be bused to create racial balance?

Following the institution of equal per pupil expenditures in each state, the next item on the agenda should be emphasis on increasing the number of people of color who teach and work in urban schools, because minority students comprise nearly 80 percent of the enrollment in such schools. In 1991, 86.8 percent of all teachers in American public schools were white, 8 percent were black, 3 percent were Latino, and 0.9 percent were Native Americans.<sup>25</sup>

A crucial concern relative to urban public schools is that African-American children, like other children of color, have not been properly taught. They need teachers who care for them, who respect them, who believe that they are capable of learning. They also need teachers who understand their life and learning styles. Most white teachers do not understand the lifestyle, the learning style, the language style, or the culture of African-American children. Most of the elite and prestigious colleges of education in America have done little to assist white students to become effective teachers in urban schools.

Demographically, urban America has changed drastically. But tortoiselike, most U.S. colleges of education still primarily employ white middle-class professors to teach white middle-class students how to teach in white middle-class schools. Most white teachers in urban schools are there because they are stuck there. Very few of them seek such positions on graduation because they know that they were not prepared to teach in such settings. An all-out national effort should be made to



encourage more people of color to consider entering the field of education, at least for a few years of their careers.

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### Talking Quality Education

Without question, Americans love their children and desire the very best for them. Therefore, every child in public school, regardless of color, religion, gender, or neighborhood, should know that, when he or she arrives at the local school, quality education will be available. Will that pay off? Without question it will, because many African-American scholars and professionals who attended public school "made it" in spite of the poor education they were offered.

The issue is not school choice, busing, racial balance, vouchers, vocational education, school-based management, or any such notion, but always quality education, which has never been made available in urban schools.

Kenneth Clark and the Reverend Eugene Callender of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited stated that quality education for urban schools cannot be delayed or obscured by ideological educational rhetoric or controversies; the fact of the matter is that African-American children have only one life in which to be prepared to take their place in mainstream America. These children must not be sacrificed on the altar of ideological and semantic rigidities.<sup>26</sup>

Academic excellence in American public schools will truly be celebrated only when all schools in all public school systems across the nation offer quality education to all their students, regardless of the color, religion, gender, or socioeconomic level of the students. ❧

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### Notes

1. Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966), 87–94.
2. Ibid.
3. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative in the Life of F. Douglass Slave*, ed. B. Quales (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 29.
4. Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 82.
5. Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, 6th ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1988), 94.
6. Elkins, *Slavery*, 82.
7. Kenneth A. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Knopf, 1956), 193.
8. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 70–80.
9. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 201.
10. Ibid., 148.
11. Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York: Doubleday, 1930), 3–4.
12. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), 12.
13. Carter G. Woodson, *The African Background Outlined* (Washington, D.C.: Association Press, 1936), 24.



14. Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Knopf, 1946), 103.
15. Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: Appleton, 1918), 342–343.
16. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution*, 181–182.
17. Karl E. Taluber and Alma F. Taluber, *Negroes in Cities* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), 28–31.
18. Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1991), 104.
19. John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 3d ed. (Columbus, Ohio: Bell and Howell, 1982), 87.
20. "Weicker Signs Bill Requiring School Desegregation Proposals," *New York Times*, June 29, 1993, B-5.
21. See Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" *Harvard Educational Review*, Winter 1969. Dr. Henry E. Garrett, the retired chair of the Psychology Department, Columbia University, and former president, American Psychological Association, attacked the equalitarian dogma that puts forth the notion that all races have the same mental potential. Garrett's views have been widely popularized in the South by a retired New England businessman, Carleton Putnam, whose *Race and Reasons* is a favorite of the White Citizens Council. Garrett leaned heavily on the work of one of his former students, Audrey M. Sherey. Sherey's *Testing of Negro Intelligence* (Lynchburg, Va.: J. B. Bell, 1958), attempts to prove that the intelligence of blacks is inherently inferior to that of whites.
22. *One Year Later: An Assessment of the Nation's Response to the Crisis Described by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder* (New York: Praeger, Urban America, and the Urban Coalition, 1969), 29.
23. Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 128.
24. Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (New York: Crown, 1991), 233.
25. See National Education Association Research Division, *Status of the American Public School Teacher, 1990–1991* (West Haven, Conn.: NEA Professional Library, 1992), 78.
26. See *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change*, a report (New York: Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 1964).

*“[In negotiations] we went beyond the traditional wages, hours, and working condition issues. In doing that, parent/children issues were addressed in a more substantive way.”*

— Kathy Kelley