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Whitewashed: A Look into the Evolution of Race Conversations in American Classrooms

By

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by

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#### ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to follow the evolution of race conversations in the classroom through generations of people after the Civil War. My thesis is that curriculum excluded positive mentions of Black people after the Civil War until the Civil Rights Movement, when Black individuals crafted a more accurate and impartial curriculum. American curriculum's exclusion of positive Black representation left white people unable to have positive race conversations in general. Additionally, through a case study of my family, I examine how generations of people shaped their ideas on race through conversations. The written portion of my IS begins with curriculum from the end of the Civil War, through the Jim Crow Era, and ends in Civil Rights Movement. From there, I continue with my investigation of generational change in race conversations in my podcast Whitewashed. Here, I analyze my four-times great uncle's memoir about being a confederate prisoner of war in the Civil War, I interview my great grandmother, grandfather, and mother to examine their experience with race conversations and education or lack thereof.

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#### Introduction

It is safe to say that nearly all Americans during the summer of 2020 felt the magnitude of the Black Lives Matter movement that erupted after the murder of George Floyd by members of the Minneapolis Police Department. Social media became flooded with pleas to white people to have conversations about race and become actively anti-racist.<sup>1</sup> The plethora of infographics that coached white people through these conversations sparked my interest. I began to wonder why, after over 150 years of Black freedom from slavery, were white Americans still learning how to talk about race with people around them. This was the spark for my I.S.. I started with the space that shapes many American children into the adults they become: American public schools. I chose three pivotal time periods within African American history to focus on. I thought the appropriate place to start my investigation was at the end of the Civil War, as it was the beginning of a free experience for Black people in America. From there, I moved to the Jim Crow Era and saw that curriculum in white schools endorsed violence towards Black people, which did not lead to open-minded conversations about race and understanding. Lastly, the Civil Rights Movement inspired radical change in curriculum and established more of a need for schools to have a more fair and impartial representation of Black people.

To understand how slavery and the representation of Black people in schools has evolved since the end of the Civil War, the written portion of my IS engages with prominent scholars in the field of Civil War memory and the history of education. The combination of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> @Welcometothemovement, "Helpful rebuttals for racist talking points pt.1." *Instagram*, (August 12, 2020). <u>https://www.instagram.com/p/CDzZdE6DiDi/</u>

those two fields opened an interdisciplinary exploration, which allowed me to see the impact that structured conversations about race in schools have on adulthood. Civil War experts like David Blight, who examined reconciliation of white people after the Civil War and exclusion of Black people from that process, helped guide my perception on curriculum formation.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, education scholar Kristina DuRocher, who wrote *Raising Racists*, commented on white curriculum during the Jim Crow era that romanticized the Ku Klux Klan and promoted violence against Black people.<sup>3</sup> In terms of the Civil Rights Movement, Leanord Nathanial Moore studied the desegregation of a Cleveland school, which informed not only white people's resistance to desegregation, but also white people's apprehension to having open conversations about race.<sup>4</sup> Collectively, these scholars advocate for a more inclusive educational system.

I took my research on the evolution of race in the classroom a step further by interviewing generations of my family about their conversations on race. Starting with my four-times great uncle, who fought in the Confederacy. I was able to analyze his conversations about slavery during the Civil War. I interviewed my great grandma, who graduated high school in 1957; my grandfather, who graduated high school in 1976; and my mom, graduated high school in 1994 and college in 2002. I was able to track a more personal history of race conversations in the classroom through my interviews and question the impact that those conversations, or lack thereof, had on my family members, which mirror those of their respective generations as a whole. With their interviews, I created a podcast,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Leonard Nathaniel Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964: The Catalyst for Black Political Power in a Northern City." *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 2 (2002): 135–57.

Whitewashed, so that this exploration is accessible to those that are encouraged to embark on one themselves.

### Chapter I: Evolution of Race in School: Reconstruction-Civil Rights Movement Reconstruction

America was in shambles after the Civil War. Each person in the country had been affected by the conflict in one way or another. With the Union victorious, the former Confederate States scrambled with the destruction of their land and the migration of newly freed people within that land. The White Supremacist revolution had failed, but there were other ways to maintain superiority over Black people across the nation. One of the main ways to do that was through white supremacist narratives in education: the magnification of the "Lost Cause" myth and the enforcement of inferiority within the education of Black students.

Right after the Civil War, a panic struck the Southerners who had just surrendered their cause to the Northern states. It was vital that the ex-confederates found a way to explain themselves to the rest of the country. One of the people who sought to explain the actions of the Confederates was Edward Alfred Pollard, a pro-slavery lawyer and author, who lived in Virginia. In his book, *The Lost Cause*, Pollard hoped to explain why the Confederates lost the war.<sup>1</sup> Pollard himself was a critic of the former Confederate States' President Jefferson Davis but believed whole heartedly in the cause for secession by the Confederate states. He described at length the "humanity" that Confederate soldiers encompassed in their treatment towards Union prisoners of war. Pollard claimed that Union General Ulysses S. Grant did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A new Southern history of the war of the Confederates: compromising a full and authentic account of the rise and progress of the late Southern Confederacy* (New York: E.B. Treat & Co, 1866).

follow through with an agreement to negotiate with the Confederates, because it would "leave the Confederacy with a complete record of justice, [and] a testimony of humanity."<sup>2</sup> He continued with the idea that the humanity the Confederates held would forever "remain among the noblest honours and purest souvenirs of a lost cause."<sup>3</sup> Pollard's argument in this case was that Grant could not continue with his negotiation, because it would solidify the humanity of the confederate soldiers, further proving that these brave and caring men were not malicious and were simply fighting for a "lost cause." This work by journalists and scholars at the time pushed the narrative that Southern states were the "noble" side of the Civil War. Pollard explained that the Confederates stood no chance against the Northern Union, but they continued to fight, because they believed in Southern independence. Additionally, he believed that simple, physical war could not express the passion of the Confederate people. Instead, "the South [had] abandoned the contest of [those] four years, merely to resume it in a wider arena, and on a larger issue, and in a change of circumstances, wherein may be asserted the profit of experience, and realized a new standard of Hope!"<sup>4</sup> The Confederate States, to Pollard and a majority of Americans at the time, did not lose the war, but simply chose to fight it in a different manner. This, then, becomes the "Lost Cause" mythology.

In his book, *Race and Reunion*, David Blight, professor of American history at Yale, interrogated this discourse on a similar sentiment. Blight explained that coming out of the

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 643.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Ibid, 729.

Civil War there was a "social and political war" between the North and the South.<sup>5</sup> He continued, adding that the Southerners played victim to this "social and political war," as they made themselves seem to be "a glorious, organic civilization destroyed by an avaricious 'industry society' determined to wipe out its cultural foes."6 This political charge was one that shaped the narrative of the Civil War for centuries. As ex-confederates lined up to speak within the North, they used tactics to create emotional appeal to the Northerners, eventually lending themselves nicely to Southern sympathy. While the Northern public started to be influenced by the speeches of ex-confederates and America as a whole attempted to memorialize and honor those dead from the war, both sides of the Civil War came together through shared experiences. Blight explains that "soldiers on both sides believed fiercely in their causes – Southern independence and saving the Union, black freedom and racial slavery [respectively]. Almost everyone on both sides claimed that they fought for 'liberty."<sup>7</sup> Because soldiers shared the war experience, to many, there was a sense of mutual respect for one another. The acknowledgement of each side's suffering was helpful in moving the country past the Civil War. However, by *only* acknowledging two sides of the Civil War's destruction, white people have completely left Black people out of the narrative. This tactic completely ignores the bigger picture and, as a consequence, leaves out the voices of those once enslaved, the main reason for the Civil War in the first place. Slavery scholar, James Oliver Horton, explained, in his book Slavery and Public History, that the heated debate surrounding history was the cause of the Civil War. He asserted that, "On the eve of the Civil

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid, 141.

War, the political stands on slavery defined the battle lines of succession."<sup>8</sup> Horton established slavery as the root cause of the Civil War, which 'lost cause' sympathizers ignore.

Excluding slavery from curriculum about the Civil War creates a sense of white superiority, because white people do not have to acknowledge their part in enslaving Black people before the Civil War. Scholars have discussed the continuation of white supremacy through education since the late 1970s. Early discussions focused on the Black experience, as seen in Donald Spivey's Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915, where Spivey, a history professor at the University of Miami, wrote about the "Industrial Education" given to newly freed black people.<sup>9</sup> In his book, Spivey outlines that American society saw newly freed Black people as children unable to make decisions for themselves. At the end of the Civil War, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the leader of the Freedmen's Bureau established by the federal government, created a schooling system in Hampton, Virginia. There, Black people were taught to be proper servants and industrial workers. Spivey claimed that Armstrong set out to provide a 'special kind of schooling, one that would advance reconciliation between North and South and at the same time secure the southland lasting peace and order between the races."<sup>10</sup> To create a schooling that would please everyone, he decided to educate Black people on something that would maintain their subordinance to white people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> James Oliver Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc, 1978), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Ibid, 16.

