

IN SEARCH OF 'THE RIGHT TYPE': AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF
BLACK TEACHERS AND QUALITY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PUBLIC
SCHOOLS, 1952-1964

by

Andrea N. Guiden
A Dissertation
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in Partial Fulfillment of
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of
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Committee:

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to my maternal grandparents, C.L. and Thelma Tippen. They were my earliest examples of Black excellence as manifested by their love of God, devotion to family, and service to the community. I believe they would be proud of this work.

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This project was brought to fruition with the support of my personal and professional community. I share this accomplishment with them.

My dissertation committee was comprised of intellectual rock stars who have dedicated their careers to critical study on the professional lives of Black Americans. Dr. Diana D'Amico Pawlewicz, my mentor, introduced me to the magic of historical study—a magic that inspired me to alter the trajectory of my career. Working with her has refined my ideas about teachers and profession, sharpened my intellectual prowess, and left an indelible mark upon my life.

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List of Abbreviations

American Federation of Teachers	AFT
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	CDA
Critical Race Theory	CRT
District of Columbia	DC
District of Columbia Public Schools.....	DCPS
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	NAACP
National Education Association.....	NEA
National Teachers Corps.....	NTC
National Teachers Examination.....	NTE
Problem Definition Theory	PDT
Teacher Quality Program.....	TQP
Washington Teachers Union.....	WTU

Abstract

IN SEARCH OF 'THE RIGHT TYPE': AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF BLACK TEACHERS AND QUALITY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1952-1964

Andrea N. Guiden, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2020

Dissertation Director: Dr. Jenice View

This study on Black teachers and quality utilizes primary source documentation to investigate teacher recruitment and hiring policies in the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) between 1952 and 1964. Grounded in archival research methods and critical historical analysis, the study findings reveal that racial bias played a critical role in perceptions of teacher quality. Prior to 1954, broad concerns about the quality of classroom teachers in the DCPS were virtually nonexistent. However, once the school district desegregated its' schools and Black teachers began outnumbering White teachers, the DCPS embarked upon a relentless search for better teachers. Archival data reveal that school district officials used the term "better teachers" both overtly and inadvertently as code for "White" teachers, whom officials hypothesized were best suited to advance student learning in the DCPS and as such, restore the reputation of the school system. This historical study examines racial bias in teacher quality education policymaking and

considers the implications of such on present-day efforts to measure teacher quality and diversify the educator workforce.

Chapter One: Introduction

School superintendents in the cities that employ only a few Negro teachers say they would employ more if they could find ‘THE RIGHT TYPE’.¹ In some cities, ‘THE RIGHT TYPE’ is a Negro teacher who meets higher educational standards than those required of white² teachers.

-Dr. Paul Cooke, “Integration Poses Teacher Hiring Problem Nationally”, 1954

On September 13, 1954, the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) became the first school district in a major U.S. city to relinquish its status as a racially segregated school system. This conversion was in response to the landmark United States Supreme Court ruling in *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954) that found racial segregation in public schools in Washington, D.C. unconstitutional. *Bolling v. Sharpe* was one of five cases collected as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954).³ The Supreme Court decided *Bolling* on the same day that it decided *Brown*. The *Brown* ruling received more press and acclaim than *Bolling* because *Brown* reversed all state laws that established racial segregation in public schools; Washington, D.C. is not a state, and therefore required a discrete legal decision. In the unanimous decision authored by Chief Justice Earl Warren,

¹ “THE RIGHT TYPE” is typeset in all capital letters in the original version of the article.

² “white” is typeset in lowercase print in the original version of the article.

³ *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954) is also noted as *Bolling* throughout the paper. Likewise, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) is noted as *Brown*.

the Court found that racial discrimination in the Washington, D.C. public schools denied Black⁴ students due process of law as protected by the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Noting the unique, legal peculiarities of Washington, D.C., Justice Warren recognized that the Fifth Amendment, which applies to the District of Columbia, did not contain an Equal Protection clause. Lacking an equal protection standard by which to invalidate the District's segregation policy, Warren relied instead on the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law" (U.S. Const., amend V) to find school segregation in D.C. unconstitutional (Williams, 2012). *Brown* represented the first major race-related public policy decision and legislative action that affected the structure and operation school districts on a national scale. Prior to school desegregation both in Washington, D.C. and nationally, federal involvement in local education had been minimal, with the federal government deferring to rights of states for the development and implementation of local education policy. However, within days of the *Brown* decision, President Dwight D. Eisenhower urged the Washington system to make haste and plan to desegregate its schools in anticipation of the upcoming, 1954-55 academic year (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1954), which was a mere four months later. Anticipating a positive transition, President Eisenhower predicted that the Washington, D.C. schools would serve as a "laboratory to demonstrate to the world how easily and effectively integration⁵ and democracy would work" (Eisenhower, 1954, p. A-4); a prediction that would not be easily realized.

⁴ This study is centered around the idea of 'Black' and 'White' as racial groups, not colors. Therefore, as racial groups are proper nouns, identifiers for all racial groups are capitalized throughout this paper.

⁵ President Eisenhower referred to school desegregation as "integration". This study, however, makes a distinction between the two terms. This study defines integration as the social process in which members of

While district officials expected and braced themselves for minor, race-based antagonism that might arise during the school district's transitory period ("Do Mixed Schools Really Work", 1955), they did not anticipate broad and intense dissatisfaction with the new, desegregated system—a vehement dissatisfaction that local and national stakeholders⁶ expressed openly. The outcry was in response to the results of standardized student achievement tests administered during the spring of 1955, the inaugural year of the DCPS desegregation effort. Test data indicated that students enrolled in the DCPS performed well-below the national averages in nearly all subjects, particularly Reading, Math, and Science ("Corning Backs Pupils Ability", 1955; "D.C. Integration Truths Hidden", 1956; "D.C. School Integration Failure, Lawmaker Says", 1956; Deane, 1956; Hansen, 1960; Rogers, 1956). The test results, which were widely reported in both the local and national press, created a public relations challenge for the school district. Media outlets published commentary that declared the system's integration effort a "failure" (D.C. School Integration Failure, Lawmaker Says", 1956; Norfolk Journal and Guide, 1956). Education leaders across the country expressed that integration efforts in Washington were doomed from the start—an "experiment gone wrong" (D.C. School Integration Failure, Lawmaker Says", 1956) that would ultimately result in low standards for students and teachers ("Corning Backs Pupils Ability", 1955; "D.C. Integration Truths

different racial groups experience fair and equal treatment within a desegregated environment. Desegregation then refers to the legal or political process of ending the lawful separation of different racial groups.

⁶ A stakeholder within the context of this historical narrative refers to any individual with stated interest in or concern about events occurring within the DCPS. Archival data for this study reveal that local stakeholders include DCPS officials and policymakers, teachers, school administrators, families, teachers unions, and community members at large. National stakeholders included legislators, district officials from other states, communities, and others school systems interested in learning from the DCPS example.

Hidden", 1956; "D.C. School Integration Failure, Lawmaker Says", 1956; Deane, 1956; Hansen, 1960; Rogers, 1956). One vocal legislator commented,

The records tell the story. Integration proponents who are looking for a way to excuse the failure will come up with the claim that segregated schools have deprived Negro children of an equal opportunity. This claim will not hold water.

U.S. House Representative James Davis, 1956

A chief indicator of disappointment in the DCPS was noted in the actions of President Eisenhower himself; the White House reported in January of 1956 that the President's three grandchildren, who had been enrolled in the school system, were transferred "several months ago" from the DCPS in favor of local private schools ("D.C. Integration Truths Hidden", 1956).

While disillusionment at learning about the less than stellar performance of pupils on standardized achievement examinations is a common response from school district officials in the present day, it was an unusual response in 1954. Student achievement—as measured by standardized test data—was a novel area of focus and scrutiny. Prior to 1954, achievement test data was not used as an indicator of success (Diner, 1990) or failure. Still, DCPS employees were asked to provide theories to explain the students' lackluster academic performance. According to a *U.S. News and World Report* (1955) investigation of the desegregation effort in Washington, D.C. titled, "Do Mixed Schools Really Work?", a prevailing opinion among the DCPS school principals who were interviewed for the article was that the learning pace within most of the racially-mixed schools had resulted in lower standards. That is, the pace of teaching (and as such, the

pace of learning) had been “slowed down to keep step with the general run of Negro pupils” (p. 21). “Others”⁷ who were interviewed for the piece opined on this hypothesis and posited that Black students in the desegregated system did not perform as well as White students because Black students, during the era of school segregation in D.C., had been subject to inferior educational environments. Additional educators who were interviewed suggested that students were underperforming because Black teachers were inferior to White teachers. The educators provided support for this theory: first, they reasoned that Black teachers were less educated and less experienced than White teachers; next, they speculated that Black teachers, while teaching within a segregated system, had made compromises in educational standards by administering “easier examinations and promoting pupils who were not ready for promotion”, (p.21). Such commentary implied that Black teachers had sacrificed academic integrity in favor of a watered-down curriculum, a misguided demonstration of care and support for their students. Actions such as these, according to the article, jeopardized the success of the newly desegregated school district. The responses of Black teachers to comments about their teaching ability were not featured in the *U.S. News and World Report* article. However, other news outlets reported that Black teachers disagreed with such analyses (Washington Bee, 1955). Citing their performance in teacher preparation programs both locally and nationally, as well as their education in disciplines beyond the education field, many Black teachers claimed instead that it was both racism and the social pressures associated with desegregation that made the transition challenging for both teachers and

⁷ “Others” is undefined in the *U.S. News and World Report* article. However, the article notes that the sources of information included educators, principals, and officials employed by the DCPS.

students ("Anecdotal Records: School Integration and Washington, D.C. The First Year", 1955). The American Federation of Teachers Local 27, the desegregated teachers union serving teachers in Washington, D.C., served as a powerful ally of Black teachers within the school district, advocating and bargaining for teachers to obtain job security via amid the unsteady relationship between the district and its teachers ("Groups Ask Combined College for Teachers", 1955).

Between 1955 and 1956, White teachers left the DCPS in droves, opting instead to take their talents and their families to the neighboring suburban and more racially homogeneous areas ("Corning Backs Pupils Ability", 1955; Deane, 1954, 1956; "Do Mixed Schools Really Work?", 1956; McKelway, 1957; "Schools Seen Drifting Back Into Segregation", 1959) such as Montgomery County and Prince George's County (both located in Maryland), as well as Fairfax County, which is located in the suburbs of Northern Virginia. This phenomenon, known as 'White flight,'⁸ became common in the 1950s and 1960s. While the percentage of Black and White teachers in the DCPS was roughly equal at the beginning of the district's desegregation effort, within 10 years, Black teachers represented 85% of the DCPS teacher corps. See Figure 1 for data on the composition of the DCPS teacher workforce between 1955 and 1971.

⁸ White flight refers to the large-scale migration patterns of White Americans from racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous (White) suburban or rural regions.

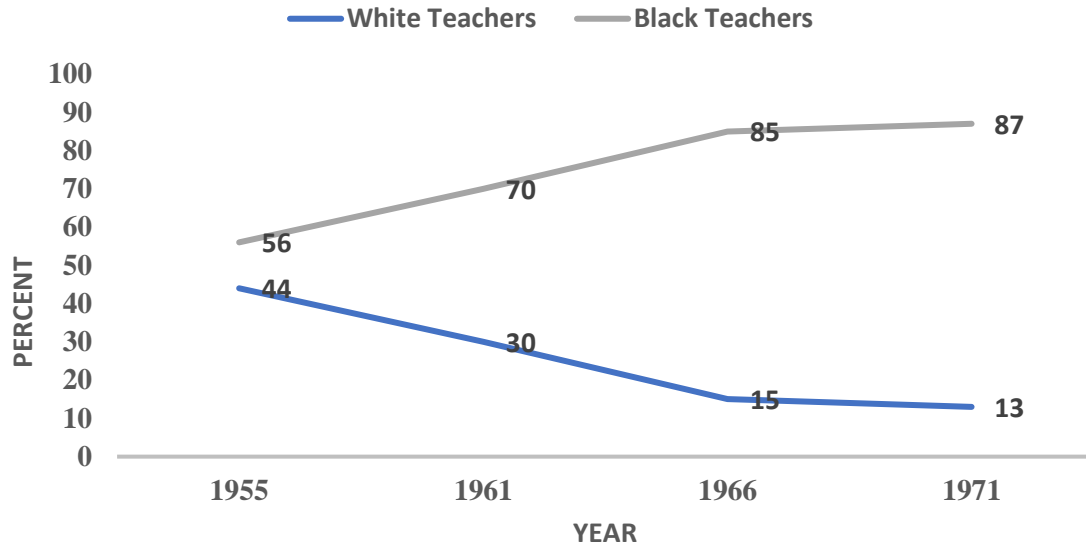


Figure 1. Racial Composition of Teacher Workforce (1955—1971)

(Office of the Statistician of the District of Columbia Public Schools, 1972)

In a curious development of events, as the gap between the percentage of Black teachers and White teachers working in the DCPS increased, so too did district officials'⁹ disappointment with the DCPS teacher corps—a disappointment unmatched by prior eras (Diner, 1990), and in 1959, with the collaboration and full support of the local District Teachers College, the DCPS embarked upon a nearly decade-long mission to “rid the system of deadwood” (“District Schools Had a Good Year”, 1959), the “incompetent teachers” (“Corning Pep-Talks School Principals”, 1956), and the “space savers and time occupiers” (“The Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching”, 1964, p.7), disparaging terminology used to describe specific members of the DCPS teacher workforce. They

⁹ District officials, a term that is used throughout this study, refers to the lawmaking and policymaking bodies of the DCPS including the superintendent of schools, assistant superintendent of schools, the school board, and the boards of examiners.

would instead recruit a different type of teacher— a "better" teacher ("Corning Pep-Talks School Principals", 1956; Hansen, 1960). Who, however, were the "deadwood" teachers, and what traits would the "better" teachers possess? The district's master plan would involve gradual, yet broadscale reforms to teacher recruitment and hiring policies within the DCPS. These curiosities form the foundation of this historical study of Black teachers, quality, and education policy in the DCPS. This study utilizes archival data to expose and examine notions of teacher quality as evidenced by strategic shifts in teacher recruitment and hiring policies in the DCPS between the years of 1952 and 1964.

Contemporary researchers and policymakers agree that the quality of a teacher matters because the teacher is the most important school-based factor influencing student achievement (Coleman, 1964; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Goldhaber, 2016; Rice, 2003). While there is considerable debate about what constitutes teacher quality, the following categories reflect the characteristics that are most often considered in teacher quality policymaking: teacher preparation programs and degrees, coursework, professional examination scores, certification and licensure, and experience (Rice, 2003). Remarkably, these indicators were used by officials over 65 years ago in the DCPS to judge the quality of a teacher. To what extent, however, did prescribed indicators and benchmarks provide assurance that teachers met the district's standard of quality? Furthermore, in what ways might the race of a teacher have influenced external judgments of the quality of that teacher? This study employs critical historical methodology to examine teacher quality education policies and practices in the DCPS both prior to and during the early civil rights era, the decades-long struggle by Black Americans to end legalized racial

discrimination and disenfranchisement. In this study, teacher quality education policy refers to the rules, regulations, and procedures enacted by the DCPS to examine and determine the value of teacher candidates, including their perceived suitability for work with the DCPS.

This study makes a philological distinction between appraisals of the *teacher* (the professional person) and appraisals of the *teacher's work* (the practice). This distinction in diction is frequently overlooked in contemporary discussions of teacher quality. Nonetheless, the fundamental differences between the two are critical to this study on Black teachers and quality as the study findings reveal that preconceptions about a specific racial group (either White or Black) led to broad assumptions about the quality of teacher applicants belonging to that racial group. These biased assumptions, in turn, informed district recruitment and hiring policies. In other words, perceptions of quality were race-based—rooted in historical, racialized ideologies of what constituted *quality*—the effects of which may be made manifest in present-day teacher recruitment and hiring practices.

This dissertation presents four primary findings: first, as early as 1952, concerns about the quality of classroom teachers were virtually nonexistent, as evidenced by district officials' intention to offer fulltime (and in some cases unpaid) teaching positions to individuals without college degrees or teaching experience—in direct violation of the preferred hiring policies and practices of the period—to mitigate a teacher shortage; second, once issues of teacher quality became a point of scrutiny for the school district (following the desegregation of schools), officials at the DCPS began to use teacher

qualifications as a primary determinant of teacher quality; third, because officials at the DCPS conflated teacher qualifications with teacher quality, their modus operandi for securing better teachers, was to intensify teacher qualification requirements to procure "better" teachers; and finally, there are documented cases in which school district officials used the term "better" (as in better teachers) both overtly and inadvertently as code for "White" teachers, whom officials hypothesized was the best way to advance student learning and restore the reputation of the school system.

Washington, D.C. and the District of Columbia Public Schools provide a unique opportunity to study questions of teacher quality and education policy for three distinct reasons. First, Washington, D.C. comprises a rich, diverse, and complicated historical landscape, as will be explored in detail in Chapter Two. Next, the District of Columbia Public Schools was one of the first urban area school districts to desegregate its schools and as such, experienced the brunt of growing pains that would be used as lessons for and against school desegregation efforts nationwide. Third, the DCPS maintains a well-curated, accessible archive in the Charles Sumner Museum, home to the DCPS records from as early as 1870. In addition, the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University stands as a rich archival resource. The research center consists of fully processed manuscript collections and records from local Black educators and activists of the past, including leaders in the earliest Black schools in Washington, D.C. Fourth, Washington D.C. is home to the Library of Congress, a rich source of historical content from the period under study. Finally, the DCPS has established itself as a controversial trendsetter in matters of education reform, particularly as it relates to teacher quality

policy. Chief among the leaders in the district's educational reform efforts is the former DCPS Chancellor of Schools, Michelle Rhee. Rhee who in 2010 began "clean[ing] house" in the school system by "getting tough on teachers" (Dee & Wyckoff, 2013, p. 7) and ridding the system of ineffective educators, is perhaps best known for setting higher standards for principals and teachers through the inception of the IMPACT teacher evaluation system, the first system of its kind to appraise qualitative indicators of teacher effectiveness on a numerical scale (Dee & Wyckoff, 2013).

Purpose and Significance of the Study

There has been a longstanding concern and interest in teacher quality since the mid-19th century, and the American public education system has been fraught with periods of public discontent over the perceived quality of its teachers (Blount, 2000, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Hanushek, 2006; Rice, 2003; Rousmaniere, 1997), and it could be argued that persistent calls for better teachers have frayed public confidence in the American education system over time. Debate concerning the need for robust enhancements to teacher quality by way of teacher preparation, professional development, and teacher evaluation drive present-day decision making on teacher quality at local, state, and federal levels of education policy. The purpose of this study is to document and examine the DCPS' characterizations of teacher quality as evidenced by the education policies and practices that were implemented between 1952 and 1964. This study begins with a focus on events occurring in 1952 for the purpose of comparing debates and discussions related to teacher quality immediately prior to and following school desegregation. This study concludes with an exploration of events occurring in

1964. In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson had just won the presidential election in a landslide victory and ushered in an era of major educational reform with the passage of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (ESEA), which emphasized equal access to education and the goal of minimizing achievement gaps (United States Department of Education, 1994). This Act would later be reauthorized with iterations known as the *No Child Left Behind Act* and the *Every Student Succeeds Act*, legislation that placed teachers and teacher practice at the front and center in debates about student achievement. As a result, national teacher quality discussions intensified in both tone and tenor; a deviation that does not necessarily align with the purposes this study. The study examines specifically the authority that DCPS officials wielded in developing employment policies that affected the professional lives of Black teachers. The analysis of archival data provides a critical historical illustration of how racialized notions of quality played a significant role in teacher quality related education policy decisions, used essentially as a tool to drive Black teachers out of the classroom following *Brown*. The study concludes with a collection of implications for teacher quality education policies in the present day, as well as recommendations for additional research concerning teacher quality and the appraisal of teachers' work.

This historical study documents the origins of contemporary education policy, particularly in Washington, D.C. and has both scholarly and practical applications. First, it seeks to expound upon the existing historiography of Black teachers by exploring their journey toward professional validation; this is not to say that all (or any) Black teachers required external validation as evidence of their professional value. But rather, in this

case it refers to Black teachers' dogged determination to comply with the policies and guidelines (set forth by the DCPS bureaucratic structure) that could ostensibly guarantee their gainful employment as schoolteachers, replete with the rights and privileges associated with the professional position. Current studies on teacher quality have paid less attention to how race influences subjective judgments of teacher quality and how such judgments undergird teacher recruitment and hiring policies and practices at local, state, and federal levels. This study hopes to offer fresh insights for present-day debates about diversifying the educator workforce and improving the quality of teachers in America by infusing the conversation with historical data that help to frame and explain contemporary discourse related to teachers and quality.

The Problem

One point of focus in scholarship on the diversification of the teaching workforce has been the disparity that exists between the number of Black students and Black teachers. Black students comprise approximately 16% of public school students, while Black teachers only represent roughly 8% of the teaching workforce (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010; Taie & Goldring, 2017). Madkins (2011) suggests that such a configuration can be problematic, particularly for students in large, urban school districts. First, such a configuration does not allow some Black students to see themselves reflected in the professional realm. Next, many Black teachers will have cultural experiences and linguistic backgrounds similar to those of Black students (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Sheets, 2004; Villegas & Lucas, 2004), allowing the students to have familiar interactions with their teachers (Foster, 1997). Additionally, Black teachers not

only serve as inspirational models for students to pursue higher education (Perkins, 1989; Walker, 1996; 2001; 2013;2018), but they also serve as living examples to non-Black faculty and administrators about the diversity that exists within subgroups of Black students and Black teachers. Recent data on the impact of Black teachers on Black students also reveal that Black students gain increased access to gifted and talented programs (Grissom & Redding 2016), have higher chances of graduating from high school (Gershenson, Hart, Lindsey, & Papageorge, 2017), benefit from the affirmation of their academic abilities (Irvine, 2003), and are more likely to perceive the classroom space as safe (Evans-Winters 2005; Morris 2016). Black teachers can serve as role models for Black students and although all students can benefit from having Black teachers (Irvine, 1988), it may be especially important for Black students to have these role models (Alston, 1998; King, 1993; Perkins, 1989; Villegas & Irvine, 2010; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Cherng and Halpin (2016) confirm that students (broadly) tend to have more favorable opinions of Black teachers, a finding that is corroborated by archival data presented in this historical study some 65 years hence. This, however, is not to say that all Black teachers will have a positive effect upon students nor that White teachers are incapable of serving as positive role models for Black students (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010). However, hiring and evaluation practices that negatively impact the entry and retention of Black educators may serve as barriers that instigate and perpetuate the problem and may be symptomatic of broader institutional biases, including racism (Bailey, Bocala, Shakman, & Zweig, 2016; D’Amico, Pawlewicz, Earley, & McGeehan, 2017; White, 2016). This study will provide historical evidence for such

claims by revealing the specific ways in which racial biases were infused in district recruitment and hiring decision making. Given the limited growth of the present-day pool of Black teachers, this study seeks to shine light on the ways in which bureaucratic structures at the district level have served as the first line of defense in attempts to limit the pool of Black teachers by casting doubt on their quality, and as such, the quality of their work.

Research Question

This dissertation study was guided by the following fundamental research question:

1. To what extent did race influence teacher quality education policies, especially those policies related to recruitment and hiring, in the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) immediately before and following the desegregation of the school district?

Theoretical Framework

This research and its findings are grounded in Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Problem Definition Theory (PDT).

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory is a theoretical framework that applies critical theory to examine educational policies and practices through the lenses of race and power. Critical theory is based on the ideas of several generations of German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition. It holds that a theory is "critical" (and as such, distinguishable from traditional theory) when it meets a specific, practical

purpose, that is to promote emancipation from oppression and act as a force to liberate, influence, and build a world which satisfies the needs of oppressed and marginalized persons (Horkheimer, 1972). Racial strife and social turmoil frame the American historical narrative, and institutional oppression and structural racism have served as the predominant form of social control used to maintain dominance over the Black community (Seabrook & Wyatt-Nichol, 2016). As such, the critical framework guides this study as the aim of this research is to gain an understanding of the ways in which a public education system has the power to either dismantle or reinforce oppressive structures, particularly for marginalized populations. Critical race theory examines such structures as they relate to race, law, and power (Gordon, 1999; Yosso, 2005).

Problem Definition Theory

This study also utilizes Problem Definition Theory (PDT) to consider the political nature of policy making, which involves determining the causes and consequences of undesirable circumstances, as well as the potential solutions for improving them (Rocheftort & Cobb, 1993). This study suggests that the ways in which DCPS officials defined and attempted to solve their alleged teacher quality problem was a function of what they perceived to be the symptoms, causes, and consequences of the issue, that is, how they ultimately defined the problem. Problem Definition theory understands that there could exist various viewpoints, conceptualizations, and thus solutions for a problem that derive from a single set of "facts". Contrary to conventional wisdom, problems are not "out there" waiting to be discovered and solved. They do not present themselves de novo and in complete form (Latour, 1987). "Any given set of conditions that is somehow

judged or labeled as being undesirable is not, in itself, a problem or 'the' problem," observed David Dery (1984, p. 25). Any such set of conditions may, in other words, 'contain' more than one problem, or no problem whatsoever, depending on one's ability to see a way or ways out of it, that is to see opportunities for improvement. Rather, problems are defined, formulated, or constructed-from situations (Simon 1969, 1985). Defining a problem imposes a useful framework upon a troublesome situation: providing suggestions for the causes and consequences of the "problem," proposing a theory for a solution, and thus emphasizing some aspects of the situation and potential solution while minimizing others (Weiss, 1989). In other words, defining a problem essentially configures its solution (Dery, 1984), and the way in which a problem is formulated directly affects the range and kinds of solutions proposed and the likelihood that certain solutions will be chosen over others; it determines which groups will have what kinds of power in the process and the likelihood that some solutions will be more successful than others. An inadequate problem definition can "intensify rather than ease the original problem" (Brewer & deLeon 1983, p. 32) and according to Steiss and Daneke (1980, p.124) a plausible but incomplete definition of a problem can be more dangerous than a wrong definition (Clark, 1997). In this study, officials at the DCPS considered a set of facts about its students and teachers, interpreted the facts through a lens which placed considerable blame for the existence of undesirable conditions at the foot of its teachers, interpreted the findings as representative of a dire teacher quality problem, and as such, set about to solve the problem with calls for "better" teachers, and/or White teachers. This study examines the DCPS' interpretation of and solutions for its alleged teacher quality

problem and considers additional, alternative interpretations of the same facts. This study seeks to give voice to and consideration of alternative viewpoints and conceptualizations stemming from those facts related to Black teachers and quality in the DCPS between 1952 and 1964.

Research Methodology

To better clarify and contextualize this historical examination of teacher quality in DCPS from 1952 to 1964, an overview of the literature that informed the critical historical methodology of this study follows. First, however, I present my ontological (the nature of the knowable) and epistemological (the relationship between the knower and the known) approach to this research and follow it with a discussion of the literature that pertains to the core elements of this study. This methodology section concludes with a description of the archival data sources and primary documents included in the research analysis.

Research Paradigm

A research paradigm describes a set of perceptual orientations and common beliefs about the way a researcher views the world and how research problems and questions should be understood and addressed (Kuhn, 1970). The ontological and epistemological orientations of the researcher help to situate the data analysis in a way that defines and assesses the accuracy and reliability of the analysis, in an effort to ensure the "logical consistency" and "theoretical integrity" (Hatch, 2002, p. 12) of the work. As such, developing a research question requires examining the assumptions and beliefs that undergird the researcher's logic (Hatch, 2002). This research study design is based on a

subjectivist paradigm that holds that truth is personally constructed and is the outgrowth of one's cultural context and influence (Kuhn, 1970; Crotty, 1998; Hatch, 2002).

My ontological and epistemological frameworks are situated within a critical theoretical perspective. As a teacher and education researcher, I believe that my queries about education policy and its relationship to teachers can support social change, expose areas of oppression of teachers at-large, and provide a voice to marginalized populations within the teaching community, namely Black teachers. Karl Marx's framework of critical theory is based on class struggle, alienation, and the rejection of historical paradigms that are constructed by the power elite, that is those persons or institutions who hold social and economic hegemony and as such, are well-positioned to shape the views of marginalized groups. Such an arrangement can result in deeply biased and flawed versions of history, histories that warrant critical examination and ultimately change. This framework is rooted in a skepticism of patriarchal systems which maintain and grant power based on the perceived privilege and status of an individual or a group of individuals (Crotty, 1998), such as patriarchal and bureaucratic education systems which have historically framed teachers (especially female teachers) as the educational *workers* while men serve as the educational managers—the administrators and policymakers (Brunner, 1999; Hansot & Tyack, 1988; Tyack & Strober, 1981). As such, a critical theorist views political and social structures as the products of historically situated events and assessments. Guldi and Armitage (2014) explain that retaining a critical perspective on the biases of earlier cultures is essential, particularly those which center White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant perspectives and ideologies as the most advanced of all. In the same

way, a hearty skepticism of the supposedly universal rules of quality is essential when considering education policies of the past and for the future. This study and its analyses seek to elevate the consciousness of the oppressed by shedding light on the history of educational ideologies about teacher quality that are tied to race. These critical ontological and epistemological foundations serve not only as the source of my interest in utilizing historical methods and critical discourse analysis in the completion of a study on Black teachers, but they also inform the analysis of data for this study.

Positionality. There are myriad factors that shape my epistemological lens. First, I have worn multiple professional hats. I have served as: a classroom teacher in multiple public school systems—urban and suburban; a cooperating teacher charged with providing extensive hands-on experience for student-teachers preparing to enter the teaching field; a mentor teacher, conducting classroom observations and providing job-embedded training for teachers new to the profession; an instructional coach for Teach for America, a non-traditional program that grants access to teaching positions for individuals without a traditional teacher education; and a mentor teacher, assessing teachers' classroom instruction. I am presently employed as an education researcher for a social science research organization located in Washington, D.C. where I provide guidance to state education leaders and policymakers using the latest educational research to support the development and design of educational goals, be it diversifying the educator workforce or developing policies to measure, reward, or improve teacher effectiveness. I also work as an adjunct instructor in the college of education of a local public university. In other words, I have earned (and presently earn) a living by training

teachers and evaluating the quality of a teachers' classroom instruction by the metrics set forth by an educational policymaking body. I also advise and consult with educational policymaking bodies. As such, I acknowledge that I bring a wealth of perspective as well as bias to this study on teachers.

