

WENDEL A. WHITE

“Schools for the Colored”

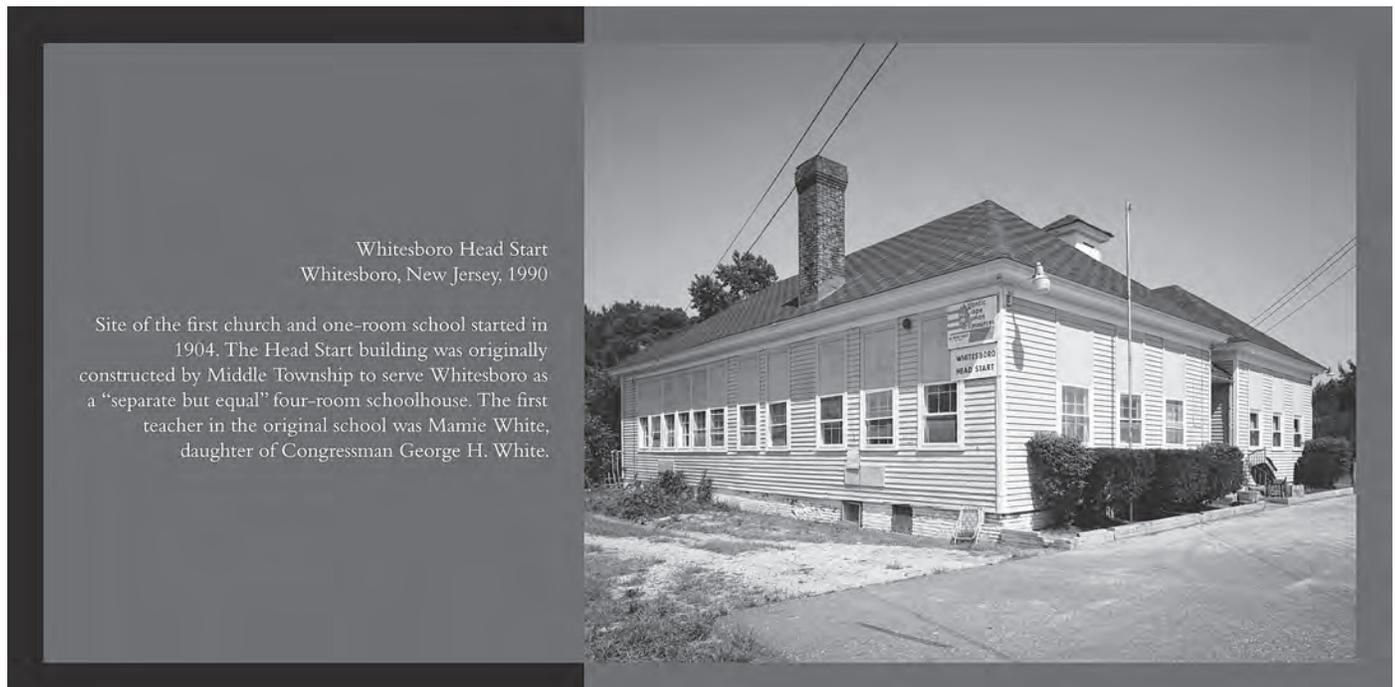
Places, Words, Pictures

In the fall of 1986, I accepted a position on the faculty at the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (Stockton State College at the time). Just before moving to New Jersey, a conversation with Deborah Willis (at the time a curator for the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York) made me aware of an African American community known as Whitesboro, New Jersey (Figure 1). During the summer of 1989, I drove to Whitesboro, photographed the town, and returned several times over the next few months. Those photographs, which would become the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project, began as a modest attempt to depict daily events

and activities in a small, historically African American community near the southernmost tip of New Jersey.

In Whitesboro I photographed and held extended conversations with many of the residents (mostly senior members of the community). Mrs. Gladys Spaulding was one of the first to invite me into her home, where she spent several hours answering my questions about the history of the settlement (Figure 2). Her home was located just a few hundred feet from the Whitesboro Head Start program center. Mrs. Spaulding described the history of the building and its origins as a one-room school (expanded from the original

Figure 1. Wendel White, *Whitesboro Head Start, Whitesboro, New Jersey, 1990*. Courtesy of the artist.



Whitesboro Head Start
Whitesboro, New Jersey, 1990

Site of the first church and one-room school started in 1904. The Head Start building was originally constructed by Middle Township to serve Whitesboro as a “separate but equal” four-room schoolhouse. The first teacher in the original school was Mamie White, daughter of Congressman George H. White.

structure into a multiroom building) for the African American students of Whitesboro. Her description of the school included high praise for the school's black teachers as well as concern for the difficulties students faced as they moved from this segregated primary school to the predominately white high school. She defined the shifting relationship between black students and white high school teachers who perceived them as interlopers or simply not worth the effort given the social constraints on African American achievement.¹ Mrs. Spaulding died about one month after our conversation. Years later, this encounter would become the foundation of my interest in the role of the schoolhouse as one of the most enduring spaces for the definition of racial and class identity in the American landscape.