Much of this schooling was based on the need for laborers in the capitalist market, as many Southern landowners were out of laborers and the North's industry was picking up. As Spivey mentions, the "northern industry needed more black labor and Hampton helped meet that need... The training that black women received at Hampton in dusting, cooking, and making beds made them perfect for domestic service. And male students were strong and well fit for the rigors of industrial work."<sup>11</sup> Although white people's ideals at the time were not discussed in Spivey's book, he implies that white people grooming Black people for servitude is a way for white people to feel more secure in their racial superiority. If Black women enjoyed their position and role as servants, there would be no reason for white people to feel guilty about their position. However, white people were teaching Black people to continue to be submissive and inferior. As Spivey says, "in a sense, the schoolhouse was to replace the stability lost by the demise of the institution of slavery."<sup>12</sup> These schools allowed white people to feel secure within their position in society as things were changing drastically.

Donald Spivey's exploration of schooling for Black people right after the Civil War is not confined to the education taught by Samuel Chapman Armstrong. AnneMarie Brosnan, a history professor at Mary Immaculate College, noted this in her paper "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861-1876." Brosnan's paper acknowledged the same kind of fear-driven education for Black people in the textbooks they were given to study. Black children, according to Brosnan, read textbooks that explicitly stated that Black people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid, 17.

belong on plantations. She explains that "freedmen's textbooks attempt to force the freed people back into the fields and on plantations... to accept their place as field hands."<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the Black educational experience after the Civil War, scholars had not focused on white student's education at that time. Brosnan found that the education given to white children at this time was likely ignored by scholars for two reasons. First, many were more interested in how newly freed Black people became integrated into society. The second could be that nothing had changed within white children's education. The American education system had taught white children about their racial superiority for generations. After the Civil War, this did not change. White children's education continued to promote their superiority and degrade other races. Hence, majority white scholars' lack of motivation to dive into this phenomenon. Brosnan, though, brought to life the learnings of white people at this time. She says that "although the African continent was often described in favorable terms, largely due to its fertile land and plentiful natural resources, the African people were invariably described as uncivilized, unintelligent, barbaric, and violent."<sup>14</sup> White children left school with the idea that Black people were "barbaric and violent," which shaped the way white people they saw Black people for the rest of their lives. Black children internalized notions of inferiority and a lack of societal acceptance.

Brosnan acknowledges that it is hard to know how much of an impression these textbooks left on children, but states that, "it would be naïve to think that lessons about race or civilization did not influence the thinking and ideology of the students who engaged with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> AnneMarie Brosnan, "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861–1876," *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 6 (December 2016): 719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid, 730.

them."<sup>15</sup> Helen Fox, author and former professor at the University of Michigan, analyzed the impressions left on children. She explained that her school textbooks as she was growing up had an incredible impact on her opinions of people of color. In her guide for handling race in the classroom for fellow educators, When Race Breaks Out, Fox explained the need for teachers and professors to reflect on their own education and interactions with the topic of race.<sup>16</sup> So, she did. She explained that she attended a predominantly Black school in the southern side of Chicago, which still used many of the textbooks that Brosnan mentions from the reconstruction era. One of the biggest moments that made Fox question her past education on race came as she was preparing to go into the Peace Corps. One of the speakers at their training session had mentioned that many white people go into the Peace Corps so that they could feel better about themselves and rid themselves of white guilt.<sup>17</sup> This shocked Fox, as she had never seen the issue with being white, in fact she learned not to reflect on this fact. Fox continued by saying that she learned at Berkley in her Anthropology class that there were only "Five Races of Man." There were Caucasians, the Mongoloids, the "Eastern Asiatics," the Australoids, and the Bushmen of Southern Africa. She discussed that:

"I was certain that this idea was correct, first because it was presented to me as scientific, and therefore unassailable, and second, because it gave authority to my growing vision of equality and human dignity: that people of all races are endowed with the same human capacities and strivings; that all spoke languages that were equally complex; and though some of their special systems might be 'exotic' or 'primitive,' they all could yield clues about human nature and were therefore worthy of serious study."<sup>18</sup>

As evident in the passage, Fox's experience with textbooks set her up to believe that

people could be lumped into five different groups and that some groups were more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid, 731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Helen Fox, "When Race Breaks Out": Conversations about Race and Racism in College Classrooms (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid, 12.

"primitive" than others, creating and solidifying a sense of superiority. The textbooks that schools give children early in life set those students up for how they perceive others in the future. This is evident in Helen Fox's case and is most certainly true in many other Americans. It is clear that white people built the system of education to impose thoughts of superiority and inferiority between races in America.

#### Jim Crow

As the political pressure of the Reconstruction Era started to die down, the social and institutional laws of Jim Crow started to liven. Jim Crow was a time of immense racism, violence, white supremacy, and fear among Black communities, especially within the South. Education throughout the Jim Crow era played a significant role in maintaining these de facto and de jure segregation laws. In 1896, right before the turn of the century, the landmark court case, *Plessy v Ferguson*, ruled that racial segregation was constitutional as long as services were "separate but equal."<sup>19</sup> Before this, many schools in the North had been integrated. Scholars discuss three main aspects in relation to education during Jim Crow. The first aspect discussed was that Black parents occasionally requested separate schools because of the insidious treatment Black students received from their white peers and teachers. The second aspect that scholars focus on is the inequality in funding for white and Black schools, demonstrates the systematic inequality against Black students. Lastly, scholars have followed the trend of curriculum tied to the Lost Cause myth, allowing white people to continue to perpetuate racist education in schools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Plessey v Ferguson, 163 US 537, (1895).

George Levesque, professor of Education History at Yale, focused on the first of these aspects in 1979. Levesque's article "Before Integration: The Forgotten Years of Jim Crow Education in Boston" outlined why Black schools were so far behind white schools. His argument stated that Black people placed themselves into a situation to be separate from white students, which unintentionally created inequality between the two school systems. He argued, "There is no explaining away a central *fact:* the *establishment* of Boston's racially separate school system was desired by, worked for, and, in part, paid by [Black people] themselves."<sup>20</sup> The specific reason for this desire is unknown to Levesque. Levesque acknowledged that Black attendance at integrated schools was low, which was a sign that something was wrong, but he did not get into an actual reasoning. A common argument for this reasoning, though, is the treatment that Black students had to endure in integrated classrooms. As Donald Spivey mentioned in *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915*, white superiority was evident all across the country.

Despite not acknowledging the treatment of Black students in integrated classrooms, Levesque did mention the intention behind Black parents' requests for separate schools, as "white indifference" towards Black students.<sup>21</sup> They requested separate schools, as Black children would be able to focus more on their studies. This is correlated to an article by Adam Fairclough, an American History professor at Leiden University Institute for History, titled "Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro … Seems … Tragic': Black Teachers in the Jim Crow South." However, instead of just acknowledging the 'indifference' of white administrators, teachers, and students, Fairclough elaborated on the power behind

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> George A. Levesque, "Before Integration: The Forgotten Years of Jim Crow Education in Boston," *The Journal of Negro Education* 48, no. 2 (1979): 114.
<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 115.

Black schools. Within Black schools, led by Black teachers in the Jim Crow South, students were able to learn about the flawed systems they had to exist within. Black teachers were able to teach about democracy and Black peoples' space to hold power within American democracy. Fairclough stated that, 'Black teachers tilled the soil and planted the seeds of what eventually became a full-blown revolt against segregation and discrimination: the civil rights movement."<sup>22</sup> He highlighted the significance of having Black only schools, because they allow students to see the place that they have in American politics and their given rights within the Constitution. Fairclough also wrote about the importance of "dispelling the ignorance, immorality, and superstition that, many believed, slavery had bequeathed to the race."<sup>23</sup> His acknowledgement of the falsities that came with white people teaching slavery in an integrated school is in contrast with Levesque's unwillingness to identify the treatment and ignorance in integrated classrooms. Thus, it can be discerned that this is one of the reasons why many Black people in the North were calling for separate schools. However, with the initiative for separate schools and the movement of legal segregation from *Plessy v* Ferguson, Black schools started to fall behind due to a stark lack of resources. Kristina DuRocher lays out the economics of the two school systems: "In 1915, the average expenditure for a white child was \$12.37, while the allotment for an African American child was one dollar."24 DuRocher set up a framework for the systematic inequalities between the two school systems based on race. As Black students tried to avoid school systems that perpetuated a curriculum of reconstruction and enforced racial inferiority, white

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Adam Fairclough, "Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro ... Seems ... Tragic': Black Teachers in the Jim Crow South," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (2000): 68.
<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 37.

"indifference" to Black education and refusal to fund their autonomy halted the creation of equal schools. Many believed that as soon as Black students lost their white teachers, there was no need to invest in them any longer.

