INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI®
A HISTORY OF BLACK SCHOOLING IN FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO 1870 – 1913

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By


The Ohio State University
2002

Dissertation Committee
Professor Beverly Gordon
Professor Cynthia Tyson
Professor Tyrone Howard

Approved by
Beverly M. Gordon
Advisor
College of Education

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Abstract

This dissertation is a historical analysis of a case study/purposeful sample. It is an exploration of the first “colored” schools both private and public in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. A significant portion of the research on segregated schools has focused on the South, and often with quantitative characteristics (Siddle-Walker, 1993). To the contrary this inquiry focused on schools in an urban area in the northern region of country primarily utilizing qualitative methodology.

This investigation focused on three areas: similarities and differences of public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913, the impact of policy and law on the opening, closing, and operations of these schools, and what implications this query may have on contemporary issues in the education of Black children. Moreover, this inquiry also investigated social, political and legal landscape that served as the context for the effort. This examination details the determination of the Black community in Franklin County, Ohio to provide educational facilities for Black children from 1870 - 1913. This research also documents the resistance of White communities to the idea of providing educational facilities for Black children. To this end this research was guided by three questions: First, what were the similarities and differences of public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913 in three areas funding, impact of policy and law, and location. Second, What was the impact of policy and law on the
development and operation of both public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Third, what implications does this research have for the contemporary issues in the education of Black children in particular, but also for education in a more general sense. All these questions helped to facilitate an understanding of this community’s educational past and how the past qualities of this community affect the present ethos of education.

Case studies and purposeful sampling with the theoretical underpinnings of qualitative methodology, historiography, and critical race theory was chosen to guide this inquiry. Case study and purposeful sampling was utilized primarily because of its potential richness and detail provided by such an approach as well as the degree of transferability that can be garnered in assessing similar cases with similar characteristics.

This research is significant for three reasons: First, a historical analysis helps to assess the degree of change and/or continuity in a particular community over a particular period time. Second, this inquiry of schooling in Franklin County, Ohio demonstrated how the educational system served or didn’t serve the Black community. Third, this research helps highlight the educational philosophy and practices of Black schools both public and private. The policy implications of this query have a profound impact on the history of Black schooling, the development of policy and law, the use of policy and law as method to sanction and legitimize notions of White supremacy. In all, this
examination contributes to the literature in Black educational history, educational
development law and policy, the impact of race on institution building efforts and
implications for contemporary educational issues.
Dedication

I would first like to humble myself and this work to the power of the Creator, it is from that divine source that everything is accomplished. It is the strength provided to me by the Creator that facilitated the determination to complete this dissertation. I would next like to dedicate this dissertation to my mother who was the sole source of direction for most of my life. My mother instilled in me the belief that I could become anything I wanted in this life, and for that I thank her. Mom always know that I love you and I could not have done this without you. I must also dedicate the dissertation to my wife and children who together have provided me with a sense of purpose. Thank you Vanessa for your strength and love. Finally, I thank my family, especially Pookie, Tasha, Dorian, Kim, Donald, Ronnie, Ann, and Ayo. I thank all my friends who are too numerous to name here but suffice it to say there were many who played instrumental role in my development.
Acknowledgments

I wish to applaud my dissertation committee for their support, encouragement and feedback throughout the dissertation process. My committee provided me with critical questions that facilitated my producing a work for which I could be proud. Without you all I could not have accomplished this, and I thank you.

Dr. Beverly Gordon who recognized I had the potential to complete this dissertation before I saw it in myself Dr. Tyrone Howard who represents everything a brother should be in academia, you have been invaluable to me in this process. I would also like to thank Dr. Tyson for her questioning and feedback. Again I would like to thank my wife for all the discussions we had that allowed me to flesh out ideas and for all the proofreading she did along the way. I would also very much like to thank my son Akili (Terezz) who has been the kind of son for which most fathers could only hope. He has pushed me to better myself by just being who he is. To my brother Scott who helped me develop the framework for this dissertation and who participated in countless discussions relating to the topic, thank you.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who believed that I always had the potential to be more than what I am. It is the hopes and prayers of all of you that have made this possible. To everyone who made this possible I say: “Thank you.”
Vita

April 17, 1971.................... Born – Chicago, IL

1994 ............................. A.A. Columbus State Community College

1996 ............................. B.A. History and Black Studies, The Ohio State University

1996 ............................. B.S. Education, The Ohio State University

1998 ............................. M.A. Education, The Ohio State University

1998 ............................. M.A. African and African American Studies
The Ohio State University

1998 – Present .............. Graduate Teaching and Research Associate
The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education (Curriculum Development & Cultural studies)
Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................... ii
Dedication ...................................................................................................... vi
Acknowledgments............................................................................................. vii
Vita .................................................................................................................... viii
List of Tables ..................................................................................................... x

Chapters

1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 1

2. The Literature ............................................................................................... 17
   Creation and Roles of Black Educational Institutions ........................... 19
   Political Context ......................................................................................... 21
   Social Context ............................................................................................. 28
   Legal Context .............................................................................................. 34
   Franklin County, Ohio Historical Context .............................................. 38
   Conclusion .................................................................................................... 42

3. Qualitative Methodology and Research Design .......................................... 44
   Tradition of Historical Research ................................................................. 44
   Historiography ............................................................................................. 46
   Limitations of Historical Research ............................................................. 48
   Characteristics of “Good” Qualitative Research ......................................... 50
   Validity ......................................................................................................... 51
   Problems and Issues with Purposeful Sampling .......................................... 52
   Methodological Research Insights ............................................................... 54
   Purpose of Research .................................................................................... 56
   Justification of Inquiry ................................................................................ 57
   Research Design .......................................................................................... 58
   Problem Statement ....................................................................................... 59
   Sampling Decision ....................................................................................... 60
   A Case for Purposeful Sampling/Case Study .............................................. 61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research procedures</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical and Methodological Framework</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Race Theory</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Data Presentation</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The School Institution of the Colored People</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of Policy and Law</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chapter 5</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historiographic Context</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Decline</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin County Context</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chapter 6</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary, Conclusions and Implications</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Implications</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Columbus Demographics from 1880 – 1920</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Champion Avenue Teachers in 1910</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teacher Qualifications in 1929</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Partial list of Champion Teachers – 1936</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Schooling and education have been domains in which Black people\(^1\) have struggled to realize and control their own destiny. Black people have long championed the idea that liberation and social mobility could be established through educational development (Blyden, 1888; Dubois, 1935; Nkrumah, 1964; Wilson, 1992; Woodson, 1919). Consequently many of the efforts of Black people to realize and maintain emancipation were associated with their desire to develop an education system that operated in their interest (Akbar, 1985; Shujaa, 1994; Wilson, 1993; Woodson, 1919).

Black people's persistent efforts to improve themselves and their status in society have been met with an incredible counterforce by larger White\(^2\) communities with their attempts to steer Black education in a direction that served the dominant societies interests (Anderson, 1988; Apple, 1990; Woodson, 1933;). By manipulating both national and local law, educational policy, and the distribution of funding, White communities attempted to mold Black educational institutions into something that would maintain existing social hierarchies and power relationships (Berry, 1971; Brosio, 1994; Kunjufu, 1984).

---

\(^1\) Black for the purpose of this discussion refers to people of African decent both free and non-free who were born citizens of the United States of America.

\(^2\) White refers to people of European decent who were born citizens of the United States.
The national image of Black people’s educational history is not a national history at all; it is a collection of local struggles by everyday people who essentially made a difference in the areas in which they lived. Generalizations often do not provide insight into a particular community’s sacrifice, protest, resistance, and changing of local life for the better. It is examination of the particulars that give generalizations meaning, context, and usefulness. Moreover, they provide circumstances under which generalizations were consistent and aberrations that reflect dynamics when they were not.

To that end this is a qualitative historical study using a purposeful sample of schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913. Central to this particular study is an examination of the resilience of Black people to educate their children in the face of incredible obstacles and the lengths to which some White communities went to prevent it. While the circumstances of the schooling efforts by Black people in Franklin County, Ohio may be similar to other efforts in different geographical areas with similar histories and characteristics the point to this inquiry is not to generalize. The concern of this discussion is simply centered around schooling in Franklin County, Ohio, although it is evident that studies like this help to inform both national discussions on education and provide insight into the state of education for Black children today.

**Purpose of Research**

The year 1870 is important because it marks the year that Black men were granted the right to vote. In 1910 the black community filed a Law Suit protesting the building of Champion Middle School on the grounds that it was in violation of the state’s current integration laws. The Law Suit was not settled until 1913. The period between 1870 and 1913 is important because it marks the beginning of political participation and a return to
educational segregation. This is the only time period in which Franklin County built public schools for the expressed purpose of educating Black children. No other 40 year period in history of Franklin County schooling included the building of five schools three public and two private for the expressed purpose of educating Black children. The period 1870 to 1913 provides the best period in which an analysis of Black public and private schools could be developed.

In 1840, formal public education began in Ohio for Black children, before this the only Black children who went to school did so in private institutions and there were only two in Franklin County, Ohio. By and large these were educational institutions operated and maintained by members of the Black community. However, from the very beginning of public education in Ohio, separate schools were mandated (Miller, 1919). This mandate for separate schools in best case scenarios provided dilapidated buildings, and paucity of resources, and in the worse cases no schools at all. While laws were passed in 1840 that provided for the education of Black youth, it was not until 1871 that a facility was established for the purpose of educating Black children in Franklin County, Ohio.

The year 1871 marks the effective beginning of Black youth education in Franklin County with the building of the Loving school (Ward, 1996), while two public schools predated the Loving school it was the first serious effort in Franklin County to provide Black children with more than marginal public education (Ohio Journal, 1870). The two schools that pre-dated Loving were rickety buildings that were little more than alley shacks. In fact, one of the schools was called the “alley school”. Little is actually known about these schools other than they existed and that they were clearly unacceptable to the Black community at the time. The disdain for these schools was evident in the persistent
protest efforts employed by the Black communities at the time. Champion middle school built in 1909 was the last school built in Franklin county for the sole purpose of educating Black youth, but it was not until 1913 that the law suit protesting its opening was adjudicated (Ward, 1996).

Thus the years between 1870 and 1913 marks a time when Black people in Franklin County in both private and public schools were attempting to develop an educational system that provided Black children with all the opportunities society had to offer. It is by examining this time period that we can examine how current educational conditions came to be. The present and the future both stand upon the legs of the past. Without clear understanding of where we have been, we can have no clear understanding of our best future options in terms of educational policy (Dubois, 1912). Unless the past is critically analyzed and meticulously assessed it is difficult to avoid repetition in the worst ways.

It is the belief of this researcher that retrospection is a necessary part of progress, particularly in educational contexts. Without an occasional glance backward at that which has gone before us, identifying methods and ideas that have already been tried, how can progress, regress, or even complacency be measured. Scholars vary a great deal on how they measure progress in education, yet how ever you measure it the claim must be anchored in historical context or, like untied water buoys, the discussion can float away without any discernible course or destination.

A study of this type is important for several reasons. First, although Franklin County has been the subject of several studies, none so far have explored the similarities and differences of African American schools during this period. Some studies have
attempted to examine the impact of state educational law and policy on African American
schools during this period e.g. Ward, 1996; Ward 1993; Quillin, 1913; Hickok; 1896.

Second, a study of this type could help construct a holistic picture of Black
education in this country. Several scholars have written about the education of Black
communities in the South, or in specific states during certain time periods e.g. Siddle-
Walker 1996, Ward 1993; Ward, 1996. For example, scholars such as James D.
Anderson (1988), Carter G. Woodson (1933:1919), Henry Allen Bullock (1987), and
W.E.B. Dubois (1912) have written works that give broad views of Black education in
America that aid in developing general understandings related to the education of Black
people in America.

Third, this study is important in that it may provide insight into the condition of
contemporary Black education in particular, as well to the state of education in general.
Good teaching is not specific to any race, gender or class; consequently, if an educational
strategy works for a particular population it may have implications in other populations
as well. Examinations of the past often shed new light on existing theory and practice.
Studying and analyzing what has already been done and tried makes current program
developments more efficient and considerate of potential concerns.

Research Questions

All studies and inquiries are framed around central questions that drive their
academic pursuit and help to categorize the information they garner. Historical analyses
can help provide and enhanced understanding of the past and the current state of
education in this case particularly for Black youth. In order to discern the state of
Educational for Black youth during this time period, this study employed the following research questions:

What similarities and differences existed in regard to African American schools both public and private in Franklin County, Ohio between 1870 and 1913?

How did Ohio educational law and policy influence the development and operation of African American schools in Franklin County, Ohio during the specified time period?

What implications does this study have for African American education particularly, but also for education in general? How can we use this study to better frame discussions about the needs of contemporary Black students?

These research questions attempted to ascertain if given the state of education for Black youth, did Black people who chose not to utilize the Public School system have different ideas about education than those who chose to utilize private education? If there were differences, how did those ideas affect the way schools were operated, if they had any affect in the areas previously identified? A primary objective of this study is to also examine effects of policy and law on the operation of the Black schools both public and private in Franklin County, Ohio. It is not enough to assume a connection between the two, a connection has to be clearly demonstrated and its effects have to be measurable to one degree or another. The concept of measurement here does not mean to imply something quantifiable. Measurement in this case refers to a demonstrable relationship between two variables.

This is an inquiry that promises to foster knowledge that attempts to demonstrate the multifaceted and complicated factors that went into developing an educational system that worked for Black youth in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913. This is demonstrated by analyzing the context and the circumstances in which these institutions were
established. The goal of this study is not to be definitive on the role or effectiveness of education for Black youth but rather to examine the environment and complexities that surrounded the issue.

**Significance of Study**

Present day scholarship is replete with rhetoric addressing the current state of education for children of color, but few scholars have attempted to study the historical and contextual factors that have impeded its development (Bullock, 1967; Brown, 1961; Siddle-Walker, 1993). Scholars like Long (1932) and Ward (1996) both examined the educational histories of particular communities at particular times North Carolina and Ohio respectively. This study is significant because it provides a historical analysis of the determination of Black communities to provide quality education for their children. This examination includes the persistence of White communities to control and influence Black educational efforts through the use of educational law and policy. Lastly, this investigation underscores the need to develop and maintain local educational history in the context of national histories. Thus, this research is significant for several reasons:

1) It analyzed the past in order to ascertain what antecedents created present school circumstances.

2) It captured part of the Black educational story that is intrinsically relative to the general history of education in the United States.

3) It addressed curriculum of life and worthwhile experiences in actual dilemmas often implicit in the hidden curriculum of such a context.

Few studies (Bullock, 1987; Ward, 1996; Siddle-Walker, 1996) have focused on particular Black communities at particular times struggling to bring about quality
education for their children. Therefore, at center stage were the lives of ordinary people who did extraordinary things. There were really three stories in one discovered during this inquiry: a story of general educational history, a story of Black educational institution building efforts, and a story of U.S. history. Each of these stories is important for explicating the historical patterns of change and continuity in education. Consequently, it adds to the literature in three primary areas: educational history, Black educational history, and U.S. history.

Design of the Study

The design of this research is predicated on the purpose of the research which has three objectives: First, the primary goal is to examine the historical development of Black educational institutions particularly as it relates to their creation and role, by using Franklin County, Ohio as of case study to localize national phenomenon. Second, an important goal of this study is to investigate the impact of policy and law on these efforts around the country but giving special attention to Franklin County. Third, by using the past as a guide can help provide ideas and approaches that serve to improve the state of public education in general, but particularly for children of color.

Methodology

Historical research helps trace the development of social forms over time. In its most traditional and purest form, this approach relies on primary sources of data, such as diaries and official government documents (Wagenaar & Babbie 1995). Historical analyses provide researchers with an interpretive understanding of the everyday relationships in a person, event or organizations past. Historical analyses can thus be
utilized to create new understandings of the social, political, economic and cultural context as viewed with the vantage of point of history (Kessler-Harris 1990).

Methods of Collection

Data was obtained about the schools, the context and the curriculum from dissertations, archives, meeting minutes, journal articles, newspaper articles, documents, and other primary and secondary source material. Moreover, because this is an historical study, it was very important to account for my own present conceptions of past events in an effort report events within the context of historical circumstances. Thus, the theoretical approach that sustains this inquiry is not an either/or construct, but a both/and encapsulating consensus as well as conflict theory.

The primary method employed in this research was historical document analysis. This method was employed because the time frame in question did not allow for interviews, observation, or surveys. By using a variety of sources such as, dissertations, periodicals, and primary sources, a triangulation was possible by verifying each of these sources against the others.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The data gathered in this research is presented in a narrative format that follows historical chronology. The data is presented in such a way as to not impose preexisting expectations on the phenomenon or setting (Patton, 1990). Inductive analysis allowed document analysis and theory to be built from general to the specific circumstances of this setting. Documents were analyzed for emergent themes and were utilized to describe the categories related to curriculum, policy and law, and similarities between Black public and private educational institutions. Other documents, both primary and
secondary, were used to confirm all findings on each school in the study, including school documents, statistics, records, newspapers and other artifacts were considered as factors for the social, economic and historical content of the schools queried.

Historical sources were utilized to provide a framework for the establishment of chapters in relationship to the creation of the institution involved in this study. Franklin County, Ohio as a particular community signified the uniqueness of its educational history, and its relationship to the educational history of the larger educational context. The quality and validity of the data was maintained through triangulation of data sources.

This study also utilized critical race theory as an additional lens to view the historical development of educational law. Critical race theory asserts that race is a salient factor in U.S. legal development particularly as it relates to education (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). While the primary method of analysis for this inquiry was document analysis, critical race theory promotes an understanding of the legal structures contribution to existing social frameworks and policy that result in educational inequities for Black people and other people of color (Tate, 1997).

Parameters and Limitations

All research has limitations; there is no such thing as a perfectly designed study (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Every research methodology has “trade-offs” (Glense & Peskin, 1992). A good discussion of a study’s limitations and parameters demonstrates that the researcher understands this reality. Parameters and limitations help prevent researchers from making overweening claims about the generalizability or conclusiveness of what has been learned (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).
The primary method of data collection for this study was primary document analysis. These are documents written first hand by the individuals involved in the event or institution. Each method of data collection has with it strengths and limitations. Therefore, using a combination of data collection methods can aide researchers in improving the trustworthiness of his or her study (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Quantitative research seeks to offer conclusions that are generalizable, however, qualitative study’s attempt to develop summations that are transferable to other setting under given circumstances (Stake, 1995). Transferability is conceptualized based on the particularization of a given setting as it relates to the uniqueness of other settings. Each case is concomitant with its own situation and characteristics. As a result, transferability is intended to help facilitate understanding cases with similar characteristics, but not define generalizations from case to case (Stake, 1995).

Limitations inherent to historical document analyses are the interpretations left behind in documents and records and the actual lived experiences of the individuals involved in the setting. Historical accounts lack the first hand knowledge of individuals who could confirm, deny and place into context information recorded in written form. Historical analyses are often subject to the historiography responsible for the context in which historians have written history. Historical document analyses lack the human expression pivotal for all events involving a human experience.

Overall, the limitations of this study did not prevent a description of the complexities surrounding Black institution building in Franklin County, Ohio. This investigation was able to capture the context of the times, the essential nature of the schools involved and the efforts designed to build and destroy them. Historical
qualitative research despite its limitations can facilitate comprehensive understandings of educational history in general, but Black educational efforts in particular. Essentially this design and methodology, regardless of its limitations, was appropriate for the purpose of this study, the available resources, and the research questions (Patton, 1990).

**Document Analysis**

History and context surrounding a specific setting come, in part, from reviewing documents. The review of documents is an unobtrusive method, rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting which include, minutes of meeting, logs, announcements, formal policy statements, letters and other written correspondence specific to a time and place, or about a particular group. Archival data are the routinely gathered records of a society, community or organization, and may further supplement other qualitative methods (Glense & Peshkin, 1992).

Probably the greatest strength of content analysis is that it is unobtrusive and non-reactive, meaning it can be examined without disturbing the setting in any way. The data is collected, and as a result the researcher determines the emphasis of information after the data has been collected. The procedure is relatively clear to a reader. Information can be checked with the same care that the analysis was applied. Meaning, the source and context does not change overtime about any one of the documents used in an inquiry. Moreover, one researcher can follow another through his or her steps in almost exactly the way.

