November 2022

Where We Live and Learn to Know: An Oral History of the Rochelle High School Music Program

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Where We Live and Learn to Know:

An Oral History of the Rochelle High School Music Program

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
with a concentration in Music Education
School of Music
College of The Arts
University of South Florida

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Date of Approval:
November 7, 2022

Keywords: music education, desegregation, African American education, Black education, segregated high school music

DEDICATION

To my wife, Tina, and my children, Vienne, Anthem, and Winslett, who sacrificed a lot of time with me so that I could complete this study. Thank you. I love you. Always.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables iii

List of Figures iv

Abstract v

Chapter 1: And We Will Not Forget 1
- Introduction 1
- The Echoes of Rochelle High School 7
- The Aims and The Outline 10
- Conclusion 11

Chapter 2: Music Education During Segregation 13
- Segregation in US and Florida Schools 16
- Black Schools in Lakeland, Florida 19
- Music Education in US Black Schools 26
- Music Education Outside of US Black Schools 29
- Music Education in Florida's Black High Schools 34
- Music Education in Polk County's Black High Schools 35
- Desegregation in Lakeland, Florida Schools 36
- Desegregation and Un-Equal Representation 39
- Conclusion 42

Chapter 3: Oral History 43
- Introduction 43
- Oral History 43
- Analysis 48
- Interview Process 49
- Participants 50
- Historical Materials 53
- Conclusion 54

Chapter 4: Where We Live and Learn to Grow 55
- Rochelle High School Lakeland, Florida 55
- Music in Lakeland's Black Elementary and Junior High Schools 59
- Music at Rochelle High School 65
- The Rochelle Marching and Concert Band 67
- The Rochelle Chorus 84

Music Outside of Rochelle High School 89
Conclusion 91

Chapter 5: Notable Rochelle High School Music Teachers and Musical Alumni 93
Introduction....93
Rochelle High School Music Teachers....94
Mr. Lawrence Pope....94
Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins....98
Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo....103
Mr. Alvin F. Graham 109
Notable Musical Alumni....119
Conchita Clarke Owens 119
Alphonso "Country" Kellum 121
Dr. Samuel Floyd....122
Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele 124
Robert Leon Frazier....125

Chapter 6: The Sweet Afterglow 128
Introduction....128
Perceived Similarities and Differences between Rochelle, Kathleen, & Lakeland Music Programs 129
Chorus....129
Band....130
Potential Barriers for Black Students Regarding Participation in High School Music Ensembles at Kathleen and Lakeland 132
The Closing of Rochelle High School and Its Effects on the Music Education of Lakeland's Black Students....142
Suggestions for Future Research 144
Conclusion 147

Bibliography 149

Appendix A: Potential Interview Questions 161

Appendix B: IRB Exemption Form 165

Appendix C: Robert L. Frazier Permission to Use Creative Content....166

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Founding Year for Instrumental Music Programs at Segregated Black High Schools in Polk County, Florida 35

TABLE 2: Kathleen High School and Lakeland High School White and Black Student Population Comparison 40

TABLE 3: Kathleen High School and Lakeland High School Black Student Participation in Band and Chorus, 1970–1973 133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Choral Group, *The Washingtonian,* 1948 60

Figure 2: Rochelle High School, *The Panther*, 1957 73

Figure 3: Rochelle High School marching band, The Panther, 1955 75

Figure 4: Unknown band members 80

Figure 5: Rochelle Senior High School Marching Band Head Drum Major 81

Figure 6: Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins 84

Figure 7: Rochelle High School chorus, *The Panther*, 1957 85

Figure 8: Rochelle High School chorus, *The Panther*, 1968, Dr. Hugo (center) 86

Figure 9: Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins 98

Figure 10: Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo 103

Figure 11: Dr. Hugo with a student 105

Figure 12: Mr. Alvin F. Graham 109

Figure 13: Mr. Graham with a student 113

Figure 14: The billboard announces Conchita Clarke's appearance 119

ABSTRACT

For the greater portion of the 20th century Black Americans in the US South had severely restricted access to a high school education. Segregation Era Jim Crow laws effectively created two education systems in Southern US states, one for White students and another separate system for Black students. In Florida, elementary, junior high, senior high schools, and colleges were segregated by race. In Lakeland, Florida from 1928–1969 Rochelle Senior High School conferred high school diplomas to Lakeland area Black students. Rochelle Senior High School provided Black students in the Lakeland area an opportunity to partake in the 20th century American high school experience that included school dances, academic and social clubs, organized team and individual sports, and school sponsored music ensembles. Rochelle alumni became decorated military officers, successful businesspeople, professional athletes, and professional musicians. While some scholarly studies have focused on the experience of Black students at segregated Black high schools during segregation, there are minimal studies that have examined music programs during segregation at these schools. The purpose of this study is to detail the student experiences of former Rochelle High School music students and teachers, the teaching styles of former Rochelle High School music teachers, and an oral history of the music program at Rochelle High School. A secondary aim of the study is to illuminate the experience of Black students who participated in music ensembles at historically White senior high schools after Rochelle was forced to close in 1969. The purpose of the secondary aim is to uncover possible explanations why Black students historically have and continue to participate in high school sponsored music programs at a much lower rate than their White counterparts. The

primary and secondary purpose of this study were examined using data gathered through interviews with Rochelle alumni, former teachers, the children of former teachers, individuals who experienced music education at historically White high schools in Lakeland, Florida after Rochelle closed, and historical documents such as newspaper articles, and yearbooks. An oral history of the Rochelle High School music program offers a small glimpse into the segregated all–Black education system that was ubiquitous across the American south from the late nineteenth century through the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Implications and suggestions for future research that could benefit music education historians and current music educators is provided in the conclusion of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 1: AND WE WILL NOT FORGET

Rochelle High School Alma Mater

O we love the halls of Rochelle
That surround us here today
And we will not forget
Though we be far, far, away.

To the hallowed halls of Rochelle
Every voice will bid farewell
And shimmer off in twilight
Like the old vesper bell.

One day a hush will fall
The footsteps of us all
Will echo down the halls and disappear
But as we sadly start
Our journeys far apart
A part of every heart will linger here

In the sacred Halls of Rochelle
Where we live and learn to know
That through the years, we'll see you
In the sweet afterglow.

Introduction

Rochelle High School educated Black students from the Lakeland, FL area from 1928 until 1969. Graduates of Rochelle went on to become college professors, professional football players, military officers, and much more. For the Black community in Lakeland, Rochelle High School was a shining example of Black excellence surrounded by a harsh and cruel racially segregated society. Rochelle was an integral component of Lakeland's Black community. Rochelle teachers often hired Rochelle students for summer jobs. On weekday evenings families

would picnic out on the marching band practice field and watch the marching band practice their next halftime or festival routine. On Friday nights in the fall the Black community packed out the stands to jubilantly cheer on the prestigious Rochelle High Fighting Panther football team[1]. Local Black owned businesses and wealthy Black citizens sponsored school plays, oratory contests, and other school-wide activities[2]. It was a vibrant, affirming, and positive foundational institution for Lakeland's Black citizens until it was permanently closed in the spring of 1969. Outside of the Black community, very little was, and is, known about Rochelle. By choice, Lakeland's White community largely ignored Rochelle's people and its place in the community. A trend that began before the city was established.

Lakeland, founded in central Florida in 1885, is the largest city in Polk County, and was founded in 1885. From its inception, Lakeland's White community began constructing a local history that lifted its White residents while neglecting the people, contributions, and places of Black Lakelanders. Lakeland got its start as a pioneer town. A respite along a railroad line in the untamed Florida wilds. The first people to inhabit the land that would become Lakeland were Native Americans from the Seminole tribe. The second group of settlers were Black railroad workers who built the railroad that became central to Lakeland's growth and economy[3]. But Lakeland's first unofficial resident has long been credited to the White railroad camp foreman. A local Lakeland historian from the early 20th century describes the foreman as (*italics* added for emphasis) the "first *white* man to have made his habitation in the territory comprised in the

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[1] Terry Coney (participant), interview with author, March 2022, 12:07
[2] LaFrancine K. Burton, "Teaspoon Hill Became Black Commerce Center as Lakeland Expanded", *The Ledger,* August 24, 2002
[3] M. F. Hetherington. *History of Polk County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical.* Saint Augustine, Fla: The Record Company, printers, 1928, 88.

original limits of Lakeland"[4]. This statement suggests that the Black railroad workers had been there prior to the foreman's arrival. Lakeland's first school "The Academy" was opened not long after Lakeland was founded in 1885. However, records indicate that "The Academy" was not Lakeland's first school. It was Lakeland's first school for White children. St. John's Baptist Church, a Black church founded before Lakeland's incorporation but within the future city limits, began educating Black children in 1884. As the nineteenth century moved into the twentieth, Lakeland's White leaders used tax dollars to build schools for Lakeland's white children and infrastructure for Lakeland's White neighborhoods while giving little to no subsidies to help educate Lakeland's Black children. In 1910, civic funds were used to erect a monument dedicated to Confederate veterans of the American Civil War. The ceremony that accompanied the monument dedication has been written about extensively in many recounts of Lakeland's history. The 30-foot concrete obelisk with a carved stone likeness of a contemplative Confederate soldier on top, stood in the middle of Lakeland's town square for 109 years until it was moved in 2019[5].

In a strange way the willful ignorance of Lakeland's White community was somewhat favorable for Lakeland's Black community. While Lakeland's White leadership stifled Black growth by under-funding or not funding schools or programs that would benefit Black citizens[6], the apathy of Lakeland's Whites allowed for institutions like Rochelle to bloom and grow within the small places of society that lacked White governance and to provide a safe and quality

[4] M. F. Hetherington. *History of Polk County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical*. Saint Augustine, Fla: The Record Company, printers, 1928, 87.
[5] Sara-Megan Walsh. "Confederate monument removed from downtown Lakeland", *The Ledger,* March 22, 2019, https://www.theledger.com/story/news/local/2019/03/22/confederate-monument-removed-from-downtown-lakeland/5637994007/
[6] LaFrancine Burton. "White Philanthropists Pushed Education, Improvement for Polk Blacks", *The Ledger,* November 29, 2005, https://cdm17277.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p17277coll1/id/31/rec/9

educational environment for many Black adolescents. Rochelle was able to offer young Black scholars a healthy, positive environment safe from the harsh racist reality of American society.

The intentional ignorance and apathy of Lakeland's Whites had a powerfully negative effect on Lakeland's Black community after the landmark ruling of *Brown vs the Board of Education* that eventually led to the desegregation of Lakeland's schools and the closure of Rochelle. Lakeland's White leadership drew on past behaviors, ignored the needs of the Black community and orchestrated a desegregation plan that benefited White families, penalized Black families, and pressured Black children to assimilate to White society, but required little recompense from White Lakelanders[7].

Polk County's, and therefore Lakeland's, White community responded quickly and viciously to the prospect of desegregation after the *Brown* ruling by implementing a freeze on student transfer requests and moving the student transfer decisions to the county level and away from the local school level[8]. These policies effectively ensured Lakeland and all Polk County schools would remain racially segregated for another 10 years. Furthermore, these policies willfully ignored the well–being of Black students in Lakeland and Polk County. Support for segregation in Lakeland was widespread among Whites from Polk County. Polk County politics even influenced federal policies. Spressard L. Holland, a local, influential 20th century Polk County native, resident, and politician, was one of two US Senators representing Florida during the civil rights and desegregation period of US history. He was also governor of Florida from 1941-1945. In March of 1956, Holland, eighteen other senators, and eighty-two representatives

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[7] James V. Holton. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University, 2002. 144 http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2?accountid=14745.

[8] James V. Holton. "The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994. 2002.

from former Confederate states signed the "Southern Manifesto" formally renouncing the federal courts ruling on *Brown vs the Board of Education.* The document spitefully charged that the ruling on *Brown vs BOE* was an overreach of federal power and violated states' rights and encouraged southern states to fight the ruling through all legal means available, and to resist forced integration[9]. A little less than 10 years later, Holland doubled down on his defiance toward desegregation and voted against the *1964 Civil Rights Act*[10]*.* Most Polk County and Lakeland education leaders followed Holland's furious resistance to a racially integrated society and education system. It would take a *Brown* like lawsuit, *Mills vs the Polk County School Board,* to ultimately end segregation in Polk County. In 1965 the US District Courts in the Middle District of Florida ruled in favor of *Mills* and ordered the Polk County School Board to officially and immediately end their racially segregated education system[11].

The Polk County School Board had predicted the desegregation period of the early 1970s would be uneventful and relatively calm[12]. However, an honest examination of the desegregation history of Lakeland's historically White high schools exposes that this period was troublesome for Lakeland's public schools. For example, there are years of reports of White students physically attacking Black students and Black student organized walk–outs, sit–ins, and other protests in response to their mistreatment[13]. Outside of Lakeland's Black community the history of Rochelle High School and Lakeland's tumultuous history of desegregation have not received the amount of attention that they deserve.

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[9] Southern Manifesto on Integration, March 12, 1956, https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/supremecourt/rights/sources_document2.html

[10] HR. 7152. PASSAGE. https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/88-1964/s409

[11] Shelly Godefrin. "Woman who led integration fight dies" *The News Chief.* June 10, 2008. https://www.newschief.com/story/news/2008/06/10/woman-who-led-integration-fight/8036511007/

[12] James V. Holton. "The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994. 2002. 179

[13] James V. Holton. "The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994. 2002.

Some Lakeland and Polk County historians have worked independently to compile an honest and complete history of the Black community in Lakeland and the surrounding areas[14]. Historians such as LaFrancine Burton and Cantor Brown have written extensively on the history of the Black community in Lakeland and Polk County. Some of that research has included Rochelle. A brief history of Rochelle can be found on the Washington Park & Rochelle High School Alumni Association website[15] and in a historical account of the Black community of Lakeland by local historian Dr. Neriah Roberts[16]. A smattering of historical information can be found in articles published in The Ledger, Lakeland's only currently operating daily printed newspaper, and there are at least two completed dissertations that examined the desegregation process in Polk County, Florida[17]. One of the most prominent and public displays of remembrance will be the Black Historical Museum of Lakeland that is slated to be completed in 2023[18].

While most of these resources detail a general history of Rochelle, they provide no information on the music program at Rochelle. In my initial exploration into Rochelle's music environment, I discovered a once vibrant and active music program that was deeply connected to Florida A&M's Marching 100 and active in festivals, local parades, and competitions. Interviews

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[14] LaFrancine Burton has compiled a digital archive of articles and other historical documents related to the Black community in Polk County that can be accessed through the Polk County Historical Commision. Dr. Cantor Brown has included literature on the Black community in Polk County in his academic writings such as *In the Midst of All That Makes Life Worth Living: Polk County Florida to 1940* and *Florida's Peace River Frontier.*

[15] Washington Park/Rochelle High School Alumni Association; *School History*; https://www.wp-rochellealumni.com/history/school-history/

[16] Neriah Roberts. *The Evolution of African Americans, Lakeland, Florida (1883-2014),* 2014.

[17] Thomas D. Milligan "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." Order No. 6802897, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1967. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/investigation-public-schools-desegregation-polk/docview/302254042/se-2?accountid=14745.
James V. Holton. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994."

[18] Jennifer Audette. "Plans for African American Historical Museum Move Forward", *LKLDNOW,* May 24, 2021. https://www.lkldnow.com/plans-for-african-american-historical-museum-move-forward/

with Rochelle music alumni provided details of a program that was dedicated to its craft and music teachers with big personalities that gave back to their community through summer music camps and other community focused programs. A music program that inspired pride, dedication, and discipline and a community that cared. However, I would not have learned about Rochelle had I not been unknowingly infused into the echoes of Rochelle history.

The Echoes of Rochelle High School

August of 1992, I started my sixth-grade year at Rochelle School of the Arts in Lakeland, FL. I was excited. Rochelle School of the Arts was the first kindergarten through eighth grade (K-8) arts magnet school in Florida and only the second K-8 arts magnet school to open in the United States[19]. I was an artsy kid who enjoyed music and my mom encouraged my activity in music because she saw that I enjoyed it and she thought it would increase my test scores. To be able to have a music class every day seemed like a wish come true.

The compact campus located in a predominantly Black community on the northside of Lakeland was composed of a handful of neatly maintained mid-20th century brick buildings punctuated by concrete and aluminum columns that had been painted a muted teal. Rochelle School of the Arts had spaces for the typical trappings of late-20th century American primary education, a lunchroom, gymnasium, and academic classrooms. But Rochelle School of the Arts also had specially designed spaces to accommodate the four art disciplines in which the students could concentrate. Spaces such as a band room, an orchestra room, and a chorus room for music, a dance studio for dance, a newly renovated theater with modern light and sound equipment for the theater students, and visual art studios with a kiln and a surplus of space for visual art

[19] "Our History", Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, last modified 2021, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/about/

students to store works in progress. Each space was decorated from floor to ceiling in the school colors at the time; teal and purple.

I began my sixth-grade year in the visual art program even though I had a deep love of music. After a not-so-great experience with my elementary band teacher I had decided I wanted to try something else. My foray into sculpting, painting, and drawing lasted one semester and I quickly switched to the strings program after seeing the string orchestra at the Rochelle School of the Arts Christmas concert. I think fondly of my years at Rochelle School of the Arts. The teachers and staff created an open and accepting environment that I am grateful to have been a part of. Thanks to Rochelle School of the Arts, stringed instruments became my primary outlet for musical creativity and strings have played a substantial role throughout my education. I was able to pay for part of my college tuition through a scholarship for upright bass.

Embedded in my memories of Rochelle School of the Arts were the echoes of an overlooked history. While Rochelle School of the Arts was a new school and the second K-8 arts magnet school in the nation, it was clear that the physical space had been repurposed and renovated. I could see the allusions of history in the interior and exterior design of the buildings. The theater was filled with modern theatrical equipment, but the building was not modern in style or function. In the main building that also housed the administrative offices many of the classrooms had an old model of jalousie windows, often referred to as “Florida” windows, that could be opened using a hand crank. The gymnasium, like the theater, was well taken care of, but old. And, about 50 yards behind the gymnasium were perhaps the most prominent reminders of the past, the remnants of a football field surrounded by a running track and aluminum stands positioned on the southside of the field.

The buildings contained a history that was like a song being played at a volume loud enough to be noticed but not loud enough to be discerned. Or, like looking at a landscape through binoculars that were out of focus and all that could be identified were colors and shapes. I was certain that Rochelle School of the Arts had been a school, but I was not certain of much beyond that. And the adults in my life were not eager to divulge the details of my new school's past. What plays and what music were performed on the Rochelle School of the Arts stage? On cool mornings when the weather was nice, who cranked the "Florida" windows open? Who were the athletes who lit up the scoreboard in the gym? Who witnessed the hard-fought victories and the crushing defeats that played out on the football field?

A few of these questions were answered during my first few years as a student at Rochelle School of the Arts when the Rochelle High School Alumni Association publicly petition that the school board of Polk County, FL officially change the school colors of Rochelle School of the Arts to blue and white and to change the mascot to the panther. This was my first glimpse into the history of Rochelle School of the Arts. What I learned was that Rochelle School of the Arts was formerly a high school and this high school was extremely important to the Black community in Lakeland, FL. Regarding the mascot and school colors, eventually the school board and the Rochelle alums came to a compromise. The mascot would be changed to the panther and the official school colors would be purple, teal, blue, and white[20].

I soon forgot about my questions regarding Rochelle's past and moved on to more pressing matters that tend to occupy the mind of an 11-year-old child; schoolwork, the cute girl in my English class, or getting home in time to watch my favorite tv show. After Rochelle, I went to a predominantly White arts magnet high school and then received a bachelors at a

[20] "About Our School", Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/

historically White college and a master's in music composition from a university in the Republic of Ireland. All the while my interest in US race relations persisted. I was fascinated by the people and events of the Civil Rights Era, the history of the Civil War, and the obvious dichotomy of our slaveholding founding fathers boldly exclaiming to the world that all men were created equal. The Washington Park/Rochelle High School Alumni Association had inadvertently sparked an interest inside me. My experience at Rochelle School of the Arts had provided me with a fleeting glimpse into America's racialized past. My desire to learn more about that past continued long after I left Rochelle School of the Arts.

The Aims and The Outline

The purpose of this study is to examine the educational music experiences of Rochelle High School students before and after desegregation of the public school system in Lakeland, Florida in 1969. Chapter two will consist of a summary of the history of segregated education in the US with a more detailed summary of segregated education in Florida, Polk County, and Lakeland. Chapter three is a summary of oral history and a description of the participants and historical documents included in this study. Chapter four is the history of the Rochelle music department as told by former Rochelle alumni with available supporting historical documents and an oral history of the musical experiences of former Rochelle students who transitioned to historically white high schools. The following questions guided the research for this study:

1) What were the educational music experiences of Rochelle High School students?
2) How did the Rochelle High School music program contribute to the Black community in Lakeland, Florida?

3) Who were the music teachers at Rochelle High School? What influence did they have on Rochelle students and where did they teach after Rochelle High School closed?
4) For those students who were involved in educational music at Rochelle High School and then at their desegregated White high school, what were the differences and similarities between educational music at Rochelle High School and at their desegregated White high school?
5) What were the perceived short term and long-term consequences to the music education of Black students in Lakeland, Florida after Rochelle High School was closed, and all Black students desegregated predominantly White high schools in Lakeland?

In chapter five I will present a series of short biographical profiles on four former Rochelle music teachers and five notable musical alumni. In chapter six I will briefly detail the impact of Rochelle closing on the music education of Black students in Lakeland and present implications for future research that could be beneficial for current music teachers and music education researchers.

Conclusion

From its founding in 1885 and well into the twentieth century, Lakeland, Florida, like most cities across the American south, was deeply divided by race. Restaurants, movie theaters, and public transit had separate seating areas, entrances, and accommodations for White and Black customers. Public education was also divided by race. There were separate schools for White and Black children. These separate systems of education were loosely connected but developed differently. An oral history of the Rochelle High School music program offers a small glimpse into the segregated all–Black education system that developed in towns like Lakeland

and was ubiquitous across the American south from the late nineteenth century through the first three quarters of the twentieth century. The history detailed in this document is in some ways unique to Rochelle while also verifying the shared experience of Black students who were educated in this segregated system commonly implemented in former Confederate US states.

CHAPTER 2: MUSIC EDUCATION DURING SEGREGATION

The Dome of coloredness
By: Bob Frazier

The world.
That world as it existed was as
good as it was bad.
In that world.

There was no time to cry about the treasures
and attention I'd wished I'd had.
Growing up in this land of sun, sand spurs, and rain,
croaking frogs in mud and catfish in cattails
and howling dogs when they smelled death in the air.

Lakeland was mostly restful rainy days until me.
The limb from the oak tree fell on the house
as my mother gave birth to me in a hurricane and
"Stormy Weather " became my I. D.

Under the dome of coloredness.
Wide hipped ladies in the kitchen frying crispy
Sunday chicken for the preachers smacking lips.
and neck-bones were sucked 'til white as snow 'cause
the marrow taste gave Rev. a smile and a glow.

Under the dome of coloredness.
Greasy lard cans near the kerosene stoves
and the well–used morning slop jar
to be emptied from the bedroom.

Under the dome of coloredness.
greasy faced little colored boys ran
down coloredness streets while
feasting on a blue gill' Samiches
so good, so hot with mustard
and hot sauce from a
black frying pan.

Under the dome of coloredness.
Sunday afternoon mac and cheese,
crowder peas, collard greens
so good it brings You to your knees.

Under the dome of coloredness.
The wild holiness beat of the sanctified drums
and voices ripped through the neighborhood
seven nights a week as they moved their
dancing feet as their daughters snuck out and
got that good feeling and pregnant
on a plush 60's car seat.

The nights were very few I didn't
throw down some Ellis BBQ.
Under the dome of coloredness.
we were too young to be old, too old to be young.
The hot, summer's night, a swimp and French fry basket
so good like a swimp basket should be, washed down
with an iced cold red soda water.

Under the dome of coloredness.
We could stay up and
out late at night usually down at Ellis's
Bobbi Q stand and maybe witness
two drunken orange pickers engage
in a fight- knock down drag out fight.

Under the dome of coloredness.
We could freely roam streets
like young, wild horses from the
Roxy theatre's double feature and down
the blocks to munch on the Blue Chip's chicken
with that spicy fried chicken crunch.

Under the dome of coloredness.
Jimmy Smith played loud relaxed and free.
We listen to him on the yellow, blue and
green glowing jukebox and imagined his act.

Jimmy Smith's fingers glided up and down the B3.
His big fingers like the Blue Chip's chicken drumsticks as he
Played "Back at the chicken shack".

That juke box was alive, and Jimmy
and Kenny swung from early

eve to early morn and Toehat and
Candyman, and the Tom of white
spitting lies next to the fifty gallon fire drum.

As we floated in on the blue gill grease
and Eljoe's three pointers before they were
valued in that day, it seemed at that time and life
would somehow always be that way.

Under the dome of coloredness.
We loved the halls of Rochelle.
It was more like going to church
than going to school.
Rochelle came closer to being separate
but equal not because that was true
but because our mentors knew how
to make something out of almost nothing do.

Too young to be old, too old to be young.
Early morn rise at Miles cafeteria and
Pork chops, grits, biscuits, sunny side eggs
served by a church going sister with super
luscious brown legs.

Under the dome of coloredness.
Frog-hips and Catfish Baloney
Bullyhookie and stud pony
Mannish little boys,
and a kid nick-named oink.

Under the dome of coloredness.
"Hot rod Herc and the Jolly-jumpers"
with mad obsession playing heavy juice
oh so sweet in local Juke joints stocked with 2 gallon jars
of pickled-pigs feet in 2 gallon jars next to dill pickle indigestion.

From Morehead to the hill.
We lived under the dome of coloredness.
and our parents had but one request was that
we should always strived be better than the best.
Under the dome of coloredness.

Segregation in US and Florida Schools

Prior to the end of American Civil War, Northern US states showed some, albeit minimal, support for educating Blacks through the creation of four Historically Black Colleges and Universities such as Cheyney University in Pennsylvania (1837), University of the District of Columbia in the District of Columbia (1851), Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (1854), and Wilberforce University in Ohio (1856)[21], and Northeast states such as New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts provided some Black children access to education through segregated common schools. However, Midwestern states largely excluded Black children from attending common schools. In Ohio during the first half of the 19th century, common schools operated by Black churches were the primary sources of education for Black children. In the northern United States after the end of the American Civil War, local or state funded schools dedicated to the education of Black children were slowly becoming more prevalent[22].

In pre-Civil War Southern US states where the institution of chattel slavery was legal, educating Blacks was illegal. By the mid 1830s Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama all had laws that outlawed teaching a Black person, slave or free, to read or write[23]. Any Black slave who was caught reading or writing potentially faced execution, severe beatings, or the removal of the first finger of their writing hand[24]. When Florida joined the United States in 1845, Florida had already signed into law the legal support for the enslavement of Blacks and severely limited the rights of freed Black people[25]. These slave

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[21] Marybeth Gasman, Christopher Tudico, *Historically Black colleges, and universities: Triumphs, troubles, and taboos,* (Springer, 2008). 1
[22] Linda Tillman. *The sage handbook of African American education*. (Sage Publications, 2008). 8
[23] Williams, Heather Andrea. *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009. 13–17
[24] James D. Anderson, *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 16-17. Chattel slavery is defined by Merriam-Webster as slavery in which a person is owned as chattel, or property.
[25] FL State Constitution, 1838, art. XVI, sec. 1, 2, and 3.

codes effectively blocked access to most private or public education systems. However, prior to Florida becoming a US state the institution of slavery was fluid due to the varied laws and moral and societal values of the various local, national, and international powers that slipped in and out of the swampy, Black water and the thick yellow pine forests of Florida's natural landscape. From the early 1500's until 1845 European control of Florida ping ponged between Spain, Britain, and the United States while simultaneously being firmly inhabited and governed by various Native American tribes like the Creek and the Seminole. The Spanish brought Black slaves with them when they attempted to establish permanent settlements in Florida during the early part of the 16th century[26]. However, it wasn't until the late 1700's that the first major influx of Black slaves was introduced into Florida by the British. Just before the end of British rule, roughly sixty four percent of the entire population of British controlled Florida were Black slaves[27]. European control of Florida returned to Spain in 1783.