Mentioned earlier, one of the biggest books on socialization in the era of Jim Crow is by Kristina DuRocher, a history and education professor at the Kennesaw State University. Her book Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South dove into what families and school taught white children of the Jim Crow era. Her main argument is that schools and parents socialized white children to be white supremacists. As Black children were losing resources within their schools, white schools were ramping up white supremacist education through the Lost Cause mythology. David Blight, in *Race and Reunion*, acknowledged that the "Lost Cause" is a myth that ex-Confederates pushed throughout reconstruction. The "Lost Cause" is a narrative that left out the experience of Black people by not addressing slavery as a cause of the Civil War and by not listening to the voices of Black people during the war.<sup>25</sup> DuRocher addresses the absence of Black people as well, not only in the economic neglect of Black schools, but in white curriculum. As Southerners wanted "history books true to the South" and, as DuRocher explains, true to the South meant painting ex-Confederates in an honorable light by explaining the Civil War as a fight for states' rights.

According to DuRocher, one of the ways that the South was able to express their honor and white superiority through curriculum was by supplementing any materials that white people did not see fit enough with other books that would be. This can be exemplified by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 291.

white teachers' and parents' demand to have the *History of the Ku Klux Klan*, a graphic depiction of the violence that the Ku Klux Klan brought upon Black people and the KKK's motives for their actions. As families and teachers were pushing for the narratives of white supremacy in white schools through promoting the actions of the KKK, "former southern soldiers argued that since they had made history, they must 'see that it is written."<sup>26</sup> This motive can be directly correlated to David Blight's argument that ex-Confederates, despite losing the war, made it their goal to write the history of the war as they wanted it to be remembered.

Kristina DuRocher, in *Raising Racists*, also paid considerable attention to the impact that these texts have on children and the actions of those children post school, especially as Jim Crow was an incredibly violent time in American history. She argues that "school's use of *History of the Ku Klux Klan* perpetuated this story [of Southern white culture] and the white supremacist ideals it represented."<sup>27</sup> She continues, "these narratives taught white boys, especially, that as long as they kept African American males in their subordinate place, black men were incapable of offering a threat to the South."<sup>28</sup> She states that these texts portrayed Black people as a threat and called for young white men to be the "protectors" of their race – consequently encouraging violence against Black people. This sentiment resonated in AnneMarie Brosnan's article about representations of race and racism in textbooks from Reconstruction, when she says, "it would be naïve to think that lessons about race or civilization did not influence the thinking and ideology of the students who engaged with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid, 83.

them.<sup>29</sup> Brosnan believed that the texts that children read throughout schooling influence how they act in society. If, as DuRocher claimed, the supplementary texts in white schools of the South were encouraging young white students to keep Black men in their 'subordinate place,' through the narratives of the KKK, it is reasonable to believe that education helped encourage children to join such violent organizations.

#### **Civil Rights**

Violent actions of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan added to a burning desire for Black people and other non-Black People of Color in the United States to be fully recognized as equal in the eyes of the law. These kind of motivations and desires propelled the Civil Rights Movement in the early 1950s. Officially sparking a new era of change and hope for a revolution was the *Brown v Board* Supreme Court Decision on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1954.<sup>30</sup> This Supreme Court decision acknowledged that the 'separate but equal' precedent set by the *Plessey v Ferguson* case had been creating spaces of education that were inherently unequal, violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>31</sup> Civil Rights activists not only believed in education reform, but they demanded it and saw education as being one of the most significant ways for Black people in America to combat white supremacy and oppression.

Meyer Weinberg, a former professor at University of Massachusetts Amherst in the School of Education and Afro-American Studies, explained in his book *The Education of* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> AnneMarie Brosnan, "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861–1876," *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 6 (December 2016): 731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, 347 US 483, (1954).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v Board of Education and Black America's struggle for Equality* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011), 118.

*African Americans* the kind of demands brought forth by civil rights activists. These demands, even though they centered on education, set a precedent for how society should represent Black people in all areas, not just education. For example, activists asked for, "employment of black personnel on all levels of schooling as an extension of traditional patterns of ethnic representatives; democratization of educational policy making by city authorities and school boards; and eradication of institutional and personal racism from curriculum, instructional materials, student learning, employment and promotion practices."<sup>32</sup> The demands showcased the desperate need for change in education for predominantly Black schools, as for many years, school officials left Black children behind. One example of inequity seen in DuRocher's explanation of the average amount of money spent on white children versus Black children. In 1915, schools spent an average of \$12.37 on white children and one dollar on Black children.<sup>33</sup> As evidenced, this systematic inequality had a variety of detrimental impacts on Black as they grew up.

Another way to look at these educational demands is through the lens of the "Lost Cause" that David Blight brings up in *Race and Reunion*. He explained that white people have historically left Black people of the narrative of the Civil War, despite their freedom being the main cause. This left Black people with no space to grieve or find their voice in American society as newly freed people.<sup>34</sup> The effects of this "Lost Cause" narrative and ignorance of the Black experience are still present almost a century later in activists' demands for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Meyer Weinberg, *The Education of African Americans*, (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 31.

representation "on all levels of schooling."<sup>35</sup> In contrast, James Oliver Horton in *Slavery and Public History*, explained that the late 1960s gave way for more realistic representations of 'the impact of race on the experiences of Americans."<sup>36</sup> He continued, "Americans have become more sensitive to and aware of difficult subjects such as race and even slavery, and many have a more realistic picture of these topics than did their parents or grandparents."<sup>37</sup> Despite the change in some American public schools' curriculum, Black people continued to be segregated from white schools, which created more contingency. This was one of the areas that civil rights activists sought change in education.

Even with the passing of *Brown v Board*, the blatant segregation continued within schools. Additionally, the lack of Black representation in schools brought about Freedom Schools in the early 1960s, which were free alternative schools that encouraged educational equality for and by Black people. Mississippi had one of the most prominent examples of Freedom Schools, established in the Freedom Summer of 1964. After finding success in Mississippi, Freedom Schools then began to rise in popularity across the nation. According to Jon Hale, an associate professor of Education Policy at the University of Illinois, "while the Freedom Schools extended important traditions of education for democratic and participatory citizenship, the schools are also indicative of the rich ideological debate and deep-seated tension that defined the civil rights movement."<sup>38</sup> The drive for a civil rights movement was what motivated the Freedom School organizers to target elementary and high school aged

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Meyer Weinberg, *The Education of African Americans*, (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> James Oliver Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Jon N. Hale, *The Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 21.

children, as the students would stay in their home state long enough to make an impact and inspire a desire to change their state's situation. The organizers wanted this movement to be sustainable and involve all ages.

The lessons that Black students learned in Freedom Schools were in opposition to the lessons taught to Black people after the Civil War, as Donald Spivey explained in *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915.* In the schools right after the Civil War, or, more broadly, schools taught and led by white people, white educators told Black students to stay submissive and be farm hands or servants.<sup>39</sup> Oppositely, almost one hundred years later, Black people organized to teach and empower themselves to fight back against a system which has constantly rendered them subordinate. Organizers and volunteers of Freedom Schools attempted to create a curriculum equal to the white counterparts. Students learned how to read and write; they learned about economics and politics; they learned about Black history and the emancipationist view of the Civil War in the United States, where slavery was the root cause and most important factor of the Civil War.<sup>40</sup> They learned how to be active citizens and participate in democracy. This kind of curriculum inculcated a sense of Black empowerment and self confidence that the Black communities needed, and also fueled the Civil Rights Movement.

With this newfound empowerment of Freedom Schools, there were certain aspects of the organization that held students back from the organizers' ideal goals. Hale, associate professor at The University of Charleston and author of *Freedom Schools: Student Activists* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc, 1978), 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 79.

in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement, argued that the white volunteers, who came out to help teach and organize the school for their fellow citizens, were often from affluent backgrounds in the north, which could be harmful to those they were intending to help. He says that these students came with their, "continued traditions, sometimes problematic, of white benevolence devoted to assisting the South in achieving the ideal of freedom."<sup>41</sup> Hale's use of the word "benevolence" indicates a sense of entitlement that comes along with doing charity work, or "white saviorism." The work that these white, affluent volunteers were doing may have been harmful to Black students as it set the two apart from each other. This sentiment is similar to Levesque's idea of "white indifference" when talking about the relationship between white teachers and Black students in the Jim Crow Era.<sup>42</sup> Although doing great work to help their fellow citizens, scholars consistently mention that white people educating Black students can be harmful, as they do not understand the Black experience. It is obvious that the volunteers at Freedom Schools cared deeply about their cause; however, when raised around whiteness and being so removed from the Black realities in the south, there is a disconnect that showed itself in problematic ways.

On the other hand, the community of the Freedom Schools sparked a sense of Black power that had not been able to thrive on a mass scale before the Civil Rights Movement. This kind of empowerment is visible on a small scale in Adam Fairclough's article about Black teachers in the Jim Crow era. Here, he emphasized the ideological power and inspiration that comes from being surrounded by fellow Black people striving for one cause.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Jon N. Hale, *The Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> George A. Levesque, "Before Integration: The Forgotten Years of Jim Crow Education in Boston," *The Journal of Negro Education* 48, no. 2 (1979): 121.

