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FROM JIM CROW TO INCLUSION:
AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND
SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES,
1934-1965

DISSERTATION

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

By

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ABSTRACT

Although Jim Crow laws varied greatly between counties, cities and states, their purpose was consistent: to subjugate, intimidate, and oppress African Americans. These laws coupled with economic deprivation, lynching, police sanctioned brutality, chain gains and the like, instilled legitimate fear in African Americans. Burdened with this paralyzing fear of questioning the southern social hierarchy and thereby offending southern Whites, African Americans were in an unenviable position. Their challenge was to create mechanisms within the parameters of “Jim Crow” that challenged the established social order, while never accepting the dehumanized status cast upon them by their oppressors.

This research focuses on an organization, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (the Association), which was the “Jim Crow” equivalent to the all White southern regional accrediting organization, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (the Southern Association). As was true of many professional organizations, the exclusively White organization did not extend membership to African American secondary schools or colleges. Consequently the Association was established to provide
similar services to African American colleges and secondary schools. However as will be discussed, the Association also acknowledged and operated within the southern realities of Jim Crow as evidenced by its organizational structure, its leadership and its relationship with the Southern Association.

This research provides not only an historical review of an organization, but also utilizes as an interpretive lens, the social, cultural and political hegemonic structure that shaped its beginning, its work and its eventual cessation. By foregrounding the institution of Jim Crow while analyzing issues of accreditation, the role of the Association’s leadership, the focus of Association sponsored studies, the relationship between the Association, the Southern Association and their membership, this research’s guiding questions are: (1) How did the Association and its work serve as a strategy to challenge the dominant structure?; (2) how should this knowledge inform our epistemological understanding of African American educational history?; and (3) how is this relevant to our present day educational practices?
Dedicated to my parents with love—
Mildred Angelene Wood Carter
and
Ewing Carter, Jr. (1931-1971)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you my Lord, Jesus Christ, my Creator, Sustainer and Redeemer.

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CHAPTER 1

NAMING STRATEGIES: THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

If history is to have value beyond a literary form of collecting antiques, it must provide a guide to action. For those struggling against oppression and for justice, history must assess the past to suggest political, social, and economic strategies for the present and future (Butchart, 1994. p.86).

Introduction

This study is a guide to action or rather a contextualization of past efforts within a conceptual frame that reveals and names those efforts as strategic. Because the dominant narrative has been recorded by those who own the language, the history of African American education and the institutions that helped to shape it, is often neglected (Gordon, 1995). Unchallenged by alternative perspectives and worldviews, the dominant narrative remains seemingly unaltered. This ahistorical representation does not account for the infusion and impact of non-dominant voices in the shaping of American education nor does it make visible the educational trajectory of those who are not members of the dominant group. Through an historical analysis of an educational organization, the Association of

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1 "for Negroes" was constitutionally removed from the organization's name in 1964 (Cozart, 1967)
Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, this study offers a past strategy for present consideration.

During its thirty-one years of activity, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (hereafter referred to as the "Association") served as an advocate and supportive organization for more than six hundred African American secondary schools and colleges which were denied membership in its exclusively White counterpart organization, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (hereafter referred to as the "Southern Association"). Founded in response to issues surrounding the regional accreditation process, the Association was primarily comprised of African American secondary schools and colleges in eleven southern states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia (Cozart, 1967; Holmes, 1934).

Throughout this paper I will utilize "African American" as a descriptor. However in cited passages other terms for this group, (i.e. Colored, Negro, etc.) may be used. However all terms unless otherwise indicated refer to members of the Negroid race whose origin can be traced to the African continent.

White will be the descriptor utilized when referring to members of the Caucasian race. In cited passages other terms for this group may be used.

In order to minimize difficulty in confusing the names of the respective organizations, please note that the Association (African American Association) is the focus of this study. The Southern Association was an exclusively White organization. As will be discussed, an understanding of the nature of the connection between these two organizations is critical.

"Accreditation is a process by which an institution of post-secondary education evaluates its educational activities, in whole or in part, and seeks an independent judgment to confirm that a substantially achieves its objectives and is generally equal in quality to comparable institutions or specialized units" (Young, Chambers, and Kells, 1983, p. 21).

Although membership came primarily from these states, northern colleges and universities, such as Howard (Washington D.C.), Lincoln (PA), and Wilberforce (OH) were members throughout the Associations' history (Cozart, 1967).
As the regional accrediting body in the South, membership in the Southern Association signified legitimacy in the mainstream academic community. Therefore the Association was largely concerned with gaining such recognition for its members. Consequently, "the Association performed for African American institutions many of the professional functions that the Southern Association performed for White institutions. It had similar committees, similar organizational structure, professional studies, and annual meetings often on the same dates and in the same city of the Southern Association and it disseminated information on accreditation" (Bowles and DeCosta, 1971, p. 49). Beginning in 1929, the two organizations worked closely through the Southern Association's "Negro Approval Process" carried out through its Committee on Approval of Negro Schools (Agnew, 1970; Anderson, 1988; Cozart, 1967; Perry, 1975; Snavely, 1945).

The work of the Association though multi-faceted had a clearly defined purpose: The enhancement of educational quality and opportunity for African Americans. The Association's work can be collapsed into four basic areas — the prolonged quest to obtain accreditation and full membership in the Southern Association; the promotion, encouragement and facilitation of increased academic standards among its membership; the sponsorship and publication of several research studies on issues

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7As will be discussed in chapter two, the Southern Association virtually ignored African American schools and colleges during the first thirty-five years of its existence. However in 1930 it established a committee, The Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools, which rated, but did not accredit, African American schools and colleges. Due to the Association's role in the rating of their member institutions, the interaction between the Association and the Southern Association is largely a result of the work in which this committee was involved (Agnew, 1970; Cozart, 1967; Goodwin, 1956).
related to African American education; and the push for national studies on the status of African American education carried out by the US Bureau of Education (Cozart, 1967). These efforts were critical to the advancement of African American education in the South. In fact, according to Walter Daniel (1942), the Association was "the most influential body among Negroes for the making of educational policy" (p. 209).

Due to the omnipresence of Jim Crow laws which informed all relationships between African Americans and Whites, the exclusion of African American colleges and secondary schools from membership in the Southern Association was not paradoxical to the dominant social/political/economic structure. Jim Crow ideology informed even the most intricate and mundane rituals of daily life in the South. Oftentimes audibly unchallenged, these socially and legally sanctioned statutes, had both immediate and far reaching implications that negatively impacted African Americans. As a microcosm of the society in which they resided, educational institutions were not immune from the pathology of Jim Crow and as such were likewise impacted. Moreover as a primary socializing agent, Jim Crow schooling served as a perpetuator of the myth of inherently superior/inferior races and played a integral role in maintaining the status quo (Beittel, 1950; Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967; Robinson, 1940a; Spring 1990).

Due to the absence of recognition by the Southern Association, African American colleges and secondary schools were not regionally accredited, were not allowed access nor permitted to participate in educational studies and workshops sponsored by the Southern Association,
and were deemed ineligible for a variety of state and federal funds (Robinson, 1940; Weinberg, 1977). In addition, graduates of these colleges and secondary schools experienced difficulty when seeking admission to northern colleges and universities. In short, the exclusion of African American colleges and secondary schools from the Southern Association rendered these institutions, their faculty, staff and students invisible outside of their local communities (Fleming, 1976; Robinson, 1940; Trenholm, 1932; Wilkerson, 1936).

This invisibility made it more difficult for its leaders and advocates to lobby specifically for local equity and more broadly for inclusion within the mainstream academy. However the work of the Association focused upon illuminating the separate and unequal dual educational system which served as a glaring example of the unevenness of distribution of funds and resources in the South (Cozart, 1967; Robinson, 1940b; Wilkerson 1939).

Purpose

The substantive and historic role of African Americans in challenging the dominant ideology that informs the institution of schooling is not readily accessible nor acknowledged in mainstream literature. This exclusion, while possibly unintentional, supports the notion that the efforts of African Americans have not been profound and pervasive. This research offers an alternative perspective. A perspective that is grounded in the belief that African Americans, collectively and individually, have consciously

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8However for exceptions see, Anderson (1988); Ashmore (1954); Ballard (1974); Bond, (1934); Bullock (1967); DuBois, (1911); Mabee (1979); Margo (1990); Sherer (1977); and Spivey (1978).
developed and implemented strategies that challenge the dominant structure (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; DuBois, 1903; Franklin, 1984).

Although Horace Mann Bond's (1934) profound statement rings true, "Strictly speaking, the school has never built a new social order, it has been the product and interpreter of the existing system, sustaining and being sustained by the social complex" (p. 13), African Americans have developed strategies which have resulted in the cultivation and sustenance of African American institutions (Gordon, 1989; Lomotey & Brookins, 1989). Institution building as espoused by Gordon is necessary to foster the culture of people and has at its core an evolving inner circle of scholars working together to solve a social problem or crisis" (92). Further she argues "the significance of institution building is in its potential to demystify and actualize an emancipatory practice...The questions that these institutions address can either perpetuate the societal status or challenge the prevailing trends by creating alternative scientific paradigms and normative structures" (p. 96). Whether schools, churches, or fraternal and civic organizations, these institutions have provided the necessary cultural grounding and support for African American survival in a hostile environment (Meier, 1968). The Association, then, should be viewed as an institution. An African American institution that encouraged the re-definition of African American schooling in the South.

With a regional identity grounded in a race-based social order, the Southern school system emerged from a white supremacist ideology. Schooling for African Americans was systemic subjugation designed to protect and strengthen mainstream culture (Bullock, 1967; Meier 1968;
Wiggins, 1968). As will be discussed, not unlike other disenfranchised groups, African Americans have long associated education with liberation. As the conduit through which formal education travels, schools have historically been viewed as synonymous with liberation and thus have been a site of contestation in America. Consequently, the attainment of schooling for African Americans has occurred with struggle at every level (Bullock, 1967; Butchart, 1994; Sherer, 1977).

The task of this research is the illumination and analysis of a specific strategy and its role in African American institution building, namely the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

This research not only provides an historical review of African American education and the work of an organization committed to its growth, but utilizes as an interpretive lens the social, political and economic hegemonic structure that shaped the organization's efforts. The questions posed are How did the Association and its work serve as a strategy to challenge the dominant structure?; how should this knowledge should inform our epistemological understanding of African American educational history?; and lastly how is this relevant to our present day educational practices?

By foregrounding the institution of Jim Crow while analyzing issues related to African American education and more specifically the Association, this research will use the aforementioned guiding questions to problematize taken for granted notions about African American education, schooling and dominant ideology. Particular emphasis will be placed upon analyzing:
1. Its founding and the battle for accreditation;
2. Its promotion, encouragement and facilitation of heightened academic standards among its member institutions;
3. Its sponsorship and publication of several research studies on issues related to African American education;
4. Its push for national studies on the status of African American education carried out by the US Bureau of Education, and;
5. The nature of its internal and external relationships.

By exploring these topics within their historical context, the significance of the Association and its impact upon African American secondary and post-secondary educational institutions will be evident.

**Need for the Study**

The paucity of literature available on African American educational organizations makes the need for this study critical. A review of the Association, its members and its work provides an historical perspective that fuels the spirit of those who are calling for a "new look" at American educational history. Perry's (1975) *History of the American Teacher's Association* is an example of a study that focuses upon a single African American educational organization. Essentially chronicling the work of the American Teachers Association (ATA), the all African American counterpart to the National Education Association (NEA), Perry (1975) speaks to the rationale for such a study:

>The mere existence of an organization is not sufficient reason to introduce it to the reading public. In respect to the American Teachers Association, however, it functioned, not in a vacuum
but as an integral part of the social and educational history of the nation. It was a point of African American history and of American history. It was an essential and dynamic element in the development of education in the United States. It was responsible for inroads and patterns, instigated and implemented by Blacks, and important ideas which were projected with persistence and courage, resulting in more realistic racial attitudes and a more democratic social order (p. 7).

Similar to the American Teacher's Association a study of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes reveals much about African American schooling experiences and provides an alternative to the dominant interpretation of those educational experiences.

Conceptual Framework

The liberal approach to the Negro problem in scholarship and in broader political considerations had serious flaws. It fostered the belief that racial gradualism was the wisest strategy due to the "nature of the times" and since "society" was not prepared for more assertive action. Such assumptions tore history from the hands and minds of men and thus conveniently ignore the fact that reality is a social construct. Societal organization is a product of a collective consciousness representative of human interests. Social structures and process do not appear out of nowhere (Stanfield, 1985, p. 191).

In Philanthropy and Jim Crow in American Social Science, Stanfield (1985) provides an alternative to the perspective that the dominant social structure is permanently fixed, instead of being representative of and shaped by the collective interests of those in power. This perspective according to Stanfield informs the manner in which the dominant structure is challenged. In fact his notion of "racial gradualism," as a strategy to affect change within a hostile environment supported and
perpetuated by the dominant social structure, serves as the springboard from which this research emerges.

The acknowledgment of the dominant structure as created and imposed rather than as natural and unquestionable is critical in order to problematize taken for granted notions about society and the position of those who populate it (Gordon, 1989). Further the strategy of gradualism whether it be related to race, gender, or nationality as a means to make inroads in the hegemonic social structure is evidence that the alteration or dismantlement of the dominant structure is considered by "the marginally positioned" to be beyond their immediate grasp. Otherwise instead of utilizing a strategy to convince those in power to be inclusive, the objective of these marginal groups would be to cultivate a new structure which values multiple cultural identities. The overarching conceptual framework of this research is derived from the acknowledgment of the hegemonic nature of the dominant structure and the generation of institutions which challenge its ideology.

This research reveals the ways in which African Americans have actively resisted, although not always overtly, the dominant social structure's "potential reality" for their lives. While these resistance strategies often took different forms including what Stanfield identifies as racial gradualism, there is a rich historical record that reveals the resistance, and the products of that resistance (Franklin, 1984).

Due to the nature of the interlocking and interdependent relationships of the Association, the Southern Association, and northern philanthropists, the Association members faced many challenges in
carrying out its mission. While working toward bringing about changes in the allocation of funds and other resources for its schools, the Association had to develop strategies that would advocate for their institutions while not offending their funding sources nor the leadership and membership of the Southern Association. In short, instead of accepting the social/political/economic ideology as the only paradigm from which their responses to an oppressive and discriminatory social structure could emerge, the Association’s responses were informed by a strategy of active resistance which illuminated a separate and unequal dual educational system embedded in white supremacist ideology. This counter-hegemonic stance, in light of the social dictates of the time, was indeed a conscious strategy (Franklin, 1984).

It is important to note that the Association was not an anomaly. Jim Crow laws which were woven into the South's cultural fabric, did not allow African Americans and Whites to jointly organize on an equal basis to address "common" concerns. Although according to the 1930 census African Americans accounted for more than 23% of the overall population in the South, the ideology that informed the collective conscious of the dominant group did not consider African American needs, interests, or desires as worthy of their consideration. As Rayford Logan (1941) so aptly asserts "the white man's ability to pronounce the most elaborate and idealistic principles without even thinking about the Negro or without intending to include him is one of the most fascinating problems of psychiatry" (p.62). Consequently various organizations with particular focus on African American schools such as the Association of Presidents of
Negro Land Grant Colleges (1920), and the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars (1926) were organized during this period (McKinney, 1944; Dewey, 1935).^9

Moreover the Association's dilemma was not an anomaly. Throughout their history in the United States, African Americans have struggled with crafting a response to their particular social, political and economic issues which would best serve their collective interests. Consequently their responses have been varied and complex -- sometimes accommodating, sometimes unyielding -- yet always seeking to carve out within the hegemonic structure a "position" for the voicing of their needs and interests. However despite their consistent quest for inclusion within the mainstream social structure, African Americans have been relegated to a marginal and/or peripheral position which has not resulted in substantive changes in the taken for granted assumptions and practices of the status quo (Wilkerson, 1939). It is the constant marginality of African Americans and others in relation to the dominant structure, despite their resistance and efforts, that posits that structure as "permanent and inflexible." The conceptual framework that guides this research rejects this seemingly impenetrable structure through the identification, exploration and analysis of a specific strategy which challenged the dominant structure's schooling ideology.

The Ideology of Jim Crow

The laws and decrees were only the most dramatic examples of an overall system, a system that was designed to isolate, subordinate, grade-push down. The thrust behind the system came from a variety of motives, including a desire to avoid assimilation and to limit or eliminate competition for scarce values. But there was also a desire to discipline, control, punish, humiliate. The legal system was buttressed by an etiquette of debasement which forbade whites to shake hands with blacks or to use courtesy titles in addressing them. (Bennett 1969, p. 257)

An understanding of African American educational history is not possible without considering the factors that have shaped it. The societally sanctioned practices which fostered the development of statutes and regulations, such as slave codes, black codes, and Jim Crow laws were commonplace throughout the Southern states. Therefore in order to contextualize African American educational history and the Association, this analysis exposes the oppressive and subjugating ideology which prevailed during the period reviewed (Beittel, 1952).

By the time of the founding of the Association in 1934, Jim Crow Laws regulated all social interaction between African Americans and Whites in the South. The gains realized by African Americans during the Reconstruction era angered many White Southerners who sought to resurrect their ante-bellum traditions by implementing these codes of intent of this section is to contextualize the education of African Americans within the Jim Crow paradigm. It does not attempt to fully explore the life of Jim Crow and its inseparably from American culture.

The 1896 Supreme Court Decision regarding Plessy vs. Ferguson provided the basis for the development of "separate but equal" laws (Clark, 1958).
conduct (Wiggins, 1968). In his classic historical study, Lerone Bennett (1962) describes the following Jim Crow laws:

White nurses were forbidden to treat black males. White teachers were forbidden to teach black students. South Carolina made it a crime for black and white cotton mill workers to look out the same window. Florida required "negro" textbooks and "white" textbooks. Oklahoma required "separate but equal" telephone booths. New Orleans segregated black and white prostitutes. Atlanta provided Jim Crow Bibles for black and white witnesses (pp. 256-257).

Clearly the far reaching nature of these laws into such intricate matters, speaks to a primary intent of the framers: to prevent the intermingling of races (Bullock, 1967). Interestingly while asserting their disdain for interactions between African Americans and Whites, the issue was not solely the intermingling of races but instead control. During slavery African Americans and Whites had very intimate relationships, both platonic and sexual, but these relationships existed within a social order that prescribed and protected each group's positionality.

Gunnar Myrdal's (1944) assertion that Jim Crow laws were a great minimizer of class differences among African Americans, clearly illustrates the insertion and use of power and control in order to reestablish and undergird the southern cultural hierarchy. Whether wealthy, poor, educated or uneducated all African Americans were expected to acknowledge, respect, and obey these laws. As was the case with their predecessor - slave codes, "under these codes, the slave had no rights that the white man was bound to respect" (Latham, 1969 p. 28). Consequently any challenges to Jim Crow was viewed as a threat to the southern social order and those who dared to mount such challenges were vigorously
sought out and punished. Consequences ranging from ostracization to lynching invoked legitimate fear and was used to silence and control African Americans and others through threat and intimidation. The claim of "legitimate fear" can be supported the fifteen lynchings that occurred in 1934 (Bennett, 1969).

All of this had a grave impact upon schooling, particularly for African Americans. Prior to the Reconstruction era, the South did not have a public school system (Bennett, 1969; Bond, 1934; Willie & Greenblatt, 1981). The work of the Freedmen's Bureau from 1866-1871 was the catalyst that led to the development of public schools in the South. The Jim Crow laws enacted by the turn of the century, buttressed and justified discriminatory practices in schooling and as such the South's public school system was developed and cultivated within the Jim Crow paradigm. In keeping with this ideology, two separate systems - distinct and unequal were established. The South unable to support two systems, neglected African American schools and pervasive inequities were commonplace i.e. shorter school terms, dilapidated buildings, and lower teacher salaries (Bullock, 1967; DuBois, 1903; Fleming 1976; Latham, 1969; Robinson, 1940a; Wilkerson, 1939). These issues plagued schools and stunted the growth of educational opportunities for African Americans. The Association's work was directed at making audible the squelched voices of these schools. Similar to the civil rights movement, its goal was to focus national attention on a regionally-based worldview from which this unjust system of schooling "organically emerged."
Methodology

The term methodology refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers. In the social sciences, the term applies to how one conducts research. Our assumptions, interests, and purposes shape which methodology we choose. When stripped to their essentials, debates over methodology are debates over assumptions and purposes, over theory and perspective (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 1).

Depending upon the purpose of the study, African American educational history has been explored utilizing various research methods. For example, early federal and philanthropic-sponsored studies were typically highly quantitative. This approach provided the statistical data necessary to support or refute policy decisions, legislative acts, and funding practices (Caliver, 1932; Jones, 1916; Klein, 1928). This study while drawing upon some statistical data in order to portray the development of African American education, is methodologically qualitative. The primary tool of inquiry utilized was the analyzation of documents. As indicated by Glesne and Peshkin (1992) "to know understand a phenomenon, you need to know its history" (p. 53). The documents whether organizational minutes, proceedings, reports, or publications provided entree into the public and private work of the Association and its members.

Drawing upon Strauss and Corbin's (1990) grounded theory approach, this study grew out of my interest in African American education and my desire to find ways to challenge dominant notions about African American schooling. Though oftentimes posited as passive participants on a prescribed educational journey, I was sure that African Americans had not been passive participants but had instead been actively
engaged (overtly and covertly) in their struggle to fully participate in American schooling. An exploration of the Association was a means to illuminate that struggle.

**Rationale**

...The historical study of an educational idea or institution gives us a perspective that can do much to help us understand our present educational system, and this understanding in turn can help to establish a sound basis for further progress and improvement (Borg & Gall, 1963, p. 260).

According to Butchart (1994), the relationship between education and the struggle of the African American community has been chronicled. Yet this chronicalization has traditionally occurred within conceptual frames that repel multiple interpretations, and has therefore arose out of a dominant perspective. This methodology -- coming out of what Butchart calls the revisionist tradition: which "seeks to identify and name those forces that are part of the struggle for knowledge and power" (p.104) -- is critical and historical and was chosen for multiple reasons. First, it is grounded in a theoretical frame which problematizes dominant worldviews and interpretations. Secondly it relies heavily upon primary documents which allow for a close review and analysis of the work of the Association. Thirdly it provides a heightened awareness of the richly textured strategies utilized by an oppressed and marginal group in their quest for inclusion. This knowledge is imperative because as asserted by Gordon (1993), "African Americans must learn their own seldom-explored history, because their own history makes the dominant society's 'commonsense' interpretive knowledge problematic (p. 267)."
Borg and Gall (1963) indicate that the three essential steps for conducting historical research are defining the problem, gathering the data, and evaluating and synthesizing data into an accurate account. However because as Giarelli and McLaren (1995) assert that in order to posit as problematic the inscribed power relation from a critical perspective, "a disciplined questioning of the subtle and indirect ways in which power works is necessary" (p.22), the Association was historically and contextually considered.

Throughout this research, issues of power and control are dominant themes. With African Americans lacking little economic or political power, their educational institutions were, in large measure, controlled by external forces (Bullock, 1967; Sherer, 1977). In its problematization of the dominant worldview, this work examines the way in which power relations impact education and the interpreting of educational history.

**Defining the Problem**

My interest in the Association is grounded in my abiding fascination with the educational history of African Americans. My fascination is a result of family educational tales and personal educational experiences. As a child, I was struck my both the similarities and differences of my experiences when compared to those of my grandmother's and even to my mother's. My need to fully consider and reflect upon these experiences is best revealed by Ronald Butchart (1994) in "Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World: An Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education." Butchart challenges educational historians to elevate the understanding of African American education through an
interpretative examination of the way in which political, social and economical forces impinged upon it and impacted its growth, direction and impact upon the American terrain. Butchart suggests this elevated analysis provides strategies for future battles.

The challenge then is to begin this analysis by identifying and naming as strategies the efforts of African Americans to find their way in an environment sometimes hostile to the possibilities of their humanness. An educational tale that reflects this need to identify and name strategies of resistance, was shared with me by my grandmother and mother. My paternal grandmother, who attended a northern "integrated" high school in the late 1920s, indicated to her counselor, a White woman, her desire to pursue the business/vocational curriculum. The counselor quickly informed my grandmother that as a "colored girl" she wouldn't be able to utilize business skills and instead enrolled her in domestic science courses. Consequently my grandmother's schooling focused upon cooking and sewing, skills which she eventually used to support her family as a seamstress.

Some twenty years later, my mother had the same encounter with the same counselor. However my mother's response was different. Instead of obeying her counselor's directives to enroll in domestic science courses, she secretly asked her White classmates when their business courses met and changed her class schedule accordingly. In part as a result of her schooling my mother enjoyed a successful career in government.

Ironically in the course of a conversation some twenty years later, my grandmother and my mother discovered that their encounters with this
counselor had been identical. I am struck by this tale on multiple levels. Firstly how the single actions of one woman could have such a pervasive and profound impact on the lives of many. Imagine over a twenty year period - how many "Colored" students this woman had advised. Secondly I struggled with naming my mother's action as strategic. After all she essentially "righted a wrong" by defying the dominant structure and its protectors who assigned, regulated and controlled her positionality. Yet even as my mother recanted these events and spoke so vividly of her constant fear, of being discovered and forced to follow the domestic science curriculum, I was in awe of her unwavering belief that she was entitled to take those courses in spite of the risk involved. My mother's response to a dominant narrative in which she consciously moved from object to subject, is the spirit and strategy which I am naming active resistance.

As I attended the same school more than twenty-five years after my mother and fifty years after my grandmother, I wondered what meaning this educational tale had in terms of my own educational journey. As I sat in Advanced Placement College Preparatory courses how had their experiences and responses impacted my current and future possibilities? My mother's and my grandmother's experiences speak directly to the importance of historical studies and informs my research question -- historically, what strategies have African Americans used to challenge the dominant structure, and how is this knowledge relevant now?

If we are to seriously take on Butchart's (1994) challenge to elevate our understanding of African American education, then this knowledge is relevant. Not only in a specific way, but also more broadly. The education of
African Americans has been held hostage within the dominant narrative. (Woodson, 1931, 1933) My grandmother's and my mother's tales are not unique. Although the site, people involved and specific events differ, the pattern is familiar. Oftentimes, the experiences of African Americans which do not fit neatly into the dominant narrative are left untold. This study seeks to reveal the educational experience of African Americans by demystifying and problematizing the dominant narrative.

**Gathering the Data**

A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theorizing stand in reciprocal relationship with one another. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 23).

Once I had defined my research question, I needed to gather data that would shed light on this "phenomenon." I decided that historically African American colleges and secondary schools were symbolic of the strategies which I was in search of and therefore would be perfect research sites.

My initial focus was on African American secondary boarding schools. In order to become more knowledgeable about these schools, I began to consider the possibly of visiting a series of institutions, that would provide me with the kind of grounding necessary to begin to explore this research area. Fortunately I was able to talk with two persons who had some direct responsibility for the administration of an African American boarding schools and the opportunity to visit one of the schools. Although
not formal interviews, in both instances I was able to get a sense of the challenges and of the joy that these administrators faced in carrying out their work

However although the information shared was insightful, I couldn't seem to find what I was looking for. Although by their very existence, these schools seemed to be counter-hegemonic strategies, I was in search of a school or an institution or an organization that would supply an framework for a new or different understanding of the schooling experiences of African Americans. My difficulty seemed to be my desire to find some linkage among these schools that would acknowledge their connectedness to each other, to the African American community, to our past and to our future.

A suggestion to investigate the Association of Black Boarding Schools led me to the focus of this research. This tidbit sparked my interest and I began to wonder what other kind of "umbrella" African American educational organizations existed. Upon review of African American educational histories (Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1967; Bullock, 1967; and DuBois, 1911), and various ERIC searches. My search led to, the United Negro College Fund (1944), the Association of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges (1920), the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars (1926) and finally to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (McKinney, 1948).

The Association, because of its broad membership - secondary schools and colleges in eleven southern states, the educational heroes associated with it, and the Jim Crow laws which necessitated its existence,
made it the ideal focal point for my research. The next challenge was securing primary documents needed to conduct a historical study. I began this process through traditional means (ERIC searches) and later broadened my approach by contacting libraries at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Appendix A) that were former members of the Association and selected school districts in which the former African American secondary schools were members (Appendix B). In addition repositories such as the Rockefeller Archive Center (North Tarrytown, New York) and the Amistad Research Center (New Orleans, Louisiana) were contacted (Appendix C).

Although some inquiries led to the attainment of critical primary sources, many did not. (Appendix D). Documents utilized for this study include the Proceedings of the Association's Annual Meetings (hereafter referred to as the Association Proceedings) According to L.S. Cozart (1967) secretary-treasurer of the Association during its entire existence, these proceedings "contain all the reports of permanent and temporary committees, minutes of the Executive committee, actions of the delegate body and a complete reproduction of most of the scholarly papers and addresses" (p. ix). Further T.E. McKinney indicated that

Soon after the formation of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes the Commission insisted that the Association publish its proceedings in full. It stated that we feel that a complete record of current thought on educational theory especially as it affects Negroes should be preserved for future generations. Beginning with the second annual meeting we have had full and fairly complete proceedings published. The minutes of the first annual meeting have been preserved through the cooperative effort of the Commission (McKinney 1944, p.23).
The Association's Annual Meetings were three-day meetings, usually held on the campus of one of the member institutions. The attendees consistently numbered over two hundred and included leaders of member institutions, State Agents, Southern Association representatives, government educational opportunities, and delegats as well as guests. During the course of the conference, official officer and committee reports and scholarly papers were presented and jury panel dicussions were held.

With the help of The Ohio State University's Interlibrary Loan office, I was also able to secure several official publications of the Association, namely a report of the Association's Secondary School Study entitled Serving Negro Schools (1946) and a publication issued by the Research Committee which focuses upon the performance of African American students entitled Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students (1959). Finally an article entitled "Critical Problems in the Education of Negroes in the Southern Region" authored by Dr. Cozart and published in the Journal of Negro Education (hereafter referred to as JNE) was also utilized.

Annual Reports of the General Education Board (hereafter referred to as the GEB Annual Reports) which outline funding and rationales for funding awarded to the Association and/or its member institutions were especially helpful. As well, the Annual Proceedings of the Southern Association (hereafter referred to as the Southern Association Proceedings) provided additional insight into Association matters.
Lastly, studies published by the US Bureau of Education provide the needed statistical data to support the Association's efforts. Studies published in 1916, 1928, 1932, and 1942 were utilized.

Evaluating and Synthesizing Data into An Accurate Account

Major secondary sources were consulted to validate, negate, illuminate and/or problematize representations forwarded in the primary documents (Borg & Gall, 1963). Major secondary sources included A History of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1934-1965, Cozart's (1967) official history of the Association. In the foreword of this Association-sponsored history, Rufus J. Clement states that "as the only Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Cozart more than any other single individual, was intimately and continuously connected with the Association" (Cozart, 1967, p. vii). Although Dr. Cozart was intimately involved with the Association throughout its existence, as the appointed biographer, his charge was to present the Association and its work in the most favorable light. Therefore although his work was initially relied upon extensively in order to develop an understanding of the Association, other sources, primarily contemporaneous commentary, annual meeting reports and other similar documents were also heavily consulted.

Three dissertations which focused on the Association were utilized. Hardy's (1977) study was limited to an Association program, the Secondary School Study and was used for clarification of that study. The major emphasis of Goodwin's (1956) study was the accreditation process and was consulted to develop a greater understanding of the interconnectedness between the founding of the Association and the accreditation process and
the Association's procedural and professional relationship with the Southern Association. Lastly Paynes' (1957) study which examined the changing role of the Association as a result of the 1954 Brown vs. BOE, was not heavily utilized. Paynes' treatment of the topic was lacking in substantive support and as such could only be utilized when his claims could be validated by other sources.

Various articles and editorials found in African American journals, namely the Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes (QRHEN) and the Journal of Negro Education (JNE) were also consulted. In both instances, the editors of these journals served in key positions in the Association and provided valuable contemporaneous commentary on Association and related matters. First appearing in January 1935, the QRHEN was published by Johnson C. Smith University.

This journal aims to perform certain tasks: to provide thought by furnishing a forum in which problems of colleges and universities for Negroes may be discussed; to present scientific studies of instructional and administrative problems; to report news of particular interest to workers in higher education of Negroes; to provide timely reviews of books and monographs in the fields of higher education; to provide a service through which individual seeking college employment and colleges seeking workers, may be brought into contact (quoted in Dewey, 1935, p. 329).

Dean T.E. McKinney\textsuperscript{12}, editor of the QRHEN served for many years as Chair of the Association's Commission for Institutions of Higher Education and as such had intimate knowledge of internal matters. Especially concerned

\textsuperscript{12} Theophilus E. McKinney, Dean of Johnson C. Smith College was recognized at the Association's 1952 annual meeting for having attended all meeting of the Association since its organization (1952 Association Proceedings).
that the Association's minutes were preserved. McKinney remarked in 1935 that "The Commission is interested in knowing that the Association has published proceedings of the last meeting. If this practice is to be continued the Commission suggests that all of the actual proceedings be published rather than statements culled from the addresses and reprinted" (p. 26). His QRHEN editorials often focused on the Association and its work and expressed points of tension within the Association and between the Association and external forces.

The JNE, founded at Howard University, was the first periodical devoted entirely to Negro education. The editorial staff was selected mainly from the Department of Education with a contributory and advisory staff of twenty-eight persons representing various phases of Negro education, including the education foundations (Dewey, 1935) With its first issue appearing in April 1932, the JNE is a "ready reference to those interested in the higher education of Negroes" (Dewey, 1935, p. 327). Moreover Charles H. Thompson, editor of JNE from 1932-1962, served in various roles in the Association. In 1939, he was elected to the Executive Committee and was most active for many years with the Commission on Higher Education Institutions. (Cozart, 1967)

The data collected from primary and secondary documents was coded and multiple categories emerged. Data collected from the documents was recorded on notecards and filed in an accordion folder. Throughout this research study, I continued to re-categorize data based upon emergent themes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Out of this process, a variety of categories emerged: curriculum issues, the founding of the Association,
social/political context, Association leaders, Southern Association leaders, relationships between the Association and the Southern Association, federal studies, Association studies and Southern ideology. Various subcategories also emerged, those areas that were critical to a full understanding of the Association are included in this study.

**Significance of the Study**

African American educational history is replete with examples of individuals and groups who challenged the dominant social structure. However due to the persuasiveness of white supremacy ideology which ignored, trivialized or inappropriately named their efforts and triumphs, African Americans have been depicted as objects rather than subjects in the quest to dismantle the mainstream social structure (Franklin, 1984). Yet despite W.A. Robinson's (1940) assertion that "We have, as Negroes, made and are making a most creditable fight to secure an adequate institution of learning for Negro students" (p. 480), the role of African Americans has been minimized within mainstream literature (Anderson, 1988; Franklin, 1984).

Thus assertive action on the part of African Americans has not been recognized as the impetus for enhanced educational opportunity. Instead others such as abolitionists, sympathetic southerners, and northern philanthropists have been given such recognition. This research takes issue with this widely held notion by rejecting the assumption that African Americans were passive participants while others acted on their behalf in their quest to become educated and to educate. This position is significant
because it problematizes the mainstream historical record which informs current ideology and practice (Franklin, 1984).