Slavery remained a very profitable industry in Spanish controlled Florida[28]. However, Spanish law allowed Black slaves to earn their freedom through conversion to Christianity[29], military service, or they could legally purchase their freedom[30]. Furthermore, the Native American tribes that remained in control of large swaths of Florida often protected runaway Black slaves and occasionally integrated them into their tribes[31]. The racial openness of Native American culture was appealing to some Black slaves. The Spanish Florida wilderness provided

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[26] Edwin Williams. "Negro slavery in Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1949. 93
[27] Edwin Williams. "Negro slavery in Florida." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1949. 96
[28] Landers, Jane. "Slavery in the Spanish Caribbean and the Failure of Abolition." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* (2008): 358.
[29] Patrick Riordan. "Finding freedom in Florida: Native peoples, African Americans, and colonists, 1670-1816." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 75. 1996: 24-43. In 1693 Spain offered limited freedoms to any Black slave from the British colonies who was able to
[30] Daniel L. Schafer. ""A class of people neither freemen nor slaves": from Spanish to American race relations in Florida, 1821-1861." *Journal of Social History*, 1993: 588.
[31] Daniel L. Schafer. ""A class of people neither freemen nor slaves": from Spanish to American race relations in Florida, 1821-1861." *Journal of Social History*, 1993: 587-609.

many Black people an opportunity for freedom. The cultural openness of Spanish and Native American controlled Florida and the dense and dangerous wild habitat acted as legal and physical barriers to US slave laws and slave masters, allowed for several small, Black-only communities to develop deep within the Florida wilderness, and allowed Black people to intermingle with Spanish and Native American populations[32]. It is possible that the upward mobility Black people were granted by Spanish law could have resulted in the education of some Black children. Most historical accounts indicate that public education was reserved for the children of wealthy Spanish citizens who were not Black[33].

Unfortunately, the possibility of any Black person to receive an education was all but eliminated when European control over Florida was granted to the United States in 1821. With US control came US slave codes. While a handful of free Black people remained in Florida after the US gained control of the territory, their access to education was severely limited due to the segregation policies and slave laws of pre-Civil War Florida. In 1850, a little less than 100 free Blacks attended schools in St. Johns, Escambia, and Monroe counties. But by 1860 that number had dwindled to nine[34]. In historical accounts from pre-Reconstruction era Florida, the activities of Black children in Florida were largely restricted to occupational responsibilities such as collecting firewood, cleaning houses, and other domestic duties. Some Florida slave owners did teach a select few of their Black slaves how to read and write[35]. During the Civil War public education provided by the state of Florida was minimal due to the financial strain of the conflict.

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[32] Russell Garvin. "The Free Negro in Florida before the Civil War," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 1, 1-17.
[33] Joseph B. Lockey. "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 15, no. 3, 147-168.
[34] Frederick Bruce Rosen. *The development of Negro education in Florida during Reconstruction: 1865-1877*. University of Florida, 1974. Pg. 30-29.
[35] Larry Rivers. *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation,* 8-21.

However, Union forces did establish schools for all US citizens, including Black citizens, in Union controlled areas of Florida[36].

Public institutions for the education of Black children grew considerably during Reconstruction (1865-1877)[37]. But post-Reconstruction race-based Jim Crow laws put an abrupt halt to the advancements Blacks had experienced in education[38] and were highly effective in racially segregating Florida's society. Black Floridians were not allowed to use most public facilities, be treated at the same hospitals, or attend the same schools as White Floridians[39]. Without proper funding or support from White politicians and other White community leaders, Florida's post-Civil War Black communities turned inward to educate their children. Black business and church leaders pooled their resources to privately fund the education of Florida's Black children[40], as was common of Black communities across most southern US states[41].

Black Schools in Lakeland, Florida

Lakeland, Florida was incorporated on January 1st, 1885, and lies in the northwest corner of Polk County about 35 miles east of Tampa. With an estimated population of 112,000 as of 2021, Lakeland is the largest city in Polk County[42]. Currently, Polk County is the 7th largest school district in Florida, is a majority-minority school district, and one of the 30 largest school districts in the United States[43].

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[36] Frederick Bruce Rosen. *The development of Negro education in Florida during Reconstruction: 1865-1877*. University of Florida, 1974. Pg. 32-34. Between 1862-1864 schools organized by Union forces for all citizens were organized around Union controlled St. Augustine.
[37] Joe M. Richardson. "The Freedmen's Bureau and Negro Education in Florida." *The Journal of Negro Education* 31, no. 4 (1962): 460–67. https://doi.org/10.2307/2293965.
[38] FL State Constitution, 1885, art. XII, sec. 12
[39] Jerrell Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's" Black Code"", *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1977): 277-298.
[40] Walter Howard & Virginia Howard, "Family, religion, and education: a profile of African-American life in Tampa, Florida, 1900-1930," *The Journal of Negro History* 79, no. 1 (1994): 1-17.
[41] James D. Anderson. *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1988.
[42] "Quick Facts", US Census Bureau, last modified 2021, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/lakelandcityflorida
[43] "About Us", Polk County School Board, last modified 2022, https://polkschoolsfl.com/about/

Blacks played a substantial but mostly ignored role in establishing Lakeland as an outpost in the wilds of Florida. Lakeland owes its initial growth to the railroad. A railroad built almost entirely by Black workers. Historical accounts of the history of Lakeland indicate that there was a railroad camp called Rome City on the banks of Lake Wire[44]. It was established in the early 1880's and was composed of approximately 250 Black workers. The railroad camp and the lake were located within Lakeland's future city limits and just west of the city's soon to be downtown. The railroad camp's boss was described as the first White resident within Lakeland's future town limits indicating that the Black railroad workers had been residing in the area prior to the arrival of the White foreman. The railroad camp served as the frontier community's business hub and most of the local commerce permeated from it[45]. Lakeland grew quickly. When the railroad camp outlived its use, the railroad company purchased land not far from the original camp's boundaries and set the land aside to be developed as a Black community. The community later named itself Moorehead. By 1887 Blacks in Lakeland totaled about 150. Polk County historian M.F. Hetherington described Lakeland's Black community as "industrious and thrifty" and as "having a neat church and a good school[46]." While Blacks in Lakeland were able to share in some of Lakeland's economic bounty, the education experiences of the White and Black children of Lakeland differed greatly.

Lakeland adhered to the strict, inhumane, and racist Jim Crow Laws that governed Florida and all the former Confederate states. Jim Crow Laws created two Lakelands, a Lakeland for White residents, and a Lakeland for Black residents. Regarding education, strict state laws determined how Lakeland's White and Black children were to be taught. For example, the

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[44] Cantor Brown, *In the Midst of All That Makes Life Worth Living,* 2001
[45] M.F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County, Florida,* 87-89.
[46] M.F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County, Florida,* 91.

Florida State Constitution of 1885 prohibited White and Black children from being educated in the same schools[47]. In 1895, Florida clarified this stipulation by issuing a statute that made it illegal for Black and White students to be taught by the same teachers and that physical resources like school buildings and textbooks must be kept completely and totally separate. Black and White school children were by law not allowed to share any element of education. Fines or jail time could be leveled against those who violated the statute[48]. These laws and others like it firmly established two education systems in Florida and by default in Lakeland.

In Post-Reconstruction Polk County, organizing education for children was largely the responsibility of local governments. Lakeland followed the leadership of state officials and created one education system for White families and a separate education system for Black families. During the 1880s, Black children in Lakeland were educated at a school located at St. John's Baptist Church in Moorehead, later called the Moorehead School or the Lakeland Colored School.[49] While the school occupied different buildings at different locations, the name remained the same. In 1898, St. John's Baptist Church burned to the ground.[50] A new sanctuary was constructed along with a separate school building.[51] Unfortunately, the school building burned again in 1905 and the school moved back into the sanctuary of St. John's Baptist Church.[52] The school shared space with the church until a small two-story structure was built in 1913.[53]

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[47] FL State Constitution, 1885, art. XII, sec. 12.
[48] Jerrell Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's "Black Code"", *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1977): 277-298.
[49] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[50] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[51] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[52] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[53] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.

In the early 1920's a new school for Black children was organized on the northside of Lakeland in the vicinity of other Black communities called Teaspoon Hill and Washington Park.[54] The northside primary school, called Washington Park School, shared space with a masonic lodge[55] and a Baptist seminary until a small wood frame structure was built.[56] Gradually the primary school added grades and in 1928 Washington Park School offered up to a tenth grade education.[57] Eventually a two–story brick high school was constructed across the street from the original wood frame structure.[58] In 1928 Washington Park High School opened as the sixth segregated Black high school in the state of Florida.[59] The high school was renamed Rochelle High School in 1949[60] and in 1950 a larger building complete with a football field and a gym was constructed a few blocks north of the two-story brick building where Rochelle remained until it closed in 1969.[61] The two-story brick structure that previously housed the high school became Rochelle Junior High School.[62] The Moorehead School was demolished in the mid-1960s, and all students were transferred to the newly built Lincoln Avenue Elementary School and a few years later Rochelle Junior High School was demolished.[63] Currently, only the former Rochelle High School and Lincoln Avenue Elementary School buildings remain. The former

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[54] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[55] "Colored Schhols Will Open Next Monday Sept 5th", *Lakeland Evening Telegram,* 03 Sep 1921, Lakeland, Florida.
[56] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[57] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[58] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[59] "Our History," About Us, Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, last modified 2021, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/about/
[60] "Our History," About Us, Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, last modified 2021, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/about/
[61] Kimberly C. Moore, "Golden Remeberances of Rochelle High School", *The Ledger*, June 10, 2019.
[62] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[63] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.

campus of Rochelle High School now houses Rochelle School of the Arts, a public K–8 arts magnet school.[64] And the former campus of Lincoln Avenue Elementary now houses Lincoln Avenue Academy, a public academic magnet elementary school.[65]

Not only did Lakeland's two education systems have separate students, teachers, staff, and buildings, they also had separate funding streams that resulted in vastly different educational accommodations for White and Black students. In the late 1880s the City of Lakeland used civic funds to establish a school for the children of Lakeland's White families. In 1902, Lakeland built a new brick school building for the education of Lakeland's White children using a profit of $10,000 from Lakeland's first bond issue[66]. The Black schools in Lakeland received most of their funding through the state of Florida, the school board of Polk County and through the local Black community. Historical accounts indicate that the city of Lakeland did not spend a substantial sum of money to help build a school for Black children. For example, in 1913 an estimated $2,300 was spent to build a two-story schoolhouse dedicated to the education of Black children. Most of the money used to build the school were civic funds[67]. However, the money came from the Polk County Board of Public Instruction and not from the city of Lakeland. Coincidentally, in 1913 the city of Lakeland voted six to one to use a bond issue of $50,000 to expand a previously constructed building and to erect a new school. The use of county and state funds rather than city municipal dollars for Lakeland's Black schools had been the standard since at least 1887, when the Polk County Board of Public Instruction paid $200 to build the Lakeland

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[64] "Our History," About Us, Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, last modified 2021, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/about/
[65] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[66] M.F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County, Florida,* 97
[67] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.

Colored School[68]. This pattern of underfunding continued into the 1920s when Black education leaders petitioned the Polk County Board of Instruction to increase the length of the school year for Lakeland's Black schools. Polk County agreed to pay half of the costs to lengthen the school year if the city of Lakeland paid the remaining balance. The motion failed because the city of Lakeland refused to financially support lengthening the school year for Black schools in the city limits[69].

The different streams of funding affected the educational accommodations for Lakeland's White and Black students. As mentioned before, a civic funded school for White children was established in Lakeland in the late 1880s. By the mid 1890s Lakeland had founded a public high school for its White children and in 1898 Lakeland High School graduated its first all-White senior class. The accelerated establishment of public education institutions for White students by the city of Lakeland was divergent from the apathy shown to the education of Lakeland's Black students. The industrious and thrifty Black community in Lakeland organized education accommodations for its children because most local civic funds earmarked for education were being siphoned to educate White children. As a result, most Lakeland schools for Black students only went up to the sixth grade until an expansion of education accommodations for Lakeland's Black students was initiated in the mid 1920s. By 1928, the year Washington Park High School was opened, Lakeland High School had already graduated 30 classes of all-White students.

Examining the early 20th century construction investments into White and Black schools in Lakeland illuminates the stark difference in funding. The $10,000 spent in 1902 by the City of Lakeland to build one of the first schools for White children is equivalent to approximately

[68] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland Needed More Than Half a History", *The Ledger,* February 1, 2003
[69] Thomas D. Milligan. "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." 54-55

$324,000 in 2022. The $50,000 in 1913 used to renovate Lakeland Senior High School and to build a new school for White children is equivalent to approximately $1,400,000 in 2022. In roughly 10 years Lakeland spent approximately $1,724,000 to educate its White children. In contrast, in 1913 only $2,300 of civic funds, most of which was not provided by the City of Lakeland, was used to build a new school building for Lakeland's Black children. That is equivalent to approximately $64,000 in 2022. While these calculations are rudimentary, we can conclude that between 1902 and 1913 95% of the funds allocated to educate Lakeland's children was utilized for the instruction of Lakeland's White children while only 5% was spent to educate Lakeland's Black children[70].

Some may argue that the funding for White versus Black education could be explained by population distribution. For example, perhaps the Black community in Lakeland accounted for 5% of the overall population. Or, that Black children accounted for 5% of the overall school aged population. But the 1910 US Census shows that Blacks accounted for approximately 28% of the overall population and approximately 16% of the school aged population in Lakeland[71]. And the 1920 US Census shows that Blacks accounted for approximately 22% of the overall population and approximately 28% of the school aged population in Lakeland. It is plausible that one of the effects of the lack of funding for the education of Black children can be seen in early reports on Lakeland's illiteracy rate. The 1920 US Census reported that 17.8% of Lakeland's Black population over the age of 10 were illiterate. While only 0.37% of Lakeland's White population over the age of 10 were illiterate[72].

[70] Inflation calculations were calculated using the CPI Inflation Calculator, https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1850?amount=1000
[71] US Census. Comp. & Char. Of Pop., 1910. US Census Bureau.
[72] US Census. Comp. & Char. Of Pop., 1920. US Census Bureau.

Music Education in US Black Schools

Blacks have a varied and vibrant history of including music in formal educational settings and in informal schooling. During colonial America, New England White European and Black music educators, called singing masters, organized community events called singing schools to teach large groups of people healthy singing habits and how to read music[73]. Occramer Marycoo (1746–1826), known in the American colonies as Newport Gardner, was a Black singing master, headmaster, and community leader who lived and worked in Newport, Rhode Island[74]. Marycoo left Africa at fourteen when his mother entrusted him to a European ship's captain in hopes that Marycoo would be provided a quality education[75]. Unfortunately, once they reached the American colonies the ship's captain sold Marycoo into slavery[76]. Luckily, Marycoo's slave masters recognized his intelligence and allowed him to teach himself to read and write in English and to sing and write music[77]. In 1791, after he purchased his and his family's freedom, Marycoo opened a singing school in Newport, Rhode Island[78]. Other Black singing school masters were "Frank the Negro" who was working in New York and John Cromwell who operated a school in Philadelphia that gave instruction in singing and on brass instruments[79]. While White singing masters were active in urban and rural areas of the Northern American colonies[80], it appears that most of the Black singing masters were active in only the urban areas of New England as there is

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[73] Michael Mark. *A Concise History of American Music Education*. 14, 25-26.
[74] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 68–69.
[75] https://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/occramer-marypoo-from-student-slave-musician-african-again/
[76] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 68
[77] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 69. After being given minimal instruction in literacy and music, Marycoo is said to have taught himself to read and write in English and to sing and write music. He is said to have contributed to popular songbooks of his time and to have composed some works in a European classical style. Unfortunately, only the lyrics of a few of his compositions have been discovered.
[78] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 69
[79] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 70
[80] Mark, Michael. 2008. *A Concise History of American Music Education*. Lanham: R&L Education. Accessed June 11, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central. 18–20

currently no information on Black singing masters who may have been working in rural areas of New England before the American Revolution until the end of the American Civil War.

Prior to the American Civil War, it was illegal for most Blacks in southern US states to participate in most formal educational settings, as has been previously established earlier in the chapter. This did not mean that Black schools did not exist. When the Union army entered Savannah, Georgia toward the end of the American Civil War, they discovered a Black woman by the name of Miss Deaveaux had been conducting a secret school for Black people since 1838[81]. Black children living in slavery in the southern US also learned to read and write by "playing school" with the children of their White slave masters[82]. And some Black people living in slavery would gather late at night deep in the woods around their plantations and hold secret schools to learn to read and write[83]. Frederick Douglass went so far as to bribe with bread the hungry White boys who lived in his master's neighborhood in exchange for reading lessons[84]. However, none of these examples give any reference to musical instruction. Music education outside of Black schools will be discussed in the next section.

Schools for Black children in the southern United States during the Reconstruction Era included music instruction. Southern US Black community leaders often adopted the New England classical liberal arts curriculum that included instruction in core subjects like reading, writing, mathematics, and music[85]. For example, district administrators for Washington, D.C.'s

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[81] Henry Allen Bullock. *A History of Negro Education In the South: From 1619 to the Present.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/2027/heb.00625. EPUB.
[82] Henry Allen Bullock. *A History of Negro Education In the South: From 1619 to the Present.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/2027/heb.00625. EPUB. 10. The children of White slave owners would occasionally give Black children living in slavery full spelling lessons. Sometimes in secrecy and sometimes under the guise of play.
[83] Grey Gendaker. "Hidden education among African Americans during slavery." *Teachers College Record* 109, no. 7 (2007): 1591-1612.
[84] Frederick Douglass. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave: Written by Himself*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. Accessed June 12, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central. 35–36
[85] James Anderson. *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. 28

Black primary and secondary schools encouraged regular classroom teachers to include music instruction and hired professional musicians as consultants or advisors to the district[86].

After Reconstruction, how music was included within primary and secondary education changed for Black schools in the southern US. During the latter portion of the nineteenth century the Tuskegee Normal School, founded by influential Black education advocate, educator, and philosopher Booker T. Washington that became Tuskegee Institute and is now Tuskegee University, provided Central Alabama's Black students with the most frequent musical activities, and offered students the opportunity to enroll in some music classes[87]. The music education in other Black schools around Central Alabama was minimal and sporadic. Washington recognized the importance of music in Black American culture, had great respect for Black composed folk songs, and believed that Black people possessed a unique and admirable natural ability to create and perform music of many styles[88]. However, his vocational view of education deemphasized arts education and by default music education[89]. The purpose of music at Tuskegee was to encourage community and strengthen moral and spiritual character[90]. Music as an artistic endeavor was discouraged. Prior to 1931 the music department at the Tuskegee Institute was considered a service department whose largest responsibility was to satisfy music requirements for non-music degree programs[91]. However, as the educational desires of Black Alabamians

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[86] Juanita Karpf. "The early years of African American music periodicals, 1886-1922: History, ideology, context." *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* (1997): 146.
[87]Juanita Karpf. The early years of African American music periodicals, 1886-1922: History, ideology, context. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, pg. 152.
[88] Booker T. Washington. *The Story of the Negro*. Pg. 259-283
[89] Booker T. Washington. *The Future of the American Negro,* pg. 32. B.T. Washington suggested that African Americans at the beginning of the 20th century should postpone the serious study of music for 25 years so that the African American race can earn a certain level of collective wealth. Pg 98-99, Washington lamented that too many Black women had forgone potentially fruitful careers in industries like millinery and instead chose careers as music teachers despite his believe that music was something "that few of the race at present have any money to pay for."
[90] Juanita Karpf. The early years of African American music periodicals, 1886-1922: History, ideology, context. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, pg. 152.
[91] David Lee Johnson. "The Contributions of William L. Dawson to the School of Music at Tuskegee Institute and to Choral Music (Alabama)." PhD diss., 1987. Pg. 54

shifted and the Tuskegee School became the Tuskegee Institute, an institution that offered college level classes, a School of Music was founded in 1931 and the Tuskegee Institute began to offer practical music degrees grounded in the vibrant Black American musical tradition[92]. The school continued to offer music instruction to children under thirteen[93].

Black schools outside of southern US states usually employed a more classical approach to including music within the broader curriculum. At the turn of the twentieth century in Kansas City, Kansas, Black elementary students were given once a week vocal based music instruction that taught songs by rote and basic music reading skills like identifying time signatures, accidentals, and recognition of major and minor modes[94]. Differences between Black and White public school music education in Kansas City, Kansas began to appear in the 1920s when Black music teachers began to include more music created by Black composers[95]. Some instrumental music classes were added in the late 1930s, however, vocal based classes remained the primary mode of music instruction in Kansas City Black elementary schools[96].

Music Education Outside of US Black Schools

Black people educated their children in their musical traditions in a variety of ways outside of formal education settings. Blacks passed on their musical traditions through congregational singing at church and through informal apprenticeship systems often used by popular Black musicians who specialized in ragtime, jazz, blues, and R&B[97]. Many music

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[92] David Lee Johnson. "The Contributions of William L. Dawson to the School of Music at Tuskegee Institute and to Choral Music (Alabama)." PhD diss., 1987. Pg. 55-60
[93] David Lee Johnson. "The Contributions of William L. Dawson to the School of Music at Tuskegee Institute and to Choral Music (Alabama)." PhD diss., 1987. Pg. 57
[94] Reginald Buckner. "A history of music education in the Black community of Kansas City, Kansas, 1905-1954." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30, no. 2, pg. 96.
[95] Reginald Buckner. "A history of music education in the Black community of Kansas City, Kansas, 1905-1954." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30, no. 2, pg. 97.
[96] Reginald Buckner. "A history of music education in the Black community of Kansas City, Kansas, 1905-1954." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30, no. 2, pg. 98.
[97] Samuel Floyd. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States.* 273

education methods used outside of Black institutions of education can be traced back to West Africa. In her book *The Music of Black Americans*, Eileen Southern logically links many of the musical traditions that were commonly used in West Africa during the transatlantic slave trade that spanned the 16th–19th centuries to Black musical traditions that developed in the United States during the same time[98]. Southern details West African music traditions and customs, both instrumental and vocal, that were predominantly transmitted and learned orally and aurally[99]. West African musical customs such as using songs to distract workers from menial activities and to regulate the pace of laborious activities, the role of music in religious ceremonies, the instruments Black Americans chose to play, and disseminating musical knowledge orally and aurally as well as West African musical characteristics like the reliance on percussion instruments and the penchant for improvising both words and melodies have been prevalent throughout the development of music in Black American communities[100]. Other musical pedagogical traditions of Black Americans that can be linked to West Africa include immersing young musicians into musical activities and apprenticing young people who show an aptitude for musical performance under a master musician[101].

The ability to quickly memorize and then recall information, both musical and non-musical, was an invaluable asset to the education of early Black Americans[102]. Early Black

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[98] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 3–22
[99] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 3–22
[100] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 20–22
[101] Nketia, JH Kwabena. "Music education in Africa and the West: We can learn from each other." *Music Educators Journal* 57, no. 3 (1970): 52–53.
[102] Heather Andrea Williams. *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009. Williams summarizes a few examples of how Black people living in slavery would subtly linger near White people who were discussing news from the American Civil War, memorize as much information as possible, and then recall it to family and friends. B.T. Washington. 1968. *Up from slavery*. Lancer Books, Inc. 14–16. Washington said that this process of lingering, memorizing, and recalling information was called the "grape-vine" telegraph and that it helped Black slaves to hear current events before their White slave masters. Even Black slaves who lived on extremely remote plantations often heard the most current news before their White slave owners. Grey Gendaker. "Hidden education among African Americans during slavery." *Teachers College Record* 109, no. 7 (2007): 1591-1612. Gendaker compiles a collection of stories on how Black people during slavery

American churches taught songs through a process called "lining out" that required a leader to sing a line or two of text to the congregation to which the congregation would then repeat what was sung[103]. While "lining out" was not specifically a West African tradition, the aural teaching method was congruent with similar teaching methods found in West Africa and it proved to be beneficial in teaching religious songs to Black people. "Lining out" continued to be used well into the 20th century as an effective technique for teaching music in many predominantly Black churches[104].

Black people of all ages living in slavery were predominantly taught music by rote, meaning by ear[105]. For example, Black slaves learned work songs, songs that were sung to accompany specific daily tasks like harvesting crops, threshing rice, or cutting wood, through an oral and aural immersion process[106]. Black slaves would self-select a song leader or the slave overseer would select a song leader to lead the work songs and on occasion the song leader would be exempt from the manual labor so that they could fully concentrate on leading the song[107]. The work song repertoire was extensive, and the song leader needed to have a good voice and know what songs were appropriate for each task[108]. Work songs came in a variety of forms and varied widely from one region to the next, however, most were call and response[109]. The song leader would sing the call, a line or two of text, and then the group of workers would

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secretly learned to read and write through this process of quickly memorizing and recalling information. Gendaker details incidents of Black slaves learning to read by simply being tenaciously observant during their interactions with White people, memorizing how letters were written and then mimicking these actions in private.

[103] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 28, 31–32, 128
[104] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 454
[105] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 48–52
[106] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 161
[107] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 161
[108] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 161–166
[109] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 161–166

respond by singing a repeated chorus of multiple lines or with a completion of the vocal line that was started by the song leader[110].

How Black slaves learned work songs is an example of the immersive learning process often associated with Black music traditions. Work songs were taught while the groups were engaged in work. If one member of the group did not know the work song that was being sung, then the expectation was that they would learn the work song by listening and then gradually begin to participate in the song. Similar immersive pedagogical techniques have been used in West Africa to teach communal songs used during religious rituals and for other special public ceremonies[111]. This immersive learning process has been cited as essential to the initial development of New Orleans earliest jazz musicians, those that came to musical fruition in the 1920s and 1930s, who credited the cities varied and diverse public music making traditions like parade bands, street corner musicians, and concerts in public parks[112]. Many of the first New Orleans born jazz musicians mentioned participating in the unique New Orleans communal brass band parade processions called Second Line[113]. Second Line parades are celebratory communal processions that are usually organized by New Orleans based social clubs and benevolent societies to celebrate an organizations anniversary, a community members wedding, or a community members funeral[114]. Every Second Line parade has a brass band that usually consists of knowledgeable and talented musicians, however, all people, regardless of musical ability, are encouraged to participate in the parade through clapping or providing other rhythmic

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[110] Eileen Southern. *The music of black Americans: A history*. WW Norton & Company, 1997. 161–166
[111] JH Kwabena Nketia. "Music education in Africa and the West: We can learn from each other." *Music Educators Journal* 57, no. 3 (1970): 53.
[112] Christopher Wilkinson. "The influence of West African pedagogy upon the education of New Orleans Jazz musicians." *Black Music Research Journal* (1994): 25-42.
[113] Christopher Wilkinson. "The influence of West African pedagogy upon the education of New Orleans Jazz musicians." *Black Music Research Journal* (1994): 25-42.
[114] Helen A. Regis. "Second lines, minstrelsy, and the contested landscapes of New Orleans Afro-Creole festivals." *Cultural Anthropology* 14, no. 4 (1999): 472-504.

accompaniment along with the music, singing, or dancing. Second Lines gave the first New Orleans born jazz musicians the opportunity to listen to, with the implication that they were learning from, some of New Orleans best brass players[115]. This immersion process was also used in other cities. Aspiring high school aged jazz musicians living in Indianapolis in the 1930s and 1940s were encouraged to hang around and occasionally participate in rehearsals for some of Indianapolis's premiere big brass bands[116].

Apprenticeship–like relationships have been frequently used by American Black communities to educate promising young musicians, especially instrumentalists. Like in West Africa, the apprenticeship-like relationships seen in American Black communities were loosely structured and the expectations for both mentor and student were not well defined[117]. Formerly enslaved Black fiddlers recalled learning to play fiddle, or violin, from older Black fiddlers who lived on their plantation however, few details of how instruction was administered are known[118]. As early New Orleans born jazz musicians slowly absorbed the music of the Second Line, some that showed potential for musical talent entered informal apprenticeships with older musicians in hopes of learning better performance techniques and one day assuming the role of their teacher[119].

Apprenticeship–like scenarios shifted as twentieth and twenty first century technological advances like radio, personal music devices, and the internet allowed aspiring Black musicians to

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[115] Christopher Wilkinson. "The influence of West African pedagogy upon the education of New Orleans Jazz musicians." *Black Music Research Journal* (1994): 25-42.
[116] May, Lissa Fleming. "Early musical development of selected African American jazz musicians in Indianapolis in the 1930s and 1940s." *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 27, no. 1 (2005): 21-32.
[117] JH Kwabena Nketia, and Joseph H. Nketia. *The music of Africa*. New York: WW Norton, 1974. 58–64 Nketia describes how some young aspiring African musicians would occasionally train under older musical masters, but that the system is not well developed and largely relied on the student to guide their instruction.
[118] Paul A. Cimbala. "Black musicians from slavery to freedom: An exploration of an African-American folk elite and cultural continuity in the nineteenth-century rural south." *The Journal of Negro History* 80, no. 1 (1995): 15-29.
[119] Christopher Wilkinson. "The influence of West African pedagogy upon the education of New Orleans Jazz musicians." *Black Music Research Journal* (1994): 25-42.

listen to and learn from musicians from almost anywhere in the world. Young high school jazz musicians living in Indianapolis in the 1930s and 1940s recalled eagerly waiting in line every week to hear the latest jazz recordings from musicians outside of the Indianapolis area[120]. More recently, young Black hip-hop musicians have used social media platforms like self-guided apprenticeship programs to gain new knowledge from hip–hop professionals and to keep up to date on current musical trends[121].