One of its potential limitations is the degree of inferential reasoning. That is, the analysis of the content of written material or film, for example, entails interpretation of
the researcher. Consequently, caution should be taken to display the logic of interpretation used in inferring meanings of artifacts (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

**Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theory portrays dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness, and meritocracy as camouflages for the self-interest of powerful entities of society (Tate IV, 1997). Moreover, critical race theorists argue the link between educational inequity and social justice needs examining with respect to how a change in notions of justice may give rise to different interpretations of educational equity. Critical race theory operates on the notion that racism is endemic in U.S. society, deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically (Bell, 1993; Crenshaw, 1995; Lasdon-Billings, 1997; Tate IV, 1995).

One potential limitation of critical race theory is that its writers employ a narrative style of writing that is consciously devoid of objectivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The deliberate and openly subjective approach of critical race theory has caused many to question its ability to transfer meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The concern is that narratives are not effective ways to critique institutions because one could find a narrative to say almost anything.

**Parameters**

As this study examines Black schools in Franklin County from 1870-1913, the units of analysis are funding practices, curricular aspects, and impact of policy and law.
The scope of this study is the examination of similarities and differences as they relate to the three categories mentioned. In other words, with regard to funding, location, and curriculum, in what ways were private and public Black educational institutions similar and different. How did Ohio State law facilitate their creation and development? Did any particular law appear to facilitate school closings and if so how and why? Did any particular law facilitate school openings and if so how and why? Lastly, this study seeks to extrapolate what educational lessons can be learned from the past to help address contemporary issues in education.

Overview of Dissertation

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study and addressed the research questions that guided the study. Chapter two is an examination of an overview of the interdisciplinary literature that served as a basis for this research. Chapter three details the methodological framework. The first three chapters are standard detailing research questions, literature, and methodology. However, the last three result from the a priori and emergent themes of Black institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio.

Chapter four describes the similarities and differences of Black educational institutions in both public and private arenas. They were compared in three areas: curriculum, funding, and the impact of educational policy and law from these aspects a researcher can discern a school's philosophy and reason for being. An overriding concern for this section is: Were there discerningly different motivations for Black people utilizing private versus public schools? If so, what were those motivations and did they contribute to the similarities and differences that existed between the two groups? By
examining documents left behind by the schools themselves it is possible to locate what factors may have contributed to the construction of such institutions.

Chapter four is also an in-depth examination of how law and policy in Franklin County, Ohio may have contributed to the operation, opening and closing of these institutions. There is an assumed connection between how the development of law and policy may have affected these institutions but those connections must be demonstrated and documented. Moreover, was the affect of policy and law different on public and private schools? This chapter examines Ohio educational law during this time period and describes its impact on Black educational efforts.

Chapter five provides an analysis of what could be garnered from this historical analysis. In addition, this chapter is a detail of what could be learned from this qualitative historical analysis of this particular community. It is in this chapter that generated theory, policy implications, and contributions of this study are documented. A historical analysis of any educational system can be accomplished through the examination of relevant resources such as theses, dissertations, school board minutes, annual reports, archival materials, personal papers, primary and secondary sources. All of these documents can be used to triangulate any conclusions made from the data. Each source helps provide clarification on the others while simultaneously serving as a verification system.

Finally, chapter six offers a summary and conclusion to the findings of this study. Chapter six concludes this study by accentuating the major points of interests. Lastly, it reexamines important developments revealed through this study.
CONCLUSION

Black people from the earliest days of the colonial period in this country have demonstrated their commitment to education. Since the earliest days of slavery Black people have sought to educate themselves in such a way that would facilitate inclusion into general society. Their determination to secure an education for their children is a testimony to a strong desire to improve the quality of their lives. Mobilizing private, secular and religious resources, and through the activities of community leaders, Black people demonstrated a legacy of self-determination.

As we move forward as a community and a society an occasional glance backward may yield more return than a constant focus on the present and future. By acutely examining the particulars we can empower ourselves to understand general tendencies. By using Franklin County, Ohio as an historical “for instance”, we may gain insight to future decisions that otherwise may have gone unnoticed.
CHAPTER 2
THE LITERATURE

Let there be no misunderstanding about this, no easygoing optimism. We are not going to share modern civilization just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organizing far-seeing efforts by outflanking and outthinking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power to successfully oppose us, if we think, learn and do.

W. E. B Dubois
ed. Herbert Aptheker 1973

African American student achievement has been the subject of a great deal of scholarship and study. While there has been increasing study in this area in many school districts, Black student achievement remains consistently below that of their White counter parts (McAdoo & McAdoo, 1985). Columbus Public Schools report that nearly 50 percent of its Black students drop out of school before high school graduation (Columbus Dispatch, 2001). Chicago has schools where drop out rates are in excess of 70 percent (Kozol, 1991). In Oakland Public schools, nearly 80 percent of its suspensions involve Black males (Presentation AERA, 1998).

Current movements in education have done little to improve this very concerning reality. The purpose of this study to return is to the origin of public school movements, specifically in Franklin County, Ohio, and attempt to provide some understanding as to when and how the current reality was shaped. An examination of the past may yield some results that analyses of the present frankly have not.
Urban Schools have historically manifested inequities in terms of race, class and gender through its school curriculum, procedure and results (Kliebard, 1986; Giroux, 1983; Karabel & Halsey, 1977). Urban schools represent the educational setting for the vast majority of Black children (Ladson-Billings, 1994). It is unclear as to whether urban schools are the result of inequity or if they indeed themselves perpetuate it. It is therefore appropriate to examine the historical development of public education.

The history of Black institutions is a reflection of Black people's struggle to control or at least influence the direction of their own destiny. The creation and role of Black educational institutions have varied to reflect the times in which they were created (Ratteray, 1994). An examination of the literature on Black educational institutions should take into account the political, social, and legal context of the time period in which they were created. The history of Black education is intimately related to all other areas of history and cannot be understood in isolation from political, social, economic, and institutional history. Nowhere is that clearer than in African American history in which the social embeddedness of education is sharply illustrated (Aptheker, 1973).

This dissertation is ultimately concerned with improving the educational process for all children; the analysis pays particular attention to children of African decent. History has demonstrated that improving the quality and access to education for Black children has been a central theme in the history of Black people in the U.S. The literature utilized to assess the history of Black educational institutions was analyzed in three arenas politically, socially, and legally. The literature identifies and explicates factors that have impeded or enhanced the educational achievement of Black children.
Creation and Roles of Black Educational Institutions

Black people have a rich tradition of developing independent educational institutions that have often been vital to the survival of their communities. This quest for independence began long before the abolition of slavery (Ratteray, 1994). Schools for children not born of the power structure often have to negotiate the tension between preparing children to integrate and assimilate into the current society and developing in children ideas that represent change in the social order (Freire, 1969) and to this Black educational institutions were no exception.

In this backdrop, schools serving black children tended to fall into one of the two categories mentioned above. Many Black educational institutions either perpetuated the existing social order or in contrast they centered themselves in the idea that social change was necessary to improve the lives of their communities (Shujaa, 1994). Difference between these two ideas was not always explained by the cultural origin of the individuals who ran the institutions. Institutions run by the Black community often times required more conformity to Euro centric ideals than those run by Europeans themselves (Woodson, 1933).

The history of Black education in America is plagued by two legacies: the need to sustain and perpetuate a free democratic capitalist society, and the desire to maintain and control a class of permanent second-class citizenship (Anderson, 1988). It was believed by many leaders in the eighteenth century that an educated capitalist class would be essential to the maintenance of this democracy. It was also clear that white women, slaves, free Black people, and poor White people were not to play the same role as white men. Each legacy was concomitant with racial understanding, societal values, and
political motivation. It was clear to those running the country that an educated citizenry was fundamental to the survival of a democracy. What was also clear to those in charge was that everyone was not to participate in this democracy to the same degree (Cross, 1987).

Black educational institutions were created in this hostile and contradictory environment to cement and further Black emancipation. The first communities to develop educational institutions were religious, ranging from White missionaries to Black churches (Woodson, 1919). These institutions most often served to perpetuate existing social orders because they often rested on the acceptance, and many times the justification, of existing social inequities (Woodson, 1933).

As early as the 1780’s, White missionaries who felt some apathy toward slaves and free people of color established many schools for Black people (Quarles, 1964). Their primary desire was to “spread the gospel” and they had little interest in facilitating political/social changes (p. 54). Even many of the institutions established by the Black community were, for the most part, mechanisms to convey Christian thought (Woodson, 1919).

At an initial glance one might wonder why Black communities would acquiesce to ideas so clearly in opposition to their own interest. It would be simple to say that many people felt that some education is better than no education at all (Woodson, 1933).

To be sure, the complexity of a critical education was not lost on Black people establishing educational institutions in the mid-nineteenth century. There was simply disagreement on the role that educational institutions should play. Certainly, many Black people believed that no education originating from your oppressor would ever provide
you with the tools necessary for true liberation (Lorde, 1987). There is evidence to suggest many of them also believed systemic change was futile, and if development was to truly occur, then it would result from using what society had to offer and making the best of it (Washington, 1901).

In reality, both views mentioned above merited attention and provides the ideological framework for the creation and role of Black educational institutions from the past to the present (Shujaa, 1994). Black educational institutions are in many ways indicators of the goals of the Black community at large. Fundamental to many of these goals is the idea that education represents a road map that leads to liberation.

Black and White people have sought to establish educational institutions for Black children in an environment that is at best perplexing. The political context in which they have made these attempts appears to be quite relevant. It is the political context that serves to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the times.

**Political context**

As this discussion turns its attention to the political context of establishing Black schools, it is prudent to operationalize a political approach. The word politic refers to operating in one's own self-interest (Thorndike and Barnhart, 1992). Conversely, this political approach examines the racialized use of power in White self-interests to influence policy making and policy implementation related to the schooling of Black people (Shujaa, 1996). Moreover, this approach investigates uses of power by Black people to (re)define schooling and education in forming patterns of resistance to oppressive social relations and institution building.
As people of color, particularly people of African descent, have attempted to design educational institutions that promote their interests, they have faced extreme adversity. According to Cross (1987), “Whites have also enjoyed a certain incumbency. White people hold the citadels and passes of entry and are not likely to surrender many of them to Black people” (p. 487). In our society, education must also be viewed in terms of a defended advantage. “A number of these incumbency advantages tend to maintain the superior position of White people and enable them to transmit advantages to their children” (p. 484).

The advantage of incumbency not only promotes the unequal transmission of power but exacerbates the ability of White communities to affect the creation and development of all non-white educational institutions, but particularly institutions by people of African descent. After all, it is they who certify Black educators, regulate many Black schools, and occupy most land used to build educational facilities. This sort of incumbency systemically safeguards the larger community from many attempts of resistance and social change.

In this political context people of African descent have attempted to create and develop educational institutions that do two things: One, ascend beyond the predetermined assignment of second-class citizenship. Secondly, stimulate social change that makes available to Black people all the opportunities afforded to the majority culture in a free democracy. The incumbency advantage developed by Cross helps provide a pointer to ideas and intangibles that might otherwise go unnoticed.

The notion of “official knowledge” developed by Michael Apple (1993) used in conjunction with Cross’s incumbency advantage may provide still another perspective to

22
help understand the political context in which Black institutions find themselves. How a society decides what will be taught in schools is very much the result of a political process (Apple, 1993). Apple argues in many societies there are competing understandings of the very nature of reality. The understanding that becomes institutionalized is the one that originates with the party in power (Apple, 1993).

Attempts to establish Black educational institutions that provided little or no threat to the established social order were either unchallenged or placed into the resourceful good graces of the powers that be (DuBois, 1935). Educational philosophies like those of Booker T. Washington received unparalleled support from the White power structures of his time (Washington, 1901). Washington’s philosophy, by his own admission, required acquiescence to the policies of “separate but equal” and liberal education to place heavy importance on vocational training and skill development (Franklin, 1965).

The educational philosophies developed by Washington and others who agreed with this approach seem to have been able to establish Black public and private institutions with the blessings of the status quo. Washington’s philosophy became so well established that as other founders of Black schools developed institutions many more or less fell in line with Washington’s “cast down your buckets where you are” philosophy. Many found it easier to come by funds when they did so (Giddings, 1984).

Clearly, Washington and others like him adhered to a philosophy that both facilitated a permanent status of second class citizenship for people of color, and protected a limited democratic participation desired by much of the White power structure. Certainly the desire of many White communities to influence and affect Black
educational institutions was an important stroke in the desire to paint a picture of the political context in which Black institutions were developed and operated. Black people’s attempt at resistance to this sort of influence is a pivotal part of this examination.

Black people have long seen education as a means to establish and sustain liberation. Education has historically served as a weapon of choice against injustice and oppression. Black people have attempted to use education as a means to establish and promote their own self-interest while simultaneously resisting the oppressive tentacles of White self-interest. According to John Blassingame, slaves had established what he called “invisible institutions” very early in the eighteenth century. These invisible institutions were secret gatherings of slaves in the woods to educate, minister and conspire, all for the purpose of freedom (Blassingame, 1972).

In 1794, the first African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church was established by Richard Allen and these institutions often served their respective communities as schools in addition to being places of worship (Quarles, 1964). This is significant because these institutions by their very names marked distinction and purpose from their White counter parts. These churches and others became advocates of social change designed to improve the condition of Black Communities (Quarles, 1964). These institutions even called conventions that had delegates from all over the country that demanded amelioration of the condition of Black people until 1860 (Quarles, 1964).

As Black churches became the training grounds for future leaders, they also represented the most organized effort of institution building in the Black community. As the Civil War approached, many efforts to organize schools gave way to the war effort. Many Black people saw the war as an avenue to realize freedom in the most practical
way: emancipation (Franklin, 1965). The end of the Civil War promised a life never seen before by Black people in the United States. The ten-year period following the Civil War referred to as Reconstruction offered opportunities to Black people that were not seen before, and have not been seen since (DuBois, 1935).

The educational vacuum left by the Freedmen's Bureaus was filled very often by the relentless efforts of Black women (Giddings, 1984). Black women who advocated social change and did not accept Washington's philosophy established institutions in environments often more perilous than before the legal end of slavery (Sterling, 1984). Lucy Laney established a school in Augusta, Georgia in 1886 that offered a liberal arts program when Black education in the state had been restricted to vocational training and Georgia had no public schools for Black children (Lerner, 1972). Laney maintained her school for more than half a century.

The history of Black education is filled with Black women who often established schools at the risk of their own safety and almost always without the support of prominent Black men and White communities. Among Laney's more well-known protégées were three more Black women who would become school founders themselves: Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Janie Porter Barrett (Giddings, 1984). Black women as a group have certainly had an important role in establishing schools that served to uplift the Black community and provided a shining example of Black people redefining schooling in an effort to resist and change social oppression (Davis, 1984).

While the organized efforts of Black churches and Black women speak to the extent to which Black people were willing to defy the White power structure in an effort
to educate their children in their own interests, the story is not complete. Black communities funded schools with their hard-earned cash and donations of labor, livestock and land. They also went so far as to provide teachers with room and board to provide Black children with an education they (italics and bold type mine) deemed best (Shujaa, 1994).

In addition to supporting schools Black people also created literacy materials to instill in children fundamental knowledge and inculcate them with a particular worldview. An examination of literacy materials created especially for Black children of the time reveals a variety of goals and values including the characterization of education as a form of liberation (Hilliard, 1990). Among these beliefs were things like race pride, racial solidarity, knowledge of African American history and culture, and commitment to achieving social equality.

Stories were often passed down orally to children that exemplified “doing the right thing.” Stories of “Bruh Rabbit” demonstrated character traits of collective consciousness (Shujaa, 1994). In these stories the rabbit often used his mind to out smart his adversary who was often bigger. The process of institution building was inclusive of more than simply placing students in a room with a teacher. People of African descent have promoted education in situations where the buildings themselves were not available. The oral traditions and histories are a testimony to the commitment people had to not simply educate children, but to develop character traits that served to improve the conditions of the communities that produced them.

The instances of education in the absence of school buildings are plentiful in American history. Maroon societies in South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and other
places are all examples of such phenomenon (Joyner, 1984; Malone, 1992 and Hall, 1992). Maroon societies were communities that were primarily established by resistant slaves who ran and utilized forest areas for residence. These communities in the absence of school buildings educated children and established educational systems that allowed them to flourish for generations in some cases. These communities infused the needs of education with the desire for continued liberation. These examples and others speak to the variety of ways Black educational institutions have been established to meet the goals of the people who established them.

Examples of ex-slaves establishing schools before and after emancipation seem to be the norm rather than the exception. James Anderson’s work details examples of former slaves struggling to establish schools that challenged the larger society’s notions of what Black education should be for Black people (Anderson, 1988). While Black people had aspirations to devise educational institutions that supported and furthered emancipation, their children were often forced into industrial programs. The aspirations and desires of the former slaves have fueled educational institutional building even in contemporary considerations for educational options.

The political context in which Black educational institutions are created is essential to the understanding of their role. Nonetheless it provides only a partial picture of a Black educational landscape. The social context and role of Black educational institutions is also an essential part of a comprehensive understanding of institution building.
Social Context

As Black people have attempted to establish schools that work in their interests, their interests have, over time, fundamentally been influenced by their relationship to White communities. The word social refers to the exploration of a human being’s relationships to other human beings (Thorndike and Barnhart 1992). This social examination seeks to provide a connection between the status of Black people to the larger society; particularly people referred to as White.

White Americans today don’t know what in the world to do because they put us behind them; that’s where they made their mistake. If they had put us in front, they wouldn’t have let us look back. But they put us behind them, and we watched every move they made.

Fannie Lou Hamer 1962

A general assessment of the historical social standing of Black people in the United States would be filled with inaccuracies without considerations of time and space. This is an investigation on how the social standing of Black people may have directly influenced the creation and roles of Black educational institutions themselves.

The social history of Black people relative to educational institutions can be developed around several themes: Pre-slavery/Slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow. Each time period not only marks significant junctions in the history of Black people in the United States, but also important shifts in the collective social psyche of the country as a whole. Each period, when examined independently, provides a different perspective on institutional efforts.

Evidence suggests African people were in the Americas as early as 800 B.C. (Sertima, 1975). While that is an interesting and significant fact to ponder, it is beyond
the scope of this examination. Moving forward the year 1619 marks the arrival of the first Africans to English colonies (Quarles, 1964). Contrary to general notions, these people were not slaves, but indentured servants (Bennett, 1962). As a result, this time period is dubbed as “pre-slavery” because it predates the establishment of legal enslavement in the colonies.

In fact, some evidence suggests race was not a clear mediating factor as these people took their place in the social landscape of the society in which they found themselves. The most salient characteristic in terms of the legal structure in the colonies was religion (Williams, 1964). Many colonies passed laws that required the manumission of any slave that converted to Christianity (Quarles, 1964). As a consequence, of course, many slaves acquiesced and at least paid lip service to the notion of European Christianity, actual conversion being impossible to determine.

The initial social cleavage facing African people in the colonies was not race, and appears to have actually been religion. This helps to explain why early educational efforts for Black people centered on religious motivation. White missionaries and other sympathizers saw religion as a means to improve the spiritual life of all non-Christians, especially Black people. Many Black people saw it as the quickest road to manumission.

Black educational efforts for this period often seem to concern themselves with adhering to the religious expectations of the larger societies. Woodson documents a plethora of educational efforts prior to 1861, many during the pre-slavery time period concerned conformity to religious expectations (Woodson, 1919).

Not long after the arrival of African people in the colonies did the notion of legal slavery take center stage. As early as 1664 colonies such as Maryland, Virginia, the
Carolinas and Georgia passed laws establishing slavery based on race (Mannix & Cowley, 1962). It was still not until well into the 1780’s that slavery came to dominate colonial life.

Once slavery came to dominate the social relationship between Black and White communities, the focus of Black educational efforts underwent a fundamental change in motivation. The role and prominence of religion remained a central component to Black education; it was mediated against the new political aspirations (Clarke, 1991). Many Black educational efforts no longer saw religion as the most salient social cleavage.

As slavery became the defining factor in Black and White relationships, it also sparked different educational motivations. Black educational institutions during this period sought to bring about liberation of Black people and increasingly believed conflict was a necessary element to bring about that change (Mannix and Cowley, 1962). Between the year 1700 and 1800 there were more than 200 documented slave rebellions in the United States (Harding, 1987). Many revolts involved planning, communication, and implementation, which could not take place in the absence of an educational structure (Mckissack and Mckissack 1996).