Next, I am an upper middleclass Black woman who owns and resides in a single-family home in the wealthiest African American-majority county in the United States, located in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. My critical perspective is shaped by the racial, cultural, professional, and economic contexts upon which I have been socialized. My lived experiences have culminated in beliefs that influence my connection and approach to this research, including my interpretation of the findings. Considering this, I acknowledge that it is impossible to capture with precise accuracy and certainty the stories of other people's lives, particularly the thoughts and intentions of the individuals represented in this historical study. It is, nonetheless, my aim to present a study based on reliable data analysis that culminates in a new historical narrative about the role of race in collective ideas about the quality of Black teachers and their work.

I began my teaching career in the southern region of the U.S. immediately following graduation from undergraduate school. I clearly recall the interview for my first teaching position. While most teacher candidates first required a face-to-face interview at the central office, I bypassed this step due to a technicality. My first interaction with a representative of the school district was a one-on-one conversation with this school principal. The interview went well. We had a friendly rapport and by most standards, I was an exceptional candidate for the position. I had been recognized as an

‘Outstanding Student Teacher’ by my undergraduate institution. I had extensive experience working with diverse students in both large and small educational settings. I had glowing recommendations from my cooperating teachers. I had passed the teacher certification examination on my first attempt. As the principal stood and concluded our interview, she stated, “Well, I *have*¹⁰ to hire a Black person”.

I was hired for the teaching position and was subsequently named 'Entry-Year Teacher of the Year' for the school district in a field of more than 300 new-hires. Professional accolades followed over the next nine years. My teaching evaluation ratings were consistently outstanding, and I served as a teacher mentor to novice and veteran teachers alike. Common anecdotes from my principals and other teachers included superlatives such as, "You're one of the best teachers in this entire school" and "You are such a high quality teacher". What, however, was meant by "best" or "high quality"? By what (and whose) standards was I being judged? How did these appraisals affect the trajectory of my career? If I was a “high quality” teacher, what then was a “low quality” teacher? And finally, and most significant to me, what if the principal who interviewed me on that fateful day did not *have* to hire someone Black? Would I have been selected for the position? My curiosity about the persistent judgment of teachers and their quality originates from the highlight reel of my personal experience. Some 20 years since, the questions remain, though now they are arguably more sophisticated and nuanced. I have studied teachers and education policy for the past 6 years. I only began exploring these topics in historical perspective relatively recently. Having studied teachers and education

¹⁰ Italics denote added emphasis as recalled by the author.

policy within the parameters of a doctoral program, I now have language and a knowledge base of historical scholarship that frames how I experienced, structured, studied, interpreted, and analyzed the primary source data for this study. Still, my personal experiences remain the impetus for what makes teachers a most fascinating and engaging topic of study and discussion.

I began attending public school in the American south around 1980. I lived in a two-parent home and my family placed a strong value on school. They viewed education as the primary way to evade the cycle of poverty and hopelessness that pervaded many southern Black communities. I understood that it was of paramount importance that I performed well in school, confirmed by a permanent position on the honor roll each quarter and invitations to various academic honor societies. I rarely disappointed my parents. I had positive experiences with both school and my teachers. I held my teachers in high regard. One of my favorite teachers was Mrs. Dorothy Davis, my fifth grade teacher. I did not know it at the time, but Mrs. Davis was shaping my early perceptions of what constituted a great teacher. Not only did I learn loads of academic content while enrolled in her class, but Mrs. Davis had a personality that meshed well with my adolescent social and emotional needs—she was simultaneously no-nonsense and accessible. So accessible in fact, that she allowed my two best friends and me to have a sleepover at her house one weekend—simply because we dared to ask. Imagine—on Friday afternoon, Mrs. Davis was teaching the class how to perform long division within the confines of the classroom, and the following morning, she was making pancakes for my friends and me as we watched Saturday morning cartoons. The experience stands out

as one of my fondest childhood memories, and as a result, I bring to my professional work at least three subjective indicators of high-quality teacher practice: 1) expert knowledge and the ability to clearly transfer that knowledge to others, 2) accessibility, or the quality of being approachable, and 3) warmth toward students. These are personal biases for which I account during all professional and research-related endeavors, particularly those endeavors that relate to evaluations of teaching.

My background and upbringing influence my approach to research on teachers in other ways as well. First, I have a deep respect for the myriad roles that teachers play in the lives of students. Second, I had an educational experience that was so positive that it likely, perhaps on a subconscious level, played a role in my decision to pursue classroom teaching as a career. Finally, when I reflect upon the racial composition of my childhood teachers, I calculate that approximately 36% of my teachers were Black. The other 64 % were White.¹¹ Mrs. Davis is Black.

While I experienced the benefits (the respect of the principals, appointment to school and district leadership teams, opportunities for advanced professional development, and accolades meant to validate my work) of the "better teacher" label, questions about my relative professional quality persisted: What qualities made me a good teacher? What are the stories of the Black teachers whose stories and trajectories differ from mine? More significant, what happened to the countless teacher candidates who never had the opportunity to hone their teaching skills and talents because they were never hired to teach? School districts recruit, hire, evaluate, reward, and terminate

¹¹ This number reflects my personal recollection of the teachers to whom I was assigned from Kindergarten through Grade 12.

teachers according to established policies and practices that purportedly enhance teacher quality. This study reveals the history of racial bias embedded within education policy in the DCPS, particularly as it relates to perceptions of the quality of Black teachers. Findings indicate that this bias resulted in systemic policies that sought to prevent Black teachers from both entering and remaining in the workforce.

Historical Research and the Field of Education

Historical research is characterized by the examination of past events including the analysis of primary sources—documents, artifacts, and personal accounts—for the purposes of interpretation and meaning-making (McCulloch, 2004). The historian engages primary sources by assessing their significance, considering how social, economic, political, and cultural contexts contributed to the construction of each source, and investigating potential links and connections among them (Rapley, 2008). These data are woven into a compelling narrative that extrapolates the meaning they held for various groups within a given period. Historical analysis allows researchers to offer replies to burning questions about the past, and while the past does not offer simple lessons or prescriptions for future actions (Ravitch & Vinovskis, 1995, p. ix), historical analysis gives researchers framework in which to identify, clarify and reconsider (Horsford & D’Amico, 2015) persistent ills in education. Over the past two decades, a growing collection of scholars has argued that history has a place in education policy discussions (Horsford & D’Amico, 2015; Wong & Rothman, 2009). Extending the case for the relevance of the past to the present, Ethan Kleinberg, Joan Wallach Scott, and Gary Wilder offer a vision of critical history in "Theses on Theory and History" (Kleinberg,

Scott, & Wilder, 2017). Among their theses, two are especially pertinent to this historical study of Black teachers and quality. First, “Critical history seeks to intervene in public debates and political struggles” (III.9), and finally, “Critical history aims to understand the existing world in order to question the givens of our present so as to create openings for other possible worlds” (III.10). Historical inquiry imagined in this way has the power to challenge existing ideologies and assumptions that have been accepted blindly as facts (Pawlewicz, Horsford, & Guiden, forthcoming).

Historical Methodology

Historiography refers to the study of historical writing and the methods used to collect, analyze, and accord meaning to historical evidence (Fallace, 2009). It also refers to the body of historical work on a topic. Historiographical frameworks dictate the nature and potential content of research, determine the minimum resources and skills required for research, and prescribe the acceptable means through which one can interpret and communicate their findings (Woodson, 2017). In this way, historiographical frameworks and the methods therein are interwoven in struggles for authenticity and power. Reese and Simba (2011) describe how traditional models of historiography, practiced almost exclusively by White men, promoted objectivity, detachment from the subject or content of research, and neutrality in interpretation. This messaging assumed that the interests of and preferred methodologies of White men were universal and appropriate in every context. However, it masked the fact that many common understandings and interpretations of historical events placed the ideals of White male thought as the standard for all that is considered real ‘knowledge’ (Reese & Simba, 2011). Critical

historical research challenges this notion and seeks instead to discover and understand events for the purpose of legitimating the claims of oppressed groups while considering methods of course-correction (Cannon, 1995; Hine, 1994; Huggins, 1971), which is a main objective of this study.

Historical research is guided by a set of key activities and principles. The key activities include developing an idea, formulating a research plan, collecting primary source data, examining the sources of data, and analyzing the data (Cecil, 1964). Embedded within these activities are key principles that guide and undergird historical study. The principles include establishing confidence in the originality and authenticity of the source, thus increasing the reliability of the source with the understanding that the closer (in proximity or perspective) a source is to the event and time period under study, the more likely it is to provide a dependable and trustworthy historical description; providing assurance that if discrete, independent sources contain the same or similar messaging, then the credibility of the message is amplified; and finally, accepting that all sources contain inherent bias, and as such, the researcher should make every effort to supplement data with sources that reflect myriad perspectives (Cecil, 1964).

Critical Discourse Analysis. In consideration of these principles of historical methodology, I applied a critical discourse analysis that is grounded in social history (Hobsbawm, 1971). The use of CDA for this study provided a design that, when combined with the tenets of historical methodology, moved beyond a description of the impact of teacher quality education policies on Black teachers in the DCPS and allowed for a critical analysis of the intended consequences of such policies on the racial

composition of the teacher workforce. Through CDA, a presence in the narrative can be realized for populations who have been disenfranchised in the public schools of Washington, D.C. Utilizing a critical analysis for this research presented an opportunity to frame the development of teacher quality-related policy within the larger context of racial inequality. A critical discourse analysis also allowed for consideration of and engagement with the present-day outcomes of a system shaped within a specific time and space, to produce an explanation for how past events have a relevant impact on the present.

Description of Archives and Primary Source Data. Primary sources are the fundamental methodological foundation of historical research. The quality, authenticity, and reliability of these documents form the cornerstone of any historical research project (Brundage, 2017; Horsford & D’Amico, 2015; Howell & Prevenier, 2001). The historian, then seeks to determine the purpose that a document was intended to serve at the time in which it was created. This interpretation of context and intent requires precision, so as not to ascribe significant weight to details where the intention of such significance does not exist. It is for this reason, that the triangulation of sources is critical. Howell and Prevenier (2001) explained, “A source provides us evidence about the existence of an event; a historical interpretation is an argument about [that] event” (p. 19). As such, this study is sustained by a collection primary sources and archival data obtained through both print and electronic sources: DCPS board meeting minutes (1952-1964); board meeting transcripts; policy documents; teacher handbooks; historical newspaper articles from both mainstream and Black presses, digital newspaper archives via the Library of

Congress; the Historical Newspapers database through the George Mason University Library System; and press releases and official statements.

The DCPS houses its historical records and archives at the Charles Sumner Museum and Archives in Washington, D.C. The archives fall into two distinct categories: processed and unprocessed. The processed records are meticulously outlined in a general subject file system. These records include all board meeting minutes and notes, which are typeset and bound in leather binders and organized by month and year. All other records at Sumner are unprocessed which means that while each box, file, and binder is labeled with a general subject area tag (i.e. Teachers, Summer School, Desegregation, etc.), there is no formal account of the contents within each box, file, and binders. As such, there exists no formal record of what should be included within the boxes and files, what has survived, and what may be missing. I gained access to the unprocessed archival documents through the archivist at the Charles Sumner Museum who took a note of my specific inquiries, and provided me with boxes, files, and binders that, according to her understanding, aligned with my subject area interests. My specific inquiries of unprocessed archival data included requests for information on Black teachers, teacher demographics, teacher attrition, district teacher policy, teacher recruitment, The National Teacher Corps in DCPS, and the local teachers colleges—Miner Teachers College, Wilson Teachers College, and the District of Columbia Teachers College—between the years of 1952-1964.¹² This request resulted in approximately 12 years' worth of board meeting minutes (a small portion of which dealt specifically with teachers and quality as

¹² Researchers do not have direct access to the Sumner Museum unprocessed files. As such, the researcher relies on the archivist to locate materials.

referencing in the museum subject files), to explore the discussions, tensions, and debates regarding teachers and quality. In total, I reviewed approximately 55 files, 25 boxes, and 30 binders from the Charles Sumner Archive. While the Sumner Archives covers the years 1870 through the present, my focus was on documents between 1952-1970, shortly before and after the period of study to better understand the state of the school system, particularly as it pertains to teacher quality, both preceding and following the desegregation of schools. This approach provided a basis for comparison of teacher quality policies before and after desegregation. Conceptual understanding of the people and politics involved in the process of desegregating a school system involved gathering materials that were available through the archives, lent themselves to discovery, and were relevant to the school desegregation process in Washington, D.C. This array of primary source data helped to clarify the relationships that existed between teachers, the local and national community, and the DCPS system. McCulloch (2004) explained, “It is necessary to make use of a wide range of different kinds of documents, which will represent alternative viewpoints and interests” (p. 44). Utilizing documents as the sole source of data collection requires that the researcher attend to “selective deposit and selective survival” (McCulloch, 2004, p. 43). This idea recognizes that historical data taken only from one source can bias research, as it is possible that some types of data were systematically omitted, rendering the extant data incomplete. Triangulation of data attends to these threats by making sure that data from many perspectives are included and that many sources have been examined so that a complete narrative can be constructed and analyzed. All data for this research were collected from the following reputable

archives: the Charles Sumner Museum and Archives, the Library of Congress, Fenwick Library at George Mason University, and the JSTOR and ProQuest databases for historical newspaper articles. Utilizing these sources for data ensured the authenticity of the historical documents, thus controlling for any threat to validity.

Research Procedures. As identified above, the key steps to conducting an historical research project includes identifying and gathering data, analyzing the data collected, and writing arguments using the collected data. Identifying the primary archive of materials occurred between Spring 2019 and Fall 2019, with multiple days during the next year spent collecting data from the Charles Sumner Archives. Archival data were then supplemented, confirmed, and triangulated with newspaper archives at the Library of Congress and electronic sources from mainstream and the local Black presses. Data analysis was iterative, beginning with reading and taking notes in both electronic and handwritten format, replete with summaries and the formulation of emerging interpretations. Emerging interpretations were triangulated across documents and time. For example, I began tracing the transition of DCPS from a segregated school system to a desegregated school system and noted the effects of the transition on the system—students, teachers, and the local community at large by way of DCPS board meeting minutes. To triangulate this theme, I followed the narrative to the Black press and unpublished anecdotal notes from teachers in the immediate aftermath of school desegregation to learn whether an interpretation held across different types of documents and persisted across time. The theme achieved triangulation when the same names, and similar narratives appeared in multiple and other types of documents. I applied a critical

lens to the interpretations by incorporating analysis about how the themes fit within a larger context of social inequalities and how they relate to current outcomes. Decisions about criteria for selection or rejection of documents for inclusion in the study were made after careful analysis and interpretation of each primary source.

Limitations. Although authenticity and triangulation were attended to, one limitation of this research was that it is very difficult to ensure that all accounts of the historical event have survived to be documented and thereby included in the analysis. This time period of history was one in which the silencing of marginalized populations was commonplace, so surviving documentation was primarily from public and district officials whose positions provided them with social or economic power and therefore, voice. And while I had hoped to tell the story of Black teachers in the DCPS using their voices and their lens, their voices (represented by primary source data) are only marginally present. Still it is my hope that their voices have made their way into this work with the resources that were made available to me. It is also important to recognize that there is no way to incorporate member checking in archival research, as “objects cannot speak back” (Hodder, 1994, p. 398). Because of this limitation, the attention to triangulation and presentation of discrepant data was a crucial step in establishing the credibility of a source.

Organization of the study

This study utilizes archival documents related to education policy in the DCPS to investigate how race influenced policy decisions related to the quality of teachers. A review of scholarship on the histories of teachers, Black teachers, and the quest for

professionalization follows and rounds out this chapter. Chapter Two provides a historical glimpse at Washington, D.C. from its early origins through evolutions in racial, social, cultural, and economic demography over time, especially between 1952 and 1964, including its influence on the priorities of the citizens of the city. Chapter Three covers a brief history of the District of Columbia Public Schools, including a history of the structure and governance of the system and an overview of Black teacher advocacy efforts, including the development of local teacher preparation programs and teacher unions and associations. Chapter Four explores considerations of teacher quality prior to the desegregation of schools, while Chapters Five and Six provide a narrative of how the DCPS made plans to enhance teacher quality through shifts in teacher qualifications between the years of 1954-1958, and 1959-1964 respectively—strategic efforts to racially balance and advance the quality of the teacher workforce. Chapter Seven provides a summary of the study findings, considers implications for the findings, and reveals areas for future research to advance the historical study of Black teachers and quality.

Review of Historical Literature

This synthesis of the literature, as well as this study in its entirety, exposes breaches in the historical narrative about Black teachers, especially those narratives that omit information about the policies that inordinately marginalized Black teachers by perpetuating demeaning myths about their quality and their work. This review of the literature is framed within the contexts of race and profession, and how the two elements intersect in the history of Black teachers. Race and profession represented a double-jeopardy of sorts in the persistent struggle for Black teachers to obtain the respect and

professional parity they deserved. As such the purpose of this literature is twofold: (a) to synthesize historical research relevant to the professionalization of teaching, while highlighting the impact of race and gender upon such efforts and (b) to synthesize literature on the effects of school segregation and subsequently desegregation on the training and employment of Black teachers while considering how such effects are evident in the present day. First, I will provide an overview of the genesis of profession as an American conceptual framework—its traits, hallmarks, and the gendered and racialized assumptions embedded therein. This section will also include an examination of the Black professional class and the challenges and victories associated with learning and working in ‘separate, but equal’ professional spaces. Next, I will consider literature on broadscale efforts to professionalize teaching and the perceived barriers to teachers' professional status, including the feminization of teaching. It is here that I seek to expose the bifurcated nature of the experiences of Black and White teachers respectively. Finally, I will conclude the review with an examination of the impact of *Brown* on the employment of Black teachers, an impact that is palpable in the present day.

Historical studies on the professional lives of Black teachers in America have gained popularity over the past three decades. A handful of studies stand out as groundbreaking works in the canon of historical scholarship on the education of Blacks broadly and Black teachers specifically, and their quest for educational access and parity. The veritable forerunner in the inception of such studies, James Anderson (1988), unearthed the educational history of Blacks in the American South between the Reconstruction Era and the Great Depression. A meticulous chronicle of the history of

southern Blacks and the development of educational institutions in the south. Anderson also highlights Black teacher training institutions and their role in creating upward mobility for Black communities. Building upon this scholarship, Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996) introduced the world to the Caswell County Training School located in rural North Carolina, where despite the injustices of segregation, students learned from dedicated and nurturing teachers and principals, whose commitment to their students extended beyond the four walls of the classroom and into the community. With this work, Walker (1996) challenged historical narratives that had previously painted segregated schools and teachers as bastions of inferiority. Walker demonstrated instead how Blacks in segregated conditions thrived and placed the needs of students and the community at the forefront of its mission. Furthering Challenging this revisionist narrative about Black teachers is Ladson-Billings (2009) in *The Dreamkeepers*, explores the pedagogical excellence of Black teachers serving in education systems that have too often used pathological terminology to describe Black students. Foster (1997), too has examined the professional lives of Black teachers working in urban metropolises in the early to mid-twentieth century. Interviewing 20 pioneering teachers from across the country, Foster (1997) shared the stories of these Black teachers, highlighting their work in community development and social uplift as well as their pedagogical creativity. More recently, Acosta, Foster, and Houchen (2018) studied the core attributes of Black pedagogical excellence and the ways in which public school desegregation has jeopardized the transcendence of such excellence within teacher education programming. The upsurge in scholarship on Black teachers continues.

While traditional historical scholarship on the professional lives of teachers has yielded significant insights into the history of teachers and teaching, much of it portrays the teacher as a monolith—a neutral, nondescript entity with a universal experience—absent the descriptors of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and the like; characteristics that would distinguish teachers' experiences and trajectories one from another. This is especially true in the case of Black teachers, whose paths toward educational access, training, and ultimately professionalization differed from that of most White teachers. Considering this, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the perspectives and professional aims of Black teachers at-large, were often inconsistent with those of White teachers both in the Jim Crow south and during the modern civil rights era. Stephanie Shaw (1996) argued in her work on Black professional women in the Jim Crow South that Black women had to bridge the mental, social, and emotional gaps between the relatively high status they held in their local communities and the vague and obtuse position they held within the larger society. While traditional historical narratives reveal that teachers experienced periods of struggle in an effort to claim their professional status and value, these struggles have primarily reflected the experiences of White teachers, most of whom were female, beginning as early as the dawn of the nineteenth century, well before Blacks had been emancipated in the South. These teachers sought first and foremost to challenge sexism by way of national suffrage and women's rights campaigns (Levin & Pinto, 2003). In contrast, Black teachers, once granted access to education, were compelled to fight within the intersectionality of multiple 'isms'—racism, sexism, nepotism, to name a few, as they fought for a professional identity within the oppressed structure of a racist

society. And while not all historical narratives on the professional lives of teachers omit race as a key element in the story, they often place Black teachers and their professional experience in the periphery of the storyline, a footnote in the history of teachers and teaching. In response to this literary oversight, a growing crop of historians, such as those cited at the beginning of this section, have intentionally placed Black teachers at the center of their work; this study aims to follow in that fashion. Finally, to be certain, there is as much diversity within racial groups as there is among them. Therefore, just as "teachers" should not be reduced to a monolithic identity, neither should "Black teachers" and their experiences be lumped into a single category for the sake of simplifying a complex historical narrative.

Specific criteria guided my search and synthesis of the historical literature on the professional lives of Black teachers. To better frame the study, I limited my search to historical content that covers the experiences of Black teachers after the American Civil War or post-1865. Since the experiences of Black teachers in the northern and southern regions of the United States undoubtedly differed, I highlighted these divergent experiences throughout the review. It should be noted here that because Washington, D.C. falls below the Mason-Dixon line, it is often referred to as a southern state. Washington, D.C. is also (historically and presently) uniquely urbane, densely populated, and diverse in a manner that makes it properly comparable to select northern and midwestern cities. Therefore, studies that compare Washington, D.C. to both types of areas have been included here.

The literature search included books, journal articles, literature reviews, meta-analyses, and empirical research conducted within the last 30 years. I limited the historical research to public school teachers as most Black teachers taught in public schools between the end of the American Civil War and the Civil Rights era. I conducted online searches of various databases, including JSTOR and ERIC using key terms for Black teachers (e.g. Black teachers, African American teachers, Black educators, African American educators, minority teachers) and Black schools (segregated schools, school desegregation, Jim Crow schools,) to generate literature that focused on these specific topics.

A History of Profession

America is characterized by a stratified hierarchical system of labor. Over time, it has become increasingly dependent upon the *professional* function (Greenwood, 1957), which is situated at the proverbial top of the occupational hierarchy. This, however, was not always the case. Early trends in the American labor force—from the Revolutionary War until the late nineteenth century—reveal a preference for manual labor in an attempt to “break down the closed corporate controls of the traditional professions” in favor of an everyman approach to work and a “democratization of occupational access” (Collins, 2019, p. 22). It was in the late nineteenth century however, in response to intensified cultural immigration to America, that the preference for the professional person emerged. The professional had access to political realm in a way that the manual laborer did not. Therefore, to combat the perceived economic, social, and political threats associated with immigration, the professional could access political connections to influence social

reform and as such, maintain the power of the White Protestant middle class. Exclusive professional networks and enclaves went hand in hand with alliances among culturally elite universities, who controlled the educational hierarchy and the professional workforce by determining who had access to higher learning (Collins, 2019).

Scholars have studied professional occupations across time and developed classifications that differentiate professions from other fields of work. While ‘expert knowledge’ sits atop most descriptions of profession (Abbott, 2014; Davies, 1972; Freidson, 1983), professions also tend to be grounded by a systematic body of theory, extensive education requirements, and an organized professional network—all of which when combined, equip the professional with a degree of authority that results from his or specialized grade of knowledge (Abbott, 2014; Friedson, 1983). While definitions of profession have evolved across time, a period of lengthy training has remained an enduring constant among its meanings. In 1937, for example, a profession was defined as a "vocation founded upon prolonged and specialized training which enables a specific service to be rendered" (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 1937, as cited in Palmer, 1953, p. 341). Some ten years later, profession was defined as "an occupation involving relatively long and specialized preparation on the level of higher education" (Goode, 1945 as cited in Palmer, 1953, p. 341). Here, there is special emphasis placed on both the length and the level of education (e.g. higher education) that a person obtained. Considering this, it becomes apparent that the professions were accessible primarily to those with time, financial resources, and social and political support to pursue them.

These individuals have tended to be White males. Thus, profession, as a concept, is rooted in a racial and gendered ideal.

The Professions. Occupations in the fields of medicine, law, architecture, and engineering have garnered overwhelming consensus in their status as professions. Not only does practicing them require expert knowledge gained by extensive training, but practitioners operate under respective bodies of theory and are members of robust professional networks and organizations which serve to generate standards and licensure guidelines for the field. These professions are self-regulating communities (Goode, 1957 as in Collins, 2010) with exclusive power (usually backed by the state) to train new members and admit them to practice. It practices its specialty according to its own standards, without outside interference. Each body reserves the right to judge its own members' performance and resists the intrusion of lay opinion; the professionals alone can decide whether to punish or disbar an incompetent member because presumably only it can decide what technical competence is (Collins, 2010). These professionals possess esoteric knowledge that effectively distinguishes their skillset from that of the general public or the client. Such esoteric knowledge generates, according to Davies (1992) a "dependence and disabling" of those who come to the professional as a client (p. 55). According to Freidson (1983), this phenomenon is known as the 'competence gap'. Recent research by Collins (2019) refines this characterization of the competence gap by positing that a "strong" profession is one that does not produce results that are too reliable as those who are outside the field (i.e. clients) may more easily judge the work and thus control the practitioner by way of judgment. Thus, the ideal profession has a skill that

occupies the mid-point of a continuum—balancing between the complete predictability and the complete unpredictability of results (Collins, 2019). Teachers in the present day, in contrast, are judged according to the performance of their students on standardized achievement examinations, for which there are predetermined and prescribed benchmarks for each student level. The expectation of such a specific, measurable outcome can therefore make it easier for others to judge the perceived quality or effectiveness of teachers' efforts. According to Collins (2019), this structure is problematic for an autonomous professional.

Profession and Gender. The conceptual framework for profession is also built upon traits that have been traditionally and historically associated with male behavior. These traits include a predisposition for autonomy, rationality, risk-taking, endurance, and preservation, and as such rest upon masculinized ideals of authority, control, and expertise (Davies, 1996; Ludmerer, 1999), and as noted earlier, notions of profession are historically linked with the desire for order in historical times of rapid social change. Bologh (2009) considers how notions of professionalism are rooted in the 'rational-legal authority' construct which positions the male as the authority figure in a dynamic, not unlike the traditional, patriarchal familial structure. This arrangement, according to Bologh (2009) can be likened to personal allegiance to a figurehead who has the power to give or withdraw favor at-will. Thus Bologh (2009) draws a link between masculinity and bureaucracy. This, according to Stivers (1993), represents middle-class, White male anxiety about proving one's self and preserving the status quo. Bureaucracy, then, emerges as a worldview that “represents men as striving to be strong, autonomous, and

agentic—providing a necessary stability" for themselves and others (Stivers, 1993, p.50). The leader of a bureaucracy is therefore a detached and unemotional leader who controls the bureaucracy by maintaining distance.

These characterizations of profession are in stark contrast with traditional notions of the feminine ideal, which include deference, nurturing, caring, and subordination, to name a few (Thomas, Glenn, & Vertein, 2011). While women have traditionally served as the matriarchs of the families (i.e. maintaining order within the home sphere, caring for the children), their role has traditionally been relegated to submission to the masculine authority—a position of deference. This dynamic is observed in early configurations of the school environment as will be captured later in this section.

Scholarship by Glazer & Slater (1987) traces White women's quests to enter the professions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The research suggests doing so was more than a simple matter of doors and minds being closed to women, but rather a reflection of the values that were "embedded in the notion of the practice of a profession reflecting a masculine project and repressing or denying those qualities culturally assigned to femininity" (p. 23). As a result, it was the rare white woman who pursued and obtained professional status in her chosen career.

The limitations of Black women into the professional sphere was not only an issue of gender, but primarily an issue of race, particularly considering her enslaved status at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for it was only in the late nineteenth century that Black women, particularly Black women in the American south, could legally learn to read, establish homes of their own, marry, and partake in the liberties that

had been granted to White women upon birth. It is for this reason that the experiences of Black women and professional status will be covered in the following section on Profession and Race.

Profession and Race. Traditional notions of profession are not only grounded in the masculine ideal, they are also rooted in race, with the professional ideal being White and male, one who, as described by Freidson (1961) was most likely to have the time, financial stature, and resources to pursue an education. Excluded from this category for a time were Black women and Black men. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that most Blacks in the south were legally allowed to attend schools and develop their own institutions.

World War II was a watershed in the history of the Black professional class (Hine, 2003). The struggles of Black professionals to carve out a space for themselves within a 'separate but equal' environment gave way to a determination to thrive under Jim Crow (a personification of the period in American history where state and local laws enforced racial segregation in the southern United States starting in 1870). The perceived lack of opportunity for Blacks particularly during the Jim Crow era, presented an opportunity for Black Americans to develop segregated professional spaces. This segregation, according to Hine (1994) was the Achilles' heel of White supremacy as segregation provided Black people with the chance and the imperative to develop a range of distinct institutions that they managed and controlled. Maneuvering through their own organizations and institutions, they exploited that fundamental weakness in the 'separate but equal' system permitted by the U.S. Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v.*

Ferguson. Without the parallel institutions that the Black professional class created, successful challenges to White supremacy might not have been possible (Hine, 2003). Among the professional associations that were developed by Black professionals for Black professionals included the National Medical Association in 1895, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses in 1908, and the National Bar Association in 1925. These organizations maintained themselves and served to ensure the survival of the greater Black community. Hine (2003) notes that in doing so, Black professionals earned the respect of their communities, the opportunity to control their own institutions, and the imperative to minimize the numbers of Blacks who might join the ranks of an “exploitable labor force” (Hine, 2003, p.1280). The complementary factors of racism and sexism, exclusion and segregation, imposed on Blacks by White society and operating in their professions, compelled Black would-be professionals and professionals to create parallel training institutions and businesses to maintain themselves and ensure the survival of the greater Black community. Anderson (1988) studied the historically Black colleges that were developed during this era including the universities and training schools for Blacks that were founded in the south. There were also institutions that specialized in training in the professions of medicine, law, and nursing, such as Meharry, Morehouse College and Howard University.