Music Education in Florida's Black High Schools

During the 1930s, music educators at Florida A&M College in Tallahassee, FL, now Florida A&M University, recognized that they could improve their music ensembles more rapidly if they could improve the quality of secondary music programs and began to advocate for more instrumental music programs in Black schools[122]. Out of this initiative was born Florida's first professional music educator organization for Blacks, the Florida Association of Band Directors (FABD). William Richardson summarizes the initial goals and objectives of the Florida Association of Band Directors.

> To place a balanced band in every [Black] junior and senior high school in Florida; to develop technical skill in the manipulation of musical instruments; to standardize instrumentation, and instruction of instrumental music in all of Florida's [Black] schools; and to develop performance of, and appreciation of better music in pupils and parents.

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[120] Lissa Fleming May. "Early musical development of selected African American jazz musicians in Indianapolis in the 1930s and 1940s." *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 27, no. 1 (2005): 21-32.
[121] Adam J. Kruse. "'Hip-hop wasn't something a teacher ever gave me': exploring hip-hop musical learning." *Music Education Research* 20, no. 3 (2018): 317-329.
[122] William L. Richardson. "*A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966*." 46.

The association was officially formed on April 10th, 1941[123]. The Florida Association of Band Directors and the steady influx of quality music educators from Florida A&M would result in a sharp rise in instrumental music education in Florida's Black junior and senior high schools. In turn, music courses would become more common in all of Florida's segregated Black high schools.

Music Education in Polk County's Black High Schools

The minimal records and first–hand accounts that are available indicate that most of Polk County's segregated Black high schools had extracurricular chorus clubs or glee clubs until the late 1940s[124] and did not offer music classes during the school day until instrumental music programs were established in each high school[125]. The years that instrumental programs were founded in Polk County's segregated Black high schools are as follow:

TABLE 1. Founding Year for Instrumental Music Programs at Segregated Black High Schools in Polk County, Florida[126]

High School	Year Instrumental Music Program Founded
Jewett High School	1951
Oakland High School	1954
Rochelle High School	1949
Roosevelt High School	1948
Union Academy	1953

[123] William L. Richardson. "*A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966*." 47
[124] Dunbar, Elsie L. "The Role of Washington Park School in a Program for Improving School–Community Relationships at Lakeland, Florida", *The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College Faculty Bulletin,* July 1947.
[125] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 9:30
[126] Dale Thomas. "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*. 127

Polk County's segregated Black high schools began to offer both vocal and instrumental music courses as instrumental music programs were added[127]. However, in 1951 Union Academy in Bartow, Florida had a large choir that was separate from the extracurricular glee club indicating that chorus classes may have begun at Union Academy before the instrumental music program were founded in 1953[128]. By the mid–1950s every segregated Black high school in Polk County had a band[129] and a chorus. A more detailed account of music education in Lakeland's Black schools is provided in Chapter four.

Desegregation in Lakeland, Florida Schools

The *Brown v Board of Education* 1954 Supreme Court ruling determining that Jim Crow era laws that racially segregated systems of education were illegal and discriminatory did nothing to change the segregated education systems already established in Polk County, Florida. Instead of embracing the ruling of the landmark desegregation case, Polk County, and many other counties in Florida, used Florida's 1956 Pupil Assignment Law to restrict student transfer between schools. The state law allowed school districts to automatically assign students to the school they attended during the 1955-56 school year. Coincidentally, this was the final school year that Polk County had legally segregated schools[130]. It was an effective attempt by the Polk County School Board to prevent Black students from attending historically all–White schools. For another ten years the law successfully reinforced the segregated school system in Polk County.

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[127] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins interview, 7:02
[128] 1951 Union Academy yearbook
[129] Dale Thomas, "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*. 127
[130] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*.

For students at Rochelle this meant that very little changed. The school remained a segregated all–Black high school. Even though technically segregation was illegal, Rochelle students were not allowed to attend any all–White high schools even if the all–White high school was closer to their home[131]. Also, no White students were allowed to attend Rochelle even if Rochelle was closer to their home. It should be noted that there's no evidence that any White students petitioned to attend Rochelle[132].

Locally, the wheels of change did not begin to roll until 1963 when fourteen-year-old Herman Mills and his mother Althea filed a lawsuit that challenged Polk County's racially segregated school system. *Mills v. Polk County* sought to end discriminatory education practices and ensure equal treatment for all students, staff, and faculty of Polk County schools[133]. The Polk County School District defiantly fought to keep the district segregated, but national efforts to desegregate American society were quickly gaining ground. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 signaled the beginning of the end of dual education systems divided by race nationally and in 1965 the Middle District of Florida ruled in favor of Herman and Althea Mills.

The Polk County School District reluctantly desegregated their school system for the 1965-66 school year. However, initial efforts initiated by the Polk County School Board to desegregate its schools were lackluster and ineffective. The all–White school board placed almost all efforts to desegregate schools on the shoulders of racial minority families and required Whites to make few if any accommodations to assist in desegregating schools. During the 1965–66 school year 170 Black high school students in Polk County transferred to all–White high schools. Only 8 students from Rochelle choose to transfer to an all–White school; seven students

[131] Thomas D. Milligan. "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." 71. An African American student did not request to move to a historically white high school until 1963.
[132] Thomas D. Milligan. "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." 80
[133] *Mills v Polk County Board of Instruction*, 1963

transferred to Lakeland High School and one student transferred to Kathleen High School. One student who transferred to Lakeland High School and the lone student who transferred to Kathleen High School later returned to Rochelle to finish their high school education[134]. In a repeat of desegregation efforts from ten years prior, no White students were asked or petitioned to desegregate Rochelle. While there was limited, but highly restricted effort, to desegregate the student population in Polk County, there was virtually no effort to desegregate the teacher, staff, or administrative positions.

The federal courts stepped in again in 1968 and ordered the Polk County School Board to implement a more robust desegregation plan for the district. Hoping to appease what they saw as stringent federal desegregation guidelines, Polk County turned to a strict geographic zoning method to determine public school attendance. The method seemed to please the federal courts. An odd stipulation within the federally supported plans to desegregate Polk County schools was the support for the closure of the five remaining all–Black high schools. The federal government and Polk County School Board claimed that the closures were necessary because the campuses of the four remaining all–Black high schools were considered too small to be used as desegregated high schools and that the current teachers were not experienced in teaching the extended curriculum often found at the all–White high schools. These were only a few of the reasons the all–Black high schools were closed. In actuality, the Polk County School Board believed closing the remaining all–Black high schools was the quickest way to separate the district from segregation. They also recognized that desegregating formerly all–Black high schools would be vehemently resisted by most White Polk County families[135].

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[134] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*.
[135] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*.

Desegregation in Polk County was never about integration or choosing what was best for all students or requiring all students and their families to make accommodations to achieve equity for all. It was always about choosing what was best for White students and their families. Therefore, Rochelle and the other all–Black high schools had to be closed because the perceived social and political gains Black students could achieve from sincere integration was too costly for White Polk Countians to fathom. No White students ever attended any segregated Black high school in Polk County[136].

Desegregation and Unequal Representation

The 1970 school year is considered the first fully desegregated academic year in Polk County, Florida. All segregated all–Black high schools in Polk County were closed and all former Rochelle students were forced to transition to Lakeland's two historically White high schools, Lakeland High School, or Kathleen High School. The earliest assumptions were that Rochelle students would be evenly distributed between Lakeland High School and Kathleen High School. But a group of wealthy White families from Lakeland High School successfully petitioned the Polk County School Board to gerrymander zoning boundaries so that Kathleen High School absorbed most Rochelle students[137]. Approximately 177 Black students transferred to Lakeland High School as opposed to 229 Black students that transferred to Kathleen High School. As a result, Blacks constituted roughly 10% of the student population at Lakeland High School, but a much larger 17% of the student population at Kathleen High School[138] (Table 2).

[136] Thomas D. Milligan. "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." 82
[137] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*. 120
[138] 1970 Lakeland High School Yearbook and 1970 Kathleen High School Yearbook

TABLE 2. Kathleen High School and Lakeland High School White and Black Student Population Comparison

Kathleen High School Per Class Student Population 1970						
Class	Total	Percentage	White	Percentage	Black	Percentage
Seniors	352	100%	292	82.95%	60	17.05%
Juniors	443	100%	361	81.49%	82	18.51%
Sophomores	486	100%	399	82.10%	87	17.90%

Kathleen High School Total Student Population 1970		
Population	Total	Percentage
Total	1281	100%
White	1052	82.12%
Black	229	17.87%

Lakeland High School Per Class Student Population 1970						
Class	Total	Percentage	White	Percentage	Black	Percentage
Seniors	576	100%	522	90.63%	54	9.38%
Juniors	553	100%	507	91.68%	46	8.31%
Sophomores	553	100%	476	86.08%	77	13.92%

Lakeland High School Total Student Population 1970		
Population	Total	Percentage
Total	1682	100%
White	1505	89.48%
Black	177	10.52%

Totals & percentages are approximate. Based on Kathleen High School & Lakeland High School yearbook photos from 1970

The distribution of Black teachers and administrators from Rochelle High to Lakeland High School or Kathleen High School was even less equitable than the distribution of Black students from Rochelle. Of the twenty-seven teachers pictured in the 1968 Rochelle yearbook,

the final yearbook Rochelle printed, twelve teachers transitioned to teaching positions at Lakeland and Kathleen high schools. Like most Rochelle students however, most Rochelle teachers were moved to Kathleen High School. According to the 1970 yearbooks from Lakeland and Kathleen high schools, eleven teachers were transferred to Kathleen High School, only one teacher was transferred to Lakeland High School. James Taylor, the last principal of Rochelle, was demoted to assistant principal and transferred to Lakeland Senior High School.

The two historically White high schools approached desegregation differently. The lopsided transfer of Black students and teachers coupled with the willingness of the White administrators of Kathleen High School to listen and work together with the new incoming Black students, their families, and the teachers allowed Kathleen High School to navigate the years after desegregation with relative calm[139]. At Lakeland Senior High School, the administration, especially the principal, ignored and failed to properly communicate with the incoming Black students, their families, and teachers. The years following desegregation were like navigating rough waters for the Lakeland High School Dreadnaughts. Unresolved and ignored racial tensions between White and Black teachers, administrators, students, and families at Lakeland led to physical altercations between White and Black students, sit–ins, walk–outs, and boycotts by Black students and constant complaints by Black parents and community leaders to the School Board about the treatment of Black students at Lakeland High School[140]. One participant in this study transferred from Lakeland Senior High School to Kathleen High School during the desegregation years because of the deep racial tension at Lakeland Senior[141].

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[139] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*.
[140] James Holton, *"The best education provided": A social history of school integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994*.
[141] Phillip Walker Interview, 4:49

Beyond Lakeland, the Polk County School Board demoted Black teachers and administrators. Polk County ended the 1969 school year with five Black high school principals. At the beginning of the 1969 – 70 school year, Polk County had zero Black principals. Additionally, Black teachers were transferred to historically White high schools as supporting teachers to White department heads. This was true for Black music teachers as well. For example, Polk County ended the 1969 school year with a Black high school band director at each of the five remaining segregated Black high schools but began the 1969 – 70 school year with no Black band directors or Black music department heads at the historically White high schools[142].

Conclusion

In Chapter two I explored Florida's segregated education system and the segregated education system in Lakeland. Within Lakeland's segregated education system Rochelle was created as an oasis where many Black students found an opportunity to thrive. It was a refuge that was built and protected by Lakeland's Black community. The Black students who attended Rochelle flourished during a time of extreme racism. Like many programs at Rochelle, the music program bolstered generations of Black musicians through black leadership, pedagogy, and by using a Black centric curriculum. For example, the music teachers at Rochelle encouraged their students to embrace the full spectrum of the Black music tradition[143]. In Chapter three I will present my methodology and my reasoning for using this framework.

[142] 1970 Polk County High School Yearbooks
[143] Samuel Floyd interview, "Musical Influences During Youth", *History Makers,* last accessed April 04, 2022.

CHAPTER 3: ORAL HISTORY

Introduction

The central data collection component for this study was the interview. Through the interviews I collected data on the history of the Rochelle music program and participant experiences in Rochelle and in the historically White high school music programs. I have taken the necessary formal actions to request participant participation, ensure participant privacy, and recorded the audio of each interview and the video of as many interviews as possible. The interviews were informally structured. My goal was for the interviews to feel more like a conversation between the participant and me. However, for my benefit created a list of potential interview questions to guide the interviews when necessary. Although I considered the interviews to be data, I did not code these data. Instead, I used the interviews to detail an oral history of the Rochelle music program, participant experiences, and to hypothesize how current music educators can recruit and retain racial minority students. In this chapter I will briefly describe oral history, my reasoning for using oral history to satisfy the objectives of my study and present my methodology.

Oral History

Oral history is the collection and presentation of historical documents and perspectives of individuals and people groups that were directly and indirectly involved with a historical event, community, organization, or individual. Individual perspectives are usually collected through audio and video recorded interviews. Documents used to support and verify oral history can be,

but are not limited to, school yearbooks, news articles published before, during, and after the historical event being examined, minutes from organizational meetings, and personal diaries[144]. Examples of oral history can be found as far back as the Zhou Dynasty in China and Ancient Greece. Early American historians employed oral history techniques to illuminate the multitude of perspectives surrounding significant events during the American Revolution and to detail the point of view of individuals from a variety of racial and economic backgrounds regarding the complicated history of American statehood[145]. More recently, oral history has been utilized to sustain and record the culture of a people group, resuscitate forgotten national identities, or to simply recount a history that has been intentionally or unintentionally overlooked or suppressed[146]. Oral history has been an important tool in uncovering the history of the average citizen, the unprivileged, the marginalized, or the defeated[147]. For this topic, oral history is an appropriate tool for scholarship due to its generational importance and use within the African American community.

Before the American Revolution and prior to the American Civil War, American legal systems supported the inhumane belief that reduced Black Americans to property. Black people were not much different than livestock. Under this brutal system of oppression and death sponsored and perpetuated by the White American legal and political establishment, the everyday lives of Blacks were heavily restricted. For example, Blacks were not permitted to learn to read. As a result, many Blacks turned to artistic traditions that had survived the Middle

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[144] Phillip Hash, "Historical Research" (unpublished manuscript April 05, 2022).
[145] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Accessed April 7, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.
[146] Paul Thompson. *The Voice of the Past:* 2017.; Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Accessed April 7, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.
[147] Paul Thompson. *The Voice of the Past:* 2017.

Passage such as, oral, and visual metaphor pedagogies like storytelling, songs, and dance to preserve and teach their history[148].

Oral history has also been used to document the experiences of formerly enslaved Blacks. The method was useful and appropriate because most formerly enslaved Blacks were not taught to read and write. One of the most extensive oral history projects that documented the experiences of this group of Black's was the *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938* organized by the Works Progress Administration. The *Born in Slavery* project was a large-scale oral history study that spanned seventeen states, collected more than 2,300 first-hand accounts of what slavery was like for Black's who had survived it, and contained 500 photographs of Black's who had been born into slavery in the United States[149].

To briefly sum up Chapter two, during Reconstruction, the roughly 10-year period after the end of the American Civil War, Blacks briefly gained access to education, political representation, and economic independence. However, continued, and diligent opposition to racial equality from American, White, racist, elitist politicians and business leaders slowly turned most White Americans away from the ideal that all men are created equal. By the beginning of the 20th century Jim Crow laws divided up the American South along racial lines and once again Blacks and other people of color were not availed of the same opportunities to learn to read as White Americans. Black children and other children of color attended separate schools than White children. All White state education boards purposely under–funded schools that served racial minority communities[150]. Even though more and more Black Americans were learning to

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[148] Samuel A. Floyd. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States.* 35-38
[149] Born in Slavery. https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/about-this-collection/
[150] Travis J. Albritton. "Educating our own: The historical legacy of HBCUs and their relevance for educating a new generation of leaders." *The Urban Review* 44, no. 3, 311-331.

read, poor public funding and a frighteningly apathetic view from White Americans toward the plight of Black Americans severely hindered the educational prospects of Black children and other children of color. There is some evidence of this that can be seen in Lakeland's population. According to the 1910 US Census, 16% of the Black community in Lakeland was illiterate as opposed to only 0.9% of the White population. Blacks comprised 85% of the illiterate population of Lakeland[151].

Through the first half of the 20th century, oral tradition and storytelling remained important vehicles through which Blacks taught and remembered their history. Famed Black author, anthropologist, and native Floridian, Zora Neale Hurston primarily used oral history in her research. For example, Hurston compiled the stories of a wide cross section of Blacks, many from Polk County, in her book *Mules and Men.* The book captured folktales, or "big lies", from residents of a sawmill in Polk County. In this book she also mentions traveling to Lakeland. Even though her trip to Lakeland is an inconsequential event in the book, it is a neat coincidence given the research method and the topic of this dissertation. Along with the "big lies" that Hurston records there are also vignettes into the daily lives of some Blacks in Florida[152].

Technological advancements also influenced how oral history was collected and analyzed. The development of personal audio recording devices led to the diversification of oral history. Inexpensive recording devices allowed for a broader cross section of the populace access to record, memorialize, and catalog their own stories and the stories of their communities[153]. For instance, these devices helped to solidify the use of oral history by academics and journalists turned historians to record Black life in the United States. Oral history techniques such as

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[151] US Census. Comp. & Char. Of Pop., 1910. US Census Bureau.
[152] Zora Neale Hurston, Franz Boas, Miguel Covarrubias, and Arnold Rampersad. *Mules and Men*. New York: Perennial Library, 1935.
[153] Alistair Tmomson. "Four paradigm transformations in oral history." *The Oral History Review* 34, no. 1, 49-70.

interviews and audio recordings were used to register the experiences and views of civil rights leaders during the 1960's. Especially local, regional, and national civil rights leaders who were largely ignored by the national media[154].

Even though the 20th century saw a blossoming of oral history within historical research in academia, many American music history scholars were reluctant to use it as a research methodology. Many 20th century tertiary music history researchers were taught research methods that were grounded in early 20th century White, European philosophies that did not consider the 20th century to be old enough for historical study. Therefore, oral history was not viewed as a relevant model because it was concerned with history that was considered too current[155]. Furthermore, oral history had become a favored method of research for popular music researchers who were working outside of tertiary music research institutions. Unfortunately, many music researchers held a negative bias toward the performance and study of 20th century popular music styles[156]. These two negative biases deffered the introduction of oral history into music history research until the late 1960s[157] as music history researchers began to see the value in oral history as an effective method of documenting the music's of marginalized communities.

Music has provided significant contributions to the oral history of Blacks. Because of this, oral history is an appropriate method for this study. Music with lyrics was, and is, an important component of the Black oral tradition[158]. Some scholars have suggested that Black spirituals, field songs, shouts, gospel, blues, and jazz provide us with a glimpse into the daily lives and values of Blacks from each genre's respective time[159]. Initial interviews indicate that

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[154] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Accessed April 7, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.
[155] Vivian Perlis, "Oral history and music", *The Journal of American History;* Sep 1994; 81, 2, pg. 610
[156] Vivian Perlis, "Oral history and music", *The Journal of American History;* Sep 1994; 81, 2, pg. 610
[157] Vivian Perlis, "Oral history and music", *The Journal of American History;* Sep 1994; 81, 2, pg. 611
[158] Samuel A. Floyd. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States.* 40
[159] D. Jean Clandinin. *Engaging in narrative inquiry*. 2016.

music ensembles at Rochelle performed songs that were popular at the time and were written by Black musicians as well as European classical music. The music performed by the Rochelle music ensembles will provide a point of context to situate music education at Rochelle.

Finally, I choose oral history because there is little to no print materials on the history of the music program at Rochelle or on the music experience of students who were taught and the teachers who taught at Rochelle. The surest way to catalog the history of the Rochelle music program is to interview former Rochelle music students.

The predominance of oral traditions in relaying the history and traditions of Blacks, the use of oral history techniques to record pivotal events in Black history, the prominence of music with lyrics as a key component of Black oral traditions, and the lack of printed materials that detail the history of the Rochelle music program and the students and teachers who were a part of the program are why oral history is a relevant method for this study.

Analysis

The data collected was examined to create an oral history of the Rochelle music program, its teachers, students, and their educational experiences. Data collected through interviews for oral history and student experiences has been verified through historical documents like yearbooks and newspaper articles. The oral history of Rochelle's music program has been detailed as a standalone narrative and then positioned within the limited literature on segregated Black school music programs. The purpose is to establish potential common shared experiences among the participants. Other themes that were explored are the pedagogical characteristics of the Rochelle music teachers and the importance of the Rochelle music program to Lakeland's Black community. Drafts were shared with the participants. They provided feedback and edits that strengthened the analysis.

Interview Process

Initial contact was established in one of two ways, through an email or through a phone call[160]. Once the initial contact was made, then an interview time and location were set. Interviews were scheduled at a time and location that allowed the interviewee to feel the most comfortable[161]. Interviews were informal, semi-structured, and conversation–like. I created a list of potential questions that could have been used during the interview, but only when necessary. My hope was that participants would answer most of my questions without me having to clearly state the questions. While the interviews were conversational, the purpose of each interview was to allow the interviewee to speak, and my role was to listen and show interest in what the participant was communicating[162]. Recorded interviews sounded as though the interviewee was performing a series of monologues[163]. Some of my questions required specific or closed answers. For example, questions intended to clarify information such as names and dates. However, many of my questions were open ended. This encouraged the participants to provide details of their experiences at Rochelle through their interpretation and not through my interpretation of their lived history[164]. Interviews were to be between 30–45 minutes in length. However, this varied mostly due to each participant's personal schedules. Participants who were Rochelle alumni or had direct familial connections to Rochelle were willing to sit for interviews that lasted for one to two hours. I was surprised at how long some participants were willing to sit and discuss Rochelle. Multiple participants sat for more than two hours.

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[160] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Pg. 77–78
[161] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Pg 78
[162] Paul. Thompson. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford university press, 2017. Pg. 322,
[163] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Pg 81
[164] Donald A. Ritchie. *Doing Oral History*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Pg 81

Participants

To be included in this study participants had to meet one of the following criteria (a) are an alumnus of Rochelle Senior or Rochelle Junior High School, (b) are a familial relation to a Rochelle educator, (c) were an educator at Rochelle, (d) were directly involved in the desegregation of Lakeland or Kathleen High School as an educator. Some participants were directly involved in the music program at Rochelle, and some were not enrolled in a music ensemble at Rochelle but were indirectly involved with music at Rochelle through their familiarity with the musical environment at Rochelle. Participants who were directly involved in the music program at Rochelle participated in the chorus or the band. Those who were indirectly involved participated in school athletic teams, such as football or basketball, that often partnered with high school music ensembles. Participants who were not directly or indirectly involved with the Rochelle music program are related to directly involved participants or those who may be able to provide a unique perspective on the desegregation process at Lakeland High School or Kathleen High School, especially if their perspective pertains to the music programs at the two historically White high schools. Current participants are listed below.

Terry Coney: 1968 graduate of Rochelle. He played percussion in the band. After he graduated from Rochelle Mr. Coney attended Florida A&M University. Mr. Coney is a retired Air Force veteran and the current president of the Lakeland branch of the NAACP. He currently lives in Lakeland, Florida.

Jay Willie Williams: 1966 graduate of Rochelle. He played trumpet in the band and sang in the chorus. Mr. Williams was one of only a few students who started playing in the band while still

in junior high. Mr. Williams is a postal worker and currently lives in the Jacksonville, Florida area.

Willie Gibson: 1967 graduate of Rochelle High School. He was a Rochelle drum major. Currently lives in Lakeland, Florida and is an active member of the local Black community.

Beverly Boatwright: 1966 graduate of Rochelle. She was a cheerleader. She did not participate in any music ensembles. Mrs. Boatwright currently lives in Lakeland, Florida and works as a part-time financial assistant for her church.

Dewey Wilson: 1957 graduate of Rochelle. He did not participate in any music ensemble. He currently lives in Lakeland, Florida.

Donald Williams, Sr: Former educator who taught at Jewett High School and then became a guidance counselor at Kathleen Senior High School after desegregation. He currently lives in the Lakeland, Florida area.

Demetra Graham Driskell: Alvin Graham's (former Rochelle High School band director) daughter. She currently lives in the Jacksonville, Florida area.

Dr. DeArmas Graham: Alvin Graham's (former Rochelle High School band director) youngest son. He is a high school principal and currently lives in the Jacksonville, Florida area.

Alvis Graham: Alvin Graham's (former Rochelle High School band director) oldest son. He currently lives in the Orlando, Florida area.

Terry Strong: Attended Rochelle Elementary. She desegregated Lakeland Junior High School and graduated from Lakeland Senior High School in 1973. She is a retired educator and currently lives in Lakeland, Florida.

Jewell (Harter) Jenkins: 1952 graduate of Rochelle High School. She taught chorus at Rochelle High School and Rochelle Junior High School. She currently lives in the Washington, D.C. area.

Phillip E. Walker: 1971 graduate from Kathleen High School and a member of the Rochelle High School Minority Class of 1971. Attended Rochelle Junior High School and sang in the junior high school chorus under Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins. He desegregated Lakeland Junior High School. Mr. Walker attended Lakeland Senior High School and Kathleen Senior High School and sang in the choir at both historically White high schools. He is currently a Lakeland city commissioner and lives in Lakeland, Florida.

Robert Frazier: 1963 graduate of Rochelle Senior High School. He is a professional musician, music educator, and activist currently living in Oakland, CA.

Also, I was able to locate two interviews of Rochelle alum Dr. Samuel Floyd (1937–2016) that were collected by interviewers other than myself. In one interview from History Makers Dr. Floyd discusses growing up in Lakeland, Florida, attending Rochelle, and a small amount of information on his music teachers at Rochelle.

Historical Materials

Most of the historical materials used for this study were any available Rochelle and Washington Park School yearbooks and other Polk County high school yearbooks from 1969-1972. Other documents include census records, voting records for Polk politicians, historical photos from the Lakeland Public Library digital collection, Rochelle event programs and data collected through documents from Florida Association of Band Directors. Many of the Lakeland, Kathleen, and Rochelle yearbooks and historical photos were available through the Lakeland Public Library's digital collections. The bands of both Lakeland and Kathleen High School have their own websites that include limited historical materials such as official program founding dates, band director names and tenure, and important achievements. Dewey Wilson provided me with his 1957 yearbook and Beverly Boatwright provided me with her 1965 Rochelle High School yearbook. Census records and the voting records of former Polk politicians were accessed through available online databases. Unfortunately, it is likely that the Polk County School Board threw away many valuable items related to Rochelle High School when the school closed in 1969[165]. One participant recalled hearing that during the summer after Rochelle closed as a high school that a former athletic coach climbed into a dumpster outside of Rochelle to retrieve athletic trophies and other awards that school board employees had thrown into the garbage[166]. Those items were on display at a local recreation center for a few years after Rochelle closed[167], but the recreation center is not certain where those items currently are located.[168] It is unclear what other important documents may have been lost due to Polk County's short sighted desegregation plan.

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[165] Willie Gibson interview, 01:12:50
[166] Willie Gibson interview, 01:12:50
[167] Willie Gibson Interview, 01:12:50

Conclusion

What I have presented in Chapter three is a rationale for using oral history to detail a history of the Rochelle music program. Oral history's reliance on conversational interviews makes it an appropriate method for this study because the history of Rochelle lacks a detail of the music program or the music environment at Rochelle. Also, oral history has been used to document and analyze the experiences of marginalized groups. Oral history generally discourages overt analysis of data. However, some analysis has been conducted to find implications for future research. In Chapter four I will present the data collected through the interviews I conducted with participants and examining historical documents.

CHAPTER 4: WHERE WE LIVE AND LEARN TO KNOW

Class Song 1963, Rochelle Senior High School
by Robert Frazier
Tune of "Climb Every Mountain"

Farewell Rochelle, Farewell to thee.
We will always love thee, class of '63.
Farewell Rochelle, we will miss you so,
Though our days are through here,
We still love you so.

To here we will leave all the love that is there–
That we'll give and we'll give for so long as we live.
Farewell Rochelle, in our hearts you know,
That we will always love you
And we love you so.