The rise of slavery brought with it deep social inclinations about race and what it meant to a social hierarchy (Williams, 1970). Black educational institutions were motivated to establish political liberation as a method of manumission. Not to mention, by 1800, in most colonies it was illegal to teach a slave to read or write. As a result of these social dynamics many Black educational efforts turned their attention toward racial solidarity, political liberation, and sometimes even social separation (Wood 1987; Rogers 1968). The complicated mediation of religious beliefs and political liberation remained
tense as educational attempts continued, and religious beliefs sometimes conflicted with political aspirations.

These tensions continued throughout the entire period of slavery largely because of the social status of Black people. In the same way the social status of Black people changed with the legal establishment of slavery, there came another change with the introduction of Reconstruction, the ten-year period following the Civil War.

The Civil War in 1865 marked the unofficial end of slavery and with it the end of a formal oppressive system. Black people, having by that act ascended beyond the social prescription of slaves, looked to government intervention for educational support. Reconstruction promised the dawn of a new day in terms of the social standing of Black people. Interestingly enough this support did come about with the creation of the Freedmen’s Bureaus (DuBois, 1901), which established many schools.

The Freedmen’s Bureau found many schools for freedom already in existence maintained by tax collectors, by Black people, and by the army (DuBios 1901). The original Freedman’s Bureau act made no provisions for Black education. By an act of 1866 the educational powers of the Bureau were greatly enlarged. By the year 1870 there were more than 4,200 schools under the Bureau’s supervision, with more than 9,000 teachers, and nearly 250,000 pupils while in 1866 there were little more than 90,000 (Flemming, 1966). Even with these dramatic improvements in 1870 only one-tenth of school-aged Black children were in school (DuBois, 1935).

Many of the schools funded and established by the Freedmen’s Bureau concentrated on “appropriate education” for ex-slaves. There were congressional debates on what was “appropriate education” for Black people, resulting in the general consent
that they should be provided no more education than was necessary (Flemming, 1966). This most often resulted in skill-based or vocational education for Black children. This philosophy was the progenitor of Booker T. Washington’s “pull yourself by your bootstraps” approach to education.

Reconstruction marked a period that saw unprecedented achievements for people of African descent, yet simultaneously demonstrated clearly the intentions of many White communities. True to the legacy of perpetuating a permanent underclass in this society, many educational efforts made by governmental bodies seem to have been motivated to limit the education of this nation’s ex-slaves.

As with previous social shifts (pre-slavery, slavery, and reconstruction), segregation marked another change in the social psyche of society. The hope that reconstruction promised was quickly dismissed by White backlash and anger to nominal advancements of people of African decent. White backlash to the marginal achievement of Black people during reconstruction lead to the landmark case of Plessy V. Ferguson. This was a Supreme Court case in which the court up-held the notion of separate-but-equal. In effect the court sanctioned two societies: one White, the other Black, and inherently unequal.

The law of the land was “separate but equal.” In this case the Supreme Court ruled that people could be separated on the basis of race as long as facilities for both groups were the same (Giddings, 1984). This philosophy once again instituted a policy established on the principle Black people were “less than.” Black communities quickly responded with a “race first” philosophy and educational efforts quickly responded to the new social status of Black people.
The legal establishment of separate but equal moved Black people to mobilize dialogue founded on ideas of self-reliance. Marcus Garvey was a champion of such dialogue and encouraged educators and educational institutions to teach African history and self-reliance curricula (Martin, 1976). Black communities mobilized to buy buildings to serve as schools with their own money (Siddle-Walker, 1996; Anderson, 1988).

The educational efforts resulting from separate but equal laws varied along two obvious lines of thought. Many believe Black people could not get a fair shake in predominantly White institutions, and the only sure answer was to create and develop black educational institutional. Many others believed Black children could only be successful if they had access to the same resources as all other children, particularly White children.

Two of the most influential people of this time were Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey, both advocating separation of the races. They seem to have done so for very different reasons. Washington advocated vocational or skill training, while Garvey promoted self-reliance and Black history. Either way, the point was that the social standing of Black people to the larger society played a major part in the direction of its educational institutions. The influence of separate-but-equal on the development of Black educational institutions between the years 1896 to 1954 cannot be understated.

It was estimated that Washington, during his time, influenced the development of more than 300 schools. Garvey’s organization Universal Negro improvement Association (UNIA) had nearly 20 million members at its height (Martin, 1976). Garvey developed schools in both Jamaica and the U.S. promoting ideas of self-reliance and positive Black
identities. As we examine these two individuals alone we can gain some insight to the
degree to which separate-but-equal as legal and social policy influenced the creation and
role of Black educational institutions of the time.

Certainly no one theme can explain the motivation for every action in any time
period. These themes provide us with possible lenses to make meaning of educational
efforts particularly in relationship to their social implications. Political and social
contexts are very often influenced by the legal framework of any given time period. As a
result, this discussion turns its attention to the legal context in which Black people found
themselves from 1870 to 1913.

Legal Context

The U.S. Constitution, the highest law of the land, indicates the legal rights of
citizens and governmental limitations. The Constitution itself promoted and perpetuated
the domination of White over Black. Article I section 2 of the Constitution designates
that Black people are only three-fifths human beings, or least that was how they would be
counted for representational purposes (U.S. Constitution, 1787). Article IV section 2
establishes that any slave who escaped from a slave state to a free state must be return to
his owner upon claim (U.S. Constitution, 1787). The Fugitive Slave Law passed in 1793
went further than the Constitution to say that anyone determined to have aided a slave
could face punishment (Franklin & McNeil, 1995)

This constitutional backdrop provides a legal, social, and political backdrop for
people of African descent as they sought to establish educational institutions. Moreover,
article V of the Constitution ensures no laws prohibiting slavery would be passed prior to
the year 1808 (U.S. Constitution, 1787). The Constitution served as legal insurance guaranteeing the existence of Black exploitation for at least 20 years of its ratification.

In this legal climate states had no obligation to ensure, grant, or protect any legal rights of their Black inhabitants. In 1834 and 1835 Black people were disenfranchised by Tennessee and North Carolina, respectively, and by Pennsylvania in 1837 (Franklin & McNeil, 1995). New Jersey and Connecticut were close behind. From the admission of Maine in 1819 until the end of the Civil War, constitutions written by every state barred Black people from voting (Goldfield, 1997).

In 1857 the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case not only that the Constitution in all the territories as well as the States protected slavery. They further ruled Black people, whether slave or free, did not nor ever had any legal standing in the courts of the United States (Quarles, 1964). By this time most states had passed laws prohibiting the slaves from reading and writing. Black people who were free during this time were in constant threat of being returned to slavery (Berlin, 1974).

The period 1830 – 1860 is marked with legal restrictions placed on free Black people and slaves. Many states placed restrictions on Black settlements in their respective states. States like Ohio and Indiana both established requirements that a person would have to meet in order to gain residence (Miller, 1919).

The Civil War only unofficially ended slavery because the XIII amendment, which was not passed until 1865 (U.S. Constitution, 1787). It was during reconstruction many laws that disenfranchised Black people were over turned. More structures were put into place that barred Black people from public office were also struck down. As a result, many Black people served in southern state legislatures, and Louisiana even had a Black
governor during this time (Giddings, 1984). To follow the XIII amendment were the XIV and XV amendments, which further solidified the new social and legal standing of Black people in America. The XIV amendment provided Black people with legal citizenship and the XV provided Black men with the right to vote (U.S. Constitution, 1787).

Civil liberties gained by Black folk during reconstruction were short lived. The Hayes-Tilden compromise in 1876 called for the removal of troops from the South. This act left former slaves at the mercy of their former masters. Lack of funding for the Freedman’s Bureaus dramatically affected educational access as well as a host of other resources. A post-war economic depression caused a pinch on resources all over the country.

Black codes established in the 1880’s, once White southerners regained power in the South, returned many Black people to the status of free slaves (Bennett, 1961). Many southern states slowly went about legally overturning civil rights gained during reconstruction. These codes generally restricted freedmen’s movements under vagrancy and apprenticeship laws. South Carolina forbade freedmen from having any occupation outside of farming and menial service; a special license was required for other types of work (Quarles, 1964).

Many legislatures gave “masters” the right to whip “servants” under eighteen years of age. In other states, Black people could be punished for “insulting gestures,” “seditious speeches”, and the crime of walking off a job. A Mississippi law enacted in late November required Black people to have a job by the second week in January (Bennett, 1961).
Steadily and methodically many White people in the South were attempting to reduce Black folk to the status of slaves without masters. The trend continued until, in 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the Plessy v. Ferguson case. Separate-but-equal became the law of the land.

While the Supreme Court ruled for separate but equal, in reality separate was inherently unequal. Separate-but-equal applied to all aspects of relations between Black and White people. Segregation called for separate restaurants, water fountains, schools, etc. (Karenga, 1993).

In the case of schools, separate but equal mandated segregated schools for Black and White children. The problem was Black schools were shortchanged when it came to resources. Teachers often had little more education than the students they taught. Some Black students had to share one book between five people if they had a book at all (Borntemps, 1961). There were places in the south and in the north where there were no schools for Black children. Black communities were taxed for schools that did not exist, and the money was used to fund schools set up for White students (Anderson 1988).

Notwithstanding the Black communities own efforts to establish schools that met their needs, the years 1900-1954 was a time of inferior schools at best and no schools at all in the worst cases. In 1915, there appears to have been no high schools for Black children in the south (Anderson, 1988). By the 1920's, the “stringency” of local Boards of Education had become commonplace.

In fact, “the pattern had been routinized; Southern school authorities consistently cried financial insolvency when pressed to support the development of common schools for Black children, and offered Black people no alternative
for establishing universal public education except through the practice of double
taxation, hard work and time” (Anderson, 1988).

Deliberate strategy and long struggle eventually changed the legal policy of separate but
equal. Brown v. the Board of Education in 1954 marked the legal end to separate but
equal. While very little changed in the country until the Supreme Court ruled the next
year that desegregation had to begin immediately, that case stands out as the end of legal
segregation (Bennett, 1961).

Understanding the role and creation of Black educational institutions can be
understood when taking into account the political, social, and legal context of the text of
the times in which they were created. A general examination of how Black educational
institutions developed provides perspective on local examinations. The political, social,
and legal development of the Black community in Franklin County can be best
understood in light of national trends and tendencies.

Franklin County, Ohio Historical Context

From the early days of this nation’s history, the Northwest Territory, of which
Ohio was a part, seemed particularly attractive to Black people because slavery was
prohibited there under the Northwest Ordinance, 1787 (Berry, 1971). This prohibition,
however, did not make Ohio the “Promised Land” for Black people. Following
admission into Statehood in 1803, the Ohio legislature promptly passed a law in 1804 to
regulate the immigration of Black and mulatto persons into the state, and passed even
more restrictive laws in 1807 to discourage Black influx into the state (Gerber, 1971).

It is unclear how consistently these laws were enforced, but they could be, and
probably were, used to harass and intimidate Black people by those so inclined. The
provisions of the Ohio Black Laws were as follows: 1) Blacks could not settle in Ohio unless within twenty (20) days a bond of $500 be paid and the signatures of two white men be secured guaranteeing this good behavior and support. 2) Black people were excluded from serving in the militia. 3) Black children could not attend common schools, and were exempted from paying taxes, which raised funds for public schools. 4) Black people had to present a certificate of freedom in order to work for more than one (1) hour. A fine of $10 to $50 was imposed on any person hiring a Black person without a certificate, and even higher fines if the Black person was suspected to be an escaped slave. 5) Black people could not testify against a white person, no matter the circumstances. 6) Black people were not allowed on juries, nor allowed to vote or hold public office (McCluskey, 1976).

Black Laws reflect contradictions inherent in the prohibition of slavery and imposition of legal, social, political, and economic restrictions that denied Black people equality of opportunity. Black people settled in Franklin County as early as 1793, when Colonel Thomas Worthington brought 60 freed slaves from Virginia (Quillin 1913). The Black population in Franklin County steadily increased until the Civil War (Ward 1993). In 1820, 132 Black people lived in Franklin County; 1830, two hundred sixteen; 1840, five hundred seventy-six; 1850, 1277 and 1860, 977 (McCluskey, 1976).

The combination of an increasing Black population in Franklin County and intense desire by the larger White communities to control it set the stage for political, social, and legal conflict. Immediately following the Civil War Black people put in motion efforts to repeal the Black laws restricting their social and political mobility (Ward, 1993). Through a variety of methods and strategies (e.g. religious organization,
political participation, social activation) Black people struggled to make a better life for themselves.

After the Civil War, there was a White backlash in Franklin County tempered only by the reconciliation of reconstruction (Gerber, 1971). In 1868, the Ohio legislature passed an Act to preserve the purity of elections, which extended voting rights to Black males. This act met strong opposition in the Ohio legislature right up to the vote that ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, which Ohio passed with a Senate vote of 19 to 18, on June 27, 1870 (Miller, 1919).

Black people in Franklin County formed political clubs, which served as socializing agents to the political process. They called a statewide convention to organize the Black vote and to reaffirm loyalty to the Republican Party. They called for political solidarity in the endorsement of U. S. Grant (R) for President in the 1870 election, the first election in which Black males were permitted to vote (McCluskey, 1976).

It is not surprising that one of the most effective leaders to early arise from the Franklin County Black community came from the Black church, an institution controlled and supported by Black people. Rev. James Preston Poindexter, was pastor of The Second Baptist Church, the largest Black church in Franklin County in 1870. He was a barber by trade whose business was located across from the State House, serving White politicians as a part of his clientele (Ward, 1993).

By 1876, some of the wholehearted support of the Republican Party was vanishing from the Black community. Many advantages experienced by Black people were disappearing as reconstruction came to an end. In an effort to appease Black people and maintain their political support, the Republicans selected Rev. Poindexter as a
delegate to the Republican Convention in 1876. He was also nominated for the State Legislature, but he lost the election to the democratic nomination (Joiner, 1912).

The years between 1880 and 1905 have been characterized as sort of “Golden Age” of Black folk in Franklin County. By 1880, Black people were a numerical majority in the eighth and ninth wards in the city of Columbus (Joiner, 1912; Ward, 1993). As a result they were able to elect five Black City Councilmen during those years. Rev. James Poindexter served 1880-86. I. D. Ross, a Penn Central Railroad employee, was elected 1886-88. Edward Triplett, a caterer, was elected 1891-93. Wilbur King, a lawyer (also served as Deputy Probate Judge, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, and on the Executive Committee of the Republican Party), served from 1896-98. J. J. Lee, a schoolteacher, was elected and served from 1902-04. Rev. Poindexter and Bishop Joshua H. Jones were also later elected to the Columbus Board of Education (Gerber, 1976).

The years between 1912 to 1937 represent a low point in the political life of Black people in Franklin County, particularly in the city of Columbus. The ward system was abolished and replaced with at-large election procedures in 1912, making it difficult for any candidate sensitive to Black issues to win an election, not to mention a Black candidate (Richard, 1932).

The Black population in Franklin County steadily increased from 1900 – 1954. A large influx of Black people occurred between 1914 and 1920, especially after 1917, as the U. S. prepared for entry into World War I (Richard, 1936). This rapidly expanding Black population was the base for supporting the growth and development in Franklin County. While the years between 1912 and 1937 yielded little politically, Black-owned businesses did well (Dowdy, 1952).
There were over one hundred (100) Black owned businesses in the Mt. Vernon area (Schoening, 1969). Segregation mandated separation between Black and White people and as a result Black communities were forced to supply many of their own needs economically (Morgan, 1954). The Mt. Vernon area is reported to have had ten physicians, six dentists, ten churches, two drug stores, and two undertakers (Morgan, 1954). In addition, there were haberdasheries, photographers, optometrists, music shoppes, printing establishments, beauticians, corporations, tailors, and real estate brokers, who were all Black (Schoening, 1969).

Black people in Franklin County largely residing in Columbus made significant strides to improve their lot by establishing educational institutions. Moreover the political, social, and legal status of Black people in Franklin County may be better understood through their efforts to build educational institutions. When it was possible, Black children in Franklin County went to common or public schools. When it was not possible, Black people went about building their own (Ward, 1993).

CONCLUSION

All research should have at its basis an extensive literature review of relevant cognate areas essential to the research questions. The foundation of this particular inquiry was related to the literature on several interrelated areas such as politics, legality, and social dynamics. These cognate areas provided this investigation with depth and a holistic analysis of the historical educational setting, in relationship to the qualitative characteristics of this query.

Central to this inquiry were issues about the status of educational history, particularly as it relates to race and institution building. In addition to educational
history, a primary concern of this research was its potential to improve upon current practice and educational policy. While the overriding themes had to do with race and educational history, another areas of interest were power relationships as related to education. The literature was utilized in this case as the foundation for the theoretical and methodological frameworks.

The majority of research in education does not detail a history of any particular community. Moreover, the information presented often does not included first-hand accounts of schools histories as left behind by the schools themselves. This work attempted to detail a qualitative view of the actual experiences of the schools in the inquiry. Certainly, more research is needed to detail the educational efforts of particular communities at particular times.
CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

Tradition of Historical Research

Historical research helps trace the development of social forms over time. In its most traditional and purest form, this approach relies on primary sources of data, such as diaries and official government documents (Wagenaar & Babbie 1995). Historical Analyses provide researchers with an interpretive understanding of the everyday relationships in a person’s, event’s or organization’s past. Historical analyses can thus be utilized to create new understandings of the social, political, economic and cultural context as viewed with the vantage of point of history (Kessler-Harris, 1990).

In historical analyses, some have made distinctions in documents and records on the basis of whether the text was prepared to attest to formal transactions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Records consequently include such things as marriage certificates, driver license, building contracts and banking statements all items prepared for verification of official matters. Documents on the other hand would be items prepared for personal or unofficial matters, such as diaries, journals, personal memos, personal letters and so on. Ian Hodder argues this is an important distinction to make because documents have a tendency to be written closer to speech. Records on the other hand are prepared for official use; they may have local uses that become very distant from officially sanctioned meanings. Not to mention the importance from a methodological standpoint,
because sometimes restrictions may prevent access to records and researchers may only have access to more personal documents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Historical analyses of school records communicate the official school positions, curriculum standards, funding practices, locations, personal roosters, enrollment figures and demographics. Document analyses tend not to provide how students felt about the day-to-day operations of a school. Nor do document analyses reveal any special relationships that may have been formed by the people in them relative to students-teacher, teacher-teacher, and parent-teacher relationships and so on. Historical analyses reveal very little of any inter-personal dynamics in particular institutions.

Historical analyses provide researchers with interpretative understandings of everyday relationships in these schools’ past, the greater community over time and the degree of change in those relationships. Thus, the utilization of history in this investigation created new understandings of social, political, and cultural context as viewed from the vantage point of ordinary’s people’s lives (Kessler-Harris, 1990). History is a challenging and creative interaction, part science and part art (Kaestle, 1988).

If history is to have a value beyond a literary form of collecting antiques, it must provide a guide to action. History must appraise the past to suggest political, social, and even economic strategies for the present and future. Like schooling, history is too inescapably political (Butchart, 1988). Moreover, the historical role of schooling in the United States is encountered every day as arguments for educational policies (Kaestle, 1988).

The foundation of the research rests on the idea that the national phenomena experienced in local settings are invariably modified by local conditions (Bahr &
Local history particularly linked to educational change is an essential element to this investigation. As a result, the particulars involved with the historical development of schooling, housing, political and social arenas at the local level represent a knowledge base this is part of any national picture. This historical investigation is an attempt to examine both public and private schoolings in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913 as holistically as possible. Certainly this investigation has to account for the larger context of historiography in order to truly be trustworthy. It is historiography that provides the framework for historical document analyses. It places a context on not only the circumstances surrounding an event or institution but also on the factors that influence the historian doing the writing.

**Historiography**

Historiography is often retrospective, examining the many ways in which scholars have written about events, people or institutions in the past (Tyack, 1988). According to Wilson Moses (1998) two major themes have surfaced as historiographies that served major frameworks for the ways in which historians have recorded the history of the Black community. Moses argues the two historiographies used most by historians as frameworks to record Black histories are: progress and decline (Moses, 1998).