He specifically argued for the importance of having Black teachers, which was something the Civil Rights Movement was working for, but did not strictly have in their Freedom Schools.<sup>43</sup>

The Civil Rights Movement had an overall goal of better education for the Black community, both nationally with *Brown v Board* and locally with Freedom Schools. This was studies by James Banks, who founded of The Banks Center of Educational Justice from the University of Washington, and his wife, Cherry Banks, professor of education at the University Washington. In 2010, the couple wrote the book *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. In it, the authors acknowledged that multicultural education got its start in the Civil Rights Movement. As Banks argues:

"the consequences of the Civil Rights Movement had a significant influence on educational institutions as ethnic groups – first African Americans and then other groups – demanded that the schools and other educational institutions reform curricula to reflect their experiences, histories, cultures, and perspectives."<sup>44</sup>

The field of education expanded greatly through the Civil Rights Movement, as there was more of a demand for schools to represent and talk about cultures. The educational practices of multiculturalism are not something schools put in place immediately following the Civil Rights Movement. However, the movement for a more inclusive educational system, one that encourages students to fight for what they believe in and lift others up, began because of the work done by educational activists during the movement for civil rights.

As Black students' community-organized education became more inclusive and motivating, white students continued to receive the same education they had been receiving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Adam Fairclough, "Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro ... Seems ... Tragic': Black Teachers in the Jim Crow South," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (2000): 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 6.

for decades. There is a lack of scholarship on the topic of white education during the Civil Rights Era, which may be explained by the significant of changes within Black education at this time. However, there were indications that the changes made within the realm of education created intense opposition among white people. The case of Cleveland Public Schools is a prime example of white pushback against desegregation that *Brown v Board* put into law. Leonard Nathaniel Moore, the Vice President for Diversity and Community Engagement and professor of American History at the University of Texas at Austin, wrote specifically about this common case in his article "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964."<sup>45</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> great migration of Black communities across America occurred in the 1950s, causing panic among white people in cities. In Cleveland, layers of tension rose from Black people's social movements and white fear throughout the 50s, and "school discrimination emerged as the principle source of racial conflict."<sup>46</sup> Black parents demanded an end to the de facto segregation of Black students from white schools. Because the Cleveland school board had refused to bus Black students from their poorer, less efficient schools to the white, more funded schools, the Black parents started an organization called Relay Parents – later to be called Hazeldell Parents Association. Reluctantly, the school board agreed to bus Black students, because the Relay Parents and students went on strike; however, "school officials deliberately segregated the bussed students because they did not want to antagonize white parents."<sup>47</sup> Here we can see that white officials were continuing to discriminate against Black students at schools.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Leonard Nathaniel Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964: The Catalyst for Black Political Power in a Northern City," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 2 (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid, 138.

Despite the outward appearance of integration and acceptance, there was continuous humiliation for Black students in schools that were supposed to be uplifting them. The Cleveland Public School Board during the 1963-1964 school year, continued a back and forth with Black parents demanding the end of segregation and discrimination and constantly went back on their promises to Black parents. Eventually, Black parents took to protesting the schools; Moore states that, "white parents were clearly threatened at the prospect of even moderate integration within the receiving schools, and they took out their frustrations on black protestors. In many ways, the violence at the schools took the focus off of the school board's discriminatory policies while placing the focus on angry parents and protestors."48 The violence that stemmed from Black parents asking for their constitutional right to equal education for their children was an indication of the resistance that white people had towards this integration. White parents were furious about the slight chance of Black people being in school with their children, so much so that they would attack Black people. Despite not being able to alter the curriculum of white students, it is very clear that the Civil Rights Movement created intense fear among the white schooling community.

While the inferiority of Black people in the Unites States has been reinforced through education, since the end of slavery, white students' curriculum has taught them racial superiority, as well as a duty to uphold the social structure. Scholars have focused on many major aspects of white and Black education over the years and built on similar arguments in the field. Immediately following the Civil War, ex-Confederates made it a mission to excuse the treason and racism that they stood on by creating the "Lost Cause" myth, which completely excluded the Black narrative and suffering of the Civil War. To promote this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid, 147.

mission, white people created curriculum based off the "Lost Cause" myth, dispelling any ideas that negatively portrayed Confederates. White children's textbooks were riddled with dehumanizing portrayals of Black people, while schools taught newly freed Black people servitude and agriculture to keep them reliant and submissive to the white economy. In the Jim Crow era, after *Plessey v. Ferguson* deemed "separate but equal" to be constitutional, Southern school districts had a way to keep Black students out of white schools.<sup>49</sup> The government systematically underfunded Black schools compared to white schools, while white curriculum perpetuated the 'Lost Cause' and encouraged violently defending the white race through texts about the Ku Klux Klan. Additionally, Black parents pushed for disintegration because of the poor treatment their children were experiencing in integrated schools. During the Civil Rights era, activists demanded education reform to steer away from racism within the school curriculum. When schools refused, Black communities created their own schools, called "Freedom Schools." These spaces ensured empowerment and an inclusive curriculum. However, this did not come without push-back from educational institutions and parents within white school districs. Needless to say, there has been a continuation of many sentiments surrounding education over the past century, like the inclusion of the 'Lost Cause' myth in curriculum and the disapproval of diversity in schools by white parents. However, there have been changes throughout history as well, evidenced by the integration of schools and creation of multicultural education.

The contingency of education that I have explored throughout this historiography has served as the foundation for crafting a podcast, linked in the appendix. The podcast centers on interviews with four generations of my family and a memoir from an additional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Plessey v Ferguson, 163 US 537, (1895).

generation. Each interview, set within a specific historical context, functions as a case study. I placed each of my family members and how they learned about race in school within a section of history that I have elaborated on in this chapter. A memoir that my four-times great uncle wrote when he was a Confederate prisoner of war in the Civil War is the insight into the education and beliefs that put him in the position to fight for the continuation of slavery in the United States. I then jump down to my great grandmother and grandfather, who attended school during the Civil Rights era, to see how their education compares to the findings of other scholars in the field. To continue my investigation into education's influence on race conversations, I interview my mom and end with my conclusions. Having accurate Black representation in classrooms and structured conversations on race allows students to engage positively with race conversations, which is increasingly important in American society.

#### Chapter II: Proof of Oral History

#### Podcast Interview Preparation

#### Intro

Hello! Thank you for agreeing to do this interview with me. I am super excited to be looking into more of our family history and learning more about your personal experiences along the way. I have given you a little bit of information about what I am looking into, but I will explain a bit more. Basically, in a broader historical context, I am looking at how Americans have been educated about race throughout generations. I thought, since our family has a super cool insight into the Civil War through Captain Wash's memoir, I would be able to look specifically at us! So, throughout the interview I will be asking you some personal questions about how race was taught to you and presented to young people of your generation. Pleas answer the questions to the best of your ability and add any detail you would like. In fact, I will probably be asking you to say more about something you mention. The more in depth you go, the better for my content purposes and the deeper we can go in this interview. If there is something you do not feel comfortable answering, or you do not remember just let me know and we can move on. With that...

#### Interview Questions

- 1. Could you give a quick explanation of who you are, how old you are, where you are from and anything else you would like to share?
- 2. Describe your educational background.
- 3. Tell me about how race was explained to you in school.
- 4. How did your teachers, in any year, explain race to you?
- 5. Describe the students you went to school with.
- 6. How did students talk about race with each other?
- 7. How was race presented in your school textbooks?
- 8. Did you learn about the Civil War?
- 9. Did you learn about the institution of slavery within the context of the US in school?
- 10. What do you wish you had learned about race in school?
- 11. Was race ever talked about in your family from your parents? If so, can you go a bit more in depth on what that looked like?
- 12. Do you know much about Captain Arthur William Wash?
- 13. What were Mim & Paw's views on race?
- 14. If you went to college, did you have an eye-opening experience with more diverse people?
- 15. Have your ideas and views about race changed from when you were younger to today?

# CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESESARCH (Oral History)

Project Title: Race in Familial Education

Researcher: Lily Walters Faculty Advisor: Dr. Jordan Biro Walters

#### Introduction

You are being asked to participate in an oral history research study by Lily Walters for an Independent Study project, mentored undergraduate research – a written chapter and a podcast, advised by Dr. Jordan Biro Walters at the College of Wooster. You have been asked to share your voice, because this is a family centered project, and you are related to Lily Walters. You have personal insight into how race has been taught about in school and your own interactions with race growing up.

#### Purpose

The goal of this oral history segment is to explore the ways that my family has learned about race in their lifetime. This will give me better insight into the change of racial thought over multiple generations of learning and family lines. The scope of this project will include three of my family members, each in different generations. They will each be interviewed separately, then all together for a more complete conversation. I am hoping to see a change in exposure and educational curriculum/approaches surrounding race over time.

#### Procedure

The interview will take approximately 1 hour. During the interview you will be asked to share personal stories about your experience with race in an educational setting. You will be asked questions about curriculum and the presentations of race and those of other races in your schooling. The interview will be recorded. Your shared stories will be used in a podcast for the completion of the <u>Independent Study</u>.