In their explorations of the histories of the Black professional class, Hine (2003) and Higginbotham (1994) confirm that the Black community viewed the work of lawyers, doctors, and engineers as professional work. They also acknowledge the work of female nurses and the struggles of women in nursing and other helping fields. Supporting

their scholarship on the unique challenges of Black women professionals, Victoria Wolcott (1997), in her extensive scholarship on Black women and their efforts for upward mobility in Washington, D.C., and Detroit, highlights Black women's struggles with being treated as competent professionals, the obstacles they encountered when attempting to join some professional organizations, and the persistent struggles with pay equity and job security.

The Professionalization of Teaching

Upon the rise of American public schooling in the mid-nineteenth century, men served as paid teachers.¹³ Structured as part-time, seasonal work, teaching was largely unregulated and not considered a profession. In small and rural schools, the classroom teacher was oftentimes a local farmer or innkeeper who held classes for a few months each year during the off-season (Levin & Pinto, 2003). For more 'educated and ambitious' (terminology that will appear again in Chapter 6 of this study) schoolmasters, teaching functioned instead as a steppingstone into professions such as law, medicine, and ministry (Mattingly, 1975; Ruane, 1994) and some scholars considered the notion that rather than a profession, teaching should and would be considered instead, a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969). Education reformer, James Carter (1826) in speaking of grammar schoolteachers, expressed that the schoolteachers rarely had any education beyond what they had acquired in the very schools in which they taught. Their attainments, therefore, were very moderate (Carter as cited in Levin & Pinto, 2003). It

¹³ Black men, who were enslaved in the southern United States and known to experience discrimination in the northern states where the common school movement originated, are not included in most historical narratives of the original teacher. What is interesting, however, is that the first school in DC for Black kids was created by three formerly enslaved Black men in 1807 (McQuirter, 2003).

was during this era that common schools, the brainchild of Horace Mann, began to emerge. The purpose of these "common" schools was to make schooling more democratic, universal, and non-sectarian—that is, common to "all" children regardless of their religion or social class. The schools would be funded by taxes in addition to special fees paid by parents. The common schools would instill a common political and social philosophy of universal American principles (Kaestle, 1983; Tyack, 1974) Children would gain academic knowledge while learning how to become democratic citizens.

As the number of common schools increased, the supply of schoolmasters was insufficient to staff them. Mann and fellow reformers James Carter, Henry Barnard, and Catharine Beecher determined that common schools needed not only more teachers, but better teachers (Levin & Pinto, 2003). This observation perhaps represents the first of what would be many calls for better teachers in the history of education reform. Worthy of note is that this call for better teachers originated from education reformers within the field as opposed to external voices outside the field. Still, the call did not come from the teachers themselves as would occur in a traditional professional context, a technicality which would arguably impact efforts to professionalize teaching in the future. After all, one hallmark of professionalization is an internal locus of control whereby professionals determine their fields' standards of performance, certification, and licensure. The immediate concerns, however, were: from where would the better teachers come, and what traits would the teachers possess?

Feminization of Teaching. If education reformers of the period could convince the general public to accept their plan, then women would be next candidates, the better

teachers, to take over the schoolroom (Levin & Pinto, 2003). In the eighteenth century, women had long run programs for very young children within their homes. The teachers in the dame schools, as the schools were called, were not always formally educated. However, they demonstrated that they could teach and had a way with children. Many reformers argued that women were, by nature, nurturing and maternal, and as such, exemplars of upright living (Blount, 2000; Clifford, 2014). The reformers cited women's femininity, a gendered stereotype, as their most important teaching qualification. A school committee in Littleton, Massachusetts noted,

God seems to have made woman peculiarly suited to guide and develop the infant mind, and it seems...very poor policy to pay a man 20 or 22 dollars a month, for teaching children the ABCs, when a female could do the work more successfully at one third of the price.

Littleton, Massachusetts School Committee, 1849

The root of this ideology, upon which the feminization of teaching is based, would rear its head again 50 years later when the DCPS sought to diversify its workforce based solely upon the race of teacher candidates.

It was during this era that teaching began to experience a shift in the composition of its workforce with calls for women, whose original sphere of influence had been the home, to enter the public sphere and serve as the better teachers of the country's children. By 1900, over 75% of the American teaching force was female; this figure includes Black teachers who had since gained emancipation in the south and were working in public schools in the north and the south. During the 1920s, teaching was the second

leading job for women, only behind domestic service (Rury, 1998). This feminization paved the way for the bureaucratization of public schools and resulted in real-life implications for the structure of schools and teachers' work lives. School committees, such as the Littleton, Massachusetts committee referenced in the primary source above, would oversee the work of this predominately female teaching force.

Teacher Training. As growing numbers of women became teachers, they worked in increasingly regulated and hierarchized spaces (D'Amico, 2016; Hoffman, 2003; Rousmaniere, 1997). Education reformers often derided women's intellectual capabilities. Catharine Beecher and Horace Mann despaired of the low standards for teachers in the mid-19th century. Fifty years later, Progressive educators like John Dewey complained about ineffective teaching methods. Yet, women began to opt for formal education and state officials took notice (Levin & Pinto, 2003).

It was during the early nineteenth century that some northern states began developing requirements for teachers such as basic academic competence and attendance at summer institutes for ongoing training (Levin & Pinto, 2003; Rousmaniere, 2007). Massachusetts, for example, founded teacher colleges in 1838. These schools provided teachers with an education beyond the grammar-school education that many teachers typically brought to the classroom. These colleges were called normal schools; "normal" because the intention was to develop a "norm" or a base level of education for all teachers.

Training Institutions for Blacks. Following the Civil War, Blacks began to build their own schools—from small, rural community one-room schoolhouses founded

by the Black community, to schools founded and operated by and through the largess of northern philanthropic efforts (Anderson, 1988). Segregated public schools almost always meant segregated colleges and normal schools. Having trained teachers, therefore, was an essential first step in expanding common schools for Black children. Historically Black colleges and universities played a substantial role in the education and training of Black teachers. Historians Perry (1975), Anderson (1988), and Tillman (2004) offer historical accounts of how institutions such as Howard University, Tuskegee Institute, Hampton University, Fort Valley State College, and smaller county-level training schools facilitated the training and development of Black teachers. Most Southern training schools did not go beyond what was required for a first grade teachers' license which was very little beyond the subjects of the common school course (Anderson, 1988) as the schools were designed primarily to train Black students to become efficient agricultural workers (boys) and domestic workers (girls). Both groups, however, were also given teacher training.

Teacher Licensure and Certification. In the early twentieth century, counties, cities, and states varied in their requirements for preparing and hiring elementary education teachers, though most (Black and White candidates) had no more than a high school education. Berrol (1976), and Rury (1998) confirm that state education departments throughout the country began to require that all teachers obtain at least a high school education. This decision effectively operated as a sorting mechanism—sifting out the poorest and marginalized applicants who may not have had time, resources, or access to a high school education (Rousmaniere, 2007). This too, is an early

example of state agencies (external to the practitioner) acting as a sorting mechanism for teacher quality, both in determining the qualifications for teacher candidates and by effectively determining who would have access to participate in the field.

To increase the likelihood that southern Black individuals interested in a teaching career would have a greater chance of success, educational training trends in the south shifted from the industrial normal model, which emphasized agriculture and hands-on trades, to the county training school model (Anderson, 1988), which highlighted teaching courses as well. Some teacher candidates however, in both rural and urban areas, had not finished high school and were required instead to pass a common school examination, which granted them access to the classroom. By 1900, Black students who had earned normal school certificates, high school diplomas, or even college degrees filled public school positions as teachers—whether they had taken specialized teaching courses or not (Anderson, 1988). Shortly after the Civil War, Black teachers in the south outnumbered White teachers (Foner & Mahoney, 2003).

Guidelines for Behavior. Mann (1840) wrote in reference to school committees in Massachusetts, "The school committee are sentinels stationed at the door of every school house in the State, to see that no teacher crosses its threshold, who is not clothed, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, in garments of virtue" (Mann, 1940 as cited in Levin & Pinto, 2003). Mann references the school committee, who were the equivalent of the local school board officials and policymakers of the present day) as sentinels—soldiers or guards to keep watch—to ensure that those who were granted entry into the field possessed “virtue”, at all costs. These committees set the rules for teachers'

dress, professional conduct, and personal conduct. Characterizing teaching as a profession becomes strained when applied to bureaucratic school systems (Collins, 2019) such as these.

In examinations of female teachers' lives during the progressive era of education (Blount, 2000; Perrillo, 2005; Rousmaniere, 1997), scholars reveal that the personal and professional lives of teachers were fodder for judgment, critique, and subsequent directives on how the professional teacher should look and behave. The confluence of qualifications such as femininity and virtue opened the door for gratuitous judgments about female teachers' character, often at the threat of grave damage to many teachers' reputations if a teacher's character came into question. Any deviation from the school committee's moral prescription might result in a female teacher being labeled a "gender transgressor" (Blount, 2000). In cases where women teachers sought to marry, school officials considered it reasonable to either relieve teachers of their duties upon marriage, or further reduce their pay on the assumption that families were primarily supported by the husbands' earnings. Policies such as these lasted into the early twentieth century and were particularly harmful to Black women teachers who were already paid less than White teachers, and whose husbands were often left without employment prospects due to racial discrimination (Dougherty, 1998).

To be certain, Black teachers, who came on the scene in the south shortly after the Civil War ended in 1865, also experienced the demands and expectations of Black educational reformers of the time, including that they exhibit behavior reflecting Victorian ideals and "becoming of a Christian woman". Anna Julia Cooper and W.E.B.

DuBois, Black intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, admonished the Black community to produce “strong, brave, and thoughtful Black women to use their motherly instincts to teach [the world] to be dutiful, to love mercy, to succor the weak and care for the lowly.” DuBois argued that educated Black women were the ideal mothers and best suited to transmit vital knowledge and culture to subsequent generations (Alridge, 2007). In like fashion, Cooper identified Black women’s commitment to the Christian tradition as the bedrock for making Black women ideal leaders—helpers of men. Doing so, Cooper expressed, required sacrifice, and while the sacrifice might not yield financial rewards, it was nevertheless, essential for Black teachers to help Black people. Thus, the moral character of Black teachers was indelibly linked to community uplift, a critical element in attempts to secure a new life in the aftermath of slavery and in their daily reality of social, political, and economic oppression. Rather than viewing tight restrictions on behavior as a cumbersome requirement, many teachers and leading Black thinkers of the period viewed them as an essential tool for advancing the Black race. Thus, in contrast to historical narratives that highlight the oppressive nature of such ideal on White women, for Black teachers, presenting such an image to the world would function as a higher calling to advance the status of Black people in America while elevating the status of Black teachers. Still, the possible challenges of this higher calling did not go unnoticed.

Black Teachers and Quality

In a report about the instruction in Southern Black schools, W.T.B. William provides an important reminder that the quality of instruction varied considerably from

the late 19th century to the mid-20th century, with instances of engaging pedagogy found in surprising places such as teachers that seemed to lack material resources and supports (Fultz, 2004). The dominant tone in Williams's reports suggests that these instances were decidedly not the norm. Rather, his evidence indicates that a confluence of factors, set in motion by state-sanctioned racism and discrimination, worked in concert to undermine the delivery of educational services to Black students. In agreement with these findings, Fultz (2004) presents an historical account that addresses complaints that Jim Crow schools had been havens for incompetent Black teachers and that discrimination in its various forms had left many Black teachers unable to provide students with adequate skills. Black education reformers Horace Mann Bond and DuBois expressed concern that Black teachers were "severely restricted by the crushing weight of general social maladjustment" (Fultz, p. 232), which might impact their abilities in the classroom setting. Fultz explores the sense of powerlessness that Black teachers may have felt, coupled with the irony of great expectations and racial protest. It is unlikely that White women teachers experienced this strain.

With as many as 60 children in the one-room rural schoolhouse, teachers had their work cut out for them. The curriculum usually included reading, writing, basic arithmetic, and perhaps geography and history (Levin & Pinto, 2003). Still, women continued to flock to teaching. For Black women, teaching was one of the few non-domestic jobs available to them. Not only were they grateful for the salary, however meager, but they also welcomed the independence and sense of purpose teaching gave them. They began to form associations, attend summer training institutes, exchange ideas, and contribute to

the transformation of their communities (Anderson, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 2013; Levin & Pinto, 2003; Walker, 1996).

Teachers were also expected to serve as models of patriotism and Americanism. It was also around this period that immigrants flooded into the United States. In 1907 alone, authorities recorded the arrival of more than 1,200,000 newcomers. The movement to assimilate and Americanize the newcomers took on new urgency. In cities, teachers were not only expected to teach English, but to instill American customs, manners, and mores, and as a result, students looked to teachers as role models and exemplars of gentility and success in the new land.

Women Teachers and Suffrage

Teaching gave women a window onto a wider world of ideas, politics, and public usefulness. Scores of middle class White women, new workers in the public sphere by way of school teaching, tasted a degree of autonomy and sought to extend it beyond the four walls of the one-room classroom. The feminization of teaching changed not only how society perceived women, but how women perceived themselves, ushering in the intensification of the women's suffrage movement. The campaign for women's suffrage began in earnest in the decades before the Civil War. During the 1820s and 30s, most states had extended the franchise to all White men (History.com, 2010). At the same time, myriad reform groups were proliferating across the United States— temperance leagues, moral-reform societies, and anti-slavery organizations to name a few. Women played a prominent role in many of these causes. As such, many white, American women were beginning to chafe against what historians have called the “Cult of True

Womanhood”: that is, the idea that the only “true” woman was a pious, submissive wife and mother concerned exclusively with home and family (History.com, 2009). Put together, all of these contributed to a new way of thinking about what it meant to be a woman and a citizen of the United States. During the 1850s, the women’s rights movement gathered steam, but lost momentum when the Civil War began. Almost immediately after the war ended, the 14th Amendment and the 15th Amendment to the Constitution raised familiar questions of suffrage and citizenship. The 14th Amendment, ratified in 1868, extended the Constitution’s protection to all citizens—and defined “citizens” as “male”; the 15th, ratified in 1870, guaranteed Black men the right to vote (Levin & Pinto, 2003).

World War I slowed the suffragists’ campaign but helped them advance their argument nonetheless: Women’s work on behalf of the war effort, activists pointed out, proved that they were just as patriotic and deserving of citizenship as men. Finally, on August 18, 1920, the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified. And on November 2 of that year, more than 8 million women across the United States voted in elections for the first time (History.com, 2009).

Teachers and the Educational Bureaucracy

Considering such success, women teachers were now emboldened to seek elevated pay and more pleasant working conditions to enhance their career status to that of the ‘professional’. Women made up a far smaller percentage of administrators. Their demeanor and behavior had always been closely watched (Blount, 2000; Perrillo, 2005), and increasingly their work in the schoolroom was not only scrutinized, but rigidly

controlled. Teacher autonomy was on the decline, and teachers resented it. Especially in big city schools, teachers at the turn of the 20th century felt like the most insignificant cogs in a huge machine. They felt dictated to and spied upon (Rousmaniere, 2007). Furthermore, they were badly paid and lacked pension benefits or job security. Many teaching positions were dispensed through political patronage. Married women were often barred from the classroom, and women with children were denied a place in schools. And daily conditions could be deplorable (Rousmaniere, 2007). They taught in classrooms that were overcrowded, dark and poorly ventilated. Schools felt like factories. For rural teachers, conditions were not necessarily much better. They had limited resources, with the added burden of keeping up run-down schools. Black teachers especially suffered from inadequate materials and funding. Though their communities were eager for schooling, teachers found that money was rarely abundant. Well into the 20th century, Black school systems relied on hand-me-down textbooks and used equipment, discarded by their White counterparts. Black teachers were usually paid significantly less than their White peers and their civil rights were often compromised. In later eras, belonging to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) could be grounds for dismissal and southern affiliates of the National Education Association denied Black teachers membership.

In the early decades of the 20th century, even as school districts put greater emphasis on "professionalization," teachers everywhere felt left behind. City Boards of Education, increasingly made up of business and professional men, worked to reform teaching. Often their goals were laudable: to root out corruption, to raise the practice and

status of teaching, to produce employable, career-ready workers, and to ensure real student achievement. However, they rarely had any first-hand knowledge of what teaching was like. They worked according to a business model, with clear hierarchies and chains of command -- which left teachers at the bottom. The "administrative progressives" (Tyack, 1988) wanted to impose uniformity and efficiency on classrooms. They supported the move away from Normal Schools to university departments of education, where theory would rule. They discouraged individual initiative by teachers, whom they considered too limited to enact worthwhile change.

As the social and economic composition of America shifted in the aftermath of World War I and the success of the women's suffrage movement resulted in the 19th Amendment which gave women voting rights, traditional low-level teacher certification requirements were being upgraded. As reformers sought to professionalize teaching to a greater degree, education courses increasingly moved into regular colleges and universities. While the impact of normal schools on the concept of teacher training was enormous, states recognized the need to provide teachers with stimulating and demanding preparation courses (Levin & Pinto, 2003). Teachers' professional identity would emanate from their formal preparation in schools of education (D'Amico, 2016). Efforts to professionalize the field was a big part of American educators' plan to improve the status of the teaching occupation to that of doctors, lawyers, and engineers, who had also recently tightened their training and job qualification process (Rousmaniere, 1997). While the historical trajectory of professions may be clear (Kimball, 1992 in Davies, 1998), the professional ideal (Perkins, 1989 in Davies, 1996), like the bureaucratic, was

forged in “historical processes where the key actors were men and where one might expect that cultural notions of masculinity would again have a bearing” (Davies, 1996; Glazer & Slater, 1997; Kimball, 1992; Perkins, 1989). This degree of oversight was central to the control and monitoring of the teacher workforce (Preston, 1991). However, this external control over one's daily responsibilities was not a hallmark of a profession.

Professional Associations

Professional Associations. Teachers rebelled against the strict rule of the educational bureaucracy. Cities became the centers for the teachers associations that eventually grew into unions. In the early twentieth century, Margaret Haley and Catherine Goggin of the Chicago Federation of Teachers rallied their peers and the city government for improved pay, retirement benefits and tenure (Goldstein, 2015). Haley knew that many women considered teaching genteel, white-collar work. Joining a union was anathema to them. But she convinced them that they needed the union and could do real social good within its embrace. In the process, she laid the foundation for the American Federation of Teachers. In New York, Grace Strachan and the Interborough Association of Women Teachers fought for Equal Pay for Equal Work.

Throughout the years, teachers made valiant efforts to advance their professional identities. Labaree (2001), Angus (2001), and Cochran-Smith (2008), among others, explore the history of teachers' quest for greater professional status and autonomy via the traditional methods of professional licensure and credentialing, development of pedagogical theory, and formal organizing. Marjorie Murphy (1990) argues in her historical account of teachers unions, that while efforts such as these did not raise the

perception of the teaching occupation to that of a *profession*, it did, however shape the political character of the teaching force by increasing the rigor of the selection process; a process that would effectively exclude certain ethnic groups (including Blacks) and working class persons who might have considered teaching as a career. However, following the early twentieth century, Black teachers began to galvanize in ways that made their efforts at professional status more public. Fairclough (2004) asserts that while Black teachers struggled to make their voices heard and presence known, they were increasingly well educated and well organized. Many belonged to state professional associations that had been formed in the early decades of the 19th century and in a few large Southern cities, including Chattanooga, Birmingham, and New Orleans, they formed local unions of the American Federation of Teachers. This degree of organization would ostensibly make Black teachers privy to the freedoms (as well as demands) of professional status.

There are two national teachers unions in the United States today, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. The NEA was founded in 1857 as a policy-making organization, one that hoped to influence the national debate about schools and schooling. Over the next hundred years, it played a significant role in standardizing teacher training and curriculum. Until the 1960s, the NEA tended to represent the interests of school administrators and educators from colleges and universities. The AFT, on the other hand, was always much more of a grass-roots teachers' organization. It was formed in 1897 as the Chicago Teachers Federation, with the explicit aim of improving teachers' salaries and pensions. Catherine Goggin and

Margaret Haley allied the CFT with the labor movement, going so far as to join the American Federation of Labor - an act that horrified everyone who wanted to see teaching as genteel, white-collar employment. At the same time, the union conceived its work in terms of broader social improvement, bettering the lives of the poor and the alienated. By 1916, several local unions had come together to form the AFT. In the 1940s, the AFT began collective bargaining with local school boards, which again horrified some people. Collective bargaining always carries the threat of strikes, and teachers, as servants of the community, were long seen as both too indispensable and too noble to engage in work stoppages. The issue of strikes remains contentious today (Levin & Pinto, 2003).

Anderson (1987), Walker (1996), and Menkart, Murray, & View (2004), document the existence of Black teacher associations in the early 20th century. There was also a statewide association in Virginia that helped to form the American Teachers Association in 1904. The association placed at the forefront of its goals, equity in teaching.

The Professionalization of Black Teachers Pre-*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, KS*

After about 1930, teachers went about their work with less public agitation. Unions declined after achieving most of the bread-and-butter goals they had first set. Larger political and economic issues diverted most teachers' attention. But among Black educators, significant obstacles remained. In the 1940s, Viola Duval Stewart challenged the unequal pay scales of Black and White teachers in Charleston, North Carolina. With

the help of the young Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP, she won her suit. Still, most southern schools remained legally segregated, and black schools invariably received less funding and fewer supplies.

During the era of school segregation, Black teachers taught Black students—this was not only true in the south, but also in the north. Foster (1997) presents historical data that reveal that as Blacks migrated to northern cities, school systems adopted policies that resulted in the de facto segregation of Black pupils and Black teachers. In fact, many districts created Black and White eligibility lists to fill teaching assignments. Such was the case in cities like Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York where Black teachers usually found themselves teaching in all Black, elementary schools. As their numbers grew, Black teachers in major northern cities were assigned substitute positions teaching positions in mixed or desegregated schools. In the mid-1940s, 90% of Black teachers taught in schools that were 95% Black. In large cities such as Chicago and Philadelphia, White teachers could teach Black students (Foster, 1997). Black teachers, however, could not teach White students. This pattern was firmly entrenched in cities with a majority Black population. Foster (1977) posits that the primary reason that Black teachers were prohibited from teaching White children is because of the firmly entrenched belief, since the 19th century, that like others of their race, Black teachers were inferior to White teachers, and thus unsuitable to teach White pupils. In such conditions, Black educators had the added duty of dispelling the ignorance, immorality, and superstition that, many believed, slavery had bequeathed to the race (Fairclough, 2000).

Negative perceptions of Black teachers in urban areas also emerged in the North. For example, local Black teachers in the New York City African American Teachers Association express, “the Black person has become inferior. If he wants to succeed, he has to become white, and the degree to which he becomes successful is directly related to the degree to which he becomes white—mentally” (Seabrook as cited in D’Amico, 2016). This example speaks to the growing tension that Black teachers may have felt between performing their work tasks to the best of their ability while appeasing the unpredictable, yet palpable dissatisfaction of the bureaucratic professional structures in which they worked.

Teaching was one of the few vocations open to middle class Blacks before and during the Civil Rights era (Foster, 1997; Orfield, 1969; Pollard, 1979; Walker, 2001; 2013). In contrast to scholarship that presents a deficit based view of the Black teacher, revisionist historians have used personal narratives to underscore the complexities in reframing segregated school environments as supportive environments where students were encouraged to excel. As stated in the introductory portion of this review of historical scholarship, Walker (1996) contradicts the ‘incompetent Black teacher’ narrative in her historical examination of a high school in Caswell County, North Carolina. The study opened the floodgates for subsequent work that documents closely-knit, Black community schools with highly-regarded and well-trained teachers. Walker (1996; 2001; 2013) notes that there were well-trained Black teachers in the South who exemplified an orientation toward teaching that was rooted in knowledge and respect for cultural norms. Teaching was a highly accessible and respected position in Black

communities and served as one of the few leadership roles available to Black women (Ethridge, 1979; Foster, 1997; Walker, 1996; Yeakey, Johnson, & Adkinson, 1998). A plethora of case studies reveal that many Black teachers taught in the hope that education would lead to economic advancement for their students, increase racial awareness and pride, and instill a deeper awareness of the racism and discrimination that students would have to face (Kelly, 2010 as cited in Mungo, 2013.) While most of the aforementioned scholarship addresses the affective characteristics of Black teachers and their effect on Black students and their communities, recent research explores the instructional strategies and pedagogical traits of Black teachers prior to and during the Civil Rights era, labeling the strategies (and the teachers) as innovative and engaging (Acosta, Foster, & Houchen, 2018).

The Professional Status of Black Teachers post *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, KS* (1954-1970)

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) has been recognized as the most pivotal legal case in the fight for public school equality in the United States. *Brown* is sentimentalized in most versions of the history of American education as a crown jewel of meticulously-planned litigation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the fight for civil rights for Black Americans (Kluger, 1977; McNeal & Lawrence, 2009; Rosenberg, 2008). Political agency for Blacks historically has been vested in the activities of organized groups such the NAACP (Walker, 2013) and among the grandest hopes of *Brown* was that Black students would be granted the educational privileges and resources that had historically been reserved for White students, enabling

Black students to receive an education that might result in the expansion of opportunities to engage the American economy and civic life (Pawlewicz, Horsford, & Guiden, forthcoming).

While some accounts may portray Black teachers as a unified front in support of school desegregation, there were mixed opinions among Black educators on whether school integration would be in the best interest of Black students and teachers. Loder-Jackson (2015), examines the role that Black educators played in the Birmingham, Alabama, civil rights movement from the late nineteenth century to the present day, revisiting longstanding debates about whether Black educators were friends or foes of the civil rights movement. Scholarship also explores widespread concerns about the extent to which school desegregation would impact Black teachers' careers (Dempsey & Noblit, 1999; Fairclough, 2004; Fultz, 2004; Irvine & Irvine, 1983, Walker, 2018) as Black educators in the south were aware of the dismissal of Black teachers as a Northern desegregation tactic (Talmadge, 1955; Walker, 2009). Public attention was drawn to the fragile state of job security for Black teachers' in the South should desegregation efforts succeed. Scholars such as Charles Johnson and Oliver Cox in 1952-53 offered fervent commentary on the likely impact that school desegregation would have on Black teachers in the South. Johnson predicted that there would be casualties among the "poorly trained" and the "good" among southern Black teachers (Johnson cited in Haney, 1949)—a sweeping judgment about the vast differences in the quality of Black teachers' work. In step with his contemporaries, Cox warned that integration efforts should neither be pursued or deemed complete without the integration of both students and faculty, and that

enforcing one without the other was an “unnecessary act of martyrdom” (Cox in Fultz, 2004). Another concern for Black teachers was the loss of salaries that had elevated many Black teachers to the middle-class strata due to their enhanced educational attainment and professional status; positions that they worked hard to obtain and may have been reluctant to concede. Other teachers, however, supported integration efforts and in a proactive demonstration of their support, lobbied the National Education Association to endorse *Brown* and integrate its ranks as an overt display of their support for an integrated education force (Fultz, 2004). The national leadership of the NAACP attempted to assuage teachers’ fears of job-loss by highlighting successes and lessons learned in previous equalization campaigns as well as positing that overturning *Plessy* would set a precedence, and that Black teachers should not be deterred or intimidated from keeping their eyes on the prize (Pawlewicz, Horsford, & Guiden, forthcoming).

Employment. Scholars Fultz (2004) and Fairclough (2004) note that in addition to desegregation-initiated firings and layoffs, came widespread demotions. Others were invited to teach subjects outside their area of expertise, and later dismissed for “incompetence” when they did not prove skillful at teaching the new subject (Fultz, 2004). Overwhelming scholarly consensus exists on the reason why Black educators disappeared—the development of policies (formal and informal) that barred Black teachers them from teaching within the schools (Fairclough, 2009; Fultz, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Milner & Howard, 2004; Tillman, 2004). Pawlewicz (2020) investigates ways in which this occurred in the immediate aftermath of *Brown* and into the 1970s, examining how policymakers at the local and national level agonized over the

demographic composition of the teaching population and the predominance of white women, particularly in urban schools where the student population was comprised mostly of children of color. The message communicated by *Brown* and the outgrowth of policies in response to it implied that White teachers and education systems were fundamentally better than Black ones (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Qualifications. One of the myriad ways of replicating the deficit narrative about Black teachers included efforts to restrict entry into the teaching field to those who could pass the National Teachers Exam (NTE) under the guise of a national effort to restore quality to America's school systems (Madkins, 2011). Working with testing and measurement specialist, Ben Wood, educational authorities in 1936 created a set of standardized tests, funded by the Carnegie Foundation. The exams purportedly measured the "mental ability" of teachers and their knowledge of liberal arts subjects and professional information. Such an exam allowed school systems to weed out "incompetents" and restrict employment to "educated persons" (Baker, 1995). While legal and political defense of racial discrimination and segregation ultimately collapsed, resistance inside schools endured as the vestiges of White supremacy in education the "marriage" of racism and meritocracy. Baker (1995) also explores how the test was used to weed out Black teachers, who scored lower than White teachers on the examination over 70 percent of the time. As is noted in this study, The DCPS began using the NTE during the late 1950s as a primary tool to determine whether a teacher candidate was qualified for employment in the school system. The test was used as a tool for sorting its teachers and determining which were best and fit to be hired and retain their positions.

While some teachers within the district expressed concerns about the validity of the examination in determining teacher quality, school officials continued to use the examination in Washington, D.C. Unions again entered the fray, this time over collective bargaining rights, school funding and another round of pay and benefit issues. As America moved towards the 1970s, the public seemed convinced that American schools were failing, and that teachers must be at least partly responsible (Levin & Pinto, 2003).