**A Summary of African American Schooling**

...*We need a better understanding of where schooling stood in relationship to other social institutions for various groups and at various times, and a better sense of the content of the educational ideologies (Butchart, 1994, p. 107).*

**Introduction**

The primary intent of this historiography is to two-fold: to highlight the way in which schooling served as a socializing agent ensuring the perpetuance of the dominant structure; and to reveal African American's active resistance to the status quo as evidenced by their on-going quest to be educated, to attend and found schools, to support educational initiatives within their communities and to develop and implement strategies that would ensure educational opportunity and access to the African American community at large (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Robinson, 1940).

An interpretive history of African American educational history is essential for purposes of this research. As suggested earlier, historically African Americans have utilized various strategies in order to access and enhance educational opportunity. Therefore the objective of this summary is to reveal those strategies by contextualizing the African American educational experience within a particular theoretical frame. Thus, emphasis will be placed on identifying African American actions (overt and covert) which led to enhanced and/or increased educational opportunities.

With ninety percent of the African American population living in the South at the turn of the twentieth century, it is impossible to discuss any
aspect of African American history where the culture and tradition of the South does not provide the backdrop (Margo, 1990). This tradition includes the institution of slavery, slave codes, segregation, and Jim Crow laws. Although these traditions also existed elsewhere in the nation, the southern states depended on these institutions in order to maintain their agrarian economic system. Consequently the members of the White dominant class clung tightly to these oppressive systems (Bond, 1934). Moreover African American's struggle to gain freedom from enslavement and then to claim their rights basic to human dignity has been widely documented (Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1934; Woodson, 1919). Therefore the geographic context of this historiography is the Southern region of the United States.

Organizationally, the historiographical summary consists of the following major topics, Education and Enslaved African Americans, The Freedmen's Bureau, Northern Philanthropy, Curriculum Battles, the 1916 Federal Study entitled *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39* (hereafter referred to as the 1916 Jones Study), and the Development of Secondary Schools and Colleges.

**Education and Enslaved African**

According to Carter G. Woodson (1919), the history of the education of the ante-bellum enslaved African Americans falls into two periods - from the introduction of slavery to 1835 which was the climax of the insurrection movement and then from 1835 to the industrial revolution which changed
slavery from a patriarchal to an economic institution. Elsewhere, Nat Turner's insurrection in 1831 is used as the pivotal point in the shifting of perspective regarding education of enslaved Africans (Russell, 1981).

During the first period, plantation owners felt that education, particularly religious education, would be helpful in ensuring the docility of their slaves (Woodson, 1919). Therefore enslaved Africans were encouraged to learn the Christian doctrine through fellowship with each other and attending worship services usually led by an appointed White clergyman. For the profiteers of the institution of slavery, the inculcation of so-called Christian values and culture was used to justify the capture and enslavement of African people. Therefore religious education was widely encouraged (Meier, 1968; Woodson, 1919). In addition, the plantation served as a training ground for slaves. In order for the daily business of the plantation to be conducted—there was a need for blacksmiths, carpenters, bookkeepers, and other trades people. As such owners, relied on enslaved African Americans to perform these tasks (Bullock 1967; Spring, 1990; Whiteaker, 1990; Woodson, 1919). As well those slaves who served as house servants received training in order to carry out their domestic tasks. As Sherer (1977) points out "Clearly the plantation system included an elaborate informal curriculum designed to indoctrinate the slaves for their "proper place" in society" (p. 1).

Religious education and the training of enslaved African Americans as tradesmen or otherwise skilled persons are examples of visible ways in which slaves were educated. However slaves were also covertly seeking to become educated. There are many documented tales of slaves who
discovered ways to be in the presence of the educational enterprise - from those who convinced White children to teach them to read to those who through remarkable memory and recall taught themselves (Bond, 1934; Franklin, 1984; Woodson, 1919).

After the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831 many southerners felt that the education of African Americans was contradictory to the maintenance of the institution of slavery (Russell, 1981). They became fearful that instead of creating docile, obedient servants, education would bring about an awareness in the slaves resulting in questioning and ultimately rebelling against the institution of slavery. As a result, all of the southern states made it illegal to educate enslaved African Americans and in Mississippi even free African Americans were prohibited from being educated (Bond, 1934; Franklin, 1984, Sherer, 1977; Spivey, 1978). As a result by the time of the Emancipation Proclamation, the education of African Americans had been illegal for more than three decades (Bond, 1934).

**The Freedmen's Bureau**

At the time of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865, the institution of slavery had existed 244 years in the United States. Once released from physical slavery, African Americans immediately began to seek access to education. Former slaves, although legally free, found themselves unable to fully participate in society as citizens due to their impoverished status, unemployment and illiteracy. Consequently they realized the connectedness between liberation and schooling and sought avenues to
become educated, thus their thirst for knowledge was great. (Bond, 1934; Willie & Greenblatt, 1981; Sherer, 1977).

During the Civil War, the Union Army was instrumental in establishing schools and literacy programs for soldiers. Mary Peake, an African American woman taught the first Freedmen's School in 1861 at Fortress Monroe in Virginia. Later chaplains of the African American troops became instructors and from 1864-1865 there were fifty teachers in Union camps and regiments (Morris, 1976; Bond 1934; Margo 1990).

At the end of the war in 1865, in an effort to continue the work of the Union Army, Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (commonly referred to as the Freedmen's Bureau.) to provide food, clothing, shelter and medical aid for newly freed African Americans (Leavell, 1930). With the education of African Americans as one of its primary responsibilities, the Freedmen's Bureau was instrumental in the establishment of more than 4,000 separate schools for African Americans with over 245,000 students served (Bond 1934, Margo 1990).

Upon obtaining their freedom, African Americans focused their attention on becoming educated. Historically associating education with liberation, they sought to be educated with unrelenting zeal and determination (Sherer, 1977). Serving as Inspector of Schools and Finances for the Freedmen's Schools, J.W. Alvord cited in his January 1866 report, the following reasons for this thirst among African Americans for knowledge:
1. The natural thirst for knowledge common to all men.
2. They have seen power and influence among white people always coupled with learning; it is the sign of that elevation to which they now aspire.
3. Its mysteries, hitherto hidden from them in written literature, excite to the special study of books.
4. Their freedom has given wonderful stimulus to all effort, indicating a vitality which argues well for their whole future condition and character.
5. But, especially, the practical business of life now upon their hands shows their troubled need of education (p. 18).

According to Alvord, the total number of pupils as of January 1, 1866, in all of the African American schools was 90,589 with 1,314 teachers and 740 schools (Morris, 1976). As indicated by Horace Mann Bond (1934) 'Whatever its faults, the Freedmen's Bureau may justly be credited with the establishment of a widespread and fairly well organized system of free schools for Negroes in the South" (p.29).

Allocating more than six million dollars for educational initiatives, the work of the Freedmen's Bureau was carried out primarily by benevolent and religious northern groups (Bullock, 1967; Leavell, 1930). Prior to reconstruction, there were no free public schools in the South (except in North Carolina) because wealthy White Southerners feared that providing public education to the masses would disrupt the dominant social structure which was essential for the maintenance of their agrarian economical system (Harlan, 1958; Willie & Greenblatt, 1981).

Although the Freedmen's Bureau established schools that were initially sponsored by federal and state dollars, the African American community worked diligently as teachers, school house builders, and financial supporters to ensure that the schools were able to carry out their missions (Jones, 1916; Sherer 1977). Because its authority was federally
legislated and protected, southerners were unable to prevent the Freedmen's Bureau from founding these schools. After its cessation in 1861, the financial support for African American schooling came primarily from Northern philanthropists, benevolent organizations and African Americans (Bullock, 1967; Leavell, 1930).

Also, as will be discussed later, to the chagrin of the Southern dominant class, the Freedmen Bureau's schools promoted a New England style education. For Southern Whites who saw this as contradictory to the southern caste system, this advanced curriculum was viewed as an attempt to destroy the prescribed social order (Bullock, 1967).

In addition to the Freedmen Bureau Schools, African American religious denominations also were establishing schools. These schools attracted many African Americans away from Freedmen's Schools (Morris, 1976). In fact "in 1867, the Freedmen's Record complained about the tendency of ex-slaves to prefer sending their children to African American controlled private schools rather than supporting the free schools (Anderson, 1988). Nevertheless, African American Freedmen's organizations such as the African Civilization Society worked toward establishing privately controlled schools (Morris, 1976).

As the Reconstruction era closed, Whites disgruntled with the schools developed by the Freedmen's Bureau enacted laws to justify discriminatory funding practices in public education. In fact Mary Frances Berry (1994) indicates that from 1877-1900 pro-segregationists in Congress thwarted every legislative effort to maintain the gains made by African American education during Reconstruction. As a result those schools that
were solely dependent on state dollars had to either close or promote education for African Americans consistent with the caste system of the South. Nonetheless African Americans and many northern benevolent philanthropic organizations continued their efforts in promoting education by developing and/or continuing their to support private education (Leavell, 1930; Bond, 1934). "Consequently and without exception the segregated schools were inferior and failed to give Negroes even the rudiments of an adequate education (Meier, 1965, p. 145). These efforts provided a special mold to which African American education was to be shaped for almost one hundred years.

Northern Philanthropy

According to Leavall (1930), "The first private endowment fund set aside for the education of the American Negro was a sum of nine hundred pounds, donated by M. D'Allone, private secretary of King William at the Hague" (p. 25). Of course, this first contribution marked the beginning of many religious organizations, individuals, and groups who supported African American education.

At least two types of philanthropists, missionary and industrialist, were among those supporting African American education. The American Missionary Association (AMA) was probably the most significant missionary organization in furthering the education of African Americans. The first northern group to enter the field of African American education, the AMA was founded in 1846 to do missionary work in the United States and abroad. With a strong antislavery flavor from its
inception, it directed much of its energy toward emancipation. It founded numerous high schools and the following colleges: Fisk (1865), Talladega (1867), Dillard (1869), and Tougaloo (1869). (Bond, 1934; Russell, 1981; Vaugh, 1974).

Other early African American philanthropy and benevolent efforts include the African Civilization Society founded in 1858. An outgrowth of the National Negro Convention Movement, its membership consisted of educated African Americans who believed that freedom equaled self-reliance and that African Americans were best able to teach members of their own race. To this end, by 1868, the African Civilization Society, had established schools in the District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana (Morris, 1974).

Northern industrial philanthropists played a significant role in the development of schools for African Americans during Reconstruction and in subsequent years. The Boards were very much linked, oftentimes sharing trustees as well as Executive Directors. As a result of these organizations worked in concert to fashion and promote a particular schooling for African Americans (Bond, 1934; Bullock 1967; Dabney, 1936; Fleming, 1976). The most prominent philanthropic organizations were:

The Peabody Education Fund (1867-1914) This fund provided educational opportunities for African Americans and Whites. In 1914 the fund closed and turned over its fund to the John F. Slater Fund (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971; Harrison, 1982; Leavell, 1930).

The John F. Slater Fund (1882-1937) This fund assisted with developing and maintaining County Training Schools. Essentially
industrial high schools, these schools were founded in order to promote industrial/vocational curricula instead of the academic classical curricula emphasized in early and private African American schools. Once the schools became well established, the Slater Fund ceased its sponsorship and the public had to support the school completely. This strategy guaranteed that publicly funded schools would emphasize industrial training (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971; Bullock, 1967; Harrison, 1982; Redcay, 1935).

The General Education Board (1903-1964)14 Founded by John D. Rockefeller, the General Education Board greatly influenced the other philanthropic boards. During its more than sixty years of existence, the General Education Board donated over sixty-two million dollars to African American Education. (Clark, 1934; Harrison, 1982).

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund (1907-1937) A primary emphasis of this fund was the sponsorship of teachers to assist with rural Negro schools. The "Jeanes Supervisors"15 was a region-wide effort to provide supervisory leadership to African American schools. Fully supported by the fund from 1908-1909, during subsequent years the majority of support came from county funds (General Education Board, 1931-32). Typically African American women, Jeanes supervisors became the first administrative

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13 By 1900, half of the grants made by the Slater Fund were awarded to Tuskegee (Fisher, 1986).

14 Although it discontinued its active program in 1956, it continued to distribute funds until 1964.

15 This work was based upon the efforts of an African American teacher, Miss Virginia E. Randolph. Impressed by her clean school and her attentiveness to cleanliness and industrial training, the Fund appointed her to establish teachers to carry on similar work in other counties (Bullock, 1967).
assistant for African American schools throughout the South. At their peak, Jeanes supervisors served 430 counties in the southern states. As the highest African American in the county, the supervisor usually reported to the county superintendent of schools. In 1937, the Fund merged with the Slater Fund to become the Southern Education Foundation (Dabney, 1936; Fosdick, 1962; Powdermaker, 1939; McCuistion, 1939; ).

The Phelps-Stokes Fund (1911) The emphasis of this fund was to aid Black Americans and Africans. Several Federal studies, including the 1916 Jones Study and 1928 Klein Study, which focused on the status of African American education were sponsored by this agency (Bond, 1934; Harrison, 1982).

The Rosenwald Fund (1917-1948). Donating more than $44 million toward African American education, this fund was used for assistance in the construction of 5,000 school buildings for African American children. 16 The school building program lasted from 1913-1932 building public schools, shops and teachers' homes in 883 counties of fifteen southern states. The funding was contingent upon community labor and financial support. In addition it focused upon the development of library facilities in African American schools (Bullock, 1967; Harrison, 1982).

In addition the African American divisions of the State Departments of Education were controlled by philanthropic agencies. From 1911 to 1952, the General Education Board invested 2.7 million dollars in support of State

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16 According to Holmes (1934), this effort was initiated due to a suggestion by Booker T. Washington, who later served as Agent for the Rosenwald Fund (Anderson, 1988). The first Rosenwald school was built in 1913 in Macon County, Alabama at the cost of $942.00. African Americans contributed $150.00 and provided labor calculated at $132.00 White citizens donated $360.00 and the Fund donated the remaining $300.00 (Bullock, 1967).
Agents for Negro Schools (Fosdick, 1962; Snavely, 1945). These agents' primary responsibilities included meeting the buildings and equipment needs of African American schools and providing general supervisory services to African American schools. In addition these state agents organized weekend and summer institutes, lobbied state legislatures for Normal appropriations and swayed white southerners to the value of narrow/industrial African American education. Exclusively White males who initially encouraged industrial education for African Americans, these Agents were viewed as the channel for all philanthropic support (Clark, 1934; Lewis, 1950; Pierce et al, 1955). According to T.E. McKinney (1948)

When these agents were first appointed, practically all of the secondary school work for Negroes was done by private schools and colleges. It was largely through the influence of these agents that states assumed the responsibility for providing elementary and secondary education for Negroes. It will be remembered that it was not until 1928-1930 that many of the colleges for Negroes were able to discontinue their high school departments. (p. 30)

Although the work of these agents persuaded the Southern states to continue to provide some funding for African American education, their support of the racist ideology of the South, helped to facilitate the perpetuation of a "particularized" education for African Americans. Viewed as "useful labor" African American education served to sustain the laboring class (Lewis, 1950, p. 28).
Curriculum Battles

When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary" (Woodson, 1933, p. xiii).

Woodson's Miseducation of the Negro (1933), speaks directly to the notion of the "maintenance of the status quo." His point is essentially that African Americans who are indoctrinated and/or educated to accept and not question the prescribed social order pose no threat to the dominant culture. Thus it is not surprising that one of the major challenges faced by African American private schools during the post-reconstruction era, was the efforts of the dominant class to completely control their educational institutions and their leaders (Anderson, 1988; Margo, 1990; Robinson, 1940; Sherer, 1977; Spivey, 1978). This strategy was necessary in order for schooling to serve as a vehicle to justify and promote the status quo. Thereby minimizing the likelihood of alteration of societal practices, mores, and ideology.

Schools that relied heavily on northern philanthropic funding were typically expected to be supportive of the South's caste system and provide an industrial and/or manual curriculum. Even though, before 1890 most of these same schools stressed normal, secondary liberal arts, or theological education, between 1890 and 1910, they began to emphasize primarily industrial training (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971; Redcay, 1935; Sherer, 1977). The origin of the debate over industrial and manual education versus
academic education can be credited to General Samuel Armstrong of Hampton Institute (Bullock, 1967; Meier, 1968; Spivey, 1978).

According to Anderson (1988), General Armstrong, who was White, held a lifelong suspicion of highly educated Blacks believing that "their aspirations were vain and dysfunction to his views of southern reconstruction" (p. 47). At Hampton, Armstrong's faithful student and protégé Booker T. Washington vigorously supported the Hampton model. Eventually founding Tuskegee Institute in 1881, Washington would have a long lasting impact on the views of southern Whites and northern philanthropists about African American education. In fact Washington and his supporters, who came to be known as the Tuskegee Machine, would be instrumental in an attempt to systematically replace the classical curriculums in African American schools with industrial or manual curriculums (Meier, 1966; Spivey, 1978).

By in large there were three curricular strands which were available in schools: Academic, Normal or Teacher Training, and Industrial. The Academic curriculum was generally considered college preparatory and included courses in Greek, Latin, Elocution and Mathematics. Despite the fact that many philanthropists did not permit Latin or any foreign language to be taught in African American schools, the goal of the academic curriculum was the intellectual growth of students (Anderson, 1988; Robinson, 1940a).

The Normal or Teacher Training Curriculum consisted of courses that emphasized the theory and practice of teaching. Its purpose was to prepare teachers to enter the field of education. In the case of African
American secondary schools, teachers were not required to have formal schooling beyond the high school level. Thus typical Normal School graduates immediately entered the teaching profession (Anderson, 1988).

The industrial curriculum consisted of a low level vocation training focusing upon the development of manual skills. Subject areas included agriculture, the mechanical arts, domestic science, carpentry and other construction trades, and leather working and metalworking. Oftentimes training students on outdated equipment, the goal of this course of study was to teach morals and the value of work and discipline (Anderson, 1988).

A national advocate for industrial education for African Americans, Washington was soon heralded as the spokesman for the race and as such Whites found justification for their attempts to curtail the academic aspirations of African Americans (Harlan, 1958; Sherer, 1977). In fact in his infamous federal study, Jones (1916) -- Research Director of the Phelps-Stokes fund cites the following statement from Washington to buttress his claims about the necessity of industrial and manual training for Blacks:

> It has been necessary to demonstrate to the white man in the South that education does not 'spoil' the Negro, as it had been so often predicted that it would. It has been necessary to make the masses of the Negroes realize the importance of applying what they learned in school to the common and ordinary things of life; to see that education, far from being a means of escaping labor, is a means of dignifying labor and thus indirectly the means of dignifying the common and ordinary man (p. 21).

Eventually Southern Whites and northern philanthropists routinely used Armstrong and later Washington to refute the need for a classical curriculum in schools which they sponsored. Jones (1916) attributed the lack of success attained by African American colleges as a result of their
being "handicapped by the tenacity with which they have clung to the classical form of the curriculum (p. 56). Although many African Americans and most prominently, W.E.B. DuBois (1903) vehemently opposed Washington's position, his impact on African American education was far reaching. Eventually philanthropists began using their private foundations and government connections to either fund Tuskegee or Hampton and establish schools based on the Hampton model, specifically the industrial normal school and the county training school system sponsored by the Slater Fund. (Anderson, 1988; Fleming, 1976). These training schools offered training in the agricultural, industrial and domestic sciences. Yet ironically the industrial education taught African Americans was usually not updated and had already been discarded within industry (Anderson, 1988; Redcay, 1935; Robinson, 1940a; Woodson, 1933).

According to Robinson (1936) "Throughout the entire South the confusions arising from the attitude of the White South toward the negro's proper place in the American social economy have muddled the efforts at rational curriculum planning for the Negro high schools (p. 394)." Fortunately despite their attempts, industrial philanthropists with the assistance of the Tuskegee Machine, were unable to thwart the growth of the African American collegiate system which initially provided much of the secondary education to African Americans. In response they developed and focused their attention on and funded the growth of the industrial Normal Schools and County Training Schools (Spivey, 1978; Anderson, 1988).
African Americans understood the connectedness between liberation schooling and schooling for submission and quickly realized that schools that were independently controlled were likely to be more progressive. Therefore by the 1890s the slogan "Home rule for our colored schools" (McPherson, 1994, p. 259) became powerful and African Americans began to openly assert their desire to be in control of their own institutions. During this period many schools that were founded by northern Whites through persuasion were handed over to African American control (McPherson, 1994).

In response to this shift in schooling leadership, Jones (1916) makes numerous remarks about the racial composition of the staff of African American private schools - admonishing Whites in instances where they were not in positions of leadership of these schools. Remarking that "no greater loss could befall the Negro schools than the elimination of northern philanthropy and northern teachers. (p. 7) he was simply asserting his belief that the prevalence of White management and teachers was imperative in the education of African Americans.

Obviously, the determination of the dominant class (and later supported by industrial philanthropists) to maintain the status quo impacted every aspect of the African American schooling experience including potential funding, curricular emphasis and community influence (Anderson, 1988; Leavell, 1930; Margo, 1990; Sherer,1977; Spivey, 1978).
1916 Jones Study

Directed by Thomas J. Jones and funded by the Phelps-Stokes Fund at $50,000, the purpose of the study was to inspect and report on the status of African American Schools (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971). Despite Booker T. Washington's request to direct the study, Thomas Jesse Jones, an White and Research Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was selected. The study while widely issued (more that 2,500 copies distributed) and utilized, was viewed by many African Americans as biased and misleading (Crosby, 1935). According to Carter G. Woodson (1922), Jones efforts "gradually degenerated into those of a bureau of espionage directed by a destructively vindictive man. He was despised by the majority of thinking Negroes. Among them his name was mentioned only to be condemned" (p. 506).

The study riveting with particularly harsh criticism, provides a summary of seven hundred and fifty schools and offers recommendations regarding their administrative practices, curriculum, faculty composition and training, and financial affairs. It is critical to properly contextualize this study in order to fully consider its analysis and the implications of its analysis. At the time of this study, African Americans were less than fifty years out of slavery. The Study revealed that the schools reviewed were founded during the Freedmen Bureau years and were based upon a classical New England model. Though Jones' racist statements such as "no educational institutions for colored people are so poorly equipped and so ineffectively organized and administered as the majority of those claiming to give college education" (p.55) were demeaning instead of constructive, these schools were often poorly funded and loosely managed.
Teachers were often serving a wide range of students since most colleges had high school departments. In fact Jones identified only three institutions as colleges, namely, Fisk, Howard, and Meharry. He called fifteen others "secondary and college" including Atlanta, Benedict, Bishop, Claflin, Knoxville, Lincoln, Morehouse, Morgan, Shaw, Talladega, Tougaloo, Wilberforce, Wiley and Virginia Union (Dewey, 1935, p. 39). If we are to accept Jones' evaluations, African American teachers were likely products of impoverished and less than adequate schools. An analysis without considering these issues does not portray a fair description of these schools.

Private schools almost exclusively provided African Americans with education beyond the elementary level. Numbering six hundred twenty-five, as compared to one hundred twenty-two under public control, these private schools were sponsored by various religious denominations - White and African American.

These schools varied greatly in terms of faculty composition, curriculum and mission. However most did offer a New England style curriculum instead of the industrial and manual education preferred by Southern Whites and industrial philanthropists. Viewed as an effort to undermine southern culture, Jones attacked this practice.

We deplore the isolation of many Negro schools, established through motives of philanthropy, from the life and sympathies of the communities in which they are located. We recommend the suspension of all such schools by the State, and urge that their work and their methods be adjusted to the civilization in which they exist, in order that the maximum good of the race and of the community may be thereby attached (p. 25).
For Southern Whites the public schools served as evidence that they were not unilaterally opposed to African American education. They simply wanted to maintain control of it. Therefore schools that submitted to this "White authority" were rewarded with financial support as well as local support from their communities (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Sherer, 1977; Spivey, 1978).

The Development of Secondary Schools and Colleges in the South

The separate but equal system of southern education had a major impact on the ability of blacks to enter those schools which were available to them. The problem began in elementary and secondary schools. Although all provided for separate education, no state in the South provided equal education. The inequities were marked: salaries were lower for blacks, school terms shorter, value of property and equipment lower, and schools - especially high schools - were inaccessible to thousands (Bullock, 1967 pp. 93-94).

By the time of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, White land owners accounted for only five percent of the population of the South, yet owned 75% of the enslaved African Americans (Bond, 1934). Nonetheless this small segment of the population, as benefactors of the slave system and perpetrators and maintainers of the established status quo, were not pleased with what they perceived as Northern intervention and disruption of traditional Southern culture (Anderson, 1988). Cognizant that as a primary socializing agent, school was a conduit for the transmission of the dominant ideology, Southern Whites developed extreme feelings of distrust and animosity towards the northern philanthropists and/or educators (Sherer, 1977). Their fear emerged from their belief that the Northerners
would incite African Americans to rebel against their prescribed status. Spivey (1978) called this fear "Northerophobia or Negrophobia" (p. 33).

Anderson (1988) clearly points out that although Northerophobia did exist among southern Whites it was unwarranted. The northern philanthropists funding of African American schools, did not mean that they viewed African Americans as equal to or in competition with Whites. They instead believed in a "peculiarized" education. An education uniquely African American, one that would train Blacks for their prescribed societal roles (Wilkerson, 1936).

Southerners, so obsessed with maintaining the economic system based upon free or nearly free labor did not initially recognize their shared ideology. This alliance which was forged with shared whited supremacist ideology, directed the development and growth of most public and private educational institutions. Evidence of this alliance can be found in the minutes of the General Education Board's annual meeting in 1925, the General Education Board indicated its desire to control and direct, rather than to stimulate African American secondary education (General Education Board, 1925-26).

During the Reconstruction period the curricular emphasis of most of the schools was academic rather than industrial, they were controlled by community leaders and representatives of philanthropic associations and as such were monitored closely to ensure their promotion of the traditional caste system (Bullock, 1967; Morris, 1976). With a yank of their purse

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strings, these philanthropic agencies could and did manipulate African American secondary schools and colleges. Lack of funding or lack of control of funding was detrimental to the independent growth of African American education institutions. As indicated by Robinson (1940a) “Inequalities in expenditures have come to represent also a visible measure of the extent to which we are politically exploited because of our political helplessness” (p. 541)

Clearly the issue of funding profoundly impacted African American schools. Patton (1978) points out that in addition to the aforementioned issues, southern White property owners did not want to financially support public schools and poor working class Whites did not place much value on education. Moreover considered to be reserved for the aristocratic class, education in the South had never been available to the masses. In fact even with the development of public schools, it was African Americans who built their own school houses, and supplemented teachers salaries. As reported by DuBois (1911), in the case of the public schools, referred to as the common schools, "In recent years few school houses have been built and few repairs have been made; for the most part the Negroes themselves have purchased school sites, school houses and school furniture, this being in a peculiar way double taxed" (p. 27). Even Jones (1916) indicated

They contribute not only a goodly share of the taxes for their public schools but also a considerable sum toward private schools. Furthermore, the colored people give considerable sums to extend the terms of the public schools. It is probable that their total gifts aggregate $500,000 annually over and above their share of the public taxes. (p. 3)
Essentially African American public schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were functionally private schools (Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967; Harlan, 1958; Sherer, 1977).

White taxpayers were adamant about not wanting to carry what they viewed as a disproportionate responsibility for financing public education for African American children (Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967). The myth that Whites were financially supporting African American schools caused much turmoil and eventually local school boards severely curtailed the funds allocated to African American schools. This practice gave way to the shifting of state dollars to "white dollars" thereby deeming African American schools ineligible for funding consideration (Robinson, 1940). Consequently in many cases schools that had been supported by state dollars became private schools depending largely if not solely upon the Black community. In fact as late as 1933 there was not a single state-supported high school in Alabama or South Carolina for African Americans.

In 1936 W. A. Robinson noted that "any acute observer of the program of public secondary education in the South would discover that the development of the Negro high school has been affected more by the dogma of white supremacy than by any rational philosophy for meeting the needs of the Negro population" (p. 395). Despite these issues and the fact that only two out of ten African American youth in the South were enrolled in school, the decade from 1920-1930 saw the greatest growth in number of African American high schools in the South (Robinson, 1940a; Bond, 1934).
Prior to the organization of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, the development of colleges can be collapsed into four periods. The first period spans from 1854 - 1870. During this period eighteen colleges were founded and the work of the Freedmen's Bureau began. In addition, the passage of the first Morrill Act in 1862 brought about the funding of three African American colleges. Establishing what have come to be known as land grant colleges, this federal act granted to each state 30,000 acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress according to the 1860 census. This land was to "be used for the endowment, support and maintenance of at least once college (Hall, 1973, p. 92).

In most cases, dollars allocated were used to found White schools, however three African American colleges were funded as a result of the 1862 Morrill Act. These colleges were Alcorn College (MS), Hampton (pre-1920), Virginia (post 1920) and South Carolina State. (McKinney, 1948). Prior to this time, no two states had publicly supported African American colleges or universities (Clark, 1934).

The most significant occurrence of the second period, 1871-1892, was the enactment of the second Morrill Act in 1892 (which required that a portion of the allocated land be used for African American colleges). Along with the work of various benevolent and denominational organizations in founding and supporting African American institutions of higher education, from 1870 - 1890, thirteen colleges under state denominational

18Three Black Colleges were founded before the Civil War: Cheyney (PA) 1837, Lincoln (PA) 1854, and Wilberforce (1856) - (Anderson, 1988).
control and nine land-grant colleges were founded. Colleges supported by the second Morrill Act were Alabama A&M, Delaware State College, Florida A&M, Fort Valley State, Kentucky State, Langston University, Lincoln (MO), North Carolina A&T, Prairie View A&M, Savannah State, South Carolina State, Southern University-Baton Rouge, Tennessee State, Tuskegee, University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff, University of District Community, University of Maryland-Eastern Shore, and West Virginia State College (Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

During the third period which spanned from 1890-1916 African American colleges and universities became more organized and began to focus on enhancing their academic programs. This growth was in large part a result of the financial support from the northern philanthropic boards. With additional funding, colleges were able to hire additional faculty, enhance instruction, and shift their focus to collegiate work. (Holmes, 1934; Fleming, 1955).

The publication of The 1916 Jones Study marked the beginning of the fourth period which ended in 1929. This period includes the great northern industrial philanthropic movement and included the initial call for regional acknowledgment by schools in the southern states. This period also was the beginning of the shift of colleges from a secondary curriculums to college-level curriculums (Gray, 1942; Klein, 1928; Holmes, 1934). In fact according to McPherson (1994) this changing emphasis was indicative of some improvement in African American secondary schools. Because "As late as 1921, only 15% of students in African American
colleges were enrolled in college-level courses, this shift was significant in the evolvement of these institutions.

McCuistion (1939) points out that Black college development in the twentieth century was characterized by several factors: the rapid development of publicly supported colleges; growth in college enrollment and decreases in elementary and secondary enrollment; increased public and private funding for higher education; improvement in course content and instructional practices; an emphasis on establishing merged strategic centers and the quest for alternate funding sources.

In 1931, there were approximately one hundred historically Black colleges and universities (four year institutions and junior colleges) in the Southern region. These schools although varied in mission and curricular emphasis were responsible for educating the vast majority of the 38,000 African American students in college (Franklin & Moss, 1994) However the development of these institutions in some very critical ways, conflicted with the widely held notion about the role of African Americans in the Southern social structure. The leaders of African American colleges were in a challenging position, charged with elevating the status of African Americans, these schools were faced with either defining "status" within a subservient frame of reference or within a liberating one (Bullock, 1967; Sherer, 1977).

Clearly the development of African American secondary schools and colleges occurred within the context of an ideology which relegated the positionality of the institutions, their faculties and students. An analysis which makes problematic the dominant epistemology about schooling
reveals the multiple realities of American schooling. This analysis is essential for this study because it contradicts the dominant narrative’s monolithic schooling tales.

**Limitations of the Study**

Although this study begins with a summary of African American education, the primary focus of this research is on the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes. Therefore individuals, institutions, and organizations discussed will be considered within their significance to the African American educational history and the connectedness between that knowledge and a richer understanding of the Association. In most cases, detailed information about schools and colleges will not be included, except for some critical emphasis upon historical and/or Association matters.

As previously mentioned other limitations impacted this study. However those areas that had the most significant impact were: access to materials, time considerations, and financial considerations. Although the materials utilized were helpful in analyzing the Association and its work, access to school records, accreditation reports and other similar documents would have enhanced the study.

Further while the initial research for this study began more than two years ago, a case study of a particular school in addition to the Association would have been helpful in assessing the value of the various Association endeavors to its member schools.
Finally access to research funding which would have permitted additional visits to various archives, libraries and research centers.

Also because the Association was primarily comprised of colleges and secondary schools in eleven southern states, namely: Alabama, Florida, Georgia Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, the primary geographic focus of this study will limited to those states.

**Organization of Research**

This research began with a summary of African American schooling, presented to provide a contextual understanding of the educational journey of African Americans.

The second chapter focuses upon the founding of the Association and its battle for accreditation for its member institutions and full membership in the Southern Association.

The third chapter explores the Association’s programmatic thrusts that sought to provide its member institutions with the necessary training and support to enhance their academic programs. In addition it reviews and discusses the Associations major research studies and their influence on mainstream perspectives of African Americans and African American educational institutions. It also chronicles the Association's call for federal studies and highlights their major finding.

The fourth chapter reviews and analyzes the nature of the Association's inter and intra relationships. Particular emphasis is placed
upon northern philanthropist organizations, the Southern Association, and Association leaders.

The final chapter is an epilogue which offers some concluding remarks including possible implications of this research as well as suggestions for future studies.

Summary

Naw, tain' t nothin' lak you might think So 'tain't no use in me telling you somethin' unless Ah give you de understandin' to go 'long wid it. Unless you see de fur, a mink skin ain't no different from a coon hide (Hurston, 1937, p. 19).

In her classic novel Their Eyes Were Watching God, Zora Neale Hurston's protagonist/narrator, Janie Starks, was convinced that she needed to provide the context in which her neighbor could understand her experiences. Likewise this chapter provides the conceptual and historical grounding necessary for a full analysis of the work of the Association. Firstly, it points to African American's development and implementation of strategies to gain inclusion within dominant society. Secondly it informs our epistemological understanding of African American educational history by problematizing the white supremacist worldview from which the dominant ideology emerges. Questioning the ideology that posits "whiteness" as vastly superior to "blackness," is necessary in order to better understand the evolution of schooling for African Americans.

This knowledge is relevant because it uncovers and chronicles the development, cultivation and perpetuation of a systemic consciousness from which exclusion and race-based inequality organically emerges.
Moreover this knowledge is relevant because it provides the needed grounding to encourage the problematization of the dominant narrative by revealing the ways it has done harm (Gordon, 1989).

The next chapter introduces the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes and provides a detailed account of its founding and push for full membership in the Southern Association of the Colleges and Secondary Schools.
CHAPTER 2

WE SHALL BE ACKNOWLEDGED: THE FOUNDING AND ACCREDITATION BATTLES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

...a professional organization whose chief aim was to stimulate a more functional program among our schools and colleges and make them more conscious of their responsibility to help give direction and to guide in the self-direction of the lives of Negro Youth in an age which interpreted education not only as a preparation for life, but an opportunity to live creatively and progressively" (Cozart, 1943, p. 69).