#### **Risks/Benefits**

The risks of participating in this interview are minimal. The benefits of participating in this interview are a deeper, more wholistic view of your family's past and the ability to cement familial stories for generations to come.

#### Confidentiality

You may check below to request anonymity throughout the Independent Study transcript or podcast, otherwise your name will be referenced in project materials. If you choose to remain anonymous, your name will not be used in either of the project materials you choose.

#### Voluntary Participation

Your decision to participate in this interview is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from the interview or request confidentiality at any point in the process. You may also choose to have answers omitted, if there is anything discussed in the interview you wish to remain unheard.

#### **Contacts and Questions**

If you have questions about this project or interview, please feel free to contact Lily Walters at lwalters21@wooster.edu, walterslilv01/agmail.com, or call at +1 317 402 2536.

#### Statement of Consent

I agree to participate in this oral history interview, and to the use of this interview as described above. My preference regarding the use of my name is as follows:

X I agree to be identified by name in any transcript or reference to the information contained in this interview.

I wish to remain anonymous in any transcript or reference to the information contained in this interview.

Lily Walter

Researcher's Signature

1/24/21

Date

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I wish to remain anonymous in any transcript or reference to the information contained in this interview.

Participant's Signature

ty walters

Researcher's Signature

317202020

Date

12/13/20

Date

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Project Title: Race in Familial Education

**Researcher:** Lily Walters **Faculty Advisor:** Dr. Jordan Biro Walters

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I wish to remain anonymous in any transcript or reference to the information contained in this interview.

Sharon R. Mitchell

Participant's Signature

Walter

Researcher's Signature

Date

1/23/21 Date

#### Chapter III: Whitewashed

#### Prologue

**Lily Walters** So, I finally made it to the gate of the cemetery. Across from the entrance you can see Cedar Point and the roller coasters. You have to look out over the frozen Lake Erie, which, you know, is talked a lot about in the book. Prisoners waiting for winter, waiting for the water to freeze over for them to be able to run across and escape. Confederate soldiers from 1861 to 1912.

You know, they tore down the barracks that were here and replaced them with a confederate cemetery, so nothing here is as it would have been when my four times great uncle, Captain Wash, was imprisoned here.

So, there's a statue here. "In memory of the Southern soldiers who died in the federal prison on this island during the war between the states."<sup>1</sup> I don't know if it says anything else. There's so much snow on it. "The stone upon which this was inscribed was placed by the Grand Lodge of Mississippi in remembrance of the masons who sleep here." <sup>2</sup>

The monument is of a soldier looking across Lake Erie with his hand up, shielding his eyes from the sun, gun and bayonet in hand, "Southern 1910" underneath him.<sup>3</sup>

It's so crazy, even with all of the differences that have been made to this space, I can still picture men here, huddled around for warmth, playing cards on an empty potato crate,

<sup>1</sup> The Robert Patton Chapter of The United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Dedication to the confederate soldiers Buried at Johnson's Island*, 1910. Monument. The Bronze Memorial, Sandusky, Ohio. Viewed February 20, 2021.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid.

rushing to delivered mail in hopes of contact with their loved ones, discussing plans of escaping with only a few who held high enough distain for the union to actually attempt it. In their time here, the nearly 12,000 confederate prisoners that were confined on this small island near Sandusky Ohio, jutting out into lake eerie, spent more around 3 years together as the Civil War raged on.

I can almost feel the intensity of some of the conversations those Confederates had with each other. The frustration, passion, and controversy of the war that was carrying on outside the walls they were confined in must have been the topic of numerous conversations. With two sides, union guards and confederate prisoners present in the same space, and the fate of slavery on everyone's minds, the cause of the Civil War most certainly appeared at the heart of many debates.

You know, I remember my four times great grand uncle, in his memoir, mentioning a conversation he had with his supposed enemy, a union soldier, about slavery. "We inquired of them what inducements were offered and if they expected to \*fade into Captain Wash's Voice\* make us love them by stealing our negroes and making them equal with themselves, not us. We asked Mr. Adjutant-General if he was willing to fight beside a negro. No! But he was in for any possible means to subdue the rebellion."<sup>4</sup>

These kind of conversations on race and the place of Black people in American society have had a turbulent history, from being the topic of discussion, to being ignored, to being provoking, and back to being back at the heart of debate. Today on the program, we will dive into my family's history surrounding the conversation of race and how education influenced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> William Arthur Wash, Camp Field and Prison Life (Missouri: Library of Congress, 1870), 68.

it. Joining us will be my four times great uncle, captain wash, who served for the Confederate army, my great grandmother, born in 1939, my grandfather, born in 1958, and my mom, born in 1976. We will hear about their educational experiences with race and the kind of conversations they have taken part in. Stay with us.

As a quick disclaimer before we start the show, some of the topics discussed in the program may be uncomfortable for some listeners. However, I challenge you to stick with it. Its beneficial to be uncomfortable sometimes and you might learn something from it.

## Chapter One: Uncle Wash

In 1840, on a tobacco farm that approximately 10 slaves tended to in central Kentucky, Captain William Aurthur Wash was born. He and his brother, Allen Wash, my four times great grandfather, lived with their parents Mahala Clark and George Wash. When William became of age, he attended the Kentucky Military Institute for higher education. Unknown to him, he would soon be using the skills he learned in school against fellow Americans in the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

As a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island in Sandusky Ohio, Captain Wash wrote his memoir. He was a Captain in the 60<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Regiment. He was fighting for the rebellion. To him, the Union was stripping him of his rights to property. Property, as we now know, in the form of Black human lives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid, 21.

Captain Wash, in his memoir, is very open about his opinions on race and is willing to talk to anyone about it. He notes throughout is book the conversations that stood out to him most, which were often with his enemies on the Union side.

**Captain Wash** "We struck them heavy on the n\*\*\*\* question, giving freely our opinion of those who are willing to equalize themselves with the sweet-scented sons and daughters of Africa."<sup>6</sup>

**Lily Walters** Although a hard stance to process, Captain Wash's opinion was not an uncommon one. Especially in the heart of the Civil War. Historian Caroline Janney explains that "those who experience the war not only recognized the brutality and devastation inflicted by the bloodletting, but they also held firm convictions about why they were willing to sacrifice so much."<sup>7</sup> Through the bitterness of war, Confederates and Unionists clung tighter and tighter to their opinions to help them justify their sacrifices in the war.

Captain Wash was racist, let us not forget that, but Captain Wash was also a part of a bigger institution of men fighting to preserve the enslavement of people.

In conversation, a Union soldier...

**Captain Wash** "Acknowledged that he believed we were honestly deluded, and said he gloried in our spunk, but hoped we would soon be convinced of the error of our ways, and be willing to come back."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid, 61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Caroline Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> William Arthur Wash, Camp Field and Prison Life (Missouri: Library of Congress, 1870), 73.

**Lily Walters** It's clear that both union and confederate soldiers were settled deeply into their convictions surrounding the cause of the Civil War.

These conversations happened while Captain Wash was in prison for acting on his beliefs and committing treason against the federal government. He is able to have in depth debates on the vitality of slavery and the opinions of others, as his fellow soldiers are continuing to wage war against those he is talking to. There is a sense of openness that the two sides had, where they could talk about their differences even in the middle of a war.

Growing up in the third most slave populated state, with 57% of slave holders owning four or fewer slaves, Captain Wash understood the economic infrastructure that was created in the south based off of free labor. Especially as he lived on a cash-crop tobacco farm ran by 10 slaves, he believed that the abolition of slavery was a personal threat to his economic standing.

Captain Wash's upbringing definitely influenced his opinions and desire to fight for the Confederacy. He believed in this fully: one's up bringing plays a significant role in their thoughts and actions.

**Captain Wash** "July 1st, I received a letter from Lieut. H. M. Baldwin, battery M, 5th United States artillery, dated 'Two miles from Petersburg Va. Henry Baldwin was my class-mate in college, emulous to excel the other in merit.

On the day of graduation, he stood at the head of the class, and I was not far off. In parting we served a tie of sweet friendship, neither dreaming that we would ever be in

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hostile array, the one against the other, for though living at the North (New Jersey), he was conservative, and I no fire-eater.

In truth, neither of us then thought of entering the army at all, and I presume that, at last, the same took him in as did myself -- he found that the conflict of North and South was inevitable, and felt it a duty to take sides. Nor do I think it unreasonable that he chose the side he did, because, let men say what they will to the contrary, surrounding influences have a mighty control over our thoughts and actions."<sup>9</sup>

Lily Walters After the Civil War, the confederacy rejoined the Union. White people made amends. According to David Blight, a prominent scholar in the aftermath of the Civil War, white union soldiers and white confederate soldiers bonded over the tragedy of the Civil War and those they lost. However, in their coming together, they left out the experiences of Black people. People who were newly freed without direction who also fought in the Civil War for their own freedom.

