A Study of Former Negro High School Students, Teachers, and Administrators in the Piedmont Area of North Carolina.

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A Study of Former Negro High School Students, Teachers, and Administrators in The Piedmont Area of North Carolina

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Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

by
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August 2002

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Key words: Desegregation, Emancipation, Segregation, Slavery
ABSTRACT

A Study of Former Negro High School Students, Teachers, and Administrators in the Piedmont Area of North Carolina

by

Carrie Smith Johnson Washington

This is a qualitative study of the perceptions of a purposeful sample of 27 individuals who were students, teachers, or administrators in North Carolina Negro high schools in the period from 1934 to 1966. I interviewed all of them personally or by telephone. All interviews were tape recorded, and an individual who was familiar with the speech patterns of the interviewees later transcribed the tapes. A commercial software program was used to help me identify any themes that emerged from the interviews.

One main theme was that the conditions of buildings and equipment varied with the particular high school and the time period. Participants’ comments indicated that facilities were substandard because they were old, had not been maintained adequately, or lacked indoor plumbing. A second theme was that students said they had taken a wide range of courses in their senior years, including English, history, mathematics (algebra and trigonometry), science (biology, chemistry, and physics), foreign languages (French and Spanish), home economics, and several secretarial or business courses. Responses were mixed about how well the students were prepared for employment, but several students said they were well prepared for college. A third theme was that former students indicated that their parents, teachers, and administrators had worked together effectively to offer supportive environments for students. The fourth theme was that, although the quality of education for black students in general had improved after desegregation began, in some cases desegregation had caused problems for academically talented black students who aspired to go to college. Some expressed the opinion that their teachers had cared more about them than is now the case. A fifth theme was that, although several of the former student said they favored maintaining desegregated public schools, some of them also expressed the hope that more schools attended by blacks would become neighborhood schools. It was the consensus that the federal government was the cause of desegregating Negro high schools altogether. There was a lack of consensus about whether the overall situation of black students had improved or worsened as a result of desegregation.
DEDICATION

This research study is dedicated to my husband, Elder George Columbus Washington, who has been my friend and who has stood by my side on my educational journey. I also dedicate it to my five children and their companions, my 12 grandchildren, and my two great granddaughters. I also want to thank my sisters and brothers, who have encouraged me along the way, and all of those persons who strive to make a difference in our confused world today to improve tomorrow.
IN MEMORY

In remembrance of my mother, Mrs. Euneasta Hoffman Jackson; my stepfather, Mr. Archie Hoffman; my grandfather, Mr. John C. Wright; my grandmother, Mrs. Carrie Smith Wright; my great grandfather, Mr. Silas Smith; my Godmother, Mrs. Marie Ingram Deyampert; my mother-in-law, Mrs. Portia Washington; my father-in-law, Elder Naamon Washington; my brother, Mr. John C. Hoffman; my sister, Patricia Hoffman; my granddaughter, Portia Diana Costner; and my advisor at Appalachian State University, Dr. James Jackson.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my dedicated teachers and professors who encouraged me all the way. They include my wonderful advisor, Dr. Terrence Tollefson, and the greatest mentor in the world, Dr. Louise MacKay. I also express my appreciation to all my committee members and their associates, including Dr. Nancy Dishner, Dr. Elizabeth Ralston, Dr. Russell West, and Dr. Russell Mays. Additional thanks are due to Mrs. Mary Jordan, Mrs. Laura Terry, and Mrs. Rita Presnell, along with the fine people at Illusion and Sista’s Act. Those individuals became our second family away from home. I also acknowledge all the other kind people at East Tennessee State University who made our stay here very pleasant and rewarding. Finally, I want to thank Dr. Harold Wilson, who had confidence in my ability and gave me a chance. George and I wish to thank each of you and we will always keep all of you in our prayers.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to answer questions about the following Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina: (a) what their highest grade levels were before graduation; (b) what courses their students took in their last years of high school; (c) how well their students were prepared for jobs; (d) when and why they were closed; (e) what happened to Negro high school teachers and administrators when their schools were closed or desegregated; (f) what purposes any remaining Negro high school buildings now serve, and (g) the perceptions of former Negro high school students, teachers, and administrators about the effects of desegregation on students, school personnel, and communities. Most of the foregoing questions were answered by interviewing former Negro high school students, teachers, and administrators. Obtaining and analyzing a variety of published and unpublished documents answered the remaining questions.

