An oil painting of a rural scene. On the left, a white, two-story house with a dark roof and a porch. A woman in a white dress and a child are on the porch. In the foreground, three children are playing in a grassy field. The background shows a hazy, green landscape. The style is expressive with visible brushstrokes.

# Unlearning the Hush

The Empowering Narratives of Black  
Educators and Mentors

MARLEE S. BUNCH, B.A., M.S., M.ED.

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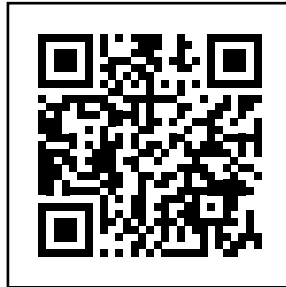
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I dedicate this to the phenomenal Black educators who have paved the way and continue to do so despite the difficulties and hurdles. Thank you for shaping our communities and preserving our histories.

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Right: Photo of the author, Marlee Bunch, with her grandmother Marian Stewart.







## MARLEE S. BUNCH

*Educator and Researcher*

**MARLEE S. BUNCH** is an educator with over 16 years teaching experience. She holds two graduate degrees and is currently a doctoral candidate from the University of Illinois. She holds a teaching certificate, gifted education certification, and ESL certification. Her experiences teaching at the secondary and post-secondary level, have allowed her to write curriculum, supervise teachers, tutor, create workshops, and most importantly mentor and advocate for students. Her research focuses on the oral histories of Black female educators and communities.

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## KEVIN HOPKINS

*Artist*

**KEVIN HOPKINS** [b. 2000, Beaufort, South Carolina] is a painter based in Kansas City, Missouri. Hopkins' work explores the celebration of life and the awareness of his mortality following the passing of an elder. Currently, he has focused his work on highlighting familial relationships through self-portraiture—or personas extracted from self-portraiture. Kevin now attends the Kansas City Art Institute majoring in Painting and Art History. He was recognized internationally as a 2021 Elizabeth Greenshields Foundation Grantee and nationally as a 2021 AXA Art Prize finalist.

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## **Our Collaborative Story**

Marlee and Kevin's collaboration represents the true nature of ancestry and the Black community. This collaboration is rooted in the desire to capture history, celebrate life and Black joy, bring visual representation to the oral histories of marginalized voices, and honor the maternal presence and mentorship present in this study and in our own lives.

## **A Note from Marlee Bunch**

There are a few moments in life that are so impactful, they crack open our hearts and expand our world and connection to others. This study has certainly been one of those moments. This collaboration and project celebrate legacy and ancestry and honors those who have served as educators and mentors. My role as an educator, has allowed me to witness the power of students, and what true education involves: mentoring, relationships, and the creation of safe spaces. In 2020, I would continue my learning and begin my doctoral journey. One random email to a professor (Dr. Christopher M. Span) inquiring about an independent study would lead me to my own mentor, which allowed me to further understand the importance of mentorship, education, and kinship.

My study began from these very sentiments—a journey to discover the stories of my grandmother Zola Jackson (an educator in Hattiesburg) and of my Mama, Mrs. Linda Armstrong. A journey to discover ancestry, the past, and the voices of the women and



mentors who had paved the way in education. This study is a way to honor those who have created and molded the best in us—those who held up a mirror and showed us the best versions of ourselves.

My collaboration with Kevin, embodies the importance of community, oral histories, and memory. In a time when society is so uncertain, our stories remain a constant reminder of hope—they connect us and breathe life into our lived experiences. I hope this project leaves you with a sense of hope. I hope that it reminds you of someone who has mentored, loved, or connected to you to some beautiful aspect of yourself that made you better, and made your ancestors proud. The historical nature of these oral histories are ones of resilience and empowerment. These histories blend into the present with Kevin, me, and all of you at the center with us. This study epitomizes the interconnectedness that stories have the ability to create and celebrate.

### **A Note from Kevin Hopkins**

Marlee and I partnered to make the visuals to accompany the catalog of stories she collected with the intent to exhibit the work. I began by attempting to connect the interviewees to the idea of education conceptually and visually; placing portraits of the participants next to schematics of figure drawings to connect the educative nature of mentorship to arts education. However, this approach created too much distance from the heart of the project. *Unlearning the Hush*, at its core, is about the impact of mentors on

history, their community, and individuals.