This study does not seek to provide a definition of history as it is practiced by many contemporary professional historians, the objective is to seek understanding of what influenced the development of public and private educational institutions in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913. The efforts to open and establish educational institutions was informed by some overriding objectives and this inquiry seeks to
understand to what degree, if any, did these historiographies affect institution building in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.

It is true that other themes have emerged in the historiography of Black people like the self-help philosophy championed by Ida B. Wells, Paul Cuffe and Marcus Garvey and others. Self-help was a philosophy advocated by many Black people who believed the Black community should look to itself for community development (Giddings, 1988; Karenga, 1993). Notions of integration and assimilation championed by people like Mary McCloud Bethune, Frederick Douglass and to a varying degree W.E.B. DuBois. Integration was an idea promoted by many Black people who believed that community development would be directly impacted by their access to power wielding institutions (Giddings, 1988; Karenga, 1993). Even these approaches to history can be examined through the prisms of progress and decline. By and large the idea of progress and decline still serve as dominant frameworks for contemporary histories of many Black communities.

In essence, both progress and decline historiographies used by historians to write the histories of Black people viewed education as a vehicle to address the effects of White-supremacy (Burtchart, 1988). Revisionist themes often concentrated on the social embeddedness of education. Educational historians scholarship has been characterized by trend that places Black people as actors in their destiny rather than as passive victims of racism (Ward, 1993). Regardless of the epoch, theme, or historiography characterized by triumphant or vindicationist history, progressive traditions, notions of decline, most scholarship on Black educational history provided general understandings of Black
institution building efforts. To the contrary, goal of this investigation was to localize a
discussion that is often much more broad.

The methods utilized in this approach were similar and yet different to earlier
periods of history. What differed were the questions, methods, and insights extrapolated
by the data. Historical analyses allow research inquiries to be understood within the
context of the past. Consequently, this continuum provided the research with a tangible
vehicle for understanding change and continuity in Black education, and the forces that
shaped, altered, and configured this particular community during this particular time

Limitations of Historical Research

History and context surrounding a specific setting come, in part, from reviewing
documents. The review of documents is an unobtrusive method, rich in portraying the
values and beliefs of participants in the setting. Minutes of meetings, logs,
announcements, formal policy statements, letters and other written correspondence
specific to a time and place or about a particular group, all offer valuable information in
terms of validity and context. Because documents like these allow researches to read and
analyze first hand what the participants of particular setting thought, wrote, believed or
did, there value is immeasurable in terms of validity and context. Archival data are the
routinely gathered records of a society, community or organization, and may further
supplement other qualitative methods (Glense & Peshkin, 1992)

Probably the greatest strength of content analysis is that it is unobtrusive and non-
reactive: meaning it can be examined without disturbing the research site in any way. The
data is collected, and as a result the researcher determines the emphasis of information
after the data has been collected. Information can be checked, with the same care that the
analysis was applied.

One of its potential limitations is the degree of inferential reasoning. That is, the
analysis of the content of written material or film, for example, entails interpretation of
the researcher. Consequently care should be taken to display the logic of interpretation
used in inferring meanings of artifacts (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Problems associated with historical methodology should be taken into account in
the design of a historical study. One major concern in historical studies the confusion
between correlation and causation. The point here is simply two variables can have a
relationship that is not causal in nature. Two variables can both be interrelated to a third,
but neither has to be dependent on the other. For example, ice cream sales and crime
both tend to increase with temperature, but no causal relationship has been demonstrated
between either two of the variables (Wagenaar & Babbie, 1995). A second major
concern is the problem of ill-defined terms. When terms are vague to the point of lack of
a clear measurability and when definitions impose present ideas or understandings on the
past, a historical study undermines it own validity. When researchers impose present
ideas into different historical context, the ability to develop a context for any particular
event or institution is severely compromised (Wagenaar & Babbie, 1995). A third major
concern with historical studies is to distinguish between intent and consequences.
Historians have to take particular care not to evaluate the intent and actions of those in
the past with contemporary values (Kaestle, 1988).

All these concerns should be taken into account when analyzing or making
generalizations about people, events, and institutions in the past. Historians must
remember there is no single methodology in history. In essence, historical methodology should lend itself to broader definition and scope, new questions, new methods and new insights. (Kaestle, 1988). When historical analyses account for these concerns it facilitates a probability of engaging in “good” qualitative research.

**Characteristics of “Good” Qualitative Research**

According to scholars like Eisner, the test of “good” qualitative can be measured against six criteria. The six criteria are: one, a qualitative research is field focused. Two, qualitative relates to the self as an instrument. Three, qualitative research is interpretive. Four, qualitative research should display the use of expressive language and the presence of voice in the text. Five, qualitative research pays attention to particulars. Six, criteria for judging success is based on its coherence, insight, and instrumental utility (Eisner, 1991).

Scholars like Ball argue data and data analysis and interpretation of data, are separated from the social processes that generated them (Ball, 1990). The notion of validity is built on the key instrument in the research, the researcher because all qualitative research should have some idea of the instrument employed– which was the researcher him or herself (Ball, 1990). Eisner concurs because he argues a key component to qualitative research is the researcher him or herself. Some qualitative researchers argue the researcher is more important than the method when determining validity.
Validity

Maxwell notes "validity has been a key issue in debates over the legitimacy of qualitative research" (Maxwell, 1994, 279). Maxwell proposes the questions of validity in qualitative research rest on "a realist conception of validity that sees the validity of an account as inherent, not in the procedures used to produce and validate it, but in its relationship to those things that it is intended to be an account of (Maxwell, 281). As a result, he warrants that understanding is a more fundamental concept for qualitative research than validity that is based on how qualitative researchers think about and deal with validity in their actual practice (Maxwell, 281-282). In essence, Maxwell is arguing the basis for validity in qualitative research extracted from the researcher's understanding of validity through an understanding of the relationship between the described accounts and context (Maxwell, 283). Therefore, validity refers to accounts, not data or methods, because validity is relative to purpose, circumstances, and inferences that could be drawn from the data.

Maxwell contends "validity" is not an inherent property of the particular method, but pertains to the data, accounts, or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose. Overall, validity is related to the kind of understanding that an account can embody and are related to descriptive, interpretive, theoretical and evaluative validity. Maxwell raises the issue of evaluative validity in order to demonstrate its connections to the other kinds of validity. Moreover, he asserts questions of evaluative validity create issues of an account's evaluative validity, and no account is immune to such questions (Maxwell, 295).
Problems and Issues with Purposeful Sampling (Questions of Validity)

Currently there are several views concerning the limitations and advantages of purposeful samples in general. A major concern with purposeful samples is that they are subjective. Other criticisms are: it produces more questions than answers, they fail to add to the disciplined scientific generalization, and they fail to provide resources to social practice (Stake, 1995).

Subjectivity is certainly understood to be a major concern for all relatively small samples. Stake argues qualitative inquiry by nature is subjective, but the subjectivity produces understanding in the complexity of the inquiry. For that reason, he states it is the intent of qualitative research to promote a subjective research approach. Subjectivity is not seen as a failing needed to be eliminated, but as an essential element of the understanding (Stake, 1995).

Qualitative researchers can choose between intrinsic cases (interest) or instrumental cases (insights), the real business of qualitative research is the study of particularization. One way to ensure "good" qualitative research is through the researcher who must spend substantial time in the context of the case, maintain personal contact with the activities and operations of the case, reflecting, revising meanings of what is going on (Stake, 1994). Furthermore, qualitative researchers have to take responsibility to minimize misinterpretation and misunderstanding. This is considered consequential validity by Stake (Stake 1994).

Stake argues the significance of purposeful sampling and case studies is not related to its ability to provide generalization. Case studies derive value in the refining of theory and suggesting complexities for further investigation, as well as helping to
establish the limits of generalizability (Stake, 1994). The ability to represent the particulars of a case in order to create an understanding of a particular case has value in itself. Overall, qualitative research is a valid research paradigm with its own criteria of what constitutes “good” research regardless of the method employed.

The notion of “good” qualitative research is often subject to the researchers beliefs, intent, and cultural orientation (Gordon, 1994). The theoretical framework, paradigms, and approaches generated by African American researchers, for the most part, have been marginalized within literary and academic circles in the United States (Gordon, 1994). Despite this forced invisibility many African American researchers have made considerable contributions to both research methodology and knowledge production (Gordon, 1994). Many cultural productions of knowledge fall outside more mainstream beliefs about what is “good” qualitative research (Asante, 1987; Gordon, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1996; Siddle-Walker, 1996).

One consideration that had to be taken into account is the notion of “good” qualitative research. The idea of “good” qualitative research is certainly a loaded term in need of context. For purposes of this research “good” qualitative research is established by the standard set by the leaders in the field. However, it is done with the cultural understanding that the mainstream research and methodologies are sometimes in opposition to the approach and paradigms utilized by many African American scholars and other researchers of color. Where the difference is irreconcilable a new standard of “good” qualitative research had to and should have been established.

Purposeful samples can utilize history as a means for generating new theoretical understandings (Sjoberg, Orum & Feagin 1992). Historical writing is often selective and
interpretive. It is necessarily guided by the individual historian’s sense of what is important, where to find meaning, and how social change and human motivation (Kaestle, 1988). Theories influence the choice of evidence historians gather and accept as well as interpretations of data. Theories cause historians to look in particular places for particular pieces of information. More simply put, sometimes what you find is a result of where and for what you were searching.

Where historians locate themselves in terms of a theoretical framework depends on their beliefs regarding history and theory. It is no surprise historians have utilized models of explanation. Models can embody pieces of theory and provide an explanatory approach (Kaestle, 1992). A historian’s inclination toward any one theory determines which theory, if any, what data, and what model the historian would utilize. Regardless of the position taken, there are methodological issues that must be considered.

**Methodological Insights**

An historical approach combined with a variety of data sources and the utilization of multiple theoretical frameworks provided this inquiry with a geographical, political, social and historical context in which Black schooling was and continues to be embedded in Franklin County, Ohio. Moreover, the methodology supplied this research with a knowledge base and valuable insights from which to examine the past and present ethos of schooling in Franklin County, Ohio. Thus, historical document analysis, historiography, and critical race theory converged to provide the crux of the methodology, theoretical and analytical framework of this study. Hence, these are the philosophical foundations that formed a multi-method and analytical framework often existent in purposeful samples (Coulby, 1992; Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991).
methodology revealed several interesting interconnections between and across
disciplinary boundaries that affected Black urban education and schooling (Hill & Jones,
1995).

A qualitative case study/purposeful sample with historical underpinnings was
chosen as the primary method to answer the research questions: Stake contends,

The real business of case study/purposeful sample is particularization. We take a
particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from
others, but what it is, and what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies
knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on
understanding the case itself (Stake, 1995, 8).

Thus, it was this researcher's intent to examine the uniqueness of this particular
community from a comprehensive approach as much as possible given the limitations of
qualitative research. Moreover, a purposeful sample/case study bounded by space and
location, a unique feature of the community, along with the context in which it was
embedded, allowed the researcher to utilize past and present sources relevant to
illuminating the uniqueness of this particular community. In essence, case study/
purposeful sample approach furnished the methodological framework and it enabled the
researcher to gather as much "thick description" as possible.

While case study/purposeful sampling has its limitations, this method was still
appropriate for this study because it afforded the researcher with an understanding of
Franklin County, Ohio bound within an historical and contextual framework. The
primary purpose of the case study/purposeful sample was to explicate the uniqueness of
this particular case, but this approach can also lead to the reconfiguration of
generalizations (Stake, 1995). Furthermore, theoretical generalizations can be garnered
from this kind of inquiry. (Orum, Feagin, & Sjoberg, 1991; Snow & Anderson, 1991; Yin
1991). Many scholars maintain new interpretations and concepts or reexamination of earlier concepts and interpretations in different ways can be accomplished through this kind of research (Orum, Feagin, & Sjoberg, 1991; Snow & Anderson, 1991; Yin 1991). In fact Snow and Anderson maintain case study/purposeful sampling can develop new theory or extend existing theory (Snow & Anderson, 1991).

**Purpose of Research**

In 1840, formal education began in Ohio for Black children, however, from the very beginning of public education, separate schools were mandated (Miller, 1919). The present and future both stand upon the legs of the past. Without clear understanding of where we have been, we can have no clear understanding of our best future options (Dubios 1912). Unless the past is critically analyzed and meticulously assessed, it is difficult to avoid repetition in the worst ways.

It is the position of this researcher that retrospection is a necessary part of progress, particularly in educational contexts. Without the occasional glance backward at that which has gone before us, identifying methods and ideas that have already been tried, how can progress, regress, or even complacency be measured. Scholars vary a great deal on how they measure progress in education, yet however you measure it, the claim must be anchored in historical context or, like untied water buoys, the discussion can float away with no discernible course or destination.

A study of this type is important for several reasons. First, although Franklin County has been the subject of several studies, none so far have explored similarities and differences of African American schools during this period. Few studies have attempted
to examine the impact of state educational law and policy on African American schools during this period in this place (Ward, 1996).

Second, a study of this type could help construct a more holistic picture of the history Black education in this country, particularly in Franklin County, Ohio. Several scholars have written about Black people's education in the south, or in other specific areas during particular time periods. Scholars such as James D. Anderson (1988), Carter G. Woodson (1919; 1933), Henry Allen Bullock (1988), and W.E.B. Dubois (1913), have all written works that give broad views of Black education in America that assist in developing general understandings related to the education of the Black community in the United States.

Third, this study is important in that it may provide insight into the condition of contemporary Black education in particular, but also to the state of education in general. Examinations of the past often shed new light on existing theory and practice. Studying what has already been done and tried makes current program developments more efficient and considerate of potential concerns.

**Justification of Inquiry**

Qualitative research has traditionally been utilized in anthropology and other social sciences, but its usage in education still remains relatively new (Eisner, 1991). Many scholars such as Kliebard 1986 have argued that education research has largely been predicated on the legacy of the progressive era. Research in education has relied heavily on positivism which has been the dominant method of inquiry since the turn of the century (Patton, 1990).
Qualitative research is an umbrella term for various philosophical orientations to interpretive research (Glense & Peshkin, 1992). Still many scholars argue all research is interpretive to some degree or another (Eisner, 1991). Generally a researcher's choice of methodology is primarily established by the nature of his or her research questions. Ultimately a researcher should employ methods that are most suitable to his or her inquiry. This study is embedded in an historical and cultural context, and the questions chosen to guide this query reflect that reality (Glense & Peshkin, 1992). A historical investigation of an event or institution must be anchored in the context and circumstances that helped to facilitate it. A historical investigation should do more than simply report facts. It should facilitate an understanding of why the facts themselves came to be. The cultural context is just as important because it encourages an understanding of the worldview of those who participated. Why they were there? What did the event or institution mean to them? What other options did they have? These are the kind of inquiries that cannot be quantified.

Qualitative research offers a multitude of approaches, methodologies and theories. In reality, qualitative research does not establish one best way. There are only choices based the philosophical underpinnings of the research, nature of reality (ontology), the nature of knowledge (epistemology), and how the researcher obtains data (methodology). Qualitative and quantitative research are both designed and based on the intent of the research (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000).

Research Design

The design of this research is predicated on the purpose of the research which has three objectives: First, the primary goal is to examine the historical development of Black
educational institutions, particularly as it relates to their creation and role, by using Franklin County as a sort of case study to locally analyze national phenomenon. Second, is to investigate the impact of policy and law on these efforts around the country but giving special attention to Franklin County. Third, using the past as a guide provided ideas and approaches that serve to improve the state of public education in general, but in particular the education of Black children.

Problem Statement

African American student achievement has been the subject of a great deal of scholarship and study. While there has been increasing study in this area, and in many school districts Black student achievement remains consistently below that of their White counter parts (McAdoo & McAdoo 1985; Kozol, 1996). Columbus Public Schools report that nearly 50 percent of its Black students drop out of school before high school graduation (Columbus Dispatch 2001). Chicago has schools where the drop-out rates are in excess of 70 percent (Kozol, 1991).

Current movements in education have done little to improve the conditions that many students of African decent face on a daily basis. The purpose of this study is to return to the origin of public school movements in Franklin County, Ohio, and attempt to provide some understanding as to when and how the current reality was shaped. An examination of the past may yield some results that analyses of the present frankly have not.

Urban Schools have historically manifested inequities in terms of race, class and gender through their school curriculum, procedure and results (Kliebard, 1986; Giroux, 1983; Karabel & Halsey, 1977). Urban schools represent the educational setting for a vast
majority of Black children (Ladson-Billings 1994). It is unclear as to whether urban
schools are the result of inequity or if they indeed themselves perpetuate it. It is therefore
appropriate to examine the historical development of public education.

Sampling Decision

Once researchers have focused and determined research questions, another
important step is to decide sample size (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). For this research
schools operated to educate Black children in both public and private have been chosen
for the research methodology. These institutions exemplify purposeful sampling and
particularization (Patton, 1990), but not generalizability.

The intent of purposeful sampling is to acquire rich data that clarify chosen
research questions. Purposeful sampling allows for the possibilities of in-depth study
(Patton, 1990). Qualitative researchers typically focus in depth on relatively small
samples; sometimes-even single studies cases (n=1), selected purposefully. Quantitative
studies typically depend on larger samples, selected randomly (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

Therefore, the sampling decision to choose a purposeful sample with a relatively
small group is relevant to qualitative research because the purpose of many qualitative
studies is to inform action, enhance decision-making and apply knowledge to solve
human and societal problems. The purpose of this study is to render understanding rather
than generalizations (Patton, 1990). This researcher chose five, three public and two
private, schools to gain rich information and accessibility. Additionally they were
selected these schools have not been studied in this way before.

When a researcher chooses a purposeful sample as their sampling decision, the
researcher is often interested in the particularity and complexity of specific time and
space, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances (Stake, 1995).

Certainly one principle weakness of such a sample is the possibility that the cases selected may be less typical than the researcher assumed. Nonetheless, the significance of such a sample may be valuable in and of itself as a study of urban schooling in Franklin County, Ohio.

**A Case for Purposeful Sampling/Case Study**

Cases study are a type of purposeful sample, purpose sample are data sets collected from particular settings predetermined by the Researchers (Dentin & Lincoln, 2000). Purposeful samples can have numbers ranging from one (case study) to 20 (Denzin, 1989). This inquiry will have a sample of five. The advantage associated with purposeful sampling is the ability to study people in their real world or natural settings. It provides the ability to facilitate holistic understandings of complex social networks, complexity of social action and social meanings. Purposeful samples promote the ability to study dimensions of time and history, and to examine concepts of continuity and change, purposeful sampling helps to generate theory construction (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991).

Moreover, purposeful samples are used to study schools or even a school system. Purposeful samples allow for in-depth examinations of the multiplicity of qualities existent within the boundaries of the schools such as curriculum aspects, funding practices, and impact of policy and law. In total, purposeful samples provide researchers with the opportunity to understand the complexity of the interactions of variables that contribute to the uniqueness of a group.
Research Procedures

1. Identify Black schools existing in Franklin County between 1870 and 1913 using document analysis. These schools were identified from a variety of sources: city directories with the corresponding years, primary documents at the Ohio Historical Society Columbus, Ohio, periodicals published during the period, and oral narratives. Every school for Black children is referenced as a "colored school" for the period in question in the city directories. Primary documents of schools at the Ohio Historical Society lists schools self-identified as "colored" for the period in question. Newspapers and other periodicals also identified schools as "colored" when appropriate. Lastly, investigation oral of narratives of schools that were supposed to have serviced only Black children.

2. Deleting any schools from this list that could be documented by formal or state documentation. Formal and state documentation consisted of primary documentation from the schools themselves or state documentation such as deed transfers.

3. Establishing subcategories for these schools; Private and Public.

4. Recording curricular aspects, impact of policy and law, and funding practice from documentation. Circular activities were limited to documents that verified what was taught at the schools.

5. Analyze data with theoretical framework.

This study covered 43 years, 1870-1913, which also included the years 1870 and 1913. The year 1870 is important because it marks the year Black men were granted the
right to vote. In 1910 the black community filed a Law Suit protesting the building of Champion Middle School on the grounds it was in violation of the state's current integration laws. The Law Suit was not settled until 1913. This is the only time period in which the Franklin County built public schools for the expressed purpose of educating Black children. No other period in history of Franklin County schooling included the building of 3 private schools for the expressed purpose of educating Black children. The period 1870 to 1913 provides the best period in which an analysis of Black public and private schools could be developed.