Making Better Teachers

The 1960s and 70s saw many upheavals in which schools across the country were directly involved. Such upheaval was prompted by the launch of Sputnik, a groundbreaking feat accomplished by the Soviet Union and its scientific community. During the Cold War, America assumed a position of technological superiority. Suddenly however, the nation found itself lagging in the Space Race (United States Senate, 2020). This historical moment resulted in widespread fears of American inferiority and concerns that the quality of the American education system was inferior to that of Russia. The national mood reflected an interest in rejuvenating the American academic curriculum, resulting in the *National Defense Education Act of 1958* and a federal involvement in education that would last until the present day. Rogers (2009) reveals that this concern informed the inception of federal initiatives that sought to infuse urban school systems, including Washington, D.C., with “better” people, via the influx of recruits from the National Teacher Corps (NTC). The NTC was a program established by the United States Congress in the Higher Education Act of 1965 to improve elementary and secondary teaching in predominantly low-income areas (Rogers, 2009). Some of the recruits—most

of whom were White—were volunteers coming from Vista and Peace Corps programs, who had performed community outreach in foreign countries, but who lacked formal training in teaching. Rogers’ 2009 study of the NTC explores the primary concern of school reformers during the era—that existing teachers (as a collective group) lacked the ingenuity, commitment, and social and political engagement essential to be successful in schools that served America’s low-income communities. Rogers (2009) states that in their vision, the “best and brightest” teachers could solve the problems of educating disadvantaged students than professionals who were conventionally prepared for the classroom. This basis rested on the presumption that successful teaching required intrinsic qualities and an understanding of the disadvantaged, which members of the Teacher Corps would develop with engagement with students and their families via community outreach efforts that aligned with the Teacher Corps credo. The rest, they expected, could be learned on the job. In contrast to prior teacher histories that minimize the work of teachers due to their lack of credentialing and formal education, Teachers Corps candidates’ lack of an education credential and experience only enhanced their desirability as teaching candidates. This scholarship by Rogers reveals the ways in which influential figures with minimal practical knowledge about teaching, can use the powers of their platform to promote their view of who should teach and what teachers should know (Rogers, 2009). The idea of a teacher corps was reestablished as the non-profit organization Teach for America in 1989 and receives federal support as an AmeriCorps program.

Educational leaders and the public at large continue to call for better schools as evidenced by better results in student achievement which theoretically translate to a more skilled, educated, and strong workforce. The correlative link between teachers and student achievement scores represent the public's desire for consistent and predictable results, stemming from social (and personal) philosophies about the purpose of schools and the role of the teacher. This leaves room for all manner of judgment when it comes to assessing both the quality of a teacher and the quality of a teacher's work.

Chapter Two: A History of Washington, D.C.

To better frame this study of teacher quality in the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) during the modern Civil Rights era, this chapter offers a brief history of Washington, D.C., the nation's capital and the geographic cornerstone of this research. While an all-inclusive history of Washington, D.C. is beyond the scope of this study, it is nevertheless essential to consider and the social, political, and economic contextual factors that situate Washington, D.C. as an ideal setting for this study. Exploring Washington, D.C. within its broader historical context can provide information about its unique stature among other American cities, including its enduring conflicts, crises, and triumphs—which may help frame the findings of this study and its implications for the District's public school system. The chapter begins with an overview of the earliest origins of the area presently known as Washington, D.C. It covers information about the indigenous people who were settled in the area prior to European colonization and takeover. Next, the chapter provides background on the development of Washington, D.C. from the nation's independence through the Civil War, including the social, economic, and demographic shifts that took place through periods of change. The chapter concludes with an overview of how the Civil Rights movement influenced life in Washington, D.C. and how related shifts in the city's social and economic structure were made manifest through the city's public school system. Special attention has been given

to the lived experiences of Black Washingtonians, who, considering their complex relationship with city's bureaucracy, have always carved out a space for themselves within the dynamic D.C. landscape.

The Nacotchtank

Prior to the arrival of European colonists, the area that is known today as metropolitan Washington, D.C. was inhabited by the Nacotchtank (National Park Service, 2018). The Nacotchtank, a name meaning "trading village", were a local Algonquin tribe and the village of Nacotchtank was the largest of the three American Indian villages located in the Washington area. The village was also a major trading center with tribes as distant as present-day New York City traveling to the area for trading. The Anacostia and Potomac Rivers provided a dependable supply of migratory fish and the surrounding wilderness provided a cornucopia of vegetation and wild game. The native peoples also grew in small cleared areas on the floodplains. They also quarried stone in nearby stream valleys and used the stone for tools (National Park Service, 2018). Captain John Smith was the first European documented to have reached the Potomac River during his explorations in 1608 and recorded that the Nacotchtank, a "friendly" people, had approximately 80 fighting men and a total population of around 300 (National Park Service, 2018). Smith's explorations resulted in regular contact with the Native population, and while some exchanges were considered by Smith to be amicable, other interactions resulted in conflict and ultimately brought about a European takeover, settlement of the land, and the displacement of the local American Indians (National Park Service, 2018). After approximately 40 years of contact with Europeans and conflicts

with neighboring tribes, the population of the Nacotchtank was eventually a fraction (approximately 25%) of what it was prior to 1608. Those who remained as late as 1699 were displaced while others merged with existing tribes to the north, south, and west of the area (National Park Service, 2018).

Building the Capital

On January 1, 1781, as founders and delegates of the United States of America, a new and independent nation, debated what would be the legal and political underpinnings of the new nation, a band of Continental Army soldiers besieged a meeting of Congress being held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to demand higher pay and better housing conditions during the Revolutionary War. Known as the Pennsylvania Mutiny of 1783, this event lasted over three days without the intervention of local authorities. This incident prompted the deep concern of delegates who saw the experience as, according to James Madison in Federalist Paper No. 43, evidence that the national government should not rely on any one state for its security, but should instead form its own identity, location, and setting for such purposes. As such, *Article One, Section 8* of the United States Constitution was drafted. It held that a nation's capital would be established, and that the capital would operate under the exclusive legislation of Congress. As such, Congress was given the power to:

Exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of Particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States,

and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State...

The United States Constitution, 1787

While the Constitution did not name a specific location for the capital, like many decisions in early American history, the location of the capital was to be a compromise formed by the power players of the period: Alexander Hamilton wanted the new federal government to assume Revolutionary War debts; Thomas Jefferson wanted the capital placed in a location that would be friendly to slave-holding agricultural interests (Sonderman, n.d.); George Washington, President of the United States at the time, wanted the physical location of the capital to lie somewhere along the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. In what is now known as the *Compromise of 1790*, the three men agreed that the federal government would pay each state's remaining Revolutionary War debts in exchange for establishing the new national capital in the southern United States, and Washington, D.C. was officially founded in 1790 after both Maryland and Virginia ceded land to form the new federal district (Sonderman, n.d.). The District of Columbia, as it was eventually named, is not a state, nor is it a part of any state.

The City of Washington, D.C. was founded in 1791 to serve as the new national capital. Washington appointed Pierre Charles L'Enfant to design the city. L'Enfant presented a vision for a bold, modern city featuring grand boulevards and ceremonial spaces reminiscent of, L'Enfant's native Paris. He fashioned it in the semblance of a grid system and erected the Capitol building, the seat of the federal government at the center (Sonderman, n.d.). Congress passed the *District of Columbia Organic Act of 1801* which

officially organized the District and placed the entire territory under the exclusive control of the federal government. The unincorporated area within the District was organized into two counties: The County of Washington, located to the east of the Potomac River, and the County of Alexandria, located to the west. Thus, citizens residing in the District were no longer considered residents of either Maryland or Virginia, which ended their representation in Congress (Sonderman, n.d.). At the time, Washington, D.C. was a city of only a few thousand residents which included enslaved persons and their owners. In all, Blacks accounted for 25% of the population of Washington, D.C. in 1800, and most of them were enslaved (McQuirter, 2003).

Destroying and Rebuilding. Before coming of age, Washington, D.C. was nearly destroyed during the War of 1812 which was fought against Great Britain from June 1812 through February 1815. During the war, enemy forces invaded the city and burned much of it to the ground, including the newly completed White House, the Capitol building, and the Library of Congress (Sonderman, n.d.). After the devastation, the city remained small in terms of permanent residents. It became smaller in physical size in 1846 when citizens residing in the city of Alexandria, Virginia, petitioned the state to take back the land it had donated to form the District through a process known as retrocession.

Alexandria was a major market in the trade of enslaved persons, and pro-slavery residents feared that abolitionists in Congress would end slavery in the District, further depressing the Virginian economy (Sonderman, n.d.). The Virginia General Assembly voted in February 1846 to accept the return of Alexandria, and on July 9, 1846, Congress agreed to return all the territory that had been ceded by Virginia. The District now, consists only

of the portion originally donated by Maryland. Confirming the fears of pro-slavery Alexandrians, the *Compromise of 1850* outlawed the trade of enslaved persons within the District, though not slavery itself (Sonderman, n.d.).

The Civil War and Emancipation

Washington, D.C. remained a small city of a few thousand residents until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, when President Abraham Lincoln created the Army of the Potomac to defend the federal capital. The significant expansion of the federal government to administer the war led to notable growth in the city's population (Sonderman, n.d.). First, a substantial army, whose sole mission was to protect the capital during the war, was formed. Thousands of soldiers relocated to the area. The federal government grew around this administration. Most notably, a growth in population stemmed from the release and subsequent settling of previously enslaved persons. When slavery was abolished throughout the District on April 16, 1862 with the passage of the *Act for the Release of certain Persons held to Service or Labor within the District of Columbia* (37th Cong., Sess. 2, Ch. 54, 12 Stat. 376), known informally as the *District of Columbia Compensated Emancipation Act*, the owners of enslaved persons received compensation for releasing enslaved individuals. A total of 3,185 enslaved persons were freed (Sonderman, n.d.). The *Compensated Emancipation Act* was passed nine months before the *Emancipation Proclamation* and was the only compensated emancipation plan in American history. Washington, D.C. became a popular place for previously enslaved persons from the north and south to escape, congregate, settle, and live.

Post-war Washington

Post-war Washington experienced substantial expansion including a redesign and expansion of the National Mall, now the crown jewel of D.C (Washington.com, n.d.). This was, in many respects, an early form of urban renewal that removed many of the slave markets, slums, and penitentiaries that surrounded the Capitol, replacing the area with new public monuments and government buildings. By 1870, the District's population had grown from 75,000 residents in 1860 to 132,000 (Sonderman, n.d.). The city continued to expand and develop during the rest of the 20th century. Despite the growth of Washington, D.C. following the Civil War, the city still had dirt roads and lacked basic sanitation. In response to these conditions, Congress passed the *Organic Act of 1871*. This Act revoked the individual charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown and created one territorial government for the whole District of Columbia.

Governance. The *Organic Act of 1871* provided for the following: 1) a governor, appointed by the President, 2) a legislative assembly with an upper-house composed of eleven appointed council members, 3) a 22-member house of delegates elected by residents of the District, and 4) an appointed Board of Public Works charged with modernizing the city (Washington.com, n.d.). In 1874 however, Congress abolished the District's territorial government and replaced it with a three-member Board of Commissioners appointed by the President. One member of the board was a representative from the United States Army Corps of Engineers. The three Commissioners elected one of themselves President of the Commission (McQuirter, 2018). An additional act of Congress in 1878 made the three-member Board of

Commissioners the permanent government of the District of Columbia. The act also had the effect of eliminating any remaining local institutions such as the boards governing schools, the health department, and the police department (McQuirter, 2018). Over the years, Congress established, reorganized, and abolished many forms of local governing in Washington, D.C. Through them all, the Board of Commissioners (also known as the Board of Trustees) operated continuously. The Commissioners would maintain this form of direct rule for nearly a century until the civil rights movement of the 1960s brought a measure of self-government for the District; In 1964 D.C. residents obtained the right to vote for U.S. President and the *District of Columbia Home Rule Act of 1973*, devolved certain powers of the United States Congress to a mayor, elected by the residents of the District, a thirteen-member council, and a local school board. However, Congress retains budget authority and the right to review and overturn laws created by the council and intervene in local affairs. The District Government is within the Legislative branch of Federal government, which makes the city government a federal agency.

The Great Migration. The Great Migration is the name given to the era when 6 million Blacks left the rural southern United States to settle in urban Northeast, Midwest, and West towns between 1916 and 1970 (Sonderman, n.d.). In every U.S. Census prior to 1910, more than 90% of the Black population lived in the American South. By the end of the Great Migration, just over 50% of the Black population remained in the South, while a little less than 50% lived in urban areas in the North and West. Washington, D.C. was one of the great urban areas where Black families sought refuge, economic opportunity, racial unity, and political voice during the Great Migration. For example, through the

passage of *Congress' Reconstruction Act of 1867*, Black men in Washington, D.C. gained the right to vote, a full three years before the 15th Amendment gave all Black men the right to vote. Additionally, Washington's first Black municipal office holder was elected in 1868. Black Americans have been a significant part of Washington, D.C.'s civic life and identity since the city was first declared the new national capital in 1791. It became home to a significant and vibrant sect of the Black American population which included nationally prominent artists and educators such as Frederick Douglass, Mary McLeod Bethune, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Mary Terrell Carter, and Carter G. Woodson (McQuirter, 2011).

Migrants concentrated in the big cities of the North and West. As such, their influence was magnified in those areas. Cities that had been virtually all-White at the start of the century, became centers of Black culture and politics by mid-century. Northern Black metropolises developed an infrastructure of newspapers, businesses, jazz and blues clubs, churches and mosques, and political organizations that provided the structure for new forms of racial politics and Black culture. Informal residential segregation and the tendency of people to settle with others of their home communities led to concentrations of Black families in certain areas. Such concentrations were also reflective of restrictive real estate covenants and redlining that reinforced housing segregation as evidence of a city's shifting demographics (Sonderman, n.d.).

School Segregation and Housing Patterns. Washington D.C. segregated its schools from the very beginning, with Congress appropriating funds for two separate systems in 1906. The history of the Washington public school system is the topic of

Chapter 3 of this paper. During and following the Civil War, Black settlements grew up around military forts in the upper Northwest and Northeast sections of Washington, which offered them protection and work. Many of these settlements disappeared in the early 20th century, prompting the closure of Black schools in the area. The closure of Black schools in the upper Northwest and upper Northeast of Washington in the early 1900s, and the increased concentration of Black schools in older sections of Washington, D.C. coincided with the development of White neighborhoods in areas where Blacks had lived and were being displaced. A Board of Education policy, adopted in September 1911, allowed for school buildings to be transferred from the White to the "Colored"¹⁴ Division, and vice versa, due to demographic changes in the city. By 1950, there were no schools for Black children west of Rock Creek Park except for two in the older, historically mixed Georgetown neighborhood (Sonderman, n.d.).

Blacks and Education

Many Blacks were attracted to Washington, D.C. for its myriad and renown educational institutions for Black people. As far back as 1814, churches in Washington had operated and supported schools and housed literary and historical societies that promoted critical thinking, reading, lecturing, and social justice. The Preparatory School for Colored Youth, the nation's first public high school for Black students (National Public Radio, 2013), attracted college-bound students and Black teachers with advanced degrees. Founded in 1870, the school became the renowned as M Street High School, and later, Dunbar High School. Howard University, founded in 1867, was a magnet for

¹⁴ The Black schools in the Washington public schools system are referenced throughout many primary sources as "Negro" or "Colored" schools.

professors and students and would become the paragon of Black higher education in a few short years (Frederick & View, 2009). By 1900, Washington, D.C. had the largest percentage of Black persons of any city in the nation. Blacks created multiple businesses and accumulated wealth. Many migrated to the area because of opportunities for federal jobs.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Blacks had created a cultural and intellectual capital in Washington, D.C. Compared with other states in the southern region¹⁵ in the U.S. Washington, D.C. had relatively few Jim Crow laws, or laws that reinforced racial segregation throughout the southern United States. For example, Jim Crow laws in Washington mandated segregation in the public schools and recreation facilities but not in the streetcars and public libraries. However, racism throughout the area was endemic. Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, spearheaded multiple laws supporting segregationist ideals. During his first term in office, the House passed a law making racial intermarriage a felony in the District of Columbia. He also ordered that his Washington offices be segregated along with the Navy and Treasury, and eventually all federal agencies. It was during this time that photographs began to be required of all applicants for federal jobs. When questioned by Black leaders about this policy, Wilson replied, “The purpose... was to reduce the friction. It is as far as possible from being a movement against the Negroes. I sincerely believe it to be in their interest.”

¹⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, Washington, D.C. is located below the Mason-Dixon Line and as such, is considered, in this study a southern state.

Clashes between Black and White Americans reached a fevered pitch in 1919 during what has been coined as Red Summer because of the bloodshed as race riots broke out in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Knoxville, and other American urban areas. Red Summer was the manifestation of racial friction that was intensified by large-scale migration patterns and heavy racial concentrations of Blacks in the North (Green, 2015; McQuirter, 2003). This new racial composition resulted in race-based industrial labor competition, overcrowding in urban areas, and greater militancy among Black World War I veterans who had fought to preserve democracy, only to return home and be denied equal rights and protection under the law. It was also during this period that President Woodrow Wilson instituted the segregation of races in all federal government agencies. In the deep South¹⁶, the Ku Klux Klan was revived—resulting in 64 reported lynchings in 1918 and 83 in 1919 (Diner, 1987).

Washington and Civil Rights

Following racial tensions that were exacerbated by the social and economic tensions that accompanied the Great Depression (1929-1939) and World War II (1939-1945), the early civil rights movement began to gain steam. The "Double V" effort - Victory Abroad, Victory at Home during World War II—reflected increased civil rights aims (McQuirter, 2003). The two objectives included victory in the war abroad and victory against racial discrimination at home, or within the United States (Levy, 2002). Black Americans continued began developing well-organized challenges to White

¹⁶ “Deep South” refers to states that border the Atlantic Ocean in the southern region of the United States. These states include Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. This is not meant to imply that the Ku Klux Klan did not have a presence in other southern states; rather, it is meant to distinguish Washington, D.C. as a place without a strong Ku Klux Klan presence when compared to other southern states.

authority (i.e. self-help organizations, political formations, economic and cultural institutions) and instilled and emphasized racial pride through the creation of Black cultural and political institutions that would promote the interests of the Black community and advance Black values. For example, the Black men of the Washington, D.C. -based New Negro Alliance instituted "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns against racist hiring practices in white-owned stores in predominantly Black neighborhoods (McQuirter, 2003). The Washington chapter of the National Negro Congress also organized against police brutality and segregation in recreation beginning in 1936 (Levy, 2011). It was also during this time that President Franklin Roosevelt initiated an end to racial segregation in the federal government.

Washington, D.C. was also a hotbed for national controversy. Marian Anderson, renowned American singer of classical music and spirituals, was denied permission to sing to an integrated audience in Constitution Hall in 1939. The incident thrust Anderson and Washington, D.C. into the spotlight. With the aid of First lady Eleanor Roosevelt, Anderson performed an open-air concert for a crowd of more than 75,000 people as well as a radio audience in the millions on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, located on the National Mall. Another example of Washington serving as the location of national racial controversy is the original, proposed March on Washington in 1941, organized by activists A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. The march, which was to include a mass march on Washington, D.C. was meant to pressure the U.S. government into desegregating the armed forces and providing fair and adequate work opportunities for Black Americans (McQuirter, 2003). President Roosevelt issued an Executive order in

1941 prohibiting discrimination in defense industry contracts with federal agencies.

Identifying this order as success of their aim, Randolph and the other collaborators called off the march.

Black Female Washingtonians. Black, female Washingtonians began to have their say in political matters as well, during this period. Mary Church Terrell and others formed the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 in Washington D.C.; the new sorority at Howard University, Delta Sigma Theta, participated in the 1913 Women's March for suffrage; and Mary McLeod Bethune and others formed the National Council of Negro Women in Washington DC in 1935 (e.g., Giddings, 1984); all of these organizations had local DC affiliates. In 1943, Howard University law student Pauli Murray led coeds in a sit-in at the Little Palace cafeteria, a white-trade-only business near 14th and U streets, Northwest in Washington, D.C., and beginning in 1949 Mary Church Terrell, a local educational activist and leader led a multiracial effort to end segregation in public accommodations through pickets, boycotts, and legal action (McQuirter, 2003). It was also during this era that the Supreme Court declared that racially restrictive housing covenants were unconstitutional in *Hurd v. Hodge* (1948).

Black Culture and Civil Rights. Washington was a center of Black culture during the Civil Rights Movement. In 1957, Washington's Black population surpassed the 50 percent mark, making it the first predominantly Black major city in the nation. It was a hub for highly educated people of color, and the segregated school system attracted highly qualified teachers, many of whom had been trained in prestigious universities (Frederick & View, 2009). The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

brought more than 250,000 people to the area, and the success of the march was helped by the support and contributions of local churches and organizations. Washington, D.C. was a key node in the dense, nationwide network of associations that leveraged the strength of the movement for full civil rights for all Black Americans despite creed or religious affiliation. Malcolm X was a regular visitor to the Washington, D.C.-based Nation of Islam Mosque No. 4 (Marabel, 2011). The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was represented in the District through New Bethel Baptist minister Walter Fauntroy, a Martin Luther King Jr. lieutenant and leading local activist (Garrow, 1990). Washington, D.C. also had a vibrant Black Arts Movement featuring bookstores, theaters, and visual arts all aimed at social uplift and bold insistence on racial equality. In addition, there was a surge of activism that was fed by the Johnson Administration's energetic prosecution of the War on Poverty in the Federal City.

Blacks, Class, and Mobility. Nationwide, many educated Black Americans obtained gainful employment during and following the Great Migration, eventually gaining a measure of class mobility. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of Black persons in managerial and administrative occupations doubled, along with the number of Blacks working in white-collar occupations (Freeman, 1973; Higginbotham, 2007). Between 1936 and 1959, Black income relative to White income more than doubled in various skilled trades. Blacks had higher labor force participation rates than Whites in every U.S. Census from 1890 to 1950 (Freeman, 1973). This data is particularly relevant to this study, considering the numbers of Black teachers (nearly 50% of the DCPS teacher workforce) who were employed by the District's public schools during the 1950s.

Black teachers in Washington, D.C. occupied an enviable place in the social structure of the city and (understandably) sought to preserve it (Green, 1967; Asch & Musgrove, 2017).

As a result of these advancements, the percentage of Black families in America living below the poverty line declined from 87 percent in 1940 to 47 percent by 1960 and to 30 percent by 1970 (Diner, 1990). This upward mobility, however, had its limits. Blacks who had migrated North encountered significant forms of discrimination, as in the aftermath of the Civil War. Members of the urban, White working class, often recent immigrants themselves, resented Black Americans (Diner, 1990). Fearing their ability to negotiate rates of pay or secure employment, many ethnic Whites felt threatened by the influx of new labor competition. This perception led to increased racial tension in Washington. The in-migration of rural Blacks bothered conservative white Washingtonians more than any other one phase of the demographic changes occurring within the city. The editor of the Patriot, a local newspaper in 1872 replied that the "native and natural colored population of this District is excellent in character, intelligent, and has always been respected, but the shiftless new arrivals are eating us out of house and home."

Comparing D.C. with other Urban Cities

To be sure, Washington, D.C. was not the only cosmopolitan urban area in the East that was experiencing such demographic shifts and the aftershocks. However, Washington, D.C., in contrast to other cities with high percentages of African Americans migrants, has had a significant Black population since the city's creation. See Table 1 for

racial demographic data between the years of 1930 and 1970, the time period before and after the period of study. The data reveal that the most significant shift in the city's population occurred between 1950 and 1970, which is the period covered by this study. Washington, D.C. went from a city whose racial composition was 65% White in 1950, to only 28% White in 1970.

Table 1 Racial Demographic Data for Washington, D.C. 1930-1970

Year	Blacks	Whites
1930	27.1%	72.7%
1940	28.2%	71.4%
1950	35.0%	64.6%
1960	53.9%	45.2%
1970	71.7%	27.7%

(United States Census Bureau, 1970)

Table 1. Racial Demographic Data for Washington, D.C. 1930

To put this data into perspective, one should consider the racial demographics of other comparable urban areas between 1950 and 1970. New York City, for example, was comprised of a population that was 90% White in 1950, with Blacks representing less than 10% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970). By 1970, however, though the ratio of Whites to Blacks in New York had decreased, the decrease was insignificant when compared to the ratio in Washington, D.C., and still resulted in a population that was still largely White at 77% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970); Blacks at that time accounted for only 21% of the population of New York City. Similarly, Philadelphia was 81%

White and 13% Black in 1950. The population shifted to a composition of 65% and 33% respectively in 1970 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970). Eighty five percent of Chicagoans were White in 1950, while only 13.6 % of the population was Black. In 1970 however, the population was split at 65% and 32% respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970). While the shift in racial demographics was a phenomenon that occurred in each of the major cities represented here, none was as dramatic as the demographic shifts that took place in Washington, D.C. As such, Washington, D.C. is an interesting case study for examination in matters of race and politics affecting large swaths of the public, such as public education.¹⁷

Desegregating the City

As the modern civil rights movement grew stronger in the 1950s, the federal government responded. President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his first State of the Union Address in 1953 said that Washington, D.C. must be an “honored example for all communities of our nation” and declared that “not one single penny of federal money should be spent in a way that would discriminate against anyone.” Over the next several years, he ordered the integration of all U.S. military academies and the end of segregated schools on U.S. military bases, as well as the elimination of the all-Black military units not yet integrated under President Truman. Finally, and of greatest relevance to this study, Washington, D.C.’s segregated school system fell immediately with the Supreme Court’s May 1954 decision in *Bolling v. Sharpe* and the Eisenhower Administration insisted on swift action in time for the 1954-1955 autumn term.

Occurring simultaneously with the vast recalibrations on Washingtonians' civil rights, federal urban redevelopment began its disruption of city dwellers' property rights, which impacted countless Black families. *Berman v. Parker* (1954), which challenged the reach of urban development in Southwest D.C., validated the taking of private property for urban redevelopment (McQuirter, 2013). It was during this period, for example, that the Georgetown area of Washington, D.C. became gentrified from a historically Black enclave to its present-day, predominately wealthy White enclave. Together, desegregation and the federal reworking of urban land disrupted the foundations of traditional Washington, D.C. society. Ironically, *Berman v. Parker* (1954) was decided by the Supreme Court just six months after *Bolling* desegregated schools in Washington.

Washington, D.C.'s 191 Black doctors, 72 dentists, 98 lawyers, and nearly 600 Black public school and university teachers gave the city a unique opportunity in 1954. The numbers of Black professional people more than doubled in 1954, and the Black clerical and sales force increased 50 percent during the decade. However, voluntary restrictive covenants kept well to do Black residents out of several middle class agreeable neighborhoods within the District, but the accelerated pace of block busting, and the mounting volume of Black residents displaced by urban renewal gave new dimensions to the problem.

A City in Transition

Washington, D.C. has tended to be a prism of national politics, reflecting and refracting the nation's aspirations and anxieties. Federal policy efforts have had a larger role in shaping Washington, D.C. than any other city (Clement in Hyra & Prince, 2016).

Considering this history and the conditions and the mobility of the D.C. citizenry, D.C. is an ideal ground to explore the complex intersection of race, education, and activism, particularly in its school system which served as a fertile microcosm for the city's persistent debates and tensions around race. The following chapter explores these tensions through a history of the DCPS and addresses the growing discord between school leaders and the local schools, particularly teachers, as the system grappled with the realities of operating a segregated (and subsequently desegregated) school system within a largely segregated city.

Chapter Three: The Origins of the District of Columbia Public Schools

This chapter presents a brief history of the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS). The purpose of presenting this history is to provide a contextual framework for better understanding and appreciating this historical study on Black teachers and quality within the Washington public school system both prior to and following nationwide school desegregation. As noted in Chapter Two, the Washington, D.C. has a governmental construction that is unique from U.S. cities and states in terms of its structure, operating procedures, and laws. As such, it is critical to understand the workings of the city government including its social and political underpinnings to better understand and contextualize the history of the public school system and the findings of this study and their implications. The chapter begins with a history of common schools for Black and White students in the District of Columbia. Then, it presents information on the structure and governance of the school system including the educational hierarchy and the associated roles of each level of the school system. Following, content includes brief histories on the District's segregated teachers' colleges, and the subsequent unification of the two schools following desegregation. The chapter concludes with an historical overview of the inception of concerns with school quality in the DCPS and the perceived culpability of the schoolteacher in such concerns.

The First Schools

On December 5, 1804, Congress authorized the District of Columbia “to establish and endow a permanent institution for the education of youth in the city of Washington” (Levy, 2007). A firm believer in the possibilities of public education, as noted in the *Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*, President Thomas Jefferson conceived of a tax-payer funded system of public education for all free children, male and female. This dream was an ambitious proposition for the time considering that schooling at that time had been reserved for the children of wealthy families who could afford a private education. President Thomas Jefferson contributed \$200 of his personal funds toward the endowment of the Washington schools and was named the first president of the thirteen-member Board of Trustees, who oversaw the White schools. Under Jefferson’s chairmanship, the Board aspired to create a primary and secondary school system, as well as a university. The intent of the governing body was to provide for the education of children whose parents were unable to pay tuition at private schools. This was to be accomplished with an annual budget of \$1,500 (a meager amount at the time), procured through the proceeds of taxes levied on licenses from local goods and services such as carriages and hacks, taverns, and liquors (Livingston, 2015). In 1806, the first two schools, Eastern Free School and Western School, were opened to White students. Due to the limited budget and the stigma of being regarded as ‘charity’ schools, the public system developed slowly. However, during their first half century of operation, the schools eventually opened their doors to more affluent White students. Still, the schools were poorly regarded and appointed and housed in makeshift quarters such as old market

houses, fraternal halls, and church basements. The conditions were so dreadful that the members of the Board of Trustees were reportedly embarrassed to show the city schools to their counterparts from other cities (Livingston, 2015).