Introduction

Cozart's description of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes provides a broader appreciation and understanding of the nature of the work in which the Association was engaged. As has been discussed, the schooling experiences of African Americans, particularly in the South, were cultivated within a system which was committed to the perpetuance of White dominance (Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967; Sherer, 1977). African Americans concerned with elevating their status within the social/political/economic structure had to devise strategies that were counter-hegemonic.

This period was also marked by significant change for African Americans. The 1920s saw the movement of thousands of African Americans from the southern to the northern states. These African Americans looking for relief from the social, political and economic culture
of the South, moved by the thousands to northern industrial cities (Bennett, 1969). The 1930s were filled with hope and with despair. President Roosevelt’s promise for more jobs and social programs for the disenfranchised was encouraging. Yet African Americans were still being harassed, intimidated and lynched by Whites who sought to maintain dominance (Bennett, 1969; Bullock, 1967; Frankin, 1984). This is important because it provides the historical context needed to understand the use of an Association as a strategy to redefine schooling for African Americans.

The Association's view of education as asserted by Cozart, as an opportunity to live creatively and progressively was antithetical to the Southern ideology which insisted that African Americans be educated for subservience (Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967). The members of the Association were fully cognizant of the marginal and tenuous status of African American educational institutions within mainstream academe. This marginal positionality was re-enforced by exclusion from the Southern Association which could foster the enhancement of African American schools (Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967).

As is discussed in this chapter, the Association and its members had to exhibit great tact and diplomacy in order to carry out its mission. While grounded in the belief that African American schooling was deserving of equitable funding and African American students a quality education, the Association had to first bring to the fore, injustices endemic to the Southern dual educational system. The systemic nature of these issues made the problem a complex one to tackle. The Association's approach was rooted in establishing and maintaining cooperative relationships with various
entities involved in the education of African Americans, namely the Southern Association, northern industrial philanthropists, and federal, state and local educational agencies. Consequently from the time of its founding to its 1965 closing meeting, relationships that cut across yet acknowledged racial boundaries had to be protected and nurtured. Wisely, Association members realized these relationships would provide the pavement, although sometimes bumpy, on which change could travel (Cozart, 1967).

Not only was regional accreditation the impetus that spurred the founding of the Association, it also fueled the Association’s programs and fostered interracial cooperation. It is therefore impossible to discuss the founding of the Association without exploring its prolonged battle for acknowledgment by the regional accrediting body, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. While fully cognizant of the Southern practice of maintaining two separate and distinct school systems, administrators and faculty members of African American colleges and secondary schools were concerned about the implications of the absence of self-regulation on the growth and academic well-being of their schools. Thus to obtain accreditation, they took critical and measured steps in order to have increased levels of participation in the rating process (Cozart, 1967; Jones, 1934; Perry, 1975).

By chronicling the events that led to its founding and then exploring issues related to accreditation, this chapter illustrates the inseparability of these topics. and provides a full portrayal of the beginnings of the Association (Cozart, 1967; Perry, 1975).
The Association's Beginnings

The Association's predecessor, The Association of Colleges for Negro Youth, (ACNY) was founded in 1913 at Knoxville College at the call of G.E. Haynes, a Professor of Sociology at Fisk University. This body which included representatives of African American colleges and secondary schools, met regularly in a cooperative and collegial spirit in an effort to address issues germane to their institutions (Jones, 1934). With membership that included Howard, Atlanta, Wilberforce, Virginia Union, Fisk, Morehouse, Knoxville, Talladega, Shaw and Claflin, the ACNY focused on raising entrance requirements, improving standards for graduation and controlling the transferring of dismissed students to other institutions. (Appendix E) Other critical issues such as discipline, curricular adjustments, athletics, finances and standards of instruction were also explored (Jones, 1934).19

According to Clark (1934) the ACNY can be regarded as the pioneer organization impacting the instruction of Negro teachers. In addition to working toward enhancing the instructional quality of its institutions, the ACNY was also concerned with the lack of standardization among its colleges. It was this concern that eventually led to the founding of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

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19Rufus Clement (1966) described the ACNY in this way: "Membership in this group....was never large and included, in the main, only private, liberal arts institutions like Fisk, Lincoln, Talladega, Atlanta and Morehouse. But the group was too small, too exclusive and consequently never exercised any considerable influence in the field of higher education" (p. 302)
On April 10th and 11th 1925, long dismayed by the Southern Association's neglect of African American schools, the ACNY appointed a committee to work out a plan for the rating of African American colleges. (Holmes, 1934; McKinney, 1948;) The committee's work became even more pressing after a 1926 presentation by William A. Robinson,20 Supervisor of Negro High Schools in North Carolina, at the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS)21 conference. Held at Hot Springs National Park in Arkansas, Robinson's presentation outlined the vast disparities between African American and White schools in the South. In an attempt to bring about equity in terms of funding and resources, Robinson proposed the creation of regional standards for the rating of African American schools. (Trenholm,1932) The creation of such standards posed a particular problem for African American schools. Although the Southern Association had been in existence since 1895 and had set standards for White schools, no such regionally recognized standards were in place for African American Schools.22

20 William A. Robinson later served as President of the Association from 1935 - 1936. Named Principal of the Atlanta University Laboratory School in 1931, he served as the Director of the Association's Secondary School from 1940 - 1946 (Eacote, 1969). For more details, see Chapter 3.

21 The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools was the National Education Associations African American (NEA) counterpart. Formed in 1904, the organization initially was known as the National Association for Teachers in Colored Schools (NATSC). However in 1937, its name changed to the American Teachers Association (ATA). The NEA and the NATSC-ATA cooperated through a joint committee. At its peak it had more than 16,000 members. Largely concerned with secondary education, its committee on higher education was integral in the push for regional accreditation for African American secondary schools (Dewey, 1935; Perry, 1975).

22 Prior to this time colleges and professional organizations such as the American Medical Association, utilized the 1916 Jones Study or created their own criteria for evaluating schools. For example, Howard University maintained a rating system of schools based upon regular surveys (Wilkerson, 1936).
Therefore in order for legitimate standards to be developed, an assessment of African American educational institutions was imperative. To this end, Robinson encouraged that data regarding African American schools be gathered and published (Trenholm, 1932). Because many African Americans found The 1916 Jones Study grossly inaccurate, the ACNY appealed to the Phelps-Stokes fund to sponsor another study (McKinney, 1948). Funded in part by the Phelps-Stokes fund, the US Federal Bureau of Education led by Arthur Klein began conducting this new federal study in 1926 (Holmes, 1934; McKinney, 1948).

From 1926-1928 there were several forces including the ACNY and the NATCS working to bring about accreditation for African American secondary schools and colleges. Their efforts had the same goal in mind - regional accreditation for their schools. To this end in the fall of 1926, at the request of ACNY and NATSC, a meeting between their leaders and Southern Association leaders was held. At this meeting the ACNY and the NATSC requested that African American schools be allowed to participate in the regional accrediting process. This meeting was in part a result of a letter directed to the President of the Southern Association from W.A. Robinson, then president of the NATSC (Appendix F). As well Robinson, also issued a memorandum to NATSC membership and others involved in African American education that served to buttress his statements in his letter to the Southern Association (Appendix G) (Perry, 1975).

Although the full letters (as published by Perry) are provided, it is imperative to give some attention to the tone of each letter. Robinson's letter to the Southern Association includes the following paragraph:
We realize that there are some difficulties but we believe that most of those difficulties will disappear when it is understood that what we want for these schools is a chance to be measured by your association and that we are not asking for participation in the Association (Perry, 1971, p.167).

Clearly Robinson understood that in order for his request to be considered, he had to adhere to the rules of "southern etiquette" which dictated the manner in which African Americans made requests of Whites. Careful not to challenge the Southern Association's racist practices, instead Robinson acknowledged its importance and sought some level of inclusion for African American schools.

However Robinson's memorandum to fellow NATSC members was quite different. His introductory sentence "It is appalling that for the entire South with some twelve and one half millions of Negro population there are only 205 State accredited Negro high schools" (Perry, 1965, p. 168), is clearly meant to arouse NATSC members by bringing to the fore the inequities in the accreditation system. Robinson's letter provide a window to more clearly understand the confounded position in which African Americans found themselves. Engaged in a clumsy dance, African Americans had to internally consider and strategize while concealing their ultimate goal for full membership in the Southern Association.

Agreeing at this introductory meeting to fully consider the repeated requests, the Southern Association attempted to ascertain the opinion of its membership by querying its leaders. The Southern Association's Executive Committee and high school supervisors of several southern states were asked to comment on the inclusion of African American schools in the regional accrediting process. After several high school principals among
others expressed their approval, a special committee of the Southern Association was appointed to work out preliminary issues relating to performing this service (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1930).

However at the Southern Association's 1927 annual meeting, the road to regional accreditation for African American schools and colleges was detoured. Instead of taking on the accreditation of African American schools, the Southern Association passed a resolution identifying the ACNY as the accrediting body for African American schools of the Southern region (Trenholm, 1932). This setback caused some alarm. Leaders of African American colleges and schools felt that in order for accreditation to be meaningful to their institutions, they needed to be accredited by the Southern Association. Although the ACNY had considered self-accreditation at one time, the membership felt that participation in the recognized regional accreditation process would bring them closer to membership in the Southern Association (Cozart, 1967; McKinney, 1952).

In defense of their actions Guy E. Snavely (1945) then president of the Southern Association, presents a different rationale for the decision to name the ACNY as the accrediting body for African American schools. Snavely asserts that the president of the ACNY, Thomas Elsa Jones 23 made it clear to him that there was no desire to have collaboration between the organizations. Instead according to Snavely, Jones indicated that the

23Thomas Elsa Jones, an White, was president of Fisk from 1926-1945. He was also the first president of the Association, 1934-1935 (Cozart, 1967; McKinney, 1945).
ACNY wanted assistance in formulating and putting into effect standards for Negro schools and colleges. Based upon his request, Snavely agreed and cooperation was extended. The cooperation being the recognition of the ACNY as the accrediting body for African American colleges and secondary schools (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1936).

Nonetheless in response to the Southern Association's resolution, representatives from the ACNY, the NATCS and the representatives of the Southern Association met and issued a formal proposal suggesting regional accreditation for African American educational institutions be carried out by the Southern Association, instead of the ACNY (Cozart, 1967; Holmes, 1934; Trenholm, 1932). The proposal's rationale was the development of an additional accrediting body would dilute the value of the standardized rating since no other region had two accrediting agencies performing identical functions (McKinney, 1957).

By this time the aforementioned Federal Study which was undertaken in 1926 to assess the status of African American schooling, was published as Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities Bulletin, 1928, No. 7. (hereafter referred to as the 1928 Klein Study) The study participants included seventy-nine African American colleges and African American departments in nineteen states. Much kinder and considered much more accurate than the 1916 Jones Study, a major finding of the 1928 Klein Study study called for the development and implementation of a consistent rating

24 However in earlier years, according to T.E. McKinney (1952), the ACNY had decided that it would establish its own standards and become an accrediting agency. "The organization went so far as to appoint a committee to study the problem and draw up standards to govern the accreditation of the Negro institutions" (p.42).
mechanism for African American schools in the South (Fleming 1955; Klein, 1928; McKinney, 1948). This finding, which later became recommendation, was a catalyst in the quest for accreditation. The assessments from the 1928 Klein Study became the basis on which schools were evaluated by graduate and professional schools. The American Medical Association, long vocal about the difficulty in evaluating the undergraduate schooling of African American applicants to medical school, utilized the survey to approve thirty-one African American colleges (Fleming, 1976).

The Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools

In response to the findings of the 1928 Klein Study and the persistence of the ACNY and the NATCS, the Southern Association finally took action. At its annual meeting held in December of 1929, the Southern Association granted formal authorization to inspect and approve African American schools and appointed the Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools to carry out the task. The appointed members of the committee were Dr. J. Henry Highsmith, Chair (North Carolina Department of Education), Dr. A.M. Ivy (Superintendent of Schools, Meridian, Mississippi) and Dr. Theodore H. Jack25 (Dean of Emory University) (Cozart, 1967; Snavely, 1945; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1929).

This committee, which is often referred to as the Highsmith Committee (after its chair - Dr. J. Henry Highsmith), was responsible for

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25 According to J.T. Cater, Dean Jack initially believed that the Southern Association had no responsibility to rate African American schools. Although Jack later changed his mind, he believed that the same standards needed to be applied to the schools (Cater, 1935)
visiting African American colleges and secondary schools, reviewing supportive documents submitted by school administrators and then making rating recommendations to the Southern Association’s Executive Committee26 (Snavely, 1945). Thirty five thousand dollars in funding from the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund, enabled the Highsmith Committee to do its work at no cost to the Southern Association or its members. In its 1929-30 Annual Report, the General Education Board summarized its decision:

Negro colleges have never been rated in the manner that colleges for white persons have been rated in order to obtain approval by associations organized for the purpose of maintaining standards. Recently the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States has interested itself in this problem, with a view eventually to grading Negro institutions included in the approved lists of the Association. To pay the salary and traveling expenses of a director for this work and other expenses involved, the General Education Board made an appropriation of $35,000 to be available over a three-year period. Arthur D. Wright, formerly State Agent for Negro rural schools in Virginia and now professor of education of Dartmouth College, has been selected by the Association to direct this activity (p. 31).

In 1930 the Highsmith Committee employed Arthur Wright27 as its Executive Agent and formally embarked upon an accreditation program for African American schools. In the Summer of 1930, letters were sent to

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26 Committee members Drs. Ivy, Jack and Highsmith served for 16 years. Other members included R.L. Cousins, D.B. Taylor, S.D. Williams, David M. Key, and C.L. Brown (Snavely, 1945).

27 Wright resigned in 1931 to become president of the John F. Slater Fund. (Dewey, 1935) He was replaced by Fred McCuistion who served until 1940 when he became field agent of the General Education Board. During the time of his tenure, McCuistion made his headquarters in Nashville and was in frequent consultation with L.S. Cozart, and from time to time served as an ex-officio member of the Association (Snavely, 1945).
African American Colleges and secondary schools from the Highsmith Committee explaining the function and work of the committee and introducing its Executive Agent.

Essentially invitations to request inspections, these letters were sent to both African American colleges and secondary schools. Of the eighty-five colleges invited, sixty replied requesting the required application forms. Upon receiving the official applications, thirty-five of the sixty filed correctly completed reports. Of this number, the Highsmith Committee chose fifteen institutions to be visited. Institutions were chosen as a result of time, counsel, and the advice of persons who felt that certain schools would be likely to live up to standards (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1930). The Executive Agent visited Fisk, Morehouse, Johnson C. Smith, Shaw, Spelman, Talladega, Virginia State, Virginia Union and Winston-Salem (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1931) Based upon recommendations by the Highsmith Committee and approval by the general body, the Southern Association issued its first approval listing for colleges in 1930 (Snavely, 1945; Agnew, 1970).

One college, Fisk received the highest rating of "A." "Essentially meeting the full standards set up by the Southern Association for institution of higher education" (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, p. 66). Six colleges, Johnson C. Smith, Morehouse, Spelman, Talladega, Virginia State, and Virginia Union "did not meet in full one or more of the standards set up by the Southern Association for institutions of higher education, but the general quality of their work is such as to warrant the admission of their graduates to any institutions requiring the
bachelor's degree for entrance" and were given a "B" rating (Snavely, 1945; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1930).

Secondary schools were channeled through a different process with state committees assuming the responsibility of recommending schools for approval. In 1930 State committees\(^{28}\) recommended 131 high schools for regional evaluation. All were invited to make application. Of those invited, forty-four requested necessary forms and thirty-six returned properly filled out forms. Twenty were recommended for approval as standard high schools, meeting in full the requirements of the Southern Association for such classification.\(^{29}\) The first listing of approved African American secondary schools appeared in 1931 (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1931).\(^{30}\)

\(^{28}\)These state committees consisted of State Agents for Negro Schools, the State Supervisor of High Schools and one representative of the Colleges for Negro Youth in that state, selected by the State Superintendent. In some cases, the state committee numbered five members (Southern Association Proceedings, 1931).

\(^{29}\)Approved High Schools included: Margaret Barber Seminar (Anniston, Alabama), Burrel Normal Schools (Florence, Alabama), Alabama State Teachers College High School Department (Montgomery, Alabama), Alabama A&M College High School Department (Normal, Alabama), Tuskegee Institute High School Department (Tuskegee, Alabama), Booker T. Washington High School (Miami, Florida), Georgia NA College High School (Atlanta, Georgia), Atlanta University Laboratory School (Atlanta, Georgia), Paul Dunbar High School (Lexington, Kentucky), Tougaloo College High School Department (Tougaloo, Mississippi), Barber-Scotia College High School Department (Concord, North Carolina), Bricks Jr. College High School Department (Bricks, North Carolina), Hillside Park High School (Durham, North Carolina), Albion Academy (Franklin, North Carolina), James B. Dudley High School (Greensboro, North Carolina), William Penn High School (High Point, North Carolina), Booker T. Washington High School (Raleigh, North Carolina), Palmer Memorial Institute (Sedalia, North Carolina), Atkins High School (Winston-Salem, North Carolina), Huntington High School (Newport News, Virginia) (Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1931).

\(^{30}\)A list of approved colleges and schools was published annually in the Southern Association Quarterly (the organization's organ), the Southern Association's Annual Proceedings, the Southern Association's Proceedings, and various other periodicals accessible to the academic community (Snavely, 1945).
Once the Highsmith Committee began its rating process, African American colleges and secondary schools were still not permitted to be members of the Southern Association and as such their schools could not be accredited. Instead the schools, at least those deemed deserving, were granted an approval designation. As accreditation signified membership in the Southern Association, the approval designation distinguished African American colleges and secondary schools from White institutions. Nonetheless "regional approval "did provide African American colleges and secondary schools with a status heretofore unavailable to them (Agnew, 1970; McKinney, 1957; Snavely, 1945).

The Association's Founding

For African American colleges and secondary schools who prior to this "approval" process were not considered for regional accreditation at all, this was the beginning of a new relationship that would impact the future course of African American colleges and secondary schools. While African American administrators had hoped for full accreditation, the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY) felt that any acknowledgment, albeit minimal, by the Southern Association was the first step in becomingfully accepted in mainstream academe and that even this "watered down accreditation status" would bring about standardization which would be a positive influence on Negro schools (Trenholm, 1932).

Upon securing recognition by the Southern Association, the ACNY and other organizations31 worked diligently at preparing its member  

31 According to T.E. McKinney, the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars was the guiding spirit in maintaining high standards in the colleges for Negroes and
institutions to meet the regional standards. In less than five years, the Southern Association upon recommendation by the Highsmith Committee had approved thirty-seven colleges and sixty secondary schools (McKinney 1954).

However, in 1934 the focus of the ACNY shifted once it learned of the General Education Board's intention to discontinue its funding of the Highsmith Committee. Unwilling to assume the cost associated with the Committee's work, the Southern Association announced its plan to bring to a halt the regional approval of African American colleges and secondary schools. In response to what the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth thought of as highly detrimental to the progress of higher educational institutions for African Americans, it convened in April 1934 at Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama to consider its direction. Upon deciding to form a new organization, at this important meeting the following was approved unanimously:

A committee on organization shall be appointed to study the organization of other similar associations, and to propose a definite plan of organization, including policies, aims, and a committee at the Atlanta meeting. This committee shall make whatsoever contacts with the General Education Board, the Southern Association, and any other organization or foundation (Jones, 1934, p. 257).

In order to carry out this resolution a committee comprised of fifteen administrators of African American institutions was appointed to draw up a constitution and by-laws and outline a budget to be presented at the

constituted a significant development in the higher education of Negroes" (McKinney, 1948, p.31).
Atlanta meeting of the new organization in December, 1934 (Jones, 1934).

This committee known as the "Committee of Fifteen" met on May 10th, 1934 and came up with a reorganization plan that addressed issues related to membership, structure, and accreditation (Cozart, 1967). In December 1934, the ACNY met for the last time and by unanimous vote reorganized as the Association of College and Secondary Schools for Negroes or as called by some the "Negro Association" (Cozart, 1967; Jones, 1934) (Appendix H).

Although the membership remained essentially the same except for the inclusion of secondary schools, the primary objectives were for (1) self-improvement; and (2) the right to apply for membership in the Southern Association (Cozart, 1967). The Association's initial task was to determine the organization's position on accreditation. In short the questions they considered were, should the Association seek additional funding from the General Education Board to continue to support their members participation in the Southern Association's accreditation process? or should this newly formed organization accept this responsibility? (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934).

With representations from more than fifty secondary schools and ninety colleges, the issue of accreditation was vigorously discussed. After

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\textsuperscript{22} Committee of Fifteen: W.A. Robinson (Principal, Atlanta University Laboratory School, Atlanta, GA); Winston Douglas (Principal, B.T.Washington High, Norfolk, VA); Rufus E. Clement (Dean Louisville Municipal College, KY); Arthur Howe (President Hampton Institute, VA); J.E. Lee, (President Florida A&M College, Tallahassee); J.T. Cater (Dean, Talladega College, AL); T.E. McKinney, (Dean Johnson C. Smith, Charlotte, NC); E.O. Smith (Principal, Phillis Wheatley High School, Houston, TX); James A. Bond (Dean, Bethune-Cookman, Daytona Beach, FL); D.O.W. Holmes (Dean, Howard University); W.T.B. Williams (Dean, Tuskegee Institute, AL); W.R. Banks (President, Prairie View College, TX); Thomas E. Jones (President, Fisk University, TN); S.H. Archer (President, Morehouse College, GA) (Jones, 1934).
much debate those who argued against self-accreditation won the debate with two points "(1) no other area had two accrediting agencies performing identical functions and (2) the best way of assuring that all institutions in the area are subjected to the same standards is to have only one agency enforcing and supervising the standards" (McKinney, 1952, p. 67).

Financially supported by membership fees, the Association convinced the Southern Association to continue its approval process of Negro schools by assuming the cost of the service. Fortunately despite the initial scare, the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund continued to funded the Highsmith Committee until 1938. Upon expiration of the philanthropic funding, the Association paid from $1,500 in 1938 to $6,000 by 1950 to the Southern Association for providing the rating service (Cozart, 1967; McKinney, 1957).

Other than taking care of the logistics involved in securing and forwarding payment for its members to participate in the regional accreditation process, the Association's primary role was to serve as an autonomous organization to deal with issues peculiar to African

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53 Initial dues were set at $25.00 for 4-year institutions, $15.00 for junior colleges and $10.00 for high schools. At the second Annual Association meeting at Fisk, McCuistion, the Highsmith Committee's Agent, explained that the correct amounts should be $50.00, $25.00 and $10.00 respectively. Further McCuistion indicated that fees paid to the Southern Association would be accumulating because the General Education Board and Rosenwald Fund would be assuming initial costs (Cozart, 1935, 1938, 1941, 1943). On December 31, 1938, the grants from the General Education Board and Rosenwald Fund expired (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1938). In 1941 a constitutional change was approved to which read "the amount of the annual fee for schools in the Southern region shall be the same as the fee paid by similar institutions of the Southern Association; for accredited schools in other regions the fee shall be one-half of the Southern Association fee. The annual fee for individual members shall be five dollars. Failure to pay for any year forfeits membership in this organization" (Cozart, 1941, p. 20).
Although the seemingly pending cessation of approval by the Southern Association was the impetus for its establishment, the Association not only provided a vehicle through which approval was gained, but also provided support to its member institutions by assisting them in preparing and successfully negotiating through the approval process. (Robinson, 1940b). In fact according to T.E. McKinney, "the formation of this organization made it possible for the first time, for administration of Negro secondary schools and colleges to come together in annual meetings to discuss their problems of common interests" (McKinney, 1948, p. 32). At its peak, Association members included sixty-eight senior colleges, seven junior colleges and four hundred forty four high schools (Cozart, 1967).

The founding of the Association provided for African American educational institutions an united voice of advocacy. With the support of its membership, industrial philanthropic leaders, and leaders of the Southern Association, the very existence of the Association challenged the dominant ideology which insisted upon the invisibility of African Americans. Whites could no longer completely ignore these institutions but instead had to devise new justifications for their discriminatory and racist practices.

Organizational Structure

...These questions and the debate surrounding them took cognizance of the stony road of progress already traveled and sought to come to grips with the alternatives that leadership in education for Negroes had to face -alternatives sometimes demanding the pragmatic approach, sometimes a prophetic role, often a compromise, but never yielding to the complacency of becoming embalmed in a segregated situation cursed with the implication of inferiority (Cozart, 1967, p.4).

At the first meeting of the new organization in December 1934, the membership discussed and established the Association's organizational
structure (See Appendix F). The primary components consisted of two Commissions – the Commission on Secondary Schools and the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education which were governed by an Executive Committee.²

All members of the Executive Committee and the Commissions were elected by the general body. With eleven members, the Executive Committee was constituted by the Officers of the Association which included the president, two vice-presidents (one from higher educational institutions and the other from a secondary school), a secretary-treasurer, three secondary school representatives, three college representatives and the immediate past president. The duties of the Executive Committee were as follows:

1. To recommend nominees for membership in the Association following approval by the Southern Association based on inspection by their special committee.
2. To select time and place for the annual meetings
3. To prepare programs for the annual meetings with special screening of speakers
4. To provide through committees close coordination with the Southern Association with regard to inspection and rating and to keep the liaison service vital and constant.
5. To prepare an annual budget based on anticipated current income

² During the organizational meeting President Joseph Rhoads of Bishop College (Marshall, TX) called for the creation of a Commission on Race Relations in Education. His motion did not receive a second and therefore died (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for negroes, 1934).
6. To act for the Association when it was not in session, subject always to review and, if necessary, revision by the General Body
7. To contact sources for financial aid and encourage studies designed to improve instruction
8. To use all of its resources and powers to promote professional growth and to stimulate teaching effectiveness (Cozart, 1967 p. 26).

The first elected officers of the Association were Thomas Elsa Jones, president, Buell Gallagher, vice-president, W.A. Robinson, vice president and Leland Stanford Cozart, secretary-treasurer (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934). (Appendix K)

The Commission members, though elected by the general body, were nominated by the Executive Committee. According to the organization's by-laws these bodies were expected to "elect their own officers, appoint necessary committees, and in addition to developing programs for discussion, ...assist in the improvement of educational opportunities and in the stimulation of the growth and cooperation in and between the schools and the communities in which they were located" (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934, p. 12). In 1946, a proposed addition of a third Commission was presented to the Association and was rejected. Proposed, by W.A. Robinson, then Principal of the Atlanta University Laboratory School and former Director of the Association's Secondary School Study, this Commission involved establishing a permanent agency to stimulate continued study of regional problems

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35 William Stuart Nelson, President of Shaw University, was initially nominated, but he declined for two reasons. Firstly because he felt that he did not have a substantial history in the field of Negro education and secondly because of his need to focus upon critical financial issues impacting his college (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934).

36 For more information on the Secondary School Study, see Chapter 3.
affecting the quality of education in African American schools and colleges. In order to carry out the work of this third Commission, a recommendation to employ a full-time coordinator was included in the proposal. The proposal failed, consequently the organizational structure remained the same throughout the Association's activity (Brown, 1946).

It must be noted that both Jones, president of Fisk University, and Gallagher, president of Talladega College were White men. In fact Cozart (1967) refers to Jones "natural qualifications" to serve as president of the Association. In the age of Jim Crow, Jones' race enabled him to serve in a liaison role between the Association and the Southern Association (p. 8). Ironically, the Association while serving as an advocacy organization for African American schools, was under the leadership of Whites. The practice of Whites providing leadership to African American educational institutions was not new. In fact during the 1914-15 academic year, thirty seven such African American institutions had White presidents (Dewey, 1935). According to Clark (1958) this practice strengthened the separate but equal doctrine as white leadership maintained leadership roles in the education of African Americans. Later, McKinney (1948) remarked on the changing trend on White leadership:

A final significant development is the placing of the administration of a large number of the colleges under Negro leadership. When Dr. McCrorey became President of Johnson C. Smith University he was one of the few Negro College Presidents. Of the seventy colleges for Negroes accredited by the Southern Association only seven have white Presidents (Alabama) Talladega and Stillman (Georgia) Spelman and

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\[79\] Also the only woman elected to the Executive Committee was Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934).
Paine (Mississippi) Edwards Southern Christian Institute and Tougaloo (Tennessee) Knoxville. Dr. McCrorey's success as President of Johnson C. Smith University created confidence in the ability of Negroes to man their own institutions in keeping with the highest possible standards. His wise leadership has created a sympathetic interest in problems of the education of Negroes (p.33).

In considering leadership, issues of power and control are certainly tantamount. Therefore the shifting of the presidency from White men to African American men was symbolic of a shift toward institutional autonomy.

Membership in the Association was limited to schools with "approved status" by the Southern Association. Former members of the ACNY retained membership until May 1, 1935 without a Southern Association rating. However after May 1, 1935, only those schools with a Southern Association rating retained their Association membership. At the time of the reorganization, thirty-seven colleges and sixty secondary schools had been approved. However in 1937, membership was extended to "individuals representing US Office of Education, State Departments of Education and Education Foundations." So membership included African American secondary schools, colleges (including junior colleges) and

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38 At the Association's first Annual Meeting, the following individuals represented the US Office of Education, State Departments of Education and various Education Foundations: Robert L. Cousins, State Department of Education (Atlanta, GA); P.W. Easom, State Agent Negro Schools (Jackson, Miss.); L.M. Favrot, General Education Board (Baton Rouge, LA); H.A.K. Cart, Special Southern Representative, Julius Rosenwald Fund (Nashville, TN); Nolen M. Irby, State Department of Education (Little Rock, Ark); Ulin W. Leavell, Peabody College (Nashville, TN); Fred McCuistion, Executive Agent (Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools); E.G. McGehee, Jr. State Supervisor Negro Education, (Montgomery, AL); J.A. Tarpley, Supervisor City Schools (Greensboro, NC); W.E. Turner, State Department of Education (Nashville, TN).
individuals associated with local, state and federal education departments and foundations. Although Southern Association members attended and participated in Association matters, the Association could neither participate in Southern Association matters, nor serve on the Highsmith Committee. In fact some Southern Association members were quite active in the Association, serving in various roles as consultants, committee members and reviewers (Cozart, 1967; Trenholm, 1932).

From the Association beginnings, every effort was made to cultivate a nonthreatening relationship with the Southern Association and its representatives. In order to officially set the tone for this relationship, the first president of the Association, Thomas Elsa Jones forwarded a letter to the Southern Association after the Association's reorganization in 1934:

It is the hope of the officers of the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth and others interested in the new organization that the Southern Association will continue its valuable service in rating Negro schools in this region and that the committee which has rendered such valuable service, including the field representatives, may be reappointed for another term of years. It is obvious that the Southern Association is the only accrediting agency in this part of the country that is generally recognized. As long as this is true, Negro, as well as white schools, should be rated by it. The new association for Negroes, therefore, does not contemplate undertaking the rating function. Its purpose is to stimulate and inspire leaders in Negro colleges and secondary schools to more effective stewardship in their chosen field. It recognizes, however, the need for rating is prepared to make substantial contribution toward expenses involved in such rating. However, the number of institutions rated will not enable the association to contribute more than $2,000 toward the purpose mentioned. We hope, therefore, that you will be able to secure from some other agency additional funds sufficient to continue the work on the
standards which have heretofore been maintained (The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934, pp. 21-22).

Jones' letter is indicative of the relationship between the Association and the Southern Association. As the recognized regional accrediting body, it was important to Association members that their schools be rated by the Southern Association. Consequently an amiable and cooperative relationship was critical. Further because of the uncertainty of continued funding by the General Education Board, Jones' correspondence also served to inform the Southern Association of the Association's intention to partially fund the work of the Highsmith Committee. As discussed earlier, such appeals were commonplace. Leaders of African American educational institutions were expected to secure approval from White community members and leaders before embarking upon any venture. Again this practice formally established and solidified the locus of power and control.

The organizational structure of the Association was very similar to the Southern Association's structure (Appendice K). Although autonomous organizations, the Association modeled its structure after the Southern Association. The decision to emulate the Southern Association's structure was a very strategic move. Always keeping their eye on their ultimate goal - full membership in the Southern Association, the similar structures would allow for an easy melding of the two organizations (Cozart, 1967).
The Role of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools was initiated by faculty of Vanderbilt University (Tennessee) who invited representatives from various southern colleges and universities to come together in 1895 (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1953). This call was a result of the lack of consistent academic preparedness among White students seeking admission to graduate schools. Again in 1902, there was expressed concern about preparedness of prospective college students by the president of the University of Georgia. He contacted the General Education Board regarding his perception that students were poorly prepared for college and requested funding to address the problem. In response the GEB donated one million dollars in support and the Southern Association began its work. By 1905, almost thirty years prior to the founding of the Association, the Southern Association had developed into a fully operating organization (Robinson, 1940).

Its objectives were to organize and encourage cooperation and mutual assistance among its membership, to elevate standards of scholarship among its institutions, and to develop preparatory schools and cut off this work from the colleges (Agnew, 1970; Jones, 1934).

Due to the vast class differences among Southern Whites, the missions and curriculums of schools varied greatly. Therefore the nature of secondary and undergraduate schooling for the masses was initially student and or community emergent. Schools were founded, funded and

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34 Charter members included Vanderbilt, the University of North Carolina, the University of the South, the University of Mississippi, Washington and Lee University, and Trinity College (Duke University) (1953 Southern Association Proceedings).
developed based upon the needs of the community in which they were located. Consequently in attempting to bring about some level of academic consistency among high school graduates, the Southern Association met a real need of its membership (Agnew, 1970).

Interestingly enough, former Southern Association President Guy Snavely (1945) indicated that "white educational leaders had to struggle against such frightful financial problems that they were unable to take time to do or even think much about high school or college opportunities for Negroes" (p. 63) and further that the "the leaders of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools had such tremendous problems of their own that it did not occur to them to meddle in the affairs of their Negro neighbors" (p. 64). While his statements were obviously an attempt to absolve the Southern Association of intentional neglect, they instead illustrate the systemic separateness, theoretically and practically, of schools for African Americans from schools for Whites (Jones, 1934; Robinson, 1940a).

Recognizing that legally sanctioned segregation was the framework from which Southern educational institutions and organizations operated during this time period, it is not surprising that the regional accreditation agency did not service African American colleges and secondary schools. (Wilkerson, 1939) However while virtually ignoring institutions for African American students for the first thirty four years of its existence, the Southern Association did play an active role in monitoring and providing support for its White member institutions. This support led to enhanced
educational opportunity for Whites which helped to widen the disparity gap between African American and White educational institutions (McKinney, 1957).

**Jim Crow Accreditation**

Accreditation by all the recognized agencies thus becomes the ambition and goal of practically every educational institution and has frequently operated as a stimulating factor in the improvement of school conditions in a nation where emphasis is placed upon "local control" of practically every type of educational institution (Trenholm, 1932, p. 34).

Unique to the United States, participation in the regional accreditation process is voluntary. However, the opportunity to access this mechanism is very important for schools who desire some level of respect within the academic community (Rogers, 1987). Consequently the term "voluntary" masks the importance of such recognition and the impact of wholesale exclusion.