I resonated with the project because of my connection to my mentor figure—my mother. She taught directly, but she taught me the most indirectly, through her love of family, and unflinching kindness—even to a fault at times. She taught countless lessons this way in generosity, love, and humor. When she passed on December fourth, 2020, I began making more work about family and cherished memories with loved ones on sentimental materials—blankets, comforters, and doors. Mentors are rarely glorified before they pass; we wait until their legacies are monumental in scale before we give them their flowers. I missed my opportunity to celebrate her while she was here—and so, bittersweetly, I find myself honoring my mother as a monument.

Marlee and I have decided to include our personal experiences with the mentor figure—professionally and personally as an entry point to the collection of stories in this project. We hope to evoke empathy and gratitude towards educators and mentors.

# “Everybody Knows About Mississippi ...”

Nina Simone sang: “Everybody knows about Mississippi...” the lyrics revealing the well-known tragedies and inequities connected to the state. Mississippi is a complicated state to say the least—socially, racially, and regarding the systems of education and desegregation. To know and fully appreciate the stories of my participants, it is important to understand a bit about the state. Historically, Mississippi has been cited as one of the “poorest states in the nation.”<sup>1</sup> Though the state is in many ways steeped in a history of racism and violence, it has also been a state that produced and inspired countless civically minded teachers, activists, and mentors who would challenge the ideologies of Mississippi and our country, leaving an imprint of activism that had lasting positive social and political impact.

According to NAACP records: “From 1882 to 1968 there were 4,743 lynchings in the United States.”<sup>2</sup> Mississippi had “the highest number of lynchings during that time period.”<sup>3</sup> These staggering statistics illustrate the severity and level of violence embedded in the state’s fabric and daily occurrences. Segregation and Jim Crow were firmly in place to keep Black people aware of their social position, and violence was always a stark reality. In addition to violence, Mississippi functioned from the standpoint, that Blacks were inferior to whites. Jim Crow, Black Codes, racist policies, the denial of human rights, and inequality loomed over the state. Hale describes this:

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1 U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960 Census of Population Volume I Characteristics of the Population Part 26 Mississippi, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), 26-127, 26-131.

2 “History of Lynching in America,” NAACP, February 11, 2022, <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/history-lynching-america>, 2.

3 Ibid.

Without federal supervision, legislators were free to formally write Jim Crow policy into the Constitution of 1890. Blacks were denied the right to vote, despite the constitutional guarantee decreed in the 15 Amendment. The federal government ignored this overt denial of basic human rights and dignity; African Americans were henceforth subject to policy controlled by white supremacists. The 1890 Constitution reversed the political gains and the equality promised after the Civil War. From this point forward, Jim Crow policy referred to the social customs and the formal laws that separated blacks from whites. Jim Crow would come to be the defining characteristic of life in Mississippi as numerous laws were passed that segregated blacks in public spaces.<sup>4</sup>

Segregation, the oppression of Jim Crow laws, and the creation of policies and systems that supported the racialization of Black residents, was at the heart of historic Mississippi, and in many ways reflected the sentiments and struggles of the country at large.

Hattiesburg however, marked a significant place for civil rights activism and racial uplift, as it is connected to Freedom Summer, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), voting rights advocacy, and residents who actively worked to tip the scales of inequality and fight for justice. Hattiesburg tells the story of what was happening in the south, but also reveals the counter-story through the voices and efforts of the Black educators and community members who ensured that the story of the Black community, did not have to be dictated by tragedy. Hattiesburg educators were some of the most educated in the state, offering students high quality education. These women and educators would embody not only the history of Black education, but the necessary teachings to ensure that students entering society would be equipped to disrupt and navigate the racialized society in which they lived, and civically engage to create a better society for all.

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4 Jon N. Hale, "A History of the Mississippi Freedom Schools, 1954--1965" (dissertation, ProQuest, 2009), pp. 1-257, 17.



# *Poetic Benediction*

*the lost women*

Lucille Clifton

i need to know their names  
those women I would have walked with  
jauntily the way men go in groups  
swinging their arms, and the ones  
those sweating women whom I would have joined  
after a hard game to chew the fat  
what would we have called each other laughing  
joking into our beer? Where are my gangs,  
my teams, my mislaid sisters?  
all the women who could have known me,  
where in the world are their names?