Schools for Black Students. Schools for Black students in Washington, D.C. were founded almost simultaneously, in 1807 by three formerly enslaved Black men. Many of the buildings were destroyed in 1835 in race-based retaliation for the rebellion of enslaved persons and other efforts to end oppression for Blacks (D.C. Preservation League, 2016). These events threatened to disrupt the formal educational efforts of Black students in Washington, D.C. Implementation of the *D.C. Emancipation Act* in April 1862 led to the passage of a law providing for the education of Black children in the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and the District of Columbia. The law provided for the education of all Black children, which eventually became compulsory for school age children in 1864. A separate board of trustees for Black schools worked parallel to the board of trustees for White schools. The earliest schools for Black students were quartered in church basements and other institutional buildings of use by the Black community. The schools were funded through the largesse of private citizens and religious groups. The students attending these schools were the children of free Blacks.

On March 1, 1864, the first publicly funded free school for Black children opened in Little Ebenezer Methodist Church. The school was run by Emma V. Brown, a young Black woman from Georgetown City who studied under Myrtilla Miner at Washington, D.C.'s Normal School for Colored Girls, which eventually became the first Black teachers training institution in the Washington, D.C. With assistance from Frances W.

Perkins who had been sent from Connecticut by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society of Boston, Brown undertook the task of teaching 40 students of various ages in the one-room facility. Interest and demand in the school was overwhelming and enrollment soon grew to over 100 students, far more than could be adequately accommodated at the small facility (D.C. Preservation League, 2016). Recognizing the burgeoning demand for education in the Black community, Francis Perkins undertook the task of raising funds from her contacts in New England and abroad. Upon receiving a \$1,000 donation, she purchased a lot in Southeast D.C. where a two-story structure, comprised of two teaching rooms on each floor, was ultimately constructed in the winter of 1864. The school was named Lincoln School and functioned as the primary publicly-funded learning facility on Capitol Hill for Black children until 1871, when it was replaced by a different building about four times its size. The Lincoln School also served as the administrative headquarters for the D.C. Superintendent of Black Schools.

Compulsory Education. With the onset of compulsory education for all children of school age in 1864, Mayor Richard Wallach moved to obtain funding for the construction of a series of new school buildings throughout the city. Wallach campaigned on a platform of a better¹⁸ education, promising to usher the District of Columbia into a “golden age of public education” (D.C. Preservation League, 2016, p.2). Over the course of the next two decades, the city developed a model, but segregated, education program with an emphasis on school building design from an urban, and educational perspective. This was quickly followed by a restructuring of the school

¹⁸ "Better" education in the case of Wallace referred to physical improvements in the facilities in which teachers worked and students learned.

system that welcomed the introduction of a graded system that introduced high schools and teaching schools into the Washington, D.C. system. Legislation also provided for a more equal distribution of funding for White and Black schools (D.C. Preservation League, 2016).

For the remainder of the 19th century, segregated schools remained the norm, although significant Black institutions continued to be built during this period including: John F. Cook School (1867), Stevens School (1868), and what many considered to be the crowning glory of Black schools at the time, Charles Sumner School (1871-72), which, as noted in Chapter One of this study, is now a museum and the home of the DCPS archives in the present day. The Preparatory High School for Negro Youth was founded in 1871. The speaker for its first graduating class was Fredrick Douglass. It later moved and became the M Street High School and ultimately Dunbar High School, a crown jewel in the history of the DCPS school system, particularly because of its reputation of high achieving students and well-educated teachers.

School Governance. During its history, the District of Columbia has had as many as four school systems: three Whites-only school systems (Georgetown City Schools, Washington City Schools, and District of Columbia Schools—Division I) and one system of schools for Black students, the District of Columbia Schools—Division II. The four discrete systems were unified in 1874, while maintaining racial segregation and were divided into two divisions: Division I was comprised White students and White teachers. Division II schools comprised Black students and Black teachers, though in the early days of the system, White teachers served as teaching models for Black teachers and

taught in the classrooms during teacher shortages (Hansen, 1960; U.S. News & World Report, 1955). Both divisions were organized under one Board of Education, and managed by one superintendent (Hansen, 1960). The school system was under the jurisdiction of the city's Board of Commissioners. Local officials, appointed by the U.S. President, provided the funding for the school system, while a school board, appointed by district judges ran the school system from its inception of the system until 1974. The funding officials had line-item authority over school budgets (Levy, 2004).

The Board of Education conducted the business of education by way of education policy. Specifically, the Board of Education had the task of advising the Superintendent of Education in matters of policy, schooling, and academic-related regulations that would impact the day to day operations of the school district. The Superintendent of Schools had the responsibility of serving as the figurehead for the DCPS and overseeing the operation of both school Divisions. White males served in the position of Superintendent of Schools from the inception of the school district throughout the period of this study, and well into contemporary times. The DCPS did not appoint its first Black superintendent of schools until 1967. Under the leadership of the superintendent was an Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Division I and Division II respectively. These roles were appointed with race as a primary consideration; that is, the assistant superintendent for Division I schools was White and male, while the individual serving in the same capacity for the Division II schools was Black and male.

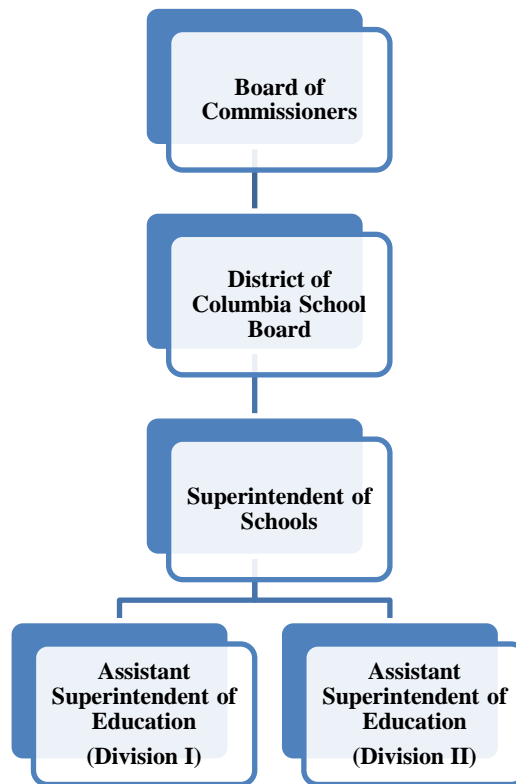


Figure 2. District of Columbia Public Schools Organizational Structure 1902-1953

(District of Columbia Public Schools, Office of the Statistician, 1965)

Post-1964, specifically in 1967 (which is beyond the purview of this study), the city gained an elected school board (board members had previously been appointed by local judges) and the first in a succession of changes in the superintendency that added chaos of the underlying feeling of failure permeating public education in D.C. This structure arguably offered Black educators not only the private space to buttress their battered dignity, but to also nurture positive self-images, sharpen skills, and demonstrate expertise. These safe havens also sustained relationships and wove networks across the

Black communities they served. In other words, such forced agency (Hine, 2003) was the best hand in an all-around bad deal" (Hine, 2003, p.1280).

Teachers Colleges

During the middle to late nineteenth century, normal schools sprang up throughout the United States. Teachers across the country, were a predominately female workforce. They were electing to become more educated in efforts to expand their professional prowess and status both within the classroom and throughout the public sphere. Washington D.C. was home to two of the nation's first segregated normal schools for teachers.

Miner Teachers College. In 1851, Myrtilla Miner, a White pioneer in the education of Black students, opened a school for "free girls of color" (Livingston, 2016) and established one of the city's first high schools for Black women. Miner considered Washington, D.C. to be a fitting location for what she hoped would become a model teaching facility for Black women. Miner stressed hygiene and nature study in addition to rigorous academic training. Although the school offered primary schooling and classes in domestic skills, its emphasis from the outset was on training Black teachers for service in Black schools. Within two months of opening in 1851, enrollment at Miner grew from six students to 40 students. The school flourished with the financial support of various philanthropists (Livingston, 2016).

In 1856 the school came under the care of a board of trustees, among whom were education reformer Harriet Beecher Stowe and influential philanthropist Johns Hopkins. During the Civil War, on March 3, 1863, the United States Senate granted the school a

charter as the "Institution for the Education of Colored Youth" (Livingston, 2016). Between 1871 and 1876, the school developed a partnership with Howard University which allowed the two to be linked—sharing resources and instructors. In 1879, the school became a normal school and its name was changed to Miner Normal School. At that time, it became part of the District of Columbia Public Schools system. In 1929, the U.S. Congress accredited the school as Miner Teachers College. Miner Teachers College was instrumental in the development of Division I in the DCPS between 1890 and 1954. As such, it held a virtual monopoly on providing a pool of Black candidates for teaching jobs in Washington's schools for Black students. Many Miner graduates also found jobs in Black school districts in other parts of the country, expanding the influence of the Miner school outside the District (Livingston, 2016).

Washington Normal School. Washington Normal School, as it was originally named, was founded in 1873, as a teacher training school for White students. In the school's first year of operation, 20 students were admitted; of these, 17 completed the one-year program (McQuirter, 2003). Coinciding with trends of the period, the enrollment requirements of the school were raised to only allow high school graduates admittance in 1881. This change in applicant qualifications was in lockstep to efforts to professionalize the teaching field throughout the country. In 1897, the program began requiring two-years of study. In the same year the name of the school was changed to Wilson Normal School, in honor of James Ormond Wilson, the Superintendent of Washington Public Schools. In 1929, the school became a four-year teachers

college. Wilson received its first accreditation in 1933 (McQuirter, 2003), four years after Miner Teachers College had received its accreditation.

District of Columbia Teachers College. In 1955, the year following the school desegregation of schools in Washington, D.C., Miner and Wilson Teachers Colleges merged to form the District of Columbia Teachers College. The new school quickly began providing support for training and practicing teachers in Washington, D.C., offering evening and weekend classes, a teachers institute for a model urban school, a practicum in school administration, and a series of courses for elementary teachers. The school also offered graduate credit, and in 1958 awarded its first Master of Arts degrees (McQuirter, 2003). Fortunately, the original Miner Teachers College and Wilson Teachers College campuses were only a few blocks apart. This proximity allowed the new entity, D.C. Teachers College, to utilize both campuses. What was previously the space for Miner, housed science labs, music rooms, a gymnasium, an auditorium, reference reading rooms, the reading clinic and the foreign language labs in addition to regular classrooms and faculty offices. The Wilson Building housed the administrative offices, the main library, and the art gallery as well as classrooms and a gymnasium. It also housed the speech clinic for the District of Columbia Public Schools. Additional information about the colleges' transition process is a critical element of this study and will be discussed at length in Chapter 5, as details regarding the merging of the two schools serves in many ways as vertebrae in the backbone of the history of teachers and quality in the DCPS.

Teachers Unions

In 1916, a group of teacher organizations came together to form the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in Chicago, IL. Only three years later, one of the union's first battles created a de facto tenure rule in Washington, D.C. After several early union triumphs in the 1930s, many teachers in nearby Prince George's County left the school district for more favorable conditions in the District's public schools. In 1946, the Washington, D.C. Association of Attendance Officers organized AFT Local 867. Some believe that this unique organization, which was an integrated entity in a segregated city, served as an early model prompting AFT to change its constitution two years later, essentially dissolving segregated locals. Under the leadership of Local 8 member and AFT Vice President Selma Borchardt, the Washington Teachers' Union, as it is known today, was formed when the two AFT locals of Washington, D.C., Local 8 and Local 27, merged in June 1953. With WTU's remarkable growth and influence, the Union became the sole bargaining agent for all the teachers in the District of Columbia Public Schools.

School Quality

In 1928, the U.S Bureau of Efficiency presented a Senate committee with the first comprehensive survey of the Washington D.C. public school system. It presented detailed analyses of school governance, buildings and grounds, equipment, health and safety, business management, student-teacher ratios, teacher salaries and personnel procedures, and simple workday matters. Buried in the five-page discussion of "Curriculum and Efficiency of Instruction" was the following statement:

With reference to the efficiency of the teaching staff, no attempt was made either to rate the teachers at work or to measure results as shown by the accomplishment of the children. There are educational problems requiring a specialized technique, and the limitations of time did not permit of an exhaustive analysis of this sort even if we had considered it necessary.

U.S. Bureau of Efficiency, 1928

Considering present day concerns about school quality, especially teachers' alleged culpability in the alleged fledgling quality of schools, neglecting to evaluate the efficiency of the teaching staff and examine student achievement data as an indicator of school quality in 1928 seems both illogical and abnormal. Yet it reveals the profound difference in the criteria applied then and now to determine the quality of a school. A staff study prepared for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education concluded in 1938 that "The District of Columbia maintains a school system which compares favorably with school systems in other cities of comparable size" and that "many features of the best systems are found in the District..." (Advisory Committee, 1938); the features of the other "best" systems were undefined.

In the four decades before the end of World War II, public confidence in the District schools was high. While there were political battles over school funding, teacher salaries, construction and governance of education for example, the capability of the school system and its teachers to adequately educate its students never came into question. The daily press reported about small political skirmishes as they arose, but the number of articles on these subjects stayed small in comparison to the number of

uncontroversial pieces related to district activities and events. To be certain, the mainstream presses ignored almost completely the Black schools in DCPS. However, reports on the activities of these schools appeared in local Black newspapers like *The Afro-American*, *The Tribune*, and *the Washington Bee*. (Diner, 1990).

Prior to desegregation both in Washington, D.C. and nationally, schools were judged primarily by what was put into them—facilities and equipment, teacher-student ratios, administrative and supervisory systems, the curriculum, and the standard qualifications of teachers (Diner, 1990). Schools were not judged as they are today—by their outputs—that is, what students knew and could do when they left school. Therefore, throughout the first half of the century, when parents, citizen groups, the press and political officials appraised the schools, they remained upbeat about overall educational quality.

In 1944, Clay Lofton (1944), completed a doctoral dissertation titled, "The Development of Public Education for Negroes in Washington, D.C.: 'A Study of Separate but Equal Accommodations'." While Washington had always prided itself on the relatively equal facilities for White and Black students, a different finding emerged through Lofton's study. Through a detailed analysis of inputs (i.e. facilities, equipment, student/teacher ratios and appropriations), Lofton learned that Black schools in Washington, D.C. had rarely been treated equally as the schools lacked the quality of facilities, resources, and appropriations of comparable schools for White students. Notice, that his conclusion about the (in)equality of education students receive is based on the evidence of inputs into the schools. Lofton's argument mirrors that of Judge Skelly

Wright, who, some 23 years later in the ruling in *Hobson v. Hansen* (1967)¹⁹, too recognized that there was inequality baked into the experiences of Black students. There was, however, a significant difference: Judge Wright, in 1967, cited differences in student achievement, as measured by standardized scores, as evidence of inequality. Lofton, in 1944, like others during that period, pointed only to inputs, while ignoring measures of student achievement (Diner, 1990). The lack of public attention to student achievement did not necessarily indicate an absence of achievement concerns. The professional publications of various teachers' associations, and an occasional newspaper article reveal evidence of the types of educational problems that today receive tremendous publicity. While it is likely that the school district (Division I and Division II) faced achievement problems before the end of World War II, it was only after the war, that the educational problems of the D.C. schools began to become a public issue. It was not until after desegregation in 1954 that these problems came to be viewed as a "crisis" with Black students and Black teachers bearing the brunt of culpability (Diner, 1990).

Desegregation

From 1954 to 1957, the school district lost 4,000 white students and gained 4,000 Black students each year (Orfield & Ee, 2017), the coalescence of White flight and the end of a second Great Migration. School desegregation undoubtedly sped up the white

¹⁹ *Hobson v. Hansen* outlawed discriminatory per-pupil spending and academic tracking practices in Washington's desegregated public schools. In 1966, Black activist Julius Hobson filed suit against the tracking system (separating all students by ability within a school setting), the use of optional zones that permitted certain parents to send their children to better schools, and continuing teacher segregation. In a far-reaching decision, U.S. Appeals Court Judge Skelly Wright upheld Hobson's case and directed the school system to abolish the track system, provide transportation for children in overcrowded schools who wanted to go to undercrowded ones, end the optional zone system, and "integrate" the faculty (Smith, 1974).

move to the suburbs, a move that brought dramatic shifts in both the racial and economic characteristics of the school system. Between 1960 and 1970 the city's Black population between the ages of five and fourteen went up 38% while the White population in this age range dropped by 58%. By 1970, the 146,000 student system was 95% Black (Smith, 1974).

Chapter Four: Qualifications and Quality (1952-1953)

While not all states had the same requirements of teachers entering the profession in 1952, a few prerequisites were commonplace. It was not uncommon for school districts to require that applicants possess a college degree, most often from a teachers college which would have included special courses in teaching methodology and teaching philosophy. Such degrees also included a practice teaching component, a field experience designed to give student-teachers the opportunity to work in a classroom of students under the guidance of a more experienced instructor. Many school districts also required a written examination, a teaching license administered by a governing body approved by the state, and a list of personal and professional references (Angus, 2001). For example, the New York State Education Department in 1952 required persons interested in teaching to have attended a 4 year college or teacher training school, obtained teacher certification (on the recommendation of officials in the applicant's education training program), and continued in-service training to maintain one's licensure (Folts, 1996).

While teacher quality initiatives represent a considerable amount of attention within the District of Columbia Public Schools in the present day, this was not always the case. This chapter reveals that when the DCPS experienced a 'teacher shortage'²⁰ in the

²⁰ The DCPS labeled the situation a 'teacher shortage'. Using the tenets of Problem Definition Theory, this study reexamines and reconsiders the DCPS' assessment, and labels it a 'teacher surplus' instead. This will be explained later in the chapter.

Division II schools in 1952, just two years before the school system underwent desegregation, the Board of Education sought rapid solutions for getting teachers into the classrooms—with scarce interest in the teachers' qualifications, let alone the perceived quality of the teachers. This chapter begins with a review of the requirements of teacher candidates in the DCPS in 1952. In a study that examines and recasts the historical events that have led to present day ideologies of teacher quality, it is useful, even essential, to note the standard qualifications for teachers and teacher applicants in the DCPS for the period under study. Doing so can provide the basis for an important comparison of how the school district's requisite teacher qualifications evolved as their search for better teachers persisted. Afterwards, the chapter presents a profile and subsequent analysis of the qualifications of the members of the 1952 DCPS teacher corps in 1952. The analysis disaggregates the qualifications of the teacher workforce by race. This analysis is followed by a review of the district's proposed list of solutions for solving what it labeled a teacher shortage crisis, revealing that any district-level concerns about teacher quality were virtually nonexistent just two years prior to the desegregation of schools. Finally, the chapter concludes by considering the etymological connection between the terms *quality* and *qualifications* respectively and uses the connection to frame what I perceive to be a conflation of the two terms as evidenced by the District's efforts to enhance its teacher workforce. This analysis will form the foundation for understanding why the DCPS manipulated the required teacher qualifications as the means for racially balancing its teacher workforce.

Qualifying Teachers for Service

Permanent Teachers. There existed two classes of teachers in the DCPS in 1952: permanent teachers and temporary teachers. The categories served as a caste system of sorts, a way to classify teachers based on their status in the local educational hierarchy. A permanent teacher in the DCPS held: either a 4-year degree in teaching or evidence of completion of the full course of study from an accredited teachers college, a passing score on Board required examinations which included both a written and an oral component, and student teaching experience—all of which culminated in a permanent teaching certificate. The District also required a set of professional and personal references (District of Columbia Public Schools, 1953). Permanent teachers received all the benefits associated with such stature including pay from the traditional teacher pay scale, health benefits, certified reciprocity with select states throughout the country, and qualification for tenure within the DCPS public school system after a period of three years. Permanent teachers then, were those individuals who had the training, credentials, and experience to signify their fitness to lead a classroom of students. Thus, it stands to reason that a school district, which was in the business of providing educational services to students, aimed to do so with vetted, prepared, permanent teachers at the helm of classrooms.

Temporary Teachers. The DCPS also granted entry to teacher candidates who did not meet the standard requisites outlined for those seeking permanent teacher status. Teacher candidates who entered the system through this route were known as temporary teachers. Temporary teachers were not required to hold a 4-year degree, nor were they

required to have completed a formal set of studies through a teachers college. In fact, in most cases in the DCPS, temporary teachers had neither passed (nor in many cases taken) the written and oral Board-required examinations, nor did they have prior teaching experience (Hall, 1952). They did, however, typically boast a high school diploma, perhaps some teacher training, and set of personal and professional references vouching for their fitness for service within the classroom. There were various reasons for being granted temporary (rather than permanent) status in 1952, and the reasons represented a vast range of circumstances. Some included: a candidate's lack of preparation, meaning that the candidate had finished some schooling, but perhaps not all that was required to gain a permanent teaching certificate; the candidate's age²¹; or in some cases, the candidate's "unwillingness"²² (Hall, 1952) to take the qualifying examination. A teacher might have even worked under temporary status while seeking to gain permanent status, while using the teaching experience as a learning experience, and using the time to prepare for the Board examinations in hopes of being advanced to permanent status (Hall, 1952). In other cases, temporary teachers filled positions for persons on military, maternity, sick, or educational leave (Hall, 1952) the equivalent of what might be called a long-term substitute teacher in the present day. In one example, a teacher worked fulltime in the DCPS for 15 years under temporary licensure (Hall, 1952).

Teaching Licenses by Division. In 1952, 464 teachers worked fulltime as temporary teachers in the DCPS ("School Study Cites Cost of Segregation", 1952). This

²¹ Some teachers did not qualify for permanent appointments because they were at least 45 years of age when they entered the system. The limitation was in place because of teacher retirement provisions which allowed retirement at 60 after 15 years of service (Hall, 1952).

²² The article does not indicate why a teacher might demonstrate an "unwillingness" to take the examination.

was most noticeable in elementary schools as about one in three elementary school teachers in the DCPS was on a temporary appointment (Hall, 1952). Division I, which employed White teachers, reported 379 temporary teachers on its roster. In comparison, Division II, which employed Black teachers, was home to only 85 temporary teachers (Hall, 1952), which held only slightly more students than the Division I schools. In other words, Division I employed more than four times as many temporary teachers than did Division II. These figures beg the question: Why did Division I employ so many temporary teachers when Division II employed so few? When asked such a question by a reporter with the Washington Post, Hobart M. Corning, Superintendent of Schools in 1952, responded that Division I simply had "trouble finding qualified white²³ teachers" (Hall, 1952). It stands to reason then, that Division II had less trouble than the Division I schools in locating qualified and trained teachers—Black teachers—as most of the teachers on the Division II roster held permanent teaching certificates. And if permanent teachers possessed the teaching credentials that were developed by district policymakers, then it is not unreasonable to conclude that permanent teachers were theoretically more desirable teachers than were temporary teachers. In other words, Division II employed far more qualified, preferred, and desirable candidates than did Division I.

Blacks in Teaching

Research from Madkins (2011) corroborates Corning's assessment in her review of historical literature on Black teachers in the mid-1950s. Madkins (2011) reveals that Black women were among the largest numbers of teachers in 1952, and that Black

²³ "white" is lowercased in the original.

teachers outnumbered White teachers in the south in the years immediately following the Civil War. Teaching was one of the first professional career options available to Blacks, and for those who were interested in teaching, there existed both southern and northern based options for segregated teacher training. Thousands of Black students enrolled in 4-year colleges or teacher training schools, demonstrating a fierce persistence in earning the credentials necessary to serve as teachers. Not only was this a professional pathway to a solid position in America's middle class, but academic and professional achievement was also perceived by some Black people as a tool to increase the status and reputation of the Black race—individually and collectively (Higginbotham, 2004; Shaw, 1996). One might posit even, that nearly 100 years after emancipation, many members of the Black community were aware of the additional effort that might be required for the dominant culture to both view Black people as professionals and then offer them gainful employment within that profession. This logic represented the Black community's collective awareness about the stereotypes that followed them, racist stereotypes that were embedded within the fabric of the White American psyche. As such, it can be reasoned that many Black teacher candidates chose to exceed the basic qualifications, as opposed to meeting the minimal requirements.

College Degrees. The disparate appropriations in teacher qualifications was not limited to the designation of permanent versus temporary teachers licenses. They existed in the education and training of teachers in the DCPS workforce. In 1952, 68% of White teachers in the DCPS held a bachelor's degree or more, in contrast to roughly 84% of the school district's Black teachers who held at least a bachelor's degree (Hall, 1952, p. 25-

M). Thus, not only did more Black teachers meet the DCPS school board-developed qualifications for acquiring permanent teaching certificates, but Black teachers in the DCPS were also more educated than their White counterparts.

Promotion. A DCPS employee policy developed in 1906, stated that teachers could be promoted for “superior work”²⁴ from Group A to Group B of class six ... after oral and written examinations by the Board of Examiners (Report to Board of Commissioners, 1952). According to an act of Congress (34 Statute 316, Section 6), enacted in 1906 there included the following provision:

A teacher shall not be promoted from one class to another, except by the board of education, upon the recommendation of the officer having direct supervision of said teacher and in the case of colored teachers, *upon the additional recommendation of the colored assistant superintendent.*²⁵ Such recommendations shall in each case be made through and with the approval of the superintendent of schools.

Report to Board of Commissioners, 1952, p. 5

This policy for promotion reveals an additional layer of grave inequality between Black and White teachers in the DCPS, although in this case the inequity is built into district policy. According to this policy, Black teachers who sought promotion from one class²⁶ to another, were required to obtain an additional layer of approval that was not required

²⁴ "Superior" is not defined in the original document.

²⁵ Italics added to note the distinction in the requirements for Black teachers seeking promotion.

²⁶ "Class" in this case refers to a change in level, such as elementary school to junior high school.

of White teachers. In order for White teachers to earn promotion from one class to another, he or she would adhere to the following procedure. See Figure 3.

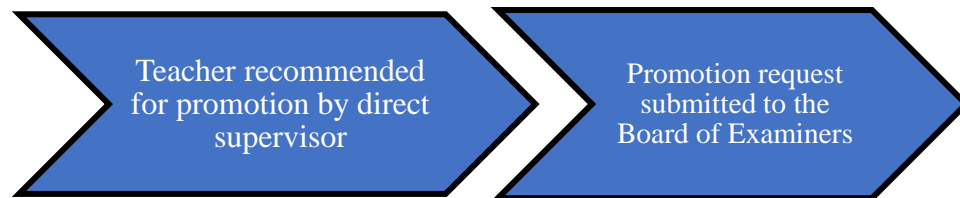


Figure 3. Division I Process for Teacher Promotion, 1906-1952

(Report to the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia Public Schools, 1952, p. 7)

Black teachers who sought promotion, in contrast, were to adhere to the following procedure. See Figure 4.



Figure 4. Division II Process for Teacher Promotion, 1906-1952

(Report to the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia Public Schools, 1952, p. 7)

In other words, before the direct supervisor for the Black teacher could submit the teacher's promotion request to the Board of Examiners, they were first required to submit it to the superintendent of schools for review and a second round of approval. If both school divisions operated under the same structure—each with its own Board of Examiners—why then was this additional layer of approval essential? While the Black educational leaders in Division II had a large degree of professional autonomy—replete with the authority to oversee and direct all facets of the Black school system—the additional requirement might have represented an attempt to verify the basis for any proposed merit-based advancement of Black teachers; a requirement that was perhaps rooted in a covert skepticism about Black teachers' skills and abilities. Whatever the reason, it was a verification process that was apparently unessential for White teachers who might be seeking promotion. When considering this policy in historical perspective in addition to the aforementioned data on the qualifications of the teacher workforce in the DCPS in 1952, it is difficult to understand how such a policy could be justified during the time under study for it implies that there was something inherently inferior about the Black teacher—something that prompted skepticism; a skepticism that was not generated by White teachers.

External Evaluation

To note a silver lining in the data about the number of temporary teachers employed by Division I, school officials²⁷ praised the temporary teachers as “some of the finest in the system” (Hall, 1952, p. 25-M). However, this glorification of the temporary

²⁷ "School officials", in this archival document, are given no personal identifier. In cases such as these, it typically indicates that an individual is speaking on behalf of the school district.

teachers, their work, and the modulated tone concerning their obvious lack of credentials was not a unanimous perspective. In his survey of the District schools in 1949, Dr. George Strayer, educational consultant and independent evaluator of the DCPS, asserted that "having large numbers of temporary teachers should be a major concern—baffling in its implications and blighting in its effects on regular appointment procedures" (Hall, 1952, p. 25-M). Strayer (1949) expressed in his report that temporary teachers should not be the preferred teachers in a district for both educational and operational reasons. In other words, employing an abundance of temporary teachers could have a detrimental effect on perceptions of teacher professionalism, student learning, and the seamless operation of a school system. Strayer issued the District a strong recommendation, stating that the DCPS should develop a robust "recruitment program to generate a more educated teacher pool" (Hall, 1952, p. 25-M). Here, Strayer, renowned education expert and professor at Teachers College at Columbia University, revealed that having a "more educated" teacher pool was essential for the health of the DCPS. Strayer specifically suggested that the District "form alliances with local teacher training institutions" (Hall, 1952, p.25-M) to recruit graduates and determine ways to help teacher candidates perform successfully on the Board examinations. Again, Strayer issued these strong recommendations to the DCPS Board in 1949. As of 1952, Dr. Strayer's recommendations were no closer to fruition. Instead, they were a largely disregarded notion resulting in the perpetuity of fulltime, temporary appointments in the DCPS. It can be surmised then, that not only was reducing the number of temporary teachers not a priority for the school district, but also that district officials did not perceive that the

education, qualifications, or performance of their teachers was an issue of paramount concern.

A Teacher Shortage

Between 1952 and 1953, not only was the DCPS saturated with an inordinate number of temporary teachers (as defined by Strayer in his external review of the school system), but the system was plagued with too few teachers in the Division II schools; specifically, a shortage of 55 Black teachers. The number of students enrolled in Division II had been increasing each year since 1950 ("School Study Cites Cost of Segregation", 1952). Washington, D.C. was under redevelopment during this period and the great increase in the number of Black students resulted from increasing space for Black citizens to live in Washington as White people moved to more racially homogenous living spaces in the nearby suburbs. As such, the classrooms in Division II were overcrowded, which made teaching and learning more challenging than under normal circumstances. The district-set pupil per teacher ratios for elementary classes in 1952 was 35:1; the prescribed ratio for junior high schools was 28:1; and preferred ratio for high schools was 25:1 ("School Study Cites Cost of Segregation", 1952). The classrooms in the Division II schools surpassed the pupil per teacher ratios most significantly in the elementary and middle schools ("School Study Cites Cost of Segregation", 1952). It was during this period that the district sought creative ways of mitigating the teacher shortage, a shortage that according to Francis A. Gregory, superintendent in charge of Black junior

high schools was, “the worst case of a teacher shortage to ever strike the local schools system” (Rogers, 1952).