Rochelle High School, Lakeland, Florida

William A. Rochelle High School, known locally as Rochelle High School, was a source of pride in Lakeland's Black community. Rochelle was located within Lakeland's northside Black community. It educated Black high school students from Lakeland and the surrounding area beginning in 1928 until its closure in the spring of 1969. In 1928, Washington Park School, Lakeland's only school for Black junior high school students, expanded to tenth grade and officially changed its name to Washington Park High School. Washington Park High School became the sixth all–Black segregated high school in Florida and the second all–Black segregated high school in Polk County. In 1949, Lakeland community leaders renamed Washington Park High School to William A. Rochelle High School in honor of prominent,

influential Black educator and Washington Park High School teacher and principal William A. Rochelle[169]. Alumni remember their days at Rochelle with joy, affection, and gratitude.

> It was home. It was just being home with the people that I grew up with, the parents, the young people. It was home[170]. –Jewell (Harter) Jenkins, class of 1952

> It was family, really, with the whole school because that was all we had was each other and our one school. We were just like one humongous family[171] … Most people say that they had their best days in college. But, if you talk to people from Rochelle, most people will say "My best days were in high school at Rochelle[172]". … It [Rochelle] was the thing that brought us over, sent us to college, made us the citizens that we are today[173]. … It was like one big bubble of happiness when we were at the high school[174]. –Beverly Boatwright, class of 1966

> To me it was fun...Everybody…relates to their class. And, we had a lot of fun with our class. Basically, going to Rochelle was fun[175]. –Willie Gibson, class of 1967

> I went from my mom to Mrs. Brown [Mr. Frazier's 1st grade teacher] and my mom knew Mrs. Brown. So, it was like going from mom to mom…Everybody knew

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[169] "Our History" About Us, Rochelle School of the Arts, Polk County Schools Florida, last modified 2021, https://rochellearts.polkschoolsfl.com/about/
[170] (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 11:20
[171] Boatwright Interview, 06:04
[172] Boatwright Interview, 07:00
[173] Boatwright Interview, 37:04
[174] Boatwright Interview, 45:08
[175] Gibson Interview, 43:35

> everybody…Going into Rochelle Elementary was like getting to see all of your friends every day that you saw at home and in your neighborhood. Some of the kids that I started school with in the first grade I'm still friends with now. Which is amazing cause I'll be 78 in October…The atmosphere was like going from home to home[176]. –Robert Frazier, class of 1963

Rochelle High School provided Lakeland's Black high school students the opportunity to experience a wide array of activities. Mrs. Boatwright happily recalled "full spirited pep rallies where the whole gym would almost shake", "strong" football and basketball rivalries that would "sometimes extend beyond the game", elegant proms, and lively sock hops after home football games[177]. Rochelle also offered a wide variety of after school clubs such as Future Farmers of America, Future Teachers of America, Dramatics Club, Future Homemakers of America, Future Business Leaders of America, and Projectionists Club. Alumni from Rochelle include doctors, lawyers, educators, professional football players, and musicians. Alumni participants stated that Rochelle faculty were lasered focused on ensuring student success after high school and adamantly encouraged all graduates to attend college.

> They would openly say, 'You are a little chocolate child, and you got to be better than any White child just to be even, just to be thought of as equal. You have to be much better right off the bat…You cannot slack.' Going to college is something that was a part

[176] Robert Frazier Phone Interview, 12:25
[177] Boatwright Interview, 06:27

> of that whole train of thought. They encouraged us to prepare ourselves for college and to be the best at it no matter what[178].

Willie Gibson expressed a tremendous amount of appreciation regarding how the Rochelle faculty prepared him for college.

> After my freshman year of college when I came home, I went to the school *(Rochelle)* and thanked every teacher I had. Because when I got to Tennessee State, I knew more than I thought I knew[179].

Rochelle conferred high school diplomas to Black students for 39 years until it closed after the 1969 school year. All remaining students finished their high school education at two of the previously segregated all–White high schools, Kathleen High School, or Lakeland High School.

The Rochelle campus closed for one year and was reopened as Rochelle Elementary. In the last decade of the 20th century, Rochelle Elementary was closed, the former Rochelle buildings were renovated, and in 1991 it reopened as Rochelle School of the Arts, the first public K–8 arts magnet school in the state of Florida and only the second in the US. Currently, Rochelle School of the Arts offers concentrations in music (chorus, wind band, and orchestral strings), dance, theater, and visual arts. Recently it has begun to incorporate STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) programs into the arts concentrations. While there have been additional buildings added to the Rochelle campus, all former Rochelle High School buildings remain in

[178] Robert Frazier Interview, 1:19:43
[179] Willie Gibson Interview, 44:08

use. However, the Rochelle Junior High School and Washington Park Elementary School buildings have been demolished.

Music in Lakeland's Black Elementary and Junior High Schools

Rochelle High School was the culmination of the progression of all–Black segregated education in Lakeland. It is necessary to provide a brief account of what music education was like in Lakeland's all–Black elementary and junior high schools. This will provide us with a richer depiction of the music education experience of Black students in Lakeland, Florida.

Lakeland's first schools for Black children were founded during Reconstruction and it is possible that they may have used a classical liberal arts curriculum that was popular during that era. However, there are few documents to verify the music curriculum used in Lakeland's first Black schools. By the turn of the twentieth century, it is most likely that that the placement of music within the overall curriculum in Lakeland's Black schools was influenced by the vocational education philosophy of Booker T. Washington and that the Black schools in Lakeland were organized similarly and followed a similar trajectory as the Tuskegee Institute (Chapter two). Research indicates that Washington was highly regarded and a respected national leader among Lakeland's Black community. In 1912, Washington accepted an invitation from a group of Lakeland's prominent Black leaders to speak in Lakeland[180]. During his almost two-hour long speech he espoused his philosophy of Black vocational education to a large, mixed–race crowd of almost two thousand people[181]. The invitation and the elevated preparation that Lakeland's Black community undertook to secure Washington's visit to Lakeland indicates that they generally had a favorable opinion of Washington and his views on education. And

[180] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.
[181] *World's Most Famous Negro,* The Evening Telegram, Lakeland, FL March 05, 1912

Washington's philosophy of vocational education for Blacks was also popular among Lakeland's White community who also thought favorably of Washington[182]. Although, one could argue that Lakeland's White leadership interpreted Washington's vocational educational philosophy in a way that justified separate and unequal educational institutions and goals. Washington's emphasis on vocational education and deemphasis of arts education was often interpreted by Whites as the end of his educational philosophy when it was simply a starting point[183].

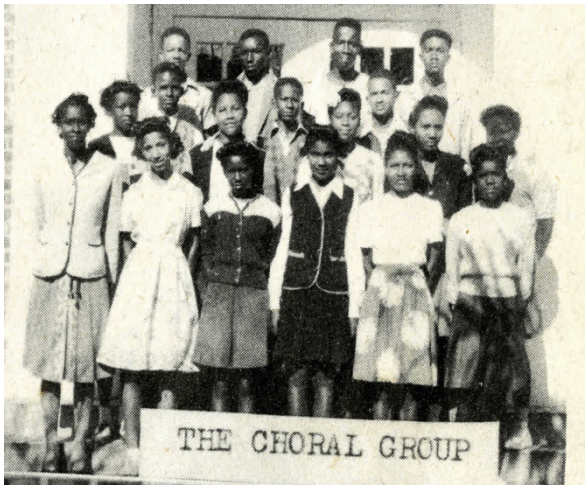

Figure 1: The Choral Group, *The Washingtonian,* 1948, students unnamed

[182] The Evening Telegram, a Lakeland, FL newspaper, publicized Mr. Washington's speaking tour (December 06, 1911, February 24, 1913, March 02, 1912, March 04, 1912, March 05, 1912). Leaders of Lakeland's African American community thanked the paper for the generous publicity (March 08, 1912). And Mr. Washington is frequently praised or described as an exemplar of his race in editorials and articles before and after his death (March 06, 1912, March 25, 1912, February 23, 1918, June 25, 1915, July 27, 1917). Charles Fearing, a secretary from the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, visited Lakeland in hopes of enticing residents, both black and white, to visit the school (March 26, 1915).

[183] Emma L. Thornbrough. "Booker T. Washington as seen by his white contemporaries." *The Journal of Negro History* 53, no. 2 (1968): 166-169. White American railroad executive William H. Baldwin, Jr. enthusiastically believed that industrial education was "the answer" to the "negro problem". Other influential White public leaders also interpreted Washington's focus on industrial education as the most suitable option for Black Americans. While I was not able to locate such clear elucidations from White Lakeland residents, these comments from national White public figures combined with the overall praise of Mr. Washington from White Lakeland residents indicates that it is most likely that Lakeland's White community believed that industrial education was the most satisfactory choice for Lakeland's Black students.

According to Rochelle alumnus and former Rochelle teacher Jewell (Harter) Jenkins, there was no standalone music classes in any of Lakeland's Black schools prior to 1949[184]. This includes elementary and junior high schools. Historical documents indicate that Mrs. Jenkins' recount is correct. Prior to 1949, music was not a curricular offering at the Rochelle schools. However, music was an extracurricular activity. There is a picture of "The Choral Group" (Figure 1) in the 1946 Washington Park Schools yearbook, *The Washingtonian*. Washington Park was the original name of Rochelle High School. The yearbook does not list a music teacher or a teacher sponsor for the choral group.

It is probable that the "Choral Group" previously pictured is what would have been more commonly referred to as the glee club. Glee clubs were and are extracurricular singing groups that usually meet before or after school to rehearse. The Washington Park School glee club is the first historically referenced school sponsored musical performing group within Lakeland's Black community. It was an exceptionally active group in the early 1940s. During the 1941–42 school year, the Washington Park glee club performed no less than ten public concerts including performances for both Black audiences in Lakeland, at Bethune–Cookman College (now University) in Daytona Beach, Florida, and at Florida A&M in Tallahassee, Florida, and performed for White audiences in the Lakeland area[185]. The Washington Park glee club was the first Black performing group to appear at the entirely White First Presbyterian Church in Lakeland, Florida[186]. It is likely that when the chorus program was presumably begun in 1949

[184] (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 32:50
[185] Elsie L Dunbar, "The Role of Washington Park School in a Program for Improving School–Community Relationships at Lakeland, Florida", *The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College Faculty Bulletin,* July 1947.
[186] Elsie L Dunbar, "The Role of Washington Park School in a Program for Improving School–Community Relationships at Lakeland, Florida", *The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College Faculty Bulletin,* July 1947.

that the glee club became a part of the chorus program. Unfortunately, there is no reference to who taught the Washington Park glee club.

Even though music was not offered as a standalone class, Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins did say that some of her primary teachers included music as teaching tools for other subjects or for student enjoyment[187]. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkin's account of her music education experience in primary school is like historical accounts of how music was used in schools like the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama (Chapter two). Mr. Donald Williams, Sr, another participant, recalled his elementary music education experience as like Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins, music was not a standalone subject, but some teachers used music as a teaching tool or for student enjoyment[188]. While Mr. Donald Williams Sr, attended schools outside of the Lakeland area, his elementary music education experience is relevant because like Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins the schools he attended were segregated all–Black educational institutions[189].

It is difficult to determine exactly when music became a more prominent subject in Lakeland's Black elementary schools. It is likely that when the instrumental music program was started at Rochelle High School in 1949 that at least one music teacher was hired for Lakeland's Black elementary schools. Multiple Rochelle High School alumni who graduated between the mid to late 1960s named Mrs. Thompson as their elementary music teacher[190]. According to a few participants, Mrs. Thompson taught her students the basics of music, for example rhythm, melody, and notation[191]. Mrs. Strong was able to provide a good amount of detail on Mrs.

[187] (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 33:00
[188] Donald Williams Interview, 7:20
[189] Williams Interview, 07:20
[190] Boatwright interview, Gibson interview, Frazier Interview, Williams Interview
[191] Gibson, Strong, Jay Williams Interviews

Thompson's class, a small glimpse into Mrs. Thompson's teaching style, and some of the extracurricular music activities Mrs. Thompson organized.

> She taught us songs for the different seasons…and I remember her having a music club. And I think when I got to fifth and sixth grade, I was a part of the music club. I do remember in sixth grade we had a classmate…who actually passed out, fainted, at P.E. and eventually passed away. He passed away over the weekend. There were about four of us [students from the music club] who went to sing for his funeral, and she [Mrs. Thompson] played [piano] for us…She taught us the basics of the music…the differences between the female voices and the male voices…notes on the staff…I remember it being fun…She was very strict, but she was one of my favorite teachers…She taught us this song "Happy New Year". [Mrs. Strong singing] Happy New Year, happy New Year, the birds loudly sing. [Mrs. Strong stopped singing] That was one of my favorites. I used to sing that to my students on the intercom [as a principal] …We had to go to music I think it was at least twice a week, maybe it was just once a week[192].

Participants also recalled having fun in Mrs. Thompson's class and that she was a kind teacher[193]. However, no participants had a clear recollection of any songs that they learned. The participant descriptions of Mrs. Thompson's class are like those described in the historical account of music education in Kansas City, Kansas all–Black segregated schools from Chapter two[194].

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[192] Strong Interview, 04:09
[193] Gibson, Jay Williams Interviews
[194] Reginald Buckner. "A history of music education in the Black community of Kansas City, Kansas, 1905-1954." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 30, no. 2, pg. 98.

In the seventh–grade, students from Rochelle Elementary moved up to Rochelle Junior High School. The music education at Rochelle Junior High was divided into two departments: chorus and instrumental band[195]. Students could enroll in both. The chorus and band departments were organized differently. The chorus department was divided by grade level. Phillip Walker stated that when he attended Rochelle Junior High School in the mid–1960s that there was a junior high chorus and a separate high school chorus[196]. While the chorus program was divided between junior and senior high, the band department for Rochelle Junior High and Rochelle Senior High were combined[197]. Other participant interviews indicate that from its official inception in 1949 that the band program was a combination of both junior and senior high students. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins, who was a charter member of the band program, recalled that she was in junior high when she started in band and that her band class included students from the high school as well.

> It was challenging because at that time [1949] I was in junior high school and the older kids [high school students], you know, they challenged us[198].

I was not able to definitively confirm how the chorus program was organized from its official founding in 1949. However, through participant interviews I can safely confirm that by the 1960's the chorus program had two divisions: a junior high chorus and a senior high chorus.

[195] Boatwright, Williams, Walker Interviews
[196] Walker Interview, 03:45
[197] Frazier Phone Interview, 23:00
[198] (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 35:38

Each chorus separately participated in festivals[199]. Unlike the band program that participated in festivals and other events as a combined junior and senior high ensemble[200].

Music at Rochelle High School

The first curricular music program at Rochelle High School began when the band program was established in 1949 under the direction of Mr. Lawrence Pope[201]. From 1949 until 1969, music education at Rochelle consisted of marching band in the Fall semester, concert band in the Spring semester, and chorus was offered year–round. It is likely that chorus also became a curricular offering in 1949. However, I was not able to definitively determine the first chorus director. According to my research the first known chorus director at Rochelle was Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins, no relation to Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins. It is possible that Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins started the chorus program at Rochelle. The addition of music into the general curriculum at Rochelle elevated the music program and allowed the music teachers to cultivate a community of talented high school musicians. Through hard work, determination, and community support Rochelle had a thriving band and chorus programs by the mid 1950s[202]. Each ensemble participated in parades, adjudicated festivals, school events such as the Rochelle Senior High School graduation, church and community events, and concerts[203].

Between 1949 and 1969 Rochelle employed at least five music teachers. Each year Rochelle employed two music teachers, one music teacher directed the band and another the chorus. There were only two band teachers at Rochelle. Mr. Lawrence Pope taught band from 1949–1955. Following Mr. Pope was Mr. Alvin Graham, who was hired at Rochelle in 1955 and

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[199] Phillip Walker Interview, 3:45
[200] Frazier Phone Interview, 23:00
[201] Dale A. Thomas. *A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida*. 127
[202] Rochelle High School yearbook, 1957
[203] Jay Williams Interview, 28:00

stayed until the high school closed in 1969[204]. Rochelle employed at least three chorus teachers between 1949 and 1969. Unfortunately, the employment periods for the chorus teachers have been difficult to determine. A records request for employment information regarding the five known music teachers from Rochelle was returned with only information for Alvin Graham. It's likely that Mr. Graham's records were kept because he was employed with the Polk School Board until 1981. I have only been able to infer employment dates for the chorus teachers at Rochelle through historical documents and participant interviews. According to research, Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins was the first of the three known chorus teachers to teach at Rochelle[205]. After Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins, Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins taught chorus for a few years in the mid–1960s[206]. Finally, Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo was the third chorus teacher who taught at Rochelle from either 1967 or 1968 until 1969[207].

The Rochelle High School music faculty were admired musicians within Lakeland's Black community and they were respected educators. A 1960 survey on Rochelle High School's curricular offerings congratulated the music faculty for providing the students with a quality school music experience despite substantial impediments.

> The music faculty at Rochelle High School are to be commended for their efforts to improve the quality of the music offered in recent years. It is suggested that many expressed problems currently frustrating the department ultimately rest in the areas of organization, physical facilities, and instructional materials[208].

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[204] Polk County School District employment records
[205] Rochelle High School yearbook, 1957
[206] (Harter) Interview, 05:00
[207] Rochelle High School yearbook, 1968
[208] 1960 Survey of Rochelle High School

The report concluded with a reminder of the importance of music within a high school curriculum and a charge to action.

> Finally, the cultural benefits from a sincere and dedicated music program will greatly influence the direction in which this school and community will proceed. Ultimately, it becomes the responsibility of the entire faculty to foster such activities as music–making[209].

The Rochelle Marching and Concert Band

The band program at Rochelle was started in 1949 under the direction of Mr. Lawrence Pope[210]. It started small and with few instruments, but by the mid–1950s the band had become a popular and highly visible extra-curricular activity[211]. At its peak, the band had approximately eighty members in 1958[212]. They participated in state and county adjudicated festivals through the Florida Association of Band Directors from 1956–1961, 1965, 1966, and 1968[213], and in 1958 Rochelle hosted the FABD's state band south division festival[214]. According to participants they also marched in Rochelle's yearly Homecoming parade and occasionally marched in local and regional parades like the Lakeland Christmas Parade, the Citrus Festival Parade in Winter

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[209] 1960 Survey of Rochelle High School
[210] Dale Thomas. "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*.
[211] Rochelle Yearbook, 1957
[212] Timothy Groulx, FABD Research collected from FABD documents stored at Florida Southern College. FABD marching totals show that Rochelle marched in 66 members in 1960 and 49 members in 1961; however, this could be due to the financial difficulties imposed by travel. According to William L. Richardson. *A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941—1966,* pg 121–123, the 1960 FABD festival was held in St. Pete, FL and the 1961 festival was held in West Palm Beach.
[213] Timothy Groulx, research compiled from materials stored at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida
[214] William L. Richardson. *A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966.* 96 http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/history-florida-association-band-directors-negro/docview/304508803/se-2?accountid=14745.

Haven, Florida, an annual Florida A&M football game and the Gasparilla Festival Parade both held in Tampa, Florida[215]. Mr. Frazier remembered the Lakeland Christmas Parade as providing the Rochelle marching band with the rare, and more than likely only, opportunity of performing for a predominantly White audience in Lakeland, FL.

> That was the one place we had integration [laughing]. Anything that happened on Florida Ave [one of the main north/south avenues in Lakeland] we marched in it[216].

While it is known when the band program at Rochelle was started and the band director who started it, it is difficult to determine how the program began. Most of the participants were students during the 1960s long after the band had been established. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins was a member of the first band at Rochelle, but she was not aware of how the instruments for the band program were procured[217].

> We had only a few instruments…We had to compete to get one…I don't know where they [the instruments] came from, if they [the instruments] came from the county…but they [the teachers] brought band instruments there [to Rochelle][218].

[215] Coney, Williams, and Gibson Interviews. It is very likely that the Rochelle marching band marched in all the parades listed, especially the Lakeland Christmas parade and the Rochelle Homecoming parade. However, I was unable to find historical documents linking the Rochelle High School marching band to the Orange Festival or the Gasparilla parades. The Tampa Tribune often printed the parade lineup for the Gasparilla Parade; however, they did not print every year during the 1960s and no paper printed the lineup for the Citrus Festival Parade.
[216] Frazier Interview, 01:53:05
[217] Jenkins Interview, 35:00
[218] Jenkins Interview, 35:00

Unfortunately, most of the individuals who may have known how the band program was first established have passed away and, currently, there is no known written account of these events. However, we can infer how the band program at Rochelle was initially funded by referencing how other all–Black segregated high schools began their instrumental music programs.

Historical accounts of how band programs were begun at other all–Black segregated high schools in Florida suggest that initial funding for all–Black high school band programs was largely provided by the local Black communities. For example, Leander Kirksey organized one of Florida's first band programs at an all–Black segregated high school at Roosevelt High School in West Palm Beach, Florida in 1945[219]. Kirksey encouraged parents to start a support group to assist with fundraising and securing instruments through purchase or donation and he attended Black church and civic events to rally community support for the band program[220]. J.P. Small organized a marching band at Stanton High School in Jacksonville, Florida in 1941 while also serving as the school's football coach and a core curricular teacher[221]. Stanton's first full–time band director, Kernaa McFarlin, noted that when he arrived at Stanton in 1949 there were sixteen students in the band program who owned their instruments and the school owned five instruments all of which were obtained by Mr. Small[222]. The individual parent support and the small collection of school owned instruments indicates that it is likely that the Stanton community used tactics like those employed by Kirksey at Roosevelt to raise funds and purchase instruments for their band.

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[219] Dale Thomas. "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*.
[220] William Lamar Richardson. "A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966." Order No. 9946119, University of Kansas, 1999. 44
[221] Dale Thomas. "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*.
[222] William Lamar Richardson. "A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966." Order No. 9946119, University of Kansas, 1999. 56

A lack of awareness from White Florida state music education officials is another reason why we can assume Rochelle and other Black segregated high school music programs were primarily begun using local community funds. In 1941 band directors from Florida A&M University and a few band directors from some of Florida's all–Black segregated high schools formed the Florida Association of Band Directors (Chapter Two). In 1952, Florida's Black music educators formed the Florida State Music Educators Association (FSMEA)[223]. Later that same year the Florida Music Educators Association (FMEA), the White counterpart to the FSMEA, began to reach out to Florida's Black music educators and were surprised to learn of the existence of the FSMEA[224]. Years later the president of FMEA in 1952 admitted that the FMEA had very little knowledge of the musical activities at Florida's segregated Black schools[225]. If the FMEA had little knowledge of music education at Florida's Black schools, then it is reasonable to assume that they would have been mostly unaware of the substantial growth of band programs in Florida's all–Black segregated high schools during the late 1940s to early 1950s[226]. Therefore, we can logically assume that prior to the FSMEA and FMEA merger the FMEA would not have provided any financial support or advocacy to these newly founded band programs at Black schools.

Finally, how local, county, state, and national civic funds for education were distributed provides additional evidence that the music program at Rochelle High School was funded primarily by Lakeland's Black community. Local, county, and state governments and local communities were the primary source of funding for school music programs until the federal

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[223] William Lamar Richardson. "A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966." Order No. 9946119, University of Kansas, 1999. 61
[224] William Lamar Richardson. "A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966." Order No. 9946119, University of Kansas, 1999. 61
[225] William Lamar Richardson. "A History of the Florida Association of Band Directors in Negro Schools: 1941--1966." Order No. 9946119, University of Kansas, 1999. 61–62
[226] Dale Thomas. "*A Band in Every School: Portraits of Historically Black School Bands in Florida"*.

government prioritized providing financial support for arts education in 1962[227]. Even though I was unable to find record of how the city of Lakeland funded music programs at Lakeland High School, the segregated all–White high school, I was able to find historical documents on how the city of Lakeland determined funding for other aspects of Black education that White city officials labeled as auxiliary and there was an enormous spending disparity regarding the construction of White and Black schools that the city of Lakeland exhibited in the first quarter of the twentieth century (Chapter Two). Also, Polk County education officials often turned to Lakeland city officials to partially fund all requested alterations to Lakeland's Black schools such as extending the school year at Lakeland's Black schools to be the same length as the White schools[228]. However, Lakeland city officials usually required the Black community to cover these costs. In the 1920s, Black educators from Lakeland petitioned the Polk County School Board multiple times to extend the academic year of Lakeland's Black schools to match the academic year of Lakeland's White schools[229]. Polk County agreed if the city of Lakeland provided a portion of the funds needed for the extension. The Lakeland city commission agreed to support the initiative if the Black community was able to raise the funds to pay for the extension[230]. Because the city of Lakeland regularly forced Lakeland's Black community to pay for necessary portions of their education like extending the school year for Black schools to match the school year of White schools, then it is likely that the city of Lakeland would not have provided Rochelle with any financial support for an extra–curricular activity like music. With

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[227] Anthony L. Barresi. "The role of the federal government in support of the arts and music education." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 29, no. 4 (1981): 245-256.

[228] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.

[229] Thomas Milligan. "An Investigation of Public Schools Desegregation in Polk County, Florida." 54–55. Order No. 6802897, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1967.

[230] LaFrancine Burton, "Lakeland's Early Black Schools Started in Moorehead Community in the 1880s", *The Ledger*, August 09, 2003.

national, state, and local government agencies and White–only music organizations unlikely to fund a band program at a segregated all–Black high school like Rochelle, then it is most likely that funding came from the Black community in Lakeland.

Most participants remember the band as being modest in size and budget, but big on attitude, style, and pride. Frequently fundraisers were held, and donations were excepted to secure new instruments or uniforms. Terry Coney remembers selling candy and organizing community car washes during his freshman and sophomore years to raise funds for new band uniforms[231]. Mr. Frazier remembers selling "World's Finest" Chocolates, selling plates of food at barbeques, and reaping the financial benefits of "wonderful parents and a very supportive community"[232]. Interestingly, Mr. Frazier said that Mr. Graham did not charge admission to the band concerts[233].

It is likely that the first instruments used by band students at Rochelle were purchased through monetary contributions from Lakeland's Black community and possibly through funds provided by the state or county education organizations. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins remembered the first band at Rochelle as small with only a few instruments. In our interview Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins described the first band and how Mr. Pope organized a typical band class at Rochelle.

> A typical band class…[we] studied theory…We were the first to start a band at Rochelle…and we had only a few instruments…I played clarinet…he [Mr. Pope] said the first one to play that note [a Bb] would get the instrument. So, me being a piano student I went home, and I learned it. So, I was one of the first band students that played [sounded

[231] Coney Interview, 35:36
[232] Frazier email correspondence
[233] Frazier email correspondence

> a note] in the band! …We had a small marching band…We was just thrilled to get the opportunity [to be in the band][234].

Her account suggests that there may have been more students in the band than instruments available. Locating available funds to accommodate the number of student musicians was a fortunate struggle that continued after Mr. Pope left Rochelle. Jay Williams recalled a unique solution Mr. Graham conceived to help beginning students learn to drum.

> The guys who played drums they did not have the drums to play. When you were in beginning band, he [Mr. Graham] would take something like a 2x4, and he would take a

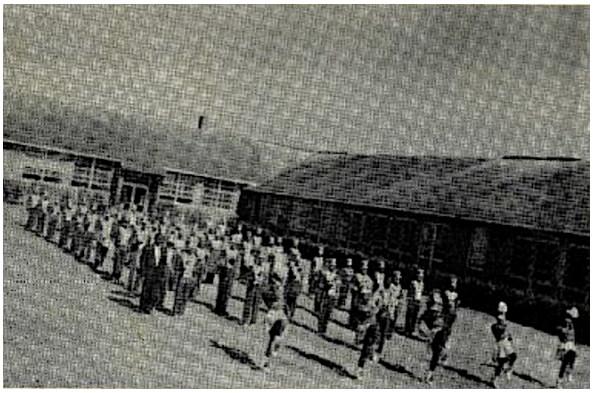

Figure 2: Rochelle High School marching band, *The Panther,* 1957, Mr. Alvin F. Graham, band director

> rubber tube and stretch it across the 2x4 to make it have some bounce to it. And that's what the guys learned how to play drums until they actually touched an instrument. They would use those pads, those homemade pads to learn their strokes left, left, right, right, left, right, left, left, left, right[235].

[234] Jenkins Interview, 07:02
[235] Jay Williams Interview, 18:45

When Mr. Graham was hired in 1955, not only did he bring clever and cost saving techniques to engage more students, but he also streamlined procedures to onboard students into the marching and concert bands. Robert Frazier described Mr. Graham's orderly process for developing student musicians from novice beginners to advanced high school musicians.