During this period African Americans were by in large, politically powerless. Racist Jim Crow voting laws circumvented the rights of African American potential voters. The impact of these laws is evident by the African American voting record of 1940. Sadly only five percent of the seemingly eligible African Americans actually voted. The poll tax, grandfather clause and threats and intimidation were tools used to deny African Americans of their right to participate in the American political process (Bullock, 1967; Franklin, 1984). Without voice, the interests of

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40Due to the inseparability of this issue with the Association's founding and work, however this research does not provide an in-depth analysis of accreditation and accreditation agencies.
African Americans were left in the hands of the dominant group. This absence of political power rendered African Americans powerless in calling for schooling equity. As stated by Robinson (1940b), "without political power Negroes are helpless in the face of the fact that, when Southern white high schools are supported well enough as to approach the standards for high schools in other parts of America, there is simply not enough tax money left to give Negroes either the amount or quality of training whether for social efficiency of for meeting in numbers at all comparable to the white group in the South, the demands of higher institutions of learning" (p. 478).

Without funding and without a voice to seek funding, the growth of African American educational institutions were in the hands of "well-intentioned Whites. However this involuntary dependence fostered a patronizing relationship which proved to be a barrier for African American educational institutions. By controlling which schools were to be approved, the Southern Association essentially served as overseer and gatekeeper of the dominant educational ideology. This ideology protected and left unaltered the hegemonic structure that informed schooling.

Although the Southern Association is one example of an institutional overseer, others such as industrial philanthropists, federal, state and local educational agencies serve the same function. The protective measures put in place by these institutional overseers, i.e. inadequate funding, along with the absence of regional accreditation, relegated African American educational institutions to an inferior academic status. In fact due to the object status of the African American population in the southern states, "its schools, by implication received a sort of colonial administration" (Robinson, 1940, p.477).
Accreditation Overview

"The basic characteristics of accreditation include: voluntarism, a strong tradition of self-regulation, reliance on evaluation techniques and is primarily concerned with quality" (Young, Chambers & Kells, 1983, p. 11). Prior to the establishment of the Highsmith Committee, African American colleges and secondary schools relied on other organizations to address such issues (McKinney, 1948; Wilkerson, 1939;). As previously discussed the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY) established common policies which addressed admission policies and procedures and curricular issues. However because there was no formal agreement or criteria established, some schools inconsistently adhered to or refused to accept these "rating systems" as valid (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934).

According to Trenholm (1932) an "official appraisal" based upon "mutually approved standards" marked substantial progress from the old system of admissions by examination (p. 34). It was widely believed that regional consistency would be more beneficial than institutionally sponsored assessments that had become commonplace. For example, Howard University developed its own rating mechanism to evaluate the secondary training of its applicants. Wilkinson (1936), Registrar at Howard University in the 1920s describes the development of his own rating system:
I met my perplexing problem by compiling a loose leaf book, six 17 X 14, in which I pasted at the end of each quarter the record made by students during their first two years of residence at Howard University. The records from each high school were grouped on one or more pages. These pages were arranged alphabetically by states and by cities under each they might be easily referred to. From this book, one could readily determine the various high schools whose graduates either did or did not do creditable college work. It was easy to illustrate to the superintendent of a given state which high school in his state seemed to be preparing their students for college (p. 60-61).

This process called the "horse and buggy" method, by Wilkerson was even utilized by some White schools before the "auto" method was made available via the Highsmith Committee's approval list (Wilkerson, 1936, pp. 59-70).

Unlike the Southern Association, regional associations outside of the southern states and various professional organizations accredited African American schools in the South. The Association of College and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland was the first to regionally accredit an African American school with its accreditment of Howard University in 1921. In 1922, and 1925, it also accredited Lincoln (PA) University and Morgan State College respectively. In 1927 West Virginia State and Lincoln University (MO) were accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (Dewey, 1935).

In the case of professional organizations, the American Association of Teachers Colleges accredited Miner Teachers College (Washington, DC), Stowe Teachers College (St. Louis, MO), Tennessee A& I State College (Nashville, TN) and the Combined Normal and Industrial Department of Wilberforce University (Wilberforce, OH) (Dewey, 1935).

1The six associations that award regional accreditation include: the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (1885); the Middles States Association of Colleges and Schools (1887); the North Central Association of Colleges in South (1895); the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (1895); and the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges (1917) (Cozart, 1967).
As early as 1910, state accreditation, which generally preceded regional accreditation was awarded to some African American schools. In 1910, Morgan State in Baltimore, Maryland was the first to receive state accreditation. Shaw (NC) and Southern (LA) Universities were the first African American colleges in the Southern region to receive accreditation by State Departments. Secondary school accreditation for African American schools was not as commonplace. By 1926-27, there were only 166 state accredited high schools for ten million African Americans in seventeen southern states (Dewey, 1935; Trenholm, 1932). Because state accreditation was not standardized between states, its methods and standards varied greatly (Redcay, 1935). Due to these wide variances in rating standards, regional accreditation was more highly regarded and a greater determining factor in admission decisions by graduate and professional schools (Brown, 1944; Redcay, 1935). Therefore for graduates of Southern African American colleges and secondary schools, regional accreditation was critical.

Because only three African American colleges offered graduate and/or professional instruction, many African Americans pursued graduate education in the North (Wilkerson, 1939). Northern school officials were likely to be unfamiliar with the Southern African American colleges and secondary schools and therefore were in need of some "reliable" source for information about these institutions (Clark, 1934).

42 The state of North Carolina was the first southern state to rate its African American schools. In fact North Carolina extended their rating service to African American schools in other states—excluded from the Southern Association. Its first list appeared in 1923 with five colleges receiving "A" rating — Fisk, Lincoln, Howard, Shaw and Wilberforce (Robinson, 1929).
call by northern schools for assistance in evaluating the undergraduate education of their applicants, was a key factor in the development of regional accreditation.

The absence of regional accreditation alone was not the primary reason for disparate perceptions and treatment of African American educational institutions. Rather the white supremacy ideology which informed the intellectual consciousness of the mainstream academic community insisted that African American colleges and secondary schools were not to be equal to White institutions (Bullock, 1967; Wilkerson, 1936). Yet the quest for regional accreditation was part of the Association's strategy to bring about increased awareness of the plight of African American schooling in the South (Trenholm, 1932).

Approval Classification System

The service provided by the Southern Association’s Committee on Approval of Negro Schools was different from the service provided White schools. As previously indicated, African American schools were approved and not accredited. Also although the Southern Association's standards were supposedly utilized to measure both African American and White schools, the ratings rendered differed.

In both instances, the categories considered were: training and experience of the librarian; pupil-teacher ratio; library equipment; teaching load; availability of books, newspapers, and periodicals; availability of science equipment; length of school term; condition of school plant; and training of faculty. (Cozart, 1967). (Appendix M). However the Highsmith
Committee designed the following formal classification system specifically for African American colleges and secondary schools based upon an hierarchical rating system previously used by the state department of North Carolina:

A Those institutions which fully measure up to the standards of the Association, for the group in question.

B Those institutions which do not quite measure up to the standards of the Association, but which fail to measure up to standard in only one or two particulars or in matters of relative unimportance, and which may normally be expected to measure up fully within a year or two (McKinney, 1952, p. 43).

In North Carolina, where Dr. J. Henry Highsmith headed the State Department of Education, two additional classifications were used (Dewey, 1935; McKinney, 1952).

C Those institutions which show distinct promise of being able eventually to measure up to the standards set for their group, but which will in all likelihood take more than two years to attain the desired standards;

D Those institutions which give no present indication of being able to measure up to the standards of the group which they may desire to belong. (McKinney, 1952, p. 43)

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43 Initially high schools were not rated according to this rating system, the schools either were approved or not approved. However in 1943 despite the objections of the Association's Accreditation Committee, the Southern Association decided to use this rating system with African American secondary schools. The rationale was that "the B rating would be given to schools with specified deficiencies but would be given three years to meet the standards (Accreditation Committee Report, 1943, p. 32)."
Although only the A and B rated (referred to as "berated" schools) were used by the Highsmith Committee, this rating structure did have an impact upon the way in which African American colleges and secondary schools viewed their institutions (Cozart, 1967). In fact even at the 1934 Annual Meeting of the Association, a extensive discussion on the Highsmith Committee's classification system took place.

The dialogue focused on why such a classification was developed and how such a "rating" should be interpreted. Responding to questions, Dr. Highsmith, Chair of the Southern Association's Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools, responded that the "B" rated Negro schools list was correspondent to the "non-member" listing for White schools. Echoing Dr. Highsmith, Arthur Wright, then Executive Agent of the Highsmith Committee, indicated that the non-member listing for White schools stipulated "associate standing" instead of "full membership." Reserved for schools which did not meet all of the qualifications but were considered acceptable, the non-member list was similar to the "B" rated African American institutions (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934, p. 39).

Despite Dr. Highsmith's and Mr. Wright's attempt to justify their rating system, the "B" classification was viewed by African American institutions as more negative than positive and they consistently lobbied for the elimination of this hierarchical system (Thompson, 1933). In an 1933 JNE editorial, Charles Thompson adamantly asked:

..."Why the class "B" Negro College?" It is confusing, misleading, unnecessary. This classification is not only confusing to examining officials in higher institutions, but it is
misleading to students and prospective students. It is unnecessary because it is illogical. It stultifies the standards of the Association; and it is very likely to become a retardative rather than an incentive. The Southern Association would do a still greater service to Negro education by abolishing the class "B" Negro colleges (p. 260).

Moreover northern institutions admitting African American students into their graduate programs expressed confusion regarding the rating system (Thompson, 1933). As late as 1946, Dr. Highsmith indicated that the A and B ratings were temporary measures, however these ratings were used through 1957 (Cozart, 1967). In fact even high schools which were initially not given a specific rating, were later assigned an A or B rating.

Although African American educational leaders were dismayed by the creation of a classification system unique to their institutions, their disappointment was also likely connected to their status with the Southern Association as compared to regionally rated White schools. Although Robinson, in his initial correspondence to the President of the Southern Association, indicated that African American educational institutions were not seeking membership in the Southern Association, that was actually not the case. African Americans secretly hoped that once recognized by the Southern Association, an acceptable rating would automatically garner membership (Cozart, 1967; Goodwin, 1956; Perry, 1975 ). However the Southern Association saw the work of the Highsmith Committee as a service to African American colleges rather than a step toward inclusion. Consequently neither an "A" nor a "B" rating, signified membership in the Southern Association. Instead both were non-member classifications (Cozart, 1967; Thompson, 1962). This non-member status relegated African American institutions to another kind of exclusion.
Though regionally rated, they were still not permitted to receive the necessary supportive services to enhance their schools.

Still another debate focused on the application of standards. From the onset of the Highsmith Committee’s work, African American schools, though given a different rating, were supposedly held to the same standard as White schools. However contradictory statements and practices suggested otherwise. While Fred McCuistion, Agent of the Highsmith Committee indicated that: “...the same methods of rating white schools will be applied in the same manner to the rating of schools for Negroes (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, 1934 p. 17). throughout the work of the Highsmith Committee, the truthfulness or accuracy of McCuistion’s formal position was widely debated. The next section will focus on the controversy surrounding the application of approval standards, and the Association’s affirmative steps to secure equality in evaluating and reporting.

Application of Standards

According to J. T. Cater (1935) there were two schools of thought that were prevalent during this period regarding the education of African Americans -- a paternalistic stance or an attitude of sympathetic understanding and help. Each position, albeit well-intentioned could potentially pose some challenges for African American colleges and secondary schools. By participating in the Southern Association' approval process, without voice, it could be construed that the African American colleges and secondary schools were supporting their status as inferior institutions in order to
remain in favor with the paternalistic Southern Association. This stance although perhaps politically prudent, could raise issues of principle and could thwart the Association's efforts to attain educational parity (McKinney, 1950).

On the other hand, African Americans were convinced that their schools would not benefit from sympathetic evaluators who did not rate their institutions as rigorously as White institutions. The Association strongly believed that African Americans were entitled to equal schooling and thus needed to be evaluated on an equal basis. At the inception of the Highsmith Committee, the leaders of the Southern Association assured the Association that the accreditation standards would be identically applied.

African Americans disagreed, indicating that separate standards would complicate the approval process and perpetuate the myth of African American inferiority (McKinney, 1953).

As part of the strategy to highlight the inequities that existed in these schools, the Association wanted the schools to be inspected and evaluated not by special standards but by the same standards deemed appropriate for the education of White children. Consequently, the Association's Executive Committee and both Commissions went on record as opposed to differential application of standards. According to Charles Thompson (1933), Whites believed that the application of identical standards would discourage African American leaders from seeking accreditation for their institutions. Yet, the Highsmith Committee and the Southern Association also openly and repeatedly claimed to support the identical application of standards.
Despite all of the controversy surrounding this issue, at the onset of the Highsmith committee's work, there was no formal indication that schools would be rated differently. In fact in 1931 the committee assured the Association that "institutions are measured and rated according to the same standards for white schools. Thus schools receiving the "A" rating have met the same standards as the full member white colleges" (Thompson, 1933, p. 428) However despite their initial intentions, it is probable that the Highsmith committee did not fully consider the impact such "truthfulness in reporting" would have. McKinney (1952) offers a paternalistic motive for the differentiated application of standards. "Dr. Highsmith knew that to take the standards of the Southern Association and apply them rigidly to the schools and colleges for Negroes would have stifled them to death. Instead of doing this he took the colleges as they were and began to apply the standards gradually giving the institution time to measure up to the Association believed there was a generally accepted standards" (p. 43).

While formally both organizations agreed that African American and White schools were to be held to the same standards, the issue of the equal application of standards lingered with the "Negro Approval Process" from its inception to its discontinuation (Trenholm, 1932). Concerned that the Association and its membership had been misled, Association member Dean Cater of Talladega College, expressed his views on this matter during the 1935 annual meeting. "If the rating movement now in progress among our schools ever develops into a scheme for fostering a sham and perversion of standards in the educational world then I heartily regret
having been associated with it " (Cater, 1935, p. 66). Clearly feelings on both sides of this issue were strong. The Association’s stated position on accreditation was that there was a connectedness between "a careful, impersonal rating of schools" and the building of adequate schools for African Americans (Robinson, 1940, p. 379). The Highsmith Committee’s approach to the approval of African American schools was made clear by a statement included in a Commission on Institutions for Higher Education report. At the 1937 annual meeting of the Association, the Commission reported a practice that seemed to collaborate with the aforementioned interpretation of Dr. Highsmith’s sentiments:

The Commission views with alarm the lack of any definite outside stimulant to encourage our schools and colleges to continue to grow after they have been given the highest accreditation. It has been brought to the attention of the Commission that in a number of instances the administrators in some of our institutions have grown lax in their concern about making improvements. When all of our schools were given the highest rating, each was told that there was some weakness that needed to be improved. And in practically every case the institutions met only the minimum standards. Heretofore, Mr. McCuistion has checked upon the improvements that have been made at the suggestion of the rating committee. Now that he has given up this work, we are greatly in need of some machinery that will encourage our schools to continue to grow and improve even after receiving the highest rating (McKinney, 1940, p. 94).

This statement contradicted McCuistion’s and Highsmith’s earlier statements. Clearly “A” rated African American schools had been given the highest rating with stipulations. Yet those schools had neglected to correct deficient areas once the rating was given.
Understandably considerable discussion followed the reading of the Report of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education. Based upon the discussion and possible implications, the statement struck from official minutes. According to T.E. McKinney, whose Commission on Higher Education Institutions made the recommendation, the statement brought strong opposition from Association members. However, despite the Association’s decision to the contrary, McKinney (1939) published it in an editorial.

McKinney printed the censored portions of the report because he was confident that the institutions had to face these critical allegations he questioned, "Do our administrators really feel that our institutions measure up to the best? Or are they afraid that an acknowledgment of their weaknesses would lessen their influence and standing in educational circles" (p. 94). McKinney’s editorial essentially challenges the institutions to reject the paternalistic approach, albeit well-intentioned, in evaluating their institutions.

Although at first McKinney’s analysis seems to be the “high road approach” in a distasteful set of circumstances, African American institutions were participants in a Jim Crow rating system in which they had no meaningful influence, so what does their lack of response to the Highsmith Committee’s evaluation actually signify. Perhaps the following statements by Goodwin (1956) helps to clarify this puzzling issue:

The Southern Association was not alone in its efforts to keep undisclosed some of the practices it employed in relation to the accreditation of Negro colleges. Negro college administrators have been equally as unrevealing. Such action was based on their reluctance to admit that some unconventional or
unordinary practices which would reflect on the standing of their colleges had been employed. This was not the case, however, in all instances. Conditional accreditation, however, was encouraged because of the advantages it presented to the president in present his needs to the State legislature or board of education in order to secure additional appropriations to improve his institution. It also gave prestige to the institution. Consequently, some Negro colleges administrators should share the responsibility for the attitude of paternalism which characterized the Southern Association’s approach to the problem of accreditation in colleges for Negroes (Goodwin, p. 252)

These comments are pregnant with implications for the Association and its membership. For leaders of African American educational institutions, it perhaps speaks to their desperation for additional funding. Although on its face this practice seems to monopolize upon the racist funding practices of state officials, it also reveals yet another strategy utilized to garner additional resources. It also is in line with the notion that the Association members had to work within the parameters of those in power. Seemingly powerless to affect change, they had to discover ways to circumvent a system which was not developed or implemented in their best interest.

Although the Association members were not pleased with the Commission on Higher Institutions admonition, they did take measured steps to confront and address issues surrounding their complicity in the application of “Jim Crow standards.” Recognizing that they wanted their members’ participation in the regional accrediting process to have a positive impact on their schools, African American educational leaders became more assertive in seeking greater and more substantial involvement in every facet of the process.
By 1940, The Association, through its Commissions sought more detailed information from the Highsmith Committee regarding its rating decisions (McKinney, 1940; Robinson, 1940c).

This issue cloaked a larger issue, the inability and/or refusal to view African American schools in the same vein as white schools. This refusal had serious implications for Association members. The Association wanted the identical standards to be applied, so that the pervasive and profound inequities in the separate and unequal southern educational system would be regionally or even nationally revealed. They knew that Jim Crow standards, applied to Jim Crow schools would result in sanitized evaluations that would not bring to bear the kind of attention they sought. Conversely the neither the Highsmith Committee nor the Southern Association had a vested interest in revealing the results of the racist practices in the South.

Moreover because of the unique origins and missions of African American colleges and secondary schools, their emphasis differed in large measure from most White institutions. Standards based upon White schools oftentimes were not easily applicable for African American schools. For example, while the Southern Association's standards required the complete separation of secondary and college instruction, because of the limited number of high schools for African Americans in the South, African American colleges often offered secondary instruction formally as well as informally (Brown, 1945). The Southern Association standards closely regulated and limited secondary instruction in colleges and
universities. Due to these standards, accreditation brought about the gradual separation of high school and college teaching (Dewey, 1935, p. 196).

This change, while possibly positive, speaks to the profound impact standardized regional rating had on African American institutions. In attempting to adapt to the Southern Association standards, African American schools had to assess, and make plans for the improvement of their institutions.

Few in number, underfunded and multi-purposed, a major focus of the Association was the development of their schools. McCuistion (1933) identified the following challenges African American schools in attaining regional approval: lack of attention given to high schools transcripts; (2) the awarding of various degrees; (3) lack of faculty training; inadequate teacher salaries; and inadequate library services. To this end, Thompson (1933) had three suggestions for African American college improvement. Namely increased attention to socio-economic status issues; improved training for teachers; and curriculum adjustment to develop an intelligent African American leadership.

**Challenges in Meeting Regional Accreditation Standards**

Between 1930 and 1940 African American college enrollment increased by 60% (Derbigny, 1947). By 1933, more than 38,000 African Americans were receiving a college education and ninety-seven percent of this number attended colleges in the Southern states (Franklin & Moss.
Yet only 19% of African American schools were regionally approved while 60% of White schools were accredited by the Southern Association (Wilkerson, 1939).

In response to this seemingly lack of progress, Dr. Highsmith identified the following problems in African American schools: lack of money; costly administrative costs, some as high as 80%; a need for additional provisions for additional teacher training; courses too traditional and static; a lack of alumni feedback; too much lecturing; and a dictatorial environment not conducive to an understanding of democracy (Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1940). The Highsmith committee reported that these problems, although varying in intensity, were barriers faced by African American institutions in attaining approval at the highest level.

Again although the Southern Association provided the rating service to African American schools, it did not provide other services necessary for attainment and maintenance of accreditation standards. White schools that faced such barriers were provided consultant services that offered corrective advice to its membership. So, unlike their African American counterpart, White schools' contact with the Southern Association did not begin and end with the inspection team's rating. Instead the intent was to rate schools and then assist those lacking in their efforts to become fully accredited. Therefore for White institutions, the accreditation evaluation and subsequent rating signified the beginning of a relationship with the regional accrediting body.
Despite these issues the "approval" of African American colleges steadily increased with eventually sixty colleges approved (Report of Accrediting Committee, 1942, 1962). According to a panel discussion at the Association's 1934 Annual Meeting, the opportunity to become accredited stimulated colleges to improve programs, instruction, the quality of teachers, and attract better students.

Due to disparate funding practices, some African American secondary schools experienced extreme difficulties in meeting the standards of the Southern Association. In fact Robinson (1939) asserted that if the standards of the Association had been applied in every detail it is doubtful if a single Negro high school in this state could have been approved" (p. 57). Yet because participation in the process was part of the Association's effort to increase regional or even national awareness of the "unequalness" of the Southern dual educational system, approval without meeting the standards cloaked the conditions of the schools thereby perpetuating the mythology of separate but equal.

As expressed by Dean Cater, Talladega College, leaders of African American institutions realized that the collegiate standards of the Southern Association had little or notion to do with measuring the excellence of the work of the institutions. However they did believe that regional accreditation was necessary for the growth of their institutions, despite the fact that the standards were not cleanly applicable to their schools.

Upon learning of the Highsmith Committee's report to the Southern Association membership regarding barriers to approval, the Association's Commission on Secondary Schools sought the perspectives of African
American principals on the issue of application of standards. Acknowledging that African American high school principals knew nothing of the approval process other than submitting forms and awaiting results, in 1941 the Commission on Secondary Schools stressed careful and frequent inspection and re-inspection of secondary schools to guard against lowering standards; and encourage growth. To that end in 1942, the Commission on Secondary Schools appointed an Accrediting Committee whose "purpose was to draft uniform procedures for examining and rating high schools and colleges and to integrate white and African American rating systems" (Clark, Cozart, & Manley, 1944, pp. 29-30).

Upon querying secondary school principals, a number of issues came to the fore. Many principals questioned the value of regional accreditation, especially since oftentimes their superintendents were not supportive of their attempts to gain regional accreditation for their schools. "Principals from several states reported a definite lack of interest on the part of superintendents and in a few cases decided opposition" (1945 Association Proceedings, p.74). This lack of support undermined the Association's efforts to illuminate the impoverished and inequitable status of African American secondary schooling (Robinson, 1936). In an attempt to foster more participation, the Association passed a resolution in 1946 which asked "that state departments of education and state agents for Negro education and other state officials urge Negro secondary schools to interest themselves in and qualify for membership in the Association of Colleges for Negro schools (1946 Gray et al, 1946, p. 38)."
In addition to efforts by the Association, its Commission were active in assisting African American schools in their efforts to become regionally approved. The Commission on Secondary Schools sponsored several efforts including an investigation of non-accredited schools. In spite of "altered" standards, secondary schools still had difficulty becoming approved. This difficulty, as will be later discussed, had less to do with the standards than with the attitudes of State committees. As late as 1942 there were approximately thirteen times as many Whites high schools accredited by the Southern Association as African American schools. The average was 110 per state for Whites versus 8.5 per state for African Americans (Brown, 1944, p. 186). Cozart (1967) offers the following explanation:

A general statement concerning the secondary school membership of the Association and especially in relation to the greater number of non-members in the eleven southern states, is difficult to make because of (a) the absence of total surveys of high schools in the area and (b) of the independence of state committees controlling the procedures for accreditation of high schools within a given state (p. 17).

Clearly African American secondary schools faced significant challenges in becoming accredited. Many African American public schools were ignored or given minimal attention by state and local officials. Consequently as indicated by Brown oftentimes there were no school records or evaluations which could be used to either support or discredit the refusal to nominate African American schools. Aaron Brown's (1944) study provided needed data on accredited schools. His study was the African American counterpart to the Cooperative Study of Secondary Schools Standards which was organized in 1933 through the six regional associations. Financed by the General Education Board at $200,000, the
Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards study came as a result of dissatisfaction regarding the rating scores of southern secondary schools. Brown's study (his doctoral research) found that although there was certainly some differences in quality primarily due to economic issues in African American schools, he also indicated that "it seems that schools for negroes in some states have to be better than those for whites in order to get the approval of the Southern Association. (p. 200). A principle conclusion of Brown's study were that the areas which were most satisfactory included the library, staff, and instructional procedures. The least satisfactory areas included the guidance functions, outcome of educational programs, administrative practices and curriculums.

Also despite gains made, severe inequities existed among schools which the approval process highlighted. For example as of 1944 in South Carolina, of the forty-six counties in the state only thirty-five had accredited high schools for Negroes. Eleven counties had no accredited high schools and in many instances, the closest high schools were so remote that attendance was impossible ( Brown. 1944).

In 1945 the Association's Commission on Secondary Schools cited the following reasons for the problems with regional accreditation:

1. Lack of specific information concerning the requirements for accreditation.
2. Confusion concerning the responsibility for initiative in securing accreditation.
3. Lack of understanding concerning the meaning of accreditation.
4. Relative difficulty in meeting the several specific accreditation standards. (Commission on Secondary Schools, p. 73).
To counteract this lack of awareness of accreditation and accreditation processes, the Association sponsored several important studies which involved the opportunity for its member institutions to participate in workshops and other professional development activities (Cozart, 1967). In addition the General Education Board and other philanthropic agencies continued to fund programs that enhanced college and secondary school programs (McKinney, 1938).

During this period, the Association also sought greater participation in the approval process. Acknowledging that all inspections were conducted by Whites, the Association suggested that there be African American representation on the Highsmith Committee. Although this recommendation was rejected by the Southern Association, it is indicative of the assertive actions taken by the Association (McKinney, 1936, p. 41).

In an even more assertive tone, T.E. McKinney in a 1950 editorial indicated that the faculty of African American colleges were better suited to evaluate their programs — "despite the attitude of the Southern Association the administrators and teachers in the colleges for negroes can carry on a program of self-evaluation that is far more intensive and effective than what is being done now (p.96). To this end, Association representatives (L.S. Cozart and A.E. Manley) met with the Highsmith Committee on December 4, 1942 and suggested changes to the structure of the inspection committees. After discussing the matter of uniform procedures for the inspecting and rating of schools, the Association made the following recommendations:
1. That the same methods, machinery and standards of evaluation used for inspecting and rating secondary schools for whites be applied in inspecting and rating secondary schools for negroes in the various states. Concerning the inspection and rating of colleges, the Association recommends that the Committee on Approval of Negro Schools and the Executive Committee of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes appoint a panel of twenty-two persons, one white and one Negro from each state in the Southern Area. Out of this panel a committee of three for any college being inspected shall be named. One of these shall be a member of the Committee on Approval of Negro Schools and one of the other two shall be a Negro.

2. It is recommended that only one member of the inspecting committee shall be a resident in the state in which the college being inspected is located (Executive Committee Report, 1942, p. 30).

These concerns were raised because the Association felt that some local inspectors wanted "to maintain a particular kind of status" (Clark, 1948, p. 41). These concerns surfaced again when in 1944 the Association's Committee on Accreditation summarized their concerns in report presented to the annual meeting of the Association:

1. Our Organization express to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, appreciation of its desire to make adjustments in the light of the difficulties faced by the Negro institutions in their quest for the benefits of worthy accreditation. We further feel that said benefits of worthy accreditation accrue best to the schools and education in general when the same methods, machinery, standards of evaluation and attitudes toward their relaxation which obtain with reference to inspecting institutions for white students are applied to Negro institutions.

2. Other than by the procedure of lowering standards for accreditation, our Association take definite systematic steps to stimulate Negro educational institutions to improve themselves in organization and administration, quality and work of personnel, program of studies, physical equipment, and "educational atmosphere."
3. To avoid giving sanction to any provision which might be interpreted as the endorsement or fostering by the South of lower standards of its people as compared with the Nation as a whole. (Clark, Cozart and Manley, 1944, p. 34).

These concerns, as expressed by the Association’s “soon to be” Liaison Committee was an overt attempt to gain greater inclusion in the regional accrediting process. Although they were not initially successful in gaining membership on the Highsmith committee and representation on the inspecting teams, their concerns could no longer be ignored by the Southern Association nor its membership. This assertive action was a significant step as they continued to seek press on toward full membership in the Southern Association.

**Quest for Membership**

Despite various challenges encountered by African American institutions in their pursuit of accreditation and full membership in the Southern Association, this period reveals the ways in which the education of African Americans moved from a mere afterthought to varying levels of consideration by a dominant institutional agency. (McKinney, 1957) In fact, according to Dr. Highsmith, after the eighth year of activity,

"The indirect result of the work of the Committee has been to cause the men of the Southern Association to change their former attitude of hostility toward Negro higher education to one of cooperation. They no longer fear that recognition of Negro colleges as honest-to-goodness educational institutions will result in any color line social complications at the meeting of the Southern Association (Thompson, 1951, p. 3)
The Liaison Committee: Clearing the Path

The Association's Liaison Committee (1942-1951) worked to bring about full membership in the Southern Association for its member institutions. Yet by 1948 the Committee indicated that "it was evident that the attitude of even some of the more friendly members of the Southern Association indicated that they feel that the time is not "right" for full affiliation" (Clark, 1940).

Although the Committee had previously met with representatives with the Southern Association, the Association felt their concerns needed to be voiced to the entire Southern Association membership. After two unsuccessful attempts to secure an audience with Southern Association leaders, the committee was finally successful. On November 30, 1949 in Houston, Texas, A.D. Beittel, the White President of Talladega College spoke on behalf of the Association at the Southern Association's Annual Meeting. As a member of the Association's Liaison Committee, Beittel was chosen largely because as asserted by Dr. Felton Clark, he was the "one member of our organization because of factors understood by all of us, who can sit it the meetings of the Southern Association (Clark, 1948, p. 40). In the Southern states, facilities and organizational meetings in which Whites and African Americans could meet were scarce. The issue so plagued the Association that in 1942 it appointed a committee whose specific charge was "To get in touch with national educational and other organizations having significance to the field, and request them to consider

44 Beittel was the only White member of the Liaison Committee (Cozart, 1967).

45 According to Cozart (1967), Dr. Beittel's appearance was made possible by the retiring Southern Association president, Dr. Henry Hill and other members of the Highsmith Committee.
the convenience, comfort, and lack of embarrassment to the Negro group in planning the location of their periodic meetings" (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, p. 19).

Beittel's speech entitled "Knocking at Your Door" sought to convince the Southern Association to admit African American institutions as full members. In conjunction with Dr. Beittle's speech the Association issued the following formal request in writing:

For approximately twenty years the schools which hold membership in this Association have benefited by the excellent work of accreditation which has been carried on by the Committee on Approval of Negro schools appointed by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. We appreciate the work of this Committee and the great benefit which has come to us by virtue of its activity.

We feel, however that, in the meantime, we have missed the opportunity for greater progress because of our inability to hold membership in the Southern Association. We feel that closer contact among all educators in our region will be mutually beneficial.

We think that the time has come when all of us engaged in the same work should regularly have our experiences and jointly face our common problems. We request, therefore, that separate members of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools be considered for full membership in said Southern Association, and that this association authorize its liaison Committee to work towards this end without hesitation and with our complete endorsement (Thompson, 1951, p. 2-3).

In response to Dr. Beittle's speech, a joint meeting between a special committee of the Southern Association and representatives of the Association's Liaison Committee was held in October 1950. The special committee issued a report to its Southern Association membership. In the Committee's report
emphasis was placed on the consideration that this is merely a professional matter to be treated professionally. It was recognized that many social and non-professional problems might be involved in granting full membership to Negro institutions, but that representatives of Negro institutions would have to take upon themselves the burden of seeing that difficult and embarrassing situations did not arise (Cozart, 1967, p.55).

However, the Southern Association's Special Committee did support a continuing dialogue regarding issues of membership for Association members. In addition, the Special Committee made the following recommendation which was approved at the Southern Association's Annual Meeting in 1950:

1. That the Association consider the request favorably and set up a possible time schedule and general conditions under which it would be effectuated.
2. That the request has merit, but that its adoption is not timely and that the matter will be continued under consideration (Thompson, 1951, p. 4).

Also the Committee suggested that "further study be given to the whole problem, including the original problem of our relationship with Negro education in the secondary and higher schools throughout the South, before final action regarding membership is taken by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools." (Thompson, 1951, p.4). The Southern Association members emphasized that such a study should include a careful analysis of the attitudes and opinions of the educational leaders within several states"

For the Association membership which had worked for more than twenty years toward full membership in the Southern Association, this refusal was devastating(Cozart, 1967; Wiggins, 1966). However through the
work of its Liaison Committee and representatives from the Highsmith committee, the Association pressed on toward the inevitable — full membership. The next significant step in the appropriate direction came the very next year. At the annual meeting of the Southern Association in 1951, the Highsmith Committee recommended its own dissolution with the following recommendations:

1. That from and after the 1951 meeting of the Southern Association all applications and reports from secondary and higher institutions within the bounds of the Southern Association be received and processed by the Secondary and Higher Commissions of the Associations, respectively. This recommendation, if concurred in, would require that the present Committee on Approval of Negro Schools be discontinued.

2. That in order to facilitate the work of the Association, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools invite the Southern Association of Negro Colleges and Schools to hold its annual meeting in the same city and at the same time as the meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Further, that we extend to officials of the Southern Association for Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools the privilege of utilizing the services of any of the speakers at our Association meeting who may to them seem desirable.

3. That a standing liaison committee be appointed by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and that the Southern Association for Negro Colleges and Schools be invited to appoint a similar committee, these committees to hold a joint meeting immediately following the annual meeting.

With the presentation of this report we respectfully request that our Committee be discharged (McKinney, 1952, p. 44).

The Southern Association accepted the recommendations of their committee and the Highsmith Committee was disbanded and the Southern Association's Committee on Colleges and Universities was assigned the task formerly carried out by the Highsmith Committee. The Southern
Association also decided that "a re-study of all Negro colleges was essential to its work, and a grant of $45,000 from the General Education Board made this opportunity possible (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1953), p. 139). Upon initial re-inspection of previously approved African American educational institutions by the committee and/or Executive Secretary, oftentimes consultative services were highly recommended. As will be later discussed, such services were made available through a Southern Education Foundation grant. The recommendations of these inspection teams paved the way for a new relationship that would culminate in African American membership in the regional accrediting body.

**Joint Organizational Meetings: Making the Connections, 1952-1954**

With full membership in the Southern Association seemingly within grasp, African American colleges and secondary schools worked to increase the quality of their programs. Still Association members continued to face additional barriers to full membership. In an effort to come together to address common issues, the first joint meeting of the two organizations was held December 2, 1952 in Memphis, Tennessee. President of the Southern Association, Dr. Guy H. Wells, presided. In his speech to the combined body, William H. Kilpatrick remarked:

This joint meeting of the two Associations is a milestone and indicates that we have come a long way educationally. It is a monument to the progress we are making. The meetings which were once confined and private are now open to the public. These Associations are studying the problems of our schools and colleges together in an effort to attack the
problems -- to push our educational program together for what it can do for the welfare of humanity. (Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1953, p. 27).