The *Small Towns* project began during the summer of 1989 and ended in 2002 with the fabrication of a traveling exhibition that included seventy-four photographic prints, a website (blacktowns.org), and the publication of a catalog by the Noyes Museum of Art in Oceanville, New Jersey.²

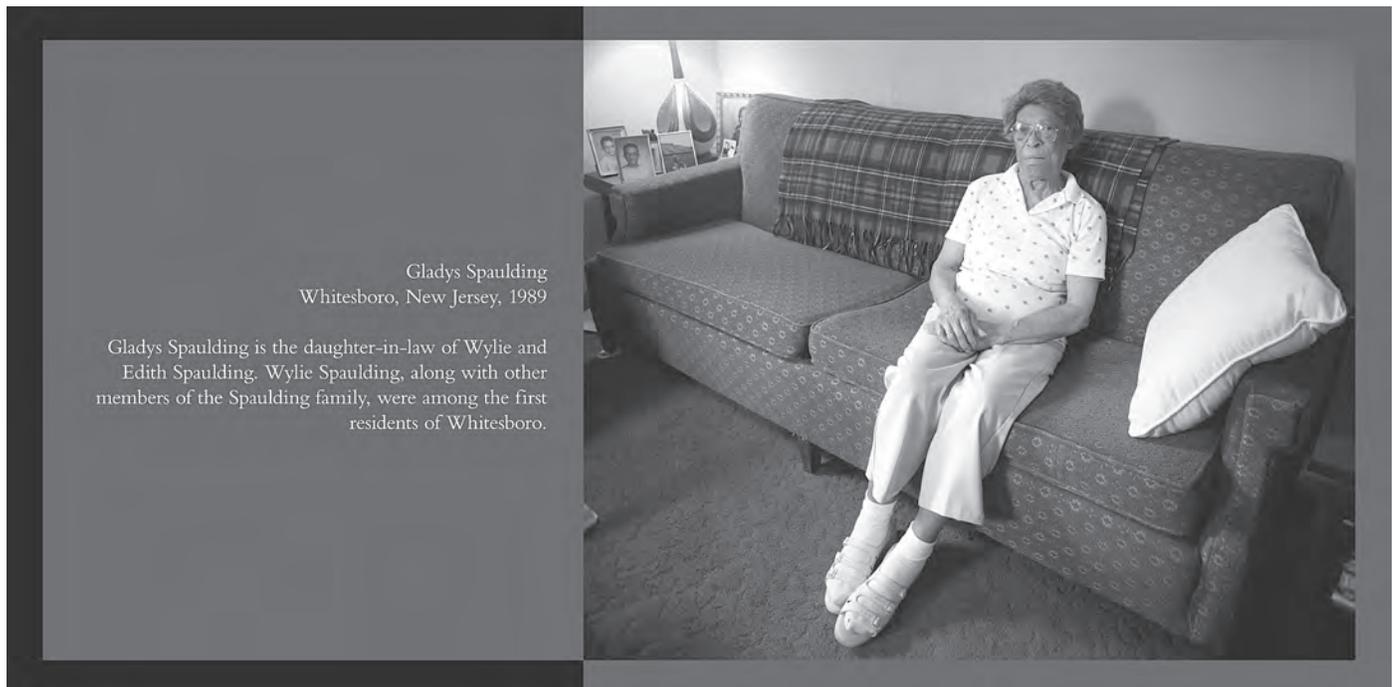
Shortly after beginning the *Small Towns* project, I became aware of a small cemetery—known locally as the Boling Cemetery and named after the earliest African American settlers at the site,

Henry and Grace Boling—near Stockton College in the town of Port Republic, New Jersey. Four of the five remaining headstones indicated that the interred were veterans of the Civil War and the U.S. Colored Troops. Information about the origins of the cemetery was difficult to find because there was no longer a black community at the location or in the town. My encounter with this neglected cemetery led to more formal research and genealogy as I attempted to reconstruct the story of the African American settlement that was once located at the far edge of Port Republic. The information I accumulated on Port Republic's black community prompted experiments with various formats for my work.

The earliest exhibitions of these pictures were presentations of the photographic image and a text panel side by side, printed on separate pieces of photographic paper. In 1990 several images from the Port Republic site were included in the traveling exhibition *Convergence: 8 Photographers*. Organized by the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, New York, and curated by Deborah Willis, the exhibition traveled to twelve sites throughout the United States during the next five years (Figure 3).