### Chapter two: Great

Lily Walters My great grandmother, or as I like to call her, Great, graduated high school in "[Great] 1957."<sup>10</sup> She is...

**Great** "Eighty-one, and I lived here in West Terre Haute all but, see, a year and a half of my life I've been here."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid, 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Great, interview by Lily Walters, January 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid.

**Lily Walters** West Terre Haute's reputation lies in the fact that it was a sundown town, which is a town that either by regulation or violence would ensure segregation and exclusion of Black people in the town after sundown. So, in the 1950s, there were virtually no Black people living in West Terre Haute. Still today, the town is almost 83% white.

Great has been a housewife her entire adult life, not including the short time she waited tables at a friend's restaurant. She has also raised four children in the two story, stuffy house that she still lives in around the corner from the church that she attends.

When I sat down to talk to her about her experiences with race, race education, and conversations, she did not have much to say. She explained that she was removed from those kinds of things out of a lack of desire to be involved. I think it is important to think about her gender before we hear from her and read into the silence that she leaves us with. What are her pauses telling us?

Great "yeah, we had newspaper... I didn't read it... I wasn't interested."<sup>12</sup>

**Lily Walters** Her lack of interest may have been truly her own, but it may have been a sign of the times. As a woman in the 1950s, when she came into her own, it was expected that you did not have too strong of opinions. Additionally, her education on race did not allow for her to become interested and see value in these kinds of conversations.

When asked if her history teacher taught her about the Civil War, she replied,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid.

**Great** "No, cause mostly he was a basketball coach and he talked about basketball all the time."

Lily Walters "Really? In your history class?"

Great "Right."13

**Lily Walters** Oliver Horton, yet another prominent scholar in the field of remembering the Civil War commented on this phenomenon, that I am sure most Americans have experienced if they attended a public school. Hoton established that slavery and the role of race has become a vital part of much scholarship. However, this vital understanding is not being given to American students, because it does not always reach American public history teachers. As Horton explains, many American students do not receive information surrounding the Civil War and slavery, because many of their teachers do not have that information to share. He references that "many public schools history teacher is spelled C-O-A-C-H," just as my great grandmother mentions.<sup>14</sup>

Uncomfortability and resistance is what comes from schools not recognizing and talking about race and the history of race in the classroom. School, in my great grandmothers' case, ignored race and did not create a space for her to explore on her own. Instead, they accepted her lack of interest and moved on.

Lily Walters "Did you learn about the institution of slavery at school?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> James Oliver Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 42.

Great "No"

Lily "It wasn't talked about at all?"

Great "Not that I remember."

Lily "How did you learn about it?"

**Great** "... I just, I guess when I... It must have been talked about in the classes, but, like I say, I don't remember anything about it.

**Lily Walters** "Interesting, so you don't remember it as something big that you guys talked about?"

Great "Nope."15

Chapter three: Papaw

Lily Walters My grandpa was born in 1958. He...

**Papaw** "Went to school in West Terre Haute, Indiana. Graduated from the twelfth grade at West Vigo."<sup>16</sup>

Lily Walters ... and graduated in "[Papaw] '76." If there is something to say about my grandpa, it is that he is a really hard worker. Becoming a father at seventeen meant that he needed to work constantly. He jumped from job to job until he finally landed at a secure trucking company, my grandfather values hard work more than anything else.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Great, interview by Lily Walters, January 23, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Papaw, interview by Lily Walters, January 24, 2021

When I asked him about his experience with race, I started to notice a difference in approach compared to my great grandmother's generation. Having grown up in the 60s and 70s, my grandfather was faced with race on a national scale, as the Civil Rights Movement was in full swing around him. However, school was a disservice to him, as he was unable to deal with these reckonings in a structured manner.

Lily Walters "So did you guys talk about the race riots, or did you just all see it on TV? Like, was it a discussion or no?"

**Papaw** "I don't remember, in my environment, anybody really talking about it. I'm sure that the older people were. But, as a kid, you know, being born in '58, I wasn't very old. It wasn't an issue. It didn't bother me. It was elsewhere."<sup>17</sup>

**Lily Walters** My grandpa is mentioning a common gap in America's remembrance of the Civil Rights Movement. Historian Thomas Sugrue focuses his research on this phenomenon. He explained that American memory has created a romanticized narrative of the Southern Civil Rights Movement, because it "is a story of triumph – a grassroots movement that led to profound political, social, and legal change."<sup>18</sup> He then goes on to explain the many initiatives in the north that trickled into motivating the south. For example, the Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE, achieved victories in the north, like making changes in Chicago, Illinois' public-school segregations, then went to support the famous lunch counter sit-ins and bus stop protests in the south.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Sugrue, Thomas J., and Haley Leuthart. "Northern Lights: The Black Freedom Struggle Outside the South." *OAH Magazine of History* 26, no. 1 (2012): 9.

Not getting these discussions on race from school, yet being faced with it in the public, left people to make their own conclusions on race and slavery and its influence on the Civil War.

**Lily Walters** "Yeah. I think the thing with America, though, is that it's like, this entire country was based off that. You know? We turned into, like, a slave country. And I think that's where it gets a little tricky, but I mean, I mean youre right..."

**Papaw** "But that's not true. Certain pockets of the country were, but not the whole country."

**Lily Walters** "Well, okay. Our entire economy was based on it. Everyone was benefiting from it."

Papaw "In the south"

Lily Walters "Yeah, in the north, too."

Papaw "Not to the extent that youre saying. No."<sup>19</sup>

Lily Walters Many scholars, in the field of slavery and Civil War memory have concluded that these topics have been removed from Americans' sight and mind. One example is Ira Berlin, an American historian, who writes in his article "American Slavery in History and Memory", "For most of the twentieth century, slavery was excluded from public presentations of American history and played no visible role in American politics."<sup>20</sup> He continues with, "American history cannot be understood without slavery. Slavery shaped the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Papaw, interview by Lily Walters, January 24, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ira Berlin. "American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 4 (2004): 1257.

American economy, its politics, its culture, and its fundamental principles. For most of American history, the society of the mainland colonies and then the Unites States was one of slaveholders and slaves."<sup>21</sup>

I also think that it is interesting to point out the Cold War, which people of this generation lived through. There was an ingrained sense of national pride, which shut down America's reckoning with the shame that is associated with slavery.

Throughout our conversation, my grandpa mentioned several times that we, as a country, are going...

**Papaw** "backwards now than what it was as I was growing up getting better all the time. I think it's going in reverse."

Lily Walters "What do you mean by that?"

Papaw "Everybody is afraid to open their mouth"<sup>22</sup>

Lily Walters I think he has some standing here. Currently, people are pitted against each other, making it hard to openly express personal opinions. It makes me wonder; then, how do we have these kinds of conversations without it being taboo?

**Papaw** "We've got some young Black guys there at work that think that way. I owe them something. I don't owe you nothing. I've done nothing against you."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Papaw, interview by Lily Walters, January 24, 2021.

**Lily Walters** "You know what I think it is? And I feel like this is not going to go over well, but I think that... I think its less personal and more of like... more of like white people in general have created this system where... There were people in charge who were making all of these rules. Right?"

Papaw "Oh, yeah."

Lily Walters "And they hurt people."

Papaw "Oh, yeah."

Lily Walters 'Italians, as well."

Papaw "Yeah."

Lily Walters "But I think that slowly things have gotten a lot more open for everybody, but especially for white people. And so, so, I think that it's not like you owe anybody anything, or that I owe anybody anything. Its that, like, they have been in a country that has always seen them as less. So, they are just looking for some... I don't even mean reparations, I just mean that there needs to be a change, and they're looking for a change."

#### Chapter four: Mom

Lily Walters My mom was born in 1976 in Terre Haute, Indiana ad graduated in "[Mom] 1994," then went on to receive her bachelor's and master's degree after that. She was a nurse for a number of years, then went into the more business side, where she works with drug safety and leads a team of 140 people.

When I sat down to talk about race with my mom, I immediately felt a change in tone from the generations before her. Growing up in the 80s and attending college in the 90s, my mom's education was a bit more open, and she came to realizations about race at a young age.

She told me that when she was thirteen or fourteen she saw a photo of a Black man hanging from a tree in her textbook. Her first instinct was that it was in a southern state, but after reading the caption, she realized it was in a town close to her in Indiana.

**Mom** "That was the first time I realized, like, oh my gosh, that was here. Because nobody was talking about that, right? You had read the whole thing about Civil War, reconstruction, all of that is pointing to the south. Right? And so, I think that was the first time I had a realization of, um, it wasn't just there. It was everywhere. It was in my area."<sup>23</sup>

**Lily Walters** Her story reminds me, yet again, of Oliver Horton, when he describes many Americans seeing slavery and racism as "an exclusively southern phenomenon."<sup>24</sup> My mom was in a school that did not have very explicit conversations about the prevalence of slavery and violent racism throughout all of the US. However, she was able to see this kind of violence in her textbooks and come to a well-rounded realization herself.