> In the first few weeks all you got was the mouthpiece [used on a brass instrument like the trumpet] and you learned how to buzz with the mouthpiece and that's how it really started…You learned how to play the basic "Easy Steps to the Band" [a band method's book] …After you could play to the back of that book and the marches. There were a couple marches that were kind of difficult. Then, he [Mr. Graham] would start in the beginner's class giving you more advanced music that the [marching] band would play. So, by the end of seventh grade and the beginning of eighth grade you were proficient enough to go into [marching] band…Then you start coming to rehearsals [after school] So, by the end of seventh grade you were ready to go into [marching] band[236].

However, every procedure had exceptions and Mr. Graham occasionally allowed students to join the marching band prior to the seventh grade if they showed a certain level of talent for and dedication to music. As was the case with Mr. Jay Williams who was allowed to join the band in elementary school.

> Interviewer: You were in the marching band at Rochelle.

[236] Robert Frazier Interview, 25:14

Williams: Fifth grade [is when Mr. Williams started in band at Rochelle] …My brother was playing trumpet and I just picked it up behind him and began to play. And he [Mr. William's brother] began to instruct me on how to play. And I'd go to band practice with him. If there was an extra instrument around, I would pick it up and play third trumpet. Which was very easy because you only played certain notes and you didn't have a whole bunch of [melodic] movement[237].

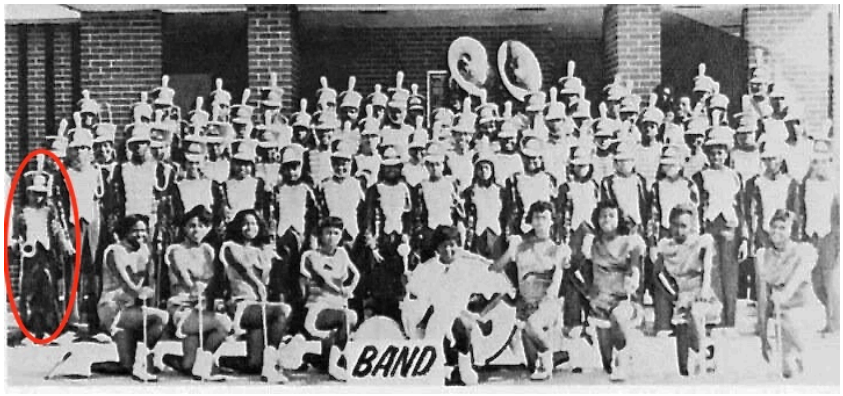

Figure 3: Rochelle High School marching band, *The Panther,* 1955,
Jay Williams, circled in red, was in the fifth grade when he first joined band. Photo provided by Mr. Williams.

Many of the band participants most vivid memories centered around the Friday night home football games. Football games provided the marching band with the most potent interactions with the broader Black community in Lakeland and the opportunity to showcase their talents. The marching band rallied the crowd around the Mighty Rochelle Panther football team by playing stand tunes such as "The Tiger Rag"[238] and providing support to the cheerleaders as they lead the fans in cheers that innocently teased the opposing team[239]. But it was during the home game halftime shows that the Rochelle High School marching band shined the brightest under the Friday night lights.

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[237] Jay Williams Interview, 03:10; 18:09
[238] Jay Williams and Beverly Boatwright Interviews
[239] Boatwright Interview. Mrs. Boatwright vividly remembered a cheer from her time as a cheerleader at Rochelle. "Go back, go back, go back into the woods. You haven't, you haven't, you haven't got the goods. You haven't got the rhythm. You haven't got the class. You haven't got the team that Rochelle has." 05:20

The band produced a different halftime show for every home game[240]. Draped in military style deep blue uniforms trimmed in white, the Rochelle band high stepped on to the football field to impress and entertain Lakeland's Black community. The band followed in the high stepping style, sometimes called show style, popularized in Florida by the FAMU marching band, The Marching 100. When Rochelle marched, band members were asked to keep their backs straight and to lift their knees almost as high as their hip joint so that their legs were bent at a nearly 90–degree angle.

> Our bands were just full of rhythm and dance and, you know, we would just get out there and just show out…Our drum majors would put on an absolute show. Our bands would [entertain]. It wasn't just a band; it was a show…I guess FAMU style on a high school level[241]. –Beverly Boatwright

> With FAMU being a prominent college band, not only in the state but in the nation. Most of the band directors at the Black high schools came from FAMUs band [both Mr. Pope and Mr. Graham graduated from FAMU]. So, all our style came from that band[242]. –Terry Coney

> Our band director, Mr. Graham, graduated from Florida A&M. He was in the band there…He wanted his band to be, uh, similar to Florida A&M…Just about every Black

[240] Jay Williams, Gibson, and Terry Coney Interviews
[241] Boatwright, 17:04
[242] Coney Interview, 05:53

> band director, they either wanted to pattern their bands after Florida A&M or Bethune Cookman[243]. –Willie Gibson

The marching band would make elaborate shapes like a car with spinning wheels and would end every halftime show by forming a large "R", for Rochelle, in the middle of the football field and playing the school song[244].

The music the marching band played consisted of what would have mostly been current popular songs by Black musicians such as James Brown, The Supremes, and Dionne Warwick[245], songs like Sam Cooke's "Chain Gang", jazz tunes like "Summertime", and some older popular songs that would have been easily recognized by the parents of Rochelle students[246]. Terry Coney reminisced on some of the songs the marching band played while he was at Rochelle.

> A lot of the music we did was based on modern music [current popular music of the 1960s], R&B maybe some classic stuff from some of the classic performers…We may have done some James Brown stuff, or Supreme stuff or Dionne Warwick had a song back in the 60s called "Do You Know the Way to San Jose," or "Downtown" [a song originally made popular by Petula Clark in 1964]. You know, some of the music that was popular on the radio…You may have heard on, during that time there was a show called

[243] Gibson Interview, 04:36
[244] Jay Williams, ; Robert Frazier Interview
[245] Willie Gibson Interview, 14:00
[246] Jay Williams Interview, 13:34

> *Ed Sullivan*. I don't know if we did any of The Beatle's stuff. But that was kind of some of the stuff [music] we did[247].

Mr. Frazier remembered the band playing traditional marches by John Phillip Sousa and songs that were popular during and around his years in high school[248].

> One name always comes to mind [regarding marching band repertoire at Rochelle] was John Phillip Sousa [well–known late 19th and early 20th century composer of marching band music] …A lot of that. Towards my, I think, my sophomore or junior year, we started doing a lot of the rock things that were being written for marching band. I think one was "Rockin' and Rhythm" [a marching band stand tune] …It got a little bit looser in terms of you know, rhythm. Whereas before it was "The Regulars March" and "Stars and Stripes Forever." And that kind of thing and it became more of the jazzy stuff. Which was a great influence of Florida A&M. Because they did their own arrangements in terms of marching band and we wanted something closer to that…We also did "Catch a Falling Star" [a song made famous in 1957 by American recording artist Perry Como] and "Cherry Pink" [an instrumental, Latin influenced jazz song popular in the US in the mid–1950s]. Stuff like that[249].

The sound of the marching Panther band was carefully crafted by the band directors, mostly Mr. Graham, and a few select musically talented seniors who were solely responsible for

[247] Terry Coney Interview, 12:34
[248] Robert Frazier Interview, 09:00
[249] Robert Frazier Interview, 09:13

the strenuous tasks of preparing the band for every performance and arranging all music and creating all marching formations for the halftime shows[250]. To accomplish these monumental tasks the marching band practiced their halftime show music during band class and held lengthy and demanding practices almost every day after school during the fall semester[251]. Practices often lasted until 8:00 pm or 9:00 pm[252]. Mr. Coney provided a detailed explanation of a typical marching band halftime show practice.

> For halftime shows for home games we never did the same halftime show in the same football season. So, during the course of a week if we were preparing, we'd go through the music. You know, most of it [Mr. Graham] he'd write or maybe he'd get some of the senior musicians to help him out…Probably by Wednesday we'd be on the field practicing whatever the routine would be. And if we're out of school at three, three thirty, band practice would start at four, three thirty, four o'clock. And we'd maybe be in the band hall for maybe an hour, hour and a half just going over the music. And then we'd go out on the field. And your section [leader] he may have printed something out, or what the diagram was supposed to look like. And we'd do a walk through, then we'd kind of add the music to it and we'd be on the field until eight thirty at night getting it right. Because if we started practice on that on a Wednesday and the football games was a Friday night, we only had two days to get it down. Or we may have started on Tuesday some time. But that's kinda how it went. Now, if we had an away game, whatever the last

[250] Jay Williams Interview, 10:00
[251] Frazier Phone Interview, 31:55
[252] Terry Coney Interview, 14:20

routine we did at home we'd probably do that same routine at the away game cause, you know, those people had never seen us perform. That was kinda how it was[253].

Figure 4: Unknown band members, majorettes, and teacher, *The Panther,* 1965

Mr. Coney also mentioned that band practices served as a form of entertainment for the local Black community.

It was kind of a big thing in the community when we would practice. People would come out and watch us practice anyway…Give them something to do. You didn't have social media and all that kind of stuff. So, people would come out stand up or sit down in the grass and watch us practice[254]."

[253] Terry Coney Interview, 12:07
[254] Terry Coney Interview, 16:28

Figure 5: Rochelle Senior High School Marching Band Head Drum Major, name unknown, *The Panther,* 1957

The marching band was organized into three interlocking groups all under the direction of the band director. The largest group in the marching band was the instrumentalists. In the 1957 Rochelle High School yearbook there are between fifty to sixty instrumentalists pictured[255]. In the 1965 Rochelle High School yearbook there are approximately 50 instrumentalists pictured[256]. The second largest group was the majorettes. There are five majorettes pictured in the 1957 Rochelle High School yearbook[257] and six pictured in the 1965 Rochelle High School yearbook[258]. The two drum majors were the third and smallest group but were arguably the coolest members of the marching band. Beverly Boatwright remembered how the drum majors stood out from the rest of the marching band.

> The drum majors would really step high. The drum majors were usually the best dancer[s] in the school, you know, and they would really put on a show[259]!

[255] 1957 Rochelle High School Yearbook, pg. 28
[256] 1965 Rochelle High School Yearbook, pg. 62
[257] 1957 Rochelle High School Yearbook, pg. 28
[258] 1965 Rochelle High School Yearbook, pg. 62
[259] Beverly Boatwright Interview, 16:08

The instrumentalists had a hierarchical structure loosely resembling what may be found in the military. Moving from least to greatest, an instrumentalist reported to their section leader, then the section leaders reported to the band director[260]. The band director had an almost absolute control over the instrumentalists. He picked the music, arranged the music, and created the marching formations for the instrumentalists. But the majorettes and the drum majors were given the freedom to create their own routines to compliment the instrumentalists' marching formations. However, the band director always had to approve of the routines prior to every performance. Willie Gibson, a drum major from 1966, said that that the band director, Mr. Graham, would relay the marching formations to him and his drum major friend Reginald Paterson. Then, Mr. Gibson and Mr. Paterson would create a routine based off the marching formations and Mr. Graham would give the final approval.

> We made up our own steps to coordinate with what the band was doing. Mr. Graham, he made up the designs for the band. And then, what we did was to try and coordinate something to go along with it and fall right in place with them. So, it worked out really well…He gave us free reign. He said, "This is what the band is gonna be doing and so you guys come up with what you want." And when he saw what we did he said, "Perfect[261]."

To set themselves apart from the rest of the band, both drum majors wore tall, rounded hats, and carried long batons [Figure 6]. One drum major wore a white uniform trimmed in deep blue while the other wore a deep blue uniform trimmed in white that matched the rest of the

[260] Terry Coney Interview, 41:00
[261] Willie Gibson Interview, 07:57

instrumentalists. The drum major in the white uniform was considered the "head" drum major[262]. The responsibilities of each drummer varied only slightly. For example, with the approval of the band director the "head" drum major may have conducted the instrumentalists on a few occasions during marching season. However, conducting the band for the halftime shows, as in setting the tempo of each song, indicating emotional expressions and volume variations such as loud and quiet, was the primary responsibility of the band director[263].

In the waning days of the fall semester after the football season had ended, the band program would switch from a marching band format to a concert band format[264]. In our interview session Jay Williams described the changeover.

> It was only a matter of rearranging the seating in there [in the band room] and have it in an oval shape…There were some that played in the [marching] band but changed instruments [for the concert band]. Like uh, the person that played clarinet or something [in the marching band], they played the oboe or bass clarinet [in concert band]. Just a few changes to give you that full sound. We did not have the timpani or those types of percussion instruments back in the day. But they would turn that bass drum to the side and get everything it had in it[265].

Mr. Frazier mentioned that most students were usually excited to enter the concert season because the music was a little more challenging.

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[262] Willie Gibson Interview, 08:50
[263] Robert Frazier Interview, 34:40
[264] Robert Frazier Interview, 40:00
[265] Jay Williams Interview, 42:04

> The music was more interesting, a little bit harder…I think we practiced more because by the time concert season hit, we were more experienced musicians. We were better. The level of music became higher and the competition amongst the players became stiffer…We knew we were gonna meet kids from other schools [at district and state competitions] and there was always "The Challenge" [informal competitions against musicians from different schools to see who the better player was]. My first chair first against your first chair first[266].

The Rochelle Chorus

The chorus program had at least four directors. However, when they were hired has been difficult to determine. To the best of my knowledge, Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins was the first teacher hired to teach chorus at Rochelle Junior and Senior High School. Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins is listed as the chorus teacher in the 1957 Rochelle yearbook, the oldest Rochelle yearbook that is currently available. Another teacher, Mr. Edward W. Strickland, is listed as a chorus director in the 1957 Rochelle yearbook. However, participants remember Mr. Strickland primarily served

Figure 6: Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins, chorus teacher, *The Panther*, 1957

[266] Robert Frazier Interview, 37:21

as the student employment coordinator at Rochelle and was not actively involved in the chorus program[267].

Mrs. Harter taught chorus after Mrs. Jenkins. Unfortunately, I have not been able to verify the dates of her tenure. At some point in the late 1960s Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo was hired to direct the Rochelle chorus. The Polk County School District was only able to provide employment records for Mr. Graham and were unable to locate employment records for Mrs. Jenkins, Mrs. Harter, or Dr. (Torke) Hugo. However, through Lakeland High School yearbooks, I was able to determine that Dr. (Torke) Hugo had previously worked as a chorus

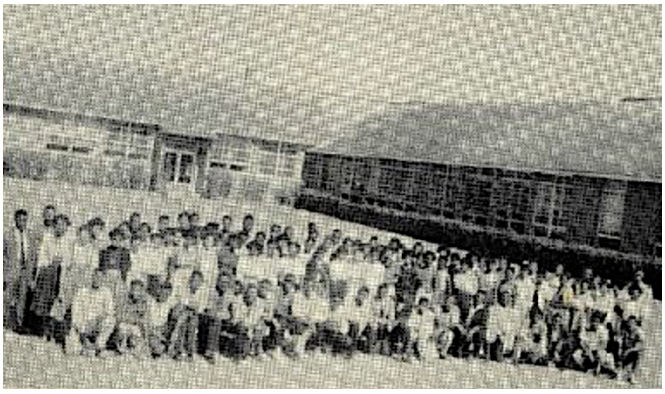

Figure 7: Rochelle High School chorus, *The Panther,* 1957, Mrs. Alpha S. Jenkins & Mr. E.W. Strickland, chorus directors, students unnamed

teacher at Lakeland High School prior to her employment at Rochelle[268]. Most of the details provided to me regarding the Rochelle chorus are from the 1960s when Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins was the chorus teacher. The participants could recall very little information from the years prior or after Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins' tenure. Phillip Walker did have some information on Dr. (Torke) Hugo.

[267] Rochelle yearbook 1957, 1965
[268] Lakeland High School yearbook

As previously mentioned, the chorus teachers taught at Rochelle Senior High School and Rochelle Junior High School. Chorus directors, like the band directors, stressed the importance of music theory during their classes[269]. Unlike the band program, the chorus program was separated by grade into one junior high school chorus and one senior high school chorus. Participant interviews indicate that there may have been an audition–based performance chorus for both the junior and senior high schools. Mrs. Boatwright mentioned that she was enrolled in a chorus class in junior high but was not chosen to sing in the chorus[270]. Even with the audition requirement for the performing chorus, it is likely that the chorus teachers were able to welcome a much larger student population than the band program. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins recollected that there were over one hundred students who were in the chorus for one of her final concerts as a teacher at Rochelle[271]. Through historical documents and participant interviews I determined that the largest bands at Rochelle were between seventy and eighty students and the smallest had no less than forty–nine[272].

Figure 8: Rochelle High School chorus, *The Panther,* 1968, Dr. Hugo (center), chorus director, students unnamed

[269] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 17:48
[270] Beverly Boatwright Interview, 22:00
[271] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 10:38
[272] Timothy Groulx, FABD Research. Compiled from resources stored at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida.

The chorus sang a wide variety of musical styles from the variety of western European art music traditions as well as songs from American musical styles like jazz, Black spirituals, and R&B. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins distinctly remembers programming two of her favorite songs while teaching at Rochelle, the American patriotic song "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and a Black spiritual titled "Soon I Will be Done with the Troubles of the World[273]." Jay Williams recounted singing "a great deal of contemporary music of that day" as well as quite a few Black spirituals, western European art songs like "The Silver Swan", "Magnificat", and Handel's *Messiah*, and an R&B song made famous in 1958 by Johnny Mathis called "I Heard the Forest Praying[274]." Mrs. Boatwright remembered a jazz song she learned in junior high from Mrs. A.S. Jenkins called "Red, Red Robin" and a Black spiritual titled "Sit Down Servant"[275]. Mrs. Boatwright remembered enough of "Red, Red Robin" that she sang the first verse and chorus during her interview. Phillip Walker recalled singing the western European art song "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring" by the 18th century German composer Johann Sebastian Bach while in the Rochelle Junior High School chorus under Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins[276]. According to Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins, it was necessary to teach her chorus a variety of styles because it was a requirement for most of the festivals and competitions that her choruses attended[277].

Each chorus held concerts at Rochelle throughout the year and attended and competed in district and state vocal festivals where they were graded by adjudicators, or judges, from outside Polk County. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins reminisced on a festival experience from her time when she taught at Rochelle in the mid 1960s.

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[273] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 15:56
[274] Jay Williams Interview, 25:37
[275] Beverly Boatwright, 21:09
[276] Phillip Walker Interview, 10:00
[277] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 17:30

> One I remember very well was when we went to Florida A&M. [Dr.] Rebecca Walker Steele [also a Rochelle graduate] was one of the music teachers there and she was one of the adjudicators of the festival…You had to really be able to sight sing. When you walked into the room. They would give you a piece of music and you had to be able to sight sing it. And also, [sing] whatever pieces you had prepared for the festival itself[278].

Phillip Walker remembered attending vocal festivals at other segregated Black high schools in Polk County such as Union Academy in Bartow, Florida and at least one vocal festival in Tampa, Florida[279].

Chorus teachers raised and maintained funds somewhat differently than their band counterparts. For example, while she was a teacher at Rochelle Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins primarily raised funds for the chorus program by charging an admission fee to attend the chorus concert and to offset the cost of uniforms for the chorus department she asked her mother to make many of the chorus uniforms[280]. While fundraising was important to the chorus program, the cost to participate in the chorus was less than the cost to participate in band. Chorus students did not have to rent or buy an instrument like band students and the chorus students, or their parents, could purchase or make their uniforms while band uniforms had to be specially made and ordered through a band uniform company. Jay Williams recalled that the parents of the female chorus students often made their daughter's chorus dress while his family purchased his chorus suit jacket from a clothing store in downtown Lakeland[281].

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[278] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 18:25
[279] Phillip Walker Interview, 11:20
[280] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 10:50
[281] Jay Williams Interview, 00:22

Music Outside of Rochelle High School

When not participating in or listening to music ensembles from Rochelle, students enjoyed music in a variety of ways. Mrs. Boatwright spoke affectionately of the sock hops, informal dances organized by high school students, that were held on most Friday nights during the school year at Lakeland's northside recreation center[282]. These dances provided Rochelle students the opportunity to socialize and dance while listening to their favorite records. There was also a small approximately 350 capacity community auditorium owned by the city of Lakeland that often held concerts by regional and national recording artists like blues singer Little Junior Parker, R&B artists Ted Taylor and Lloyd Price, Al Green, a singer, songwriter best known for his song "Let's Stay Together", and "The Hardest Working Man in Show Business", "The Godfather of Soul", "Soul Brother No. 1", the one and only James Brown. For Robert Frazier, the community auditorium was influential in his development as a musician and on one occasion led to a paid touring gig.

> Frazier: There was a recreation center [where the sock hops were held]. There was Lake Ridge [another community center in Lakeland's Black community] and there was the community auditorium. Which is where, when I was home for a while and Little Junior Parker came through town. And I went and sat in with them [played during his concert at the community auditorium in Lakeland] and he took me on the road.
>
> Interviewer: Aw, that's cool! So, that was an auditorium just for like the Black community really?

[282] Beverly Boatwright Interview, 44:30

> Frazier: Yea, everybody came there. I saw Lloyd Price, James Brown, everybody that was on the road [playing a series of concerts in different cities for an extended period] came through the community auditorium. Which was also, you might note, was a great influence on the young musicians growing up in that area. Because we had access to seeing those guys. I remember one time Lloyd Price brought his band through. And me and Charles Milton [Robert's childhood friend] went over and hung out with the band all afternoon as they were setting up and rehearsing. And met some of the guys. And that was encouraging to us as young musicians because these guys took time [with us] …And we knew Al Green and those guys would be coming through and we'd run over there and really try to pick their brains[283].

Unfortunately, both the northside recreation center and the community auditorium have been torn down.

Robert Frazier also mentioned a few students formed R&B bands. Mr. Frazier remembered one band fronted by Rochelle student Hercules Collins called Hot Rod Herc and the Jolly Jumpers[284]. After high school the bassist for the Jolly Jumpers, Alphonso Kellum, went on to play bass for Ted Taylor and Mr. Kellum and another Rochelle alum, Wilbur Milton, both went on to play for James Brown[285]. Interestingly, Hercules Collins and Alphonso Kellum were not known to have participated in either the band or chorus programs at Rochelle[286]. Mr. Frazier also recalled forming a small band with Alphonso Kellum, Charles Milton, and a vocalist who

[283] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:50:48
[284] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:37:17
[285] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:36:52
[286] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:38:06

was known locally as Johnny Love[287]. According to Mr. Frazier the group played small clubs and juke joints in Lakeland, Florida and in the nearby town of Bartow, Florida, but the band wasn't "together long enough to develop a name"[288].

Conclusion

In general, the music program at Rochelle was organized similarly to most high school music programs regardless of race. Band and chorus were the two music ensembles offered. The chorus program was divided by grade level with an ensemble for junior high students and an ensemble for senior high students. Whereas the band ensembles were combined and both junior and senior high students participated in the marching and concert bands. Students also engaged with music outside of the school setting through music activities like organizing their own R&B band and through music related activities like the student organized Friday night sock hops held at the northside Lakeland community center and attending concerts by national record artists like Al Green and James Brown at the northside community auditorium.

The Rochelle marching band was a palpable source of pride for the Black community in Lakeland. Interestingly, given the diminutive size of Rochelle compared to its White counterparts during some years there appears to be a slightly higher rate of participation by the student body in music ensembles. In a comparison of 1957 yearbook photos of the marching bands from Rochelle and Lakeland High School, Rochelle has approximately 10-15 more members in their marching band than Lakeland and the Rochelle Chorus is noticeably larger than the chorus pictured for Lakeland High School. Furthermore, there is a dramatically higher rate of participation among male students in chorus at Rochelle than in the choruses at the historically

[287] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:46:00
[288] Robert Frazier Interview, 01:46:53

White high schools[289]. This is a curious observation that will be address in more detail in Chapter 6 because current demographic studies on high school music students have indicated that male high schools, particularly minority male students, are not participating in high school music courses as often as female students[290].

[289] Authors comparison of Rochelle, Lakeland, and Kathleen High School yearbooks
[290] Kenneth Elpus & Carlos R. Abril. "Who enrolls in high school music? A national profile of US students, 2009–2013." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 67, 323-338.

CHAPTER 5: NOTABLE ROCHELLE HIGH SCHOOL MUSIC TEACHERS AND MUSICAL ALUMNI

Introduction

Many of the participants relayed intriguing stories of their music teachers and of fellow musical Rochelle graduates that were awkward to place within an oral history format. These were stories about the personalities of their teachers, the personal impact their teachers had on their careers and personal lives, and declarations of pride for the musical accomplishments of their fellow graduates. To provide a clearer historical portrait of Rochelle I decided to profile four of the music teachers and five musically notable alumni. Weaved within the historical information of these nine notable individuals are narratives of the human interactions that often make experiences memorable as well as admirations of personal achievements.

The teachers I chose are Rochelle's first band director, Mr. Lawrence Pope, chorus teacher Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins, the last Rochelle chorus teacher Dr. Victoria (Torke) Hugo, and Rochelle's most well–known band director, Mr. Alvin Graham. I would like to note that I was unable to find many specific details on Victoria (Torke) Hugo's life and teaching career. However, what I did find was compelling enough that I decided to include her. The notable musical alumni that are included in this chapter are opera singer, Conchita Clark Owens, Alphonso "Country" Kellum, the bassist and guitarist for James Brown, the founder and former director of the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College in Chicago, Illinois, Dr. Samuel Floyd, former Florida A&M and Bethune Cookman University chorus director, Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele, and composer, trumpeter, poet, and long–time music educator, Robert

Frazier. These profiles highlight the impact these teachers and alumni had on the Rochelle community, the greater Lakeland community, the national and international music community, and provide a brief account of their life and career accomplishments.

Rochelle High School Music Teachers

Mr. Lawrence Pope (1924–2011)

Lawrence Lee Pope grew up in Daytona Beach, Florida and more than likely received his high school diploma from Campbell Street School in the late 1930s to early 1940s[291]. It is likely that Mr. Pope's primary instrument was the violin. He received his first violin at the age of 12 and later in life had a lengthy career as a string orchestra teacher in St. Petersburg, Florida[292]. However, he was also known to be a skilled trombonist. Mr. Pope entered the Army after high school and played for the 771st Army Band until 1945[293]. After leaving the Army, Mr. Pope enrolled as a music student at Florida A&M in Tallahassee, FL and studied under the highly influential FAMU band director Dr. William Foster. Pope became an "original" member of FAMU's marching band The Marching 100, where he high stepped shoulder to shoulder with future jazz legends Julian "Cannonball" and Nathanial Adderley[294]. Mr. Pope was hired as the first band director at Rochelle High School in 1949 where he taught junior and senior high students until his departure in 1955[295]. Mr. Pope developed Rochelle's first marching and concert bands.

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[291] I was unable to find definitive proof that Mr. Pope attended Campbell Street. However, it was the only segregated Black high school in Daytona Beach. Therefore, it is very likely that he did graduate from Campbell Street School.
[292] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, June 30, 2011 https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[293] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, June 30, 2011 https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[294] Jay Williams Interview, 06:00
[295] Timothy Groulx Research, compiled from resources stored at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida

Former students described Mr. Pope as a mild–mannered, quiet man who was very passionate about music[296]. In an interview with History Makers, Dr. Samuel Floyd, Rochelle graduate and founder and former director of Columbia College's Center for Black Music Research, credited Mr. Pope with inspiring his career in music.

> I didn't know that [I wanted to pursue music in college] 'til I was in twelfth grade. And two, two things happened to me to, to make me decide to, to do that [major in music] in college. This was not on my mind until I became a senior. And one of the things is my band director [Mr. Pope] took five of us…to audition for the state high school band. And in the auditions, I learned that I was far above, above everybody else. And I didn't know that. I mean--I knew that playing around that town, there was nobody else [as good as me]. But when, when I became the, the section leader for that, that band, I started to think a little more serious about it[297].

Dr. Floyd further explained how Mr. Pope helped him to see the value in all music.

> Interestingly, the local music outside of church were in dives and bars–juke, juke joints. And I was distanced from that until I started, until I started playing with my band director [Mr. Pope]. I was fourteen years old at that time. And then I just embraced it all[298].

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[296] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, June 30, 2011 https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/

[297] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 7, Samuel Floyd discusses his education and interest in studying music

[298] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 2, story 2, Samuel Floyd discusses various musical influences during his youth

> He was passionate in a very low-key way; he was passionate about music itself. He was the person who made it possible for me to go into my career[299].