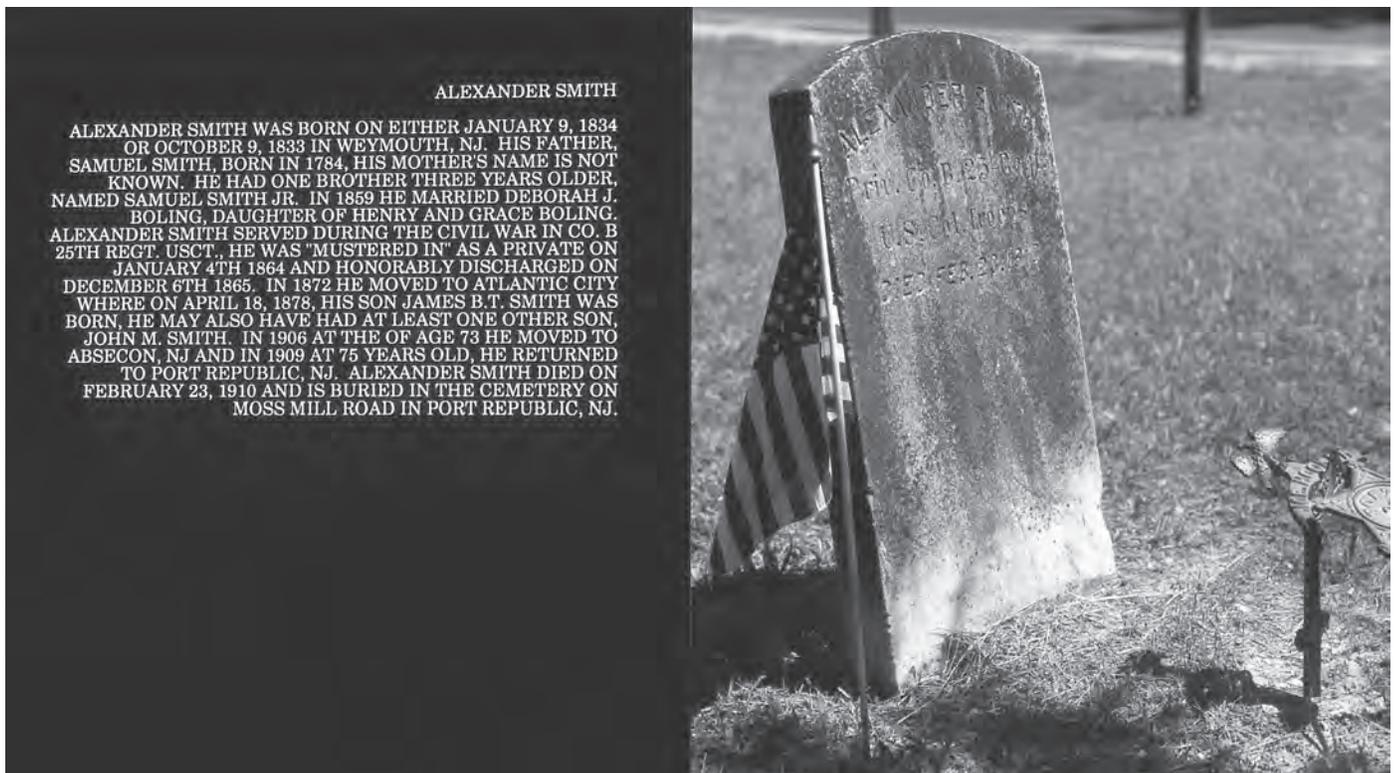
All of the photographic works in the *Small*

Figure 2. Wendel White, Gladys Spaulding, Whitesboro, New Jersey, 1989. Courtesy of the artist.



Gladys Spaulding
Whitesboro, New Jersey, 1989

Gladys Spaulding is the daughter-in-law of Wylie and Edith Spaulding. Wylie Spaulding, along with other members of the Spaulding family, were among the first residents of Whitesboro.



ALEXANDER SMITH

ALEXANDER SMITH WAS BORN ON EITHER JANUARY 9, 1834 OR OCTOBER 9, 1833 IN WEYMOUTH, NJ. HIS FATHER, SAMUEL SMITH, BORN IN 1784, HIS MOTHER'S NAME IS NOT KNOWN. HE HAD ONE BROTHER THREE YEARS OLDER, NAMED SAMUEL SMITH JR. IN 1859 HE MARRIED DEBORAH J. BOLING, DAUGHTER OF HENRY AND GRACE BOLING. ALEXANDER SMITH SERVED DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN CO. B 25TH REGT. USCT., HE WAS "MUSTERED IN" AS A PRIVATE ON JANUARY 4TH 1864 AND HONORABLY DISCHARGED ON DECEMBER 6TH 1865. IN 1872 HE MOVED TO ATLANTIC CITY WHERE ON APRIL 18, 1878, HIS SON JAMES B.T. SMITH WAS BORN, HE MAY ALSO HAVE HAD AT LEAST ONE OTHER SON, JOHN M. SMITH. IN 1906 AT THE OF AGE 73 HE MOVED TO ABSECON, NJ AND IN 1909 AT 75 YEARS OLD, HE RETURNED TO PORT REPUBLIC, NJ. ALEXANDER SMITH DIED ON FEBRUARY 23, 1910 AND IS BURIED IN THE CEMETERY ON MOSS MILL ROAD IN PORT REPUBLIC, NJ.