Written documents used to collect data for this research came from a variety of sources. Documentation came from annual reports submitted to the Ohio Department of Education, including local superintendent reports; minutes of the Franklin County of Ohio Board of Education, past student records, records held at the Ohio Historical Society, and any other government documents. Letters and memorandums; Institutional archives, obituaries, census reports, land deeds, city and county maps, education directories, pictures, and brochures may also provide very useful information on the subject.

As a historical study, this research involved an extensive use of primary data. The first of objective of this study was to obtain the names of all Black schools in Franklin County between 1870 and 1913. In order to formulate a list of these schools, from the city directory for Black schools in the time in question, both the hard copy and those records that were kept on microfilm needed to be assessed. As I viewed these records, I made a list of every school that was recorded. I then verified the existence of all schools
in this study with primary (city directories or actual school documents) and secondary
document (mostly periodicals e.g. local new papers and journals).

The next stage involved collecting as much data, in the three areas identified, on
each school as possible. To do this, descriptive as well as narrative research will be
employed. The areas of interest were funding, impact of policy and law and curricular
aspects of each school. Once data was collected on these institutions I divided them into
two categories public and private schools.

Using analytic methodology, these groups were then analyzed to discover any
similarities as well as differences, particularly as it relates to impact of policy and law,
funding, and curricular aspects. Finding out as much as possible about these schools
includes their location. Maps were used to determine school locations.

As in all, research this study had limitations. One limitation is the fact that local
educational records were kept or not kept at the discretion of White Board of Education
members. Private schools may have lacked the resources to establish documentation that
they existed, not to mention details about their operations, but this is merely a
speculation. Some important data may have probably been lost due to neglect or its
declared insignificance by those who could have recorded and preserved more Black
local history. Therefore, the study is limited to only data that could be confirmed with
written records and documents.

Before researchers enter the field and collect data, they should situate themselves
methodologically and theoretically. Self as researcher is a concept not only related to the
theoretical and methodological perspective of the researcher, but also to issues of
trustworthiness, ethics and access to data. Overall, in order to assure “good” data,
researchers should know his or her methodology, their theoretical position, and how they provide conceptualization of the research design.

Data Collection

The actual data sources chosen were dependent on the research questions and the design of the research. The research problem in this study centered on several categories: funding, history, curriculum issues, impact of policy and law, and Black student education. The data sources were multiple which helped to assure triangulation.

Data collection proceeded on many simultaneous, yet different levels. The fact this was a historical study resulted in the research utilizing documentary data from archives, newspaper articles, school records, personal papers and previous dissertations. The data sources were rich and provided the framework for conceptualizing the chapters of this dissertation.

Data Analysis

A purposeful sample (Glense & Peshkin, 1992) was chosen as the research methodology to obtain the data. A purposeful sample method was employed to facilitate the utilization of multiple sources as well as theory in the design, implementation, and analysis of the research. This research focused on Black public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio as the primary cite of data collection. The historiography and historical analysis of Wilson Jeremiah Moses, particularly Afrotopia, provided the theoretical basis for questions concerning the linkages of these educational institutions and their historical context. Historical document analysis and to some degree critical race theory both served as a basis for analysis and interpretation.
Data was gathered primarily through primary and secondary resources. Data analysis began simultaneously while data was being collected as has been suggested by some qualitative scholars (Potter & Wethernell, 1987). The theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this research also influenced the questions, qualities analyzed, and the subsequent conclusions. An important theoretical underpinning of this research is there was a direct impact of educational policy and law on the development of Black educational institutions in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Moreover, another underpinning analysis of this research is that public and private schools whose focus was educating Black children had a shared interest. The research questions themselves were born out of the researchers theoretical position. The research questions selected to facilitate this inquiry were in part derived from the researchers pre-conceived notions about the relationship between public and private schools.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Nagel defines theory as "any more or less systematic analysis of a set of related concerns" (Kliebard, 1986). On the other hand, scholars like McAdams purport that it matters not the degree of elegant articulation or its logistics, it only matters that it predicts or describes empirical data (McAdam, 1982). As a result, historical document analysis served as the foundation for the analytical framework for the empirical phenomena collected in this research. The questions utilized in this inquiry were fundamentally concerned with issues history, understanding and empowerment. Consequently, critical race theory also informs this inquiry because its application to educational policy and law provides framework for its evaluation.
Fundamentally, this study was concerned with the politics and history of Black people’s educational efforts, particularly in Franklin County, Ohio. It is therefore that historical analysis was utilized because it helps provide clear understanding of change over time as well as indicate key factors of local historical change that directly or indirectly effects schooling (Bahr & Caplow, 1991).

Certainly one major concern with purposeful samples is the inability to make generalizations from the data, but generalization is not the goal of this inquiry. This investigation is concerned with the particulars of these circumstances. Additionally, purposeful samples and case study’s facilitate the ability to facilitate more in-depth analyses of people, events and institutions. The primary of objective is to examine the particulars of schools both public and private in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Moreover this inquiry has an objective to understand what this may tell us about the historical education of Black children for the same time and place. Another strength of purposeful samples and case studies is that they allow researchers to use multiple theories of analysis (Patton, 1990; Stake 1995).

The central method employed in this case is document analysis of primary and secondary sources. This method was utilized because it allows for depth and breadth in data collection. Moreover, theses, dissertations, journal articles, and newspaper articles were used. These data sources allowed for triangulation with permitted “several points of sources for the data. (Denzin, 1989).

Qualitative research can lend itself to the development of “theoretical generation and generalization. Theoretical generalization involves suggesting new interpretations and concepts or reexamining earlier concepts and interpretations in major and innovative
ways" (Oram, Feagin & Sjoberg, 13). The intent of this research is to determine the particulars of this investigation as well as provide new theoretical understandings (Orfield, 1994). Historians usage of theory or a model not only provides a framework for understanding the phenomena studied, but also an explanation of the relationships existent in the particular setting. Regardless of the explanatory model, the usage of theory has been linked to the kind of educational history they were constructing/conducting. Comparative history often lends itself to quantitative methods (Coulby, 1992).

**Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theory is linked to the development of African Americans in the post civil rights era (Tate, 1996). The historical origin of critical race theory provides a contextual understanding to contemporary legal debates concerning the effectiveness of law to bring about social justice. Some of the theory's earliest scholars Bell and Freeman can be traced back to the 1970s (Delgado, 1995). According to Delgado (1995) both Bell and Freeman were deeply concerned with the slow pace of racial reform in the United States. The purpose of critical race theory is to examine racial issues within the context of their economic and social and political dimensions from a legal standpoint (Bell 1993).

Bell arguably may be the most influential source of thought critical of traditional civil rights discourse (Tate, 1996). Bell employs three major arguments in his analysis of racial patterns in U.S. law: 1.) Constitutional contradiction, 2.) The interest convergence principle, and 3.) The price of racial remedies. In the constitutional contradiction Bell argued that the framers of the Constitution chose the rewards of property over justice. The interest convergence, Bell maintains whites will promote racial advances for Black people only when they also promote white self-interest. Finally, in the price of racial
remedies Bell argues whites will not support legal legislation or policy that may threaten white social status.

Crenshaw, another influential critical race theory advocate argued that little difference exists between conservative and liberal discourse on race-related law and policy (Crenshaw et. Al, 1995) Crenshaw (1988) identifies two distinct properties in the anti-discrimination law: expansive and restrictive properties. The Expansive view stresses the equality as outcome relying on the courts to eliminate effects of racism in the law. The Restrictive view treats equality as a process. Its focus is to prevent any future wrongdoing. Crenshaw argues both expansive and restrictive properties coexist in the anti-discrimination law. The implication of Crenshaw’s argument is that failure of the restrictive principle to address or correct the racial injustices of the past simply perpetuates the status quo.

Finally, the significance of critical race theory is its increasing application to scholarship in education in the 1990’s. (Tate et al, 1993). The employment of Crenshaw’s expansive and restrictive view in evaluating historical educational policy and law can be helpful in understanding the implication of such laws. In essence they lead us to the conclusion that restrictive interpretation of anti-discrimination laws inhibited Black students educational opportunity.

Critical race theory begins with the notion that racism is normal, not aberrant, in U.S. society (Delgado, 1995). Critical race theory has as an underpinning that racism is enmeshed in the fabric of this society’s social order, by and large it appears both natural and normal to people in this society (Bell, 1987; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Denzin
Critical race theory attempts to interject a cultural viewpoint of people of color, derived from a common historical oppression.

While there is no set of doctrines or methodologies to which critical race scholars all subscribe, there does seem to be two points that unify their common interests. First, they seem to be motivated to understand the inter-workings of White supremacy and its subordination of people of color (Bell, 1987; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The second point is they seem to have a desire to change the perceived bond between law and racial power (Bell, 1987; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

The historical origins of critical race theory can help provide a contextual understanding of the legal and political climate of Black institution building in Franklin County, Ohio between 1870-1913. Critical race theory operates under the assumption that race is an essential element or unit of analysis to understanding the experiences of Black people in the United States. The examination of the role of race in Black institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio is an essential aspect to understanding the context of the effort. Race appears to have been a contributing factor to allocation of resources, location of schools, teacher and students demographics and in almost every other facet of institution building in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.

This discussion will primarily utilize the work of Kimberle’ Crenshaw and Derrick Bell who is arguably one of the most influential scholars in critical race theory. Bell employs three major arguments in his analysis of racial patterns in U.S. law: Constitutional contradiction, the interest convergence principle, and the price of racial
remedies. The works of both Crenshaw and Bell provided a theoretical lens to view and understand the development of Black institutions in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.

Bell (1993) asserts racial orientations extend back to the decision of the framers of the constitution to reward property over justice and hence created a constitutional contradiction. Bell (1987) argues the men who drafted the constitution had to resolve conflicting interests in order to preserve both their fortunes and their new nation. What they saw as a requirement of forming a new nation prevented them from substantiating their rhetoric about freedom and rights with constitutional provisions. As a result they infringed on the rights and freedoms of free Black people and slaves (Bell, 1987).

The constitutional contradiction certainly seemed to be the case in Ohio and particularly in Franklin County. While the Northwest Ordinance 3 written in 1787 prevented slavery in the Northwest Territory, it did not prevent Ohio from passing laws that restricted the rights of otherwise free Black people. Black people were restricted on the circumstances under which they were permitted to enter the state. No civil rights were guaranteed in the Northwest Ordinance, and as a result Black people were not allowed to vote, participate on juries and a host of other rights taken for granted by the larger White community.

Another influential scholar in critical race theory that is relevant to the historical development of Black educational institutions is Kimberle’ Crenshaw. Crenshaw identifies two distinct areas of anti-discrimination law: one she termed the expansive view and the other the restrictive view. The expansive view stresses equality as an outcome and seeks to enlist the restrictive view of equality, which co-exists with the
expansive, treats equality as a process (Crenshaw, 1988). According to Crenshaw the primary goal of anti-discrimination law, in the restrictive view, is to stop future acts of wrong doing rather than correct present forms of past injustice.

The expansive view of anti-discrimination as asserted by Crenshaw (1995) was an attempt to appreciate the complexity of relating equal process to equal results. Crenshaw was responding to critics who argued the right to vote is guaranteed, not the right to win. It is Crenshaw’s assertion that no measure of a process’s effectiveness can be wholly separated from the purpose for which it was initiated.

Critical race theory is a theoretical framework that investigates the role of race in the development of law and legal procedure. Critical race theory argues that law and legal procedure have been used to both subordinate people of color and promote the interests of White supremacy. Critical race theory recognizes race as endemic to U.S. society, deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically. Moreover, critical race theory portrays dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy as camouflages for the self-interest of powerful entities in society. Some critical race scholars examine the link between educational equity and racial justice; they examine how to change notions of justice that may give rise to different interpretations of educational equity.

The development of educational institutions for Black children in Franklin County, Ohio were subject to the same contradictions first established by the constitutional convention and then again with civil rights violations in Ohio. As early as 1821 Ohioans recognized the need to educate children. By the year 1829, White
communities in Franklin County, Ohio legislatively made it clear that the education of
children did not include Black children, consequently Black children were barred from
attending any public school until 1848. The legislative contradictions varied as Black
people sought to attend White public schools, establish their own, or settle for segregated
public schools.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research demonstrated how a qualitative case study situated
with an historical context could be explicated. The main aspects of qualitative research
represents a continuum from which the complexities of these schools can be located,
analyzed and presented. While qualitative research has been sometimes criticized
because of its utilization of subjectivity, qualitative researchers contend they can produce
“good” research through triangulation, and other measures of quality that are not
established with positivistic inquiry. Triangulation involves not only utilizing more than
one method, but also more than one method of analysis; method and analyses that would
include purposeful sampling/case study, document analysis, critical race theory, grounded
theory and a host of other methods and analyses that simply can not be measured with
quantitative analyses and methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Qualitative researchers employ a plethora of methods from which to collect data,
one such method is case study/purposeful sample. Case study/purposeful sample was
chosen as the method of data collection and analysis based on the research questions, the
purpose of the study and the interest of the researcher. The research method proved to be
congruent with the design and the theoretical framework.

Michigan and Indiana. It prohibited slavery but did not provide for any civil rights.
CHAPTER 4
DATA PRESENTATION

Black Schooling efforts in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913

Prior to 1870 Ohio’s public schools in general, but Franklin County in particular, represented a lack educational opportunity for Black children. The Black suffrage-oriented Ohio Equal Rights League attempted in the 1860’s to gain legislation providing for the establishment of Black schools in any district where there were Black children (Equal Rights league, 1865). While these efforts failed in most cases, nevertheless in five counties changes were occurring in Ohio. For example, there were public schools for “colored” children in Hamilton and Lorain County as early as 1831 (Gerber, 1976).

While many counties in Ohio sought to establish public schools for White children only, Black people took an interest in establishing their own schools (Ward, 1996).

Urbanization in Franklin County had a number of social implications. It accelerated the pace of socioeconomic stratification among Black people and reinforced the assimilation of White middle-class norms among the aspiring and ambitious people in the Black community (Gerber, 1976). In urban areas socioeconomic mobility was more evident than in rural areas. Symptomatic of the mobility-conscious mood, there were frequent protests of a small vocal number of Black parents in Franklin County. The context of urban culture and the urban job market, the relationship between education and
social mobility were most salient in Columbus because of its urbanization. These protests often were related to either attendance to of a demographically convenient white school or building a school for Black children. Protests involved petitioning the legislature, the school board, and holding public meetings for the purpose of expressing dissent. One method of protest favored by Black parents in Franklin County who wanted public school formal instruction for their children: was to enroll Black children (typically less than five) in white schools. In Franklin, county the school board opened the doors of the White schools to Black children rather than go to the expense of providing separate facilities (Gerber, 1976).

After years of unsuccessful struggle for equal educational facilities in Franklin County Black leaders and parents and community members at large began to lead the charge on repealing Ohio’s separate school law. They articulated the belief that racial and individual advancement depended not only on quality education, but also on the integration of all children into the public school system. In the late 1860’s Franklin County had two schools in its “Colored” school system, both schools were located in the city of Columbus. One school was located southeast of downtown and the other was known as the “alley school”, located at the juncture of two alleys in the downtown east Long street area (Minor, 1936).

In 1870, a number of Black parents in Columbus demanded the creation of a “Colored” board of directors, similar to one in Hamilton County’s, to oversee “colored” schools in Franklin County. Black men having secured the right to vote in 1870, threatened to use lawsuits and votes to garner a fair opportunity to school funds. In 1871, the Board of Education in the city of Columbus responded to the pressure by providing
the Black community with an abandoned White school in the heart of the East Long
Street area to replace the “Alley School.” The new “colored” school was named in honor
of Dr. Sterling Loving, known and came to be known as the Loving School (The Ohio
state Journal, 1872;17).

Population changes quickly made this settlement inadequate. In the years
between 1870 and 1880 the Black population in Franklin County grew by nearly 1200,
with most residing in the city of Columbus (Minor, 1936). Attendance at the Loving
school tripled from 1872- 1879, straining both the facility and the staff. Moreover,
Franklin County had a 56 percent rise in White population, again the majority settling in
Columbus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number of Black People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>51,647</td>
<td>3,010</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>88,150</td>
<td>5,547</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>125,560</td>
<td>8,201</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>181,511</td>
<td>12,181</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>237,031</td>
<td>22,181</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Columbus Demographics From 1880 – 1920 (Bryant, 1993)*

In September 1881, faced with overcrowding, Black people’s demands for new
schools and concerns about the serious decay of the Loving school resulted in the
Columbus School Board agreeing to build another colored school by the end of the year
1882. In June of 1882 Black parents in the southeastern part of Franklin County
demanded schools closer to their residence. While the board refused to build additional
structures they invited them to send their children to nearby White schools wherever it was convenient to do so (Erickson, 1891).

Surprisingly, integration of Black students into White schools brought little conflict. Black people were only 6 percent of Franklin County’s total population, with most living in Columbus. Moreover, half of the city’s Black population of 3000 were scattered throughout the city while the other half was located primarily in downtown Columbus in an area known as Mt. Vernon.

The country’s overall trend toward greater racial conflict and segregation in public accommodations had its complement in Franklin County (Bryant, 1983). While many White communities accepted the attendance of Black students into their schools, simultaneously many White communities were very resistant to Black teachers teaching at predominantly White schools. Between the years 1887 and 1916, Franklin County was one of only a few integrated school systems in Ohio. This reality seems to have come at the expense of Black teachers, who were more often then not fired at the closing of “colored” schools and not reassigned (Gerber, 1976). In 1899, “more than 28,500 Black teachers were employed in the country” (Perkins, 1983, 23). Of that number, eleven Black teachers worked in Franklin County. Each teacher was required to teach in places that had a majority of Black Youth (Ward, 1993).

In response to requests that Black teachers be retained, school officials were often frank in stating it might happen if Black parents consented to the preservation of separate schools, or the initiation of separate classrooms within otherwise integrated schools. Columbus City Schools were one of a few districts where Black teachers were able to
find employment with some regularity (Perkins 1983, 17-20). Usually, these teachers could only find work in schools with substantial Black populations.

At monthly meetings beginning in 1901, the Columbus School Board members, often at the urging of White constituents whose children attended schools with Black students, began to introduce proposals calling for the creation of separate “Colored” schools. When schools were not an option they asked for separate classrooms within integrated schools, or the reassignment of Black pupils in predominantly White schools to buildings with larger Black enrollments. Fearing perhaps that it might run afoul of the state’s integrated school laws, the board always defeated these resolutions, though seldom by large majorities. Yet the search for remedies continued, and the board was finally led to experiment with a gerrymandered school district. In 1909 the district was redrawn so that as many Black students as possible would be brought into a new school. Champion Avenue Elementary School was opened to 300 Black students in 1911, and all four Black teachers in the district were reassigned to the new school (Columbus Board of Education minutes, 1909).

While educational efforts in Franklin county were creating networks supportive of educational institutions, they were also engaged in efforts to re-establish or revitalize separate “colored” schools which had been weakened by times of school desegregation. Black leaders took their community’s case to the courts in opposition to the gerrymandering in Columbus that occurred between 1908 and 1913(Gerber, 1976). The common pleas courts and circuit level courts both upheld the district’s legal right to gerrymander. The Columbus Dispatch reported the following:
A decision of the circuit holds that the Board of Education of Columbus acted within its authority when it described the territorial district from which pupils to the Champion Avenue School building were drawn, and that it acted within its discretion in appointing a staff of all colored teachers.

The suit was brought by Charles Smith, a colored man, who says that the board acted illegally knowingly named only set the limits of the district in such a way that only colored pupils would be drawn into the school. He also charged that the board acted without authority in appointing an all colored teacher staff. (Columbus Dispatch, 1912).

Consequently, between the year 1913 and 1954, Franklin County in effect returned to segregated schools. While Brown v. the Board of Education was decided in 1954, desegregation of schools did not take place in Columbus until the late nineteen seventies (Ward, 1993).

School building efforts in Franklin County have primarily originated with three groups. Prior to 1849 most schools for Black children were privately owned and operated. While many private secular institutions existed well beyond that date, after 1849 public/common schools tended to dominate schooling efforts. The first church schools appear as early as 1852 with the efforts of St. Paul A.M.E. By the 1860's there were at last two public schools that serviced black youth. Common/public schools in Franklin County were chartered as early as 1841; 1845 marked the organization of the Columbus public school System (Gerber, 1976).