However despite the "readiness" of the Southern Association to accept African American institutions as members full Southern Association membership continued to allude Association institutions (Pierce, T.M. et. al, 1955). In fact as late as 1953, five state universities still banned African Americans from admission -- Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina.

By 1953, the Southern Association had reneged on their 1952 agreement to hold their meetings at the same time and in the city as the Association and had not moved any closer to accepting Association schools as members. Dismayed and uncertain, Association members doubted the likelihood of their eventual membership in the Southern Association. Thus in 1953 the Association by unanimous decision did not schedule their Annual Meeting to coincide with the Southern Association meeting (Cozart, 1967). This assertive action on the part of the Association did elicit a response from the Southern Association.

In response to the Association's actions, another joint meeting of the Liaison Committees was held in May of 1954 at Gaitlinburg, Tennessee. At which time the Southern Association representatives explained that the change of meeting venue was a result of a Memphis Hotel policy and set

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46 Since the passage of an Executive Committee recommendation in 1936, the Association had held its annual meetings the week following the Southern Association's annual meeting (1936 Association Proceedings).
1960 as the target date for the full admission of African American schools to their organization. As evidence of their commitment to a unified organization, subcommittees from both organizations were appointed “to work out details to resume mutual activity and to move with greater speed toward achieving the goal of our liaison negotiations” (Cozart, 1967). This renewed commitment marked a significant change in the Association’s push to become members of the Southern Association.

This period was also a time of upheaval and tremendous change in the Southern states. The beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement was afoot. African Americans tired of the status quo were audibly asserting their rights as American citizens (Bennett, 1969). In addition, the Brown versus Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (1954) case had just been decided. In anticipation of the 1954 decision, the Association held a symposium from November 29th to December 2nd of that same year (Cozart, 1967). Panel members included Dr. Wesley J. Lyda, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Dr. Horace M. Bond, Dr. James Nabrit, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement. Cognizant of the profound impact such a Supreme Court decision would have on their schools, the Association asked their schools to implement the following measures: (1) remove restrictive race-based admission clauses from their charters; (2) Encourage graduates to enroll in open graduate schools and graduate schools not previously open to Blacks; (3) Focus on enhancement of teaching quality and increase in the quality of teachers; (4) Prepare for reorganization of the secondary school system; and (5) Prepare for possibility of elimination of Negro teachers (Cozart, 1954).
The Final Mile: From Exclusion to Inclusion

In 1955 Association President Rufus E. Clement, indicated that the next step was to have all colleges (approved and unapproved by the Southern Association) re-inspected. To assist with the cost of this process, the General Education Board granted $45,000 reducing the cost to $350.00 per institution.

Despite these deliberate steps toward full membership, at its 1956 Annual meeting the Southern Association decided to continue to publish the Approval of Negro Schools list for an additional five years after which time it was to be abolished. Those African American colleges not listed by that time would not be accepted as members of the Southern Association. The following recommendations brought by the Commission on Colleges and Universities were approved:

1. That the Association continue for the next five years to accredit Colleges for Negro Youth as it has done in the past, after which the separate list of Colleges for Negro Youth be abolished.

2. That during the next five years the reports of Colleges for Negro Youth be considered by a joint subcommittee on Standards and Reports, the Committee on Junior Colleges, and the Committee on Admissions to Membership, with the Committee on Admission to Membership assuming the chief responsibility for receiving and processing such reports.

3. That, beginning in December, 1957, and continuing during the five-year period referred to above, the Commission on Colleges and Universities recommend for membership in the Association any colleges in this group which apply for admission and are properly qualified.

4. That during the five-year period any Colleges for Negro Youth not now listed which apply for accreditation may be added to the separate list upon proper qualification. However, such additional colleges may not be admitted prior to 1961.

5. That, as indicated above, the separate list of Colleges for Negro Youth be abandoned in 1961.
6. That, after 1961, applications from Colleges for Negro Youth be considered by the regular Committee on Admissions to Membership (McKinney, 1952, p. 44).

With inspections completed by the summer of 1957, the Southern Association took action. At its 1957 annual meeting held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, the almost thirty year wait was over. With 2,000 delegates in Richmond, Virginia assembled at the Southern Association's Annual meeting, the vote was unanimous to allow African American colleges to become accredited. The eighteen African American educational institutions, granted full membership in the Southern Association were symbolic of the persistence and active resistance to the prescribed educational social order (Thompson, 1962).47

While pleased with the achievement of their goal, McKinney (1957) provides a sobering revelation "this decision...reflects the perseverance and patience of many white and Negro educators in the South. Let us hope that the leaders of tomorrow will e able to achieve a comparable objective in a much shorter period (p. 68). Similarly Thompson (1960) echoed with "the Association's action in Miami Beach closed a none-too-happy and unnecessarily denigrating relationship between the Negro colleges and the Southern Association" (p. 105). Clearly African Americans were disgruntled with the Southern Association's final refusal to view African American schools as deserving as White schools. Although eligible for full

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47 African American senior and junior colleges admitted to membership: Senior Colleges included Albany State College, Atlanta University, Clark College, Bennett College, Fisk University, Florida A&M University, Fort Valley College, Hampton Institute, Knoxville College, Morehouse College, North Carolina College at Durham, Talladega College, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tuskegee Institute, Virginia State College. Junior colleges included Daniel Payne College (Alabama), St. Philip's College, Voorhees Junior College (South Carolina) (Cozart, 1967).
membership, in 1957 the journey for the majority of African American colleges and secondary schools was not yet over. The Southern Association's deadline for Negro colleges to become accredited (qualify for membership) or lose accreditation was 1961 at which time the Southern Association's Negro Approval Listing would be abolished (Rogers, 1967). This announcement marked the beginning of a five-year period to assist "sub-par" institutions attain regional approval/accreditation.

Four years earlier than anticipated, eighteen African American colleges were admitted as full members. Although sixty-three colleges had been inspected and fifty-nine previously approved, the Southern Association identified only eighteen colleges as having met their standards in full (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971). In explanation the Southern Association sent out a news release, which read in part:

This action of the Association approving full membership for these schools culminated an active and continuing interest in education for Negro youth on the part of the Association dating back more than twenty years. In the late thirties, the Association appointed a committee to supervise the activities of the colleges for Negro youth and to begin the task of helping these schools meet the same standards required by the Association of its members.

In 1951, when the Association felt that these schools were nearing the minimum excellence required of its members, a grant was obtained from the General Education Board to make an exhaustive study of each of the sixty-three colleges for Negro youth. These studies have continued since that date, and the action just taken is a recognition of the educational achievement of these Negro institutions. By admitting these institutions to full membership, the Association put itself on record to the effect that the college education possible at these schools is equivalent to that offered in its other member institutions (McKinney, 1958, pp. 1-3).

In an JNE editorial, Charles Thompson (1950) expressed his dismay at the Southern Association's news release. His displeasure was based in
large part on the Southern Association's denial that previously regionally approved African American educational institutions had not met the regional standards. As already discussed, the Association was adamant that their schools be held to the same standards and was repeatedly assured by the Southern Association that the same standards were being applied. However as is clear, the news release contradicted that notion.

Thompson's anger at this news release is warranted. Firstly the news release is ahistorical. The Highsmith Committee's charge was to provide a rating service. The Association and its members were denied full membership privileges and as such were not provided with the supportive services required extended to Southern Association members. Secondly because it posits the Southern Association as subjects and the Negro schools as objects in the battle for accreditation. The news release was the Southern Association's message to larger society. It essentially provides an historical record, no matter how untrue, that depicts the Southern Association as morally conscious and assertive rather than as perpetuators and protectors of the status quo.

In order to address these issues the Southern Association received a $45,000 grant from the General Education Board to re-examine African American colleges on the approved list. This reduced the cost to $350 per institution.

From 1957 - 1962 the Danforth Association selected twenty-eight higher educational institutions to assist in becoming accredited. In addition to the funding from the GEB, the Southern Educational Foundation provide $23,275 to fund the Association's Committee on Self-
Evaluation and Improvement which sought to prepare institutions for accreditation (Cozart).

This effort was a three-step process consisting of Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III. Consisting of the teaching of techniques and procedures in self-evaluation, Phase I was implemented from April 25-27, 1960. Attended by ninety two representatives from twenty nine colleges, this workshop sought to prepare institutions to successfully gain regional accreditation.48

Phase II commenced in January 1961. Institutions which participated in this phase, were inspected by a three-member committee. Mirroring an Southern Association inspection, these mock exercises helped institutions to determine their preparations for accreditation.49

The final effort, Phase III, "provided access and consultation with staff an faculty of colleges who had been admitted to membership in the Southern Association. (Cozart, 1967, p. 84). Since the information shared by both schools could be of a sensitive nature - no written reports or other documents were issued.

48The participating colleges were Alabama A& M College, Alabama State College, Benedict College, Bethune-Cookman College, Bishop College, Claflin College, Elizabeth City Teachers College, Fayetteville State Teachers College, Florida A&I, Grambling College, Jackson State College, Jarvis Christian College, Lane College, Leland College, LeMoyne College, Mary Holmes Junior College, Mississippi Vocational College, Morris College, Morristown College, Oakwood College, Owen College Paine College, Rust College, Saint Augustine's College, Savannah State College, Shaw University, Texas College, Utica Junior College, Wiley College. (Cozart, 1967, pp. 81-82).

49Colleges which participated in phase II included: Alabama A&M College, Alabama State College, Alcorn A&M College, Allen University, Bishop College, Jackson State College, Jarvis Christian College, Miles College, Morristown College, Paine College, Saint Augustine's College, Savannah State College, Shaw University, Texas College, Utica Junior College (Cozart, 1967, p. 83).
Largely as a result of these intensified efforts, by January 1962, twenty six of the twenty eight participating colleges had earned full accreditation. Many colleges, who were not selected for participation in the Committee on Self-Evaluation and Improvement's initiatives, did not qualify and therefore lost "approval status."

For secondary schools, the issue of accreditation was not yet over. Under the control of state committees, these institutions had to be nominated to the Highsmith Committee and later the Executive Committee for membership. With the discontinuation of the "Negro Approval Process," some state committees chose not to recommend their schools for membership — namely Alabama, Louisiana and Virginia. However in 1961, the Southern Association opened membership to all high schools and 261 high schools were admitted. In 1963 at the Southern Association meeting in Memphis, all 261 high schools received full membership.

In 1963 the Association prepared for closure with the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee. The purpose of this committee was to (1) make provisions for writing the history of the Association; (2) make recommendations with respect to the disposition of remaining funds and property of the Association; and (3) recommend the time of dissolution of the Association (Cozart 1967, p. 84). Its members included: Chair R.E. Clement (President of Atlanta University), S.A. Cain (Principal West High School, Morristown, TN), J.A. Colston (President Bronx Community College), J.E. Codwell (Associate Director, Educational Improvement Project for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools), L.S. Cozart

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50 Colston was formerly president of Knoxville College in Tennessee (Cozart, 1967).
At its final meeting in December 1964 the Ad Hoc Committee made the following recommendations: Instructed L.S. Cozart to write the Association History; Earmarked the $30,000 left in the treasury to be use for writing the history ($5,000) and $20,000 in a fund for study grants for school and college administrators; Atlanta University was asked to served as the depository for the Association's documents.; and last recommend that the 1964 Kentucky meeting be the last annual meeting (Cozart, 1967).

The Association ended its work in 1965, eight years after African American colleges and secondary schools could apply for full membership in the Southern Association. Throughout its thirty two years of existence, the Association had assisted more than six hundred African American colleges and secondary schools become "approved" and eventually become full members of the regional accrediting Association, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (See Appendix N).

Summary

"Although the life of this organization was brief, nevertheless it broke ground that had lain fallow for many decades and planted the seeds of cooperative effort to speed up the improvement of educational opportunity for Negro youth" (Cozart, 1967 p. 5).

The founding of the Association and the issues of accreditation embedded in its founding is illustrative of the African American struggle within the educational arena. Historically African Americans have found
ways to redefine the dominant structure’s imposed realm of possibilities for their lives. Recognizing that the absence of regional standardization relegated their institutions to an inferior status and thwarted their subsequent growth, leaders of African American institutions utilized the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools as a strategy to lift the shadow of inferiority that had long engulfed their schools.

The next chapter focuses upon the programmatic and research efforts of the Association. Its intent is to contextually situate the major activities of the Association within a particular frame of reference. A frame which will make visible the textured realities that shaped the internal and external workings of the organization.
CHAPTER 3
THE ILLUMINATION OF THE INVISIBLE:
THE PROGRAMMATIC THRUST AND RESEARCH EFFORTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

A professional organization whose chief aim was to stimulate a more functional program among our schools and colleges and make them more conscious of their responsibility to help give direction and to guide in self-directing the lives of Negro youth in an age which interpreted education not only as a preparation for life, but an opportunity to live creatively and passionately" (Cozart, 1943, p. 69).

Programmatic Thrust

During its thirty one years of activity, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes implemented numerous programs to promote and encourage the growth and development of African American education and educational institutions. This chapter highlights the major programmatic and research efforts sponsored and/or initiated by the Association. Through a discussion of these activities, a full portrayal of the organization will be provided.

The first five years of the Association's work was directed at exploring and examining neglected areas in the education of African Americans (Cozart, 1943). By initially focusing upon determining the condition of their schools and then working to bring about improvements, the Association had a clear strategy. This strategy, to bring
The Association's work, whether providing professional development support to faculty or sponsoring research studies, was yet another tool to enhance the academic quality of their member institutions. This chapter focuses on the work of the Association by highlighting various programs that were far-reaching in their exploration and intense in their efforts on behalf of African American education.

The Commission on Secondary Schools and the Commission on Higher Education Institutions were the sites for the development, implementation and evaluation of most Association programs. Commenting on the "semi-independence" (p. 25) of these bodies, Cozart (1967) explains that the power of the Executive Board were balanced by the Commissions. A review of these organizational bodies will reveal the prominent programs and activities sponsored and their subsequent impact upon African American education.

The programs reviewed or topics discussed provide a glimpse of the respective Commission's work. The intent is to reveal the kinds of programs in which the Association was involved and the issues that were considered most fundamental to its goals.

**The Commission on Secondary Schools**

Established at the time of the Association's founding to address issues germane to the secondary school membership, this body was
vigorous in meeting its charge. Due to the dire conditions of secondary schooling for African Americans in the southern states, progress in this area was viewed as the potential catalyst for change for all of African American education.

The separate but equal system of southern education had a major impact on the ability of blacks to enter those schools which were available to them. The problem began in elementary and secondary schools. Although all provided for separate education, no state in the South provided equal education. The inequities were marked: salaries were lower for blacks, school terms shorter, value of property and equipment lower, and schools - especially high schools - were inaccessible to thousands (Fleming, 1976, pp. 93-94).

As indicated by Fleming, African American secondary schools were in serious peril. The leaders of these schools, reorganized that the continuation of these school depended largely upon their collective efforts. With only 610 secondary schools for African Americans accredited by their respective states, the attainment of regional accreditation without specific assistance through programmatic efforts was very unlikely (Cozart, 1967; Brown and Robinson, 1946). Consequently the Commission's initial efforts focused on bringing about an increased awareness of the need for rating in order to develop and maintain adequate African American schools (Robinson, 1940b).

**Vocational Guidance in the Secondary School**

The first formal initiative by the Commission on Secondary Schools was the traveling vocational exhibit of 1935. Entitled "Vocational Guidance".

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51 According to the 1936 Association Proceedings, guidance "is concerned with those activities
in the Secondary School," its purpose was to "direct the attention of the
South to progress being made in various lines of endeavor essentially a
group of products, chart, graphs, photographs, and other materials
designed to effectively present some of the achievements of American
Negroes of our time" (Heninburg, 1935, p. 30). With an $100.00
appropriation from the Association, and materials provided by the
membership and the National Vocational Guidance Association, the
exhibit was presented at Tuskegee Institute, the Atlanta University
Laboratory School, the Athens, Georgia High School and the annual
conference of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.
Offering week-long presentations, the exhibit had requests from as far west
as Arizona and as far east as New York (Heninburg, 1936, p. 32).

Recognizing that 70% of entering African American students did not
complete high school, the Commission selected this initial area of focus "to
present ideas having to do with the responsibility of the high school toward
the occupational situation in our several communities." (Heninburg, 1935,
p. 26). The popular exhibit marked the beginning of the Commissions
efforts to expose secondary schools, students, and communities to the array
of possibilities available to them by serving as an promotion for the study of
various vocations (Heninburg, 1935; Heningburg, 1936).

which aid the student to choose that path of procedure which will lead to the fullest and
happiest life for him. It includes supplying information, keeping adequate records indicating
possibilities and encouraging choices of vocations or occupations on the part of our students" (p.
31).
Secondary School Study

Although the Commission on Secondary Schools sponsored and directed many initiatives, its most successful and widely touted effort was the Secondary School Study (1942-1946). Although called a "study," this initiative was essentially an effort to provide African American secondary schools with the needed direction, instruction and support to enhance their academic programs. As previously discussed, "before 1940, southern Negro schools had no regional organization to which they might turn for extended consultant services on matters pertaining to school curricula and region-wide educational problems" (Brown, 1945, pp. 49-50).

In order to begin to provide such needed services to its membership, at its fourth Annual meeting in 1937, the Association adopted the following resolution:

We recommend that the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes formulate plans by which Negro secondary schools may be stimulated to study progressive movements in education and participate in any experiment in progressive education set up in the Southern Region (Davenport, 1937).

This recommendation was also in response to the continued exclusion of African American participation in national studies that examined issues related to secondary schools. (Robinson, 1940)52. Moreover aware that the Southern Association with the assistance of the General Education Board was setting up a study to explore secondary schooling, the Association's

52 The Eight Year Study, sponsored by the Progressive Education Association, whose purpose was to "explore possibilities of better coordination of school and college work and to seek an agreement which would provide freedom for secondary schools to attempt fundamental reconstruction" was also underway from 1932-1941 (Aiken, 1942, p. 2).
resolution was an early attempt to seek inclusion in the study. With thirty three high schools in eleven states participating in the Southern Association Study, "it was to be a service and resource agency, co-operating with certain white high schools for the improvement of their educational services to meet the needs of the pupils and of the region." (Robinson, 1944, p. 532). Despite the Associations efforts to have their member institutions included, the Southern Association sent a communiqué indicating that "it had not seemed best for all concerned that negro schools be included in the Southern Association Study" (Robinson, 1938, p. 81).

Disappointed but undaunted by this slight, the Association set about planning a study of its own. In 1938, the Executive Committee indicated to its membership that it would be focusing attention on securing a grant from one of the philanthropic bodies to promote a special study on the secondary level among a limited number of schools (Robinson, 1938).

The Study was envisioned as a temporary means of encouraging schools, in the region of the Association, to plan and carry on in-service studies for the improvement and extension of their services (Brown, 1945, p. 49).

Interestingly enough, due to some apprehension regarding the Southern Association's impression of this assertive step, some members of the Association were not in favor of the sponsorship of such a study. In fact, during the 1939 Annual Association meeting, "There was some hesitancy on the part of a few members of the Association to grant the authority for such a study as it seemed to them to imply on the part of the Commission on Secondary Schools some lack of confidence in good faith of the Committee
on Approval of Negro schools or of the agencies within the states that recommended Negro high schools for accreditation by the Southern Association" (Robinson, 1939, p. 55). This hesitancy can be attributed to the social climate which insisted upon seeking and obtaining approval from the White power structure that controlled and directed the schools. Fortunately a member of the Highsmith Committee was present at the Association meetings and participated in the discussion. Upon expressing his support of such an effort, the committee membership voted to undertake the study.

Upon securing $5,240 in support from the General Education Board in 1938, the Commission began to put in place the necessary structure to carry out this task. The initial phase included the selection of a Control Committee. This group made up of seven prominent Negro educators, two white consultants, and Frank C. Jenkins, Director of the Secondary School Study of the Southern Association, was responsible for overseeing the Study and selecting a Director. William A. Robinson, Principal of the Atlanta University Laboratory School and long time advocate for African American secondary schooling was appointed director and Atlanta University agreed to provide the necessary office space.

The next task was to establish the criteria for the selection of member schools. Essentially schools that were primary participants in the Study, the

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53 By 1946, the General Education Board had contributed $73,822.67 to the work of the Secondary School Study, including the 50% support for a General Education Board consultant (Cozart, 1967; 1942 Association Proceedings).

54 Frank C. Jenkins participation was funded by a General Education Board grant ( ).
selection of member schools was an important task. Every effort was made to include a cross-section of schools with particular efforts to include schools with more progressive educational philosophies. The criteria which was used to select sixteen "member institutions" was as follows:

1. At least one school should be chosen from each of the eleven states of the region.
2. The study should include a variety of types of high schools, such as large and small, urban and rural, schools serving industrial centers and schools serving agricultural centers, and laboratory schools with important teacher-training functions.
3. The schools need not be accredited by the Southern Association but should be strategically situated and have promise for growth in term of the purpose of the proposed study.
4. The administrative leadership of the schools should be intelligent and promising from the standpoint of training energy, capability, and general alertness to educational progress.
5. The members of the teaching staff should have reasonably good fundamental training and the capacity and the desire to attain increasingly clear approaches to their work with materials, boys and girls, and community problems.
6. If possible, schools should be selected that have already begun to make an intelligent approach to educational problems.
7. The schools selected should have physical plants and equipment reasonably adequate to their present needs, and the superintendents should be reasonably responsive to the obvious needs of the schools.
8. The schools should be so situated as to influence the development of other schools in the state.
9. The agreement to accept membership in the study should be made by the principal and teaching staff after careful consideration of the school's possible contributions as a member-school. (Robinson, 1944, p. 533)
These criteria were used by each State Agent for Negro Schools in nominating three schools from his state for participation as member schools. Of those nominated, sixteen schools were selected. Throughout its existence, the activities of the Study included six-week summer workshops and winter planning conferences attended by principals, state agents, college representatives, the Study Director and staff and various consultants. The Study maintained a library consisting of books, periodicals and other materials that was made accessible to schools in the further development of their programs (Brown, 1944). Through scholarships the Study assumed the cost of tuition, room, board and travel of all workshop participants (Brown, 1941; Brown, 1945).

With the structure in place the task of the study which was "to find means by which the curricular offerings of Negro high schools could be influenced by sound and accepted educational practices that had enriched other school curricula, but which were practically unknown in most Negro schools" (Brown and Robinson, 1946, p. 1) could be pursued.

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55 Dewry Practice High School (Talladega, Alabama), State Teachers College Laboratory School (Montgomery, Alabama), Lincoln High School (Tallahassee, Florida), Atlanta University Laboratory School (Atlanta, Georgia), Moultrie High School (Moultrie, GA), Staley High School (Americus, Georgia), Lincoln Grant High School (Covington, Kentucky), Natchitoches Parish Training School (Natchitoches, Louisiana), Southern University Demonstration School (Scotlandville, Louisiana), Magnolia Avenue High School (Vicksburg, Mississippi), Dudley High School (Greensboro, North Carolina), Booker T. Washington High School (Rocky Mount, North Carolina), Booker Washington High School (Columbia, South Carolina), Pearl High School (Nashville, Tennessee), I.M Terrell High School (Fort Worth, Texas), Huntington High School (Newport News, Virginia), Webster Davis Laboratory High School - Virginia State College (Ettrick, Virginia)

56 Workshops became a popular way to provide inservice training for teachers beginning in 1936 when some thirty-five teachers came together at Ohio State University for six weeks as part of the Eight-Year Study (Cannon, 1943, p. 1).
Staffed by a full-time director and assistant director, participants included the core group of 16 member institutions, and over 100 contact schools. Assumptions that informed this study were that:

1. Modifications in existing school programs would probably lack effectiveness unless the staff of individual schools shared understandingly in the planning which preceded proposed modifications;
2. "that educational programs should be actively directed toward improved living;"
3. that realistic educational programs and continuous improvement of such programs found only results from the efforts of individual schools to plan their programs in terms of the nature and needs of their particular communities, and also in terms of the individual pupils in these schools" (Brown, 1942, p.50)

The first Secondary School conference was held at Fisk University from April 24-27,1940. Essentially an organizing conference, participants included the member schools, ten college representatives, two superintendents of Negro schools, and the Director of the Southern Association Study. During the conference Brown and Robinson (1946) noted that three trends were woven throughout the discussions:

1. The participants felt improvement in the programs should be in the direction of a greater recognition of the needs of children served.
2. The participants felt there was a need to provide opportunities for pupils to experience democracy.
3. The participates sought the acquisition of more effective teaching skills (William and Brown, 1946, pp. 31-32).

These contact groups were professionally interested non-study members utilizing resources and services of the Study (Brown and Robinson, 1946; Hardy, 1977).
From these discussions, the formal purpose of the Secondary School Study was developed: "to disseminate information concerning the nature, progress, and significance of the secondary school study to member schools, non-member schools, colleges, and teacher-training institutions in the southern states; to search for, find and disseminate information concerning unique practices in Negro secondary schools; and to help Negro secondary schools of the Southern area to define and carryout their tasks in the present defense crisis" (Robinson, 1940c, p. 40).

Upon formally determining the general focus and direction of the Study, the Association and the Commission on Secondary Schools sponsored three workshops. Held for six weeks during the summers of 1941, 1942, and 1943 these "workshops were essentially extended planning conferences in which an individual teacher or groups of teachers formulated plans of action to be used the following year in their schools" (Brown and Robinson, 1946, p. 55).

The first workshop, held at Atlanta University from June 1 - July 19, 1940, focused on improving teaching efficiency. In addition to forty eight representatives of the member schools, this premier event was attended by members of the Association, the Association of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges, the American Teachers Association, the Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars, State Agents of Negro Schools, and

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58 Attendees included 16 principals, and 32 high school teachers (Brown, 1945).
representatives of the General Education Board and the US Office of Education (Cannon, 1942). During this workshop the attendees developed three types of plans of development for their schools. These plans included the carrying out of specific programs adopted by the southern states, the establishment of school-wide programs specific to their institutions; and the alteration of the organization and process commonly utilized in the subject areas (Brown and Robinson, 1946).

Subsequent steps by member schools included: faculty efforts to formulate long-term plans for the development of their schools, schools actions toward the professional development of faculty members\(^1\); and school efforts to make a cumulative evaluation of their programs and to share those experiences with other schools and individuals (p. 41).

The second workshop was held in 1941 at Hampton Institute. With over seventy attendees\(^2\), it was made possible by a General Education Board donation of $7,250.00. The third workshop was held in 1942 at North Carolina College. Attended by almost eighty participants\(^3\), during this workshop "a procedure for studying the purposes or objectives of a school"

\(^1\) "The staff of the Secondary Staff Study conceived professional growth in terms of increased ability, on the part of teachers, to make value-judgments with regard to school experience and increased skill planning and implementing school experiences which clearly result in the promotion of socially desirable values" (p. 50).

\(^2\) Attendees included 11 principals, 50 high school teachers, and 13 college teachers (Brown, 1945).

\(^3\) Participants include 22 principals, 46 high school teachers and 10 college teachers (Brown, 1945).
was considered (Hardy, 1977, p. 58). In almost all instances, teachers were awarded scholarships to attend the workshops. As a result, cost was not a deterrent and participants could be chosen based upon the traits of teacher and his or her school (Brown, 1945).

During the last three years of the six year grant (1943-1946) efforts focused on increasing regional resources which schools needed for steady and continuous growth in efficiency. To this end a meeting was held from July 26-29, 1943 to decide the direction of the study. This effort, funded by the General Education Board, encouraged more direct work with permanent agencies who would assist schools (Brown and Robinson, 1946, p. 14).

In its first publication, "Progress and Plans Toward Regional Accreditation," the Secondary School Study illustrated the disparity between African American and White schools and the absence of programs and services to remedy these issues. This publication according to Cozart (1967) was a significant commentary on the operation of forces to include Negro schools in statewide programs for development as a prelude to approval by the Southern Association. Regional accreditation then became a strong motivation for improvement of secondary schools. When the light was turned on the darkest spots in a state's program for secondary school children the revelations were appalling almost at every point in the application of evaluative criteria of the Southern Association, or even of those standards devised by the State Boards of Education. Improving these schools was the Study's chief concern, but the quest for accreditation quickly became its chief ally. Any effort to delay basic improvements found occasion for sober, second thought when the study's impartial findings became the property of an enlightened public (Cozart, 1967, p.43).
In addition to the Secondary School Study publication, some schools also published articles and/or books which illustrated changed curriculum foci, teacher training initiatives or school philosophy (Brown and Robinson, 1946). For example, the faculties of Lincoln High and Elementary Schools in Tallahasee Florida published *The Evolution of Susan Prim*. The intent of which was to help "focus school-wide attention both on the points of adequacy and on those of inadequacy in our program" (p. vii).

The schools's participation in the Secondary School Study was its first opportunity to engage in a self-reflective process. In the introduction, Gilbert L. Porter, principal, writes:

These experiences and services have greatly hastened the development of the school. Prior to its membership in the secondary School Study, there were no local agencies which made available to our school the kinds of opportunities for growth and professional guidance provided by the Study (p. vii).

The sentiments expressed by the faculty of Lincoln was not atypical (1946 Association Proceedings; Hardy, 1977). As a combined endeavor to strengthen the curricular and instructional programs in secondary schools through summer workshops that inserviced teachers and administrators on issues germane to secondary education, the Study was well-received in the mainstream academic community and garnered wide-spread participation.

Criteria for appraising the effectiveness of the Secondary School Study was based on the following questions:
1. Does the activity have definite possibilities, directly or indirectly, for the improvement of living in the region?

2. Does the activity have definite possibilities for making good schools better in terms of broader opportunities for teachers and students?

3. What data can be obtained relative to the effectiveness of the activity? (Brown, 1942, p. 51).

According to Brown and Robinson (1946) the workshops were successful in that they stimulated among teachers professional development; illustrated principles of democratic living in and outside of the classroom; encouraged the conducting of classroom research through the development of self-assurity; developed leadership among college and high school teachers; promoted "active and intelligent teacher concern for the growth of children;" and furthered the development of community-consciousness" (pp. 58-63).

The Secondary School Study provided a vehicle for professional development for African American schools. Some significant assets of the Study included (1) increased confidence of the participating schools, (2) a collection of reports, bulletins, accounts, magazine articles, and instructional materials; (3) an enhanced awareness of institution and fellowship resources; (4) an extensive African American resource collection; and (4) an intensified workshop movement

Several recommendations came out of this study. In a Secondary School publication entitled Serving Negro Schools (1946), the Director and Associate Director provide a detailed account of the Study activities, research findings, and recommendations. Among the many recommendations, two disturbing findings emerged: (1) the Secondary
School Study had no impact on pre-service training and (2) that there was no one agency to replace trends it had initiated. To address these concerns, the final recommendation was that a permanent agency be formed with the creation of a third Commission (Brown, 1945).

Although the creation of a third Commission was proposed to the Association membership but rejected, the impact of the Secondary School Study was profound. First of all for member schools, their faculty was exposed to a new level of professional development support from which they and their students benefited greatly. Secondly, the Secondary School Study consultants were made aware of the kind of work that faculty members were engaged in and their need for continued support. Thirdly the colleges to which a fair number of these students eventually matriculated, were involved in the development of their future student body. Lastly the over one hundred contact schools were also touched by this initiative.

The Secondary School Study is indicative of the kind of work in which the Association was engaged. It certainly can provide current day educational practices with food for thought. Though the mainstream support was unavailable to their institutions, the Association developed a Study that while it shared some common elements with the Southern Association Study was shaped by the needs of its participants.

Although the Secondary School Study was the most widely touted effort of the Commission on Secondary Schools, the Commission sponsored many initiatives. Although these initiatives varied in specific ways, the
Commission remained diligent in its efforts to enhance the academic quality of African American secondary schools in the Southern Region.

**The Commission on Institutions for Higher Education**

Established to address issues germane to higher education institutions, the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education was diligent in its work to bring about significant change in its member institutions (Cozart, 1967). It focused primarily on the "problems of accreditation, internal development of Negro colleges, graduate instruction for Negroes, integrating the work of the Association with that of the Southern Association and general problems of higher education" (Payne, p. 179). As indicated by McKinney (1944), research was a primary tool, utilized by the Commission to address these issues:

During the period since the formation of this organization the Commission has been constantly engaged in the performance of its function. The many studies that have been made by the Commission have been largely exploratory. We have had neither the time nor the funds with which to carry on through scientific investigations as desired. When the Commission was organized it proceeded to contact officials of our colleges to find out the problems that they would like to have investigated. We have studied, therefore, problems that the members of this Association have regarded as urgent and fundamental (p. 18).

These studies which ranged from basic inquiries to formalized research efforts were presented at the Association's annual meetings and/or published in journals. Despite the Commission's desire to "carry on thorough scientific investigations," the financial status of the Association could not support such efforts. Consequently, the issue of funding was a
continual issue for the Commission. In fact during his tenure as Chair, McKinney, on numerous occasions requested additional funds to support proposed initiatives and reported that Commission members had to oftentimes contribute their personal funds (McKinney, 1937).

Initial Focus

At its initial meeting on May 18, 1935 at Fisk University, the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, decided to focus on the following issues over the next six months:

1. Occupational opportunities for negroes in American and curriculum offerings in relation to such need;
2. Colleges and social behavior;
3. What Adjustments or Adaptations, if any should be made in the standards or application of standards to Negro Schools?
4. What are the practices among the schools with references to: scholarship aid, athletic subsidies, standards of admission and publicity.
   (McKinney, p. 24)

In response to the issues the Commission identified at their May meeting, papers were presented at the Association’s 1935 Annual Meeting on each of the aforementioned topics. Dean V.E. Daniel of Wiley College reported on “Occupations for Functional Citizenship.” Dean J.T. Cater, Talladega College presented “What Adjustments or Adaptations if Any, Should Be Made in the Application of Standards to Negro Schools. Dean W.T.B. Williams, Tuskegee Institute presented a paper entitled “What Are the Practices in Colleges with Reference to Scholarship Aid and Athletic Subsidies.”
This pattern of response by the Commission was consistent throughout the Association's history. Based upon their assessment of them member colleges, research was conducted and reported in the form of a paper at the Annual meeting or developed into a more extensive research effort.

The Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, often took very assertive positions on important matters. For example, at its 1936 annual meeting, the Association adopted among others the following resolution: "That, we believe in a strong foundation of liberal studies for all college students regardless of their future plans or vocational choices" (p. 39). Recognizing that in 1936, colleges that in some instances openly supported liberal education were in danger of offending northern philanthropists, this stance was quite courageous (Bullock, 1967; Stanfield, 1985).

The Commission's forthright approach in addressing issues of concern among African American educational institutions became evident in 1937. At the 1937 Association Annual Meeting, the Commission identified the following issues as most critical for their member schools: (1) lack of funds and proper educational facilities; (2) the double standard to the quality of work required of students in the summer sessions and extension divisions on the one hand and in the regular sessions on the other; (3) active participation in the control and operation of all phases of the school system; (4) greater cooperative effort between the high schools and the colleges in the development of a guidance program; (5) extension of the individualized program of training; (6) continued study and research on
teacher conditions; (7) the improvement of college instruction; (8) equal access to public educational institutions; (9) continuing research into Negro life, needs, and opportunities; (10) community involvement; and (11) a study of the internal administration of our colleges. (McKinney, 1937).