Towns project were created with medium- or large-format cameras and black-and-white film. As the project continued, however, I began using digital media (scanning the film negatives) and devised a format to unify the photograph and narrative panels into a single image. The photograph and text are joined in a manner that hinges together the seen (people and places that could be depicted by the camera) and the unseen (narrative histories) worlds of black experience within these southern New Jersey communities. In addition to the printed artworks, I produced a Web version of the Boling Cemetery project. The website went online in 1995 (originally as “The Cemetery”) and transformed into several versions until late 2002, when Matthew Mirapaul reviewed the website for the *New York Times*. Mirapaul wrote, “But few photographers have embraced the Web to the extent that Mr. White has. Many sites are devoted to documentary photography, but they rarely amount to more than a slide show. . . . With its mix of media, the new Black Towns site is an impressionistic experience.”³ The website is still available at blacktowns.org, and it remains in its 2003 configuration.⁴

The various towns and settlements documented during the project represent a range of black civic experiences and include communities established many decades before the Civil War, a summer resort built just before World War II, and a settlement of black Jews founded during the 1960s. All are evidence of the complexities of African American culture. In its completed form (publication, website, and exhibition), the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project includes the New Jersey locations of Whitesboro, Morris Beach, Adat Beyt Moshe, Newtonville, Port Republic, Franklin Street School (Cape May), Gouldtown, Springtown, Swedesboro, Elsmere, Lawnside, and Chesilhurst.

Transforming the Work: Small Towns to Colored Schools

Following the exhibition of *Small Towns, Black Lives* at the Noyes Museum of Art, I set out to expand the project with images of historically African American communities in other states. After reading Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua’s *America’s First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830–1915*, I decided that my first destination should be

Figure 3. Wendel White, *Alexander Smith Grave, Port Republic, New Jersey, 1990*. Courtesy of the artist.

Brooklyn, Illinois (now part of East St. Louis). Wandering about the community, making photographs, reading Cha-Jua's book, and having conversations with residents revealed what seemed like a remarkable implementation of school segregation in a northern state.⁵

I intended Brooklyn, Illinois, to be the first location where I would continue the work of *Small Towns, Black Lives* beyond the boundaries of southern New Jersey. It became clear, however, that a form of segregation existed in Brooklyn that I had not yet encountered. Originally a black settlement, then a multiethnic community, and eventually a predominantly "black town" in its civic life and political control, the municipality became an incorporated town with all of the usual institutional structures that we normally associate with small-town America. The school board was made up of African Americans, and the administration and maintenance of schools became one of the primary cultural and political achievements of the black community during its history as an independently incorporated town (1830–1915).⁶

This historically African American town also

contained a small white settlement. As a result, the predominately black municipality became responsible for maintaining a separate school for the white students who lived in the community. Although Brooklyn, Illinois, seemed to have sustained a perfectly adequate and sizable school system, the demands and expectations of segregation, which were usually a means of excluding black students from white schools in this region, would form the basis for a black town with a separate school for the education of white students (Figure 4).

The narrative of a black town with a white school (although only for a short time) shifted my interest from making photographs of the towns and their inhabitants to representing segregation as expressed by the presence of separate school buildings. Throughout my work on the photographic portion of the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project, I was drawn to the architecture and landscape of the communities. Photographs of people were central to the project, but many of the pictures depict churches, homes, community centers, cemeteries, and schools.

The earliest iterations of the *Schools for the*

Figure 4. Wendel White, *School for White Children*, Brooklyn, Illinois, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Manitou Park School
Berkeley Township, New Jersey, 2003

The Manitou Park School was constructed in 1929 for the children of this African American settlement in Berkeley Township. Until 1927, the children attended school in an integrated setting with white students from the surrounding communities. Pressure from parents and increasing tension (including a public presentation by robed members of the Ku Klux Klan) caused the township to allocate the funds to build a separate school. The Manitou Park School continued operation within this community until 1960. The building is being restored for use as a community center.



Colored project were similar in concept and format to *Small Towns, Black Lives* (Figure 5). Images of schools and narrative text panels were placed side by side on a single print approximately twenty-four inches wide by forty-four inches long. I continued for some time with this format, even producing a small portfolio of New Jersey schools. The only existing edition of that portfolio is currently in the art collection of Johnson & Johnson in New Brunswick, New Jersey. I was very pleased with the portfolio and the format, but gradually, I wanted to express a new set of ideas about the buildings and the landscape.