# Dedication & Acknowledgments

This is dedicated to so many who have influenced and shaped my life. First and foremost, I dedicate this work to my Mama, Mrs. Linda Armstrong, and to my grandmother, Marian Stewart—both of whom were formative in shaping who I am, and the way in which I regard memory, stories, strong women, and the sense of home. You are everything that connects my past and present, and I am eternally in awe of the women you both are.

I dedicate this to all Black women; the strength and wisdom we share is vast.

I dedicate this to those who have been role models, mentors, and advisors: Dr. Christopher M. Span, Dr. Sharon Lee, Dr. Jon Hale, Dr. Yoon Pak, authors, poets, and artists who have inspired and paved the path forward.

I dedicate this to my students. I dedicate this to my friends. I dedicate this to my beloved family.

I dedicate this to my children who are my world, sun, stars, and moon.

I dedicate this to my participants and ancestors.

Through this act of remembering, I honor our history and all of you...

Additionally, Kevin and I would like to dedicate this project to Beverly Hopkins, Zola Jackson, Dr. Christopher M. Span, and the other mentors and family who have enriched our lives.

Special thanks to Charles Cooper, Deloris Goins, Carolyn Hale-Green, Dr. Joyce Ladner, Rosetta Woullard, Jemye Health, Katherine Fowler, Mary Bobbitt, Secretary Lonnie Bunch, Deborah Jordan, Damian Bunch, Kevin Elias Hopkins, Victoria and Jordan Stempleman, Bill Haw, HAW Contemporary Gallery, The University of Illinois, Kansas City Art Institute, and the many others who have mentored, inspired, and empowered us.



# Introduction to the Study

Relying extensively on oral history, this study details the lived experiences of Black women educators, specifically the lived experiences of my ancestors who taught pre- and post-Brown vs. Board of Education (1954) in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. It is my attempt to “undo the hush” that has silenced or unacknowledged these women in the historical record and desegregation historiography. Far too often, the voices of Black women have been disregarded, questioned, discounted, or silenced. Notwithstanding, since the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), Black women as educators have been at the forefront of ensuring that Black students and communities were given the civil liberty of education and literacy. Throughout history, these educators found creative and compassionate ways to navigate, and periodically upend, systemic practices in American society that legally or purposefully sought to deny Black folk their personhood, education, and access to full-fledged citizenship. Unbeknownst to many of us, the efforts of these educators preserved and enhanced not only Black life and opportunity, they also forever changed the laws and landscape of the United States.

This study tells an important aspect of this story. It explores the lives and stories of Black female educators, pre-and-post-Brown, in Hattiesburg, Mississippi between 1950 and 1970. It examines the historical implications of public-school desegregation in Hattiesburg, and the ways in which Black female teachers

bore the brunt of this difficult experiment in American history. Ever-present in this study's findings are the facts that Black female teachers in Hattiesburg were at the forefront of these desegregation efforts, and despite the challenges endured, they remained steadfast in shining their light for their students caught in the crossfire of undoing centuries of segregation policy and practice.

This research amplifies the voices of these incredible Black women, who were trailblazers in their profession and craft. It also serves as a corrective to the under-inclusion and under-emphasis of the role Black female teachers in Mississippi played in the desegregation efforts of dismantle Jim Crow schools. It breaks the silence of the hush associated with this history and serves as a counter narrative to existing literature on the agency and presence of Black female teachers in southern desegregation efforts. This history reveals stories of resilience, creativity, and joy; compassionate characteristics of leadership all too often overlooked in the historiography on desegregation efforts in the South, particularly in Mississippi.

Black educators throughout history have found creative ways to ensure the Black school experience was exceptional and memorable. They taught not only the core subjects of learning, but infused messages of personal development and community uplift in them. They created yearbooks and workbooks to memorialize the school experience when no resources existed or were budgeted for such considerations. They taught their

students as if they were their own children or kinfolk. Included here are intimate glimpses into the incredible contributions and world Black female educators have made for their students, classrooms, communities, and nation. Their stories serve as the foundation for others to unlearn the hush of not telling the stories of the people who changed their lives and communities for the better.