There was a lack of these conversations, until she started Honors US History, where the class was set up to go more in depth than the regular history classes. They would read the same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Mom, interview by Lily Walters, December 13, 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> James Oliver Horton, *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: The New Press, 2006), 37.

textbook as the regular classes, but have more open and honest conversations about the content.

When I asked her about how the Civil War was presented to her in class, she explained that she does...

**Mom** "... remember from the textbook standpoint it was fought over states' rights. Um, so it was very clear that it was a states' rights argument. Then that's how the idea of slavery flowed, is really from that lens. He..."

Lily Walters "Her teacher"

Mom "He had, again it was honors history, so I don't know... our history class was really taught a little different than everybody else's, so it may not be representative. He did a lot of things to go much deeper and to talk about the economics of how the south was set up really on the labor of these people, who were not being paid. Right? And how its beyond states' rights, it goes to how were they going to continue to profit as they did and live their lifestyle the way they lived it. So, I do think, in that way, I got a little bit more that probably the average student, because he did a lot of lectures that were beyond the textbook."<sup>25</sup>

Lily Walters My mom was introduced to the foundation of America as a slave society which many Americans are not given. However, generationally, it has started to become a more understood thing. This is all possible because of the deep conversations that she had at a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Mom, interview by Lily Walters, December 13, 2020.

young age, in a structured setting. From there, she was able to come into the world with a certain understanding and empathy.

She then goes on to explain what would have helped her later in life if she was introduced to it in school. I would also like to point out the difference in tone compared to my grandfather and great grandmother. There is a sense of curiosity and openness that comes with the basis of understanding the impact that race has had on America.

**Mom** "I really wish we would have learned more about the human experience, because I just had no idea how other people were experiencing, you know, our same country. You know, its kind of like 'oh, slavery happened, and then it ended, and then Civil Rights happened,' and that's what it really seemed like to me. Um, because, you know, we talked a lot about that in school, and so but even after the Civil Rights happened, like, I had no idea how difficult life was for Black people in the US."

#### **Conclusion**

Lily Walters I would like to mention the difference in education that each generation of my family has. My great grandmother and grandfather each graduated high school. My mom went on to get her bachelors and master's degrees. I think that her openness to race conversations not only comes with a change in the public-school curriculum, but also with spaces such as college classroom that were able to get her out of her comfort zone with these kinds of conversations. Additionally, for me, I am currently a senior in college. With that, I have had access to a network of people and resources that help me have and process these kinds of conversations before I bring it back to my family – this is extremely helpful in initiating tough race conversations.

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If I am being honest, I have not thought about the influence that race has had on Americans' daily lives, until recently, which is an incredibly privileged position to be in. When I was younger, I lived in a very diverse area, in Indianapolis, Indiana, which allowed me to interact with people who looked differently than me. However, I believe that I approached my openness in a very color-blind fashion, attempting not to notice the differences between me and the people of color. It was not until recently that I realized how harmful colorblindness is. Instead, we should embrace differences and hold each other up in a system that is for white people and against people of color.

As a future educator, I wanted to see the kind of role that education has in shaping people's approaches towards race conversations and how it has changed over generations. From what I have learned and seeing the impact that structured, and accurate acknowledgements that race has on Americans' lives through the difference in my family's generations, I have started to think about how I will include race conversations in my history classroom. I have started asking myself the same questions that feminist author Megan Stielstra mentions in her book *The Wrong Way to Save Your Life*. "When do you think about your privilege? Where do you see racism (in your city, in the systems you use every day, in the art and media you consume, so forth), what do you notice, and now, what can you do?"<sup>26</sup> I will continue to ask myself these questions and carry them into my future classroom.

Black Lives Matter this past summer of 2020 really gave me a sense of urgency to have these kinds of open conversations with the people around me. It really is on white people to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Megan Stielstra, *The Wrong Way to Save Your Life: Essays* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2017), 194-197.

taking on the task of questioning how each other were raised and what kinds of biases our education instilled in us.

Having these conversations was incredibly difficult. It is hard to not take things personally, but I think the goal is to get out of the personal and into the structural and into another person's shoes. I have grown a lot from this process and know that there is still much to do. I would like to urge you to start a conversation with those around you. Please use this podcast as a reference, or the resources in this episode's show notes. Each conversation we have creates a bit more space for openness and understanding.

#### Thank yous

I would like to thank my adviser Dr. Jordan Biro-Walters for all of her support in making this podcast come to life. Also, to Jackson stuff for being the lively voice of Captain William Aurther Wash, and Henry Mai for being the first person I thought of when I needed help. And a big ol' thanks to Mike Alber for composing this episode's music, I hope it gets just as stuck in your head as it has in mine. Also, most importantly, I would like to thank my family not only for letting me stick a microphone in their face, but also for getting out of their comfort zone and having such a difficult conversation with me. I learned a lot and really enjoyed being able to hear so many perspectives. Thanks.

#### Show Notes

Black Lives Matter Tool Kits

<u>NPR's "Want to have Better Conversations About Racism with your Parents? Here's</u> <u>How"</u>

Megan Stielstra, *The Wrong Way to Save Your Life: Essays* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2017).

# Appendix A: Link to Whitewashed

https://soundcloud.com/user-188679801/whitewashed

# Annotated Bibliography

# **Primary Evidence**

@Welcometothemovement, "Helpful rebuttals for racist talking points pt.1." *Instagram*, (August 12, 2020). <u>https://www.instagram.com/p/CDzZdE6DiDi/</u>

This is one of the many Instagram posts that encourage people to have difficult conversations with racist people. I chose to use this post as an example to the struggle that people were facing in the wake of George Floyd's murder by the Minneapolis police department. This post helps to set up my question: why are people just now learning to be anti-racist?

Great, interviewed by Lily Walters, January 23, 2021.

I interviewed my great grandmother to gain an understanding on her participation in race conversations at school. She did not have much to say, which left me to analyze her pauses. Her school's inability to create open conversations about race left her to be uninterested, which is a disservice to her. Additionally, her gender complicates her ability to participate in these kinds of conversations. I use her voice to guide listeners through her generation of the Jim Crow Era.

Mom, interview by Lily Walters, December 13, 2020.

I sat down with my mom to talk about her experience with race conversations in her schooling. Here, I was able to gain an understanding on her upbringing and exposure to race conversations, which enable her to be more open minded. I use her interview to guide listeners through a new, more open generation of race conversations, compared to my grandfather and great grandmother.

Papaw, interview by Lily Walters, January 24, 2021.

I sat down with my grandfather to question his experience with race conversations and education. From him, I learned that not having access to structured race conversations makes grappling with national race issues more difficult. One is made to create their own opinions on the importance of race in Americans' lives. I am able to use his voice as one to reflect people in his generation.

The Robert Patton Chapter of The United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Dedication to the confederate soldiers Buried at Johnson's Island*, 1910. Monument. The Bronze Memorial, Sandusky, Ohio. Viewed February 20, 2021.

I visited the prisoner of war camp that my four-times great uncle was imprisoned at in Sandusky, Ohio. I was there to feel the power of place, when talking about the Confederate soldier, who would start off my podcast. This monument helped carry the introduction of my podcast by giving more context to the people that created the memorial at Johnson's Island. Wash, Capt. William Arthur. Camp, Field, and Prison Life, 1870.

This is a memoir written in 1865 by my four-times great uncle, a Confederate soldier and prisoner at Johnson Island in Sandusky, Ohio. In it, he discusses his stances on slavery, the government's threat to state's rights, and daily workings in the prisoner of war camp. His ability to elaborate on different conversations he had with fellow Confederates and his enemies, the Unionists, will be very useful in my podcast. I am able to use his voice as a starting point for my podcast – one of racist, yet open dialog about race. From there, I can show how conversations on race have changed.

### **Secondary Evidence**

Banks, James A., and Cherry A. McGee Banks. *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010.

James and Cherry Banks are married scholars that helped build the field of Black studies. James Banks, a former 5<sup>th</sup> grade teacher saw the importance of culturally responsive education and is seen as the father of Multicultural Education. The couple have substantial credibility in the field, and their book *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* lays out the workings of this approach to education that sprung up after the Civil Rights Movement. I use this book to show the changes that occurred because of the Civil Rights Movement, as I follow the change in education over time and the Civil Rights Movement was a turning point for Black education.

Berlin, Ira. "American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 4 (2004): 1251-268.

Ira Berlin was a prominent scholar in the southern and African American history fields. His works focused mainly on the enslavement of Black people. His expertise lends him nicely to providing the fact the American history is based on slavery. I use his powerful assertion to contextualize the gap in my grandfather's generational understanding. I want to show, in my podcast, that the American public school system's inability to have honest conversations about race has resulted in that generation not having the full history.

Blight, David. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003.

David Blight is a historian and professor of American history at Yale University. His focus is on the Civil War and Reconstruction era. David Blight's *Race and Reunion* is an important book in the field of Civil War memory, because it outlines the theory and progression of the 'Lost Cause' myth. His analysis of the 'Lost Cause' is exactly what I need for my project, as the 'Lost Cause' myth is taught in schools since the end of the Civil War to today. This kind of narrative in curriculum is used to

showcase the ignorance that has been taught in schools over time, ensuring that the Black experience of the Civil War is left out of the public sphere.