The origins of the *Schools for the Colored* project began during my first visit to Whitesboro, more than fifteen years before I began making images specifically for the *Schools* project. While I was working on the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project, Doris Budgen of Port Republic, New Jersey, called to tell me that she had located early twentieth-century photographs (circa 1910) taken of the students at the Port Republic school. Port Republic's African American community was very small, and the two photographs that include African American students show one girl and one boy, each in separate classes—each is the singular black student in the group. Because

Port Republic was (and still is) a very small town that once included a tiny African American settlement, the enrollments necessary to support a separate educational system would not have been financially practical. So while many other southern New Jersey communities maintained segregated primary schools, Port Republic had an integrated school in spite of all other considerations or the common practice in the surrounding communities at the time. Economic conditions factored into the decision to segregate schools in northern communities; there needed to be an adequate number of African American students to justify the cost. To describe this condition in which students might be included but not afforded full participation, I began experimenting with various formal devices. It was then that I decided to use a common graphic technique to “screen” most of an image, bringing the viewers’ attention to the solitary black faces in the crowd (Figure 6).

At the time, the choice to utilize the screen as a visual device was instinctual, and it wasn’t until years later, after returning to the idea, that I realized I had been subconsciously thinking of W. E. B. Du Bois’s concept of the “veil.” I photographed school architecture for several years

Figure 5. Wendel White, *Manitou Park School, Berkeley Township, New Jersey, 2003*. Courtesy of the artist.



Boling Children at School
Port Republic, New Jersey, 1911

The photographs are from the collection of Doris Mollick, Port Republic, New Jersey. The girl in the lower image is identified as “Annie Boling,” standing with her class at the Port Republic School. The boy in the upper image is identified as “Johnnie Boling,” also with his class outside the Port Republic School.

Figure 6. Wendel White, *Boling Children at School, Port Republic, New Jersey, 1911*. Courtesy of the artist.

before it occurred to me to revisit the technique and make the linkage to Du Bois. The photographic works that became the *Schools* project were influenced by the various means in which the segregated spaces of the American landscape were defined and came into existence. The most significant expression of this concept can be found in W. E. B. Du Bois’s *Souls of Black Folks*.

It is difficult to say what prompted me to reread portions of *The Souls of Black Folks*, but nevertheless, I found the passage that references the concept of the veil in the context of Du Bois’s telling of an early childhood experience in school. Unlike the schools I was researching and photographing, the school in Du Bois’s story of isolation from the white world was integrated. While describing the event, he wrote: “Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I

held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows.”⁷

More than any other articulation of the separate worlds created by racial differentiation in the Jim Crow schoolhouse, Du Bois’s veil provided the foundation for the representation of separation and segregation in my work. It occurred to me that the visual device that I had used years earlier (probably with a subconscious memory of Du Bois’s text) would be a means of visualizing the literary and historic narrative of these schools.

Although various encounters with the narratives of the black town and settlement experience shaped the *Small Towns* project, schools and their significance to the community became a recurring theme. The published version of *Small Towns, Black Lives* includes images of the segregated, historically African American schools in Whitesboro, Swedesboro, and Chesilhurst, New Jersey. Although I encountered other sites of his-

toric “colored schools” and there were many conversations about the role of schools within these African American communities, I had not yet formulated the concept that would become the basis of an independent project.

Schools for the Colored: The Architecture and Landscape of Segregation

Schools for the separate education of African American students were created throughout the North, as well as the South, based on a wide range of ideologies and racial mythologies. In *Re-birth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920*, T. Jackson Lears articulated the following notion: “The whole concept of race, never more than the flimsiest of cultural constructions, acquired unprecedented biological authority during the decades between Reconstruction and World War I.”⁸ The representation and documentation of selected school buildings that belong to this remarkable aspect of American civic experience is the central concern of this photography-based portfolio.

Schools for the Colored began to take form in 2008—with images edited to reveal the schools as separated from the surrounding landscape, using a digital-imaging technique that created the appearance of a white veil—and I continued creating new works for this project until 2012. Currently, the *Schools for the Colored* project is a series of fifty framed prints for exhibition, and the images also appear on my website (wendelwhite.com). During the project I photographed schools in five northern states: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Each state is represented by ten images of structures (or sites where the structures once stood) of historically African American schools. At locations where no building (or remnant of the original structure) remains, I have inserted placeholders into the landscape in the form of silhouettes. Some of the silhouettes are based on photographic images of the original school, whereas others are imagined outlines of what might have been at the site (Figures 7 and 8).