While these were concerns throughout the life of the Association, the Commission’s response to their own recommendations provides an opportunity to gaze at their efforts to affect change: in their institutions, in their communities and within mainstream academia. These issues were addressed in multiple ways. According to its Ten Year Report, the Commission participated and encouraged more than fifteen investigations on issues related to African American education of which several articles were published (McKinney, 1944).

In order to gain a broader understanding of the Commission’s work, the following summary which identifies selected foci and efforts is provided.

The Commission’s Work: An Overview

A dominant issue which shaped the Association’s and its Commissions’ work was the racist funding of schools. As has been clearly documented, inequitable funding practices negatively impacted schools. In 1935 African American school sites and building equipment were less than one-fifth as great as White schools (Wilkerson, 1936). As the feeder institutions for colleges, the quality of secondary school instruction was of especial importance to the Commission on Higher Institutions. The Colleges were faced with the problem of eliminating the deficiencies of a
poor elementary and secondary education in addition to providing a normal college education” (Thompson, 1933, p. 361). Recognizing that many of the challenges faced by secondary schools were a result of inequitable funding, the Commission was diligent in its efforts to secure additional funding for these schools.

The Commission met this challenge by working to enhance the quality of their member schools thereby achieving regional approval. The Commission’s focus on regional accreditation as a route to increased funding for secondary schools was based upon the premise that increased attention on the condition of African American schools would result in better facilities, equipment, and academic programs. These improvements would come as a result of local efforts to present their segregated school system in a more positive light (Cozart, 1967). Further, schools that were not accredited were oftentimes ineligible to receive federal dollars. Consequently because in 1933, “five states did not have a single accredited Negro public school, and there are only one in Tennessee, two each in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Virginia, and eight in North Carolina,” (Thompson, 1933, p. 261) African American secondary schools faced an uphill battle.

Issues surrounding inconsistency in academic standards long plagued African American schools. However Kuyper (1938) indicated that “much of the failure of the Negro college to really ‘educate’ is due to our failure to deal concretely and constructively in our curriculum with the whole environment of the race.” Kuyper further argued that “…Most of our
college courses - judging from the catalog description - are traditional in their point of view; few courses are functional in that they present life's problems” (p. 71).

The Commission tackled the challenge of meeting the Southern Association's academic standards by identifying practices that were detrimental to achieving and maintaining high academic standards. One area of concern was the summer programs offered by many of their member institutions (McKinney). Sponsored by colleges, the summer sessions and extension programs provided professionals -- usually teachers -- an opportunity to earn continuing education credits by enrolling in these classes. Because of their popularity, colleges were dependent upon the income generated by the summer session. As well teachers were able to supplement their meager salaries. Consequently the Commission was concerned that the colleges dependence upon these programs as a source of income and teachers reliance on them to augment their salaries, led to decreased standards.

Because of the poor quality of work done in our summer schools and extension classes the Negro Colleges *** [sic] are inadvertently perpetrating ignorance and helping to complete the cycle of poor teacher, poor elementary student; poor high school student, poor teacher training college student; poor college student, poor teacher, and the cycle begins again.

As discussed earlier, the issue of academic standards was confounded by the racist practices that dictated funding, and access to staff development resources (Brown, 1946: Brown & Robinson).
After a renewed request in 1937 and expressed concerns by Fred McCuistion, the field agent of the Southern Association's Highsmith Committee, a Registrar, Bursar and Management Institute was held from June 13 - July 1, 1938 at Fisk University. Only colleges with an "A" rating were invited, although it was recommended that "berated" be invited to subsequent programs. Upon request by the Commission, this initiative was funded by the General Education Board (McKinney, 1944).

Always seeking increased control over their schools, in 1938 the Commission urged that "the Negro in several states have active participation in the control and operation of all phases of the school system. We especially recommend that Negroes be approved members of the boards of control of the state-supported schools for Negroes" (Clark, Cozart, Manley 1944, p. 34).

The Gaines decision rendered by the Supreme Court in 1938 profoundly impacted graduate education for African Americans in the South. The Gaines decision was based on a lawsuit brought by Lloyd Lionel Gaines, an African American, who sought admission to the law school of the State University of Missouri. The decision required that each state either had to admit or provide some other place within state borders which would provide for the applicants legal education offered any other citizen at the state's expense (Clement, 1939).

Due to their policies of segregation, African Americans had minimal accessibility to graduate education in the South. In order to maintain their race exclusive institutions of higher education, the Southern states
routinely provided funding for African Americans to pursue graduate study in northern schools which admitted students of color (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; At the 1938 Annual meeting, Rufus Clement indicated:

...only the District of Columbia and eight of the seventeen Southern states have made any provision whatsoever for graduate and professional education of their Negro citizens, the eight states making such provision being: Kentucky (1936), Maryland (1935), Missouri (1921), Oklahoma (1935), Tennessee (1937), Texas (1936), Virginia (1936) and West Virginia (1927)

Despite efforts by the Southern Governor’s Conference to establish regional schools which could accommodate separate graduate study, the Supreme Court’s ruling necessitated that each state provide and make available for graduate study for African Americans.

The decision was rendered on December 12, 1938, a few days following the Annual meeting of the Association, yet in anticipation of the decision, Fred McCuistion, Executive Agent of the Highsmith Committee, recommended the establishment and maintenance of equal facilities and instruction; admission to courses offered in existing state-supported institutions; and that funds be made available for state-supported institutions which were available (McCuistion, 1938).

However in 1939 the Commission went on record as opposing the establishment of regional and graduate professional schools for Negroes as proposed by the Southern Regional Education Board, if these schools were to be established on a racially segregated basis. Further, the Commission recommended that African Americans be admitted to existing state-supported graduate and professional schools and offer graduate and
professional education at one or more of the state supported African American schools on an definitive equal basis as that available to Whites (McKinney, 1939) Understanding the controversy that enveloped their statements, the Commission made them nonetheless. In fact in 1945, the Commission furthered emphasized their position on graduate opportunities for African Americans.

The Commission recommends that the members of this association take further note of the implications of the discussion and that there be continuing efforts to maintain clarity of position on the basic fundamental issues of this problem as well as to stimulate continuing appreciation and cooperation with such citizen efforts as are being contributed by the NAACP and the Southern Negro Conference for the Equalization of educational opportunity (Trenholm, 1945, p. 57).

In the 1940s increasing concerns regarding teacher/faculty preparedness elicited a call for a National Bureau to identify potential faculty. The concerns were a result of the paucity of African American teachers with adequate education and training, the attraction of public schools to potential college teachers, and increased opportunities in the northern and western areas of the United States (Thompson, 1947). Under the auspices of the Cooperative College study, which was the Commission's companion to the Commission on Secondary School's Secondary School Study, another workshop co-sponsored by the Commission, along with the Association of Negro Land-Grant Colleges, the American Teachers Association and the State Agents of Negro Schools was held from October 20 to November 14, 1941 at Atlanta University. The first workshop for African
American college teachers, it was funded with $22,000 by the General Education Board. With over sixty teachers from twenty five colleges in attendance, its intent was to "examine the philosophies behind the work being done in Negro colleges, give attention to the work itself with a view to improving it, and investigate other educational problems evolving from student-teacher relationships and community services and programs (Liston, 1943; Cannon, 1942).

In 1940, the Commission conducted an Internal Administration of Negro Colleges. This study directed by W.T.B. Williams was "a study of admissions and the effect of admissions policies upon curricula" (p. 33). The study investigated "what officials constitute the administrative staff in our colleges, the titles given to each, the duties of these officials, the responsibility entrusted to each, and just how they are related one to the other" (Elder, 1940, p. 33).

In 1943, the Commission decided to focus on the following issues: developing great teachers in our colleges, teaching the meaning of Freedom; making the College a more vital part of the community; superior students; complacency; indifference, accreditation; originality; annual reports; providing greater opportunity for students to study cultures of other races than those now being studied; the curriculum; the United States Office of Education Study - The National Study of Higher Education; and becoming approved by the Association of American Universities (McKinney, 1943).
Concerned with guidance at the college level, in 1948 the Commission began an extensive study on issues of. Directed by A.G. Macklin, High School Counselor for the State of Virginia. The study recommendations included that:

1. Colleges seek guidance workers who are grounded in guidance theory.
2. Encourage professional development in guidance.
3. Re-examine admission policies and student preparedness (Macklin, 1948, pp. 48-52).

Further the Commission recommended "that the member institutions broaden their guidance programs to better provide for persons whose interest and capacities are in fields of work other than the professions.

In 1953, The Commission took on a Study of Conditions of Faculty Service in Member Institutions. Its purpose was "to determine the current practices of member institutions with respect to many aspects of faculty service" (Stuart, 1953, p. 121). Data regarding the institutions was gathered via a survey. Mailed to sixty-two institutions, thirty-four returned the survey. Areas explored included: the status of non-teaching personnel, teaching administrators, encouragement of faculty participation in Associational meetings; faculty ranks; minimum degree requirements; faculty committee participation; faculty tenure; size of classes; student-teacher ratio; aids to research; sabbatical leaves and sick leave. The responses tabulated were based upon such a small number, that the committee decided not to make any recommendations or summary statements based upon the survey. In addition to matters related to
enhancing academic standards, the Commission also sponsored many initiatives in support of their member institutions.

In later years, the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education decided that their attention needed to be directed at issues surrounding the accreditation process, institutional indifference and complacency, and professional development.

The Commission has taken cognizance of the concern as to a re-statement of its function and recommends to the Association that further study be given to the increased participation of the Commission, as the representative of the Association, in the stimulation and discharge of matters which relate to the accreditation of Negro colleges. There is increasing evidence of a need for further attention to this problem on the part of the Association and for this recommendation that the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education develop further its discharge of this stimulative function which parallels the similar function of the parallel body of the other similar regional associations (Trehnholm, 1945, pp. 56-57).

**Association Committees**

Whether Ad Hoc or Standing, Committees of the Association were also sites for programmatic and research activities. These committees, whether short-lived or long-term, carried out important directives. Although a complete listing of the Association's committees was not attainable, a review of primary documents and supportive secondary sources, identify the following committees (Cozart, 1967; Hardy, 1977; Payne, 1957; Perry, 1975).
Executive Committee As the governing body of the Association, the Executive Committee appointed several important committees. These committees worked at providing needed programs for the development and growth of the Association's member institutions. Selected committees included:

Committee to Study the Gaines' Decision (1940) This committee was responsible for responding to the Gaines decision. The decision which required that equal opportunities for graduate study for African Americans be available within each state, was a precursor to the 1954 Brown decision. Its impact upon the Southern practice of sending African Americans students to northern schools was grave. Members of this committee included A.L. Turner, Chair, L.F. Palmer, R.B. Atwood, Winston Douglas, and Charles Thompson.

Committee to collect and distribute information concerning educational studies (1941). Concerned about the use of federal studies which focused upon African American education, this committee was charged with facilitating the proper interpretation and use of studies' findings and recommendations. Members included: J.H. Johnston, T.E. McKinney, H.R. Merry, W.A. Robinson.

Accreditation Committee (1942)/Liaison Committee (1948) Initially this committee worked with the Southern Association in drafting uniform standards. However In 1942, its work was directed at Also investigated ways to bring about full membership. Initial membership included Buel G. Gallager, Chair, Felton G. Clark, L.S. Cozart, and A.E. Manley. Upon
Gallagher's resignation from Talladega, Clark was named chair. In its first report, the Accreditation Committee asked that the Southern Association be consistent with its application of standards and committed the Association to "take definite systematic steps to stimulate Negro educational institutions to improve themselves in organization and administration, quality and work of personnel, program of studies, physical equipment and educational atmosphere." The Committee further asked the Association "to avoid giving sanction to any provision which might be interpreted as the endorsement of fostering by the South of lower standards of its people as compared with the Nation as a whole" (Report of the Accrediting Committee, 1944, p. 34).

In 1960, the committee was reconstituted, its focus was shifted to secondary schools and the membership came from the secondary schools (Cozart 1967, p. 49).

The Consultative Committee on Higher Education and the War (1943) Issues surrounding the war effort were of importance to Association members. Serving as military training sites as well as involvement with other federal initiatives during World War II was a concern among member institutions. Asserting that "every effort is being made to have the War and navy Departments make full use of the resources of the Negro Colleges and to see that Liberal Arts Colleges are not left out of the specialized training program," (Robinson, 1943, p. 53).
**Publicity Committee** (1952) This committee's purpose was to ensure that the Annual meetings got adequate press coverage before and after the convention (Cozart, 1967).

**Research committee** (1957) Appointed to identify factors impacting student performance. As will be later discussed, this committee published a study entitled *Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students*.

**Research Efforts**

Practically every phase of Negro education has suffered from the lack of available data and many situations have been embarrassed because of the double difficulty of inadequate provision and no report on what is actually provided (Trenholm, 1932, pp. 37-38)

Research on African American education whether conducted by the Association or others was critical in bringing to the fore issues that impacted the future of education. An understanding of issues impacting African Americans and African American education was essential in order to develop and carry out programs of service. Consequently the sponsorship and review of such research efforts was a major focus of the Association. The next section reviews major research efforts initiated and or conducted by the Association.
This initiative was undertaken by a special committee of the Commission on Institutions on Higher Education. The purpose of this study was to identify environmental factors that could negatively impact African American youth (Cozart, 1967). These factors were identified by posing the following questions:

1. What are the outstanding factors in the social, recreational, aesthetic and religious life of Negro youth in communities studies?
2. What programs exist for this group?
3. What are the unmet needs of the communities along these lines?
4. What steps might be taken by the colleges and other agencies to improve the resources of the communities in the line of these needs? (Liston, 1937, pp. 30-31).

Committee members included Dean A.A. Taylor, Fisk; Registrar J.P. Whittaker, Atlanta University; and Dean H. Liston, Knoxville College, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Head of the Department of Sociology, and later President of Fisk served as Research Adviser. This study gleaned data from more than fifty participants, including colleges, elementary and secondary schools, and social and civil organizations. Summarized in five categories - educational inadequacy, restricted employment; deep-rooted discriminatory patterns; lack of vocational guidance; and lack of curricular (Cozart, 1967, pp. 33-34).

To this end colleges designated a staff member to collect data and furnish information to the Study Committee. After two sessions, the first

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62 This study is referred to as the "Negro Youth Study" by Cozart (p. 29).
held at Fisk in February, 1936 and the second in Knoxville in April of the same year, the recommendations based on responses given in over one hundred ninety questionnaires were decided. The recommendations were that there needed to be an adjustment in the curricular offerings of the institutions to better reflect the needs of the students; the schools needed to enhance their community service role, and there was a need for better social relations and inter-community development (Liston, 1939)

Research Committee (1957)

Chaired by Horace Mann Bond, this committee published Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students (1959). Over 10,000 copies of the report were disseminated and the study was received enthusiastically and tried to address standardized tests and African American students. Essentially discovering that poor reading comprehension was responsible for below par performance on standardized tests, these study challenged colleges and secondary schools to focus on the development of reading and other remedial initiatives.

Three of the seventeen specific factors identified as probable factors for lack of achievement: school adequacy, motivation and teaching. Overall conclusions of study 1) performance of African American students can be changed with the development of remedial programs; 2) professional responsibility of administrators, supervisors and teachers to implement such programs and 3) uncertain of basis/origin of scholastic differences (St. Clair, 1959 p. 63)

Federal Studies
Federal studies have long been a common in African American research. Because mainstream academicians were not concerned with African American education, research on this population was mainly a federally-sponsored activity. State, local and federal agencies heavily relied upon these studies in making decisions about African American education. As a result these studies were of much importance, and had profound and pervasive effects on African American education (Stanfield, 1985).

As discussed in Chapter one, the 1916 Jones Study was considered a biased researcher who showed partiality to schools for Negroes directed or controlled by Whites (Woodson, 1922). This section briefly describes three studies that followed the 1916 Jones Study. The first study directed by Arthur J. Klein focused exclusively on colleges and universities and was published in 1928 under the title *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*. The second study published in 1932 and directed by Ambrose Caliver focused on secondary education and was entitled *Secondary Education for Negros*. The third study *The National Survey of Higher Education for Negros* was published in 1942. The U.S. Office of Education conducted this study as a result of an Association request. A cursory review of the findings and recommendations of these studies will illuminate some of the issues impacting African American education.

Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities (1928 Klein Study)

As earlier stated, the push for this study came from the Association of Colleges of Negro Youth (ACNY) and others concerned about the validity of the 1916 study in rating graduate and medical school applicants. Devoted
entirely to higher education, seventy nine schools in nineteen states and Washington, D. C. along with nineteen State Departments of Education participated in the Study. Assistance and furnishment of information came from various educational boards and foundations of seven church boards. With the total cost of the study at $16,000, the Phelps-Stokes fund contributed $2,900, the participating colleges contributed $4,300 and the Bureau of Education picked up the remaining costs. Not as widely distributed as Jones' 1916 study (2,000 copies printed), this study served as the impetus for the inclusion of African American colleges in the regional accreditation process. (Agnew, 1970; Fleming 1955) According to Robinson (1929)

This study is thoroughgoing and at the same time sympathetic and has not caused any such storm of protest as that with which the Jones survey was received by Negroes; nor do the Negro colleges suffer so severely from a scientific and critical checking as might have been feared. The survey really is a splendid commentary on the straightforwardness and efficiency of Negro administration of Negro colleges (p. 22).

The schools were evaluated in eleven areas: administration, physical plant, preparatory school, admission requirements, graduation requirements, enrollment, degrees granted, faculty, educational equipment, extracurricular activities, and service to society. The survey illustrated the great strides made in African American education between 1916 and 1928. Some interesting data gleaned from the study include that there were approximately 12,000 African Americans in college and each

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63 Nine schools were owned, governed and controlled by independent bodies of trustees and privately support; thirty-one schools were under ownership and control of northern white denominational church boards and privately supported; seventeen were owned and governed by Negro denominational church organizations or conferences; and twenty-two were state owned and controlled including land-grant and normal and teacher training colleges. ( )
college had an average enrollment of 152. Total endowments included $14,135,768 which was the combined total for Hampton and Tuskegee. The remaining 77 schools share $6,577,928, with the average endowment per school at $85,426. The Study also indicated an increase in the annual income of Negro education from $3,283,000 to 8,560,000, an 275% increase since Jones' study.

The Study's major findings and recommendations were to increase concentration on college work and decrease emphasis on elementary and secondary schooling. The Study also noted issues such as lack of financial support, inadequate library facilities, absence of scientific equipment and need for increased professional development for teachers and administrators.

Secondary Education for Negroes (1932 Study)

Directed by Ambrose Caliver, former Dean of Fisk and the first African American government specialist in African American Education, prior to this study information on private and public African American secondary schools was scant (Caliver, 1932). The study was "devoted chiefly to inquiries concerning efforts to improve secondary education rather than merely to a description of its present status (Caliver, 1933, p. 3).

As of the 1930 census, there were 11,891,143 African Americans in the United States with 9,420,747 residing in the South (Caliver, 1932). At the time of this study there were over 9,000 Negro private high school students and approximately 900,000 African Americans boys and girls of high school age were not in school (Caliver, 1932). The study found that that 16.5% of Negroes of high school age, reside in 230 counties which had no high
schools; 20.5% of Negroes of High School age, spanning 195 counties have no four year high schools, and 63% of Negroes of high school age in 975 counties have four year high schools.

With its focus on secondary schools, 421 schools out of 1,316 identified, participated. The areas under review included: the availability of secondary education for Negroes; the organization of schools, the Negro high school staff; Negro high school pupils; curriculum and extracurricular offerings; administration and supervision; and housing and equipment. The study concluded that there were notable differences in African American and White schools in the South and throughout the country. Specific recommendations were:

1. Principal and teacher should vigorously work on modernizing practices and procedures.
2. Principal and teachers should exhibit greater interest in cooperating in national studies and other movements designed to improved educational conditions among Negroes.
3. To establish larger high schools for Negroes by consolidating smaller ones already exiting and by merging school districts.
4. Courses in Negro history be added to the programs of studies of Negro high schools.
5. Provide secondary schools for 158,939 Negroes of high school age in 230 counties of the South in which no Negro high schools exist.
6. Provide 4-year facilities for 197,242 negroes in 195 counties where no four year high school is in operation (Caliver, 1932, pp. 120-121).

Thus its final recommendation was "that the support of secondary education be so increased and equitably distributed and the standards so raised as to approximate as nearly as possible an equal educational opportunity for all youth, regardless of condition and race." (p.121)
The National Survey of Higher Education for Negroes' conducted between 1940-1941, purpose was "to assemble and interpret such social, economic and educational data as will indicate programs of higher education needed and to indicate the nature of the education services now rendered to meet those needs" (Jenkins, 1944, p. 74). This study was called for by the Association in the fall of 1937 when it adopted a resolution requesting that the U.S. Office of Education embark upon a study "to determine the areas of educational concentration of specialization upon which the various colleges should embark (Kelly, 1939, p. 160). Association advisory members included Horace M. Bond, Rufus E. Clement, Charles S. Johnson and Charles H. Thompson. The two-year Study was organized in four parts:

1. Social Setting of institutions as background for understanding educational problems
2. Demographics of higher institutions and Negro population
3. Evaluation of quality of educational programs in Negro colleges
4. Summaries and Recommendations

In preparation for the dissemination of the study, in 1940 the Association formed a committee to address the upcoming findings with representatives from the Association of Land Grant Colleges, the Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars, and the American Teachers Association. The committee met on Friday, January 7, 1941 at Fisk University to discuss how they could assure the proper utilization of the findings of this study.

A finding of major import in matters related to curriculum was that "In none of the states with dual systems of institutions of higher education of Negroes offer anywhere near the variety of curriculum available to the
institution for white persons (Jenkins, 1944, p. 75). In order to ensure that the 1942 Study was utilized properly, a meeting of various African American organizations was held at Fisk on January 7, 1941. The representatives in attendance indicated that they did not view the Survey as a panacea for the challenges faced by African American post secondary schools, instead, they believed it could “provide a general overview of needs which are to be met and a picture of how institutions are now meeting those needs. What a given institution’s objectives shall be, what curricular it shall offer, and the like, are questions the institution itself must determine by a rigorous self-study” (Jenkins, 1944, p.7).

When considered singly, these federal studies had varying degrees of significance for African American educational institutions. However the intensified research focus upon African American education provided a legitimize springboard from which the Association and its members could call fro increased support and funding.

Summary

As has been clearly illustrated, the work of the Association was not limited to narrow notions of the organization and its members. Directly or indirectly, the Association influenced the efforts of many diverse agencies, organizations and individuals. These efforts when considered together fostered a changed consensus among the dominant group. This changed consensus altered the traditional “way of doing business” and cleared the path for the inclusion (albeit marginal) of African American educational institutions within the larger academic community.
The next chapter focuses upon the Association and its relationships. The nature of interactions between and among Association members, Southern Association members, philanthropic board leaders and local, state, and federal is especially revealing. While acknowledging that the dominant narrative shapes, informs and directs the formal arrangement of relationships, there is another "everyday" arrangement which is ambiguous and shifting. It is gravely important that African Americans operate, sometimes simultaneously, within both arrangements. By examining the Associations these relationships, the overt and covert realities and multiple interpretation of those realities will be examined.
CHAPTER 4

PLANTING THE SEEDS OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT: THE ASSOCIATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS

...paradoxical as it may seem, the movement from separation to integration is usually over a segregated road. In the case of the Association, its leadership was challenged by the anomaly as well as by a sense of history not only to deal as effectively as possible with the problems and patterns in the education of Negroes, but also to engage its diplomacy with the calculus of full membership in the Southern Association (Cozart, 1967, xi-xi).

Cognizant that membership in the Southern Association would come as a result of a cooperative rather than a combative approach, leaders of African American educational institutions acted cautiously. Due to the nature of the times, the development of amicable relationships was essential to maintain and garner the influence that the Association needed to affect change within the Southern educational terrain. Further by in large, African American education had long been controlled by Whites. As revealed in Chapter one, the Freedman’s Bureau, missionary and industrial philanthropists as well as various state and federal agencies had long been intimately involved and in many instances controlled African American education.

Relationships will be explored with particular emphasis on the philanthropic agencies, the Southern Association, contemporaneous organizations, and civil rights initiatives.
It is important to contextualize the nature of these relationships within the social culture of the South. During this period, relationships between African Americans and Whites existed within the Jim Crow paradigm. Consequently matters such as representation at national meetings was influenced by Jim Crow racism. For example, in 1936 the National Youth Administration's Student Aid Conference invited the Association president to attend. Although as president W.A. Robinson, an African American, was formally invited, it was understood that he could not attend. Instead an unnamed White member, "was selected because of Mr. Robinson's inability to participate in the conference." (1936 Association Proceedings, p. 35). In fact as late as 1945 W.E.B. DuBois complained about the American Association of University Professors choice of meeting sites:

I think that the persistent policy which you follow in spite of our protest of holding your meetings, national and local, in places where your Negro members are not allowed to attend is not only unfair but contemptible. I do not wish, therefore, any further connection with an organization that persists in such conduct (Weinberg, 1977, p. 97).

Northern Philanthropists

From the time of its founding the Association had a intimate relationship with northern philanthropists. According to Robinson (1936), these relationships were somewhat strained. He asserts

Negro leaders, however, deplore the fact that there has been so little recognition of the need of participation by negroes in the educational leadership set up by philanthroic boards interested in promoting the interests of Negro education. The few exceptions of Negroes placed in advisory positions where they may participate in formulating policies relating to Negro education have seemed unusually successful and have given Negroes confidence and encouragement (p. 398).
As the initial sponsor of the Highsmith Committee, along with the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board (GEB) was a major financial and resource for the Association. The GEB's influence on African American education and educational institutions is without parallel. From the sponsorship of the Negro State Agents to the funding of the Secondary School Study, the GEB was intimately involved with the Association and its member institutions.

During its history, the GEB gave over $62 million dollars to Negro education but gave over 210 billion to White educational initiatives (Fosdick, 1962). Until 1914 most of its support went to Tuskegee and Hampton (1928-1929 GEB Annual Report). However in order to consider the multiple ways in which the General Education Board impacted the Association, it is critical to acknowledge that it operated out of the prevalent worldview that insisted upon the intellectual inferiority of African Americans. The first chair of the General Education Board, William H. Baldwin buttressed this when he announced his opposition to the “so-called higher education of Negroes and conceded that the Black man should not be educated out of his environment” (Wolters, 1975, p.11). Yet the long arm of the General Education Board, touched African American education at every level.

Although the GEB was clear about its desire to control and direct African American education rather than stimulate it, its impact upon the Association was profound. (Anderson, 1988) Although to identify a particular point when the GEB began to influence the Association, however
the funding of the Highsmith Committee is the logical starting point. The work of the Highsmith Committee was funded by the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Foundation until 1938. In its 1929-30 Annual Report, the GEB comments on its decision to fund the Highsmith Committee:

Negro colleges have never been rated in the manner that colleges for white persons have been rated in order to obtain approval by associations organized for the purpose of maintaining standards. Recently the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has interested itself in this problem, with a view eventually to grading Negro institutions according to the same standards as those applied to the white institutions included in the approved lists of the Association. To pay the salary and traveling expenses of a director for this work and other expenses involved, the General Education Board made an appropriation of $35,000 to be available over a three-year period. Mr. Arthur D. Wright, formerly state agent for Negro rural schools in Virginia and now professor of education at Dartmouth College, has been selected by the Association to direct this activity (p. 60)."

In addition throughout the Association’s history, the GEB provided funding for several Association initiatives, including the Secondary School Study, $73,822.67, and the Cooperative College Study, $23,120.00. (Cozart, 1967). In addition according to Cozart (1967), in 1955 the General Education Board also granted $45,000 to assist with the inspections of African American colleges not yet rated. Clearly the General Education Board had a significant impact upon the development of the Association. Despite DuBois (1918) assessment of the motives of the General Education Board,

the great dominating philanthropic agency, the General Education Board, long ago surrendered to the white South by practically saying that the educational needs of the white South must be attended to before any attention should be paid to the education of Negroes; that the Negro must be trained according to the will of the white South and not as the Negro
The Association was a regular recipient of its grants. The amiable relationship between the General Education Board and the Association was probably a result of many factors. Firstly the General Education Board had long been involved with African American schooling at every level and as such its influence was vast. From the State Agents to secondary school principals, most educational institutions in the Southern region were in some way connected to the General Education Board. Secondly the General Education Board had a history of funding specific colleges, particularly those which promoted industrial training (1928-29, GEB Annual Report). Therefore it had a vested interest in assisting those schools in becoming accredited (General Education Board, 1929-30).

The Board also granted fellowships to African American educators "with a view to strengthening the faculties and administrative staffs of institutions for the higher education of Negroes. Toward this effort, $50,000 was allocated in 1930. In addition to the GEB, other philanthropic agencies supported Association initiatives. For example, the Southern Education Foundation provided funding to assist schools become accredited by the Southern Association's 1961 deadline. Allocating over $27,000, those funds were crucial as schools participated in the self-study process (Cozart, 1967).

Finally, the influence of the GEB and the Rosenwald Fund extended to another organization which in some way has continued the work of the
Association. In 1942 F.D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee and active member of the Association, met with a group of HBCU presidents and discussed cooperative fundraising efforts. In 1949, this group which became the United Negro College Fund, was provided start-up dollars by the GEB and the Rosenwald Fund. In keeping with Association practices, initially only schools approved and rated by the Southern Association were eligible for membership in the United Negro College Fund (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971).

**The Southern Association**

The regional accrediting agencies have done a very good job in promoting the growth of the institutions in their area. However, because of the artificial relations of the Negro institutions in the South with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools ... they have not felt the full impact of the influence and benefits that were anticipated when the Southern Association agreed to rated them in 1929 (McKinney, 1948, p. 175).

An ahistorical examination of the Southern Association would not benefit this analysis. As members of the dominant group and gatekeepers and sustainers of the status quo, the organization was operating within the normative narrative. The Southern Association was in part controlled not only by its member schools and the philanthropic boards which funded many of its activities but more systemically by the society in which it was born. Consequently McKinney’s (1948) statement that “Artificial relations exist between Southern Association and the Association and as a result Negro colleges have not fully benefited from regional accreditation” (p. 175), is in keeping with Jim Crow ideology. Although African American
institutions were "given the opportunity" to be rated by a special committee of the Southern Association, they were not provided access to the supportive services, consultation, and annual meetings that were afforded White institutions. In short, their status, as indicated by their approval rather than accredited status was artificial.

While the Southern Association membership was not available to Association schools, the Southern Association, particularly the Highsmith Committee, had an active role in Association matters. Members of the Highsmith Committee were present at most Association Annual and Executive meetings. Some meetings were even held in the Southern Association headquarters.

Yet the rank and file members of the Southern Association were not willing to open their organization to African Americans.64

It is discouraging to note that most of our leading Southern white educators are among the last to recognize this fact (McKinney, 1950, p. 51).

Throughout the organization's history, Association members sought greater participation in the Negro Approval Process and inclusion in the Southern Association. For example in 1940, the Association's executive committee recommended the exchange of fraternal delegates between the Southern Association and the Association. In addition at their 1940 Annual

64 Interestingly there was a committee on Latin-America relations which included Cuba, Guatemala, West Indies, Peru, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Chile (1956 Southern Association Proceedings)
Meeting, Association members voted “to take whatever steps necessary to “procure for each member school, literature and publications by the Southern Association” (Cozart, 1940, p. 19).

Despite these overt attempts for inclusion, they were unsuccessful in gaining ground in their struggle for accreditation. In fact as late as 1949, McKinney expressed his dismay that

It is disappointing note that the relationship between the Colleges for Negroes and whites has improved very little in twenty years. Our educational leadership in the States is far behind in attitude and liberalism from that found in so many other groups (p. 70).

Although initially this position seems historically plausible, these segregated organizations continued until 1957 and finally ended with the dissolution of the Association in 1965. While acknowledging that the back of legal segregation was not broken until 1957, it is significant to understand the import of the longevity of the Southern Association’s exclusionary practices. It is also important to acknowledge that these years marked tumultuous times for the South and the nation as a whole. The Great Depression, the Northern Migration, President Roosevelt’s New Deal Social Programs, World War II, the Brown v. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (1954), and the Civil Rights Movement led to monumental changes that affected most every aspect of life in America. (Bennett, 1969).

Whites could no longer justify segregation and inequality without being named racist. This new response to traditional white supremacist epistemology and behavior left the Southern Association and its practices
vulnerable to national critique. In response to or perhaps anticipation of this reaction, in 1955 the Southern Association offered the following rationale for its continued involvement in African American schools:

When work with Negro colleges and schools was begun twenty five years ago, it was understood that within a few years the Association of Negro Colleges and secondary schools would take over direction of its own affairs. Instead, that organization has become increasingly dependent upon our Association to provide leadership, and national recognition for its schools and colleges (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1955, p. 206).

Clearly based upon Southern Association and Association proceedings and various secondary sources, the Southern Association clearly understood its role in the affairs of the Association. Yet by 1955 Southern Association members were likely concerned about external perceptions. Consequently their official statement or rationale for not extending membership to African American educational institutions was attributed to disinterest on the part of the Association membership. This misrepresentation is clearly revisionist historicization at work.

**Association Leaders**

Black college presidents in the era of segregation had a difficult leadership role to play. They were supposed to represent power and influence in the black community and yet not allow it to consume their personal identity. They were expected to educate properly black youth despite receiving insufficient state and federal funds. They were to serve as outspoken advocates of civil rights at the risk of being fired by racist whites. The magnitude of the responsibilities they faced was endless and the circumstances in which they worked created a tightrope black college presidents were forced to walk (Smith, 1994, p. 59).
Smith's (1994) description of the difficult position in which African American educational leaders were placed, is the necessary basis for this discussion. The challenging dilemma faced by these leaders was not insignificant -- to the leaders, the schools, nor their communities.

The leadership of African American colleges and secondary schools was often chosen based upon his or her adherence to mainstream or philanthropic ideology (Russell, 1981; Sherer, 1977; Stanfield, 1986). Once chosen, these leaders were expected to embrace and promote an educational philosophy that did not challenge the status quo. This dilemma, essentially occupying a "puppet" position, led some leaders to focus heavily on matters of insignificance. Thompson (1973) explains this phenomenon in the following manner:

"...the peculiar historical conditions experienced by Black colleges have conspired to exaggerate their administrative roles in such a way that they have become considerably more central, even overshadowing, then they are in white colleges (p. 221)."

White members constituted a significant segment of early Association leadership. As the first elected president and vice-president, Thomas Elsa Jones and Buell Gallager certainly impacted the direction of the organization. Bullock (9167)attributes their leadership roles as a conscious effort to control African American Schools. He asserts that these White leaders among others were "strategically located in the Negro's private world of color and skillfully designed to inculcate those values"
which would adequately adjust the Negro people to their caste conditions was the Negro schools, public and private" (p. 156). Martin's (1962) assertions support Bullock's claim:

As public schools for Negroes became more numerous, leaders of the race were conspicuous by their absence as members of policy-making bodies. The control of Negro schools was rarely vested in the hands of Negro administrators" (Martin, 1966, p. 66).

However African Americans sought to gain leadership of their educational institutions (Cozart, 1967). In fact by 1948, only seven of the seventy colleges approved by the Southern Association had White Presidents: Talladega, Stillman, Spelman, Paine, Edwards Southern Christian Institute, Tougaloo and Knoxville (McKinney, 1948).