**Public Schools in Franklin County 1870 – 1913**

From 1860 to 1900 two periodicals served as the primary means to receive daily printed news in Franklin County. Those periodicals were The Ohio State Journal and The Ohio Statesman. The Ohio State journal was a weekly paper whose circulation was

79
the largest in Franklin County until the Columbus Dispatch. As a result The Ohio State Journal was heavily used to record and advertise community announcements. Due to the importance of both periodicals they were frequently cited to document events that took place between 1860 to 1900.

Heretofore Public/common School refers to educational institutions called schools that were bought, maintained, and supervised with public monies and state certified personnel. Prior to 1870 there were two public schools that serviced “colored” children. One school was located in an alley between Long and Spring streets, east of High street near downtown Columbus. The “alley school” was created from a dwelling, and by most accounts, Black and White, was unfit to serve as a school (Ohio Statesman, 1869; p. 1). The children were packed into small rooms with little ventilation. At recess the alley in which the school was located served as the student’s only play ground. As bad as this school was, the “north schoolhouse” as it was called, was a palace compared to the school in southern Columbus. The southern school had nearly one hundred scholars who were forced into a two room of an old house (Ohio Statesman, 1869 p. 1). According to the Ohio Journal, outside dirt decorated the inside of the building and the windows were very poor to the point that it was cold in the winter and the sun beat down throughout the whole day in the summer (Ohio Journal, 1867, p.6).

In the years between 1865 – 1870, the Black community in Franklin County petitioned the Board of Education (BOE) repeatedly about the conditions of “colored” schools with very little results. In 1868 and 1869 six “colored” meetings were held in Columbus to discuss and develop a plan of action to remedy the educational situation (Ohio Journal, 1871, p.8). As a result, several resolutions were signed and delivered to
the BOE, at the final meeting an individual man named Dr. Loving, a school board member, was in attendance and he promised to raise the established concerns to the board. In 1870, Black men were given the right to vote and threatened to use it as recourse to lack of action by the school board.

In 1871 the BOE promised to build two new "colored" schools but this decision was certainly not without debate. The board promised to build these schools as soon as funds became available to be allocated. The issue of "colored schools" was debated for the next two years. The school board members were divided on how to distribute resources to build "colored schools". According to an 1871 article in the Ohio State Journal, an unnamed board member expressed concerns about the current schools and the governance of future schools...

When a class of persons are largely in the minority, and are deemed, for any reason or without reason, to be odious or inferior to the rest, the enactment of remedied or protective statutes will scarcely serve any valuable purpose if the influential majority, and the officials too, lack either the authority or disposition to enforce them (p9).

While school board members used funding as a barrier to proceed with building adequate schools for Black children, Black and some White people in the community at large were pointing out the hypocrisy of the board in this matter. In May of 1869 an article appeared in the Ohio State Journal that addressed the mis-use of tax dollars collected from Black people. The article stated...

The property of each colored tax-payer has all the while contributed to the maintenance of the High School while not a single colored youth has ever been permitted to enter it or enjoy similar High School privileges elsewhere in the district. In short we tax Negroes to put our own children through the High school and keep their children out (p.13).
In 1871, the BOE went before the state legislature and asked for $25,000 to build two colored schools. The states legislature provided a loan for $25,000 dollars for the building of two new colored schools in Franklin County (Ohio Journal, 1871). According to an article in the Ohio Statesmen February 2, 1871, after the state legislature allocated the money for schools and the money was at the disposal of the BOE, it was conveniently determined that the “colored children” did not need a new school house. The Board decided an old building at Long and Third streets, admittedly unfit for White students, could be fitted up at an expense of $6000, and rendered eminently fit for “colored “children. Several board members such as Dr. Loving, Dr. Hamilton and other physicians all of whom had personally been to the property opposed the move because they felt it was unhealthy and could not be made safe and suitable for the purposes of school (BOE minutes, 1871).

This action promoted great scrutiny from many in the Black community and even some from the White community. One question raised by members of the white community was “If the Long street building will answer the concerns, and $6000 is all that is required then why ask for $25,000”(The Ohio Journal, 1871, p. 10). Many in the Black community questioned the intent of the BOE and accused them of using “colored” children to get money they knew would benefit White children. Furthermore, some questioned the legality of the actions, with the question; if the money was legislatively appropriated for the purpose of building “colored” schools does it not have to be used for that purpose?

Much to the disappointment of many of the Black community, and also some in the White community, when the deal was completed the Loving school was located on
the corner of Long and Third Streets; the very location determined to be unhealthy and unsafe for a school. The Loving was opened for operation on September 12, 1872. The school was supposedly designed to accommodate one hundred students.

Soon after Loving was opened and operating, the Black community raised the issue that the BOE agreed to open two schools and the legislature allocated funds for the purpose of building two schools. They wanted to know the details about the second school. On November 20, 1872 the Ohio State Journal reported the superintendent of the Columbus Public schools recommended “the establishment of a school at the Montgomery house”. The school would be designed to accommodate 29 “colored” students who lived a significant distance from the Loving School (Ohio State Journal 1872; p. 17). Soon after this recommendation a legal quarrel arose with a man who claimed ownership of the lot on which the Montgomery building stood. The actual problem remains still unclear but it seems to have been rooted in mistakes in the deeds involved in a prior exchange of the lot (The Ohio State Journal, 1972; p13).

In 1874, an article was written in the Ohio State Journal that indicated the Dr. Hamilton, a Columbus board member from a special committee appointed to make inquires as to effecting a settlement need to acquire the necessary to property to build another “Colored” school

Mr. Hamilton stated:“at present he found it impossible to make any settlement that would be just to the Board and the property owner” He felt there was no prospect of gaining access to the house within any reasonable time.

Consequently, he recommended the BOE rent a frame building on the same road
for the purposes of operating the school until the matter could be settled (Ohio State Journal, 1874; p.5).

According to the BOE minutes board member, Wilson made a motion that building committee be instructed to rent the building referred to and repair it for school purposes (BOE minutes, 1874). The motion was withdrawn. Six years passed before the argument was settled, and a school for “colored” children was not opened until April 11, 1882.

The state legislature allocated a $25,000 loan for the purpose of building two public schools (The Ohio State Journal, 1871; p.8). The Loving school cost approximately $6000 to open and the Montgomery schools was accommodated for a little more than $4,000. In addition, CBOE minutes indicated board member Mr. Butler proposed that the Board issue and sell fifty or seventy-five thousand dollars in bonds, for the purpose of finishing the schoolhouses in progress and building a school for the use of “colored” students. The bonds were to bear eight percent interest payable semi-annually, and to be payable within 15 years (CBOE minutes, 1871). In essence, through bonds the CBOE raised enough money to pay for the “colored” schools, and used less then half of what the legislature allocated for the purpose.

Until the Montgomery school was opened in 1882, there was only one public school in Franklin County for “colored” children. After the opening of the Loving school some debate about the best course of action ensued (Ohio State Journal, 1878, p.5). The Black community was in agreement on the need for educational facilities and their rights to them. On the other hand there was serious disagreement on whether or not those schools should be segregated.
The Ohio State Journal in an 1878 article “The Colored Citizens on School Privileges,” discussed whether there should be a push for a colored or a mixed school. The article covered one of the many meetings held by the Black community in attempt to speak with one voice on the issue of “colored” schools. It does not appear that this goal was ever achieved. Evidence does seem to indicate that the majority of Black people in Franklin County, Ohio at this meeting were clearly in favor of mixed schools, however it is also evident that a significant portion of the Black community advocated separate schools. A quote for the article:

Although the resolutions were adopted with but little show of negative vote, the discussion developed considerable opposition. The large majority of the meeting was undoubtedly in favor of the resolutions, but a vote by ballot might have shown a stronger opposition than could be made apparent in the viva voce plan of expression (p.5)

People who advocated separate schools did so because it was their belief that their children could receive a better quality education from teachers who shared in their experiences and understandings. The meeting, chaired by Mr. Poindexter, allotted the people in the minority five minutes to have the floor. The article reports hissing and booing during this time that was so loud the speakers could not be heard. The chair called the meeting back to order but was only able to silence that crowd enough to hear the speakers. One point made by the advocates of separate schools:

“Mixed” schools would subject “colored” children to endure such hostility that it would advert their ability to learn. In addition, the constant comparison to White students would be both unfair and unending (p.8).
"Colored" teachers, as they were called, could better understand the circumstances of their children and help the students overcome them.

Mr. Hodge claimed that "colored children could learn four times as much from colored teachers as they could from white ones" (p. 8).

The advocates of separate schools ended their comments by indicating they were not against mixed schools, it was just that their time had simply not arrived.

People who were in favor of mixed schools, which were the clear majority at this meeting, ultimately carried the votes that determined this group’s resolution. People who were in favor of mixed schools felt that if the community supported segregated schools then they would be double taxed to pay for them. They also felt the separated schools did "grievous injury" to the educational interests of their children. As a consequence one resolution read as follows:

Resolved, That we, colored people of Columbus are emphatically and irrevocably in favor of the change, the double reason that separate schools are a grievous injury to the educational interests of the colored children, and a needless oppression of too heavily burdened taxpayer. The detriment to the educational advancement of colored children under the present system is serious, and more so than a generous public would brook. If honestly made aware of it and the additional cost to the taxpayer to maintain it, and in the present paralyzed condition of the industries of the State, and the conviction of the people who being over taxed, were those having to incur the expense necessary to put colored
children in separate schools, or even on approximate footing with White children, the separate system would not last a day (p.8).

Moreover, they felt if “colored” children were eventually going to be accepted in society in general the process should begin in schools. The bottom line for people who advocated mixed schools was the overall educational advancement of “colored” children was predicated on it.

The last “colored” school to be built in Franklin County, Ohio was Champion Elementary School (Columbus Dispatch, 1910). When the building of Champion was initiated it was originally called the Hawthorne Avenue School because it resided on Hawthorne and Champion avenues. However, the BOE eventually decided to name the school Champion Avenue Elementary School (Ward, 1996). When the school opened it accommodated grades 1-6 and its curriculum included “domestic science” and manual training. This curriculum implies Champion’s curriculum consisted of both a liberal and industrial education. Thus, the BOE designed its curriculum based on the current educational ideology, which believed industrial education best suited the needs of “colored” students (Spring, 1994).

The opening of Champion was not without its own controversy. In 1887 the Ohio State Legislature mandated integrated schools in Ohio 67 years before Brown v. Board of Education. As early as 1901, White parents in Franklin County had protested against the presences of some “colored” students to the BOE. When the building of Champion was first proposed in 1909 there was some concern among board members, that building a “colored” school ran afoul of the law. Consequently, what board members did was gerrymander the district so the vast majority of “colored” children would be required to
attend Champion (Ward, 1996). Black leadership protested the legality of
gerrymandering for the purposes of segregation because segregation was against state
law. They filed suit in 1909; 4 years passed before the suit was settled and the Ohio
Supreme Court ruled school districts could gerrymander for whatever purpose deemed
appropriate. As a result, Champion opened as a “colored” school building in 1911.
While Champion opened in 1911 the lawsuit protesting its existence was not settled until
1913.

Teachers

In Franklin County from 1870 until the turn of the century, Black teachers taught
in a separate “colored” schools, which was the result of exclusion from the general White
public schools. This reality was in part the result of a segregated school system, Black
laws, and to a large extent mixed schools. By the end of the nineteenth century, eleven
“colored” teachers taught in Franklin County public school system (Ward, 1996). Before
the legal mandate to enforce integration in the year in 1887, all “colored” teachers taught
in one of the only two colored schools in the county.

On June 6, 1910 the four Black teachers employed in Franklin County were
reassigned to Champion Avenue School, in all, 12 teachers were hired to drive the
educational endeavor at the school (Ward, 1996). In 1909, the BOE developed a
committee on educational policy, which determined qualifications for teachers. The BOE
required a potential teacher had only to attain certification through the Board of
Examiners of the city in order to secure a teaching position (CBOE Minutes, 1910, p. 10).
All of the “colored” teachers in the county at the time met or sometimes even exceeded
these requirements. Thus the teachers assigned to Champion Avenue were just as qualified if not more qualified than the majority of their white counterparts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maud Baker</td>
<td>16 years</td>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitman E. Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheyney Institute Teachers College</td>
<td>Manual Training (6th)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nella Stewart</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cheyney Institute Teachers College</td>
<td>Dom. Sci &amp; Sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nell Moffitt</td>
<td>13 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>5th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances Smith</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>4th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Isabel</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>3rd and 4th Gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabel Scoot</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>3rd Gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnie Patterson</td>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>3rd Gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renetta Monmouth</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>1st &amp; 2nd Gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Cardwell</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>1st Grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbie McFarland</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>Columbus Normal</td>
<td>1st Grade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Champion Avenue School Teachers in 1910 (CBOE Minutes, 1910, p.14)

Some of these appointments were made on the condition “that all who do not hold city certificates will secure them in June (BOE Minutes, 1910, 14). As indicated by the table, majority of these teachers were more than qualified to teach at Champion. Whether or not Stewart, Smith, and Patterson had teaching experience is unknown, but all three were certified the Columbus board as indicated by the words “Columbus Normal.”
Teacher qualifications were altered again in Franklin County, Ohio in 1929. The teacher requirement levels are listed below.

**Level I:** Elementary and Kindergarten - Graduate from 1st grade to four-year high, grade approved teacher training school (at least 2 years) and 2 years Successful teaching.

**Level II:** Junior and Senior High - Grade from an approved college or university with A,B or equivalent credit for fifteen semester hours or twenty-three quarter hours in education.

**Level III:** Principals - Graduate from an approved college or university with A,B or equivalent credit for twenty-four semester hours or thirty six quarter hours, four years of successful teaching experience.

**Table 3: Teacher Qualifications – 1929 (BOE Minutes, No. 23, 1929, 175)**

By 1936, Champion had five teachers who attained their Master's degrees, and very few of normal school graduates were left at Champion except Nell Moffitt, Mabel Scott and Abbie McFarland (BOE Minutes, No. 24, 1936, 366). The rest of the teachers had their B.A. degrees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.P. Burrell</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Porter</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nella Stewart</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara Adell Jackson</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladys Taylor</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Atkinson</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene Patterson</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Roman</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edna Lucas</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Wyatt</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hattie Brooks</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E. Peters</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva Smith</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Powell</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4: Partial list of Champions Teachers – 1936 (BOE Minutes, No. 24, 1936, 367).**

90
In 1929, teacher qualifications only required teachers at the elementary level to have a minimum of 2 years from an accredited teacher training school. Secondary teachers needed only a Bachelor's degree. The majority of the teachers at Champion had surpassed the qualification required by the district.

The “colored” public schools in Franklin County, Ohio from 1870 – 1913 had several important similarities. All three “colored” schools employed all “colored” teachers. They were all to one degree or another inadequately funded to achieve the mission established for the school. Each school served only “colored” students, and each was located in close proximity to large Black populations.

The School Institution of the Colored people of the State of Ohio

Heretofore private school refers to educational institutions called schools that had been bought, maintained and supervised by individuals who were not employed or connected to the public school organization. Private schools generally fell into one of two categories. They were secular institutions meaning their funding and curriculum was not under the oversight of any religious institutions. Or they were educational institutions whose curriculum and funding were primarily driven and supervised by a church or some other religious institution. Private schools were liberally sustained, and for several years after the organization of the public schools the predominant sentiment was in favor of private schools. When the state laws provided perceived adequate supervision for the support of “good” public schools almost all others were discontinued (Warren, 1932).
Between the years 1870 and 1913, Black people in Franklin County, Ohio established three private secular schools and one religious school in Franklin County, Ohio (Hickok, 1936). The first school was established in 1831, and was located on the south side of the city near an area where some of the first black people in Franklin County, Ohio settled (Woodson, 1919). There is no evidence any of these schools existed beyond 1890, and this may be related to the fact in 1887 integrated schools were legally mandated in the state of Ohio. As a result of mandated integration “colored” students could attend any school of their choosing and they usually chose mixed schools.

The School Institution of the Colored People of the State of Ohio (referred to here after as School Institution), organized in the year 1837 established two of the three secular schools organized in Franklin County 1870 –1913 (School Institution Minutes, 1837). (The object of this institution was to establish a system of common schools for colored youth in the state of Ohio. This organization understood they could not establish schools everywhere “colored” people were in the state of Ohio, consequently they looked to organize schools and schoolhouses in those places where they had delegates (School Institution Minutes, 1838). The organization received several delegates from Franklin County and accordingly moved to set up schools there as a result.

The School Institution of the Colored People of the State of Ohio was not a religious organization proper, although, many churches overtly supported the organization and sometimes even housed the organization’s schools and meetings. An advertisement in the Ohio State Journal September 14, 1840 stated the following:
The school Fund Institution of the Colored people of Ohio met in the African Methodist Church at 9 o’clock AM. President Yancey in the chair, and Clark Secy… Third annual report of the School Institution of the Colored people of Ohio was made (p.12).

Nonetheless, the schools produced by this organization were secular in nature meaning they were not required to overtly adhere to any religious protocols. Moreover, their funding sources were clearly broader than church collections (School Institution Minutes 1838).

In schools established by the School Institution there was Liberal Arts education students were taught science and history. Mostly biblical and European history was taught in addition to reading, writing and basic mathematics (School Institution Minutes, 1840). There is no mention of African or the history of people of African descent in the curriculum meetings minutes’. Although, in the minutes there were several places where the satisfaction of the parents was discussed.

The second of three schools established by the School Institution in Franklin County was opened in 1864, its exact location is not explicitly stated in the minutes, nor was its location printed in the city directory for Columbus, Ohio. The schools established by the Colored Institution were free to their attending scholars. The School Institution referred to its students as scholars and consequently the part of this discussion referring to its students will do the same. The school’s teacher was Rev. Stewart, pastor of a colored Baptist church. The average daily attendance of this school was upwards of 160 scholars. The last known year of operation for the school established the Colored Institution is 1872. The School Institution Minutes indicated giving the school permission to take a picnic to Worthington, Ohio a small suburban area north of Columbus. The year 1872
would be consistent with the idea that many of the private schools were favored in the absence of public schools; and were preferred only for a few years after the establishment of public schools once common schools were effectively established private schools were closed. By and large the School Institution of the Colored People of the State of Ohio charged its schools with two primary missions, the first charge was to establish activities that were publicly praiseworthy and to elevate the conditions of the “colored” community (School Institution Minutes, 1840). The second charge was to develop and participate in educational endeavors that in the eyes of the organizational delegates spoke well for the improvement of the oppressed conditions of the Black community (School Institution Minutes, 1840). The members of this organization were representatives of Black Communities all of the state of Ohio.

The schools funded by this organization had a variety of sources: They received donations from many people in the Black community. They also received donations from White people inclined to do so. They received financial support from benevolent associations, both Black and White, who saw the need for establishing adequate schooling for “colored” children. The Colored Organization also received significant and substantial donations from religious institutions; primarily Black churches but they also received donations from White churches. When it was possible, they also lobbied state government for financial support, and did so with some success. For the schools in Franklin County, Ohio the State society appropriated 50 cents per scholar to schools who were under their patronage (School Institution, Minutes, 1868).

The third school established by the School Institution was established in Franklin County in 1868. Mrs. A. E. Fuller was the only teacher in this school and she nearly had
one hundred students. This school was also free to its attending scholars and the school seems to have been complimented frequently on the students and teacher conducting themselves with civility and decorum. The students at this school were complimented on their “rapid learning progress” (School Institution, Minutes, 1868).

The Third school established by the School Institution was quite possibly located in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Columbus, Ohio. While the location of the African Methodist Church utilized is not recorded the only African Methodists Church in existence long enough is the African Methodist Episcopal Church on Long Street (Ward, 1996). Curiously enough the church archives show no existence of the school and no congregation member has any recollection of any mentioning of such an institution. The closing date for the third school established is unclear.

Both public and private institutions were educational institutions that solely employed “colored” educators for a variety of reasons. By and large “colored” educators were the teachers who were willing to teach at all “colored” schools. In addition to the fact it was for some time the only place they could find employment. Teachers in “colored”, schools both public and private came from one of two places the church, or they were trained educators. The teachers in both public and private schools tended to be professed Christians.