The *Schools* project evolved gradually into a survey of the structures (extant, transformed, demolished, and replaced) that comprised a net-

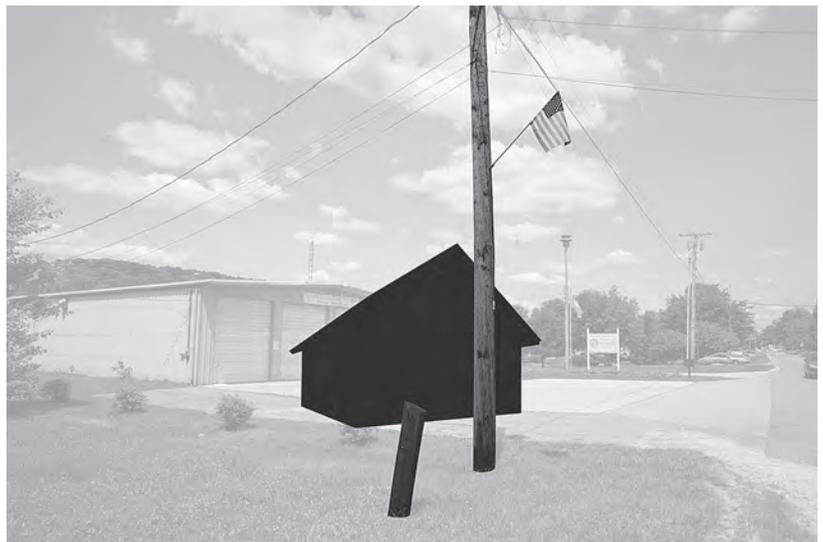


work of racially segregated schools established in the northern United States (in the antebellum period and during Jim Crow segregation). Many of the schools operated within separate networks, at least within regions and in some cases beyond. For example, schools were not allowed to compete or participate with white schools in extracurricular activities. This meant that they often formed their own athletic divisions. There were separate professional organizations for black teachers such as the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (1907–37) and the American Teachers Association (1937–66).

My particular interest has been in the regions

Figure 7. Wendel White, *Marshalltown School, Mannington, New Jersey*, 2008. Courtesy of the artist.

Figure 8. Wendel White, *Burlington, Ohio*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



of the northern “free” states that bordered the slave states (sometimes known as the Up-South). These were regions with unique concentrations of black settlements during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Leon Litwack in *North of Slavery* described a clear process by which black children were systematically excluded or separated from the public education of white children beginning even before the Civil War: “By the 1830’s, statute or custom placed Negro children in separate schools in nearly every northern community.”⁹ *Schools for the Colored* represents my effort to memorialize and document the architecture and geography of America’s educational apartheid (Jim Crow) within the landscape of southern New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The Supreme Court’s 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* opened the door to a more formalized segregation under the notion of “separate but equal” and also helped to define “colored” as a person with any “nonwhite” ancestry, the “one drop rule.” During the decades following the decision, some northern communities that previously maintained integrated schools gradually adopted the “separate but equal” paradigm. One of the attorneys who argued the *Plessy* case, Albion Tourgée, is the subject of the remarkable biography *Color-Blind Justice* by Mark Elliot. In the years after losing the *Plessy* case, Tourgée expressed dismay about the outcome of the decision to a colleague: “We have made the name of slavery an anathema . . . but [we] have sanctified its most degrading and debasing element, the subjugation of one race to the will of another.”¹⁰

In 1947 the New Jersey State Constitution was amended to prohibit racial segregation in the public schools. Most of the segregated schools throughout the state were closed or integrated. Some schools, however, including the state-run Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth, frequently referred to as the Bordentown School, continued to operate, de facto, as segregated facilities even though in the case of Bordentown the words “colored youth” had been dropped from the name. The Bordentown School closed in 1955 after the second Supreme Court decision regarding *Brown v. Board of Education*

(the May 31, 1955, decision, known as *Brown II*, contained the instructions to desegregate with “all deliberate speed”). The school buildings and grounds are still New Jersey state property. Although many of the original buildings are unused, a significant portion of the property houses a juvenile detention facility for female offenders. Through the transformation of one of the nation’s historically significant schools for the education of African Americans into a prison, this site (unintentionally) offers an unfortunate symbolic parallel to current concerns about the “school-to-prison pipeline” (Figure 9).¹¹

The resegregation of public schools, an ongoing educational reality in the United States, is the direct result of specific social and institutional actions. Gary Orfield describes the Supreme Court of the 1990s, which began reversing many desegregation orders even over the objections of communities with highly successful integrated systems in place: “Unfortunately, in a 5–4 decision last summer [2007], the Supreme Court undermined most of those plans. This forced hundreds of communities either to give up their efforts and accept much greater segregation or find the best available alternative to keeping diversity in their schools.”¹² In 2002 Dayton, Ohio, ended twenty-five years of court-ordered busing that had been established to achieve an integrated school system. Setting aside all of the implications of using busing to achieve integration, integration through busing during the twenty-first century in a northern state is nevertheless a mirror of the past and a window into the issue of segregation within the contemporary American landscape.