Most of the participants in this study had very little personal interactions with Mr. Pope. However, his influence was known and acknowledged by those students who participated in band immediately after Mr. Pope's departure. Mr. Frazier commented on Mr. Pope's legacy in his interviews.

> In seventh grade when I finally got in the band [approximately 1958], we had fifteen trumpets…in that group of players were some really phenomenal players that came through before Mr. Graham. That came through with Mr. Pope. He [Mr. Pope] had established a helluva band. And when Mr. Graham came in and he took over that spot [band director] he just made it even better…Everybody spoke highly of him [Mr. Pope]. This was the guy that really set the standard [for the band] at Rochelle[300].

When not in the classroom, Mr. Pope gigged frequently with his own dance band. He occasionally asked students, like Dr. Floyd, to play with his ensembles. Newspaper articles and Dr. Floyd's interview indicate that Mr. Pope's dance band played gigs in Lakeland, Florida, and

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[299] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, June 30, 2011 https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[300] Frazier Interview, 02:20

the surrounding area[301], St. Petersburg, Florida[302], and in Fort Pierce on the west coast of Florida[303].

I was not able to confirm where Mr. Pope went immediately after leaving Rochelle. It's possible that he taught at an all–Black segregated school in Plant City. What is clear is that he was hired in 1960 as the orchestra director at 16th Street Junior High School in St. Petersburg, Florida[304]. He also taught music at the Pinellas County Adult Education Division[305], guitar at St. Petersburg Community College[306], and for many years gave free lessons to students who attended Immaculate Conception Catholic School[307]. While at 16th Street Junior High School Mr. Pope's students received superior ratings at district festivals[308], participated in community events[309], and performed an oratorio written for the students at 16th Street[310]. Mr. Pope eventually took over the band program at 16th Street where he remained until he retired in 1982[311].

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[301] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 2, story 2, Samuel Floyd discusses various musical influences during his youth
[302] Staff Writer, "The Homeroom", *St. Petersburg Times*, Nov 12, 1961
[303] Staff Writer, "Legion Annual Ball is Huge Success at Center", *St. Lucie Tribune*, May 29, 1955
[304] Staff Writer, "New Elementary Teachers", *St. Petersburg Times*, Sept 7, 1960
[305] Staff Writer, "Pope Named Adult Music Class Teacher", *St. Petersburg Times*, Feb 3, 1960
[306] Marion Coe, "Guitar Plunkers Plucky Bunch", *St. Petersburg Times,* June 19, 1972
[307] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[308] Staff Writer, "Tampa's Blake High Scores Band Sweep", *St. Petersburg Times*, Apr 28, 1963
[309] Staff Writer, "Family Night", *St. Petersburg Times*, July 28, 1961
[310] Staff Writer, "Oratorio Scheduled at 16th Street School", *St. Petersburg Times*, Dec 13, 1961
[311] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, June 30, 2011 https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/

Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins (b. 1934)

Figure 9: Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins, *The Panther,* 1965

Mrs. Jewell (Harter) Jenkins was born and raised in Lakeland, Florida, attended Rochelle Junior and Senior High School, and graduated in 1952. At Rochelle High School Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins played clarinet and was a founding member of the marching band under Mr. Pope. After graduating Rochelle, Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins attended Bethune Cookman College, now Bethune Cookman University, in Daytona Beach, Florida. She attended Bethune for two years, until her father found out she was the vocalist in a dance band at which point he decided she should transfer to Florida A&M in Tallahassee, Florida.

> First, I went to Bethune Cookman for 2 years where we had a…dancing band. I was the vocalist for the band…The young people in the orchestra were from my area and from St. Petersburg, Florida and me from Lakeland, Florida. And [singing to herself to remember the song title] "Tenderly"! That was the song! On the postcard it said, "Hear Jewell sing "Tenderly"". So, my dad didn't know I was in the group [laughs]. My dad came through and saw me on a placard sitting next to the band. At the end of that year, he packed me up and sent me to Florida A&M cause he did not send his daughter to school to go that way.

> During that time, it was hard and it's still hard making your way. All my parents knew was that you had to become a teacher[312].

After graduating from Florida A&M, Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins taught at Jewett High School in Winter Haven, Florida before she transferred to Rochelle in the late 1950s[313]. She was the chorus teacher at Rochelle and gave private piano lessons until she left Lakeland at some time between 1966 and 1967[314]. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins remembered her time at Rochelle fondly.

> Things have changed so much since that time [at Rochelle] because it was a neighborhood school. So, it was being home and taking care of the young people of the parents that I knew. And that's all I could say is being home and working with the young people and with the one thing I loved: music, that I could reach them through…I wanted to be there[315].

While at Rochelle, Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins honed her disciplined, but kind teaching style. Phillip Walker, a former student of Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins described her teaching style as "task oriented" and "detailed", but that she had a sense of humor. He described Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins in more detail in his interview.

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[312] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 12:47
[313] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 4:42
[314] Phillip Walker was a piano student of Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins could not remember the exact years that she arrived at or left Rochelle. In her interview she said she left Rochelle in 1964, however, she is pictured in the 1965 Rochelle yearbook. A new chorus teacher is pictured in the 1968 Rochelle yearbook.
[315] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 4:05

> She took her profession serious. To make sure that we would perform and that we would get to become the best. And she expected nothing but the best…And of course by doing that she got the best results. Those of us there, when we would perform the excellence was there…She was tough…She had a job to do, and she was making sure she got it done[316].

Jay Williams also commented on Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins' teaching style.

> She was dynamic, and she was strict. Very strict. Very, very, very disciplined…and that's why we, everywhere we went we were rated superior[317].

According to Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins and her students that I interviewed, her time at Rochelle was filled with accolades like superior ratings at district and state festivals, supporting yearly scholarship auditions for students to attend Florida A&M or Bethune Cookman, and well-attended and musically well-rounded concerts for the local Black community in Lakeland. She was a revered role model in the Lakeland Black community. Jay Williams remembered Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins giving him a healthy consequence that helped him to prioritize his responsibilities.

> We had gone to; I think it was Winter Haven or Haines City [Winter Haven is approximately 15 miles from Lakeland and Haines City is approximately 20 miles from Lakeland], to sing over there for an event and we had to come back and sing for the Adult

[316] Phillip Walker Interview, 12:40
[317] Jay Williams Interview, 23:38

> School graduation program [in Lakeland] and one of the songs that she directed was *Magnificat*. Very difficult song. If your key vocalists weren't there you could hang it up. You could forget about it. [The performance would go poorly] And unfortunately, that one event…we got our times mixed up and when we got there the choir was coming off the stage. And they had just messed up that song…she said 'Jay, I don't remember' and I said, 'well, I do. I remember it well and I've been trying to find you for fifty years to tell you thank you for something you did that changed my life'…We had sang *Magnificat*, she remembered the song, and Barbara and Cheryl weren't there and I wasn't there and those guys who couldn't start on the right note, from the outfit [the beginning] it was messed up. I mean they just blew it. And she went up one side of me and down the other [Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins harshly reprimanded Jay Williams] because I was president of the choir. And out of my mouth, because I thought I was somebody special, I said, 'I don't care.' And we talked about that just a few days ago and she said, 'Jay, I didn't cause you to miss that scholarship.' I said, 'Oh, yes you did!' She said, 'What I did was, you did not go with us to audition…I was taking some, I think they may have been going to A&M or Bethune, I was taking some of your members, some of the choir members over there to audition for scholarships and when you said, 'I don't care' you stayed here [in Lakeland] and we went.'…And that was the thing that changed my life. I was a senior in high school. It put me on the right track for the rest of my life and I needed that[318].

When Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins left Rochelle, she moved to the northeast and stepped into a teaching environment that was profoundly different than what she had experienced in Lakeland.

[318] Jay Williams Interview, 51:24

She became the choir director and only one of two Black teachers at a predominantly White, Irish American high school outside of Boston, Massachusetts. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins credited her tenacity and welcoming attitude with helping her to build relationships with her new students and their parents despite their perceived cultural differences.

> I taught at an all Irish White, all Irish high school. There were only 2 Black teachers in the entire school…Boston wasn't the easiest place to be in. But like I say, I've never had any fear no matter where I was. I take a challenge…I just told you was teaching in an Irish high school, right? And I had them singing Black spirituals. How about that? We had a good time. I had wonderful parents…And they had no problem with it. It was exciting to them. It was different. Cause it was very prejudice when I got to that area. During those years[319].

> I wasn't taught to be prejudice. I didn't know what it was…I was never taught to be any way but just a person. And they [parents and students] accepted me. Oh, I fussed. Don't think I didn't fuss in the high school. It was challenging…And the parents were wonderful. No problem with parents. Those are people you get to know first. You always get to know the families first. You always get to know the parents first. That's right. Get them on your side, you know. Then you got the kids. They [the kids] don't have a choice[320].

[319] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 22:48
[320] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 28:57

While teaching in the Boston area, Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins also pursued a career as a jazz vocalist. But after three years she decided to focus on her teaching career[321]. She spent four years teaching in Boston high schools before moving to the Washington, D.C. area. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins taught in D.C. area public schools for thirty–three years, but now spends most of her time teaching music through homeschool programs.

Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo (1912–unknown)

Figure 10: Dr. Victoria Marie (Torke) Hugo, *The Panther*, 1968

Dr. Victoria (Torke) Hugo was born in Europe to French and German missionary parents but grew up in Wisconsin when her family moved back to America[322]. She received a Bachelor of Arts from the Wisconsin College of Music, a Bachelor of Education from Alverno College, a Master of Arts from the University of Wisconsin[323], and a Doctor of Philosophy from an unknown institution[324]. I was unable to find the dates that she was awarded these degrees. She began her music career as an aspiring concert pianist, but prior to World War II she moved to New York City to study voice[325]. During World War II, she performed for American troops in a

[321] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 24:13
[322] 1962 Lakeland High School yearbook accessed via Ancestry.com
[323] 1960 Lakeland High School yearbook accessed via Ancestry.com
[324] Gayle Duke, "Hugo Tapes Keller's Life Story", *Tampa Tribune,* Nov 11, 1980
[325] Gayle Duke, "Hugo Tapes Keller's Life Story", *Tampa Tribune,* Nov 11, 1980

traveling USO show[326]. After World War II ended, Dr. Hugo studied voice in Paris, France and performed operas in Paris, France, Chicago, Illinois[327], Italy and with the New York City Opera Company before returning to teach in Milwaukee public schools in 1947[328]. According to the *New York Times,* Dr. Hugo gave at least one recital at the Carnegie Chamber Music Hall on June 13th, 1940, of French and German arias by Mozart, Bizet, Debussy, and Schubert, along with a few songs in English[329]. I was unable to find more evidence of Dr. Hugo's performance career.

She married Harold Torke in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on September 2nd, 1951[330]. Her teaching career in Wisconsin was scattered around small communities outside of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In the early 1950's Dr. Hugo taught at a school in Hartford, Wisconsin. In 1955 she was hired to teach at the Green County Normal School in Monroe, Wisconsin[331]. The following year, in 1956 Dr. Hugo was hired at the Waushara County Teachers College in Wautoma, Wisconsin where she remained for at least two years[332]. While at Waushara, Dr. Hugo's choruses appeared on the Milwaukee based television show "The Man Next Door", presented musical selections at the Waushara County School Board Convention[333], and performed for the Wautoma Women's Club[334]. Then in 1957 she was hired to teach chorus at Milton State Graded School and Milton Union Senior High School in Milton, Wisconsin[335]. She remained there until 1959[336].

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[326] Gayle Duke, "Hugo Tapes Keller's Life Story", *Tampa Tribune,* Nov 11, 1980
[327] Staff Writer, "Normal School in Waushara to Open Aug 27", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, Aug 18, 1956
[328] Staff Writer, "College Choir Will Present Yule Concert", *Oshkosh Northwestern,* Dec 13, 1956
[329] Staff Writer, "Victoria Hugo Gives Recital", *New York Times,* June 14, 1940
[330] Marriage Record accessed via Ancestry.com
[331] Staff Writer, "New Teacher Approved", *Monroe Evening* Times, May 28, 1955, https://newspaperarchive.com/monroe-evening-times-may-28-1955-p-6/
[332] Staff Writer, "Normal School in Waushara to Open Aug 27", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, Aug 18, 1956
[333] Staff Writer, "Waushara College Choir to Appear on Television Show", *The Oshkosh Northwestern,* Nov 27, 1956
[334] Staff Writer, "Music Featured at Women's Club Christmas Party", *Oshkosh Northwestern,* Dec 12, 1956
[335] Staff Writer, "Milton School Staff Complete", *Janesville Daily Gazette,* Aug 17, 1957
[336] 1958 and 1959 Milton High School yearbooks accessed through Ancestry.com

For unknown reasons Dr. Hugo and her husband moved to Lakeland, Florida around 1960. Dr. Hugo was hired at Lakeland Senior High School to teach chorus and English[337]. She was employed at Lakeland Senior at least until 1962[338]. It is unclear where Dr. Hugo taught after she left Lakeland Senior and until she arrived at Rochelle. There is a 1964 article from the *Tampa Tribune* that describes Dr. Hugo as the chorus teacher at Winston Elementary in Lakeland[339]. In 1967, Dr. Hugo was hired to teach chorus at Rochelle Junior and Senior High School[340]. She was the first and only White teacher to be hired and teach at Rochelle. She remained there until Rochelle closed in 1969.

After Rochelle, Dr. Hugo taught chorus at Kathleen Senior High School for the 1969–70 school year[341]. She was there for only one year. Newspaper articles indicate that she became the

Figure 11: Dr. Hugo with a student, *The Trident,* 1970

music teacher at Griffin Elementary in 1971[342] where she remained until she retired from the Polk County, Florida public school system in 1973[343].

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[337] 1960 Lakeland High School yearbook accessed through classmates.com
[338] 1962 Lakeland High School yearbook accessed via Ancestry.com
[339] Edith Nardi, "Around Polk – People, Places, Things", *Tampa Tribune,* Feb 12, 1964
[340] 1968 Rochelle High School Yearbook
[341] 1970 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook
[342] Staff Writer, "Evelyn Hughes Accepts Appointment", *Tampa Tribune,* Nov 25, 1971
[343] Staff Writer, "Teachers Feted on Retirement", *Tampa Tribune,* Jun 7, 1973

In retirement, Dr. Hugo frequently performed for the Tuesday Music Club, a women's music club in Lakeland, Florida[344] and by 1975 she had completed a doctorate degree[345]. In 1980 and 1981, Dr. Hugo gave a series of lectures in the Lakeland area on her longtime friendship with Helen Keller whom she befriended while living in New York City. Dr. Hugo presented one lecture at the Tuesday Music Club in Lakeland, Florida[346] and another at the Polk City (Florida) Women's Club[347]. It is unlikely that Dr. Hugo is still alive, however, at the time this dissertation was submitted I have not been able to verify when Dr. Hugo may have passed. I did find an obituary for Rheinhold Leo Hugo from Greenfield, Wisconsin that listed a Victoria Hugo as a sister who had preceded him in death[348]. According to the 1930 US Census, Rheinhold had a sister who was listed as "Marie Hugo" who taught piano in Milwaukee, Wisconsin[349]. According to previously listed historic accounts, it is likely that the sister listed in the Rheinhold Hugo obituary is Dr. Hugo because Marie was Dr. Hugo's middle name, she was an accomplished pianist, and she grew up in Milwaukee.

Only two of the participants in this study were students of Dr. Hugo; Phillip Walker and Demetra Driskell, Alvin Graham's daughter. Phillip Walker had Dr. Hugo as a chorus teacher at Kathleen Senior High School. He described her teaching style as "less stringent" than his previous two chorus teachers, one of which was Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins[350]. Dr. Hugo taught piano to Demetra Driskell when she was elementary school aged. She remembered Dr. Hugo warmly.

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[344] Staff Writer, "Junior Women's Club Sponsors Hike–Bike", *Tampa Tribune,* Mar 7, 1975
Staff Writer, "Heartland Activities", *Tampa Tribune*, Apr 27, 1976
Staff Writer, "Heartland Activities", *Tampa Tribune,* Dec 10, 1976
[345] Staff Writer, "Junior Women's Club Sponsors Hike–Bike", *Tampa Tribune,* Mar 7, 1975
[346] Gayle Duke, "Hugo Tapes Keller's Life Story", *Tampa Tribune,* Nov 11, 1980
[347] Aurora Hansen, "Keller Talk", *Tampa Tribune,* Apr 3, 1981
[348] Harder Funeral Home, Rheinhold Leo Hugo Obituary,
https://www.harderfuneralhome.com/obituaries/Rheinhold-Leo-Hugo?obId=2922784
[349] 1930 US Census
[350] Phillip Walker Interview, 17:22

> I remember she was just really kind and like you say a "grandmother" type. Because she always hugged me, and she was always so soft, and she always gave me candy. Whether I practiced or not…She was always so sweet and so kind and so loving. And she always, always, always hugged me. Every time I saw her. I just thought she was the sweetest lady. And I can imagine if she was like that with me then she was like that with her students[351].

Ms. Driskell also commented on her believe that her father, Alvin Graham, must have had a deep respect for Dr. Hugo or her father would not have allowed Dr. Hugo to teach her piano lessons.

> He absolutely must've respected her…My father knowing music the way he did he really respected her knowledge of music for me to learn from her. So, he had to have totally respected her as a musician or I wouldn't have been taking lessons from her. I know that for a fact[352]!

While I have not found a Rochelle students' first–hand student account of Dr. Hugo's teaching style, there is some evidence from the 1970 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook that suggests that former Rochelle Senior High School students perceived Dr. Hugo as an ally. In the first year of desegregation Dr. Hugo managed to achieve a high level of racial integration that other Polk County music programs did not have. Dr. Hugo encouraged Black leadership as well as participation. In the first year of desegregation the president and the vice–president of the

[351] Demetra Driskell Interview #2, 26:55
[352] Demetra Driskell Interview #2, 22:07

chorus were Black students and approximately 51% of the seventy chorus students pictured in the 1970 Kathleen High School yearbook were Black[353]. The year after Dr. Hugo left Kathleen, the yearbook suggests that the participation in chorus plummeted. Only thirty–nine chorus students are pictured in the 1971 Kathleen yearbook, however, 58% of the students pictured were Black[354]. In the 1972 Kathleen yearbook student participation grows considerably to 100[355], but then drops to seventy in the 1973 Kathleen yearbook[356]. But the percentage of Black students in the chorus drops to 36% and 37% respectively. Comparing student demographics in chorus from the years 1970 and 1973 is most appropriate given that the number of students pictured in each yearbook is similar. Comparing these two years could suggest that Black students perceived Dr. Hugo as an ally teacher during a difficult social transition. There were seventy chorus students pictured in the 1970 and 1973 Kathleen yearbooks, however in the 1970 chorus under Dr. Hugo 51% of the students pictured were Black while only 37% of the chorus students pictured from the 1973 yearbook were Black. It should also be noted that the 14% decrease in Black student participation in chorus from 1970 to 1973 occurs while the overall Black student population at Kathleen increases from approximately 17% to 19%. While this evidence is not definitive proof that Black students perceived Dr. Hugo as an ally it should lead us to wonder if Dr. Hugo had stayed at Kathleen could she have maintained Black student participation in her choruses at or close to 51%. Finally, Phillip Walker's recollection of Dr. Hugo's commitment to her students provides further evidence that Black students may have perceived her as an ally. When asked via email if Dr. Hugo "cared about the well–being of her students, especially her Black students?"

[353] 1970 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook
[354] 1971 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook
[355] 1972 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook
[356] 1973 Kathleen Senior High School yearbook

Mr. Walker replied, “I am not aware of any situation where Mrs. Torke's [Dr. Hugo’s] care for her students well–being, be it Black or any other ethnicity, was questionable[357].”

Mr. Alvin F. Graham (1929–2012)

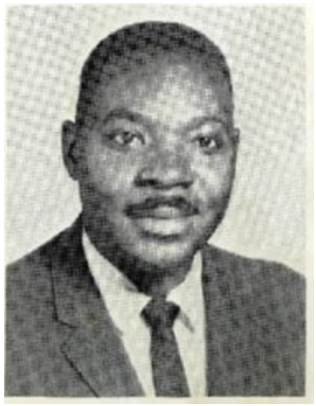

Figure 12: Mr. Alvin F. Graham, *The Panther,* 1968

Alvin F. Graham was raised in Jacksonville, FL. He attended “Old” Stanton Senior High School; Jacksonville’s segregated Black high school. “Old” Stanton Senior High School was moved to a new location in 1953 and it was renamed New Stanton Senior High School[358]. It is likely that Mr. Graham’s band director was Kernaa McFarlin. Mr. Graham’s talent was recognized early in his life. He excelled at playing brass instruments and was appointed as a band captain for his high school band[359]. Demetra Graham, Alvin Graham’s daughter, remembered her father being able to play many brass instruments including trumpet, trombone, and tuba. Jay Williams, one of Mr. Graham’s former band students, recalled that Mr. Graham demonstrated an excellent playing ability on every woodwind and brass instrument in the band[360]. Mr. Graham graduated from high school in the late 1940s. After graduation Mr. Graham

[357] Personal email correspondence with Mr. Walker, 09/14/22
[358] https://www.moderncities.com/article/2019-jul-segregated-duval-the-black-public-schools-of-1955-56-page-2
[359] Alvin Graham Obituary, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/timesunion/name/alvin-graham-obituary?id=19530837
[360] Jay Williams Interview, 14:50

went to Florida A&M in Tallahassee, FL. According to Dr. DeArmas Graham, Mr. Graham's youngest son, Mr. Graham went to Florida A&M for two years, then enlisted in the US Army to play in the US Army Band so the military would pay his remaining two years of tuition. After the Army, Mr. Graham returned to Florida A&M and completed a bachelor's degree in Music Education[361].

> [He enlisted in the Army] To pay for his education…his parents couldn't afford to pay for him to go to school. So, the military helped pay for his education…He was in the military band for several years. He told that story many times. He used to say, 'There's no excuse'…My father didn't have a lot…He came up in a poor community, but he said, 'There's no excuse'. So, he went to the military and the military paid for his education and that's how he finished [college]."

Demetra Driskell, Alvin Graham's daughter, recalled that her father attended Florida A&M for two years and was "recruited" to be in the US Army band[362]. When asked what her father's responsibilities were in the Army, Mrs. Driskell said her father told her, "My MOS [Military Occupational Specialty] was I was in charge of boosting the morale of the troops[363]!" Mr. Graham was stationed in Germany and his enlistment in the US Army lasted approximately two years[364].

The timeline described by Mr. Graham's children is supported by historical documents. The 1945 Florida, US State Census lists Alvin F. Graham, then fifteen years old, as a dependent

[361] DeArmas Graham, 1:32:30
[362] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 13:10
[363] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 13:33
[364] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 13:48

of Freddie and Priscilla Graham who were living in Jacksonville, Florida[365]. Then, the 1950 US Federal Census lists Alvin F. Graham as a student living on campus in Sampson Hall at Florida A&M[366]. According to a US Veteran's Gravesite database, Alvin F. Graham is listed as a veteran from the early 1950s[367]. Finally, Mr. Graham's first teaching appointment started in 1955[368]. This suggests that Mr. Graham did attend Florida A&M for one or two years until around 1950, then enlisted in the Army, served for two or three years, returned to Florida A&M, finished his degree, and was then hired to teach band in 1955.

While at Florida A&M Mr. Graham became a member of the "Original" Marching 100[369], was appointed captain of the trombone section[370], and developed professional friendships that influenced his career throughout his life. He attended Florida A&M with jazz greats Nat and Cannonball Adderley[371]. Later in life Mr. Graham frequently played in Nat Adderley's band when Nat gigged in Florida[372]. Also, it is likely that he was at Florida A&M with Lawrence Pope, Rochelle's first band director, and that the two men shared a mutual respect. Jay Williams recounted a conversation he had with Mr. Pope regarding how Mr. Graham became Rochelle's band director that indicates that Mr. Pope and Mr. Graham were acquaintances prior to Mr. Graham being hired at Rochelle.

> Mr. Pope was the music teacher at Rochelle and Mr. Graham was the music teacher at Jewett [Mr. Graham was at Croom's Academy in Sanford, Florida before being hired at

[365] 1945 Florida, US, State Census, accessed through Ancestry.com
[366] 1950 Federal, US Census, accessed through Ancestry.com
[367] U.S. Veteran's Gravesites, 1775–2019, accessed through Ancestry.com
[368] Staff Writer, "Seminole Sets Sept 8 to Accept School Bids", *The Orlando Sentinel,* Aug 12, 1955
[369] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 19:00
[370] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 51:16
[371] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 16:42
[372] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 17:40

> Rochelle] and when Mr. Pope was preparing to leave Rochelle, he suggested to the principal that they hire Mr. Graham to be his replacement. That was the correlation there. Mr. Pope was a graduate of Florida A&M. So, the Rattlers [Florida A&M's mascot], as far as instrumental music was concerned there was none better than Florida A&M. In a sense, they looked out for their own [FAMU music graduates supported one another][373].

After graduating from Florida A&M, Mr. Graham was briefly hired at Croom's Academy, the segregated Black high school in Sanford, Florida[374]. He made his band director debut on September 24, 1955, during halftime for the first home football game of the Croom's High School football season[375]. However, he was only at Croom's for approximately two months. A newspaper article dated November 28, 1955, from *The Orlando Sentinel* describes Mr. Alvin F. Graham as "the former band director of Croom's Academy and the now band director of Rochelle Senior High School, Lakeland[376]."

Mr. Graham became the band director at Rochelle High School on October 4, 1955[377]. He remained at Rochelle until it closed after the spring semester of 1969. After Rochelle's forced closure, Mr. Graham was transferred to Kathleen Senior High School, one of Lakeland's formerly segregated White high schools. Mr. Graham was simply listed as a "music teacher[378]". Despite his fourteen years of experience as a band director, there is no indication that he was considered an assistant band director nor is he pictured in the 1970 yearbook with any of the

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[373] Jay Williams Interview, 5:45
[374] Staff Writer, "Seminole Sets Sept 8 to Accept School Bids", *The Orlando Sentinel,* Aug 12, 1955
[375] Staff Writer, "Gridders Prep for First Game", *The Orlando Sentinel,* Aug 19, 1955
[376] Staff Writer, "Theater Group Holds Meeting", *The Orlando Sentinel,* Nov 28, 1955
[377] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided by the Polk County School Board
[378] Kathleen High School 1970 yearbook

Kathleen High School bands. Mr. Graham's time at Kathleen was short and he left after the 1970 school year.

Figure 13: Mr. Graham with a student, *The Trident,* 1970

After Kathleen, Mr. Graham became a "music teacher" at Lakeland Junior High School in Lakeland, Florida for the 1970–1971 school year[379]. Then, he became the "band director" at Mulberry Middle School in Mulberry, Florida where he remained until 1979[380]. From 1968–1973 Mr. Graham also taught summer classes at West Area Adult School in Lakeland, Florida[381]. In 1979, Mr. Graham was recommended to become a "Career Vocational Specialist" in the county office for the Polk County School District[382]. According to his employment records from the Polk County School District, Mr. Graham's position in the district office was eliminated in 1981 "at the direction of our Superintendent who is attempting to reduce administrative staff functions[383]."

After Mr. Graham's position as a Career Vocational Specialist was eliminated, he poured his vocational energy into the successful cleaning service that he had started while he was

[379] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided to the author by the Polk County School Board
[380] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided to the author by the Polk County School Board
[381] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided to the author by the Polk County School Board
[382] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided to the author by the Polk County School Board
[383] Alvin Graham employment contracts provided to the author by the Polk County School Board

teaching at Rochelle. He occasionally gigged with Nat Adderley, taught private lessons, and he had his own dance band that would perform for local civic events and, on at least one occasion, for a local television show[384]. Throughout the 1980s, DeArmas Graham remembers his father would recruit former members of the Rochelle band and some high school aged Black musicians from Lakeland to be in an informal marching band for Lakeland's Martin Luther King Day parade[385].

In the 1990s Mr. Graham and his wife moved to Jacksonville, Florida to be closer to family. But Mr. Graham's teaching career was not over just yet. With the recommendation from former Rochelle High School band student Jay Williams, Mr. Graham was hired as the elementary and middle school band director for Success Academy Christian School, a public–charter school in Jacksonville, Florida[386]. Mr. Graham remained in Jacksonville, Florida until he passed in March of 2012[387].

Former students described Mr. Graham as disciplined, tough, strict, intimidating, he held high expectations, he was passionate about music, but he was kind. Former student Robert Frazier said that Mr. Graham "didn't tolerate clowning [unnecessarily goofing off] in band at all." Dr. DeArmas Graham relayed an entertaining story on how strict his father was.