Interestingly, while this shortage of teachers threatened to disable the Division II system, (most significantly its teachers who bore the weight of teaching more students than outlined by school district policy) the District Commissioner, Joseph Donohue in his weekly “Report to the People” interview with Washington, D.C. radio station WEDC revealed that not only was there a shortage of Black teachers in the Division II system, but there was a surplus of White teachers in the Division I system (O'Rourke, 1952). According to Donohue, when considering the district's pupil enrollment data and the ratio of teachers to pupil, the DCPS had a total surplus of 161.8 teachers²⁸ in the school system. This figure broken down, he said, "demonstrated a surplus of 217.1 White teachers and a shortage of 55.3 Black teachers" (O'Rourke, 1952, p.10). At an annual average salary of \$4442, Donohue told the audience, "this surplus is costing you, the taxpayer, \$715,162 per year, not needed for teachers” (O'Rourke, 1952, p.10). Broken down by grade level, Division I had a surplus of 56.7²⁹ teachers in their junior high schools, while Division II lacked 60 teachers. In the district's senior high schools, Division I boasted 122.3 extra teachers, while Black schools in the DCPS were short by 1.3 teachers (Hall, 1952). Reflecting upon this data as well as the teacher qualification data presented earlier in this chapter, it becomes clear that not only did Division I hold a surplus of teachers, but it was also home to more temporary teachers, boasted smaller

²⁸ This figure is presumed to include both permanent and temporary teachers as archival documentation did not disaggregate this data.

²⁹ The fractional teachers are the result of figuring on a perfect ratio.

class sizes, and had fewer teachers with college degrees. In contrast, Division II had a shortage of teachers, yet was home to the largest number of permanent teachers as well as the largest number of teachers with college degrees. No matter the justification for such a circumstance, the legal and practical ideology of 'separate but equal' was not a reality in the DCPS neither as it related to the educational environment (i.e. teacher to pupil ratios) nor the qualifications and training of the educational staff.

Rocheftort and Cobb (1994), reveal that the perceptions of problems are critical to what happens during the political process of problem solving. Political conflict ensues when a group considers the cause of a problem, who is responsible for causing the problem, and what should be done about the problem (Rocheftort & Cobb, 1994). In this case, rather than admitting there were too many teachers (many of whom held only temporary licenses) on the Division I roster, the DCPS defined the problem solely as a "teacher shortage", and as such, proposed a set of solutions that they deemed viable for solving the problem as it was defined.

Finding Solutions

An initial suggestion for resolving the issue, prompted by the DCPS Board of Education, was to simply increase the Division II budget in order to hire more Black teachers. According to DCPS Budget Officer Walter L. Fowler, the Board of Education originally requested \$116,820 to hire 66 Black teachers ("School Study Cites Cost of Segregation", 1952). That request was not approved; and while such a proposal might have solved the teacher shortage in Division II, it would have done nothing to address the surplus of teachers in Division I. According to Donohue, the Board of Education

submitted their request to the Board of Commissioners, but the request “had not been sympathetically received” (“School Study Cites Cost of Segregation”, 1952). Donohue further interjected that, “for those who might be tempted to think that the power of the Board of Education might be buttressed by more Negroes persons on the board, that will not likely solve the problem” as “three members of the nine man board are Negroes” (O’Rourke, 1952). Donohue also deemed it important to emphasize for all who might have misgivings about the White teacher surplus, that “White teachers aren’t sitting around all day doing nothing. They’re merely teaching smaller size classes than those in the Negro Division” (O’Rourke, 1952). Hence, separate and unequal. As things were, Division II was responsible for using Congress-approved funds to provide an adequate number of staff for its schools. This, however, was a challenge considering that the numbers of Black students had steadily increased over the years, while the funding remained roughly the same (“Reciprocal Shift of White for Negro Teachers Urged”, 1952; Rogers, 1952a).

Proposed Solutions. The DCPS Board of Commissioners was hesitant to allow the Division II teacher shortage to spill over into the 1953-1954 academic year. The Board of Commissioners stated with urgency that the issue “must be resolved, and soon” (“School Study Cites Cost of Segregation”, p.1952). After considering what they perceived to be the most viable and immediate courses of action, the DCPS officials presented to the public two primary options for solving the Division II teacher problem. The first option was to transfer the surplus of White teachers to the Division II schools, allowing White teachers to teach Black students, as in the very early days of the Division

II school system. This option, the district asserted, would not only help balance the scales in terms of the numbers of instructional personnel, but it would also help the district avoid the additional financial burdens that could come with hiring additional teachers. The second option, the brainchild of Dr. Albert Steinem, vice president of the DCPS School Board, was to utilize the services of students from Miner Teachers College. Dr. Steinem proposed that the college students could teach in the Division II schools, prior to graduation, but without pay ("Miner Students Hit Payless Teaching", 1953). Steinem reasoned that because the students had not yet graduated from college nor completed a student teaching experience, they did not technically qualify to serve as teachers. As such, teaching in the Division II schools could serve as the student teaching component of their educational training. Interestingly, the Miner Teachers College students possessed the same qualifications as the district's temporary teachers; the Black college students, however, would not have been offered pay for their work.

Transfer White Teachers to Black Schools. In the early days of segregated education in Washington, D.C., White teachers taught Black students ("Do Mixed Schools Really Work", 1955; Hansen, 1960; "Ruling by West Limits Teachers to Own Races", 1952). Budget Officer Walter Fowler thought this option had the greatest chance of helping the school district save money. According to Superintendent Corning, "a few White teachers have expressed a willingness to go and teach Negro Students" (Hall, 1952). Black teachers working in the Division II schools, who arguably experienced the most significant weight of such a situation, voiced their opinions, with one in particular expressing, "Surplus White teachers can't be just transferred willy nilly" (O'Rourke,

1952). Could White teachers be assigned to teach in Black schools when the schools had been segregated for nearly half a century? To answer their query, the DCPS Board of Education consulted with the General Counsel of the DCPS to learn whether there was any legal precedent for such an action. The district also held a public forum to capture the opinions of community stakeholder groups. The Local 27 American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the Washington, D.C. chapter of the teachers union, stressed its opposition to the transfer of White teachers to Black schools unless Black teachers were also permitted to teach White students ("Reciprocal Shift of White for Negro Teachers Urged", 1953). Don B. Goodloe, president of the local, which represented Black teachers in the city school system, pointed out what the union perceived to be a more significant problem: The White schools were employing several hundred temporary teachers (Hall, 1952). Goodloe surmised that those positions could be held by qualified Black teachers, highlighting the idea that the real issue was not simply the need for more Black teachers (including a fair and equitable distribution of those teachers), but also the need for more permanent, qualified teachers, most of whom in the DCPS in 1952-53 were Black. Other local community groups supported Goodloe's position. The Social Action Committee of the Congregational Christian Churches of the Washington area, which represented 10 local Washington churches, voted to make a study of how an adequate number of teachers could be obtained for both White and Black schools (Hall, 1952). The Consolidated Parent Group, a local group organized to oppose school segregation also expressed their support for the teachers union's idea.

After consulting with General Counsel, it was determined that White teachers could not legally teach in schools for Black students, shutting down the proposal before it gained a significant amount of traction. Mr. West, the city's top legal officer reached into the recesses of the school district's history in 1862 to review district policy. He considered the congressional reports that led to the School Act of 1906 which led the corporate counsel to state:

It is the intention of Congress that White teachers who have taken the examinations of the examining board for the white schools must be appointed to and continue to be assigned to such schools and that teachers who have taken the examinations of the examining board for the colored schools must be appointed to and continue to be assigned to such schools.

Report to the Board of Commissioners, 1952, p.2

What is interesting to note in hindsight is that less than one year later, the DCPS schools would desegregate, and the composition and of the workforce and the placement of teachers (based on race) would matter more than ever before.

Hire College Students. The Steinem Plan, named for Albert E. Steinem, D.C. School Board Vice President who proposed the solution, consisted of recruiting seniors from Miner Teachers College to serve as teachers in Division II. According to Steinem, the students could use the time in the classrooms as a volunteer effort before beginning their formal teaching careers. The benefits, according to Board, were plentiful: the students were Black, making them ethnically qualified for the work, and the work would eliminate the need for a student teaching experience. Finally, hiring college students

would be a cost-effective option overall because the district would not be required to grant the students access to the full benefits and features of permanent teacher status. Vice President Steinem boasted broad support for his plan. Fellow board member C. Melvin Sharpe expressed, “If I were in their [the students'] place, I would welcome the opportunity to show that I could teach” (“Miner Students Hit Payless Teaching”, 1953). Were the students, however, prepared to teach? What perceptions of the teacher role might Steinem and Sharpe have held? Was teaching something that individuals on the precipice of adulthood could easily learn on-the-job? Perhaps to them, teaching was comprised of a set of simple tasks that virtually anyone could perform—absent experience and specific qualifications.

Miner Teachers College students were united in their opposition to the Steinem Plan, which would have them serve as unpaid instructors during the shortage in the Division II schools. Their principal complaints were not only the “volunteer” nature of the program, but also concerns that they were ill-equipped to handle classes without the supervision of an experienced teacher (“Miner Students Hit Payless Teaching”, 1953) In support of his students, Dr. Paul Cooke, Assistant Professor of Education at Miner Teachers College stated that in the students’ senior year of classes, they would receive instruction in the history and philosophy of education, “two courses that are requisites for a competent teacher” (“Miner Students Hit Payless Teaching”, p. 1953). Notice here, that it is an educator who serves as the standard bearer for the teaching profession as opposed to the DCPS policymakers who arguably had different philosophies about teacher preparation and the possible effects of welcoming inexperienced students as teachers into

the classrooms. Cooke further added that this plan "might not only harm the young teacher, but the pupil as well" ("Miner Students Hit Payless Teaching", p. 1953).

Considering the Steinem Plan as a means for solving the teacher shortage problem, it is no wonder that the school district seemed lackadaisical about the number of temporary teachers working within the school district. Hiring qualified, permanent teachers was simply not a priority.

The consideration of allowing Miner Teachers College students to teach in the District's Division II schools, while resourceful, reveals again the degree to which standard teaching qualifications were not of paramount importance to the district brass. Not only were Miner students not certified teachers, but none of them had graduated from college or had classroom teaching experience. Still, D.C. leadership was willing to place these inexperienced individuals in the teacher role. Ironically, in shortly over a decade, such traits would comprise the preferred profile of a teacher in the DCPS and across the nation. This will be discussed at length in Chapter 7, the epilogue of this study.

Problem Solved

Superintendent Hobart M. Corning perceived that the simplest way of mitigating the teacher shortage issue was to curtail the teaching staffs at eight White schools so that additional Black teachers could be hired. 'Curtailling', in this case, involved relieving eight White teachers of their duties and reassigning six White senior high school counselors to positions as classroom instructors ("Racial Policy Shifts 35 Teachers, Ousts 2"; Rogers, 1952a; 1952b) In addition, 45 White teachers were switched to lower grades. These actions freed up salaries to secure 19 posts in the Black schools (Rogers, 1952b). Corning

called the teacher shuffling "undesirable" (Rogers, 1952b) and reported that it had hurt teacher morale. By the beginning of the 1953-54 academic year, the district allocated funds to hire an undisclosed number of Black teachers, teachers who had been a part of the original applicant pool but who had not been offered a placement within the District's schools due to funding.

Conflating Qualifications and Quality

In this historical study on quality and the appraisal of teachers and their work, it is prudent to examine key theoretical underpinnings that have grounded broad notions of teacher quality. The English language is replete with terminology, phraseology, and ubiquitous expressions that hold nuanced and diverse meanings. Effective communication assumes a common understanding between the communicator and the audience for the purpose of clarity and productivity. The Latin term for quality, *qualis* means "of what sort", as noted in the English correlative adjective of *quality* (Merriam Webster, 2020). Notice here, that *quality*, in its English correlate, is noted as an adjective—a descriptor of the degree to which a thing possesses a value. The term, *qualify*, originates from the 15th century, Middle French term, *qualifier*, which has its roots in the Medieval Latin *qualificare*, which means to "attribute a quality to; make of a certain quality". Because the etymological origin of *qualify* stems from original understandings and perceptions of *quality*, it becomes obvious why *qualifications* have and continue to be linked with the *quality* of a thing, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

As stated at the top of this chapter, efforts to *qualify* teachers for service were rooted in making certain that they bore a standard *quality* (as evidenced by their meeting prescribed academic benchmarks, for example) before entering the workforce. In other words, to *qualify* for something is rooted in predetermined assumptions of a base level of *quality*. For example, when a job applicant is *qualified* for a position, it means that they have been officially recognized as having met the benchmarks (the degree or level to which a standard is met) necessary to perform a particular job, that is, made competent or knowledgeable enough to do something, or fit for a given purpose (Merriam-Webster, 2020) As it relates to this study on teacher quality, it may be useful to consider the intersection between professional qualifications and quality. While qualifications may appear at first glance to reflect an unbiased standard, they can originate from subjective notions about a person or group of people.

When it came to the perceived quality of teachers being hired in DCPS in the early 1950s, neither qualifications nor quality took center stage when the most pressing need was adult bodies in classrooms. District officials were willing to part with prescribed standards simply to ensure that an adult was present in every classroom—permanent or temporary, qualified or unqualified. This perspective would not last for long as a new day was on the horizon. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led the charge with the initial filing of *Brown v. Board of Education* in Topeka, Kansas, which over time led to laws abolishing the segregation of public schools and ostensibly the ‘separate, but equal’ paradigm. Conversations about teacher qualifications and teacher quality in the DCPS would take a sharp turn in a mere

three years' time. The conversation would shift to the immense importance of teacher quality once the student body became one and Black teachers worked in schools with White students. Leaders at the district, state, and federal departments of education stood then, and presently stand as the vanguards for teacher recruitment, hiring, and evaluation policies and regulations. Policies are expected to reflect impartial reflections of good educational practices. This was not always the case in the DCPS in 1952-1953. Instead, their posture reflected a laissez faire approach to the caliber of teachers entering Division II classrooms and the school system at large; one that was not rooted in a deep adherence to firm qualifications—but rather a lenient and malleable adherence to them according to district mood, temper, and immediate need.

Chapter Five: Balancing Race and Merit (1954-1959)

The case that came to be known as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was the name given to five separate cases that were heard by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning the issue of segregation in public schools. The cases were *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, *Briggs v. Elliot*, *Davis v. Board of Education of Prince Edward County, Virginia*, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, and *Gebhart v. Ethel* and *Bolling v. Sharpe*. *Bolling* as referenced in Chapter One of this study, is the case that related to the Washington, D.C. public school system. In late 1941, the Consolidated Parents Group, a group of Black parents from the Anacostia neighborhood of Washington, D.C., petitioned the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to open the nearly-completed John Phillip Sousa Junior High as a desegregated school, before schools in the nation were officially desegregated. The school board denied the petition and the school opened during the following fall, admitting only White students. On September 11, 1950, Gardner Bishop, Nicholas Stabile, and the Consolidated Parents Group attempted to get eleven Black students (including the plaintiff in the case, Spottswood Bolling) admitted to the school. They were refused entry by the school's principal. James Nabrit Jr., a professor of law at Howard University School of Law, a local historically Black university in Washington, D.C., filed suit in 1951 on behalf of Bolling and the other students in the District Court for the District of Columbia. After the court dismissed the claim, the case was granted a

writ of certiorari³⁰ by the Supreme Court in 1952. While the facts of each case are different, the main issue in each was the constitutionality of state-sponsored segregation in public schools. Joseph Nabrit, Jr. and George E.C. Hayes argued *Bolling* while Thurgood Marshall and the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund handled the other cases.

Although it acknowledged some of the plaintiffs' claims, a three-judge panel at the U.S. District Court that heard the cases ruled in favor of the school boards. The plaintiffs then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. When the cases came before the Supreme Court in 1952, the Court consolidated all five cases under the name of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Although the attorneys raised a variety of legal issues on appeal, the most common argument was that separate school systems for Blacks and Whites were inherently unequal, and thus violated the "equal protection clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They also relied on research data taken from sociological studies by the Kenneth and Mamie Clark, a husband and wife research team. In the 1940s, the Clarks designed and conducted a series of experiments known colloquially as "the doll tests" to study the psychological effects of segregation on Black children. Drs. Clark used four dolls, identical except for color, to test children's racial perceptions. Their research subjects, children between the ages of three and seven, were asked to identify both the race of the dolls and which color doll they preferred. Most of the children preferred the White doll and assigned positive characteristics to it (National

³⁰ A type of writ, meant for rare use, by which an appellate court decides to review a case at its discretion. The word certiorari comes from Law Latin and means "to be more fully informed." A writ of certiorari orders a lower court to deliver its record in a case so that the higher court may review it (Jurkowski, 2017).

Association for the Advancement of Colored People Education and Legal Defense Fund, 2020). The Clarks concluded that prejudice, discrimination, and segregation created a feeling of inferiority among Black children and damaged their self-esteem. Two additional findings of their study, which were excluded from the full *Brown* opinion were that: racism is an inherently American institution, and that school segregation also inhibited the development of White children (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Education and Legal Defense Fund, 2020).

The Justices of the Supreme Court were deeply divided over the issues raised in the *Brown* case. While some wanted to reverse *Plessy* and declare segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional, they had myriad reasons for doing so. Unable to come to a solution by June 1953 (the end of the Court's 1952-1953 term), the Court decided to rehear the case in December 1953. During the intervening months, Chief Justice brought the Justices to a unanimous decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional. On May 14, 1954, Warren delivered the opinion of the Court, stating that "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. . ." (Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)).

Expecting opposition to its ruling, especially in the southern states, the Supreme Court did not immediately give direction on how states should go about desegregating their school systems. Rather, it requested that the attorney generals of all states with laws permitting segregation in their public schools to submit plans for how they intended to proceed with desegregation (Brown v. Board of Education II, 347 U.S. 483). After more

hearings before the Court about desegregation (recognized as delay tactics used by states reluctant to comply with the ruling), on May 31, 1955 the Justices handed down a plan for how desegregation would proceed—with "all deliberate speed", referenced as *Brown II*. Although it would be many years before all segregated school systems would be desegregated (some of which never fully desegregated), *Brown* and *Brown II* were responsible for getting the process underway. Desegregating "with all deliberate speed", however, would be no issue for the DCPS.

The District of Columbia Public Schools and *Brown*

Officials from the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) formed a united front in the face of their desegregation effort. As things were, the DCPS' previously segregated school systems were fully staffed, and Division II boasted large numbers of well-qualified permanent teachers. The school system could be deemed, in many ways, an ideal prospect for a successful transition. Their objective, as encouraged by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was to serve as an exemplar for school districts across the nation for how a desegregated school system whose practices, particularly as it related to hiring teachers "based solely upon merit, not race" (Report of the Government of The District of Columbia, 1954) could transform American education. Unfortunately, the fervor for this lofty undertaking would wane in 1957 once it became clear that Black teachers in the DCPS not only solidly outnumbered the White teachers, but data indicated that the trend would continue. By the end of the 1957-58 academic year, the school district would change course—focusing instead on developing a "racially balanced staff of teachers" that is, a "50/50 split" (McKelway, 1957), rather than supporting a staffing plan that was

based solely on merit. This, according to Superintendent Hobart Corning, was a most critical consideration for improving the school system (Corning, 1957). This chapter will examine the district's gradual change of course. First, it will outline the initial steps that the DCPS took to merge the two previously segregated school divisions into one unified system. Next, the chapter will explore the DCPS' intentional decision to base teacher hiring decisions solely upon qualifications and merit. Then, the chapter will examine how teacher quality came to be associated with student performance (output) in the DCPS as opposed to the system in the past which measured the value of a school system and its teachers by their investment (input) in students. The premise of such was that since schools were desegregated, there would be no purported disparities in the resources and materials to which all students had access. Finally, the chapter will cover the district's plan for improving teacher quality; a plan that rested solely on teacher performance as defined by student achievement.

Unifying Divisions I and II

In the spring of 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower urged the Washington system to make haste to desegregate its' schools before the start of the upcoming academic year (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1954). As such, preparations began immediately to find ways to merge the Division I and Division II systems to create, one cohesive educational system. In response to news of the anticipated merger, the DCPS developed and held its first set of joint professional development meetings at Washington, D.C.'s Catholic University. The meetings included joint sessions of teachers from Divisions I and II. The goal of the meetings was to prepare teachers and other

school personnel for the impending desegregation of the school system. A series of conferences on "intercultural relationships" (Report of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1954, p.31). and teaching in integrated settings was held during the summer, before the start of the 1954-55 academic year. Six conferences in all were held. A primary goal of the conferences was to educate teachers on how to work collegially with one another and students.

Joint Hiring Processes. The report of the District of Columbia Department of Occupations and Professions of the Board of Commissioners proclaimed that the District was “ready at all times to cooperate with the citizens of our city to assure that persons practicing the professions and occupations are both competent and ethical” (Report of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1954, p. 30). This report revealed that while merging the previously segregated school divisions would be no easy feat, the city was committed to making the transition smooth via fair and equitable processes and procedures. While the previous teacher shortage issue had been resolved in 1953, the academic year prior to school desegregation, there were nevertheless differences in the daily operation of the divisions; processes such as the hiring of teachers, the operation of the respective Boards of Examiners, and even standard setting in terms of the caliber of teachers (as defined by their compliance with board-established requirements and preferences for training, licensure, and experience) would require ironing out. As noted in Chapter Four, when it came to teacher qualifications, Division II, the system that employed Black teachers, outranked White teachers. DCPS officials realized early on that significant changes in two key administrative areas related to teachers would be essential:

teacher hiring and teacher training. Chief on their list of activities for the year would be to: 1) establish an identical teachers examination for all teachers, 2) merge the local teacher preparation institutions, and 2) create one, unified eligibility list for all open teaching positions.

Joint Teacher Examinations. Prior to the desegregation of schools, the DCPS, establishing itself as a forerunner in anticipation of impending school desegregation, administered the first joint teachers examination in the field of health, physical education, athletics, and safety in December 1953. Beginning on January 1, 1954, the two Boards of Examiners and Heads of Departments and Directors began the preparation of single sets of examinations to be given on senior high school teaching positions in April, and the elementary and junior high school positions in June. For several years, the district purportedly had taken various steps to unify the procedures of the Division I and II Boards of Examiners which existed under the segregated system (Report of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1954). The role of the Board of Examiners, as covered in Chapter Four, was to administer all teacher examinations and as such, determine and confirm a teacher's qualifications for service in the school system. While the specific ways in which the systems differed one from another is not made clear through the available archival data, it is not unreasonable to consider that separate Boards of Examiners functioned in ways that were uniquely germane to the preferences and mores of that discrete division. School Board meetings dating back to as early as November 18, 1953 reflect concerns that there was not a uniform method of examining teachers in Divisions I and Divisions II (District of Columbia Public School Board,

1953). Following the Supreme Court's decision, the Superintendent consolidated the Board of Examiners into one Board under his direct chairmanship. The elementary and junior high school examinations were administered by the consolidated Board on June 10, 11, and 12, 1954 to all applicants regardless of race for the first time in the history of the school system. Now, however, for the first time in the history of the school system, teacher candidates would take the same exam, on the same date, and at the same time (Deane, 1954; Report of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1954), and under the new, integrated system, strictly merit-based hiring policies would be enacted as the two systems learned to function as one.

Merit-Based Hiring. Before schools were desegregated in the DCPS, each school division created a teacher eligibility list that consisted of the names of teachers who qualified for permanent teaching appointments. On June 23, 1954, the Board of Education approved the merger of the list of candidates who had qualified for teaching positions in both Divisions I and II. By this action, the Board approved the establishment of a single, eligible register created "on a merit basis without regard to race" (Report of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1954). Here, the Board defined merit as "having met all of the qualifications or inputs to be deemed hireable and fit to serve" (p.31). This policy was adopted during the May 25, 1954 Board meeting and stated as such, "Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color" (p.31). Many Black teachers, however, were skeptical about the actual implementation of the plan. The Board of Education was prevented from

requiring photographs or the designation of race on the applications or other statements of qualifications. Such purportedly "air-tight" provisions were designed to ensure that Black teachers and other educational employees would have at least a certain proportion of employment. According to Cooke (1954), who noted Strayer's comments about Black teachers, such provisions were unnecessary as according to Strayer's report, "Negro teachers on the basis of their qualifications can be expected to meet requirements for teaching positions without being disadvantaged, and in many instances they may well expect to be constantly superior" (Strayer, 1948, p.980). Dr. Paul Cooke, local representative of the Local 27 of the American Federation of Teachers and assistant professor at Miner Teachers College, opined that the most important feature of school desegregation should be that "the best qualified teachers are given jobs without regard to race" (1951, p.589). This, according to Cooke, was also true when considering the employment of instructors from soon-to-be-desegregated Miner and Wilson Teachers Colleges. According to Cooke, no legislation should require any percentage of teachers of a certain race to be employed for to do so would be "undemocratic and probably unconstitutional" (p.589).

Teacher Preparation. As the new system began to shape, not all DCPS affiliates were on board with the change. In a cryptic message posted in the Wilson Teachers College (the teachers college for White students) yearbook in the semester before the schools were officially desegregated, the college president Walter E. Hager, stated,

We are in danger of losing our treasured American liberties through the designs of persons who seem to believe that Americanism can be transmitted by controlled

thinking. Such a prospect imposes an obligation and a burden upon teachers. Only if enlightened Americans, especially teachers, insist upon throwing the light of reason upon every serious problem, can true Americanism be preserved.

Walter Hager, 1954

While Hager did not explicitly define "treasured American liberties" and "controlled thinking", it is not unreasonable to assume that he is referencing the Supreme Court decision to desegregate schools, particularly since such a change would indeed instigate and require a change in the structure of the teachers college system in Washington, D.C. as well as a restructuring of segregated life as all knew and understood it.

As respective extensions of the DCPS, Miner Teachers College (Washington D.C.'s teachers college for Black students) and Wilson Teachers College (Washington, D.C.'s teachers college for White students) were urged to unite to form one Teachers College. Eleven Washington organizations (Greater Washington Area Council; American Veterans Committee; Washington Council, American Council on Human Rights; District Affairs Committee, Americans for Democratic Action; Local 27, American Federation of Teachers; Race Relations Committee, American Friends, Service Committee; Catholic Interracial Council; Consolidated Parent Group; District of Columbia Industrial Union Council; Federation of Civic Associations; D.C. Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice) expressed their support for the idea and called for the immediate integration of the colleges—preferably in a neutral location, that is, a location that was not the previous site of either Miner or Wilson (Hall, 1955). The group also urged the school board to consider

the expansion of the schools' higher education program—including a broader bachelor's degree program and master's degree courses, as well as an adequate budget for accomplishing such goals. Supporters of the plan reasoned that a merger of the schools would ensure democratic processes for hiring Black teachers in hopes of alleviating employment fears within the Black educational community. In addition, combining the teachers colleges would ensure continuity in teacher training and serve as preparation for teachers who would likely work together in the very near future.

In response, to persistent questions and concerns about the location of the unified teachers colleges, the Board concluded that students enrolled in each college should enroll in and attend classes at either school location until one location was agreed upon (Hall, 1955). Interestingly, as of September 1954, the first days of desegregated teacher preparation in the District, the number of students formally enrolled in Miner Teachers College nearly doubled that of the students enrolled in Wilson Teachers College (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1955), though it was not unusual for Miner Teachers College to have more students enrolled than Wilson. It is likely desegregation fears played a role in the lower than normal enrollment numbers for Wilson Teachers College, and like many teachers and families of students previously enrolled in the DCPS, White flight may have played a significant role in the loss of students from Wilson Teachers College.

Anecdotal records on the experiences of two Miner Teachers College students who attended a desegregated class at Wilson Teachers College in 1954 indicate that there was only a slight degree of discomfort in social relationships related to the merger of the

two schools. One of the students described her experience of attending a World Literature class at Wilson. She noted that the instructor, who was a White female, was extremely nice and did not “give us the impression that she was being so for our benefit” (Cooke, 1955). Another Miner student expressed anger with the new structure and relayed that on several occasions “the White girls” were “particularly uncommunicative” (Cooke, 1955). The student developed a hostile attitude toward the girls and stated that she would “like to see those girls somewhere out of this school, and I’d really get them for being so stuck up” (Cooke, 1955). Archival records available for this study did not include anecdotal notes from White students at the college. In a study that centers around the experiences of Black teachers and Black teacher candidates, these data provide an example of how Black students felt in the presence of a White teacher and White classmates.

Anecdotes from the Community

When the DCPS schools opened on September 17, 1954, 116 schools (73%) opened with desegregated student bodies. Thirty-seven schools (23%) opened to fully integrated teaching staffs (Hansen, 1960; p.28). How did students adjust to the new reality of having a teacher of a different race? While the archival data reveals virtually no data on how Black students and their families responded to the experience of learning from White teachers, there is anecdotal data that reveals how White students and families felt about having Black teachers. One Black teacher, who had been required to transfer and teach a class of “slower learners” (Cooke, 1955), reported hearing a White student reveal, “I am trying hard not to cry, but I feel like it. I don’t want to leave this room and furthermore I like colored teachers better than White ones” (Cooke, 1955). The

superintendent of schools joined the chorus. Dr. Corning, in his quest to paint a rosy portrait of the District's desegregation efforts stated, "I have quite a number of letters on file from parents who say that originally they were unhappy at the prospect of having a Negro teacher for their children, but now they are singing the praises of these teachers" ("Corning Backs Pupils' Ability", 1955). Notice that, in terms of parental complaints, Dr. Corning made no mention of Black parents who had expressed concern about their students having a White teacher. It is here that critical race theory (CRT) becomes an explicit and essential component in the retelling of this historical narrative. Critical race theory explores issues through the lenses of power and race. In Corning's account, he centers the story of school desegregation (as it relates to anecdotal evidence) around the experiences of the White student and the White parent, as he serves as a White superintendent of schools. Myopic narratives such as these, which inadvertently consider the experiences of one group over, are what have formulated historical narratives of desegregation in the DCPS and throughout the country. It is the aim of studies such as this one to disrupt that literary, historical tradition.