Schools: The Veil Remains

The opportunity to photograph what remains of the schools for colored children in Illinois and Indiana was the result of support from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in 2003–4. This work led directly to the creation of the portfolio *Schools for the Colored*, which includes several images made during travel supported by my Guggenheim Fellowship. By 2006 I began to fully realize the *Schools* project, supported by a grant from the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in Fine Arts. *Small Towns*,



Figure 9. Wendel White, *Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth, Bordentown, New Jersey*, 2008. Courtesy of the artist.

Black Lives provided the groundwork for my awareness of the historically segregated schools as complicated spaces within the black community (although many sites are now located outside the traditional black communities that once sustained them). These schools served as symbols of exclusion by the white community and as places where black self-determination and agency were nurtured.

In *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks offers a glimpse into the complexities of segregated versus integrated schools, echoing my earlier conversation with Gladys Spaulding at the start of the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project. In her book, hooks recalled, “Almost all our teachers at Booker T. Washington were black women. They were committed to nurturing intellect so that we could become scholars, thinkers, and cultural workers—black folks who used our ‘minds.’”¹³

The *Schools* photographs are meant to occupy an ambivalent conceptual space, hovering between the triumph of desegregation and the loss of the secure spaces where black children were encouraged to develop a life of the mind. Making it very clear that she is not suggesting we return to a system of segregated schools, hooks acknowl-

edged that there were white teachers in the newly integrated schools who valued and nurtured her intellect. For many African Americans, however, the process of desegregation simply thrust them into educational institutions where they were not welcomed or supported.

The Cape May, New Jersey, schools offer an especially poignant example of overt segregation and the effects of desegregation. During a conversation with Delores Jarmon, an alumna of the segregated Cape May school, she described her experience during the era of segregation as follows: “We walked to school, often with white friends, but at the corner our white friends entered the white school, and we entered the school for colored children; the schools were directly across the street from one another.”¹⁴ My participation in a panel discussion in 2012 provided the opportunity to learn more from several alumni of the segregated schools in Cape May, including Cadelia Bounds, who attended the school and later returned to teach in the still segregated school. Among the remarkable stories she told was a powerful description of her experience of desegregation. We often direct our attention and concern toward the students of segregated schools

and the intellectual, economic, and psychological implications of segregation. Ms. Bounds gave a vivid account of segregation and desegregation from the perspective of a student and a teacher. Desegregation meant that many black teachers lost their jobs. Ms. Bounds was hired, however, as a teacher in the newly integrated school and for the first time in her life was faced with a classroom of mostly white children. The difficulties black children faced as they navigated the new relationships with white peers and teachers are well documented. For black teachers, however, navigating the uncharted territory of white peers and authority over the education of white children would have been overwhelmingly complex (Figure 10).

The order to desegregate came with no instructions or templates for managing the newly constructed social terrain. The outcome has been a decades-long struggle to define a multiethnic integrated society and has included efforts (some successful, some not) to build an educational system that works well for the greatest number of students. The remnants of the “colored schools,” at one time commonplace structures and insti-

tutions throughout the United States, remain an important reminder of the history and complexity of racial definitions. Although my concern has been to record the physical remains of segregated schools, what resonates for me is the power of mostly abandoned or repurposed structures, which are often presumed to represent only distant memories of long-dead ideologies. Even though the laws and overt social structures have dissipated, our experience and many statistical surveys reveal that our schools are still deeply segregated spaces today.

Understanding the manifestations of segregation, particularly in the North, is directly tied to the many iterations and formats that have shaped the definition (and our perceptions) of what it means to be a segregated school. Buildings that contained separate classrooms for black students, one-room schools, and expansive institutions that rivaled small college campuses were all part of a national system of separation. The photographs in the *Schools for the Colored* portfolio are visual representations of the places that became the architectural expressions of race-based laws, social practice, and identity. The

Figure 10. Wendel White, *Franklin Street School, Cape May, New Jersey*, 2002. Courtesy of the artist.



shape and appearance of the structures in the American landscape are the formal bases for the photograph-based artworks in this portfolio. Various factors built and maintained segregated schools in northern communities, among them the perception of race as a form of biological identity, economic conditions, and population density. Schools throughout the region were created also as an outcome of the prevailing social conventions, including the purposeful exclusion of black children from white schools, the formation of community schools based on segregated residential patterns (producing segregated schools), efforts by philanthropic whites to provide training and “civilized” education for black children (Native American schools were another expression of this motivation), and the establishment of schools by African American communities as a means of self-determination and as a job-creation strategy for black teachers.