### **The Educators in this Study**

The majority of the people I interviewed were Black women who taught between the 1950s–1970s. Still there are others. Two are Black women who were students in the school system between the 1950s–1970s, as they offered a view of what having Black educators meant during the time period. One is a woman who was a school counselor in the Hattiesburg School District for over thirty years. Another is a Black male who was a student in Hattiesburg schools, and later taught both elementary school and community college in Mississippi. Still, another is a male historian. Having these voices in conjunction with the participants who were educators, allowed for perspective and triangulation of the data. While this study focuses specifically on Black women, it in no way diminishes the great contributions made by Black male educators throughout history, as they have no doubt made incredible contributions. One similarity between all of the educators that I interviewed, was their deep commitment to mentoring students and uplifting the community.

**The interviews conducted covered information about the participant's teaching experiences, with questions that centered on the following elements:**

1. Teaching experiences pre/post the integration of public schools;
2. The ways in which educators met the needs of Black students and the role of education in the Black community;
3. What special gifts/talents Black educators bring to the classroom; and
4. The ways in which teaching experiences have been shaped by race or other historical occurrences.





# Portraits of Black Female Educators

The portraitures that follow are a window into the lived experiences, words of wisdom, and oral histories that these phenomenal educators lived. Through sharing a piece of their stories, I hope to create a more accurate view of history and a deep respect and honor for their contributions.

Left: Photo of author's grandmother, Zola Jackson.



## MRS. JEMYE HEATH

*Teacher for 43 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

“I had always wanted to be a teacher from when I was little. Teachers were smart, able to do expert things, create great activities where the children could learn hands-on. You learn from being creative, asking questions and whatnot. The teachers have to not always do stuff in the book. What you have to do, you know, create things other than the textbook. I think our Black children need to know more about Black heritage and need to see teachers model this. I would buy magazines about other countries for my classroom, and I would say we are going to travel today. And they had beautiful countries that we could go to this space. I would integrate that with my teaching.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Heath, Jemye. Interview by author. March 2020.



## **MRS. CAROLYN HALE-GREEN**

*School Counselor for 25 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

“Black women took on an active role to try to make Black students always feel accepted in the schools and elsewhere. Their concern for education did so much for students and the Black community. Despite the fact that Black teachers had little to no resources, yet they make sure that everyone learned. The teachers I had truly cared. They were invested in their students and their own continued learning. They wanted to make sure that students learned and could contribute to the world. As a counselor in the schools, I got to see this same thing continue as so many Black teachers went above and beyond for our students.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hale-Green, Carolyn. Interview by author. August 2021.





## **MRS. KATHERINE FOWLER**

*Teacher for 44 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

“I had always wanted to be a teacher. When I was little, we would meet under a tree and have “school.” In ways, I have always been a teacher in my home and community. Students and teachers came together to try to work with one another and make voter registration happen, education fair, and the community better. The community would lift each other up. We as a community always found ways to have enjoyment—a cookout, laughter. I thank God for that.

I think integration had a great influence on how few Black teachers we see today. The only Black people could really do was

teach, be a barber, etc. Also, teachers were not really looked up to in the Black community, especially after integration. Teaching was organic in the community; it was viewed as something that happened naturally. Choosing to become a teacher in a schoolhouse came with different ways people looked at it.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Fower, Katherine. Interview by author. August 2021.



## **MRS. JURUTHIN (ROSETTA) WOULLARD**

*Teacher for 37 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

“It takes more than textbooks. It takes a village to raise a child. That is so true, because when we were segregated, people on our street in the community could chastise us, get on us if we were acting up, coming home or going to school. We were a community, so we looked out for one another.

We used to say integration hurt us. It stopped us from being who we were. I would say that students who were timid and didn’t want to fight the fight against the white, uh, they didn’t excel. Whereas if we had continued without integration, uh, they more than likely would have excelled, because they would have been competing against their own race. They would have had their own Black

teachers, to encourage them. The thing about integration, they had so, so much new material, updated materials, equipment, and all of that. So our children benefited from that ... But, um, uh, we, we had white teachers telling kids you will never, uh, make an A in math in my class.