Research Questions

The research questions that guided this study were as follows:

Research Question 1. What were the highest grade levels offered before graduation in the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

Research Question 2. What subjects did former Negro high school students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina take in their last years in high school?
Research Question 3. How well did the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina prepare their students for jobs?

Research Question 4. What happened to Negro high school teachers and administrators in the Piedmont area when their schools were closed or desegregated?

Research Question 5. What were the conditions of buildings, equipment, and supplies in Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

Research Question 6. When and why did Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina close?

Research Question 7. What were the effects of public school desegregation on Negro students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

Overview of Study

This study was completed primarily by conducting interviews with people who were associated with Piedmont area North Carolina Negro high schools. The analysis of transcribed interviews was selected as the main research technique, because the histories of many Piedmont area Negro high schools have been lost. Former students, teachers and principals of Highland High School in Gaston County, where I attended school, and other Negro high schools primarily in the Piedmont area of North Carolina participated in the study.

This study will contribute to the literature about the education of Negroes in America from earliest colonial times to the present. An attempt has been made to explain briefly the social, political, economic, and educational conditions of slaves in what is now the United States of America, in general, and in the Piedmont area of North
Carolina, in particular. Major topics reviewed include slavery, emancipation, segregated public schools, and desegregation of public schools. The Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation, the 1865-1877 reconstruction period, the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* United States Supreme Court case, the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* Supreme Court case are all summarized briefly to establish the context for the education of Negroes in piedmont area North Carolina high schools.

**Discussion and Definitions of Terms**

Several different terms commonly have been at different time periods to identify persons of African ancestry in what is now the United States of America.

Franklin and Moss (1994) said that there were several names given to the descendents of slaves in different historical periods, as inferentially characterized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptive Term</th>
<th>Approximate Period When Favored</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>1800-1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>1800-1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1961-1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1976-present</td>
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All of the above terms, with the exception of “African American,” have been used almost interchangeably in America for approximately the past 500 years, even though one term was more commonly used in the literature in one period and others at different times. In colonial times, “African” was often used in place of “colored”,


“Negro” or “black”. In this study, I have tried to use the terms that were or are most commonly used at the times being discussed.

**Desegregation**

Desegregation has been defined implicitly by several authors (Alexander & Alexander, 1992; Bergman, 1969) as the reversal of racial segregation in schools or society, generally as a result of laws or court orders.

**Emancipation**

The *Afro-American Encyclopedia* (1974) defined emancipation as “…the practice of…Negroes…freed voluntarily by their owners” (p. 885). Abraham Lincoln’s *Emancipation Proclamation* implied that emancipation could occur as the result of a Presidential order (Hockett, 1946).

**Segregation**

Auerbach (1993) defined segregation as the action by a powerful group, such as the American white citizens, to separate itself in schools or other social institutions from persons of other racial or ethnic groups. The *Afro-American Encyclopedia* (1974) defined segregation as a “…practice…which compelled racial groups to live apart from each other, go to separate schools, and use separate social facilities…(p. 2331).

Historically, there were two broad types of segregation in the United States. *De jure* segregation was mandated by law or other governmental policy, whereas *de facto* segregation in schools came about as a result of customary residential patterns.

Alexander and Alexander (1992) quoted former President Richard Nixon as having said in 1969, “There is a fundamental distinction between so-called ‘de jure’ and ‘de facto’ segregation. De jure segregation arises by law or other deliberate act of school officials
and is unconstitutional; de facto segregation results from residential housing patterns and does not violate the Constitution” (p. 424).

**Slavery**

Noel (1972) said, “Slavery is an institutional arrangement whereby some persons are, without just cause, coerced into perpetual servitude, defined as property…and denied rights commonly accorded other members of society” (p4).