It has to be acknowledged that institutional segregation in the United States has its origins in the previous institution of slavery. Shaping opinions around the use of public and private space has been and continues to be the battleground on which we grapple with questions of citizenship (in a fully realized form) and belonging in American culture. The killing of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida, in 2012, exemplified this struggle, as it was precipitated by a perception that Martin was out of place in that particular landscape (a gated community with a predefined image of who belonged) at that moment. The perceptions of who belongs where and when are parts of deeply rooted traditions in our culture. American values shift over time and continue to be the bases for various expressions of discrimination and segregation based on ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, and class.

In *North from Slavery*, Litwack placed the segregation of schoolhouses in the context of a broader set of racial anxieties: “The possibility that Negro children would be mixed with white children in the same classroom aroused even greater fears and prejudices than those which

consigned the Negro to an inferior place in the church, the theater, and the railroad car.”¹⁵ These conditions of separation extended to other public spaces such as restaurants, hotels, and hospitals, to name a few.

Before the Civil War white abolitionists sought to create a society of racial equality, and they certainly played a key role in bringing slavery to an end. However, not all members of the antislavery movements endorsed immediate racial equality. When Tourgée expressed his disillusionment at the failure of his country to fulfill the promise of racial equality, it was clear to everyone, including Tourgée, that the early ideals of the radical abolitionists and the promise of Reconstruction had faded long ago.¹⁶ In July 1913, just eight years after Tourgée’s death, the United States remembered the semicentennial of the Civil War with the largest and most costly celebration in the nation’s history. The event, which excluded African American veterans, gathered every white veteran (Union and Confederate) throughout the United States in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (at the government’s expense).¹⁷

The architectural remains of the “colored schools” are not simply ghostly apparitions of our segregated past but the unresolved ideologies (neither living nor dead) that still haunt the American landscape. The establishment of separate schools was based upon a belief that black children, like all black citizens, were inferior and therefore should not share in equal use of public spaces as fully enfranchised members of the society. There is no doubt that the United States has progressed toward racial equality and social justice since the period when it was illegal to educate a slave. Even during the Jim Crow era, many African Americans transformed segregated schools into institutions of excellence and community pride. Nevertheless, uneven academic progress, the school-to-prison pipeline, and community demographics (segregated schools from segregated residential patterns) are persistent indications that progress has not adequately mitigated racism, social injustice, and inequality.



Figure 11. Wendel White, *Lincoln School, East St. Louis, Illinois*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 12. Wendel White, *Bruce School, Future City, Illinois*, 2008. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 13. Wendel White, *Ambidexter Institute, Springfield, Illinois*, 2008. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 14. Wendel White, *Crispus Attucks High School, Indianapolis, Indiana*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 15. Wendel White, *Lyles Station Consolidated School*, Lyles Station, Indiana, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 16. Wendel White, *Booker T. Washington School, Columbus, Indiana*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 17. Wendel White, *South Lynn Street School, Seymour, Indiana*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 18. Wendel White, *Court Street School, Freehold, New Jersey*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 19. Wendel White, *Elizabeth Harvey School, Harveysburg, Ohio*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 20. Wendel White, *East High School, Xenia, Ohio*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 21. Wendel White, *South School, Yellow Springs, Ohio*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 22. Wendel White, *George Jones School, Chester, Pennsylvania*, 2008. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 23. Wendel White, *Thomas Meehan School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, 2010. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 24. Wendel White, *Franklin Street School, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.



Figure 25. Wendel White, *Longwood School, Charlestown, Pennsylvania*, 2007. Courtesy of the artist.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Wendel A. White is distinguished professor of art at the Richard Stockton University of New Jersey.

NOTES

1. Gladys Spaulding, Whitesboro, New Jersey, in discussion with the author, August 1989.
2. Wendel A. White, *Small Towns, Black Lives* (Oceanville, N.J.: Noyes Museum of Art, 2003).
3. Matthew Mirapaul, "Photographer Captures Towns Where Blacks Found Peace," *New York Times*, January 20, 2003, E5.
4. The very first version of the website, "The Cemetery," was posted in 1995. The current version has not changed since it was reviewed in 2003.
5. Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, *America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830–1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 109.
6. Cha-Jua, *America's First Black Town*, 109.
7. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 2.
8. T. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 93.
9. Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 115.
10. Albion Tourgée as quoted in Mark Elliot, *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgée and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20.
11. Giles R. Wright, *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1988), 52.
12. Gary Orfield, "Race and Schools: The Need for Action," National Education Association website, <http://www.nea.org/home/13054.htm>.
13. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2.
14. Dorothy Jarmon, Cape May, New Jersey, in discussion with the author, 2008.
15. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, 113–14.
16. Elliot, *Color-Blind Justice*, 20.
17. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 8–9.

Copyright of Buildings & Landscapes is the property of University of Minnesota Press and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.