> I started to play trumpet when I was seven…I went to Lake Gibson Senior High School down in Lakeland and I was playing the trumpet in the church. He [Mr. Graham] would have me practice after school every day for two hours, private lessons. I had to play it

[384] DeArmas Graham Interview, 26:53
[385] DeArmas Graham Interview, 28:10
[386] Personal email correspondence with the author
[387] Alvin Graham Obituary, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/timesunion/name/alvin-graham-obituary?id=19530837

> again, play it again until I got it right. He was tough. And so, by the time I was a junior in high school, I was 6'2", 200 pounds…I ended up saying [to my father], "You know what? This is the last year I'm playing in the marching band." …In my opinion football was easier than playing in the band for my father…He was tough!

Mr. Graham's tough and disciplined teaching style was evident in the amount of practice time he required from band students. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the band practiced almost every day after school and many times until eight or nine in the evening. However, he also showed kindness and care for his students in practical ways. When Rochelle was open there were no buses available to take students home after band practice. Terry Coney mentioned that Mr. Graham frequently provided transportation home after band practices for students who lived far from Rochelle[388]. Alvis Graham, Mr. Graham's oldest son, said that after Rochelle marching band practices that his father would often drive students home regardless of how far they may have lived from Rochelle[389]. Due to racial segregation, this could mean driving students home who lived as far as ten miles from Rochelle.

Mr. Graham also showed care for his students by encouraging them to pursue music in college and most importantly he advocated for them to receive scholarships to Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Robert Frazier recounted a memory of Mr. Graham that exhibits Mr. Graham's determination to assist students to pursue a college degree.

> The summer after graduation I was at home and kinda decided what I was gonna do. Mr. Graham came by the house. He says, 'Frazier, I got a full ride for you at Lincoln

[388] Terry Coney Interview, 15:39
[389] Alvis Graham Interview, 8:22, with additions from personal email correspondence with the participant

> University [a Historically Black College and University] in Missouri.' I said, 'Mr. Graham, you know, I spent the last four years of school in the band room. The last thing I want to do is go to some college and then have to come back to Lakeland, Florida. I'm joining the military.' So, I joined the military, auditioned for the band, and after basic training they sent me out here to L.A. And I was in the seventy second US Army band for three years.

Even though Mr. Frazier did not accept the scholarship to Lincoln University, this interaction shows how Mr. Graham cared for the students at Rochelle. Guided by his own desire to see his students continue to grow, Mr. Graham pursued a full tuition scholarship for Robert Frazier in the hope that Mr. Frazier would find success beyond Rochelle. Mr. Frazier was only one of many students that Mr. Graham helped to secure scholarships for college. At Mr. Graham's home going, his funeral, Demetra Driskell emotionally recalled multiple former students expressing their gratitude toward Mr. Graham for helping them to attend college with a music scholarship.

> I was so proud of him that he just impacted so many other people's lives. And the number of people that, Black students [from Rochelle] that he, they were able to go to college [on a] full ride. He would call Dr. Foster [Florida A&M's band director] personally and say, 'Hey, I got five guys or young ladies that I'm sending to you, and he [Dr. Foster] would give them full scholarships. So, they would graduate with their degree in music, with no student loans or anything and they were forever grateful for that…That impacts a person's life forever[390].

[390] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 30:03

Former students frequently mentioned how Mr. Graham prepared them for life after Rochelle, life outside the predominantly Black culture that the students had been educated in. Robert Frazier described how Mr. Graham and other Rochelle teachers prepared Black students for life after graduation.

> There are a couple of teachers that influenced me in a way that made me want to go out a conquer life, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Balloon [A Rochelle English teacher] were two[391].

Willie Gibson recounted how Mr. Graham prepared him for the pressures of college.

> Working with Mr. Graham, like I say, he was strict, but he was good…When I came back [from college after my freshman year] and told everybody and told the teachers I appreciated what they did for me. What I had learned [at Rochelle] made it very easy for me to handle my freshman year in college and he [Mr. Graham] was one of them…He would tell you to be strong and have determination about what you want to do and what you want out of life[392].

Alvin F. Graham was the most well-known and respected music teacher from Rochelle High School. Every participant who I interviewed for this oral history remembered Mr. Graham's name and most had a memory of the Rochelle marching band, even those who did not attend Rochelle and did not have Mr. Graham as a teacher. This was due to a combination of his

[391] Robert Frazier Interview, 17:51
[392] Willie Gibson Interview, 1:08:53

personality and the length of his tenure. Mr. Graham was the longest serving music teacher at Rochelle. He taught at Rochelle for fourteen years from 1955–1969. He was also a unique and powerful voice within Lakeland's Black community. In his interview DeArmas Graham said his father's intentions were sometimes miss understood and that his father "tried to do everything in love, once you knew where he was coming from, it was in love. But he was intimidating[393]." Many of the participants described Mr. Graham as vocal and opinionated. Demetra Driskell described her father as, "a very proud person, very outgoing, very direct. He was a person that you did not have to guess about what he felt about something, he was going to tell you." She later added, "My dad, Mr. Graham, was that type of person who you loved him, or you hated him, and he really didn't care which one[394]." Period.

[393] DeArmas Graham Interview, 8:30
[394] Demetra Driskell Interview 1, 14:25

Notable Musical Alumni

Conchita Clarke Owens (1943–2022)

Figure 14: The billboard announces Conchita Clarke's appearance on stage at Radio City Music Hall. Courtesy of Florida Memory <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/10341>

Conchita Clark was born in Sanford, Florida and raised in Lakeland, Florida. Her father, Dr. Ernest Clarke, owned and operated Clarke's Pharmacy[395], a drug store in Lakeland[396]. As a teenager, she took voice lessons from Ernest Cox, a voice professor at Florida Southern College in Lakeland, Florida[397]. During high school, Mrs. Owens began competing in national singing competitions. Most notably in The Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt competitions[398]. She won the local Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt in Tampa[399] and Tallahassee[400], was runner up in the regional Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt in Fort Valley, Georgia[401] and Biloxi, Mississippi[402], and placed first in the district competition in Birmingham, Alabama[403]. She also appeared at the national Omega Psi Phi Talent Hunt in San Antonio, Texas in 1960[404]. Mrs. Owens graduated from Rochelle

[395] US City Directories, 1950, accessed through Ancestry.com
[396] Gerri Major, "Cute FAMU Soph to Star", *Jet Magazine,* pg. 60, Jun 14, 1962
[397] Gerri Major, "Cute FAMU Soph to Star", *Jet Magazine,* pg. 60, Jun 14, 1962
[398] E.F. Corbett, "Soprano, '60 Winner, Big Hit at Radio City", *Oracle,* pg. 5, Sept, 1962
[399] Staff Writer, "Lakeland Coed Named at FAMU", *St. Petersburg Times,* Oct 14, 1960
[400] E.F. Corbett, "Soprano, '60 Winner, Big Hit at Radio City", *Oracle,* pg. 5, Sept, 1962
[401] Staff Writer, "FAMU Graduate Makes Big Time", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 13, 1965
[402] Staff Writer, "Lakeland Coed Named at FAMU", *St. Petersburg Times,* Oct 14, 1960
[403] Staff Writer, "FAMU Graduate Makes Big Time", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 13, 1965
[404] E.F. Corbett, "Soprano, '60 Winner, Big Hit at Radio City", *Oracle,* pg. 5, Sept, 1962

Senior High School in 1960 and quickly enrolled in Florida A&M in Tallahassee, Florida where she studied under another Rochelle alum, Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele[405]. While at Florida A&M, Mrs. Owens was named Miss Freshman 1960[406], was a member of the Florida A&M Homecoming Court in 1960[407], 1961[408], and 1962[409], sang during the festivities for the 1961 29th Annual Orange Blossom Classic and Festival in Miami Florida[410], and was named Female Student of the Year 1963[411]. She completed her degree in music from Florida A&M in 1963[412]. After completing her degree at Florida A&M, Mrs. Owens moved to New York City to study under Madame Marion Freschl at Julliard School of Music[413] and was awarded a degree in the performing arts[414].

Mrs. Owens had a significant performing career. She was a three-time winner on the nationally televised "Ted Mack Original Amateur Hour"[415], appeared on the New York based television show "Wonderama"[416], and performed at Carnegie Hall[417]. On the June 10th, 1962, airing of the "Ted Mack Original Amateur Hour" she was presented the Radio City Music Hall Certificate of Merit, for Outstanding Talent Suitable for a Music Hall Production by the Radio

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[405] Gerri Major, "Cute FAMU Soph to Star", *Jet Magazine,* pg. 60, Jun 14, 1962
[406] Staff Writer, "Lakeland Coed Named at FAMU", *St. Petersburg Times,* Oct 14, 1960
[407] Staff Writer, "Homecoming Week Ahead for A&M", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Oct 29, 1960
[408] Staff Writer, "Campus Queen at A&M Named", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Oct 5, 1961
[409] Staff Writer, "A&M University Begins Homecoming Festivities", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Nov 1, 1962
[410] Staff Writer, "Beauty", *Orlando Sentinel,* Dec 4, 1961
[411] Staff Writer, "Two Win Honor in University Vote", *Orlando Sentinel,* Mar 11, 1963
[412] Staff Writer, "A&M Grad Sings on N.Y. TV Show", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 3, 1964
[413] Staff Writer, "A&M Grad Sings on N.Y. TV Show", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 3, 1964
[414] PC Robinson, "Conchita M. Owens, 78, Chester Resident, Noted Vocalist, Had Successful Music Career", *Observer–Tribune,* Jan 20, 2022, https://www.newjerseyhills.com/observer-tribune/obituaries/conchita-m-owens-78-chester-resident-noted-vocalist-had-successful-musical-career/article_0fccd64a-f588-565b-b5c7-50620a1ef641.html
[415] Staff Writer, "Conchita Clarke Returns to Ted Mack Show", *Jet Magazine,* pg. 66, Oct 4, 1962
[416] Staff Writer, "A&M Grad Sings on N.Y. TV Show", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 3, 1964
[417] PC Robinson, "Conchita M. Owens, 78, Chester Resident, Noted Vocalist, Had Successful Music Career", *Observer–Tribune,* Jan 20, 2022, https://www.newjerseyhills.com/observer-tribune/obituaries/conchita-m-owens-78-chester-resident-noted-vocalist-had-successful-musical-career/article_0fccd64a-f588-565b-b5c7-50620a1ef641.html

City Music Hall Orchestra Director, Raymond Page[418]. During the summer of 1962, Mrs. Owens gave 280 performances at The Radio City Music Hall[419]. She was also a soloist at St. Cornelius Episcopal Church in Governor's Island, New York and was again a featured performer at Radio City Music Hall in February of 1965[420]. Her performance career began to taper off after she married Frank Owens in 1964. She eventually stopped performing professionally, settled into life as a wife and mother, and continued to use her talent "as a contribution to the church"[421].

Alphonso "Country" Kellum (1943–2000)

Alphonso Kellum was born and raised in Lakeland, Florida. He attended Rochelle Senior High School, graduated in the late 1950s, but never participated in any of the performing ensembles at Rochelle[422]. Instead, he honed his musical skills outside of formal music education. He played bass in a local Lakeland band called Hot Rod Herc and the Jolly Jumpers[423]. After high school Mr. Kellum played bass with Florida based music groups such as The Melody Hep Cats, Faye Adams[424], and national recording artist Ted Taylor[425]. His big break would come in 1963 when he was hired to play bass for James Brown[426]. It was his bandmates in James Brown's band who gave Alphonso the nickname "Country" due to his outdated fashion[427]. Two years later Kellum moved from bass to rhythm guitar[428]. Alphonso Kellum is credited on James Brown's recordings such as *Live at the Garden, Sings Raw Soul, I Got the Feelin', Live at The*

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[418] Gerri Major, "Cute FAMU Soph to Star", *Jet Magazine,* pg. 61, Jun 14, 1962
[419] Staff Writer, "A&M University Begins Homecoming Festivities", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Nov 1, 1962
[420] Staff Writer, "FAMU Graduate Makes Big Time", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Feb 13, 1965
[421] PC Robinson, "Conchita M. Owens, 78, Chester Resident, Noted Vocalist, Had Successful Music Career", *Observer–Tribune,* Jan 20, 2022, https://www.newjerseyhills.com/observer-tribune/obituaries/conchita-m-owens-78-chester-resident-noted-vocalist-had-successful-musical-career/article_0fccd64a-f588-565b-b5c7-50620a1ef641.html
[422] Robert Frazier Interview, 1:37:12
[423] Robert Frazier Interview, 1:37:25
[424] Edward M. Komara, *Encyclopedia of the Blues: KZ, index*. Vol. 2., pg. 562, Taylor & Francis US, 2006.
[425] Robert Frazier Interview, 1:37:00
[426] Edward M. Komara, *Encyclopedia of the Blues: KZ, index*. Vol. 2., pg. 562, Taylor & Francis US, 2006.
[427] Stuart Low, "Quiet Guitarist "Country" Kellum Dead at 56", *Democrat and Chronicle,* Apr 9, 2000.
[428] Stuart Low, "Quiet Guitarist "Country" Kellum Dead at 56", *Democrat and Chronicle,* Apr 9, 2000.

*Apollo, Vol II, "*Say it Loud–I'm Black and I'm Proud", "Sex Machine"[429], and "Cold Sweat–Part I[430]. In 1970, Mr. Kellum left James Brown's band over a contract dispute and moved to Rochester, New York in 1972[431]. He briefly rejoined James Brown's touring band from 1974–1977[432]. After 1977, Mr. Kellum made a living as a factory worker and occasionally performed with Rochester music artists the Midnight Blues Band and the singer Lady Rose[433].

Dr. Samuel Floyd (1937–2016)

Dr. Samuel A. Floyd was born in Tallahassee, Florida[434], but spent most of his childhood in Lakeland, Florida[435]. He attended Rochelle High School[436], graduated in 1953[437], and was a member of the band under director Lawrence Pope[438]. After graduating from Rochelle, Dr. Floyd attended Florida A&M in Tallahassee, Florida on a music scholarship and became a member of the Marching 100 under the direction of legendary band director Dr. Foster[439]. He completed a Bachelor of Science degree from Florida A&M in 1957[440].

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[429] Alphonso "Country" Kellum Music Credits, courtesy of AllMusic.com, https://www.allmusic.com/artist/alphonso-country-kellum-mn0000935794/credits
[430] Courtesy of RateYourMusic.com, https://rateyourmusic.com/release/single/james-brown-and-the-famous-flames/cold-sweat-parts-1-and-2.p/
[431] Stuart Low, "Quiet Guitarist "Country" Kellum Dead at 56", *Democrat and Chronicle,* Apr 9, 2000.
[432] Edward M. Komara, *Encyclopedia of the Blues: KZ, index*. Vol. 2., pg. 562, Taylor & Francis US, 2006
[433] Stuart Low, "Quiet Guitarist "Country" Kellum Dead at 56", *Democrat and Chronicle,* Apr 9, 2000.
[434] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 1, Slating of Samuel Floyd interview
[435] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 6, Samuel Floyd recalls growing up in Lakeland, Florida
[436] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[437] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 7, Samuel Floyd discusses his education and interest in studying music
[438] Andrew Meacham, "With Music, He Lit A Spark", *Tampa Bay Times*, https://www.tampabay.com/archive/2011/06/30/with-music-he-lit-a-spark/
[439] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 2, story 1, Samuel Floyd talks about his musical experiences at Florida A&M University
[440] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 7, Samuel Floyd discusses his education and interest in studying music

From 1957–1962, Dr. Floyd taught music and directed the band at Smith–Brown High School, segregated Black school in Arcadia, Florida[441]. Smith–Brown was a small school of approximately 325 students, but in his five short years Dr. Floyd grew the band from nine students to sixty-five students[442]. In 1962, he returned to Florida A&M as an assistant band director to Dr. Foster[443]. In 1964, he left Florida A&M and was awarded an assistantship to teach percussion while he pursued graduate degrees at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Illinois where he completed a Master of Music Education in 1965 and a PhD in 1969[444]. Dr. Floyd remained at Southern Illinois as a professor of music until 1978 when he became a professor of music at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee and founded the Institute for Research in Black American Music and the Black Music Research Journal[445]. In 1983 Dr. Floyd began teaching and researching at Columbia College in Chicago, Illinois where he founded and directed the Center for Black Music Research[446]. Dr. Floyd retired from teaching in 2003[447].

Dr. Floyd's research centered around the history and experience of Black American musicians and music. His most well-known and exemplary work was his book "The Power of Black Music; Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States", first published by Oxford

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[441] "Samuel A. Floyd. 1937–2016." Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series. *Encyclopedia.com.* (September 26, 2022). https://www.encyclopedia.com/arts/educational-magazines/floyd-samuel-1937

[442] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 2, story 6, Samuel Floyd talks about his experiences as a high school band director

[443] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 2, story 6, Samuel Floyd talks about his experiences as a high school band director

[444] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 3, story 1, Samuel Floyd talks about attending graduate school at Southern Illinois University

[445] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 3, story 4, Samuel Floyd talks about relocating to Fisk University and his experience there

[446] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 3, story 6, Samuel Floyd discusses the growth of the Center for Black Music Research

[447] Samuel Floyd (The HistoryMakers A2003.014), interviewed by Larry Crowe, January 22, 2003, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive. Session 1, tape 1, story 1, Slating of Samuel Floyd interview

University Press in 1996, and referenced in this study. Other articles include "Ring Shout! Literary Studies, Historical Studies, and Black Music Inquiry", "Black Music in the Circum-Caribbean", "Troping the Blues: From Spirituals to the Concert Hall", and many more. He was an advocate for Black music academic scholarship and was an outspoken critic of the Whiteness of academic research in higher education[448].

Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele (1925–2019)

Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele was born and raised in Lakeland, Florida[449]. She began singing in her grandfather's church when she was four years old[450]. Her parents recognized Dr. Steele's love of music and supported and nurtured her in pursuing it as a career. After graduating from Rochelle Senior High School, she attended Florida Memorial College in Miami Gardens, Florida where she earned an Associate of Arts degree in Voice, Piano, and Music Education[451]. Dr. Steele then earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Voice, Piano, and Music Education from Alabama State University in Montgomery, Alabama and a Master of Arts degree in Voice, Piano, and Choral Conducting from Columbia University in New York City[452]. In 1947 she became a faculty member at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida where she taught voice and was the Director of the Florida A&M Concert Choir until 1976[453].

In 1973 she was awarded a PhD in Humanities and Music, with an emphasis in multicultural music and education from Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida while continuing to teach at Florida A&M[454]. During her tenure in Tallahassee, Dr. Steele directed a

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[448] "Remembering Samuel A. Floyd, Jr. (1937-2016)." 2016.The Bulletin of the Society for American Music 42 (3) (Fall): 31-32. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/remembering-samuel-floyd-jr-1937-2016/docview/1944539994/se-2.
[449] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[450] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[451] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[452] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[453] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[454] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019

combined choir of Florida A&M and Florida State University music students that became one of Tallahassee's first multiracial choirs[455]. She left Florida A&M in 1976 to become a professor of music and the Director of the Bethune Cookman Concert Chorale at Bethune Cookman College, now Bethune Cookman University in Daytona Beach, Florida[456]. Dr. Steele refined the Bethune Cookman Concert Chorale into a nationally recognized university choir that performed throughout the United States[457] and at the White House for the 105th Congress of the United States[458]. After an extensive career as an educator, academic, and performer, Dr. Steele retired from Bethune Cookman in 2013[459].

Robert Leon Frazier (b. 1944)

Robert Frazier was born and raised in Lakeland, Florida. He was born during a hurricane earning him the nickname "Stormy Weather". An homage to the weather conditions at his birth and to a Lena Horne song by the same name[460]. Mr. Frazier started in the Rochelle band while in junior high and remained in the band for all three years of high school. He was instrumental in starting a color guard at Rochelle. During high school Mr. Frazier was also an activist for Black civil rights. He and a group of his friends desegregated one of Lakeland's Woolworth's drug store lunch counters.

> Robert: The tragedy in Birmingham [Alabama] with the little girls' [Baptist Street Church Bombing in 1963] things really heated up. We were all summoned and…decided we had to do something. A bunch of the young pastors who had been following A. Leon

[455] Julian Pecquet, "Former FAMU Director Receives MLK Award", *Tallahassee Democrat,* Jan 21, 2006
[456] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[457] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[458] Advertisement, "Bethune Cookman Concert Chorale", *The Naples Daily News,* Jan 28, 2005
[459] "Dr. Rebecca Walker Steele Obituary", *Daytona Beach News–Journal*, Jan 17, 2019
[460] Robert Frazier Email Correspondence with the Author

> Lowry, who was the Florida version of Martin Luther King, set out to integrate the Woolworth's as the same as they were doing in Tennessee. They called us to a church…and we made plans to go into the Woolworth's and integrate the lunch counter. And that's exactly what we did.
>
> Interviewer: What was that like?
>
> Robert: Scary. Uh, but, uh, you know, it was something we did it like falling off a log. We just went, sat in, and we got surrounded by a bunch of young White teenagers and older White men. They, you know, called us names, and threw peanuts at us. We did it and we walked out. And that was it. We did that about three times and after that it was like, 'Oh, you're here again [it wasn't an issue after that][461].'

After high school, Mr. Frazier joined the Army and became a member of the Seventy Second Army Band stationed in Los Angeles, California[462]. After his enlistment ended, he stayed in Los Angeles, began to gig professionally, and in 1973 he completed a degree in music from the California Institute of the Arts[463]. Since that time, he has been awarded numerous grants and financial awards from organizations like the California Arts Council and the National Endowment for the Arts to teach music to inmates in the California Department of Corrections system and to children at the Santa Clara Children's shelter among others[464]. Many of the inmates in the California Department of Corrections who were enrolled in Mr. Frazier's music

[461] Robert Frazier Interview, 1:07:00
[462] Robert Frazier Interview, 19:40
[463] Robert Frazier Interview, 21:00
[464] Robert Frazier Email Correspondence with the author

program went on to earn college degrees and were 50% less likely to return to prison after one year[465].

He has performed with musical artists such as 80s pop outfits Oingo Boingo with well-known film composer Danny Elfman, also with Annie Lennox's first band The Eurythmics[466], and with R&B legends Little Richard, Little Junior Parker, and Johnny Otis[467]. While in Johnny Otis's band, Mr. Frazier played fabled venues such as The Monterey Jazz Festival and The Newport Jazz Festival[468]. He continues to compose, perform, and educate and is currently an elementary music teacher in the Oakland Unified School District in Oakland, California where he resides with his wife.

[465] Robert Frazier Interview, 26:20
[466] Robert Frazier Email Correspondence with the Author
[467] Robert Frazier Interview, 21:47
[468] Robert Frazier Email Correspondence with the Author

CHAPTER 6: THE SWEET AFTERGLOW

But as we sadly start
Our journeys far apart
A part of every heart will linger here

–from the Rochelle Alma Mater

Introduction

What has been presented thus far is what will hopefully be the start of a comprehensive and complete history of Rochelle High School and the Rochelle High School music program. Typically, there is no need or purpose in interpreting findings or data when compiling an oral history. However, I did have research questions that guided this study. The research questions are as follow.

1) What were the educational music experiences of Rochelle High School students?
2) How did the Rochelle High School music program contribute to the Black community in Lakeland, Florida?
3) Who were the music teachers at Rochelle High School? What influence did they have on Rochelle students and where did they teach after Rochelle High School closed?
4) For those students who were involved in educational music at Rochelle High School and then at their desegregated White high school, what were the differences and similarities between educational music at Rochelle High School and at their desegregated White high school?

5) What were the perceived short term and long-term consequences to the music education of Black students in Lakeland, Florida after Rochelle High School was closed, and all Black students desegregated predominantly White high schools in Lakeland?

To the best of my knowledge and ability, questions one, two, and three were answered in the previous chapters. In this chapter, I would like to explore possible answers for questions four and five and provide suggestions for future research.

Perceived Similarities and Differences Between Rochelle, Kathleen, and Lakeland Music Programs

Chorus

Only two participants were able to provide limited information on the similarities and differences between the music programs at Rochelle, Kathleen, and Lakeland Senior high schools: Phillip Walker and Terry Strong. Phillip Walker had the unique perspective of experiencing the chorus program at all three schools. Terry Strong experienced a segregated Black elementary school music program, desegregated Lakeland Junior High, and briefly sang in the chorus there, and provided data on her limited experience with the music program at Lakeland Senior High. Mr. Walker found the Rochelle chorus program under the direction of Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins to be the most captivating. While he observed a lot of similarities between the teaching styles of Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins and his chorus teacher at Lakeland Senior, he did not find the overall educational environment at Lakeland to be a good fit for him and transferred to Kathleen Senior and joined the chorus under Dr. (Torke) Hugo. Although Mr. Walker felt that Dr. (Torke) Hugo was more lenient than Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins and his chorus teacher at Lakeland Senior, he did express that Dr. (Torke) Hugo was able to produce a similar performance product with her choirs.

The data collected through this study indicates that the song choices, performance, and practice of each chorus at the three different schools was similar. However, the data is extremely limited, and many more interviews would need to be conducted to make more inferences. It should be noted that according to yearbook photos from Lakeland and Kathleen, Black students participated in chorus much more frequently than in band. This indicates that Black students felt more comfortable in the chorus classroom than in the band classroom. Unfortunately, due to the limited amount of data collected it would be inappropriate to hypothesize why Black students at Kathleen and Lakeland choose to participate in chorus more than band.

Band

I was unable to interview anyone who experienced the band program at Rochelle and at Lakeland or Kathleen Senior. While there was no data collected to infer similarities between the three band programs, many participants provided their personal perceptions regarding the differences between the Rochelle band and the Lakeland or Kathleen band. Most participants believed the largest differences between the Rochelle band and the Lakeland or Kathleen bands were in style and song choices.

Participants like Terry Coney, Jay Williams, Alvis Graham, and Dr. DeArmas Graham cited stylistic differences like marching technique. For example, Rochelle marched using a high step style that required band members to raise their knees so that their legs were bent at a ninety-degree angle from hip to ankle with each step. The technique was popular, and still is, among marching bands at Historically Black Colleges and Universities like Florida A&M. Lakeland and Kathleen used a flat-footed roll step usually found in predominantly White military style marching bands. The roll step resembles a deliberate and measured walk-like stride. To perform the roll step correctly band members only slightly bend their knees. The roll step and the high

step are essentially at opposite ends of the marching technique spectrum. Also, the Rochelle marching band performed some dance moves when they marched, including dances that were popular during that era. Lakeland and Kathleen bands did not dance. Jay Williams commented on the difference in marching technique during his interview.

> From my standpoint [going from Rochelle to Lakeland] it would've been a culture shock because of the different styles of music that we played. One of the things was we [Rochelle] had a marching band in which they were doing 90 degrees and 45, you know, you're bringing your legs up, you're high stepping it with your feet cornered at a 45. And at Lakeland Senior they just did that little Bugle Holiday march…the roll step. Which our bands [at Rochelle] are used to marching [high step] and they're [Lakeland] walking and that was a culture shock to them [Black students from Rochelle who transferred to Lakeland], 'Oh, I can't walk and play. I'm used to marching.' And just getting physically involved in it and showing some enthusiasm…And just doing your different angles and formations as if we were in a concert or precision drill. When you would go to the state festival you had to do a shape type march were you're going out of different shapes and things like that [at Lakeland]. When our band [at Rochelle] was used to going into different formations and creating a car or whatever the design was to the music we were creating we would try to create that image on the field[469].

Another difference between the Rochelle band and the Lakeland or Kathleen bands was song selection. One song was especially problematic for Black students. Terry Coney mentioned

[469] Jay Williams Interview 2, 3:05

that the Lakeland and Kathleen bands played "Dixie" at the end of every halftime show or at least at some point during every football game[470]. This song made many Black students uncomfortable due to its association with the Confederacy. "Dixie" was played at the inauguration for the Confederate President Jefferson Davis and became the unofficial national anthem of the Confederacy[471]. In James Holton's dissertation on desegregation in Polk County schools, he details an interesting observation that many White band members in Polk County high schools were reluctant to stop playing "Dixie" even after desegregation[472].