Most of the Black teachers, we were of course, given hand-me-down books to teach our children and no workbooks at all. So we took it upon ourselves being as resourceful as we wanted to be, and could be, we've purchased things for ourselves. I remember a second-grade teacher, uh, I was two doors down from her when I first started to teach. She had one of those old duplicating machines where you would pour ink into, and you lay the paper on top of the ink and press it down, roll it. And that's how duplicate copies were made. And she purchased that machine with her own money. So a lot of things that we had to work with, we purchased with our own money because we love teaching. We love working with students who wanted to excel.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Woullard, Rosetta. Interview by author. May 2021.



## **MRS. DOLORES GOINS**

*Teacher for 31 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

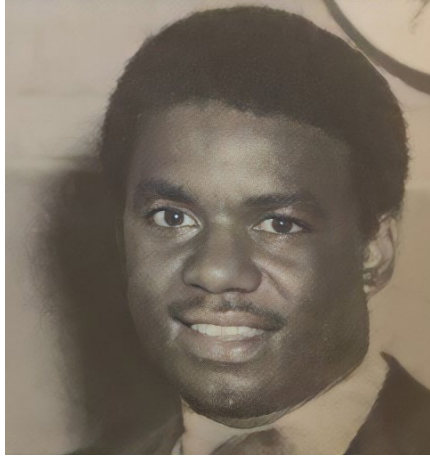
“White schools had state of the art equipment, but the Black schools did not. Old Bunsen burners in science class, and the teachers made do. We were not equal at all. Our school colors at DePriest growing up were determined by the used choir robes our choir director was able to get from Central (the white school). Our choir teacher worked hard and got the robes for us, so green and white became our school colors. Can you believe that our school colors were born out of the hand me down robes we got? Hand me down books, hand me down choir robes, hand me down everything.

We had dedicated teachers who taught us growing up. They went above and beyond to make sure we had what we needed to be taught despite the lack of resources, and so I did the same for my students.” She said integration caused the “good Black teachers to get sent to the white schools, and the bad white teachers to get sent to the Black schools—that’s how Mississippi integrated, so the Black students went from having all good teachers to having the teachers who were not so good. Nothing was equal or fair.

I choose to become a teacher because I had great teachers growing up in Hattiesburg. Teachers like Mrs. Heath and Mrs. Jackson were the reasons I wanted to be a teacher. Black women knew how to teach and reach Black students. Black teachers brought tolerance, patience to the classroom. They were determined that you were going to learn. They had great discipline, and curiosity. They would make learning enjoyable and engaging for students, and they emphasized the importance of reading. They didn’t take no for an answer and held you to high expectations.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Goins, Dolores. Interview by author. September 2021.



## **MR. CHARLES COOPER**

*Elementary Teacher for four years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

*College Teacher for 21 years in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*

“Black female teachers served as role models and advisors. My role models were Mr. and Mrs. Fowler. He and his wife were both teachers who impacted the lives of so many students. The teachers cared, showed concern, and I felt like they cared for me as an individual, and I don’t think children today have that in schools. Black schools allowed us the knowledge that we could be anything we wanted. I wish that my children had the opportunities that I had in a segregated school vs. what they have in an integrated school. In the segregated school, I could be class President, the best math student, etc. The teachers made up for this by making sure every individual aspect of what students



needed was attended to. These students today would shine like new money if they attended schools with students who were like them, and teachers like we had. There are so many success stories that came out of Hattiesburg because of this. When students went to integrated schools, we lost that opportunity.

All of our parents in the community wanted the children to have a better life—one filled with success and opportunities. That was the role of all grandparents and parents in the community. They wanted us to go to college, get a degree, and be better than what they had been. All of the community people worked to make sure this happened. Everyone looked out for everyone's child. We were segregated, but we had it made. We all looked out for everyone in the community. We loved our childhoods and upbringing. There were very few selfish individuals—everyone shared what they had. If you were hungry and your neighbor had a cake, he/she would cut that cake in half and share. We all took care of each other.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Cooper, Charles. Interview by author. February 16, 2022.



## **MRS. MARY BOBBITT**

*Teacher for 34 years*

“I remember the stories and feelings I had about Sugar Lock ... Because my mother told me that her grandfather was born so many years after reconstruction and he was born on the place [Sugar Lock]. So the place was the slave owners home, which means that his folks decided to live there even after they were free. But you know, there were incidents even when she was a young woman or whatever things happened to my grandfather or my uncles to the point that they had sneak one of them out of Sugar Lock at nighttime, you know? So, I felt like my ancestors may have died or been buried on the ground where I was standing. Yeah. And to me it was home. It was Holy ground. All of that history

and the ancestors buried beneath the ground because of violence and racism.