Leader Profiles

Although some leaders have already been discussed, the following brief profiles provide additional information.

Aaron Brown A Talladega graduate, Brown was very much involved in the work of the Commission on Secondary Schools. (Jones & Richardson, 1990). Brown's dissertation (1944) on the accreditation of African American secondary schools was very greatly utilized by the Association to highlight the inequities that plagued African American secondary schooling.

J.T. Cater By 1944, Cater was considered the foremost Dean of all southern black colleges. A 1909 Atlanta University graduate, Dean Cater earned an additional baccalaureate degree from Harvard in 1912.
Dean Cater is credited with establishing Talladega as one of the premier African American institutions during his more than 30 years at the institution. Recognized as a first rate liberal arts college, Talladega received an “B” approval rating from the Southern Association in 1930. A year later, in 1931, the institution received an “A” approval rating.

Unfortunately Dean Cater’s tenure with Talladega ended in turmoil. Appointed Acting President in 1943, he was replaced by A.D. Beittle, an European American. Following a protracted battle with Beittle, Cater was demoted from Dean of Students to Professor of Education. The 1952 demotion occurred while Cater was on a two year paid leave of absence. Disgruntled with the institution and its leaders, Cater eventually resigned and became President of Tougaloo College (Tougaloo, Mississippi) in 1960 (Jones & Richardson, 1990).

Ambrose Caliver (1894-1962), who had served as Dean of Fisk University, was appointed to the office in 1930 as the first government specialist in Negro education. As Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes, Caliver directed many of the federal studies which focused on African American education. In 1952 he was appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Education (Martin, 1962, p. 66).

Rufus Clement (1900-1967) Born in Salisbury, North Carolina, Clement was a 1919 Graduate of Livingston College. In 1925, he was named academic dean of his alma mater, becoming the youngest academic dean in America. Named Dean of Louisville Municipal College in 1936, and later
president of Atlanta University, Dr. Clement’s leadership in African American institutions of higher learning was significant and varied.

Moreover, Dr. Clement’s involvement and influence in the field of education is reflected in his leadership roles in various organizations. He served as president of the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars; president of National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; and President of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

While at Atlanta University, Dr. Clement received his Ph.D. from Northwestern, and was instrumental in fostering the development of the newly formed Graduate School. Following his work in Higher Education, Dr. Clement was elected to the Atlanta city school board in 1955. His election victory, which made him the first African American to hold an elective office in Georgia since Reconstruction” marked another significant accomplishment in his career (Bacote, 1969, p. 371).

Charles S. Johnson (1893-1956) A long time student and protege of University of Chicago sociologist Robert E. Park, Johnson was named the first African American President of Fisk University in 1946. Before ascending to the presidency, Johnson served as Director of Research at Fisk University. As co-director of the Race Relations Program of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and in this role, Johnson directed and sponsored many studies which focused on aspects of African American life. Johnson’s research knowledge was very much in demand, consequently his research foci and sponsorship varied (Stanfield, 1985).
Thomas E. Jones The first president of the Association, Dr. Jones, a White man, was president of Fisk University from 1926-1946. Under Jones, Fisk University was the first and only African American college to receive the highest approval rating of A in 1930. As previously discussed, the significance of Jones' involvement in the Association cannot be underestimated. Jones' direct involvement in the development of African American colleges ended in 1946 when he resigned from Fisk to accept the presidency of his alma mater, Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. (McKinney, 1945),

William A. Robinson A longtime advocate of African American education, Robinson's 1926 speech at the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools convention and subsequent "letter writing campaign" was instrumental in gaining regional approval for African American educational institutions. Previously a North Carolina State Department of Education official, Robinson was named principal of Atlanta University's Laboratory School in 1931. Robinson served in various leadership roles with the Association including president and director of the Secondary School Study from 1942-1946 (Bacote, 1969, Cozart, 1967).

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955) Although she emerged from humble beginnings, Mary McLeod Bethune was a nationally recognized educator, leader, and organizer. With a few dollars and much determination and zeal, in 1904 Mrs. Bethune founded the Bethune Institute for Girls in Daytona Beach, Florida. Although the college merged
with Cookman Institute in 1922 to become Bethune-Cookman College, Mrs. Bethune remained actively involved in higher education (Giddings, 1984).

At the Association’s founding in 1934, Mrs. Bethune was present and named to the Executive Committee. Although her institution remained a member of the Association, Mrs. Bethune’s involvement in the leadership of the Association waned. This probably was in part due to her 1936 appointment as director of the Division of Negro Affairs or National Youth Advisor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1882-1961) Mrs. Brown was named to the Executive Committee of the Association in 1934. Although she was very vocal during the 1934 meeting, Mrs. Brown’s involvement appears to have been sporadic. However her school, the Alice Freeman Palmer Institute (Sedalia, North Carolina), founded retained membership until 1952.

Contemporaneous Organizations

During this period, there were multiple African American educational organizations attempting to make inroads into the larger academic community. Because they oftentimes shared the same goal, the Association at times cooperated and sponsored joint programs with these organizations. According to Dewey (1935) the four major African American educational organizations during this period were the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATSC), the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, the Conference of Presidents of Land-Grant Colleges, and the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars
in Negro Schools. These organizations existed not only because of their common issues, but also their exclusion from mainstream organizations.

As previously indicated, the push for southern regional accreditation was a joint National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools' (NATCS) and Association for Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY) effort. The NATCS, the African American counterpart to the National Education Association (NEA), was very assertive in its efforts on behalf of secondary schools. As well, the National Association played an integral role in preparing African American colleges for regional inspections. According to T.E. McKinney (1948)

> The National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro schools is responsible for the wholesome improvement made in the colleges just prior to accreditation. The standards of these colleges would have been much lower had it not been for this organization, which brought together the major administrative officers in Negro colleges (p. 31).

It is also important to note that most of the organizations had a common membership. Consequently the work carried out under the name of different organizations, oftentimes reflected the work of the same people. In fact so prevalent was the issue of shared foci and membership, the Association attempted to facilitate a common meeting site for these bodies.

In 1938 a "committee to study the practicability of bringing together at one time and place the annual meetings of various national and regional organizations which affected the educational problems of Negroes (Heinburg, 1938, pp. 30-31).
The importance of these organizations was significant, not only because of the invaluable services they provided to their membership but also because of the unique position of African American educational leaders and institutions. Due to racist practices, African American teachers were denied membership privileges in mainstream educational organizations, particularly in the Southern states. Consequently professional training development for African American teachers was greatly limited. As well without voice, neither African American teachers nor the schools in which they worked influenced mainstream educational practices.

In addition to educational organizations, social/political organizations also received some attention from the Association. The NAACP, which was the most prominent civil rights organization during the Association's activity indeed a friend of the Association. The first mention of the NAACP appears in an Association 1939 resolution, it resolved:

That an expression of appreciation be sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in recognition of the successes achieved in its efforts to secure for the colored people their civil rights in the matter of educational opportunities in state tax supported institutions, and that this Association take the necessary steps which will enable it to cooperate with the NAACP in the furtherance of these efforts (DeCosta, 1939, p.29).

This resolution clearly indicates the Association's commitment to the goals of the NAACP, at least in the area of educational opportunities. The Association longtime concerned with racist school funding practices;
apparently saw the NAACP’s efforts as beneficial to their membership. More
evidence of the Association’s support of the NAACP is their 1940 decision to
grant the NAACP access to their mailing list.

In 1944, in the midst of their continuing struggle with the Southern
Association over the uneven application of regional standards, the
Association was even more adamant about their continued commitment to
the NAACP. A 1944 resolution indicated that

we commend the program of the NAACP to establish legal
bases for equality of educational opportunities for Negro youth,
and we reaffirm our support of the program. We urge our
member institutions to encourage the organization of high
school and college chapters in their respective institutions and
youth councils in their local communities.

Collaboration between the Association and the NAACP was a
powerful strategy to challenge and ultimately dismantle Jim Crow
schooling. This liaison, while strategically sound, was politically
dangerous. Industrial philanthropists and other financial supporters of
African American education, often withdrew or halting funding to those
schools who aligned themselves with the NAACP. Therefore the
Association’s encouragement of college chapters and community youth
councils was indeed a radical move on the part of the leadership.

Summary

The Association’s relationships speak to the complexity of the
struggle for access within mainstream educational institutions. Their
words and deeds had to be well-chosen in order to continue to progress
toward their ultimate goal. In considering the difficult position in which the Association members found themselves, Paul Laurence Dunbar's famous poem "We Wear the Mask" is fitting:

We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,
This debt we pay to human guile;
With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
And mouth with myriad subtleties

Why should the world be over-wise,
In counting all our tears and sighs?
Nay, let them only see us, while
We wear the mask.

We smile, but, O great Christ,
our cries
To thee from tortured souls arise.
We sing, but oh the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile;
But let the world dream otherwise,
We wear the mask!

The final chapter revisits the guiding questions of this research, and offers suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Basic, therefore, is the central idea that our current educational and social revolution was never intended, but has developed instead out of liberating responses elicited by the nation's efforts to maintain the status quo; that Negro education in the South repeatedly served as the main leverage for this movement; and despite purposeful efforts to the contrary, has been pushing the movement toward the complete emancipation of the Negro American as a person (Bullock, 1967, p. viii-ix).

Bullock's (1967) words support the belief that the initial conception of education for the masses in the United States, was directed to a specific group for a specific purpose. Namely the maintenance and perpetuation of the social, political, and economic structure which ensured the dominance of middle-class Whites, especially White males. Therefore with infusion of peoples other than the middle-class European males into a schools, a "natural" education hierarchy arose which favored homogeneity within the educational system. The role-allocating hierarchy relegated persons to be educated within their prescribed social status (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Spring, 1990). As such this research is not concerned with presenting an "positivistic rendition of the events" as perceived from a dominant perspective, it is instead committed to contextualizing the Association
within the hegemonic structure which shaped and informed its founding, its work and eventual cessation. While cognizant that an historical study resists a "neat retelling" and overlap and repetition are natural elements of such a narrative, the following categories are provided to identify the four significant periods of the Association:

1929-1934. This period marked the beginning of the work of the Southern Association's Highsmith Committee (Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools) in 1929. In 1934, the ACNY reorganized as the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

1934-1951. During this seventeen year period, the Highsmith Committee approved over 600 African American secondary schools and colleges. As well, the Association worked very closely with its member institutions to bring about approval while serving as an advocacy organization for its member schools.

1951-1957. The Highsmith recommended its own dissolution in 1951. Consequently from 1951 through 1957, African American schools were rated by the Southern Association's Accrediting Committee. A period filled with high hopes and bitter disappointment, African American schools would not be admitted to the Southern Association for six years.

1957-1965. In 1957, the Southern Association unanimously voted to accept African American educational institutions as full members. However because these schools were required to be re-evaluated, this period marked a critical time for the members of the Association. Those schools
which had been previously “approved” as well as schools seeking initial approval had to prepare to be inspected. In 1961, the Jim Crow approval list was discontinued and all schools inspected and deemed deserving were granted accreditation and membership in the Southern Association. After settling its final matters, the Association officially disbanded in 1965.

This study had simultaneous functions. As an analysis of the Association, this study reveals the societal forces which have historically impacted African American education. By foregrounding Southern dominant ideology as manifested in Jim Crow laws, this study illustrates the connect between ideology and everyday practices. These practices when considered outside of context in which they occur, do not convey their systemic properties. As a result, a surface analysis of the Association does not lend itself to an understanding that would facilitate change.

Clearly during these periods, the Association was involved in work critical to the development of its member institutions. Although these chronological categories provide a structure to review the Association and its work, a contextual analysis which speaks to the guiding questions of this research is necessary.

How did the Association and its work serve as a strategy to challenge the dominant structure?

As a strategy, the Association problematized the dominant ideology that insisted upon the inferiority of African Americans and the unimportance of African American schooling. By its very existence, the Association essentially made African American institutions visible to
previously blind eyes. As a result White educational leaders, as well as national, regional, and local agencies were forced to address the issues facing these schools.

The Association’s work also challenged the dominant structure that excluded African American Schools. Denied participation in the regional accrediting process, the condition of African American schools was not visible beyond its immediate community. Thus once the conditions of these schools was revealed, those in power were forced to find new ways to justify inequities.

In addition, the approval of these schools challenged mainstream mythology surrounding African American’s capacity for education; allowed for African American educational leaders to extend their professional participation beyond local boundaries; provided African American principals and institutional leaders more direct access to educational agencies and organizations, so that he or she could likely take on issues previously and historically silenced by the White county superintendents; and provided African American schools and educators a vehicle through which various programs and studies could be initiated.

It is our experience that racial segregation invariably results in racial discrimination and that it also contributes to the moral disintegration of the nation or group which permits its existence. We therefore unhesitatingly condemn this practice wherever it is to be found in American life as being unchristian and undemocratic. We feel that the continuation of racial segregation in education is unsound and fraught with grave consequences to the nation and to the world community of which we are so vital a part.
We believe that the time has come when this Association should speak out against any extension or buttressing of the system of racial segregation in education and by this resolution we so act (Pope, 1947, pp. 32-33).

This example is indicative of the spirit of similar resolutions (1941, 1943, 1949, 1957 Association Proceedings) that also called for inclusion and an end to racial discrimination. In addition a committee, whose membership included C.H. Thompson and Rufus Clement of the Commission on Higher Institutions urged the amendment of the Education Finance Act of 1949 which basically called for the legal protection and of equitable distribution of federal funds to African American and White schools. All of these efforts support Cozart's (1967) insistence that "the Association was vigilant in its efforts to influence legislation affecting education and equal opportunities for work and a fair chance to participate in the affairs of the nation" (p. 64).

How should this knowledge should inform our epistemological understanding of African American educational history?:

The problematicatization of the dominant narrative is the essential element of a transformed educational epistemology (Gordon, 1993). Therefore an understanding of the way in which the dominant ideology has done harm influences our interpretation of African American educational history. A reinterpretation of African American educational history through an institutional lens - clearly illustrates strategic and deliberate acts.

In response to social, economic and/or political crises, leaders of African American educational institutions, community members and
others have historically come together to address and to develop strategies to challenge normative notions about the positionality of African American education and educational institutions within the dominant framework (Bond, 1934; Franklin, 1984; McPherson, 1994).

Epistemologically, this flies in the face of the dominant ideology which has named African Americans as objects rather than subjects in their quest for access to education (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1994; Franklin, 1984). Clearly the Association, despite the oppressive Jim Crow structure in which it operated, was assertive in its efforts to enhance the African American schooling experience. Likewise, my mother, in spite of the white supremacist ideology and its gatekeeper that attempted to “direct and control her education,” she consciously strategized in ways that conflicted with the prescribed dictates that sought to shape her life.

How is this relevant to our present day educational practices?

This research has multiple implications for educational practice. First of all, it clearly illustrates the multiple realities that have existed and continue to exist for different groups. An understanding of the way in which these realities sometimes collide, should be looked upon as an opportunity to develop alternative perspectives.

Secondly it provides a space for needed dialogue among researchers, scholars and teachers, by initiating a critical discourse that seeks to reveal how the dominant social structure has impacted educational practices.
Thirdly, it also seeks to empower those who seek change by shedding light on a struggle for inclusion that was ultimately successful.

The current political, social and economic crisis in America demands a response that elicits systemic change. The Association, by its very presence and even more so by the work in which it engaged, provides a imitable model.

Recommendations for Future Research

The Association is fertile ground for educational research. Although this study had a broad focus, research which analyzed particular aspects of the Association would add significantly to the field of educational history. Some recommended research questions include:

1. What impact did full membership in The Southern Association have on African American colleges and schools?
2. How was the Southern Association impacted by African American colleges and secondary schools?
3. What are some of the current issues facing the Southern Association which are relative to African American membership?
5. What impact on participation in the Association have on University Laboratory Schools;

Summary

I long ago began to understand how the way in which one views history impacts their worldview and informs their practices. An
understanding of African American educational history within the dominant narrative does not provide adequate grounding to make sense of African American historical and modern day educational challenges. This study problematizes taken for granted notions about the universality of dominant interpretation by shedding light upon the ways in which it has historically cloaked the imposed paradox of the African American experience in America.
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE
TO FORMER ASSOCIATION MEMBERS:
COLLEGES
December 18, 1995

Melanie Carter
P.O. Box 091224
Columbus, OH 43209
H (614) 577-9186
W (614) 292-2050

Ms. Minora Hicks Barber-Scotia College
Sage Memorial Library
Concord, North Carolina 28025

Dear Ms. Hicks:

I am a doctoral student at Ohio State University and am in the process of gathering information for my dissertation. My research focus is the history of The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (1934-1966). One of your former presidents, L.S. Cozart served as secretary for the organization and wrote a history of its work. Therefore in my quest to locate the primary documents of the Association, I thought the materials may have been deposited in your library.

I am attempting to gain access to all information by and or about the Association and its members. I have already secured the following items: 1) Annual Meeting proceedings from 1935-1943 and 2) an Association publication entitled Serving Negro Schools.

I am most interested in obtaining any Association correspondence and/or working papers including the 1934, and 1944-1965 annual proceedings, and the following Association publications: 1) Negro Youth Study, 2) Progress and Plans of the Negro High Schools Toward Regional Accreditation 1944-1945, and 3) Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students.

As well, information pertaining to the Association's predecessor "The Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (1914-1934) would also be extremely helpful. Please return your reply in the self-addressed stamped envelope or contact me at either numbers listed above regarding the best method to secure copies of these materials. I appreciate your assistance and I look forward to hearing from you.

Lastly, I am also trying to ascertain the date and identity of your institution's first African American president, I would appreciate if you would include his or her name and the dates of their tenure in your response. Again thank you....

Peace & Joy

Melanie Carter
APPENDIX B

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE
TO FORMER ASSOCIATION MEMBERS:
SECONDARY SCHOOLS
November 2, 1995

Dr. Roddenberger
City of Covington Superintendent of Schools
25 E. 7th Street
Covington, KY 41011

Dear Dr. Roddenberger:

I am a doctoral candidate at Ohio State University and currently gathering data for my dissertation. My research focus is the history of an organization known as "The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes" which was active from 1934-1965. The Association members included most predominantly African American colleges and secondary schools in the Southern states. I have discovered that a secondary school in your district — Lincoln-Grant High School was a member of the Association and many of its teachers participated in its sponsored activities, such as workshops and conferences. I am therefore attempting to gain access to records that would reveal the extent to which the Association's work impacted Lincoln-Grant High School.

Moreover, I am very interested in reviewing any documents which refer to the Association, its members and/or its sponsored activities. As well, I am particularly curious about the ways in which the Association impacted Lincoln-Grant's curriculum. I would very much appreciate an opportunity to visit Covington in order to gather information and gain a clearer vision of the work of the Association and of Lincoln-Grant High School and the community it served. Please contact me at the address above or (614)292-2050 and inform me of the best method to arrange a visit and/or attain access to the aforementioned materials. I am truly appreciative of your assistance and look forward to hearing from you and/or a member of your staff.

Sincerely,

Melanie Carter
Appendix C
Sample Correspondence to Research Centers
APPENDIX C

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE
TO RESEARCH CENTERS
December 28, 1995

Melanie Carter
P.O. Box 091224
Columbus, OH 43209
H (614)577-9185
W (614) 292-2050

Amistad Research Center
c/o Mrs. Rebecca Hankins
Tilton Hall
Tulane University
6823 St. Charles University
New Orleans, LA 70118

Dear Mrs. Hankins:

I am a doctoral student at Ohio State University and am in the process of gathering information for my dissertation. My research focus is the history of The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (1934-1965). I know that your Center has an extensive collection in the area of African American education, therefore in my quest to locate the primary documents of the Association I thought the materials may have been deposited in your library.

I am attempting to gain access to all information by and or about the Association and its members. I have already secured the following items: 1) Annual Meeting proceedings from 1935-1943 and 2) an Association publication entitled Serving Negro Schools.

I am most interested in obtaining any Association correspondence and/or working papers including the 1934, and 1944-1965 annual proceedings, and the following Association publications: 1) Negro Youth Study, 2) Progress and Plans of the Negro High Schools Toward Regional Accreditation 1944-1945, and 3) Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students.

As well, information pertaining to the Association's predecessor "The Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (1914-1934)" would also be extremely helpful. Please return your reply in the self-addressed stamped envelope or contact me at either numbers listed above regarding the best method to secure copies of these materials. I appreciate your assistance and I look forward to hearing from you.

Lastly, I am also trying to ascertain the date and identity of the first African American presidents of HBCUs, I would appreciate your assistance in suggesting a resource(s) that may be helpful in this endeavor. Again thank you....

Peace & Joy

Melanie Carter
APPENDIX D

SAMPLE OF RESPONSES ROM SCHOOLS OR RESEARCH AGENCIES
January 18, 1996

Ms. Melanie Carter
P.O. Box 091224
Columbus, Ohio 43209

Dear Ms. Carter:

Thank you for your inquiry regarding the history of The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes. I am enclosing a copy of the Association’s proceedings for 1934 and information on the one book we had on your list, "Improving the Academic Performance of Negro Students". We normally charge .30 per page for photocopies, but I will waive the fee for these copies. The print-out gives you locations where you may be able to obtain a copy of the book via inter-library loan. We do not loan books, only microfilm.

The Center has a number of unarranged collections relating to black education that may contain more information on the Association. If you have any individual names or groups involved with the Association I could do a more thorough search.

I am also enclosing information on books that have information on the first African American presidents of HBCUs.

I will keep your letter in mind if I run across any further information. If I can assist you further, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Rebecca Hankins
Acquisitions Archivist

enc.
February 14, 1996

Ms. Melanie Carter
P.O. Box 091224
Columbus, OH 43209

Dear Ms. Carter:

In reference to your letter dated Dec. 18, 1995, we currently, do not have an Archivist in our library. However, you are welcomed to visit our Archives to perform your research.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mrs. Frances Dates
Library Director
SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
FISK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
NASHVILLE, TN 37208

Name: Nancy Carter
Address: 2983 W. 99th St.
Cleveland, OH 44107

Date: January 9, 1996
Re: The Association of American University Women

We do not have this information in the collection.

Materials from Special Collections do not circulate.

Information will be forwarded as soon as possible.

The cost for duplication of an 8 X 10 glossy print is $12.00, plus $1.00 for mailing. Please make a check out in the amount of $13.00 payable to FABRY'S STUDIO. In addition, there is a service charge of $3.00. Make that check payable to FISK UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. We must receive payment before the photograph(s) can be taken to the photographer. Photographs will be forwarded by Fabry's Studio.

The charge for xerographing is .10 per page for secondary materials, and .25 per page for the Archival and Manuscript Collections. Please add $1.00 for mailing. A service charge will be applied according to the amount of materials copied.

Enclosed is the information requested.

Please pardon the delay. Many of us do not have the materials to the association.

Ann Allen Shockley
Associate Librarian for
Special Collections and
University Archivist

Beth M. House
Special Collections
Librarian

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APPENDIX E

ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR NEGRO YOUTH
ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP
ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE ACNY

According to the secretarius prior to 1934, J.T. Cater and M.B. Miller both of Talladega College, the following institutions and their representatives were the most active participants of the Association

- Atlanta University, Registrar John P. Whitaker
- Benedict College, President J.J. Starks
- Bennett College, Pres. David D. Jones
- Clark University, President, M.S. Davage
- Fisk University, President T.E. Jones and A.A. Taylor
- Florida A&M College, Pres. J.R.E. Lee
- Hampton Institute, Pres. Arthur Howe
- Howard University, Pres. D.O.W. Holmes
- Johnson C. Smith Univ., Pres. H.L. McCrorey and Dean T.E. McKinney
- Kentucky State College, Pres. R.B. Atwood
- Knoxville College, Dean H. Liston
- Lane College, Pres. J. F. Lane
- Louisville Municipal College, Dean R.E. Clement
- Paine College, Pres. E.C. Peters
- Morehouse College, Pres. S. H. Archer
- Spelman College, Prof. Luella Norwood
- St. Augustine's College, Pres. E.H. Goold
- Talladega College, Pres. B.G. Gallagher and Dean J. T. Cater
- Tillotson College, Pres. Mary E. Branch
- Virginia State College, Pres. J.M. Gandy
- Wiley College, Pres. M.W. Dogan

(Cozart, 1967 P. 12)
APPENDIX F

ROBINSON LETTER TO THE
SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION
OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS
It is appalling that for the entire South with some twelve and one half millions of Negro population there are only 205 State accredited Negro high schools.

The figures for white and colored are contrasted not only to show that injustice is done the Negro children but to emphasize the unsoundness of the general public policy with regard to Negro schools. In practically every Southern State the school officials are deploring the serious inadequacy of facilities for white public education and the resulting effect upon the social structure of the South yet in each of twelve of those States there are more State accredited 4-year high schools for white children than the combined number for Negro children in the entire 16. Indeed, in each of the five states there are more than double the entire number for Negro children throughout the South. Combining this with the fact that one argument against establishing high schools for Negro children is the lack of students for them, we conclude rightfully that the elementary schools for the Southern Negro children are still more inadequate and still moor poorly equipped as to teachers, etc., and are barely raising the general Negro population of the present school generation above the condition of illiteracy. Such a public educational policy is inevitably creating in the South a vast, defenseless, exploitable group; a social cesspool of ignorance, disease, and crime, and social problems, of all kinds. Such a group is a tremendous liability to the South socially and economically, raising the unfavorable statistics and lowering the per capita wealth, both because they do not either produce or consume as much as they would if given more favorable opportunities for efficient training, and further because such a group is a constant drain upon the funds of the State for corrective and punitive measures and the objects of public welfare and charity programs.

It is distressing to know that in one of these States no data on colored high schools are collected while in five of the States the data are not published along with the data from other schools so that is extremely difficult to get official information on the actual conditions of Negro schools throughout the South.

W.A. ROBINSON, President
National Association of Teachers
in Colored Schools
APPENDIX G

ROBINSON LETTER TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS
November 18, 1926

Dr. N.W. Walker, President
Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

My dear Mr. Walker:

The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools at its annual meeting at Hot Springs, Arkansas, on July 30, 1926, passed resolutions directing its representatives to make a request of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools that it would accredit the Negro high schools in its territory.

The Southern Association operates in the territory in which will be found by far the larger number of the Negro high schools. It is, however, the only one of the great regional associations that does not rate all of the schools in its territory.

These resolutions were passed on to the national Association by the Department of High School Education. The members of that Department having been brought face to face with the need for such a move for the following reasons.

1. An investigation made last spring by Mr. W.A. Robinson, Supervisor of Negro High Schools of North Carolina shows that for ten million Negroes in the Southern States there are only 166 State accredited high schools. The four leading States being North Carolina with 43, followed by Virginia with 18, West Virginia with 13, and Kentucky with 11. A consideration of these schools by the Southern Association would surely aid materially in increasing the present small and inadequate number.

2. In several States where the high schools for colored students have fully met the standards and have been accredited by the State Department of Education, difficulty has been experienced by the graduates in getting admission to colleges that accept applicants on credentials only from high schools rated by a regional association.

3. A few high schools in each of the Southern States are now ready and eager to go beyond the standards set by their respective States and to meet the standards of a Nationally recognized regional association. The measurement of such high schools by the exacting objective standards of the Southern Association would be most stimulating indeed to all of the Negro high schools, whether they stand or fall by such measurement.

We realize that there are some difficulties but we believe that most of these difficulties will disappear when it is understood that what we want for these schools is a chance to be measured by your association and that we are not asking for participation in the Association.

Finally Sir, we believe that the membership of your Association, when it considers this matter, will be willing to assume some responsibility for these struggling Negro high schools here in the South. Many of them are inspectorial officers in the various States and will have first hand knowledge of the almost insurmountable difficulties these schools have met in their slow and painful development and have given them sympathetic and efficient aid whenever possible.

As additional information we might state that the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools was incorporated in 1902 and functions particularly in those twenty states having separate schools for colored children, namely - Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky and Maryland. We might also state that the National Education Association has recognized this association and there has been appointed a joint committee composed of five representatives of each association which will suggest and promote proposals which both associations can sponsor jointly to improve school conditions for colored children.

Appreciating your serious consideration of this matter, I am

Yours very truly,

W.A. Robinson
President, N.A.T.S.C.

H.C. Trenholm
Chairman, Dept. High School Education

(Perry, 1971, pp. 166-167)
APPENDIX H

REORGANIZATION OF THE
ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR NEGRO YOUTH
1. The Association of Colleges for Negro Youth is hereby reorganized as the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negro Youth of the Southern Region.

2. Membership in this Association shall be limited to those colleges and secondary schools which are on the approved list of colleges and secondary schools of the Southern Association with these exceptions.
   
a. Colleges which now hold membership in the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth may remain in the reorganized Association as undated institutions for a period not to exceed one year for date. At end of this time (one year from date) only rated colleges may hold membership in this Association.
   
b. Colleges located in areas outside of the southern region may be admitted to membership in this Association provided they are fully accredited by the regional association of the area in which they are located.

3. The officers of this Association shall be the same as officers of the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth until the first annual meeting of this Association.

4. The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negro Youth of the Southern Region shall hold its first meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, at the time of the meeting of the southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

5. A committee on organization shall be appointed to study the organization of other similar associations, and to propose a definite plan of organization, including policies, aims, and a constitution at the Atlanta meeting. This committee shall make whatever contacts are necessary with the General Education Board, the Southern association, and any other organization or foundations.

6. The rating of the Negro colleges should be continued by the committee on Negro schools of the southern Association at present. The present committee may invite two or more representatives of the Association to sit with them in passing on application for rating.

7. The colleges and secondary schools which are members of the Association shall pay the regular annual dues of the Southern Association. This money is to be used to defray the costs of inspection and other necessary expense of this Association.
In accord with paragraph 5 of the above statement, a committee of fifteen was appointed to outline a constitution and draft a budget for the new Association. This committee consisting of the following persons met in Washington, DC. on May 10th, 1934:

W.A. Robinson, Principal, Atlanta University High School, Atlanta, Georgia

Winston Douglas, Principal Booker Washington High School, Norfolk, Virginia

Rufus E. Clement, Dean, Louisville Municipal College, Louisville, KY

Arthur Owe, President, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

President J.R.E. Lee, Florida A and M College, Tallahassee

J.T. Cater, Dean, Talladega College, Talladega, AL

T.E. McKinney, Dean, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, NC

E.O. Smith, Principal, Phyllis Wheatley High School, Houston, TX

James A. Bond, Dean, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, FL

D.O.W. Holmes, Dean, Howard University, Washington, DC.

W.T.B. Williams, Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Alabama

W.R. Banks, President, Prairie View College, Prairie View, Texas

Thomas E. Jones, President, Fisk University

S.H. Archer, President, Morehouse College
APPENDIX I

ASSOCIATION ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
& CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

ARTICLE I
Name and Purpose

Section 1. NAME - The Association shall be called the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Section 2. PURPOSE - The purpose of this Association shall be to develop the colleges and secondary schools for Negroes and to maintain helpful relations between them.

ARTICLE II
Membership and Voting

Section 1. MEMBERSHIP - Membership in this Association shall be limited
(a) To universities, colleges, junior colleges, and secondary schools approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and to members of other regional associations;
(b) To individuals representing United States Office of Education, State Departments of Education and Educational Foundations.

Section 2. ELECTION TO MEMBERSHIP shall be only at regular meetings and on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. VOTING - In transacting the business of the Association, each institution shall be entitled to one vote through an official delegate present at the time of voting.

ARTICLE III
Officers

The officers of the Association shall be a president, two vice presidents - one from a higher educational institution, the other from a secondary school - and a secretary-treasurer. These officers shall be chosen at the annual meeting by ballot and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors shall have been elected; except that the president of the Association may not be elected to succeed himself more than once, and he shall become a member of the Executive Committee for the year immediately following the end of his term of office as president.

In addition, an Executive Committee consisting of the elected officers, the retiring president, and six other members, three from the
colleges and three from the secondary schools, shall be elected for three
years each, provided that at the first election two - one from the colleges and
one from the secondary group - shall be elected for one year, two shall be
elected for two years, and two for three years respectively.

In the case of death or resignation, the Executive Committee shall
have authority to fill vacancies.

ARTICLE IV
Duties of Officers

The president shall preside at the meetings of the Association and act
as chairman of the Executive Committee. The secretary-treasurer shall
publish proceedings and keep on deposit any funds of the Association,
paying out funds under such rules as may be provided in the by-laws or
otherwise by the Association. The Executive Committee shall prepare
business for the Association, fix the time and place of annual meetings,
recommend the amount of annual dues to the Association, call special
meetings and in general act for the Association while it is not in session,
subject always to the revision of the Association.

ARTICLE V

There shall be a regular annual meeting held as may be determined
by the Executive Committee. A representation of twenty-five member
institutions shall constitute a quorum for all purposes.

ARTICLE VI

An annual fee shall be paid by each member in accordance with the
following regulation:

The amount of the annual fee for schools in the southern region shall
be the same as the fee paid by similar institutions of the Southern
Association; for accredited schools in other regions the fee shall be one-half
that of the Southern Association fee. The annual fee for individual
members shall be five dollars. Failure to pay dues for any year forfeits
membership in this organization.

ARTICLE VII
Amendments

The Constitution and By-laws of the Association may be altered or
amended at any regular meeting at which a majority of the institutions is
represented by a vote by ballot of two-thirds of the institutions voting at the
meeting. Any proposed amendment must be submitted to the secretary
sixty days before the meeting at which it is to be considered. The secretary
shall submit said proposed amendment to the colleges and secondary
schools belonging to the Association thirty days before the meeting at which it is to be considered.

BY-LAWS

1. The Association shall maintain a standing Commission on Higher Institutions and a standing Commission on Secondary Schools. The Commission on Higher Institutions shall consist of twelve persons, eight of whom shall represent higher institutions. Four members of the Commission shall be from secondary schools. No institution shall have more than one member on the Commission. All members shall be elected by the Association by nomination of the Executive Committee. The terms of all members shall be for three years or until their successors are elected. The election shall be so ordered that one-third of the members shall be elected each year.

2. The Commission on Secondary Schools shall consist of one secondary school person selected from each state within the southern region and four representatives from higher institutions, elected by the Association on nomination of the Executive Committee. The terms of office shall be for three years or until their successors are elected. The election shall be so ordered that one-third of the members shall be elected each year.

3. The Commission on Higher Institutions and the Commission on Secondary Schools shall elect their own officers, appoint necessary committees and in addition to developing programs for discussion, shall assist in the improvement of educational opportunities and in the stimulation of the growth and cooperation in and between the schools and the communities in which they are located.