**Organization of the Study**

The organization of the dissertation is as follows:

Chapter 1 consists of the introduction, which presents the statement of the problem and includes six research questions. Chapter 2 contains a historical review of the literature about the slavery period, emancipation, and the subsequent periods of segregation and desegregation of Negro high schools, with emphasis upon the Piedmont area of North Carolina. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used. Chapter 4 presents the analysis of data and findings of the study. Chapter 5 includes a summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations for further study.
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Most legally segregated Negro high schools in the United States have been closed or desegregated since some time in the 1960s. Many of their former students, teachers, and administrators have died, and a great many of their written records have been discarded or lost. To understand Negro high schools and their impact on both black and white people in Piedmont North Carolina, a basic knowledge of the historical, legal, and cultural context of segregated schools in North Carolina and elsewhere in America is necessary. Important topics pertaining to that context include slavery, emancipation, segregation and desegregation. Key laws and court decisions should be examined in relationship to the education of Negroes during slavery, segregation, and desegregation.

The above topics and other related terms were used as key words in manual and electronic searches of three university libraries (East Tennessee State University, the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University in Greensboro) and several databases, including ERIC and Dissertation abstracts. Dr. Michael E. Ward, the North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction, also was helpful in suggesting useful sources of information.

Slavery

According to Bennett (1961), Negro slavery in America,

…cannot be understood if it is not placed in the flow of history from which vantage point it will appear that slavery is not a disgrace peculiar to blacks but a universal phenomenon that has been practiced in almost all countries. Slavery was
old when Moses was young. In Plato’s Athens and Caesar’s Rome, humans—white, black and brown—were bought and sold. Slavery existed in the Middle Ages in Christian Europe and in Africa. In the ancient world almost anyone might become a slave. Slavery was so prevalent, in fact, that Plato said every person has slaves among his Ancestors (p. 31).

The pervasiveness of slavery throughout recorded history and even before records were kept has been documented by Thomas (1997), who implied that a Libyan people in about 8000 B.C. held slaves who were members of “a Bushman or Negrito tribe” (p. 25). Thomas continued, “The first Code of Laws, that of Hammurabi…included clear provisions about slavery. For example, death was prescribed for anyone who helped a slave to escape…” (p. 25).

The first 235 African slaves imported into Europe landed in Algarve, Portugal, on August 8, 1444. Prince Henry of Portugal watched the slaves debark and he received 46 of those slaves for his own use (Thomas, 1997).

The first recorded slave ship run by American colonists was the Desire, built in 1636 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. That ship’s first voyage to import slaves was made to the West Indies in 1637. Ironically, the outbound ship contained several Pequot Indians who had been captured in a war and were offered for sale as slaves in the West Indies. The Desire returned to Salem in 1638 with the first cargo of African Negro slaves (Duignan & Clendenen, 1963).

The first Negro to arrive in the New World may have been Pedro Alonzo Nino, a member of the crew of the first voyage by Columbus in 1492 (Bergman, 1969; Sloan, 1971). The so-called “Atlantic slave trade” was said to have originated on August 8, 1444, when 235 African slaves were delivered to Algarve, Portugal (Thomas, 1997). A royal ordinance of Spain issued in 1501 authorized the importation of Negro slaves into
the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere, but the first actual slaves were white, because Negroes were regarded as “…rebellious and difficult to manage” (Bergman, 1969, p. 3). The first Negro slaves exported by Portugal were sent to Hispaniola in 1502, and by the year 1699, approximately 900,000 Negro slaves reportedly had been imported into Latin America. By the time slavery was abolished in Brazil, an estimated five million African Negro slaves had been brought to that country for use on sugar plantations (Bergman, 1969). Over a period of approximately four centuries when African Negro slavery flourished, an estimated 40 million Africans were captured and sold into slavery, approximately half of whom came to the Western Hemisphere (Bennett, 1961).

By one account, the “history of Black America” began in August of 1619, when the first slaves in America reportedly were put ashore in Jamestown, Virginia (Bennet, 1961, p. 29). Embree (1829; in Buchanan & Nash, 1995) also said that the first slaves brought into the British colonies in North America numbered about 20, and that they landed in Jamestown in 1619. American Indians (or Native Americans) were enslaved, first by other Indians and later by European immigrants, before Negro slaves were imported from the Caribbean or Africa. Negro slavery rapidly supplanted Indian slavery in the British colonies, apparently for several real or imagined characteristics, including knowledge about rice farming by some West Africans (Meinig, 1986). Virginia was the first colony to prohibit Indian slavery, at least as the Act of 1691 generally has been interpreted (Lauber, 1913, reprinted 1970).