School integration did not fully change the hearts of humankind or improve the conditions of the disenfranchised in this country. Many children cannot truly engage the education system when they are homeless, hungry and invisible in this democracy called America.

We have to remember there is a connection between teaching and activism. When I look at the kids who are activists now, you know, I see the same people who walked the picket line with me, the young folk and the old people, because it is just in our hearts that there is a better day and things are not going to change unless I make them change. You know? And when I say 'I' it's not individually, but as a group, there are so many things you can do to make a change that does not involve walking a line. You know? You can be an inspiration, you can send dollars, you can read, you can do this and more. There are so many things that you can do. You know, even just talking to your neighbors because some of us become complacent and see it as somebody else's responsibility. And it's not, you know, if you, if you don't remember our history and each other, you won't know where you go next".<sup>1</sup>

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1 Bobbitt, Mary. Interview by author. April 2021.



## **DR. JOYCE LADNER**

*Student of Hattiesburg public schools*

*Professor and Civil Rights Activist*

“My teachers were smart, and they always had time for us. They knew they were working with fewer resources, and they compensated for it by giving and giving of themselves.

They (teachers) didn’t mind that the schools were segregated. What they objected to were the inferior facilities and materials that they had to teach from. All of the textbooks were used. They were sent to the Black schools after having been used by the white students for several years. You could see the names of the white students written inside the front of the book. Teachers often used their own resources for their classroom. Teachers used their own

cars to transport us to regional and statewide meetings of the New Homemakers and New Farmers of America meetings. One of the most important things Black females teachers bring to students is empathy. They understand the challenges faced by Black students. They are willing to go the extra mile in helping students. In a lot of schools in the South today, many of the teachers come from Teach for America. They are young and not able to close the wide cultural chasm of the student. There are far fewer Black teachers today.”

Children in traditional communities discovered sooner or later that their lives mattered to a lot people whom they barely knew and to whom they were not directly accountable. I remember realizing this when I was in elementary school. On report card day, all the elderly women in my neighborhood would stop me on my way home to inspect my grades. They gave me a dime for each A I made, and they always told me that I was going to be somebody when I grew up. It didn’t matter that I was someone else’s daughter. I never forgot those dimes. To me, they symbolized the faith these women had in me and the strength of their belief in what I could do with my life.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ladner, Joyce. Interview by author. May 2021.



## **MRS. LINDA ARMSTRONG**

*Student of Hattiesburg public schools*

*Daughter of Hattiesburg teacher Zola Jackson*

“Our community lived by the phrase 'it takes a village'. Despite some struggles our community had with young people having to choose work over school and some struggles with lack of literacy, education was viewed as valuable. The elders helped young folks avoid mistakes and when a neighbor was in need, you helped. There was cohesiveness established in schools and neighborhoods. Our community was solid. You had the churches, schools, and the community all interwoven, and everyone looked out for each other. There was a great sense of connection, and many teachers taught 3–4 generations of a family.

Black women were looked at as teachers, senior members, advisors, and guides who imparted knowledge. They were respected as vessels of knowledge who ensured that family stayed intact. She emphasized the great benefit and cohesion she felt growing up in all Black spaces. Segregated schools were all I knew growing up, until I got to college. I was comfortable with the people who I grew up with and who were in my community.”<sup>1</sup>

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1 Armstrong, Linda Sue. Interview by author. June 2021.