Brosnan, AnneMarie. "Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861–1876." *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 6 (December 2016): 718–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2016.1223703.

AnnMarie Brosnan is a history and policy of education professor at Mary Immaculate College in Ireland. Her focus is on education throughout American reconstruction after the Civil War. Her article is perfect to give me insight into the kind of curriculum that students were taught in the Reconstruction era. I use this article to showcase how Black students were being told that their place was to remain on plantations. I am also able to use this to compare Black curriculum to white curriculum and analyze the difference between the two at the time.

DuRocher, Kristina. *Raising Racists: The Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South.* Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011.

Kristina DuRocher is a history and education professor at the Kennesaw State University. She has primarily focused on the education of white students in the early 1900s. Her book *Raising Racists* is a monograph about the socialization of white children during the Jim Crow period. As I am looking at the white experience in education over time compared to the Black, DuRocher's book is perfect for my section of Jim Crow. I use her argument that white curriculum influences the actions those students make as adults, specifically the violence done on Black people in the Jim Crow south.

Fairclough, Adam. "Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro ... Seems ... Tragic': Black Teachers in the Jim Crow South." *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (2000): 65-91.

Adam Fairclough is a professor of American history at the Leiden University Institute for History in the Netherlands. Fairclough focuses mainly on the Black experience through the Civil Rights Movement but deviated to look at the educational build up before the movement. In his article, he looks at the power of Black people being involved in their own education. I use his article to express this as well. Additionally, I am able to explore the inspiration that sparked during the Jim Crow era that will be used in the Civil Rights Movement. He allows me to trace the change in education from one generation to the other.

Fox, Helen. "When Race Breaks Out": Conversations about Race and Racism in College Classrooms. New York: Peter Lang, 2009.

Helen Fox is an author and former professor at the University of Michigan. Her collection of books is based on culturally responsive teaching and education in a post-racial world. Her book *When Race Breaks Out* is a book for professors looking for guidance when talking about race in the classroom. However, I do not use her book for that purpose. Instead, because I am not focused on higher education, I was interested in her personal account dealing with race in textbooks when she was a child. She mentions the adjectives associated with People of Color in the textbooks that she was given and the impression that that left on her. I used this to establish that what children learn in their textbooks leave a lasting impression.

# Hale, Jon N. *The Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Jon Hale is an associate professor of education policy at the University of Illinois. His primary focus is on the evolution of Black education in the United States and teaches a course on the evolution of education over American history. His book *The Freedom Schools* goes into depth about the creation of Mississippi Freedom Schools in the Civil Rights era. He makes it clear that these schools were incredibly powerful to keep the movement going, because they were educating the next generation. He also mentions that the white volunteer educators occasionally brough problematic predispositions to their work. I use his book to showcase the work that Black people took into their own hands during the Civil Rights Movement to further education reform.

# Horton, James Oliver. *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. New York: The New Press, 2006.

James Oliver Horton was an African American history professor at George Washington University and Historian Emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. Horton focused, in his works, on the remembrance of slavery and its prevalence in public history. In this book, Horton looks specifically at how slavery and Civil War education has changed in classrooms and public history cites. I use his work, specifically, to showcase the change that education makes after the Civil Rights Movement and the need for schools to do better at acknowledging the depths of slavery in America.

# Janney, Caroline. *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Caroline Janney is a history professor at the University of Virginia, who focuses mainly on how people remember the Civil War. She specifically studies the actions taken by soldiers within the Civil War to grapple with the death and destruction they lived through. I use Janney's work to exemplify just that. When talking about my four-times great uncle's opinions on slavery and Black people, I use Janney to give context to his harsh opinions. She explains that those opinions continued to get harsher in order for soldiers to justify their involvement in such a bloody war.

# Kluger, Richard. Simple Justice: The History of Brown v Board of Education and Black America's struggle for Equality. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011.

Author and Pulitzer Prize winner, Richard Kluger focuses on writing about politics and social implications of politics. His book *Simple Justice* is focused on *Brown v Board*, the groundbreaking court case that deemed schools cannot be 'separate but equal,' as the separation of Black and White schools are inherently unequal and goes against the Fourteenth Amendment. I use his work to explain how the previous precedent set by *Plessey v Ferguson* was overturned, which helped fuel the Civil Rights Movement's education reform.

Levesque, George A. "Before Integration: The Forgotten Years of Jim Crow Education in Boston." *The Journal of Negro Education* 48, no. 2 (1979): 113–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/2294758.

George Levesque is an educational history professor at Yale University, who is interested primarily in American education. Levesque's exploration into the Jim Crow era education is useful to understand the apprehension of Black student and parents in integrated schools. I use Levesque's article to identify these apprehensions, but also to compare to other scholars who are able to mention the reasoning behind this apprehension: that treatment against Black students was troubling. I also use his identification of 'white indifference' of teachers and am able to tie the same sentiment throughout the generations.

Moore, Leonard Nathaniel. "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964: The Catalyst for Black Political Power in a Northern City." *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 2 (2002): 135–57. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144202028002001</u>.

Leonard Moore is a professor of Black history at the University of Texas. He wrote an article about the case of Desegregation Crisis in Cleveland, Ohio during the Civil Rights Movement. This was a violent crisis against the desegregation of Cleveland public schools. As white families protested the desegregation, the school board complied with their wants. I use this article to identify the pushback that white people, particularly parents, had against the education reform of the Civil Rights Movement. I am able to identify the continuation of white superiority in the realm of education and the fear of bringing Black students into white institutions.

Pollard, Edward Alfred. *The Lost Cause: A new Southern history of the war of the Confederates: compromising a full and authentic account of the rise and progress of the late Southern Confederacy.* New York: E.B. Treat & Co, 1866.

Edward Pollard was a journalist at the time of the Civil War and supporter of the Confederate States. He wrote one of the most prominent books of the time after the Civil War that justified the actions of Confederates. Pollard goes into the 'humanity' that Confederates showed throughout the war and their passionate fight for liberty. I am able to use Pollard's book to identify the beginning of the 'Lost Cause' myth that David Blight analyzes a bit more. In my analysis, I compare the two scholars' positions on the myth as Pollard praises it and Blight criticizes it.

Spivey, Donald. *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education 1868-1915*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc, 1978.

Donald Spivey is a professor of history at the University of Miami and in 2010 was appointed to the Research Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives. He is a credited author in the field of African-American Studies, and his book *Schooling for the New Slavery* focuses on Black education right after the Civil War. Spivey claims that the educational system set up for freed Black people after the Civil War was a way to keep Black people submissive to white authority, as they were learning to be field hands and servants. I am able to use his book as a start of Black education. I am able to trace Black education from here to the Civil Rights Movement, where Black people were educating themselves and demanding more inclusive curriculum for integrated schools.

Stielstra, Megan. *The Wrong Way to Save Your Life: Essays*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2017.

Megan Stielstra is a feminist author that dives into a collection of essays about her life. In her autobiography, she mentions questions that are viral for people to start asking themselves in order to gain a better understanding of one's place. Those questions surround racism and privilege that each person takes part in or holds. I thought this was powerful, as I am also attempting to check my privilege throughout this process. I encourage my podcast listeners to ask themselves the questions that I will be asking my future students.

Sugrue, Thomas J., and Haley Leuthart. "Northern Lights: The Black Freedom Struggle Outside the South." *OAH Magazine of History* 26, no. 1 (2012): 9-15.

Thomas Sugrue is a professor of history at New York University. His primary focuses are 20<sup>th</sup> century race relations and civil rights. This article brings awareness to the initiatives in the north that influenced Civil Rights Movement actions in the south. I use this understanding to bring to light a common gap in Americans' understanding of the Civil Rights Movement. People were fighting for civil rights all across America, not solely in the south.

Supreme Court of The United States. U.S. Reports: Plessey v Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537. 1890. Periodical. <u>https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep163537/</u>.

The Supreme Court of The Unites States voted on this groundbreaking court case surrounding the debate of shared spaces for Black and white people. The court decided, and set precedent, in 1890 that segregation was constitutional as long as conditions were equal. This allowed for segregation to reign free. I use this court case to explain the legality behind unequal, separate education during the Jim Crow era.

Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483. 1953.

The Supreme Court of The United States voted on this court case in 1953 surrounding the inequality of educational spaced in America. Black students were getting poorer education with less resources and the American people fought back. The court decided that this kind of treatment was unconstitutional. This decision fueled the fire in the Civil Rights Movement and demand for education reform. I use this to start off my section on the Civil Rights Movement and the change that would come for Black education.

Weinberg, Meyer. *The Education of African Americans*. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991.

Meyer Weinberg was an African-American education professor at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. In his book *The Education of African Americans*, he focused on his expertise. He identified the specific demands that Civil Rights Activists were asking for in relation to educational reform. I use his book to also identify these demands and follow through with each action that activists took to achieve these demands.