Potential Barriers for Black Students Regarding Participation in High School Music Ensembles at Kathleen and Lakeland

As previously mentioned, after desegregation Black students participated in chorus at Kathleen and Lakeland at a much higher rate than in band. When comparing the choruses and bands at Lakeland and Kathleen from 1970–1973 we find that Dr. Hugo had one of the highest percentages of Black student participation in her 1970 chorus at 51%, in the following three years after her departure the percentage of Black students participating in chorus grew to 58% in 1971, but overall participation shrank. The following years evened out to 36% in 1972, and 37% in 1973 (TABLE 3). For those same years Lakeland's percentage of Black students in chorus was much lower. It was approximately 28.5% in 1970, 26.5% in 1971, 26% in 1972, and 6% in 1973 (Table 3). It is possible that all chorus students were not pictured in the 1973 Lakeland yearbook. That could explain the extreme drop in Black student participation. Most years, the

[470] Terry Coney Interview, 01:08:00
[471] Bilal Qureshi, "The Anthemic Allure of 'Dixie', An Enduring Confederate Monument", Sept 20, 2018, https://www.npr.org/2018/09/20/649954248/the-anthemic-allure-of-dixie-an-enduring-confederate-monument
[472] James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Pg. 153, Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

average percentage of Black students participating in chorus was well above the percentage of Black students in the general population at both schools (Table 2).

The band programs at Kathleen and Lakeland did not see nearly the same rate of participation from Black students. In fact, the average percentage of Black students participating in band was below that of the chorus and well below the percentage of Black students in the general population at both schools (Table 2). According to yearbook photos Black student participation in the Lakeland band was 4.5% in 1970, 6.45% in 1971, 8.9% in 1972, and 8% in 1973 (Table 3). Black student participation in the Kathleen band was better than Lakeland at first but began to decrease into the 1970s. Black participation in the Kathleen band was 12% in 1970, 19.8% in 1971, 10.8% in 1972, and 7.5% in 1973 (Table 3). Future research should focus on determining if it was a national or regional trend for Black students to enroll in chorus at much higher rates than band immediately following desegregation and potential reasons why.

Table 3. Kathleen High School and Lakeland High School Black Student Participation in Band and Chorus, 1970–1973

Kathleen High School				
Program	1970	1971	1972	1973
Band	12%	19.8%	10.8%	7.5%
Chorus	51%	58%	36%	37%
Lakeland High School				
Program	1970	1971	1972	1973
Band	4.5%	6.45%	8.9	8%
Chorus	28.5	26.5	26%	6%

Participants mentioned economic and cultural issues that may have been barriers that Black students might have faced that would have reduced the likelihood of Black students enrolling in band. Donald Williams Sr. and Alvis Graham both mentioned that the high economic price to participate in the band after desegregation may have been a barrier to many

Black students. Donald Williams, a former Black guidance counselor who helped desegregate Kathleen, succinctly described this barrier during his interview.

> D. Williams: Some Black students were interested in the musical program [at Kathleen] …As the years passed on [after desegregation], they [Kathleen band] had less and less [Black students]. But in the first years [of desegregation] they had more kids [Black students] that came up. But then see in the predominate Black schools they taught you, music, the instrument. But later on [after desegregation], kids learned from private teachers. If they didn't know how to play, they couldn't get in the band because you needed to know how to play in order to be in the band when you got into high school in the later years [after desegregation].
>
> Interviewer: So, that makes sense. So, when they [Black students] first got there [to Kathleen] there were a lot of Black students who knew how to play instruments.
>
> D. Williams: Right, see, they learned how to play cause in the Black high schools they would teach you. You could get an instrument and learn to play from scratch [from the very beginning] …When the schools integrated to get in to band, they didn't teach a kid, [a Black student could not] buy an instrument, come, and learn how to play, you had to already know how to play[473].

Alvis Graham also mentioned that students needed to achieve a certain playing ability before they were allowed to join the band.

[473] Donald Williams, Sr Interview, 01:30

> You had to be able to play the instrument a certain way to even get in there. And they [Black students] couldn't play the instrument[474]…I didn't learn from being under him [the Kathleen band director]. I didn't learn. It was home. I learned at home. From my Pop [Mr. Graham][475].

According to Mr. Williams, Sr., after desegregation Black families more than likely would have had to pay for private lessons for their children prior to joining the band. This was not something that Black parents were expected to do when their children attended all Black segregated schools like Rochelle. Other participant interviews provide evidence that Black students were not expected to know how to play a band instrument prior to joining band at Rochelle. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins mentioned that she had never played the clarinet prior to joining band[476] and Terry Coney commented on how he had never taken a drum lesson and knew very little about music prior to joining the band[477]. Neither mentioned having lessons on their band instrument before or after joining band and both spent almost their entire high school careers in the Rochelle band program. Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins did mention having private piano lessons. It is logical to conclude that paying for private lessons may have been a barrier to participation for some Black students after desegregation. Black parents would have been hesitant to invest in private lessons for their child. Especially if there was no guarantee that their child would participate in band.

Interestingly, the pictures of the band from the 1970–1973 yearbooks provide some validation for Mr. Williams Sr.'s narrative. In the 1970 Kathleen marching band approximately 12% of band students pictured were Black. By 1973 that percentage has dropped to 7.5%. Again,

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[474] Alvis Graham Interview, 42:15
[475] Alvis Graham Interview, 45:05
[476] Jewell (Harter) Jenkins Interview, 07:20
[477] Terry Coney Interview, 17:00

it should be noted that the percentage of Black students in the general population at Kathleen grew from 1970–1973 and was more than double the percentage of Black students in the band.

While Black families may have perceived a steeper economic expectation for participation in band at their children's school after desegregation, some Black students may have also perceived a cultural disconnect to the marching band at their new predominantly White high schools. One of the most interesting comments that highlights this cultural disconnect came from Terry Strong. Mrs. Strong attended a segregated elementary school, then desegregated Lakeland Junior High School and finally attended Lakeland Senior High School after desegregation. What is interesting is that she was able to provide an extensive description of the Rochelle marching band even though she never attended Rochelle Junior or Senior. However, she had no memories of the Lakeland Senior marching band even though she spent three years there.

> They're [Rochelle] colors were blue and white. They, again, my friend Raleigh, was one of the drum majors. Because they had, I forget how many they had, the guys in the tall hats…There was another one who's still living…we call him Dickie…he was a drum major. We had…Dell Patterson was a drum major…The music that they played, for lack of a better word, was they jammed. They played music that they actually jammed. My experience was at the football games. I was a little girl. Easily impressed. They looked more like the HBCU bands. They were actually, in my opinion, preparing those people [students] who went on to higher education [at an HBCU] after being in a high school band…They [the Rochelle band] had majorettes…The people that stood out were the majorettes and the drum majors who actually marched with the, they had those poles and

> they danced…The one [song] that stands out was called "The Horse"…The other songs I don't remember because they pretty much played songs from back in that day. We're talking about mid 60s to late 60s[478].

When asked what she remembered from the marching band at Lakeland Senior High School where she graduated from Mrs. Strong replied:

> I went to some of the [Lakeland] games by choice and usually it was just something to do on a Friday night. But I don't remember the band being on the field. I just don't remember that. I concentrated more on the actual game [football]. And for us, the game involved, you know, the Black kids that use to be from Rochelle and the Black kids, you know, part of them went Kathleen and part of them came to Lakeland[479].

Mrs. Strong also mentioned that she did not remember a performance by the chorus or the name of the chorus teacher at Lakeland[480].

It is clear from Mrs. Strong's narrative that she had a very strong cultural or social investment in the marching band at Rochelle because she was able to provide a substantial number of details from uniform details to section divisions on the Rochelle marching band even though she never attended Rochelle Junior or Senior. And her comments make clear that she was socially or culturally invested in the Black football players from Lakeland and Kathleen. However, she had very little cultural or social investment in the marching band at Lakeland, the

[478] Terry Strong Interview, 14:36
[479] Terry Strong Interview, 24:16
[480] Terry Strong Interview, 23:05

high school she graduated from. This could be due to the underrepresentation of Black students in the Lakeland marching band coupled with the distinctly different marching styles of the Lakeland and Rochelle marching bands. For Mrs. Strong, the Rochelle marching band had a cultural connection that the Lakeland marching band simply did not. This lack of a cultural or social connections may have been due to her observation of the low participation of Black students in the Lakeland and Kathleen band programs after desegregation.

Finally, the overall hostile social environment that Black students experienced within the Lakeland and Polk County communities before and during desegregation and the stress inducing racism they experienced at Lakeland and Kathleen high schools after desegregation may have contributed to their lack of participation in the music programs at both schools. Before and after desegregation Polk County, and by default Lakeland, was a White ruled community. All education desegregation policies in Polk County were decided and implemented by White people. Before and during desegregation the Polk County School Board was all White and the Polk County School Board attorney who defended the Board against desegregation efforts and who eventually guided legal policies for desegregation was White[481]. Beyond the School Board, the Lakeland city commission was all White. The first Black city commissioner was elected in 1970 and the first Black mayor was appointed in 1980. The KKK frequently marched through Lakeland's streets. They often marched down Dakota Ave., later renamed Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd, that ran through the middle of one of Lakeland's predominantly Black communities[482]. The last known public KKK parade marched down Main St. through the heart of downtown

[481] James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

[482] Kimberley Moore, "Polk was hotbed for the Ku Klux Klan for more than 100 years; last KKK appearance in 1995", *The Ledger,* Sept 16, 2020

Lakeland in 1979[483]. Finally, Polk County had the unique attribute of having a native Polk Countian in the federal government during desegregation. Unfortunately, Senator Spressard Holland was adamantly opposed to desegregation. Even going as far as to sign the "Southern Manifesto" that encouraged southern US states to use every legal avenue to fight against desegregation (chapter 2). In general, most White Lakeland residents did not openly support desegregation policies.

The participants who did attend Lakeland and Kathleen immediately after desegregation all made varying comments on how they found both schools to be hostile and unwelcoming. Honor societies at Lakeland and Kathleen were unwilling to allow immediate admittance to Black students who were already members of the honor societies at Rochelle[484]. Phillip Walker transferred from Lakeland to Kathleen due to Lakeland's extreme racial tension. Terry Strong described Lakeland as a "White school"[485]. Black students at Lakeland held walk outs in protest to how they were treated[486]. Lakeland's principal during desegregation often made openly racist comments[487].

The administration at Kathleen was more positively proactive in handling desegregation than their Lakeland counterparts. However, the community outside of the school was not as

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[483] Kimberley Moore, "Polk was hotbed for the Ku Klux Klan for more than 100 years; last KKK appearance in 1995", *The Ledger,* Sept 16, 2020

[484] James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Pg. 152, Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

[485] Terry Strong Interview, 20:50

[486] James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Pg. 182, Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

487 James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Pg. 181, Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

welcoming. One poignant story came from Alvis Graham, who attended Kathleen Senior in the years after desegregation and graduated in 1975, illustrates this point.

> Alvis: When we would stay after school [at Kathleen], I had the KKK outside the fence…Like when band practice was over. Say band practice got over at 7:30 or 8 o'clock and these guys [KKK members] were outside the fence. So, when you drive home, you'd pass them…
>
> Interviewer: So, they [KKK members] were just hanging out?
>
> Alvis: Yea…I'd head to my car, and I'd be out of there. You don't want to hang over there, around there late…Say I had some [White] friends, right. Some guys use to ride home with me, and they wouldn't want to have their head up. Show their face. They would lean way down in the seat. That's the kind of stuff that was.
>
> Interviewer: So, were these, was this Black friends or White friends or just anybody?
>
> Alvis: White friends.
>
> Interviewer: White friends.
>
> Alvis: White friends. Oh yea.
>
> Interviewer: So, they [White friends] would lay down or put their head down
>
> Alvis: In the seat.
>
> Interviewer: In the seat so the KKK guys couldn't see them?
>
> Alvis: In the seat so they [KKK members] wouldn't see them, oh yea. And say if I rode home with one of those guys [a White friend], I would have to do the same thing too. That was hard.

> Interviewer: Because they [KKK members] would try to find that person [the White friend] and try to intimidate them?
>
> Alvis: Oh yea[488].

As mentioned before, Alvis Graham said that his primary music teacher was his father, and that his father was very supportive and encouraging of his involvement in the band at Kathleen. Alvis had the unique benefit of being the son of the strong, supportive, musically gifted, and former Rochelle band director Mr. Alvin Graham. Not many other Black students at Kathleen would have been so lucky as to have had a father who was like Mr. Alvin Graham. The threats from the KKK that were described by Alvis Graham would have deterred many Black families from allowing their children to participate in band and possibly many other after school activities. Jay Williams mentioned that Black students during desegregation may have reluctantly avoided the band and other extracurriculars to reduce the conflict in their lives.

> You're fighting with dealing with integration…There's a lot of forces working against you… [Black students may have said] 'Well I don't need that extracurricular [the Lakeland or Kathleen band] because here we're going to have to fight again.'

Future research should further examine how the racially tense educational environment and the racially tense community environment contributed to the decline in Black student participation in music programs at predominantly White high schools after desegregation.

[488] Alvis Graham Interview, 37:57

The Closing of Rochelle High School and Its Effects on the Music Education of Lakeland's Black Students

The number of Black students in Lakeland area high school music ensembles sharply declined after Rochelle was forced to close in 1969. Black participation in band plummeted after 1969. Terry Strong and Phillip Walker, who both experienced high school during desegregation, expressed that Lakeland's Black community felt a sense of loss when Rochelle closed as a high school. Many of the participants who attended Rochelle described it as home. In a sense, Lakeland's Black community lost a collective home.

Closing Rochelle split Lakeland's Black community in two. When desegregation was finally implemented in the city of Lakeland, the Polk County School Board rezoned Lakeland and Kathleen by race and not by geography. Even though most Black students lived closer to Lakeland than to Kathleen, Black students were divided evenly between the two White schools[489]. Demetra Driskell, Alvin Graham's daughter, said that her father worried that White teachers would not give Black students the non-curricular knowledge of how to be Black and still succeed in a predominantly White society. She said he was particularly worried about the Black male students.

When Rochelle closed Lakeland lost the representation of Black music teachers at the high school level. Regrettably, Lakeland lost the leadership of Mr. Alvin Graham, the only Black band director in the city. Graham transferred to Kathleen as a music teacher but left after one year. He never directed a high school band after leaving Rochelle. Because there were no more Black high school music teachers in Lakeland, Lakeland's Black music students lost access to

[489] James Vincent Holton. 2002. ""The Best Education Provided": A Social History of School Integration in Polk County, Florida, 1963–1994." Pg. 120–121, Order No. 3032749, The George Washington University. http://ezproxy.lib.usf.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/best-education-provided-social-history-school/docview/275724091/se-2.

higher education. Many participants relayed stories of Mr. Pope, Mr. Graham, and Mrs. (Harter) Jenkins using their connections with HBCUs to help them earn a scholarship for college. Dr. Samuel Floyd mentioned that Mr. Pope helped secure him a music scholarship to Florida A&M. Robert Frazier commented on how Mr. Graham obtained him a full-ride scholarship to an HBCU. Mrs. (Jewell) Harter Jenkins often transported students to Bethune Cookman and Florida A&M to audition for music scholarships. Because there were no Black music teachers at the high school level in Lakeland after 1969, the likelihood of a Black music student receiving a music scholarship to attend college was greatly reduced. White music teachers did not have the same connections to HBCUs as Black music teachers did. This lack of Black music teacher leadership in the Lakeland and Kathleen band programs would be felt for almost fifty years. In 2018 Kathleen finally hired its first Black band director, a graduate of Bethune Cookman University an HBCU. Lakeland Senior has never had a Black band director.

The potential for any Black leadership in a city of Lakeland high school chorus classroom was greatly reduced after 1969. There was a glimmer of hope that a music program could be integrated in Dr. Hugo's chorus at Kathleen during the 1969–70 school year. There was some evidence that she was sensitive to the plight of Black students and her continued relationship with Mr. Graham may have led her to pursue a professional relationship with music professors at HBCUs. However, Dr. Hugo transferred to Winston Elementary the following year and the Kathleen chorus program came under new leadership. By 1973 the percentage of Black students in the Kathleen chorus had dropped by 14%. I have not found record of a Black chorus teacher ever being employed at Lakeland or Kathleen.

Suggestions for Future Research

First and foremost, historical research in music education should further examine music education at segregated Black schools in the United States. I strongly encourage researchers interested in this topic to move quickly to find historical documents related to segregated Black schools and to interview alumni and former teachers from segregated Black schools, and interview other individuals who have familial or community connections to segregated Black schools. Through this study I learned that many historical documents related to Rochelle High School were thrown in the garbage when Rochelle High School was converted to an elementary school in 1970. However, there are many undiscovered historical documents that will be vital to preserving this history. For instance, due to this study two Rochelle High School yearbooks were added to the digital collection database provided by the Lakeland Florida Public Library. Now, those yearbooks are publicly available for viewing through the Lakeland Library's website. Also, participant interviews were invaluable to this study. Without these interviews the intimate details of the Rochelle High School music program, the students, and the teachers would have been reduced to speculation. The unfortunate reality is that alumni and former teachers are a dwindling resource. Collecting their stories will provide indispensable information on this topic.

There has been some music education research on how to attract more racial minority students to high school music classes and to music degree programs in higher education and there is research on why racial minority students are not enrolling in high school music classes or choosing to become music majors in college. However, historical research should focus on identifying the events that have led to the underrepresentation of racial minority students in high school music classes, among college music majors, and the underrepresentation of racial minorities within the music teaching profession. For example, before desegregation was fully

implemented in 1969, Polk County Florida had no less than five Black band directors and at least four Black chorus teachers. After 1969, Polk County had zero Black band directors or chorus teachers. Is it possible that the desegregation process is the root cause of the systematic exclusion of racial minorities from the high school music classroom, in college music programs, and finally within the music teaching profession? Did the loss of Black leadership in the music classroom also affect how music curriculum developed in the US during the last quarter of the 20th century?

Future historical research in music education should also examine examples of cross–racial teaching and learning within the music classroom. Currently, the high school music classroom, music curriculum, and the music teaching profession is overwhelmingly White. The average high school music student is White, female, and comes from an affluent family[490]. A nationwide study found that from 2007–2012 86% of teachers who applied for music teacher certificate were White[491]. A 2016 survey of over seven thousand music teachers who attended a national music teacher conference found that 90% of those surveyed were White[492] and in 2021 music theorist Philip Ewell found that 98% of the musical examples in seven of the most widely used music theory textbooks were written by White, mostly male music composers[493]. To diversify the music teaching profession high school music teachers must recruit and retain more racial minority students. Historical research in music education can assist in this endeavor by uncovering historical examples of White high school music teachers who organized successful music programs with a high percentage of participation among racial minority students. Paying

[490] Kenneth Elpus and Carlos R. Abril. "Who enrolls in high school music? A national profile of US students, 2009–2013." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 67, no. 3 (2019): 323-338.
[491] Kenneth Elpus. "Music teacher licensure candidates in the United States: A demographic profile and analysis of licensure examination scores." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 63, no. 3 (2015): 314-335.
[492] Brittany Nixon May, Karen Willie, Cherilyn Worthen, and Allyssa Pehrson. "An analysis of state music education certification and licensure practices in the United States." *Journal of Music Teacher Education* 27, no. 1 (2017): 65-88.
[493] Philip Ewell. "Music theory's white racial frame." *Music Theory Spectrum* 43, no. 2 (2021): 324-329.

particular interest to White teachers who through their music programs were able to successfully connect to the musical culture of racial minority students.

Historical research in music education should also focus on policy and procedural examples of how music teachers have successfully reduced the financial obligations for music students to increase student participation. According to information compiled from data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau, on average in 2020 Black households earned about $20,000 less than the national median yearly income and Hispanic households earned about $10,000 less than the national median yearly income while White households earned about $5,000 more than the national median yearly income [494]. Historical research in music education could help current music teachers attract and retain racial minority students by identifying policies and procedures that have historically reduced the financial obligation of participation in high school music classes.

Local Lakeland historical research in music education should examine the role Florida Southern College music faculty and students played in reaching across the racial divide during segregation. The music careers of two participants were somewhat impacted by individuals connected to Florida Southern College. In her interview Jewell (Harter) Jenkins mentioned that she received piano lessons from a White Florida Southern College music student. Also, Conchita Clarke Owens was given voice instruction from a White Florida Southern College music faculty member. Are there other examples of Florida Southern College music faculty and students providing lessons to Black children in Lakeland? Did the faculty member and the student mentioned in this study teach other Black children in Lakeland?

[494] U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2020 and 2021 Annual Social and Economic Supplements (CPS ASEC).

Finally, historical research in music education should examine the careers of Black female music teachers and the experiences of Black female music students during segregation. All three Black female participants in this study conveyed that they felt that their career choices were limited after high school due to their skin color and their gender. For example, Jewell (Harter) Jenkins expressed a desire to be a professional singer, but societal and familial pressures led her to choose teaching music instead of pursuing a performance career. Beverly Boatwright wanted to move to New York City to pursue a career in finance after high school but felt that this was not a realistic job prospect because she was Black and female. When examining the experiences of Black female music performers and educators during segregation it would be prudent for researchers to explore in detail the paths these musicians traveled to their chosen career. Was this career their first choice? Who encouraged and discouraged them to pursue music? These data could help current music teachers create more open and affirming learning environments for all students including aspiring Black female musicians.

Conclusion

Although the campus of Rochelle Senior High School has changed since 1969, all the original buildings remain. The original track and football field are still there. New buildings have been added and the name of the school has changed slightly. Rochelle High only exists in spirit. Thanks to its dedicated alumni, that spirit is strong. They continue to support their community. Since 1995 the Washington Park/Rochelle High School Alumni Association has distributed $253,250 in scholarship funds to 153 recipients[495]. Alumni stay connected to their Rochelle family through alumni association organized social events like sock hops, dinners, and an annual "prom". Recently, the alumni have turned their efforts toward preserving and telling their history

[495] Washington Park/Rochelle High School Alumni Association website, https://www.wp-rochellealumni.com/scholarships/scholarship-recipients/

and to providing support to Lakeland's Black community through educational scholarships and other charitable functions.

The alumni will always look back on their years at Rochelle with bittersweet fondness. Ever grateful to have been taught in a welcoming and supportive Black environment, but heartbroken that their school no longer has a physical home. They are thankful that their sacred halls still stand, and they find solace in knowing that Lakeland's young minds are still being taught to live and learn to know in their former classrooms.

If you find yourself at the corner of Martin Luther King, Jr Blvd and 10th Street in Lakeland, Florida on a pleasantly cool Fall Friday evening, stop and listen carefully. Concentrate. Let your ears move past the noise of the modern city and transport you back in time. You just might be lucky enough to hear the Mighty Panther Band blasting out the freshest 60s R&B you have ever heard. And if you are really lucky, you will hear the Rochelle faithful triumphantly singing their alma mater.

In the sacred Halls of Rochelle
Where we live and learn to know
That through the years, we'll see you
In the sweet afterglow.

-Final Stanza, Rochelle Senior High School Alma Mater
Go Panthers!

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APPENDIX A: POTENTIAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Set questions to be asked at the beginning of every interview:

What is your name?

Are you a RHS alumnus?

What year did you graduate from RHS?

How old are you and what race do you identify with?

Were you enrolled/involved in a music ensemble at RHS? If yes, which ensemble?

What instrument/part did you play/sing?

Assortment of questions that can be asked throughout the interview:

What is your most vivid memory from your experience(s) in a music ensemble at RHS?

What school events did your ensemble perform for?

Did the RHS marching band play for the football games? If yes, can you describe that experience? Could you describe a marching band halftime show? What songs did the marching band play during football games?

Could you describe a typical music class at RHS?

What was the name of your music teacher(s) at RHS?

What was your personal impression of your music teacher(s) at RHS? Did you like/dislike them? Did you feel like they were a "good" teacher? Do you feel that your music teacher(s) wanted you to succeed?

Broadly speaking, what skills did you develop while participating in a music ensemble at RHS?

How do you think your music classes and/or your music teacher(s) impacted your life after RHS?

What was your most vivid memory (memories) of your music teacher(s)?

How many students were in your ensemble(s) at RHS?

Could you describe the music facilities at RHS?

Did RHS provide the students with instruments? If not, how did the students secure an instrument?

What style of music did the (insert ensemble) typically play/sing? Was it an assortment of styles?

Who chose the music for the ensemble(s) at RHS?

How do you think the music ensembles at RHS contributed to the African American community in Lakeland, FL? Did the ensembles play for community events like parades or other celebrations?

Did the RHS marching band participate in the Lakeland Christmas parade? Did any of the RHS ensembles participate in community events in Lakeland, FL outside of the African American community?

What do you remember most about being in the (insert ensemble) at RHS?

How important do you think it was that all your music teachers at RHS were African American? Do you think their race contributed to how they taught the students at RHS?

How was the music education experience of the African American community in Lakeland, FL effected by the closure of RHS? How was the overall music experience of the African American community in Lakeland, FL effected by the closure of RHS?

How could current and future music teachers attract and retain African American students in music courses?

If you participated in a music ensemble at RHS, did you feel that you could rise to a leadership role within the ensemble? Why or why not?

Assortment of questions that can be asked to alumni who desegregated predominantly white high schools:

Did you participate in a music ensemble(s) at (LHS/KHS)? If yes, which one(s)? If no, why not?

Do you remember the name of the music teacher(s) at (LHS/KHS)?

Did the (KHS/LHS) music teacher's race contribute to your decision to enroll/not enroll in a music ensemble at (LHS/KHS)? Why or why not?

Could you describe the differences between the music programs at (LHS/KHS) and RHS?

Could you describe the differences between the music teachers at (LHS/KHS) and RHS?

What was your personal impression of your music teacher(s) at (LHS/KHS)? Did you like/dislike them? Did you feel like they were a "good" teacher? Do you feel that your music teacher(s) wanted you to succeed?

If you participated in a music ensemble at (LHS/KHS) did you feel that you could rise to a leadership role within the ensemble? Why or why not?

Did you experience racial discrimination at (LHS/KHS)? If you feel comfortable, could you provide an example? How did that impact your educational experience?

Did you experience racial discrimination at (LHS/KHS) during music classes? If you feel comfortable, could you provide an example? How did that impact your music education experience?

If you participated in a music ensemble at (LHS/KHS), did you feel that you could rise to a leadership role within the ensemble? Why or why not?

Did the (LHS/KHS) marching band participate in the Lakeland Christmas parade? Did any of the (LHS/KHS) ensembles participate in other community events in Lakeland, FL?

What do you remember most about being in the (insert ensemble) at (LHS/KHS)?

Broadly speaking, what skills did you develop while participating in a music ensemble at (LHS/KHS)?

How do you think your music classes and/or your music teacher(s) impacted your life after (LHS/KHS)?

What was your most vivid memory (memories) of your music teacher(s) at (LHS/KHS)?

How many students were in your ensemble(s) at (LHS/KHS)?

Could you describe the music facilities at (LHS/KHS)?

Did (LHS/KHS) provide the students with instruments? If not, how did the students secure an instrument?

What style of music did the (insert ensemble) typically play/sing at (LHS/KHS)? Was it an assortment of styles?

Who chose the music for the ensemble(s) at (LHS/KHS)?

Did you have an African American music teacher at (LHS/KHS)?

How important do you think it was that none (or few) of your music teachers at (LHS/KHS) were African American? Do you think their race contributed to how they taught the students at (LHS/KHS)?

APPENDIX B: IRB EXEMPTION FORM

UNIVERSITY of SOUTH FLORIDA

NOT HUMAN SUBJECTS RESEARCH DETERMINATION

January 5, 2022

Dear Mr. John Sargeant:

On 1/5/2022, the IRB reviewed the following protocol:

IRB ID:	STUDY003701
Title:	Music Education Among African American Students at Rochelle High School Before and After Desegregation: An Oral History

The IRB determined that the proposed activity does not constitute research involving human subjects as defined by DHHS and FDA regulations.

IRB review and approval is not required. This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these activities constitute human subjects research, please submit a new application to the IRB for a determination.

While not requiring IRB approval and oversight, your project activities should be conducted in a manner that is consistent with the ethical principles of your profession. If this project is program evaluation or quality improvement, do not refer to the project as research and do not include the assigned IRB ID or IRB contact information in the consent document or any resulting publications or presentations.

Sincerely,

IRB Research Compliance Administrator

APPENDIX C: ROBERT L. FRAZIER PERMISSION TO USE CREATIVE CONTENT

On Fri, Nov 25, 2022 at 9:44 PM Robert Frazier < > wrote:

Tosh Sargent has permission to use the poem composed by myself Robert Leon Frazier also known as (Bob Frazier) "The Dome Of Coloredness " as a part of his PHD THESIS. I fully allow this without reservation.

RL Frazier

Sent from my iPad

> On Nov 25, 2022, at 4:56 PM, Tosh Sargeant < > wrote:
>
> Hey Bob,
>
> You gave me verbal permission to use "The Dome of Coloredness" in your interview. Do you mind replying to this email with written permission?
>
> Tosh Sargeant