Both public and private institutions were education institutions that serviced only “colored” youth. This may be obvious due to the fact many of the students had no other schools to attend, many of the these students walked long distances to school every day, in some instances they walked an excess of three miles one way (Ohio Journal, 1873). If students could not get to these schools often they did not go to school at all.
The curricula of these institutions were similar in that both taught basic reading, writing and arithmetic. The grade levels serviced by both schools tended to range from kindergarten to sixth grade. Both public and private schools tended to be located in areas with large populations of Black people.

The public record seems to suggest private schools tended to have better physical facilities than public schools. There are various references to the dilapidated conditions of public facilities (BOE Minutes, 1871). In contrast there does not seem to be as much evidence to suggest the same for private schools. Public school budgets and facilities were both provided from public funds and more often than not the sources were inadequate. Private schools on the other hand, either used space in churches or they were able to purchase facilities of their choosing within budgetary limits (School Institution Minutes, 1840). Nonetheless, facilities for students in private schools were much better accommodations than those generally utilized by public schools.

While both institutions taught basic reading, writing and arithmetic, private schools required more of their students than their public counterparts. They often required children to know biblical, European history, and some cases even science. The private schools often had field trips as part of the execution of the school curriculum (School Institution Minutes 1854, p 3). Private schools had as an objective the desire to produce a group of people who could advance the cause of the “colored” community, no evidence suggests that any of the public schools shared that goal.

The funding source for the two groups of institutions was very different. While public schools relied solely on public dollars, it was a very different circumstance for private schools. Private schools often benefited from the efforts of an organization that
provided its own funding (Gerber, 1976). Private schools received funding from individual donors both Black and White. They also received funding from Black and White churches and other organizations and associations inclined to do so. Private schools also received some funding from government sources.

The establishment of public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio demonstrates a concerted effort on the part of people of African descent to advance their status and conditions. The similarities and differences facilitate an understanding of what motivated people to establish these institutions. However, the impact of policy and law highlights the environment in which both efforts operated.

**Impact of Policy and Law**

Educational law in Ohio from 1870 – 1913 has been on the periphery of this discussion of Black institution building efforts in Franklin County. It is now prudent to overtly examine the development of Ohio educational law. There were no general provisions or laws for public schools in the first 18 years of the state’s existence. The first educational law in Ohio was in 1821. It provided for local control of schools, and it decidedly moved against a centralized system (Miller, 1919).

While the first laws in Ohio made no reference to allowing or prohibiting Black students from attending public schools, that reality quickly changed (McGinnis, 1962). It became apparent many White communities thought education should be denied to African people (Ward, 1993,). In 1829 the Ohio legislature passed a law that explicitly excluded all Black youth from participating in the state’s public school system (Quillin, 1913). The 1829 law also provided any taxes collected for education from Black
residents was to be returned to the Black taxpayers or maintained in fund established for
the education of Black youth (Hickok, 1896).

In 1838 the state legislature passed another school law which provided “that a
fund shall hereafter be provided, in manner hereinafter specified, for the education of
White youth in this state, in such branches of learning as shall hereinafter be prescribed”
(Ward, 1993, p. 78). In this case, the legislature wanted no misunderstanding of what
group of students the fund was to support, by intentionally excluding Black Youth from
Ohio’s public education system.

In the absence of educational opportunity for Black children organizations like the
Colored Institution of the Colored people of Ohio began to operate. The exclusion of
“colored” youth from the public school system motivated Black people to establish
educational facilities that would educate “colored” children. Understanding they could
not have a large numbers of schools, they only tried to establish schools in places where
they were represented with delegates.

In 1848 the state passed the first education law benefiting Black children (Quillin,
1913). The law passed in 1848 created a department of public/common schools for Black
and Mulatto children. This law also provided the property of “colored” owners should
be taxed the same as property of white people, and the money used to support “colored”
schools whenever they were established. Moreover, this law stated any city, town,
village, or township containing twenty “colored children had to establish a school for the
education of said children (Hickok, 1896). The “colored” citizens were given the
authority to organize by the election of directors, in accordance with general school law.
If there were less than twenty “colored” students in an enumerated area, they were

98
permitted to attend the white public/common schools, providing someone having a White child in the school filed no written protest.

After the passing the law in 1848 many people in the colored communities demanded a school segregated or not (Hickok, 1896). The result was the establishment of the alley school, which was poorly funded and overall not suitable for educating children. Nonetheless, the alley school, as it was called, served as one of the only two public educational facilities in Franklin County, Ohio for ten years.

The 1848 law was repealed a year later, however. The legislature’s decision to repeal appears to have been influenced by the Massachusetts Roberts v. Boston in 1849, where it sanctioned racial segregation in public schools in Boston (West, 1972). The next legislative year the law was amended and the authorities in towns, cities, villages, and townships were required to create one or more districts for “colored” if they were not admitted to White public/common schools (Hickok, 1896; Quillin, 1913).

The 1849 law prevented integrated learning, but it did not establish the number of children necessary to create a separate “colored” school. This law also established a funding mechanism other than subscription for Black schools, and permitted Black taxpayers to elect school directors. While repeal of the 1848 law which sanctioned segregation was certainly a detrimental blow to Black education, its repeal granted Black people more control of Black schools which they did have, and provided for a system of taxation to fund them (Hickok, 1896).

As a result of this repeal many Black people demanded a “colored” governing board to oversee a “colored” school system (Ward, 1996). This issue was taken up by some White people in the community who saw it a serious injustice that Black people
were being taxed for schools, but only had one elementary school they could attend with no high school to attend (Ohio State Journal 1872). The board refused to grant this request but it did not quail the demands made by Black people to have an adequate educational system.

In 1853 educational law was revisited and changed again to state: “school boards should establish one or more separate schools whenever the number of Black children exceeded 30”. When enrollment dropped below 15 in a Black school, it could be discontinued (Hickok, 1896, p. 113). This law served mostly to establish legal precedent as to when to close down Black schools as opposed to when to open them.

As a result of the 1849 repeal, a second “colored” school was established to service Black youth. The board purchased a run down home, with a two-rooms and inadequate heating to educate “colored” youth (Ohio State Journal, 1854). The school was supposedly designed to service 29 youth. The school was opened in 1854, however, this effort did little to calm the demand made by the Black community for adequate education. In fact, the inadequacy of the “facility” only intensified the efforts of Black people in Franklin County, which eventually resulted in the opening of the Loving and Montgomery schools.

As more public schools opened in Franklin County, Ohio the need for private schools decreased. By and large the policy and law that established public school had an inverse relationship on private schools. As public schools opened, private schools tended to closed. Private schools seemed to have been utilized as institutions that “colored” youth had to attend until they could attend public schools.
CONCLUSION

Black people in Ohio lacked legal equality in education for most of the nineteenth century. The integration law in 1887 provided a modicum educational relief in Franklin County. Many schools were too far for some students to walk and as a result they attended no schools. The mandated integration law in 1887 virtually shut down private “colored” schools. Largely because many “colored” parents elected to send their children to the closest White public school.

As early as 1901 Ohio laws again turned to segregation as a method of education. From 1913 to 1979 Franklin county in effect governed two separate school systems, one White adequately funded, and one Black and drastically under-funded. It is clear from this overview that the biggest impediment to Black education in Franklin County was White resistance sanctioned by Ohio law. Laws were specifically designed to exclude and to deny Black children access to a quality education and sometimes to any education at all.

Despite these legal set backs Black communities did not wait for White communities to provide for their educational needs. Black people established schools in Franklin County as early 1831 (Ward, 1993). White communities continuously tried to shape Black educational efforts in their political interests through legislation. It is the efforts and struggle of Black people in Franklin County to define and redefine an educational process that works in their own interests that remains a shining constant. Free people of color, ex-slaves, and fugitive slaves came to Ohio specifically Franklin County to improve their lives (Anderson, 1988). Many of which saw education as central component to that goal.
Black Schooling efforts, both public and private, in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913 had two very important aspects. First, these efforts were met with by resistant White communities at large but in particular law makers and policy setters. Second, these efforts demonstrate the commitment of Black people in Franklin County had for the education of their children.

Schooling efforts for “colored” children in Franklin County, Ohio were in existence as early as 1831. Before 1870 schools for “colored” were few in number, two to be exact and by all accounts were insufficient in resources and facilities to provide a basic quality education. Despite these circumstances, which existed for more than 40 years, Black people continued to press both the political and educational powers to establish the same kind of educational institutions for the children of Black and White tax paying communities.

The development of both private and public school systems was not the benevolent action of the majority society. The development of every educational institution and change in every law was the result of resistance against intellectual hegemony and toward change advocacy of Black people. Frederick Douglass once said power concedes nothing with out a demand (Douglass, 1855) and nowhere is that more true than in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.

The impact of educational policy and law in the state of Ohio and Franklin County specifically had profound impact on the development of both public and private schools. In the absence of explicit law that appropriated for the education of Black children, there was no education for Black children at all for the first 15 years of common/public school history in Ohio in general, particularly in Franklin County
(Quillin, 1913). In fact, educational policy and law for the state of Ohio and in Franklin County specifically served as a barrier for the establishment of public schools for Black children.

The state passed laws that prohibited the collection of taxes for schools that serviced “colored” children and it also used taxes collected from Black communities to pay for schools in white communities that refused to service Black children. Moreover, when legislation was passed to appropriate for schools that serviced Black children it was often done in a way the structurally left “colored” schools inherently inferior to their white counter parts. The change in policy and law was slow and the first significant effort to provide education to Black children was not established until 1872.

White resistance to the educational aspirations of Black people was often sanctioned by law. Ohio law read if one White parent objected in writing to the presence of a Black student being enrolled in otherwise White school then that student would to be removed. Further, state law stipulated if less than 15 Black students were enrolled in a “colored” school it could be closed down. These and other laws like them were passed and utilized by the resistant white communities to the idea of educating Black children.

Overall, the history of Black education in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 - 1913 is one that is sometimes consistent with larger national trends and policies such as laws mandating segregation. But at the same time Franklin County, Ohio has its own unique and significant issues germane to the context of its circumstances of space and time. It is Franklin County’s uniqueness and particulars that makes it a significant contribution to the educational knowledge base.
CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA
 “What does it all mean?”

Historiographic Context

Examination of the historiography of any particular time may provide insight into motivations of the individuals involved. Wilson Jeremiah Moses in his book *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (1988) attempts to examine the kind of historical legacies by and about Black people from 1870 - 1913. Still stinging from the wounds of slavery the Black community struggled to develop a course of action that both facilitated a healing process and simultaneously further lamented their emancipation (Moses, 1998). The effects slavery was an issue that could not be avoided in the social and economic development of the Black community in 1870 in general, but particularly in Franklin County, Ohio.

The psychological well-being of an entire community needed to be assuaged and in many ways their humanity had to be reaffirmed. In the context of this reality Black historians and historians writing from the perspective of Black people sought to validate the participation of Black people into human civilization. Historians largely took one of two approaches in this effort. One approach demanded a return to antiquity and reminded both Black and White people about the contributions of African people to civilization (Moses, 1988). In this way they challenged Black people to return to a greatness that had
been previously achieved. The second approach used by historians was to emphasize the achievement of Black people through the use of struggle. The implication that follows is, if progress continues, one day Black people will earn a seat at the table of civilized people (Moses, 1988). Each of these approaches has as an objective the re-establishment of Black people into the human family.

The historiography surrounding these circumstances had a profound impact on what motivated people to develop and attend educational institutions. Providing the historical framework and historiography of the times facilitates interpretations anchored in the context of the participants. Certainly, it is clear that Black people were attempting to establish institutions that operated in their interest. The question that had to be answered is what did they perceive to be in their interest?

History of Decline

The phrase “history of decline” (Moses, 1998) is somewhat misleading in it implies a fall from nobility or higher status. Certainly the phrase incorporates that idea but as historians in the period mobilized the notion its development was much more complicated. Black historians fashioned a view of Black history within the context of world history that more accurately projected the interest of the Black community. Black historians were taking note of patterns of progress and decline that seemed to affect all humanity (Moses, 1998; Woodson, 1919; Bleeder, 1888). Black historians were looking to develop a history that could be used to explain Black people’s circumstances while simultaneously providing a road map to improve them.

History of decline thus had two primary objectives, to validate and improve the conditions of Black people. The other objective was to demonstrate other ethnic groups
and races had also experienced periods of decline and there was no shame in decline in and of itself because it was a natural part of the human existence. From these objectives Black historians were attempting draft and develop histories that could be used in the development of the Black community.

“Histories of decline” did not have a shortage of historians writing from that perspective. Indeed many scholars consciously attempted to develop a historical legacy that could be utilized and promoted for the earlier stated purposes. Scholars like Edward W. Blyden with works like Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race (1888) and Carter G. Woodson’s The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (1919) both conceptualized a past that was great and could be repeated if as a community the “Negro” would come to “consciousness.” W.E.B. Dubois quoted extensively from sources whom he believed validated the noble past of Black people. In works like Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880 (1935) Dubois set out to document the achievements of people of African descent during the period marked as the Reconstruction era 1865-1875.

The importance of ideas related to histories of decline should not be understated because these are the kinds of ideas that informed the behaviors of institutions whose motivation was also to improve the social and economic conditions of Black people. In fact, organizations and movements which mobilized behind these ideas; included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Black Women’s Club movements, Urban League, and the topic of this inquiry namely educational institutions.

In addition to the need of Black people to justify their humanity to the dominant society, Moses (1998) addresses another phenomenon important to understanding the motivations behind developing educational institutions. By the time of the American
colonial revolution, there were significant numbers of christianized Africans in the colonies. Black people in the United States developed historical and religious traditions, in many cases of their own creation (such as the invisible churches held in wooded areas with not physical structure (Blassingame, 1979)), but were nonetheless inextricably intertwined with Euro-American historical and religious traditions (Moses, 1998).

National or ethnic identities have often been shaped and influenced by the perceptions of outside groups (Moses, 1998). To that extent the tendency for Black people to identify with westernized Christianity was both a product of their cultural assimilation and their ability to utilize Christianity for their own self-interest (Moses, 1998). This idea seems to be related to the fact that most teachers in both public and private Black institutions in Franklin County, Ohio were also professed Christians. It was both their desire to assimilate and promote perceived self-interest that ultimately motivated institution building efforts of Black people in the U.S. in general, but particularly in Franklin County, Ohio.

Franklin County Context

The lens developed by Moses certainly can help shed light on institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Moses' framework facilitates provides potential understanding and insight into why people behaved in particular ways at particular times. As Black people sought to justify their participation into society and promote their own self-interest no where was this more clear than in educational efforts of Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Nowhere in the data is it evidenced Black people were looking to develop and create a curriculum that advanced an agenda that promoted the perceived interests of Black people with regard for it perceptions of the dominant
society. In fact, it appears to be the complete opposite, Black people wanted simply to understand what is expected in terms of citizenship and participation. In the case of public schools Black parents in Franklin County when possible preferred their children attend "mixed" rather than schools operated by Black people themselves. In the case of private schools, openly state that part of their mission was to produce students who were worthy of the larger White communities respect (School Institution minutes, 1840) They appeared more than ready and willing to fulfill any standard developed.

For Black people in Franklin County it seems to have been a clear consensus that the legacy of slavery was something from which they wanted to distance themselves. Black people in Franklin County wanted educational institutions that facilitated their cultural assimilation, not accent their racial differentiation. The schools were asked to produce children who would be successful by the standard set forth by society, it appears not to have mattered to them that those standards were not developed by people who had their interest at hand. The need to justify group existence appears to have been a heavy and important goal of Black institutions and historians of the time. It is important here not to evaluate the validity of their actions, but to understand the historical context of their time.

From 1870 – 1913 for the most part private schools in Franklin County, Ohio were motivated by many of the principles addressed by Moses (1998). These schools were charged with the task to demonstrate that "colored" children could learn just as well as White children. The schools were to produce students who were not only academically acceptable but also students that White communities could acknowledge as "worthy." This is apparent when looking at the minutes of the School institutions
organizational meetings where they discussed the curricula of these schools. The Christianity practiced in “colored” churches was not identical to that promoted in White churches, but the acceptance of Christianity itself does speak to a significant degree of assimilation to western values and world views (Moses, 1998; Blassingame, 1979; Joyner, 1985).

The Black community in Franklin County, Ohio did not have as an objective to deny their racial differences they simply did not want that difference to serve as reason for their denial of full participation into society. These institutions’ primary mission was to promote and advance the social and economic standing of Black people through the use of education. These schools had the responsibility of imparting to the next generation a world-view that facilitated their advancement in society and the need for their continual struggle to improve their community.

The lens provided by Moses (1998) helps to explain both the public and private motivations for establishing schools. Both efforts had the same historical context and consequently produced some similarities in outcomes. Simultaneously each effort had different political arenas that resulted in marked differences. The similarities and differences between public and private institutions examined explicitly may further enhance an understanding of why each effort was undertaken. In addition to historiography another theoretical framework that could be used to make meaning of the educational efforts in Franklin County, Ohio is critical race theory. Using critical race theory adds yet another lay of analysis to this inquiry.
The analytical tool of the interest convergence principle provides yet another layer of analysis to help in understanding the development of Black schooling efforts in Franklin County, Ohio. Interest in this case refers to what is wanted by a particular group, in this case Black and White people must converge meaning it has to be desired to both groups simultaneously. The interest convergence principle maintains that the White community will promote racial advances for Black people only when they also promote White self-interest. The interest convergence principle is built on political history as legal precedent and emphasizes the significant progress for Black people is/was achieved only when the goals of Black people are consistent with the needs and/or wants of the relevant White community (Bell, 1979, 1980b).

The interest convergence principle was apparently at work in Franklin County, Ohio. Early in Franklin County’s history, the White community appeared to have little interest in the education of Black children and as a result little to no resources were diverted for that purpose. As Black people demanded integrated schools those demands were only met when it was also in the interest of the surrounding White community. Schools in Franklin County, Ohio were generally only integrated when funds were insufficient to establish separate schools. When Black people in Franklin County demanded to be taxed for a separate school system one of two things happened. Black people were taxed and not provided any school, or they were taxed and provided dilapidated facilities that were very often not suitable for educating children. Bell’s theory of interest convergence seems to have correctly characterized schooling efforts in Franklin County, Ohio.
A third major argument from Bell’s scholarship is the price of racial remedies. The price of racial remedies Bell argues that White people will not support civil rights policies that may threaten White social status. Bell explains his use of the argument “price of racial remedies” using desegregation as the unit of analysis: Bell (1979) stated:

The nation was more than ready to blame white Southerners, traditionally the country’s scapegoat when there was a need to assign responsibility for racial injustice. When the school desegregation efforts moved north, the attitude toward the south changed from condemnation to complicity, with Northerners rallying to preserve neighborhood assignment patterns, avoid busing, and maintain the “educational integrity” of White schools. Most Northern White people did not oppose desegregation in the abstract. What they resisted was the price of desegregation. They feared that their children would be required to scuffle for an education in schools that for decades had been good enough for Black children only (127).

The principle of nondiscrimination is always supported, but the implementation is often avoided and sometimes necessarily opposed. The remaining question is can the effects of racial discrimination be remedied without requiring white communities to surrender the superior social status. It appears one does preclude the existence of the other.

The idea of the “price of racial remedies” again appears to be more than relevant to the educational efforts of late 19th/early 20th century Black people in Franklin County, Ohio. Integration efforts in Franklin County, both educationally and otherwise were only implemented under circumstances that least threatened the surrounding White
community. Moreover, policy, procedure and law that did threaten perceived White social status were revisited and either amended or changed.

The 1848 law provided structure for the education of Black children was repealed a year later by the same Ohio legislature who passed it. Once again exemplifying the idea that racial progression is supported in the abstract but the actual implementation presents a completely different issue. The 1848 Ohio law mandated the taxing of Black property owners for the purpose of collecting money to establish educational facilities for Black children, and further the law stated that in such cases where there was less then twenty children they were permitted to attend the most convenient White school. The integration portion of this law was repealed the very next year when Black parents in counties where there were less than twenty children attempted to enroll their children into convenient White schools. The price of integration was the admittance of Black students into White schools. It appears that price was more than many White communities were willing to pay in Ohio.