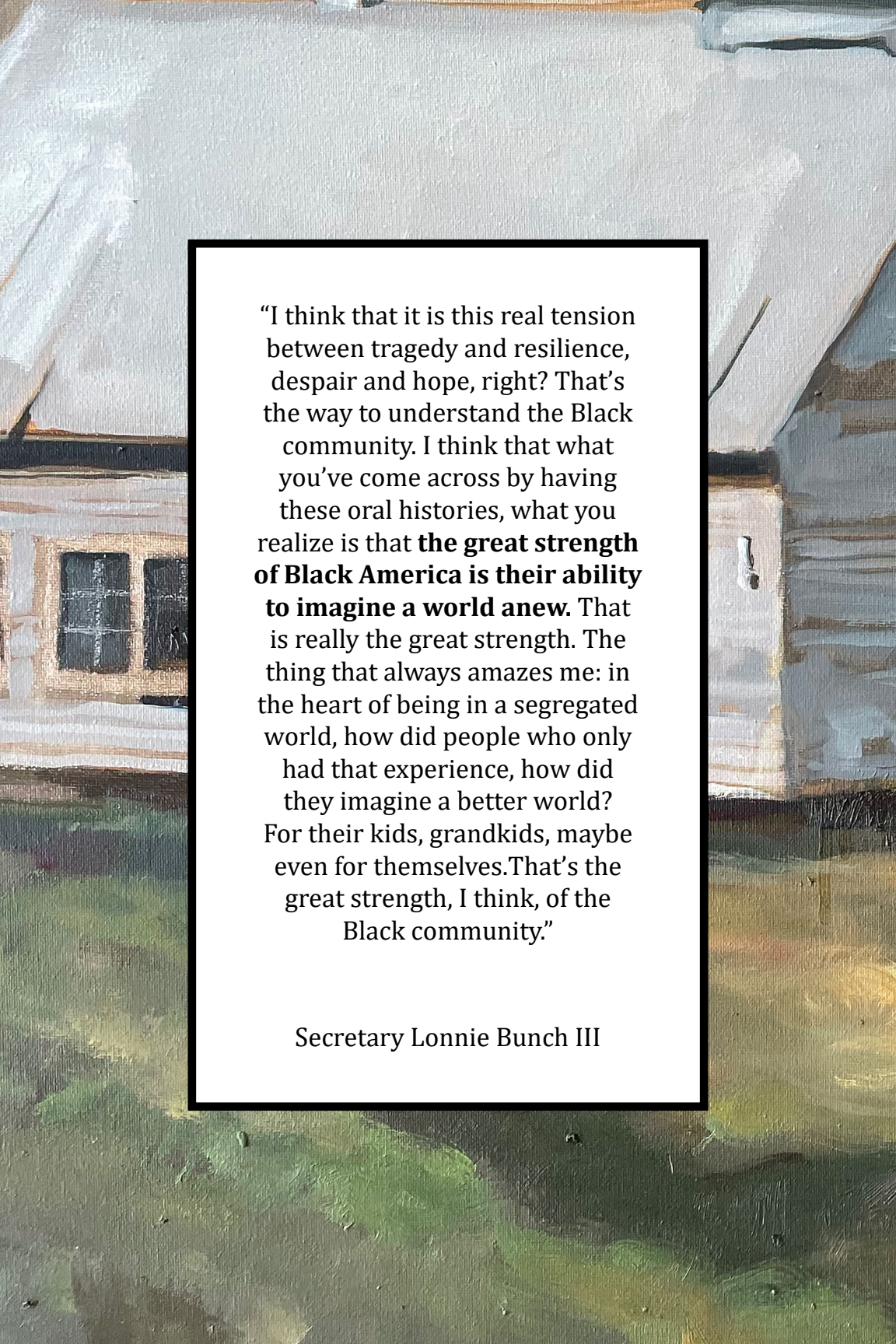


# *Poetic Benediction*

Jordan Stempleman

*Lessons*

In one version of a country's history  
the teacher's forehead empties out  
as fog into owned open air.  
But in another version  
mothers are running their fingers across this  
and that  
the hollowed arcades from before we met  
and after we eat  
what we watch out for  
and what could never be enough.  
The cold quail.  
The sparks that turn down bit by bit.  
Wish now for all that can't consider be stirred.  
For all that won't consider be stirred.  
In all the strangers' faces  
until there's the seen and the unseen.  
And in all these names  
that we memorize and replace  
let them return to sounds that see again.  
The once alien  
decked out in the approximate togetherness  
gone alike  
in the wearing away.



“I think that it is this real tension between tragedy and resilience, despair and hope, right? That’s the way to understand the Black community. I think that what you’ve come across by having these oral histories, what you realize is that **the great strength of Black America is their ability to imagine a world anew.** That is really the great strength. The thing that always amazes me: in the heart of being in a segregated world, how did people who only had that experience, how did they imagine a better world? For their kids, grandkids, maybe even for themselves. That’s the great strength, I think, of the Black community.”

Secretary Lonnie Bunch III