However, Black teachers also had their views and perspectives of the desegregation experience, and to some, they could be perceived as disconcerting. One Black teacher admitted, "I have a class of problem children, mostly colored. I had not anticipated that our children would be so far behind. Had I anticipated this I don't think I would have requested to go. It gives me a terribly frustrated feeling in finding this to be the case" (Cooke, 1955). Here, the teacher laments the academic condition of the students in her class. Other Black teachers revealed efforts to establish relationships with White

teachers. One Black teacher expressed that she wanted the White teachers to “feel free to discuss any problems with me—racial and otherwise—and I find that they do so” (Cooke, 1955). Another teacher commented, “They [White teachers] realize I am not too highly-sensitive about race and at times actually seem to forget that I am colored” (Cooke, 1955). She continues, “One teacher was discussing the problem of retardation in colored children. Another teacher must have looked at her to quiet her. She however, continued, ‘Oh, I’m not worried about D—she doesn’t have that silly sensitivity—she knows what I mean’” (Cooke, 1955). According to this Black teacher, openness and collegiality (no matter how sensitive the subject) were critical if teachers were to work together for the betterment of students. This reveals a few positive characteristics about the select few Black teachers represented in this archival data point—they were concerned about students, sought open relationships with their White colleagues, and desired to support White teachers in their work with Black students.

The District of Columbia Teachers Colleges and Quality

When Dr. George Strayer, in 1949 conducted a formal evaluation of the DCPS, he also evaluated the city's teachers colleges, which were a part of the DCPS system. The results of the Strayer report revealed that when the Board of Education of the District Schools promoted all qualified teacher personnel at both colleges, 14 faculty members from Wilson Teachers College were promoted, while 22 faculty were promoted at Miner (Cooke, 1954). Prior to the promotions, the colleges had an equal number of staff on all professorial levels and were to be allotted an equal number of promotions, provided that faculty members qualified for such (Cooke, 1954). Miner Teachers College, in the same

year, also won an "A" rating from an official of the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC). The AATC official reportedly declared that his survey had upset his settled conviction about the inferiority of Negro institutions. Whether these statistics serve simply as straws in the wind or reasonably sound demonstrations of the comparative preparation of Black and White teachers is unknown. However, for the purposes of this study, it bolsters the findings about the high quality (as defined by qualifications) of Black teachers in the DCPS between 1952 and 1964.

School Board Concerns

Board meeting minutes from September 22, 1954 reveal that members of the school board had serious concerns about the quality of teaching candidates coming out of the teachers colleges, particularly Wilson Teachers College. Two board members, Mr. Faulkner and Dr. Johnson expressed concerns about the possible loss of well-qualified Black teachers and teacher candidates. Mr. Faulkner expressed specific concerns about the large numbers of Division I teacher candidates in 1954 who had failed the oral examinations District of Columbia Public School Board, 1954). Dr. Johnson seconded his concern and predicted that the quality of teacher candidates would suffer under desegregation. He shared during the meeting,

I will tell you just one thing. Before the school system was integrated, the number of temporary teachers among all teachers in the colored public schools was 5.3 percent and the largest percentage of temporary teachers in any division of the colored public schools was 8.1 percent. You have now weakened the whole system to such an extent that the entire public school system has 34 percent

temporary teachers and the entire basic track has 60 temporary teachers. Now my eyes are weak, and I can't go too fast, but there is no question about the fact that you have practically killed the old rigid examination system. You have let so many people into the teaching system on a low demand basis that your high qualitative demands are practically dying for neglect. Now that is exactly what has taken place and it does not take a man long to see that.

Dr. Johnson, 1954

Mr. Johnson implies here that Black teachers were among the most qualified teachers in the DCPS. Johnson also complained of "low-grade graduates" (1954) of certain colleges and complained that people who appointed teachers did not inquire into the quality of applicants' baccalaureate work, but simply accepted the degree at face value, an exercise that he deemed unfruitful and at the detriment of the school system.

Colonel Hamilton, fellow Board member, remarked that he was unsure what Mr. Johnson wanted the Board to do. Hamilton stated that, "the rules of the Board state, 'a bachelor's degree from an accredited teachers college conferred as a result of a four year professional course of study...' was the policy, and it was this policy that would stand. To appease Mr. Johnson, Colonel Hamilton requested an aggregated report of student performance (including failed courses) for the students of Wilson Teachers College at the close of the first semester of classes. The report, dated January 27, 1955, revealed that most students (97%) at Wilson Teachers College passed most their courses. However, there were noted a significant number of failures in the Mathematics and Business

Education course (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1955). There existed no such report for Miner Teachers College in the DCPS archives.

Like every story, however, there are wrinkles in the narrative. My aim as a historian and researcher is not to iron out such wrinkles, but rather to recognize and call attention to their presence. Such is the case with other, conflicting appraisals of Miner Teachers College. For example, Miner had a few hurdles to overcome in terms of student preparedness and student matriculation, as outlined in the Strayer report. Strayer, in his independent evaluation of the DCPS teachers colleges, found that Black students entering Miner were poorly prepared for college work (as indicated by standardized tests)³¹ in comparison to White students who, according to Strayer, were considerably better prepared. Miner also had a higher dropout rate than Wilson and a smaller percentage of students who finished the college in eight semesters. Worthy of note, however, is that Strayer reported no appreciable difference in the preparation of the teachers once they entered the DCPS teacher workforce (Cooke, 1954).

Black Teachers and Employment Fears

Black teachers were highly skeptical of the school district's new merit-based policy as both empirical data and anecdotal evidence from other states revealed that inequitable hiring practices were the norm for states throughout the country who sought ways to avoid employing Black teachers. According to the 1950 U.S. Census figures, 76,390 Black teachers were employed in the 17 Southern and border states and the

³¹ The degree to which Black students were unprepared is not found in archival data. However, other archival data support the idea that Black students in Division I consistently scored lower than White students on standardized achievement examinations both before and after schools were desegregated.

District of Columbia, as compared to 316,319 White teachers. This figure equates to one Black teacher out of every five teachers. In the 31 non-segregated states, there were 10,248 Black teachers on district rosters, as compared with 722,487 White teachers. That figure is a ratio of one Black teacher for every 73 teachers (Deane, 1956). The Washington Daily News reported the results of a study conducted in 1954 (Cooke, 1954) where superintendents in cities that employed only a few Black teachers revealed that they would employ more of them if they could find "THE RIGHT TYPE" ("Integration Poses Teacher Hiring Problem Nationally", 1954). This type, in many school systems referred to Black teachers who met higher educational standards than those required of White teachers. For example, in Lorraine, Ohio in 1954, a Black teacher was required to have a master's degree in order to teach; this was not required of White teachers. In addition, Cooke (1954) reported that the willingness to hire Black teachers was positively correlated with the number of Black students in the system. While the DCPS had more Black than White teachers on its roster in 1954, archival data reveal that it was not necessarily the district's preference.

The Supreme Court had decreed that any palpable inequality in the selection of the number of Black teachers as compared to Whites would be considered discrimination if it could be proven that Black teachers who were well qualified to teach were not given the jobs they deserved. And as evidenced in the content of Chapter Four of this study, Black teachers in the DCPS were well-qualified for teaching positions. But what might happen if Black began drastically outnumbering White teachers? It is unlikely that the Supreme Court had concerns about such a scenario, but still, the thought was worth

considering, as such a configuration would become a reality in the DCPS. If the DCPS was indeed a system focused on inputs (by way of teacher qualifications) to determine quality and merit, then as of 1954, Black teachers were at the head of the class.

Areas in Need of Improvement

Following the groundbreaking story in *U.S. News and World Report* (1955) about the meager post-desegregation conditions in the DCPS in terms of student performance and teacher quality, the DCPS received a degree of scrutiny that required an internal look at the situation. The shortcomings of the District were on full display. The DCPS, likely embarrassed and responding to mounting pressure to face the "facts" about desegregation and acknowledge the school district's perceived shortcomings, set out to defining the problems, and subsequently create solutions to the problems. Two areas most in need of improvement, according to snapshots of public opinion, were student performance and the quality of Black teachers.

Student performance. Student performance was not a high point in the school district's desegregation story. In the 1955-1956 school year for example, of 4,155 tenth grade pupils enrolled in the system, 1,004 of them had reached only a sixth grade or below level in Reading; 1,798 had reached only a sixth grade or below level in Arithmetic (Hansen, 1960; McKelway, 1957). Interestingly, the school authorities in the DCPS refused to break down the figures between White and Black children. However, according to the *Evening Star*, "such a breakdown was unnecessary to form the proper conclusion" (McKelway, 1957). According to the news outlet, it was clear that Black students were the failing students—stated as fact even without formal data at that time to

support such a conclusion. Research from Diner (1997), indicates that students in Division II schools indeed had a history of scoring lower on standardized achievement tests than did students in Division I. Those results, however, had not previously been public knowledge. Prior to the desegregation of schools, there was not such weight placed on standardized achievement examinations—locally or nationally. According to Superintendent Corning, the very first uniform citywide achievement tests were not given to students until after school desegregation. As such, according to Corning, there was no accurate way of comparing the achievement results of Black and White students (McKelway, 1957).

Black Teachers and Quality. The U.S. News and World Report piece noted that according to district officials, Black teachers were a primary factor in students' low performance. In public comment published in the *Washington Post*, one community member stressed that teachers should "face and fess up to the lower performance of Negro pupils forthrightly" (Norfolk Journal & Guide, 1956), for they would be the ones who would have to fix it. According to the Evening Star, both Black and White teachers admitted "a lowering of standards" and that the "White children are being pulled down to the intelligence level of the Negroes" ("D.C. Integration Truths Hidden Eastland Charges", 1956). Dr. Irene Hypps, Black educator in 1957, attributed the performance of Black students to inferior school facilities, economic, and social handicaps. Concurring with Hypps's appraisal and offering another lens through which to view the issue—one that elevated the social benefits of integration over the academic losses that occurred, one Black principal stated, "I wonder if it isn't more important to American cultural progress

to sacrifice scholastic standards for the additional value of both groups sharing the experience of living together” (“D.C. Integration Truths Hidden, Eastland Charges”, 1956). In direct challenge to this lens, Senator Eastland, a Democrat lawmaker from Mississippi stated that “the lives of America’s White students should not equate to a sacrifice for the sake of a social experiment. Placing them in the hands of a district that has so many Negroes (students and teachers) would as such, be socially and civically irresponsible” (“D.C. Integration Truths Hidden, Eastland Charges”, 1956).

A Balanced Approach. Who then was responsible for these perceived shortcomings of student performance? Or better yet, who might serve as an easy target to take the blame for the shortcomings of students? Superintendent Corning did not intend to allow all DCPS teachers to take the blame so easily. He initially defended the district teachers stating that teachers (as a whole) had done “a good job” (McKelway, 1957) in meeting the challenges of school desegregation. He noted that also that the job of teaching was “tougher, more demanding in a recently integrated environment” (McKelway, 1957), stressing that it was too early to tell the reasons for students’ academic shortcomings. He encouraged the public to look instead at most immediate and probable causes of any achievement issues: social integration that required adjustment and perhaps the need for special, remedial classes for students having trouble meeting academic standards, and perhaps more teachers to support smaller class sizes. His sentiments, however, were short-lived and over the course of one year, his rhetoric in support of the district's teachers would take a sharp turn.

A Master Plan for Improving Teacher Quality

Upon announcing his retirement later that year, Dr. Corning expressed that the District had finally settled into a groove with “integration”. In fact, he called the 1957-58 school year the “best since the start of integration in the District” (McKelway, 1957) and stated that the school district was starting to resemble a community of “little red schoolhouses” (McKelway, 1957). Optimistic about the future of the DCPS, Superintendent Corning announced his resignation from the school district, leaving it in the capable hands of Dr. Carl Hansen, who had served as the Assistant Superintendent of Education for the DCPS in years past. For all his previous support of teachers, Dr. Corning, in his closing address, backtracked on his parting recommendations to the continued improvement of the school system—nearly all of which hinged upon the quality of the district's teachers. Corning noted four areas that he believed the school district must focus on to ensure continued progress. Those areas included: smaller class sizes, better teachers, more testing, and a racially balanced teacher workforce (McKelway, 1957).

Smaller class sizes. With teachers in mind, Dr. Corning admitted that schools in DCPS must emphasize smaller class sizes. Acknowledging the challenges associated with teaching in a crowded classroom, Corning confessed that if there are too many students in a room, it could be challenging for a teacher to help students reach their full potential (McKelway, 1957). According to Corning, since smaller class sizes may not always be possible, then it would behoove the district to make sure that “better” teachers are in the classroom so that students have the best chance to succeed.

More Testing. According to Superintendent Corning, additional achievement tests will "give the District an indication of who the good teachers are" (McKelway, 1957). More specifically, Corning states that "testing will bring into sharp focus a child's needs and the teacher's inadequacies". This was the first time that Corning publicly stated that student performance reflected a teacher's ability, or in this case, a teachers inability. In other words, according to Corning, a student's performance on a standardized achievement exam was reflective of what a teacher had or had not done. As mentioned at the top of this chapter, this was a new trend in education as teachers had been assessed based on the effort and energies that put into educating students rather than the outcomes (or lack thereof) as evidenced by achievement scores. Corning also noted in his address that the results of the test should be made public, but "not so public that the reputation of a school or a child is injured" (McKelway, 1957); Corning made no mention of possible injury to a teacher's reputation.

Better Teachers. Corning emphasized to the press the role of the teacher, stating: "the role of the teacher is to receive children where they are and advance them just as far as possible so every child could get the most complete, educational experience he is capable of absorbing" (McKelway, 1957). This definition implies that teachers are to do their best to help students learn as much "as possible". This definition makes no mention of a standardized version of student performance or a benchmark by which all students should be measured. In likely anticipation of backlash from this glaring inconsistency, Corning adds, "the District will know that teachers are the right teachers when student performance on achievement examinations go up", after all the "merger brought to light

numerous inadequate teachers, but also a few excellent ones" (McKelway, 1957). Who were the "numerous" inadequate teachers? The "few excellent" teachers? By what standards did Corning measure the teacher workforce? In 1952-1954, teachers in the DCPS were measured according to their qualifications and to their status as permanent or temporary teachers. At this juncture however, due largely to the public backlash related to student performance on achievement tests, the preference had shifted and teacher qualifications seemed less than a teacher's practice, that is, the teachers ability to move students from one level of achievement, that is, to the level achievement that corresponds with the student's grade. In response to this perceived shortcoming, the school district began to scrutinize teacher candidates' performance in college, closely considering measures such as grades, grade point averages, and class performance in the qualifications of teacher candidates. They reasoned that if teachers had better metrics in these areas, then it might guarantee better results for students as measured by standardized achievement examinations (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1958).

Racially balanced teaching staff. In his final parting words to the District, Superintendent Corning summed up his recommendations by stating that the teacher workforce in the DCPS should be racially balanced: half White teachers and half Black teachers (McKelway, 1957). Worthy of note is that this stated preference indicated no special preference for a teacher's qualifications, experience, merit, or ability—all in direct contradiction of the district's original rhetoric (in the immediate aftermath of school desegregation) stating its intention to hire teachers "solely upon the basis of merit"

(Report of the District Of Columbia, 1954). Corning indicated that he was “disturbed over trends which indicate more colored than white teachers are expected to teach in District schools” (McKelway, 1957). Why was Corning disturbed? Furthermore, if teachers were hired based on merit, why then was racial balance so critical to the school system, particularly when the racial composition of the student body was predominately Black? Urban areas such as Philadelphia and Chicago had noted efforts to match the racial composition of the teacher corps with the racial composition of the student body (Foster, 1997), particularly considering the tensions associated with school desegregation (Cooke, 1957). Why then, was a predominately Black teacher workforce an issue for Corning?

When asked by an inquiring reporter why the teacher workforce in the DCPS should be racially balanced, Corning responded, "[Because] I am convinced now more than ever, that District schools need the best teachers available". This statement indicates that Superintendent Corning was not satisfied with the teachers corps in the DCPS, and a primary way to solve the problem would be to invite more White teachers into the corps. Here, Corning makes a direct link between quality and race.

White Teachers. Adding kindling to the fire of dissatisfaction with its teachers, the District Teachers College (the result of the merger between Wilson and Miner Teachers College) almost lost its accreditation during the 1957—1958 school year. Dr. Walter B. Hager, former president of Wilson Teachers College, now President of the unified District of Columbia Teachers College, however, shined a bright light on the school's accomplishments stating in his annual yearbook message to students, "We are

approaching the end of our second year... We are better acquainted, we enjoy relationships more, our various activities have been increasingly successful and enjoyable, and the scholastic achievement of our students is higher (Hager, 1957). The Evening Star newspaper, who published a yearly District report card, had a different view. The article stated that the teachers college was suffering for two primary reasons: 1) a dwindling enrollment, and 2) “too many Negro students” (“District Schools Had a Good Year”, 1959). The latter of which did not provide any indication that it would be dwindling soon. And why would it? Black people were playing an active role in their professional lives, thriving within the Washington, D.C. community, and becoming solid members of the middle class. The winds of change were blowing in their favor and the Black community would take full advantage of this long and hard-fought evolution. Many Blacks in the D.C. community valued and desired education and the associated benefits thereof. They were willing to make the sacrifices that would provide more stability for their families and generations to come. As teaching was one of the more accessible professions for Black people, it would stand to reason that they would flock to teachers colleges where they could receive the training to enable them to enter the teaching field, not to mention the quest for racial uplift.

DCPS officials were troubled and reiterated Superintendent Corning's position on racial balance in the teacher workforce. A representative speaking for the DCPS stated that the college, “must attract more White students, the future teachers of the system, to better balance to the racial composition of the entire teaching force” (“District Schools Had a Good Year”, 1957). It was during this period that Dr. Paul O. Carr was named the

president of the District Teachers College. Carr, like Dr. Walter Hager, was a former president of Wilson Teachers College. Carr, in his opening comments to the press committed to supporting the school district's efforts of ridding the school system of “deadwood” teachers ("District Schools Had a Good Year", 1957).

Determined to pick up where Dr. Corning left, and with an added fire to his approach as the new Superintendent of D.C. Public Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen took up the charge to turn around the DCPS and continue to improve the school system post school desegregation. He emphasized that directed effort would be required if “the Negro pupil is to assimilate the White culture system and if the White pupil is to enjoy the contributions of the Negro culture system” ("Schools Seen Drifting Back into Segregation", 1959). Worthy of note is Hansen's choice of words on the discrete roles of the Black and White students; this leader and policymaker notes that the Black student must "assimilate", while the White community merely “enjoys”. Upon one group, Black students, was the burden of metamorphosis, while the other group in contrast was entertained.

Chapter Six: Considering the Past while Planning the Future (1960-1964)

As of 1960, many public school systems in America had not desegregated. Holding to the last vestiges of segregation were the southern states of Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and Tennessee to name a few (Fairclough, 2004; Fultz, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Milner & Howard, 2004; Tillman, 2004). The *Brown* decision declared separate school inherently unequal. However, opposition to school desegregation was evidenced by White flight and other acts of resistance that resulted in school boards' refusal to necessitate the speedy and efficient racial desegregation of their schools (Pawlewicz, Horsford, & Guiden, forthcoming). This also applied to the teacher workforce in many school systems. As a result, in 1960, the nation's schools were largely populated by White teachers. The NEA, led by Lois Edinger was concerned about such numbers revealing:

Schools everywhere, but particularly those states outside the Old South, need to do a whole lot more if they are to bring their teaching staffs into racial balance. For while non-white children in 1960 made up over 14 percent of the school population, non-white teachers occupied just 8 percent of the teaching posts.

Lois Edinger, *National Education Association Newsletter*, 1964

Edinger stressed in 1964 that the NEA held the longstanding position that considerations of race should have no place in teacher hiring, and that racial

discrimination should not play a role in the composition of teaching staffs. According to Edinger, while northern schools were making strenuous efforts to hire qualified Black teachers, the supply of Black teachers was limited. Neither *Brown I* nor *II* addressed the question of teacher hiring, and it would not be addressed explicitly until 1968 in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* (1968). However, the message communicated by *Brown* and the outgrowth of policies following the *Brown* ruling implied that White teachers were fundamentally better than Black ones (Hudson and Holmes, 1994). Black educators disappeared, not because they no longer wanted to teach or because there were more appealing options elsewhere, but because of formal and informal policies that barred them from teaching within the schools (Fairclough, 2004; Fultz, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Milner & Howard, 2004; Tillman, 2004). In Washington, D.C. however, there was an abundance of Black teachers, which is one of the myriad reasons why the DCPS is a unique case study.

Black teachers accounted for the largest group of permanent teachers in the DCPS. They were also more educated than White teachers working for the school district. Black teacher candidates performed better than White candidates on the school district's official teacher certification examination (District of Columbia Public School Board, 1957). As it relates to the qualifications of faculty involved in the teacher preparation process, Miner Teachers College had higher rates of promotion than the faculty at Wilson Teachers College. Based on these indicators, Black teachers working in the DCPS as well as many Black candidates who were seeking to join the DCPS teacher corps were well-trained, well qualified, and available for work. Why then, was the DCPS

leadership so eager to bring "racial balance" to the teacher corps? This chapter argues that Dr. Carl Hansen, the superintendent of the DCPS, wanted White teachers to become the face of the school system. Built on his assumption that White teachers were of a higher caliber than Black teachers, Hansen led the DCPS in modifying local education policy by way of an increase in teacher qualification standards. In other words, Carl Hansen used his political power to infuse education policy with racial bias. Hansen reasoned that intensifying the standards for qualification would shift the racial balance of the teacher supply stream; White teacher candidates would be more likely than Black candidates to meet the upgraded teacher standards and, as such, begin their entry into the school system. This chapter documents the broadscale efforts to discredit the quality of existing Black teachers by attacking predominately Black teacher preparation institutions, particularly training institutions located in Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland. The analysis concludes with an examination of archival data in which DCPS teachers and administrators proposed changes to the function and operation of the DCPS Board of Examiners, the entity responsible for hiring teachers, in order to procure more qualified teaching staff. These various perspectives reveal that the subjective analysis of teacher quality is among the deepest divides concerning how best to attract new teachers to the school system.

Hansen Seeks to Set the Record Straight

The DCPS embarked on a campaign to demonstrate the successes of the school system over the six years since the school system had officially desegregated. The effort began with an article that was written by the DCPS superintendent, Dr. Carl Hanson, and

published by the Teachers College Record (TCR) in 1964. As noted in Chapter One of this study, the DCPS was among the educational vanguard in the desegregation of schools, having voluntarily served as the proverbial guinea pigs of school desegregation by altering education policies related to school segregation within weeks of the *Brown* ruling, and effectively combining Divisions I and II in preparation for a desegregated student body only four months later. By 1960, the school district, led by Dr. Carl Hansen, was eager to assuage any lingering concerns about the condition of the DCPS school district and the quality of its' teachers. The school district had been the subject of attention, study, and scrutiny since 1954—its' successes and missteps playing out on the public stage. With the TCR article, Hansen sought to share with a professional audience the lessons learned during the school desegregation journey, convincing them that the DCPS was on the right track. In the piece, Hansen sought to describe the good, bad, and ugly sides of the desegregation process in Washington, D.C as well as the school district's plans for future progress. As the leader of the first public school district to dive headfirst into desegregation, Hansen was a logical representative to provide such insights. While Hansen's article addressed myriad elements of schooling in Washington, D.C that provide a useful context for better understanding the challenges of the school system, for the purposes of this study, only the sections pertaining to teacher quality, teacher qualifications, and teacher hiring will be highlighted as they reveal Dr. Hansen's preference for hiring White teachers and his opinion that White teachers were the right type of teachers for the school system.

Teacher Quality Problems. At the beginning of Dr. Hansen's article on the status of the DCPS system six years after desegregation, he stressed that he would not attempt "to cover up, to distort findings, or to gloss over problems..." (p.27) and emphasized that the school district had "tried to work for the best of children generally, not white children or Negro children" (p. 27). Still, he stated that the most significant challenge facing the school district was its meager supply of qualified teachers. According to Hansen, teacher supply was a basic key to a good education and unfortunately, he surmised, it was "an area in which the DCPS received low marks" (p.33). Hansen revealed that the school system employed an exorbitant number of temporary teachers. In fact, the number of temporary teachers working in the school district had increased from 579 in 1955 to 1,250 in 1960 (Hansen, 1960). This increase, according to Hansen, was due partially to the ever-increasing numbers of students entering the school system. It also, Hansen posited, stemmed from the fact that only one in four teacher applicants between the years of 1959 and 1960 had been able to successfully pass the new school district qualifying examination. This meant that the vast majority of new teachers being hired were employed under temporary status. As revealed in Chapter Four of this study, the DCPS did not originally associate large numbers of temporary teachers with inadequate teacher quality when it operated within a segregated structure, and when Division I employed over three times the number of temporary teachers as Division II. As a proposed solution to the purported dearth of qualified, teachers, Hansen stated, "We have a dire need for qualified white teachers" (Hansen,1960, p. 27).

The DCPS began requiring teacher candidates to successfully pass the National Teachers Examination (NTE) in 1959. The NTE represented to many, a rigorous standard for entry into the teaching profession. Hansen marked the use of this examination as proof that DCPS required “high standards” (p.33) of its teachers. Hansen concluded his explanation on teacher supply and quality with the following lament: “the overriding fact is that it is difficult to find white teachers psychologically prepared to work in predominately Negro schools” (p.33). By this statement, as well as this sequence of statements, Hansen linked teacher supply with teacher qualifications. Then, he linked teacher qualifications with teacher quality. And finally, he linked teacher quality to teacher race. In other words, Dr. Hansen, defined the teacher supply problem as a teacher race problem when he posited that the lack of White teachers in the system was at the root of the teacher quality problem. To solve the teacher quality problem in the DCPS, according to Hansen, hiring White teachers was essential. Here, Hansen linked teacher qualifications (or the ability of a teacher to meet the guidelines outlined by a school system) with teacher quality. In other words, if a teacher candidate could pass the NTE (the official qualifying benchmark), then he or she was obviously a better teacher.

Race and Problem Definition

Problem definition theory is built on the premise that a given set of conditions or circumstances that are judged as undesirable are not, in and of themselves, 'the' problem (Dery, 1984); they are simply facts. It is the way in which one views the facts and then attempts to find a way out of the circumstance that reveals what one perceives to be the 'problem'. This study does not argue that the DCPS had a teacher supply problem.

Archival data and U.S. census reveal that the population of Washington, D.C. and its' public school system were growing year after year. As such, increasing the supply of teachers in order to match the growing population of students is one reasonable solution to a basic set of facts. While there likely existed various viewpoints concerning the teacher supply issue in the DCPS, Dr. Hansen, however, turned a teacher supply problem into a racial issue by concocting a racially driven solution to what he perceived to be a teacher supply, and ultimately a teacher quality problem; a solution that reflected his subjective opinions about race and quality and as such, manifested into district policy. In other words, the racialized manner in which Hansen perceived and formulated the school district's teacher quality problem affected the range and kinds of solutions he proposed for mitigating the issue and the likelihood that race-based solutions would be chosen over other more equitable options.

Hansen used his political power to infuse education policy with racial bias. Hansen's political position within the DCPS bureaucratic structure and the ways in which he wielded that power—as evidenced by shifting teacher qualification standards that were rooted in racialized ideals, As such, Black teacher candidates sought employment within an educational power structure that minimized their potential contributions due to their race, while White teacher candidates would be more likely to have their contributions celebrated as a fortunate byproduct of their race.. Critical race theory explores issues through the lenses of power and race. In this struggle over teacher race and teacher quality, the DCPS, particularly Dr. Carl Hansen, acted as a force to oppress the livelihoods of marginalized persons, namely Black teachers in the DCPS.

Comparing Teachers in the District of Columbia, Virginia, and Maryland

The District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia, specifically Northern Virginia have long been identified as one cohesive unit, a megalopolis—a large and densely populated group of areas that make up an urban complex. While each area has features that make it unique and thus, different from the others, the three areas tend to be the subject of comparison and contrast. This was no different in 1960. In a report dated March 20, 1963, Robert F. Williams, who conducted a study on the training of White and Black teachers in Virginia, revealed that Black teachers in Virginia were better trained than White teachers as evidenced both by the amount of training Black teachers received as well as the types of credentials they held. According to the study (1963), Black teachers had earned many more bachelor's degrees and advanced degrees than White teachers in Virginia. The report seemed to confirm that the Black teachers in the DCPS were neither a fluke nor an anomaly, but in fact a part of a regional cohort of well-trained Black teachers. The study did not make a distinction between the purported quality of the teacher training nor the training institutions that issued the degrees. However, an official working for the Baltimore Public Schools, had done so in a separate publication a few years prior. In the article (1961), Dr. Houston Jackson provided commentary about Black teachers which challenged the quality of predominately Black teachers colleges, labeling them "bastions of inferiority" (1961) that churned out inferior teachers which resulted in a poor quality of Black teachers working in the local school system.

Critiquing Black Teachers Colleges. In 1961, a series of newspaper articles that questioned the quality of Black teachers (e.g. "High Quality Cited in Integrated School",

1960; "Study Finds Negro Teachers Better Trained than Whites", 1963) began circulating throughout the country. The articles, replete with firsthand narratives about Black teachers and their work, doubled-down on the narrative that originated with the *U.S. News and World Report* piece from 1955—Black teachers, serving under meager conditions (in terms of resources and facilities), did not have the resources or wherewithal to teach, truly teach, students in a way that would ensure that they could be academically on par with White students of the same age and grade. As such, they were ill-equipped to teach White students in integrated schools and work alongside White teachers. Some enhanced this narrative by adding that some authors expressed that the education that many Black teachers received at predominately Black colleges and training institutions was inferior—producing and resulting in an inferior teacher. The Southern Educational Reporting Service (SERC), concurred with this appraisal. According to the SERC, Black teachers colleges were subpar and as a result, created subpar teachers. While this study does not contain archival data that links such theories to the DCPS, it is worthy of note that in 1958, the District Teachers College (the desegregated merger of Miner and Wilson Teachers Colleges) was under the threat of losing accreditation. The reasons for such are undocumented in the archival data explored for this study. In 1961, while the college was still accredited, it continued to encounter its share of negative press. This reputation reflected a growing sentiment about predominately Black teacher colleges in the area, revealing a wrinkle in the narrative of the excellence of Black institutions.