4. The Executive Committee may be called to meet at any time by the joint action of the president and secretary.

5. All bills of the Association shall be paid by the treasurer by check. Each bill must be approved by the party responsible for it, and no expenditure shall be made except as may be ordered by the Association, or by the Executive Committee.
APPENDIX J

FIRST ASSOCIATION OFFICERS
The Association of
Colleges and Secondary Schools
for Negros

1934 Commission Officers

Executive Committee
William Stuart Nelson - President Shaw University
Mary McLeod Bethune - President Bethune-Cookman College
Rufus Clement, Dean - Louisville Municipal College
J.A. Simmons - Booker T. Washington High School-Columbia, South Carolina
R.B. Atwood - President Kentucky State University
L.F. Palmer - Principal, Newport News, Virginia

Commission on Higher Institutions
T.E. McKinney - Chair, Dean Johnson C. Smith College
W.A. Aery - Hampton
J.P. Whitaker - Registrar, Atlanta University
A.L. Kidd - Registrars, Florida A&M College
W.T.B. Williams - Tuskegee
J.T. Cater - Dean Talladega College
V.E. Daniel - Wiley College
R. Martin - South Carolina
A.A. Taylor - Dean, Fisk
D.O.W. Holmes - Dean, Howard
W.H. Fouse, Principal - Dunbar High School - Lexington, Kentucky
John Long - Southern Christian Institute

Commission on Secondary School
A. Heningburg - Chair, Tuskegee Institute, High School Department
James A. Espy - Principal, Booker T. Washington High School, Miami, Florida
D.A. Wilkerson - Virginia State College
Charlotte Hawkins Brown - Principal, Palmer Memorial Institute
F.S. Horne - Fort Valley N&I School, Fort Valley, Georgia
J.P. Brawley - Dean, Clark University
H.R. Merry - Principal, William Grant High School, Covington, Kentucky
H.W. Cobb - Dean, Tougaloo College
C.A. Johnson - Supervising Principal Colored Schools, Columbia, South Carolina
W.C. Hargrave - Principal, Swift Memorial High School, Rogersville, Tennessee

R. O'Hara Lanier - Dean, Huston Junior College
James A. Bond - Florida
L.V. Williams - Dallas, Texas
Douglas Winston - Principal Booker T. Washington High School, Norfolk, Virginia

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APPENDIX K

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
Organizational Structure

Colleges and Universities Commission

Secondary Schools Commission

Executive Committee

Committee on Approval of Negro Schools

Executive Secretary

Inspectors
APPENDIX L

ASSOCIATION INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS
### THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES
### INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

## COLLEGES

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<td>Daytona Beach</td>
<td>Bethune-Cookman</td>
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<td>St. Augustine</td>
<td>Florida N &amp; I Memorial College</td>
<td>1951</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tallahassee</td>
<td>Florida A &amp; M College</td>
<td>1935</td>
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<td>Albany</td>
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<td>1944</td>
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<td>Fort Valley</td>
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<td>Savannah</td>
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<td>Baton Rouge</td>
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<td>1937</td>
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<td>MARYLAND</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
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### MISSISSIPPI
- Alcorn, Alcorn A&M, College: 1948
- Edwards, Southern Christian Institute: 1943
- Holly Springs, Rust College: 1949
- Jackson, Jackson College: 1948
- Tougaloo, Tougaloo College: 1947

### MISSOURI
- Jefferson City, Lincoln University: 1943

### NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte, Johnson C. Smith University: 1933
- Concord, Barber-Scotia College: 1949
- Durham, N.C. College at Durham: 1937
- Elizabeth City, State Teachers College: 1947
- Fayetteville, State Teachers College: 1947
- Greensboro, A&T College: 1936
- Greensboro, Bennett College: 1942
- Raleigh, Shaw University: 1942
- Raleigh, St. Augustine's College: 1944
- Salisbury, Livingstone College: 1947
- Winston-Salem, State Teachers College: 1947

### OHIO
- Wilberforce, Central State College: 1949

### PENNSYLVANIA
- Lincoln University: 1948

### SOUTH CAROLINA
- Columbia, Allen University: 1947
- Columbia, Benedict College: 1946
- Denmark, Vorhees N&I: 1946
- Orangeburg, Claflin University: 1947
- Orangeburg, State A & M College: 1941
- Sumter, Morris College: 1950

### TENNESSEE
- Jackson, Lane College: 1949
- Knoxville, Knoxville College: 1948
- Memphis, LeMoyne College: 1939
- Memphis, Owen College: 1947
- Morristown, N&I College: 1947
- Nashville, Fisk University: 1930
- Nashville, Tenn. A&I State University: 1946
- Rogersville, Swift Memorial Junior College: 1947
TEXAS

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<td>Dallas</td>
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<td>Hawkins</td>
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<td>Marshall</td>
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VIRGINIA

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<td>Richmond</td>
<td>Virginia Union University</td>
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HIGH SCHOOLS

ALABAMA

Andalusia, Woodson High School
Anniston, Calhoun County Training High School
Anniston, Cobb Avenue High School
Athens, Trinity High School
Auburn, Drake High School
Bay Minette, Douglasville High School
Birmingham, Holy Family High School
Birmingham, Parker High School
Birmingham, Rosedale High School
Birmingham, Ullman High School
Birmingham, Wenonah High School
Birmingham, Western-Olin High School
Brewton, Southern Normal High School
Brewton, Booker T. Washington High School
Brighton High School
Camden Academy
Daphne, Baldwin County Training School
Decatur, Lakeside High School
Dothan, Carver High School
Fairfield, Industrial High School
Florence, Burrell-Slater High School
Huntsville, Wm. H. Councill High School
Jasper, Walker County Training School
Leeds, Robert R. Moton High School
Marion, Lincoln High School
Mobile, Central High School
Montgomery, Booker T. Washington High School
Montgomery, George Washington Carver High School
Montgomery, Laboratory School, A.D.C.
Montgomery, St. Jude Educ. Inst
Normal, Council Training School, A&M College
Northport, Riverside High School
Opelika, J.W. Darden High School
Ozark, D.A. Smith High School
Pell City, St. Clair County Training School
Plateau, Mobile County Training School
Sayreton, Hooper City High School
Selma, R.B. Hudson High School
Sheffield, Sterling High School
Sylacauga, East Highland High School
Talladega, Westside High School
Troy, East Academy St. High School
Tuscaloosa, Druid High School
Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa Industrial High School
Tusculumia, Trenholm High School
Tuskegee, Tuskegee Institute High School
Uniontown, Perry County Training Schools
Westfield, Westfield High School

FLORIDA

223
Alachua, A.L. Mebane High School
Apopka, Phyllis Wheatley High School
Bartow, Union Academy
Belle Glade, Lake Shore High School
Chipley, Roulhac High School
Clearwater, Pinellas High School
Clermont, Lincoln Park High School
Cocoa, Monroe High School
Crestview, Carver Hill High School
Dade City, Mickens High School
Daytona Beach, Campbell Junior High School
Daytona Beach, Campbell State High School
DeLand, Euclid High School
Delray Beach, Carver High School
Eatonville, Hungerford High School
Eustis Vocational High School
Fernandina Beach, Peck High School
Fort Lauderdale, Dillard High School
Fort Myers, Dunbar High School
Fort Pierce, Lincoln Park Academy
Gainesville, Lincoln High School
Goulds, Mays High School
Haines City, Oakland High School
havanna, Northside High School
Hollywood, Attucks High School
Jacksonville, Douglas Anderson High School
Jacksonville, Matthew Gilbert High School
Jacksonville, New Stanton High School
Jacksonville, Northwestern High School
Jacksonville, New Stanton High School
Jacksonville, Northwestern High School
Jacksonville, Staunton High School
Kissimmee High School
Key West, Douglass High School
Lake City, Richardson High School
Lakeland, Rochelle High School
Lake Wales, Roosevelt High School
Leesburg, Carver Heights High School
Martin (Ocala), Fessenden High School
Melbourne, Stone High School
Miami, Booker T. Washington High School
Miami, Dorsey High School
Miami, George W. Carver High School
Miami, Northwestern High School
Milton, T.R. Jackson High School
New Smyrna Beach, Chisholm High School
Ocala, Belleview-Santos High School
Ocala, Howard High School
Opalocka, North Dade High School
Orlando, Jones High School
Pahokee, East Lake High School
Palatka, Central Academy High School
Palmetto, Lincoln Memorial High School

224
Panama City, Rosenwald High School
Pensacola, Washington High School
Plant City, Marshall High School
Pompano Beach, Blanche Ely High School
Quincy, Carter-Parramore High School
Riviera Beach, Lincoln High School
St. Augustine, Richard J. Murray High School
St. Petersburg, Gibbs Senior High School
Sanford, Crooms Academy
Sarasota, Booker High School
Stuart Training School
Tallahassee, Florida A&M University High School
Tallahassee, Lincoln High School
Tampa, Howard W. Blake High School
Tampa, Middleton Senior High School
Titusville, Andrew Gibson High School
Vero Beach, Gifford High School
West Palm Beach, Roosevelt High School
Williston Vocational High School
Winter Garden, Drew High School
Winter Haven (Florence V. Station), Jewett High School

GEORGIA

Albany, Monroe High School
Alpharetta, Bailey-Johnson High School
Athens, Athens High & Indus. School
Atlanta, Archer High School
Atlanta, Booker T. Washington High School
Atlanta, David T. Howard High School
Atlanta, Lynwood Park High School
Atlanta, Price High School
Atlanta, Turner High School
Augusta, Lucy Laney High School
Avondale Estates, Hamilton High East
Bainbridge, Hutto High School
Brunswick, Risley High School
Calhoun, Stephens High School
Carrollton, Carer High School
Cartersville, Summer Hill High School
Carrollton, Carroll County Training School
Cedartown, Cedar Hill High School
Columbus, Carver High School
Columbus, Spencer High School
Concord, Pike County Consolidated High School
Cordele, Gillespie-Selden High School
Dallas, Matthews Consolidated High School
Dalton, Emery Street High School
Darien, Todd-Grant High School
Decatur, Herring Street High School
Decatur, Trinity High School
Douglas, Carver High School
Douglasville, R.L. Cousins High School
Dublin, Oconee High School
East Point, East Point High School
East Point, South Fulton High School
Elberton, Blackwell Memorial High School
Fairburn High School
Fitzgerald, Monitor High School
Forsyth, Hubbard Training School
Fort Valley, H.A. Hunt High School
Franklin, Mary Johnson High School
Gainesville, Fair Street High School
Griffin, Fairmont High School
Hogansville, West End High School
Keyesville, Boggs Academy High School
La Grange, Ethel W. Knight High School
Lithonia, Bruce Street High School
Lyons Industrial High School
Macon, P.G. Appling High School
Macon, Ballard High School
Marietta, Lemon Street High School
McDonough, Henry County Training School
McIntosh, Liberty County High School
McRae, Central High School
Millen, G.W. Carver High School
Moultrie, Moultrie High School
Newnan, Howard Warner High School
Ocilla High & Industrial School
Sandersville, Thomas J. Elder High School
Savannah, A.E. Beach High School
Savannah, S.C. Johnson High School
Savannah, Tompkins High School
Sopeton, Treutlen County Training School
Sparta, Hancock Training School
Springfield, Central High School
Statesboro, William James High School
Swainsboro, Swainsboro High School
Sylvania, Central High School
Thomasville, Douglass High School
Thomasville, Magnolia High School
Valdosta, Pinevale High School
Waycross, Center High School

KENTUCKY

Bowling Green, State Street High School
Covington, William Grant High School
Frankfort, Mao-Underwood High School
Henderson, Douglass High School
Lexington, Paul Laurence Dunbar High School
Lincoln Ridge, Lincoln Institute
Louisville, Central High School
Madisonville, Rosenwald High School
Maysville, John C. Free Industrial High School
Owensboro, Western High School
Paducah, Lincoln High School
Paris, Western High School
Winchester, Olier Street High School

LOUISIANA

Alexandria, Jones Street Jr. High School
Alexandria, Lincoln Road Jr. High School
Alexandria, Peabody High School
Arcadia, Crawford High School
Batchelor High School
Baton Rouge, McKinley Senior High School
Baton Rouge, Southern University High School
Bogalusa, Central Memorial High School
Breaux Bridge, Carver High School
Columbia, Union Central High School
DeQuincy, Grand Avenue High School
DeRidder, George Washington Carver High School
Donaldsonville, Lowery High School
Eunice, Charles Drew High School
Farmerville, Eastside High School
Franklinton, Washington Paris High School
Grambling High School
Houma, Southdown High School
Jennings, Jefferson Davis High School
Lafayette, Paul Breaux High School
Lake Charles, Sacred Heart High School
Lake Charles, Washington High School
Lake Charles, W.O. Boston High School
Lillie, Westside High School
Mamou, Joseph Celestine High School
Minden, Webster High School
Monroe, Carrol High School
Morrow, Lincoln High School
Natchitoches, Natchitoches Paris Training School
New Iberia, Jones Henderson High School
New Orleans, B.T. Washington, High School
New Orleans, Gaudet Episcopal High School
New Orleans, L.B. Landry High School
New Orleans, St. Augustine's High School
New Orleans, St. Mary's Academy
New Orleans, W.L. Cohen Senior High School
New Orleans, Xavier University High School
New Roads, Rosenwald High School
Opelousas, J.S. Clark High School
Port Allen, Cohn Senior High School
Ringgold, Southside High School
Rosedale, Thomas A. Levy High School
Ruston, Lincoln High School
Saline, Shady Grove High School
Shreveport, George Washington Carver High School
Shreveport, Herndon high School
Shreveport, Walnut Hill High School
Slidell, St. Tammany High School
Springhill, Brown High School
Sterlington, Myles High School

227
Sunset, George Washington Carver High School
Tallulah, Reuben McCall High School
Thibodaux, C.M. Washington High School
Washington, Paul L Dunbar High School
Westlake, Mossville High School
Zachary, Northwestern High School

MISSISSIPPI

Edwards, Southern Christian Institute
Greenville, Coleman High School
Hattiesburg, Rowan High School
Jackson, Brinkley High School
Jackson, Hill High School
Jackson, Lanier High School
Meridian, T.J. Harris High School
Natchez, Anchorage Jr. High School
Natchez, Thompson High School
Okolona, Okolona College High School
Oxford, Oxford Training High School
Tougaloo, Tougaloo College Practice High School
Utica, Hinds County AHS
West Point, Mary Holmes Jr. College High School

NORTH CAROLINA

Aberdeen, Berkley High School
Alemarle, Kingville High School
Asheville, Allen High School
Asheville, Stephens-Lee High School
Bahama, Little River High School
Bessemer City, Lincoln High School
Burlington, Jordan Sellars Senior High School
Chapel Hill, Lincoln High School
Charlotte, Second Ward High School
Charlotte, West Charlotte High School
Charlotte, York Road Junior-Senior High School
Concord, Logan High School
Durham, Hillside High School
Durham, Merrick-Moore High School
Edenton High School
Elizabeth City, P.W. Moore High School
Elizabethtown, Bladen County Training School
Fayetteville, E.E. Smith High School
Gaston, Highland High School
Goldsboro, Dillard High School
Greensboro, James B. Dudley High School
Greensboro, Immanuel Lutheran High School
Greenville, C.M. Eppes High School
Henderson, Henderson Institute
Hickory, Ridgeview High School
High Point, William Penn High School
Jacksonville, Georgetown High School
Kannapolis, G.W. Carver High School

228
Kinston, Adkin High School
Kings Mountain, Lincoln Academy
Leaksville, Douglass High School
Lenoir, Freedman High School
Lexington, Dunbar High School
Mooresville, Dunbar High School
Morgantown, Olive Hill High School
Mount Olive, Carver High School
Oxford, Mary Potter High School
Raleigh, J.W. Ligon Senior High School
Raleigh, Washington High School
Red Springs, Peterson High School
Reidsville, Washington High School
Rocky Mount, Booker T. Washington High School
Salisbury, Joseph C. Price High School
Sanford, Lee County Training School
Sedalia, Palmer Memorial Institute
Selma, Richard B. Harrison High School
Spindale, Carver High School
Statesville, Morningside High School
Statesville, Unity High School
Thomasville, Church street High School
Wake Forest, DuBois High School
Wilmington, Williston Industrial High School
Wilson, Charles H. Darden High School
Winston-Salem, Atkins High School
Winston-Salem, Carver Consolidated High School
Yanceyville, Caswell County High School
Zebulon, Shepard High School

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson, Westside High School
Beaufort, The Mather School
Blythewood, Bethel High School
Charleston, Avery Institute
Charleston, Burke Industrial High School
Chester, Finley High School
Clinton, Bell Street High School
Columbia, Booker T. Washington High School
Columbia, C.A. Johnson High School
Denmark, Voorhees School and Jr. College
Florence, Wilson High School
Greenville, Sterling High School
Irmo, Richlex High School
Lancaster, Barr Street High School
Lexington, Rosenwald High School
Mullins, Palmetto High School
Orangeburg, Wilkinson High School
Rock Hill, Emmett Scott High School
Spartanburg, Carver High School
Sumter, Lincoln High School
West Columbia, Lakeview High School
Williamston, Spearman High School

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TENNESSEE

Arlington, Barret's Chapel
Chattanooga, Howard High School
Cordova, Mt. Pisgah High School
Jackson, Merry High School
Johnson City, Langston High School
Knoxville, Austin High School
Memphis, Booker T. Washington High School
Memphis, Carver High School
Memphis, Douglass High School
Memphis, Geeter High School
Memphis, Hamilton High School
Memphis, Lester High School
Memphis, Manassas High School
Memphis, Melrose High School
Memphis, Shelby County Training School
Memphis, T.W. Patterson High School
Morristown, Morristown College High School
Morristown, West High School
Murfreesboro, Holloway High School
Nashville, Cameron High School
Nashville, Haynes High School
Nashville, Pearl High School
Rogersville, Swift Memorial High School

TEXAS

Abilene, Carter Woodson High School
Amarillo, Carver High School
Angleton, Marshall High School
Austin, Anderson High School
Baytown, Carver High School
Beaumont, Charlton-Pollard High School
Beaumont, South Park ISK, Herber High
Bryan, E.A. Kemp High School
Carthage, Turner High School
Cleveland, Douglas High School
Crosby, Drew High School
Cypress, Carverdale High School
Dallas, Lincoln High School
Dallas, Madison High School
Dallas, Washington Tech. High School
Dennison, Terrell High School
El Campo, E.A. Greer High School
Fort Worth, Como High School
Fort Worth, Dunbar High School
Fort Worth, I.M. Terrell High School
Fort Worth, Kirkpatrick High School
Galena Park, Gidelity Manor High School
Galveston, Central High School
Gladewater, Weldon High School

230
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<td>Burnett High School</td>
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<td>Tyler</td>
<td>Emmett Scott High School</td>
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<td>Waco</td>
<td>A.J. Moore High School</td>
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<td>Wichita Falls</td>
<td>Booker T. Washington High School</td>
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**VIRGINIA**

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<td>Blairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambria</td>
<td>Christiansburg Ind. Inst. High School</td>
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<td>Charlottesville</td>
<td>J.P. Burley High School</td>
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<td>Fiedale</td>
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<td>Hayden High School</td>
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<td>Glen Allen</td>
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<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>B.T. Washington High School</td>
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APPENDIX M

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION STANDARDS
Standards of the Southern Association

Colleges and Arts and Sciences and Teacher Training Colleges

Standard No. 1. Entrance Requirements. The requirements for admissions shall be the satisfactory completion of a four-year course of not less than fifteen units in a secondary school approved by a recognized accrediting agency, or in a secondary school that is a member of this Association, or the equivalent of such a course as shown by examination. The major portion of the secondary school course accepted for admission should be definitely correlated with the curriculum to which the student is admitted. Any college of this Association may be called upon at any time for a record of all the students entering the freshman class, such record to contain the name of each student, his secondary school, method of admission, units offered in each subject, and total units accepted.

Standard No. 2. Requirements for Graduation. The college shall demand for graduation the completion of a minimum quantitative requirement of one hundred and twenty hours of credit (or the equivalent in term hours, quarter hours, points, majors, or courses), with such scholastic qualitative requirements as may be deemed desirable by each institution.

Standard No. 3. Number of Degrees. The conferring of a multiplicity of degrees is discouraged. Small institutions should confine themselves to one or two. When more than one baccalaureate degree is offered, all should be equal in requirements for admission and for graduation. Institutions of limited resources and inadequate facilities for graduate work should confine themselves to strictly undergraduate courses.

Standard No. 4. Number of College Departments. A college of arts and sciences of approximately one hundred students should maintain at least eight separate departments, with at least one professor devoting his whole time to each department. The size of the faculty should bear a definite relation to the type of institution, the number of students, and the number of courses offered. With the growth of the student body the number of full-time teachers should be correspondingly increased. The development of varied curricula should involve the addition of other heads of departments.

Standard No. 5. Training of Faculty. The training of the members of the faculty of professorial rank should include at least two years of study in their respective fields of teaching in a fully organized and recognized graduate school. The training of the head of a department should be that represented by three full years of coordinated graduate work in an
institution of recognized standing, in the field in which he is to teach; or should represent a corresponding professional or technical training.

Standard No. 6. Salaries. The average salary paid members of the faculties is an important consideration in determining the standing of an institution. It is recommended that the salary of full professors be not less than $3,000 for nine months.

Standard No. 7. Number of Classroom Hours for Teachers. Teaching schedules exceeding sixteen hours per week per instructor shall be interpreted as endangering educational efficiency. In general, two laboratory hours will be counted as equivalent to one recitation hour.

Standard No. 8. Number of Students in Classes. Classes (exclusive of lectures) of more than thirty students shall be interpreted as endangering educational efficiency.

Standard No. 9. Support. The college should have an annual income of not less than $50,000 and if not tax supported, an endowment of not less than $500,000. The financial status of the college should be, however, judged in relation to its educational program.

Standard No. 10. Library. The college should have a live, well distributed library of at least 12,000 volumes, in addition to duplicates and public documents, bearing specifically upon the subjects taught and administered by a professionally trained librarian. For a college of approximately 300 students and a minimum number of departments, there should be spent annually for the library, exclusive of the care of the building, not less than $5,000, with proportionate increase for larger student bodies and a larger number of departments. Leading periodicals in the different fields covered by the curriculum should be taken as well as those of more general cultural interest. There should be a catalogue of approved type. The library should be open not less than ten hours per school day. The buildings should be well lighted, protected as far as possible against fire, and equipped with adequate working quarters for staff. Seating capacity for at least 15 per cent of the student body should be provided in the reading rooms. Arrangements should be made through freshman week, orientation courses, or otherwise, for students to receive instruction in the use of the library.

Standard No. 11. Laboratories. The laboratory equipment shall be adequate for all the experiments called for by the courses offered in the sciences, and those facilities shall be kept up by means of an annual appropriation in keeping with the curriculum.

Standard No. 12. Separation of College and Preparatory School. The college may not maintain a preparatory school as part of its college organization. In case such a school is maintained under the college charter it must be
kept rigidly distinct and separate from the college in students, faculty, buildings, and discipline.

**Standard No. 13. Proportion of Regular College Students to the Whole Student Body.** At least 75 per cent of the students in a college should be pursuing courses leading to baccalaureate degrees in arts and science.

**Standard No. 14. General Statement Concerning Material Equipment.** The location and construction of the buildings, the lighting, heating and ventilation of the rooms and the general sanitary equipment shall be such as to insure hygienic conditions for both students and teachers.

**Standard No. 15. General Statement Concerning Curriculum and Spirit of Administration.** The character of the curriculum, efficiency of instruction, the scientific spirit, the soundness of scholarship, the standard for regular degrees, the conservatism in granting honorary degrees, the character of its publicity, and the tone of the institution shall also be factors in determining its standing. The curriculum should provide both for the breadth of study and for concentration. It should have justifiable relation to the resources of the institution.

**Standard No. 16. Extra Curricular Activities.** The proper administration of athletics, amusements, fraternities, and all other extra curricular activities is one of the fundamental tests of a standard college.

**Athletics.** All members of this Association which engage in intercollegiate athletics shall also hold membership in some athletic conference or association approved by this Association, which requires adherence to the widely recognized safeguards against abuse, such as forbidding the playing of "special" students, the non-migrant rule, and the one-year rule, together with the rules which experience has proved to be necessary.

**Standard No. 17. Standing in the Educational World.** The institution must be able to prepare its students to enter recognized graduate, professional or research institutions as candidates for advanced degrees. In evidence statistics of the records of the graduates of the college in graduate or professional schools shall be filed with the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education on demand.

**Standard No. 19. Professional and Technical Departments.** When the institution has in addition to the college of arts and science professional or technical departments, the college of arts and science shall not be accepted for the approved list of the Association unless the professional or technical departments are of approved grade, national standards being used when available.
Standard No. 20. Filing of Blank. No institution shall be placed or retained on the approved list unless a regular information blank has been filed with the Commission. The list shall be approved from year to year by the Commission. The blank shall be filed triennially, but the Commission may for due cause call upon any member to file a new report in the meantime. Failure to file the blank shall be cause for dropping an institution.

Teacher training colleges must conform to the following additional requirements:

Not more than one-fourth of the credits required for graduation should represent professional subjects.

All subjects offered for degrees in four-year courses for general or professional degrees shall be of collegiate grade.

The college shall provide adequate facilities for practice teaching and observation.

Junior Colleges

Standard No. 1. Entrance Requirements. The requirement for admission shall be satisfactory completion of a four-year course of not less than fifteen units in a secondary school that is approved by this Association, or by another recognized accrediting agency, or equivalent of such a course as shown by examination. Any junior college in this Association may be called upon at any time for such a record of all the students entering the freshman class, such record to contain the name of each student, his secondary school, method of admission, units offered in each subject, and total units accepted.

Standard No. 2. Requirements for Graduation. The minimum requirement for graduation shall be sixty semester hours of credit.

Standard No. 3. Degrees. Junior Colleges shall not grant degrees.

Standard No. 4. Number of Students and of College Departments. The number of regular college students shall be not less than sixty and the number of separate departments not less than five (English, History, Foreign Language, Mathematics, Science). The number of teachers shall be not less than five employed specifically for college instruction giving the major part of their time to college instruction.

Standard No. 5. Salaries and Training of the Faculty, Salaries shall be such as to insure employment and retention of well-trained and experienced teachers. The minimum scholastic requirements of teachers in the junior
college shall be graduation from a standard college and in addition, graduate work amounting to one year at least in a graduate school of recognized standing. The course taught by any teacher should be in the field of specialization represented by his graduate work.

Standard No. 6. Number of Classroom Hours for Teachers. The average number of credit hours per week for each instructor shall not exceed sixteen hours of college work or eighteen hours if part of the work is done in high school

Standard No. 7 Number of Students in Classes. The number of students in a class shall not exceed thirty (except for lectures). It is recommended that the number of students in a class in a foreign language shall not exceed twenty-five. The number of students in a laboratory section shall not exceed the number for which desk space and equipment have been provided.

Standard No. 8. Support. The minimum annual operating income for two years of junior college work should be $20,000.00, of which not less than $10,000.00 should be derived from stable sources other than student fees or payments. If not tax supported, the college should have an endowment of not less than $2000,000.00 or, in case of church-supported institutions, an endowment of at least $100,000.00, plus fixed annual contributions of not less than $5,000.00, whose permanence is assured by official statement from the contributing body. Increase in faculty, student body, and scope of instruction should be accompanied by increase of income from such stable sources. The financial status of each junior college should be judged in relation to its educational program.

Standard No. 9. Library. The junior college shall have a modern, well-distributed, catalogued, and efficiently administered library of at least 2,500 volumes, exclusive of public documents, selected with special reference to college work, and with a definite annual appropriation for the purchase of books and periodicals. It is urged that such an appropriation be at least $500.00

Standard No. 10. Laboratories. The laboratories shall be adequately equipped for individual instruction in courses offered an annual income for their upkeep provided. It is recommended that a school with a limited income be equipped for good work in one or two sciences and not attempt work in others.

Standard No. 11. Separation of College and Preparatory Classes. Where a junior college and high school are maintained together, the high school shall have been accredited by this Association. The students shall be taught in separate classes, no high school student being admitted to any college courses.
Standard No. 12. Proportion of Regular College Students to the Whole Study Body. At least 75 percent of the students in a junior college shall be pursuing curricula leading to graduation.

Standard No. 13. General Statement Concerning Material Equipment. The location and construction of the buildings, the lighting, heating and ventilation of the rooms, the nature of the laboratories, corridors, closets, water supply, school furniture, apparatus, and methods of cleaning shall be such as insure hygienic conditions both students and teachers.


Standard No. 15. Extra-Curricular Activities. Athletics, amusements, fraternities, and other extra-curricular activities shall be properly administered and shall not occupy an undue place in the life of the college.

Standard No. 16. Inspection. No college will be recommended for membership until it has been inspected and reported upon by an agent or agents regularly appointed by the Commission. Any college of the Association shall be open to inspection at any time.

Standard No. 17. Filing of Blank. No institution shall be placed or retained on the approved list unless a regular information blank has been filed with the Commission. The list shall be approved from year to year by the Commission. The blank shall be filed triennially, but the Commission may for due cause call upon any member to file a new report in the meantime. Failure to file the blank shall be cause for dropping an institution.

Secondary Schools

(Statements in parentheses are interpretations or explanations of the standards, in accordance with the existing regulations of the Commission on Secondary Schools.)

The Commission shall describe and define unit courses of study in the various secondary school programs, based on the recommendation of the Carnegie Foundation and the rules of the Association as herein prescribed. The minimum standard for accrediting shall be:

(a) No four-year school shall be accredited which does not require for graduation the completion of a four-year high school course of study embracing sixteen units as defined by this Association. No such school shall allow more than four units of credit for work done in junior high schools. No three-year school shall be accredited which does not require the
completion of a three-year high school course of study beyond the work of the junior high school, embracing twelve units as defined by this Association. These three years in an eleven-grade system shall be the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, and in a twelve-grad system the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. A unit represents a year's study in any subject in a secondary school, constituting approximately a quarter of a full year's work. This shall include in the aggregate not less than the equivalent of 120 sixty-minute hours of classroom work, two hours of shop or laboratory work being equivalent to one hour of prepared classroom work. Four unit courses, or the equivalent in fractional unit courses as defined by this Association, shall be considered a normal amount of work carried for credit toward graduation by the average or medium student. More than twenty periods per week should be discouraged. Only such students as rank in ability in the upper 25 per cent of the student body may be allowed to take more than four academic units. A different practice in the school must be explained to the State Committee. An academic year shall be not less than 175 days during which the school is actually in session exclusive of holidays.

(In all science courses two double periods a week throughout the year should be devoted to laboratory work, three single periods to classroom work -- a minimum of 280 minutes a week. Five sixty-minute periods a week will satisfy this requirement.)

(b) The minimum scholastic attainment required of the faculty of any accredited secondary school on the Southern list is that not less than 75 per cent of the total number of teachers of academic subjects, including the superintendent, the principal, the librarian, teachers of Agriculture and Home Economics, shall hold bachelors' degrees from colleges approved by the Association. Beginning teachers of academic subjects, and of Agriculture and Home Economics, are required to have degrees from colleges approved by the Association and should not teach outside the fields of their college specialization. All beginning teachers and principals shall have had a minimum of twelve (12) semester hours in education. Any person entering a position of administrative or supervisory control of instruction in a secondary school accredited by this Association with the scholastic year 1937-1938 or thereafter shall hold a master's or other graduate degree from a college or university belonging to the Southern Association, or some other regional association, shall have had not less than six semester hours of graduate work in education, a minimum of two years of experience in teaching or administration, and shall show evidence of culture and of scholarship in one or more academic fields.

(Teachers should have had professional training or at least one year's experience in teaching. Professional training includes courses in psychology, methods and principles of teaching, history of education, observation and directed teaching, tests and measurements, etc. A
"Beginning teacher" is one who has not completed a minimum of one school year of regular employment in an organized school. A "semester hour" is the quantity of work normally accomplished in a class which meets on hour per week for a semester. It comprised not less than fifteen hours of recitation or lecture work.

(c) The maximum teaching load of any teacher of academic subjects is 750 pupil-periods per week with not more than six daily recitations. The Commission will require detailed explanation of variations from this rule. In interpreting this standard a double period in laboratory, shop or two periods of study-room supervision shall be counted as the equivalent of one recitation period.

(No combination of such work should amount to more than thirty-five periods a week for any teacher. The minimum length of a recitation period shall be forty minutes in the clear.)

(d) The laboratory facilities shall be adequate for the needs of instruction in the courses taught.

(e) The location and construction of the buildings, the lighting, heating and ventilation of the rooms, the nature of the lavatories, corridors, water supply, school furniture, apparatus, and methods of cleaning shall be such as to insure hygienic conditions for both pupils and teachers.

(f) The efficiency of instruction, the acquired habits of thought and speech, the culture and scholarship of the principal and the teachers, the general intellectual and moral tone of a school are paramount factors; and therefore, only schools which rank well in these particulars, as evidenced by rigid, thorough-going, systematic inspection, shall be considered eligible for the list.

(g) The Commission will decline to consider any schools whose teaching force consists of fewer than four teachers giving their full time to high school instruction. When local conditions warrant the introduction of vocational subjects, such as agriculture, manual training, household arts, and commercial subjects, the Commission will hold that a sufficient number of teachers must be employed and proper equipment added to provide adequately for such instruction.

(Sixteen daily recitations in high school subjects taught by not fewer than four teachers is consider a minimum in enforcing this standard.)
(h) No school shall be considered unless the regular annual blank furnished for the purpose shall have been filled out and placed on file with the inspector. Full data relative to changes must be presented annually.

(All schools whose enrollment for the preceding year was less than 200, all schools warned during the preceding year, all new schools applying for accrediting, and any other schools so directed by the State Committee must submit reports in full detail. All schools of enrollment of 200 or more, which are in good and regular standing, shall file detailed reports every third year only, those for 1930, 1931, 1932 to be designated by the state chairman, and thereafter in regular rotation. In other years these schools must submit an abridged report, covering essential items to be called for on an abbreviated form. These reports, with membership dues, must be filed with the state chairman by October 15. New schools must submit evidence of application for membership, such as a resolution by the local board.)

(i) All schools whose records show an excessive number of pupils per teacher, as based on the number enrolled October 1, even though they may technically meet all other requirements, will be rejected. The Association recognizes thirty as a maximum.

(The size of classes shall not be such as to impair efficiency of instruction. Thirty is recommended as a maximum. As many as forty in any class may subject the school to special investigation.)

(j) The time for which schools are accredited shall be limited to one year, dating from the time of the adoption of the list by Association. In every case the character of the work done by a school must be the determining factor in accrediting. By personal visits of the inspectors, by detailed reports from the principal, and by the records made by the students in colleges, the character of a school’s work shall be, from time to time, determined.

(k) The Commission recommends $1,000 as the minimum salary for teachers.

(The Commission recognizes $900 as a minimum salary for a year. A school in which a full-time teacher receives less than this amount may be warned or dropped.)

(l) Accurate and complete records of attendance and scholarship must be kept in such form as may be conveniently used and safely preserved.

(m) If the Lower Division of a Junior College covers three or four years of high school work, it shall be accredited by the Commission on Secondary Schools as if it were a separate high school, and under the Standards for Secondary Schools. If the Lower Division covers one or two years only, and is therefore incomplete as a high school of standard type, the institution as
a whole must be accredited by the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, applying to the Lower Division the Standards for Secondary Schools as follows: Article IV, except (g) first sentence requiring four full-time teachers, and excepting also (h) and (j) regarding separate reports and inspections. Article XI regarding the Library applies in full.

(n) Schools accredited by this Association and desiring to participate in inter-school athletics shall be members of, or shall be eligible for membership in, the state athletic association or league or some such organization.

(Any school applying for accreditation and not fully meeting this standard should file with its annual report through the State Committee a full explanation. The following interpretation and explanation of Article IV, Section (n) was adopted in the Richmond meeting of the Association December, 1936:)
LIST OF REFERENCES


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