In 1887 the Ohio legislature passed a mandatory integration law, which in effect facilitated the closing of many “colored” schools. As a result of this law Black parents were given the opportunity to send their children to any public school of their choosing. Of course there was one caveat, if one White parent objected in writing then that student or students would have to be removed. By 1901 many White parents and even school Board members in Franklin County Ohio, were attempting to amend or repeal the integration law of 1887. Furthermore, as result of the 1887 law that mandated integration many Black teachers lost their jobs and those that did not were reassigned so they had the majority of their contact with Black students only. By 1909 there was again another all
"colored" school building in Franklin County, Ohio. It appears that the White community did not understand that the price of abstract integration was actual integration. While laws were passed to facilitate integration in Franklin County, Black people were often systemically prevented from utilizing those laws. Actual integration seems to have been a threat to the social order as perceived by many White people in Franklin County, Ohio in 1909.

At every point in the political process the Franklin County White community perceived a threat to their social status they took action. Their actions ranged from overturning and repealing laws to writing laws that suited the interest of the White community. Bell's "price of racial remedies" could not be more relevant than in the case of Franklin County, Ohio. The White community in Franklin County, Ohio went so far as to violate its own laws rather than concede to circumstances that were considered as a threat to their social status.

The role of race in the development of educational law and policy appears to have been crucial in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. In fact, race appears to be the single most important influential factor with regards to the allocation of resources, teacher assignments, location of school facilities, and the demographic make up a school's student body. Moreover, the role of race affected the curriculum and mission of educational institution.

Using Crenshaw's expansive view of anti-discrimination law in Franklin County, Ohio it is not enough for the county or state to permit the building of "colored" schools but the government, be it local or state, must also actively encourage the building of these schools with the allocation of resources. Franklin County, Ohio often had laws
that permitted Black students to attend White schools but almost never was this actually
allowed. The mere passing of legislation is not progress, or even helpful in the area of
racial discrimination. It is not possible to legislate the hearts and minds of a society, and
that makes the allocation of resources for the effort all the more important. A cornerstone
of democratic principles is majority rule with minority consent (Crenshaw 1995).
How can the minority give consent to circumstances that represent their demise?

Franklin County, Ohio represented a place where majority ruled at the expense of
the minority. Black people were denied many basic civil rights taken for granted by the
larger White community. In the Expansive view provided by Crenshaw, laws may have
been passed to remedy past racial discrimination but it done so without the allocation of
resources and that made most legal change broadly ineffective.

The restrictive view of anti-discrimination laws is designed to prevent further
acts of discrimination both in the past and presently. Color-blind polices are a direct
result of restrictive anti-discrimination law. According to Crenshaw the problem with
color-blind policies is they assume a color-blind society. If discrimination continues in a
given society and the legal process is structured in such a way that color bias can not be
seen, then those who are discriminated against are worse than they were before the
remedy.

Nearly every legislative move designed to prevent further discrimination did not
remedy past racial injustice and often facilitated the very thing they were designed to
eradicate. Laws that were designed to establish “colored” schools resulted in segregation.
Laws that facilitated integration resulted in unemployed Black teachers and sometimes
Black children with out schools if White parents were inclined to provide written protest.
Over and over again the passing of anti-discrimination law only perpetuated the cycle of racial inequity in Franklin County, Ohio.

Crenshaw argues anti-discrimination law contains both expansive and restrictive views of equality and opportunity. These views represent the uncertainty of this society's commitment to promote actual racial equality. As a society we encourage racial equality rhetoric but by and large as a society to this has not entailed a commitment to end racial inequality (Crenshaw 1995). To the extent that anti-discrimination law is believed to embrace color-blindness, equal opportunity rhetoric constitutes a formidable obstacle to efforts to alleviate conditions of White Supremacy.

Both Crenshaw (1988) and Bell (1987) argue a color-blind society built on racial subordination cannot correct that subordination because it can never recognize it. In sum, the terms used to proclaim victory have within them the seeds of its defeat. To demand equality of opportunity is to demand nothing specific because equality of opportunity rhetoric has been appropriated the groups who are resisting the demand as well as those who are proposing it.

Understanding the historical circumstance of what motivated Black people to build institutions and to what extent did the historiography inform decision making as they went about these efforts, is a fundamental issue that could be addressed only through the examination of the historical context.

Efforts to develop educational institutions for Black children in Franklin County, Ohio have to be understood within the context of the circumstance in which Black people found themselves. Black people in Franklin County, Ohio seemed to be preoccupied with two objectives. They wanted to establish institutions that facilitated the academic
They also wanted institutions that further promoted the advancement of the Black community at large. The institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio reflect the commitment of the Black community to both improve their circumstance and provide an education to their children.

CONCLUSION

Race appears to be the most influential factor related to institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio. Critical race theory facilitates an understanding of how law and legal procedure in Franklin County, Ohio perpetuated the interest of the White community at the expense of Black people. Moreover, it further underscores the use of policy and law to validate and institutionalize the resistance of some White citizens and policy makers to end racial inequity in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.

The combination of critical race theory and the historiography of the circumstances both help to facilitate an understanding of institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio and underscore the salience of race. Both theoretical frameworks establish the backdrop against which the picture of institution building is painted in Franklin County, Ohio. While the historiography facilitates why events may have occurred and gives a context for them, critical race theory explains both why and how the legal structure both validated and legitimized notions of White supremacy and White resistance to Black institution building efforts. Both Frameworks are crucial to understanding the intricacies and nuances of Black institution building efforts in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913.
CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation addressed a history of Black schooling in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. It chronicled the changes in policy and law as it related to Black schooling, the similarities and differences between public and private schools for Black children and how by large these kinds of institutions received funding. This inquiry examined the historical context that framed institution-building efforts. Moreover, this research examined the historiography which shaped the worldview of those individuals doing the work. This research also facilitates an understanding of local contributions to national trends, approaches and understandings. By examining the overall political, social, and legal landscape of Franklin County, Ohio 1870 –1913 it is possible to develop a comprehensive understanding of what factors contributed to the overall educational picture in this community.

Moreover the utilization of critical race theory provided insight to the centrality of race and its salience in the development of policy and law. Critical race theory added a level of analysis that both enhanced the quality of the examination and simultaneously developed critical perspectives of legal structures. An examination of institution building in Franklin County, Ohio must be concomitant with an investigation of the legal landscape that provided the framework for the context of the efforts.
Research Questions

Three primary research questions were addressed in this dissertation: First, what were the similarities and differences between Black public and private schools. The examination of these similarities and differences was confined to three areas; curriculum, funding, location. Second, What was the impact of policy and law on the development, creation and operation of these schools? Did any of these laws facilitate the opening or closing of public or private educational institutions? Third, what implications does this study have on the contemporary issues in education in general, but in particular for Black students? These questions were used to guide the direction of this research. Moreover, the research questions employed in this study were also utilized to: explicate the historical factors that contributed to the development of both public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 – 1913. Therefore, this researcher attempted to ascertain whether or not the history of this community contained any ascriptive characteristics from which policy makers could gain some valuable insights on the future of education (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1987; Gordon, 1994; Siddle-Walder, 1996; Ward, 1996). The method by which data was collected had direct importance on its usage. As a result, the methodology has profound impact on a study’s ability to add to the knowledge base.

The similarities and differences between public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio were in some ways surprising. The researcher expected public schools would have required more conformity to Euro-centric ideas in terms of curriculum, but it was private schools that required European history and biblical studies for its scholars. Moreover it appears private schools were much more concerned with the image of their scholars to the surrounding White communities. It would seem these kinds of concerns
would have been more salient in public schools but the evidence suggest just the opposite.

A major difference in terms of teachers in both public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio was the level of qualifications. Evidence suggests that Black public school teachers were very qualified; on the other hand there is no evidence to suggest private school teachers had the same kind of qualifications. Contemporary ideas about public and private schools teachers sort of suggest the opposite trend.

The impact of educational policy and law on both public and private schools was significant. In many ways it was educational law that set the stage for the existence of each kind of institution. In the absence of educational law to establish public schools, many Black people organized to establish private schools. Interestingly many of these schools were abandoned when Black students could attend convenient White public schools. Even when educational law did provide for the establishment of Black public schools, it was not always the case that one was established. There was a direct relationship between the development of educational law and policy and the establishment of both public and private schools in Franklin County, Ohio 1870 –1913. Educational law and policy either allocated resources for the establishment of public schools or they did not exist. When public schools were established, by and large Black people saw no need for private schools. The impact of policy and law cannot be overstated since it appears the existence of both institutions was predicated on its direction.

While we are nearly a hundred years removed from the parameters established by this inquiry the situation for Black students is remarkably similar. By and large the same
kind of funding discrepancies that existed between Black and White schools in 1880 exist in the year 2002. According to Jonathon Kozol’s *Savage Inequalities*, some of the richest public school districts spend nearly $9,000 dollars a pupil and the poorest spend in the area of $1,600 (Kozol, 1994). Interestingly enough the richest districts are comprised of mostly White students and the poorest districts are composed of primarily Black and Latino students. These are the kind of funding practices in effect established two very different educational experiences based on the race and social economic status of the matriculating students.

Columbus Public Schools reports that 80% of its suspensions are carried out on Black children, this must be understood in light of the fact the Black students make up just over of 50% of the student population (Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, 1999). The same reports also indicates the 70% of the students identified in special education programs are Black. All the while, Black students make up only 30% of the students on gifted and talented program in Columbus Public Schools (Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, 1999). These funding and identification practices have a direct affect on student academic performance. Achievement gaps on standardized tests between Black and White students speaks to both inadequate education and a continued educational assessment that disadvantages Black students and other students of color, while simultaneously privileging White students with high social economic status. The drops out rates in Columbus Public schools are in excess of 50% for Black students (Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, 1999)
Times may certainly have changed, but the educational state for Black children in Franklin County seems to have progressed very little. The Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, done on Columbus public schools documents continued racist practices that perpetuate racial inequity in Columbus public schools. Almost every negative category that organizes student performance in Columbus; drop out rates, special education statistics, suspension rates, expulsions and low academic performance Black children nearly top the list. Almost all categories that report positive student performance graduation rates, gifted and talented statistics and national honor society Black students nearly bottom the list out. What a difference a century makes.

Policy and Implications

This inquiry helps to furnish an understanding of the historical context in which Black people went about securing their freedom after the legal end of slavery by utilizing education as a tool of liberation. Franklin County indeed does represent a story: a story of determination, a story of Black educational history and a story of Black urban education. In essence, this inquiry adds to the literature on Black educational history. However, its legacy has other implications.

This research also has implications for the development of educational law and policy and its impact on the establishment of schools. The development of educational policy and law and its affect on the operation, opening and closing of schools is a central theme to this research. More than just the establishment of policy and law, this research also has implications for the use of policy and law in achieving the goals of those in power in any given community (Crenshaw, 1995; Bell, 1979).
While the subject of this inquiry is a history of Black education it also has implications for general educational history. The way we educate the most marginal of our society tells us more about who we are than the way we educate those closest to the power center. In a democratic society, where an educated citizenry is fundamental to a society’s ability to reproduce itself, the education of all its citizens is essential to ensure the political process remains open and accessible, if indeed that has ever been the case. Therefore, this inquiry has implications for education in general because the questions have to be asked: Who is being prepared to take power? And who is being prepared to become powerless?

Community organizations have been crucial in the history of Franklin County, Ohio. While Franklin County’s Black community has been historically divided over segregated schooling, they were not divided on their commitment to providing an adequate education for their children. While Black schooling in Franklin County, Ohio has undergone several changes since 1870 from the very beginning the Black community did not waiver on the idea of quality education. It appears that one of the biggest detriments to Black schooling in Franklin County, Ohio was integration. As more schools were integrated more Black schools were closed.

Thus, this case study/purposeful sample added to the literature in urban education, Black educational history, the impact of policy and law in the development of educational systems, and on education in general. Now that we have looked at the contributions to the literature the focus of the investigation will turn to the kind of policy that can be explicated.
Did segregated schools provide a better educational environment than integrated schools? Did the teachers in segregated schools have sensitivities to the cultural backgrounds of the Black students that many teachers in integrated schools did not have? Are the same resistant forces faced by Black schooling efforts in Franklin County, Ohio in 1870 responsible for the current conditions of Black education in Franklin County, Ohio? Was policy and law the result of White resistance or did White resistance produce policy and law in Franklin County, Ohio?

Most of the research indicates by and large the school board determined educational policy in Franklin County, Ohio. However, most educational law was the product of the processes in state legislature. It appears evident when the Board of Education in Franklin County, Ohio committed to an idea or procedure, they used all the resources at the board's discretion to bring about any desired change. While teachers and administrators in segregated schools were certainly the facilitators of the educational environment at any given school, the parameters of what they could do had already been determined by the decisions made by the board of education. For example, who the teachers were? Who the administrators were? Where the schools were located? And what was taught in the schools? These were all questions decided by board policy and that remains the situation to this day. If the Board does not reflect the interest of Black people then neither will its policies and it does not matter if the Board members themselves are Black or White. This is evidenced by the fact that conformity to European values was more strictly required in private schools governed by and large by Black people than in public schools who were by and large governed by White board members.
There is some question as to whether racist policy and law is the result of White resistance to racial progress or White resistance is the product of discriminating and racially biased policy and law. There is cyclical relationship between these two phenomena. Clearly policy and law are impacted by the political, social and legal landscapes that produce them. At the same time laws, like segregation, did much to produce a pathological social psychology in Black and White communities that both shaped and produced attitudes, behaviors and even more legal precedence that resulted in discriminatory practices. If there is to be change in policy and law in Franklin County, Ohio that encourages racial justice and progress, then both sides of this issue will have to be examined. The subject of this inquiry was 1870-1913 but its implications for it can still serve as an assessment of contemporary moves legal racial equality.

A major policy implication of this inquiry is do the same forces that produced the dilapidated buildings and under funded facilities between the years 1870 – 1913 still impact the current state of Black education in Franklin County, Ohio. In Columbus Public Schools a Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, was done in 1999 that revealed decisions and policies by the district have produced clear inequities in school buildings that primarily service Black children and school buildings that primarily service White children. In fact, the report went even further in saying that the district needed to re-examine its beliefs about race/ethnicity (Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools, 1999). The same attitudes and funding practices that existed in 1870 still today have significant impact on the way Black students are educated in Franklin County, Ohio. Progress in the education of Black children requires more than lip service to multicultural educational programs and
programs of diversity. Progress in the education of Black children requires both a commitment to improving racial inequity and a willingness to allocate resources for the stated purpose. Allocation of resources does not simply include money, but also personnel, intellectual energy, facilities, and re-examination of current policy that may serve to perpetuate inequity.

The history of Black schooling in Franklin County, Ohio is made up of a complex set of social circumstances that have proven to be very difficult to address let alone provide solutions. The history of Black schooling is representative of the desire of the Black community in Franklin County, Ohio to participate as full citizens in society. It also marks the social, political and legal obstacles they faced as they sought to achieve this goal. Moreover, the history of Black people in Franklin County, Ohio is also representative of the continual efforts of struggle by Black people across the U.S.

It is apparent there are historical issues related to urban education and hence urban schools that are directly related to race. These issues range from politic of education to the legal structures that govern institutions. Many of the urban districts in this country service students of color, with Black students making up a large percentage of that group. It is also apparent many of the urban districts are having problems serving their constituencies (Irvine, 1989). This inquiry was an historical example of a case study/purposeful sample of schools that fall into this category.

In 1872, Franklin County, Ohio attempted to establish its first real at attempt providing an education for its Black students. The idea of segregation produced educational practices that in effect established two very different school systems. While all Black people in Franklin County, Ohio did not advocate separate schools, those who
did ultimately believed they could work to the benefit of Black children. They also believed Black teachers would show interest in the academic achievement of the students and would better understand what was necessary to help them achieve. Many White people in Franklin County, Ohio supported segregated schools also but for apparently very different reasons. Many White people simply did not want Black children to attend school with White children because they believed it would compromise the educational process. Just having Black children sitting next to White students was perceived to both compromise the educational process and threaten the perceived social status of the larger White community.

CONCLUSION

Educational policy and law were both used to achieve the desires and aims of the resistant White community to the notion of Black education. Resistant White communities not only established policy and law that legitimized and sanctioned their racist notions, but they also sidestepped laws and policies that did not help aide in the cause. Educational law and policy had a direct impact on both public and private Black schools in Franklin County, Ohio. Educational policy and law also directly impacted the opening, closing and operation of these schools, although the impact was more direct on public schools. Educational policy and law represented an important obstacle that needed to be overcome by the institution building efforts of Black people in Franklin County, Ohio.

Race appears to have been the single most influential characteristic when examining the schooling efforts of Black people in Franklin County, Ohio. Race appears to have impacted the whole process from allocation of resources, teacher assignments, to
location of the educational facilities. Race seems to have served as an essential element to the decision-making process of both board of education and the state legislature. The state legislator even went so far as to mention race in some of their pieces of legislation. Issues of race have a long historical legacy in the educational efforts in Franklin County, Ohio for both Black and White people. If indeed we could develop programs and processes to remedy and remove racial discrimination that would move the education of Black students forward 100 years; considering if we did so it would have taken close to one hundred years to do it.

Overall, Franklin County, Ohio represents an historical for instance exemplifying both the determination of Black people and the resistance of White people to notion of providing adequate education of Black children. An examination of the particulars helps to give generalizations more meaning and context. When we examine particular communities at particular times it provides framework to establish when events were consistent with general tendencies and when they were not. Franklin County, Ohio is an historical instance that adds to the knowledge base because of its unique characteristics, but it also has implications that extend well beyond this particular place and this particular time.
Bibliography


Annual Reports of the Columbus Public Schools


Bishop, A. *The Blackberry Patch*. Vol I and II. Columbus Ohio.


Bryant, V.V. *Columbus, Ohio and the Great Migration*. Unpublished master’s thesis, The Ohio State University, Columbus, 1983.


Columbus Dispatch January 6, p.10;1910.

Columbus Dispatch, December 31, p.5; 1912.
Columbus, Ohio: Board of Education Minutes, Columbus Metropolitan Library, 1871.

Columbus, Ohio: Board of Education Minutes, Columbus Metropolitan Library, 1909.

Columbus, Ohio Board of Education Minutes, Columbus Metropolitan Library June, p.10-19;1910.

Columbus, Ohio Board of Education Minutes, Columbus Metropolitan Library No. 23, 1929 p. 175.

Columbus, Ohio Board of Education Minutes, Columbus Metropolitan Library No. 24, 1936 p. 367.


Curriculum Management Audit of the Columbus Public Schools. Funded by the Ohio Department of Education. Columbus, Ohio, April 26 – May 4, 1999.


Desegregation File at Columbus Metropolitan Library

Dowdy, George T. An Economic Analysis of Consumer Food Buying Habits of Negro Households, in Columbus, Ohio. Dissertation. The Ohio State University.


132


Himes, J.S. *Forty Years of Negro Life in Columbus, Ohio*. Journal of Negro History. 27(2), 133-154, 1942.


-------------------------. Returning to the Source, Implications for Educating Teachers of Black Students. In M. Foster (Ed.) Readings in Equal Education, Volume II: Qualitative Investigations into Schools and Schooling (pp. 227-244), 1991.

-------------------------. Like lightning in a bottle: attempting to capture the pedagogical excellence of successful teachers of black students, Qualitative Studies in Education. 3(4), 335-344, 1990.


Ohio Sentinel, The
Ohio State Journal, June 25 p. 6; 1867.
Ohio State Journal, January 11 p.8-10; 1871.
Ohio State Journal, May 24 p 17; 1872.
Ohio State Journal November 22 p13-17; 1872.
Ohio State Journal March 5 p. 5; 1874.
Ohio State Journal February 11 p.5-8; 1878
Ohio Statesman, p. 1 February 2, p. 1; 1869.
Ohio State University Archives


School Institution Of the Colored People of the State of Ohio, minutes May;1837

--------------------------, minutes p. 5-7 May;1838.

--------------------------, minutes p. 4 May; 1840.

--------------------------, minutes p. 3-5 May; 1854.

--------------------------, minutes p. 2-5 May: 1868

Schoening, Niles Craig. The Effects of Urban Renewal on the Pattern of Racial Segregation in Columbus, Ohio. Thesis. The Ohio State University, 1969.


Shaw, Stephanie. What a Woman ought to be and to do. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.