Critiquing Black Teachers. Dr. Houston Jackson, a school official in Baltimore, MD (an area with demographics that in 1961 were comparable to those of Washington, D.C.) took pointed aim at historically Black teacher training institutions and held them responsible for what he perceived to be the inferior quality of Black teachers. According to the archival data presented in this study, the quality of Black teacher applicants was consistently higher than that of White applicants when measured by the guidelines and qualifications, particularly in the DCPS. At no point during the research process did the archival data suggest that White teachers outperformed Black teachers. Perhaps if it had, it might serve as some demarcation in which White teachers (as a whole) had earned their stellar reputation and as such, would be highly desired by local school districts. This, however, was not the case.

Dr. Houston R. Jackson shared his expert opinion in on why the quality of Black teachers in the predominately Black schools in Baltimore were inferior to that of White teachers. He labeled it a "tragic cycle" in which the following events occurred: first, "experienced and ambitious" Black teachers sought transfers to schools with integrated students and faculty. They decided to do so because they did not want the stress that they believed was associated with teaching in a predominately Black environment. Next, he surmised, White teachers would not seek employment in schools with predominately Black students. Therefore, the new teachers who were hired to work in the schools, including those who would serve as substitute teachers, represented the remnants of the pool of Black teachers who were neither experienced nor ambitious. This pool of less-desirable teachers would teach in predominately Black school districts. A natural

outgrowth of such, the learning and academic performance of students would suffer, and student performance, particularly as evidenced by standardized achievement examinations, would be below standard because the teachers were below standard. Unfortunately, Jackson predicted, some students in the schools would ultimately decide to become teachers and enter the meager Black teacher training institutions. Students would likely have a subpar educational experience and therefore, learn to be meager teachers, continuing the tragic cycle, essentially, damaging the school system, ensuring that the students most in need of, “qualified, experienced, inspiring teachers” (Nordlinger, 1961, p. 38) would not receive them.

Analyzing the Cycle of Inferiority. Jackson's definition of the problem with the quality of Black teachers in the Baltimore school system relies upon a set of data that are circumstantial and thus, could be triangulated and analyzed in a way that brings to bear a different definition of the problem in Baltimore schools. That is, the way in which Jackson perceived, outlined, defined, and attempted to solve the alleged teacher quality problem was a function of what he perceived to be the symptoms, causes, and consequences of the issue. In consideration of such, there are critical flaws in Jackson's logic that conflict with the known data from the period under study. First, Jackson acknowledged that there were “experienced, ambitious Black teachers”, which undermines his initial premise that training institutions for Black students were inferior and churned out weak teachers. It is highly probable that these experienced and ambitious Black teachers were trained in predominately Black institutions, as were most Black teachers both prior to and following desegregation. D.C. Teachers College, though

desegregated, was a prime example of such. Next, many school systems (particularly those located in the D.C. suburbs), avoided hiring Black teachers in the immediate post-desegregation era, as noted in the data presented in Chapter Five of this study. Therefore, it was unlikely that all the experienced and well-regarded Black teachers departed from the predominately Black school districts. Jackson's perspective painted Black teachers during the civil rights era as individuals who sought comfort first and foremost, willingly leaving behind those most in need. Third, this premise contradicts the fact that many accomplished Black teachers sought to improve the conditions and the plight of predominately Black schools and their communities—first and foremost (Walker, 1996; Foster, 1997); shunning the purported ease of a desegregated environment. It was more likely that these teachers would experience brutal racial discrimination and professional disharmony in communities where their presence was not welcome. Jackson concluded his analysis by stating that if school districts would require teacher candidates to take and pass the National Teachers Examination, then districts would be assured that they were hiring “high quality teachers”. Jackson's overall analysis of the state of affairs in Baltimore schools represented yet another example of a school official, linking teacher qualifications with teacher quality, and subsequently teacher quality with race.

Archival data presented throughout this study reveal that displays of racism were at times the result of an overt and at other times covert—whether consciously or subconsciously. It is the role of the historian to interpret the documents in conjunction and triangulation with other data sources resulting in an archival data-driven narrative. What is clear from the messages of two different DCPS superintendents between the

years 1952 and 1964 is that while there is no documentation that reveals that district officials had concerns about teacher quality in terms of student performance before schools were desegregated. Over time however, as the public watched and the teacher corps grew more Black in its composition, officials began linking the quality of teachers and teacher candidates with race. Dr. Hansen, in particular, expressed the school district's desire for additional White teachers to address the needs of the growing numbers of students and to mitigate issues with students' comparatively meager results on standardized achievement examinations. Absent, however, in nearly every narrative about the quality of teachers during this period, was the presence of specific, certifiable data about the perceived stellar quality of White teachers. Newspapers and other public outlets remained relatively eerily silent on White teachers. In contrast, the public was inundated with commentary about Black teachers and Black students. What made White teachers and teacher candidates so exceptional?

Modifying Teacher Qualifications in the District of Columbia Public Schools

Unable to shift the demographic composition of its workforce by way of hiring enough White teachers to balance the racial scales in DCPS, the District took its' search internal in 1963, and surveyed DCPS teachers and administrators to capture their opinions about the District's recruitment, hiring, and qualification procedures in an effort to capture their insights about how to improve the quality of the teachers entering the system. The results reflected a compilation of the thoughts of approximately 5,300 school officers and teachers. The purpose, according to district staff, was to learn from the very teachers what they felt might enhance the quality of the teachers in DCPS. While the

results of the survey were vast, a few specific notes encapsulated the perceptions and recommendations regarding teacher recruitment, hiring, and qualification procedures.

The Role of the Board of Examiners. As revealed in Chapter Five of this study, the role of the DCPS Board of Examiners in 1964 was to administer teacher examinations and ensure that teacher candidates who would be employed by the DCPS met all the requirements as outlined in DCPS policy. One survey question asked whether responders believed that the Board of Examiners was outdated (p.9). Responses were divided. The written responses of those who answered 'yes' revealed a deep concern about the Board's ability to fairly ascertain and judge the quality of an applicant. One individual responded, "A less subjective method should be utilized by the Board" (p. 10). Another responded, "Not all who can pass written examinations are creditable personalities" (p. 10). A third person noted, " The principle [sic] objection registered to its present operation is inconsistency in credential examinations." While it is not clear what operations of the Board were inconsistent, it nonetheless gives voice to concerns about the ability of the Board to provide objective appraisals of teacher candidates. These responses also indicate that while the tests administered by the Board of Examiners may have been useful to determine whether applicants had mastered the required written and oral content matter, the results of the exams did not reflect the sum total of a teacher applicant, nor did they necessarily predict whether the candidate was a high quality choice. One response summed up this concern by expressing, "In its' present function, it is too subjective, and this draws upon itself much adverse criticism. The human decision at its' best is faulty and when it is not consistent, then it becomes suspect" (p. 10).

Of those individuals who expressed support for the Board of Examiners in its' present state at the time, responses included, "The Board of Examiners should be retained, and its standards should remain high" (p.11), and The Board of Examiners is important because of the need to evaluate personal characteristics which paper credentials do not do, e.g. speech (p.11). Here, the respondents express primarily that the standards as prescribed by the Board should remain intact, especially those elements related to high standards in attitude, appearance, and speech—each of which is subjective in nature and invites the potential for bias. These preferences are in direct opposition to those voices of teachers who expressed concern that the Board of Examiners was too subjective in nature, which is a consistent message in this study. That is, subjective notions of quality served as a way to shutter otherwise qualified teacher candidates from being hired by the school system. Finally, when asked whether the examination system was a hindrance to securing teachers, respondents who answered in the affirmative also added, "Examinations do not measure an individual's ability to teach" (p. 10), and "Many fine teachers are classified as "Temporary" because they are unable to pass the examination" (p. 16), and still another expressed,

A true profession cannot exist without a licensure examination of some type for entrance into the profession. There must be some means of assurance that only qualified practitioners enter a profession. College training of teachers varies too widely in quality to rely upon only the acceptable completion of teacher education course as a means of teacher certification.

DCPS Office of the Statistician, p.17

Subjectivity in Teacher Selection. According to more than one respondent, the National Teachers Examination was the best method by which to weed out weak teacher candidates, "Objective examination is one of the most reliable forms for selecting teachers. The National Teachers Examination meets the need" (p.17). The National Teachers Exam clearly represented a sore spot in the story of teacher quality in the DCPS, particularly since multiple teacher candidates had trouble receiving a passing score on the exam, as reported by Carl Hansen in 1960. These data reveal that teachers and administrators, while having mixed feelings about the recruitment and hiring process, were clear that the need for change was critical—and the changes dealt primarily with the bureaucratic decision-making processes that served to either exclude or include teacher candidates based on initial, subjective perceptions of the candidate. Because the survey responses were not disaggregated by the race, it is unknown whether complaints of excessive subjectivity in the hiring process were generated primarily by Black teachers and administrators. Comments do, however, provide an indication that the first order of business in improving teacher quality in DCPS, according to the teachers, had much to do with maintaining professional standards.

A Time for Change

To provide a more transparent view of the quality of teachers entering the system, the Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Personnel presented a memo to the Superintendent of Schools outlining the 'Characteristics of Newly Appointed Teachers'. After receiving detailed data from the Office of the Statistician, the DCPS school board in 1964, applied specific changes (in response to the results of the teacher survey) to the bureaucratic

structure by which the school system hired teachers. The report represented an effort on the part of the DCPS to better specify the preferred traits and qualifications for earning a teaching position with the school district. The memo revealed that new hires to the district would be rated on the following characteristics:

- College degree
- Amount of teaching experience
- College grade point average
- State of birth

A most significant change was that the school district began considering prior experience as a category by which to judge the potential quality of a teacher applicant. The purpose of this change represented an effort to balance teacher qualifications with proven teacher practice. As outlined in the original policy guidelines as defined by the Office of Professional Development, race, as of 1954, could no longer serve as a tangible, recorded factor in employment decisions. Therefore, race, as a category, was not mentioned in the report and as such, was neither a factor nor a consideration in the District's analysis. During the 1963-64 academic year, the DCPS hired 311 new teachers. About half of the group was not experienced in teaching, but over one-third of the teachers had a full year or more of teaching experience. The years of experience ranged from one year to 16 years. Seven percent of the new teachers had between six and 10 years of teaching experience. Included in the group without experience were 21 D.C. Teachers College graduates who completed their last weeks of student teaching on the job, under the supervision of DCPS master teachers (District of Columbia Public Schools,

1964). One new hire held a doctoral degree, 26 new hires held master's degrees, while most of the newly hired teachers held a bachelor's degree. Two new hires had no degree at all. No explanation for this fact was provided. Of all 311 new hires, only 9 earned an A average in undergraduate school, while 43% earned a B or B+ average. Over half of the candidates earned a C or C+ average in undergraduate school. And finally, of the nine plus states from which the teachers originated, approximately 30% were born in the District of Columbia (49), Maryland (11), or Virginia (36). The other teachers were born in North Carolina (45), South Carolina (30), New York (19), Pennsylvania (11), Alabama (9), West Virginia (9), and "all others"³² (92). The district concluded that from this "rigorous review of candidates" (p.3), they had eliminated substandard candidates and thus were optimistic about the abilities of the teachers to meet the high performance standards of the school system. They concluded the report by congratulating the staff personnel who screened and selected the new teachers.

In the coming years, the District's efforts at parity by way of emphasis on professionalism and teacher experience would be redirected through the adoption of federal initiated education initiatives such as the National Teachers Corps (NTC). The NTC, created in 1965 as one of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society³³ objectives, was based on two crucial assumptions: first, that teaching poor children in urban settings required a simple, yet specific skill set and next, that traditional teacher preparation programs were not providing adequate training in these particular skills (Eckert, 2011). Many of the

³² The report does not list "all other" states.

³³ The Great Society was a collection of domestic programs that represented President Lyndon B. Johnson's domestic agenda to eliminate poverty and racial injustice (Caves, 2004).

NTC participants had been helpers in the Vista and Peace Corps programs. While they had been involved in outreach missions in third-world communities, they lacked formal training in teaching (Rogers, 2009).

According to a report written on the Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching, the DCPS program that operated through the NTC (1964), recruits from the NTC were ideal candidates to improve the quality of schools in slum areas by way of their unique qualifications—"energetic, intelligent, sensitive" and "in their twenties" (p.4) with degrees from top-tier schools, excellent grade point averages, and no teaching experience—teachers who would work on a temporary appointment basis. After all, they reasoned, traditional teachers were "overworked and don't have the time to explain the theory" (p.64) behind their teaching practices. The new and younger individuals would use their intelligence and skill of observation to mimic the techniques of the experienced teachers. According to this model of teacher candidacy and recruitment, the fewer experiences the teacher had, the better. This ideology represented a stark departure from the traditional 4-year training approach, which was founded on the cornerstone of stringent testing and licensure requirements. At the prospect of what America's brightest and best, who were very often White candidates (Rogers, 2009) might offer urban school systems, officials were willing to disregard relatively recently implemented teacher qualification policies and practices if it meant that they might acquire the types of teachers they had sought all along. And in 1968, the DCPS approved a moratorium on the use of the NTE and other written exams for those applying for teaching positions, proving the very principles embodied by Critical Race

Theory; that individuals in power had the authority to create, destroy, dismantle, or reinforce education policies that limited the potential for marginalized groups to enter the teaching field. The DCPS arguably chose the latter.

Chapter Seven: Epilogue, Summary, Contributions and Directions for Future Research

There has been a longstanding concern and interest in teacher quality since the mid-19th century. And while the criteria for judging the quality of a teacher has shifted across time and place, in the DCPS between the years of 1952 and 1964, quality concerns became a tool of white supremacy to drive Black teachers out of the classroom. This study documents the origins of contemporary education policy in the lives of Black teachers, especially in Washington, D.C. Archival data reveal that district recruitment and hiring processes were influenced by judgments about the perceived quality of teaching candidates as defined by the candidate's race. To enhance the quality of teachers working in the school system following school desegregation, the DCPS not only intensified teaching qualification requirements,³⁴ but did so in hopes that more White applicants would qualify for the teaching jobs, effectively stunting the influx of more Black teachers. District education officials sought ways to attract more White teachers to the system under the belief that White teachers were better—better educated, better trained, and thus, better qualified than Black teachers to restore the flailing reputation of the urban school district. The primary method used to attract more White teachers was to

³⁴ This research does not intend to suggest that increasing standards or qualifications equates to racism. Research indicates that professional development is an essential component in the growth of a profession in an ever evolving society and world. In this case, the researcher notes that archival data reveals that in the DCPS, the link between race and increasing standards or qualifications revealed efforts to create pathways for one racial group while intentionally blocking other groups.

narrow the route by which Black teacher candidates might gain access to the school system. In the case of DCPS, the methods included: 1) declaring the need for "racial balance" over merit in hopes of attracting more White teachers to the system; 2) incrementally intensifying the entry requirements in anticipation that Black teachers might not meet them, and 3) disparaging the avenues through which Black teachers gained access to the school system. This final chapter summarizes the study findings and identifies ways in which this history of Black teachers and quality can help frame present-day discussions on both diversifying the educator workforce and teacher quality. The chapter also provides possibilities for future research that could expand traditional understandings of the professionalization of teaching as it relates to race.

Summary

The research question that guided this study was:

1. To what extent did race influence teacher quality education policies, especially those policies related to recruitment and hiring, in the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS) immediately before and following the desegregation of the school district?

To answer this question, I employed historical methods by analyzing documentary sources from archival holdings. These documents included published and unpublished manuals and handbooks, DCPS board meeting notes, DCPS board meeting minutes, DCPS statistical summaries, newspaper archives, federal and local legislation, and reports commissioned by the DCPS. The research question was addressed in three

chapters of findings (Chapters Four, Five, and Six), the present and potential future implications of which follow.

This dissertation presented four primary findings which address the research question; first, as early as 1952, concerns about the quality of classroom teachers were virtually nonexistent, as evidenced by district officials' intention to offer fulltime (and in some cases unpaid) teaching positions to individuals without college degrees or teaching experience—in direct violation of the preferred hiring policies and practices of the period—to mitigate a teacher shortage; second, once issues of teacher quality became a point of scrutiny for the school district (following the desegregation of schools), officials at the DCPS began to use teacher qualifications as a primary determinant of teacher quality; third, because officials at the DCPS conflated teacher qualifications with teacher quality, their modus operandi for securing better teachers, was to intensify teacher qualification requirements to procure "better" teachers; and finally, there are documented cases in which school district officials used the term "better" (as in better teachers) both overtly and inadvertently as code for "White" teachers, whom officials hypothesized was the best way to advance student learning and restore the reputation of the school system.

Contributions

In 1955, judgments of student performance by way of standardized achievement examinations initiated the battle cry that informed vast judgments of the quality of a school system and the quality of its teachers. Before that time, schools and teachers were judged by inputs, that is by the investments they made into a system or a classroom of students by way of materials, resources, effort, and the like. While students in segregated

schools were administered standardized examinations, archival data from this study reveal that student achievement as defined by standardized test scores emerged as a new way of measuring student performance and teacher quality. In the District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), it served to make Black teachers the scapegoat for the systemic failures of the school district; Black teachers perceived to be inadequate were the reason for poor student achievement. The argument for placing the blame for poor student performance on teachers began nearly 65 years ago, and arguably continues into the present day.

Today, to ensure that taxpayers are getting their money's worth and that students are receiving the best education possible, departments of education develop sophisticated mechanisms by which to ascertain the quality of a teacher. In fact, the U.S. Department of Education holds that teacher quality is a result of teacher qualifications, and as such informs student performance. In fact, the Department holds states and districts accountable for improving teacher quality by way of teacher qualifications, under the assumption that doing so will improve students' achievement test results. The Department mandates that state education agencies and local school districts make pointed benchmarks related to student achievement. Additionally, in order to enter and remain in the profession in the present day, one must reach and maintain *Highly Qualified* status in order to secure their permanent teaching positions. A *Highly Qualified* teacher is one with full teacher certification, at least a bachelor's degree and demonstrated competence in subject knowledge and teaching (U.S. Department of Education, 2020). Each state that receives federal funds is required to develop a plan to ensure that all teachers of core

academic subjects are highly qualified. The state plans must establish annual, measurable objectives for each local school district and school to ensure that they meet the "highly qualified" requirement (United States Department of Education, 2020). Reaching this benchmark supposedly provides an assurance that a teacher meets the quality standard. Parents of students in Title I ³⁵schools, specifically, are guaranteed annual notification of their "right to know" about teacher qualifications by their school district. That means parents may request and receive notification regarding the professional qualifications of the student's classroom teachers, including: (a) whether the teacher is state-certified; (b) whether a teacher is teaching under emergency or other provisional status; and (c) the baccalaureate degree major of the teacher and any other graduate degree major or certification (United States Department of Education, 2020). Colleges of education and other teacher preparation mechanisms, too, operate under the auspice that quality is a universal and standard trait that is readily identifiable because the indicators of quality have been become more standardized and regulated. The definitions and ideologies upon which teacher quality is built all hinge one upon another and form the basis from which teachers are prepared, recruited, and hired. This was no different in 1952.

According to the analysis conducted in this study, race is a relevant variable in any discussion of teachers and quality. Race is embedded within the discussions, debates, decision making, and policymaking at all levels of the educational strata. Race played a role in the dwindling numbers of Black teachers in the DCPS post-1964 and it plays a

³⁵ Title One is a federal program that provides financial assistance to local school systems and schools with high percentages of poor children to support their academic achievement (Maryland Department of Education, 2020).

role in the lack of Black teachers in the present day. Researchers have cited many reasons for the current lack of Black teachers in the teacher pipeline (Goron, 1994; Irvine, 1988; Murnane et al., 1991; Torres et al, 2004). The reasons include inadequate academic preparation for college entrance and graduation (Irvine, 1988), increased opportunities for people of color to pursue careers in other fields (Gordon, 1994; Murnane et al., 1991; Shipp, 1999), and standardized testing requirements of teacher licensure (Irvine, 1988; Murnane et al., 1991). Efforts to increase the number of Black teachers serving in the U.S. is a topic of research and a concerted effort undertaken by tens of school districts. It seems now that if Black teachers are not considered traditionally qualified, they can at least be ethnically qualified to get into teaching—and the ways to enter are vast—from the traditional to nontraditional pathways.

Given the repeated intensification of educational requirements as well as the scholarship on the intentional racial biases embedded within National Teachers Examination (Baker, 1995) as a way of keeping Black teachers out of school systems post-desegregation, I fully expected to find Black teachers in DCPS shut out of the system shortly after desegregation. After all, that was the plight of many Black teachers in America. This, however, was not the case in the DCPS. And while I never located any document in the record where an official stated, "We don't want Black teachers in the system" this study presented multiple instances when school officials interjected unsolicited comments about the need for more White teachers into discussions related to teacher quality without explaining why White teachers were the paragon of teacher quality, particularly given their history in the DCPS system. While qualifications had

served as the proxy for quality, the District creatively used intensified qualifications (as evidenced by the likelihood of a race to meet those qualifications) as the new proxy for quality, but in the end of this story, it turned out that intensifying qualifications was only one side of the coin in enhancing teacher quality; when that didn't work, district officials concluded that the problem lay with the race of the candidates, and that generating more White teachers would be the way to truly enhance teacher quality and turn the district around.

A Review of the Findings

Beginning with 1952, the beginning year of this study, the DCPS used the qualifications of a teaching candidate to determine his or her quality. While the list of qualifications remained much the same throughout the period of study, the benchmark or areas of emphases underwent gradual shifts depending on variables such as public concern and national attention. In response to the way the District was perceived within educational and social spheres, as well as the District's internal perceptions of their need for growth, the benchmarks shifted. As outlined in this study, the guidelines by which teacher candidates were judged reflected steady upgrades to teacher qualifications in hopes of shifting the racial composition of the school system, which officials believed, would elevate students' academic achievement scores while restoring the reputation of the school system.

The steady intensification process consisted of the following:

- 1952-1954: Basic qualifications; Temporary or Permanent Status (no clear preference)

- 1954-1957: Teaching credential (Permanent status preferred)
- 1958-1961: Teaching credential; Permanent status preferred; high grade point average from a reputable teacher training institution
- 1961-1964: Teaching credential; Permanent status preferred; high grade point average from a reputable teacher training institution; passing score on the National Teachers Examination

In the end, these efforts to maximize the qualifications of teachers did little to curtail complaints about the perceived quality of the teachers being attracted to the DCPS, nor did they curtail the number of Black teachers within the school system. One might surmise then that not only were the Black applicants most likely to meet the prescribed benchmarks, but it is also possible that White applicants were less likely to meet the benchmarks or to decide to enter the school system as a teacher if they actually met the benchmarks, and as such, scarcely made a dent in the racial composition of the DCPS workforce.

Changing Targets. When Black teachers met the standard, the target changed, or at the very least, the method by which the target was met became scrutinized. If that was not enough, then the standard itself became scrutinized. Still, Black teachers, not accorded any favors or quotas, met the market by preparing and improving themselves to meet the standard, thus remaining most qualified for the work. In the end, DCPS and other districts throughout the nation, inspired by President Lyndon Johnson's vision of a Great Society and his offer of a fresh approach for solving the education problems throughout the country, decided to forego traditional teacher qualifications in favor fewer

qualifications. From 1964-1969, the National Teachers Corps, would find its way into Washington, D.C. Bringing teachers with no classroom experience, a few weeks' worth of teaching methodology courses, but an earnest heart and a sunny disposition to teach in the most challenging schools in Washington, D.C. More specifically, their credentials typically included:

- a temporary teaching license
- no formal teaching experience or training
- an undergraduate degree from "top" college
- volunteer work in a Third-World country

These temporary teachers would be hailed as a saving grace of the district. The Cardozo Project, named after Cardozo High School in Washington, D.C. is among the most noted locations of the Great Society initiative. The project invited White teachers into the DCPS school system, most of whom worked in the schools for two years before leaving the schools to pursue other professional opportunities. Some, however, continued teaching and earned professional teaching certificates. The program lasted for 10 years.

Opportunities for Future Research

This historical analysis of teacher quality and Black teachers in Washington, D.C. extends studies on the hiring of Black teachers post desegregation. This research, however, focuses on systemic racism in assessing the quality of the teacher candidates as evidenced by implemental shifts in teacher quality-related hiring policies. As such, the analysis reveals that racial bias played a critical role in a determination of teacher quality,

that is, under the auspice that White teachers were better teaching candidates than Black teachers.

When considering the long and hard won battles on the road to the professionalization of teaching, it becomes clear that chief among the broad aims of the professionalization movement was improving the quality of the teacher corps through formal training and credentialing, an avenue similar to that of other professions. Early education reformers held that training prospective teachers by way of normal schools would promote not only an improvement in pedagogical practices, but also a degree of consistency and standardization throughout the teaching field (Levin & Pinto, 2003). The push for teaching standards by way of certification and licensure followed (Angus, 2001; LaBue, 1960; Rotherham & Mead, 2004). Credentialing, many reasoned, would not only confirm the status of teachers as professionals, but would also result in substantial byproducts: better teachers, better schools, and better students (Blumenreich & Rogers, 2016; Labaree, 2008; Rogers, 2009); —"better" being the ubiquitous, yet nebulous benchmark for improving the American education system. Such rhetoric persists, as does the continuous intensification of traditional standards for entry into the field. Still, there are elements of teaching, as a career, that do not align with traditional notions of profession such as the limited career pathways available to teachers, the top-down bureaucratic structure of education systems, and the stratified pay structure that is, in most cases, based on the amount of time one spends in the field as opposed to a varied and merit-based structure that is observed in many professions. As such, modern-day teacher leaders, advocates, and education reformers engage in repeated debates about

teachers' work—appraisals of teachers' work, disputes on the teacher role, and the balance between teacher autonomy and the bureaucracies that employ them, to name a few. Arguably, at the heart of these debates is a desire to legitimize teaching as a profession and as such, reward teachers with the traditional benefits of professional status. Still, intensifying the qualifications for entry into teaching remains a primary tool for increasing the stature of teaching and the quality of the teacher. In fact, standards have also intensified for existing teachers—replete with federally initiated mandates that teachers become and remain "highly qualified" (United States Department of Education, 2020) throughout their tenure.

The DCPS is recognized as a trendsetter in matters of teacher quality. It made national and international acclaim when in 2009, the district chancellor, Michelle Rhee, and her team of associates developed the nation's first quantitative measurement for rating teachers' qualitative instructional effectiveness. While measuring instructional effectiveness is not the same as determining the quality of a teacher's practice within a classroom setting, it is nevertheless a tool used to measure an individual according to a set of prescribed guidelines. According to Osborne (2015), the DCPS has pursued one of the "most aggressive reform movement's efforts of any unified district" (Osborne, 2015), and Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, during a talk at Howard University concerning diversity in the teaching force, stated that, " the greatest assault in Washington, D.C. has been on teachers "mostly African American senior teachers who were fired under [former school chancellor Michelle] Rhee" (Weingarten,

2016). These experts, too, posit that race is baked into perceptions of teacher quality, subsequently manifesting as guidelines, "standards", and requirements.

Today, the DCPS website states that the DCPS seeks to be a "leader in teacher quality and support" (Office of the Superintendent of Education, 2020) so that all students have access to "high-quality" instruction. As such, one can reasonably surmise that the school district's standards for teacher certification and licensure serve as a clear representation of such a goal. Today, the minimum qualifications for candidates seeking a certified and licensed teaching position in the DCPS through the traditional route include: a bachelor's degree in the subject being taught, passing scores on an approved basic skills, subject content, and pedagogy exam, and a valid teaching credential administered by the Office of the State Superintendent of Education for the DCPS (District of Columbia Public Schools, 2020). Worthy of note is that to be considered for even the position of substitute teacher in the DCPS, a candidate must hold a bachelor's degree from an accredited institution (District of Columbia Public Schools, 2020). This requirement further signifies the intense value that the district places on the qualifications of individuals who may be hired to stand-in for a teacher for a period as short as one day.

This study on Black teachers and quality provides additional historical grounding for works such as the study conducted by D'Amico et. (2017) who found that Black teachers, though qualified, were being looked over for jobs due to racial identifiers as recently as 2017. This study also extends the work of Bethany Rogers (2009) who examined the nation's quest for "better teachers" during the early 1970s.

Conclusion

Much of education policy in the present day centers on improving teacher quality. There is, however, no strong evidence-base for what constitutes it. Research conducted by Hanushek, Kain, O'Brien, and Rivkin (2005) reveals that observable measures of teacher quality such as qualifications and licensure explain little of the variation in student performance (as measured by standardized achievement examinations), and remains as such, a conundrum for researchers. Assessing the quality of a teacher candidate is no easy feat, and it is challenging to know whether a candidate will ultimately produce the results that a district seeks. What is clear from this research and other historical research on the professionalization of teachers is that measures of quality and prescribed qualifications have originated from the bureaucracy that employs teachers and not from the teachers themselves. Perhaps changing this paradigm is a first step in reimagining teacher quality.

Using the race of a candidate, over his or her qualifications (whatever the prescribed benchmark) to determine his or her quality, is an errant professional practice and does not get educational systems closer to meeting their desired goals. If it is indeed true that all students would benefit from having a Black teacher, then developing collegial partnerships among communities, teacher preparation institutions, districts, and schools, to locate, train, and hire individuals who have the desire and skill to serve students with the quality they deserve is of paramount importance. As a group who was denied educational access for centuries, it is arguably built into the DNA of the Black American to seek education for themselves and for others—to lift, as they climb (National Association of Colored Women, 1896). Just as educators sought to lift their

communities in the American South following the Civil War, in Caswell County, North Carolina in 1950, or even in Washington, D.C. in the present day, this mantra defines the goals of Black education—both then and now. And there is more work to be done.

Addressing race and the role that it plays in the perpetuation of myths surrounding the quality of anything related to Black people—Black students, Black teachers, Black school administrators, Black superintendents, Black lives—is the most important (and long overdue) endeavor of this century.

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Biography

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