Negro slaves in small numbers were imported into most if not all of the American colonies between 1619 and 1690 (Handlin and Handlin, in Noel, 1972). By 1650,
Negroes greatly outnumbered whites in South Carolina, and Negroes represented nearly half of the population in Virginia (Hockett, 1940). Many slaveowners were reluctant to provide education to slaves because they thought education made slaves discontented with their situations. No public laws required the education of slaves, and typically they were taught only practical skills (Hockett, 1940, reprinted 1946). The Handlins contended that the first blacks in the American colonies were treated more like white indentured servants than slaves, and that only after 1750 did Negro slavery have a “clearly defined status”, which was,

That condition of a natural person, in which, by the operation of law, the application of his physical and mental power depends…upon the will of another…and in which he is incapable…of…holding property [or any other rights]…except as the agent or instrument of another. In slavery, …the state, in ignoring the personality of the slave,…commits the control of his conduct…to the master, together with the power of transferring his authority to another (Hurd, 1858, cited by Handlin & Handlin in Noel, 1972, p. 23).

By 1750, all of the British colonies in North America had undergone similar developmental stages, including conquering the Indians, importing large numbers of people from Europe, importing slaves from Africa, and developing various patterns of agriculture and trade. North Carolina was slower to develop its land and slower to import slaves than its neighboring colonies to the north and south, Virginia and South Carolina. One reason cited was that North Carolina’s coastline was more hazardous to ships because the North Carolina harbors were shallower and more difficult to navigate than was the case in other colonies (Kay & Cary, 1995).

According to West (1997),

Every leading Founder [of the United States of America] acknowledged that slavery was wrong. Slavery was legal and practiced in every state in 1776; by the end of the founding era, more than a hundred thousand slaves had been freed by
the outlawing of slavery in seven of the original thirteen states or by individual acts of manumission, especially in the South. Most important, the grounds for the eventual total abolition of slavery was laid in the establishment of the equality principle at the center of the American polity by Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, Washington, and other leading Founders (p. xiii).

When Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, he criticized the king of England for “…suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce [slavery]” (Collins, 1904, reissued 1969, p. 9). The U.S. Constitution originally implicitly condoned slavery. Article 1, Section 2 (since repealed) said,

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons….”

According to Nevins (1970),

Before the constitution was completed, several minor compromises were written into it. Most of the States wished to stop the slave trade with Africa, but South Carolina and Georgia objected. The constitution therefore provided for ending it after twenty years. Again, the slave States wished to count their Negroes as part of the basis for representation; the free states objected to this. It was therefore agreed that three-fifths of the slaves should be enumerated for purposes of representation…” (p.77).

The Education of Negroes, Early School Segregation and Desegregation

In the early 1850s, public schools in Boston were segregated into schools for Negroes and schools for whites. Negro parents opposed such segregation vigorously, and their efforts succeeded in 1855, when the state legislature in Massachusetts passed a law to end segregated schools (Ripley, Finkenbine, Hembree, & Yacovone, 1993).
Abolitionism and Other Opposition to Slavery

Many colonists opposed slavery, and colonial legislatures enacted numerous laws to restrict or, in some cases, to prohibit slavery. The British government overruled all of those laws because they were financially harmful to wealthy landowners. The spread of slavery in the American colonies initially was slow. Virginia reportedly contained only 23 slaves in 1625, and Simon Bradstreet, the governor of Massachusetts, said in 1680 that, except for one small slave shipment in 1678, “…no company of blacks or slaves” had been imported into the Bay Colony for over 50 years (Duignan & Clendenen, 1963, pp. 2-3). Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colonial governor of South Carolina, said that there were about 4,000 white colonists and about an equal number of Negro slaves in 1708. Negro slaves increased dramatically in numbers and economic importance in the southern colonies, beginning in the early 1700s, because of the corresponding increases in the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo which required large numbers of unskilled laborers at a time when white laborers were scarce and expensive (Duignan & Clendenen, 1963).

By 1776, opposition to slavery in America originated soon after the practice began, in the middle of the seventeenth century. William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson in Great Britain may have started the “abolitionist movement”. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends (often called “Quakers”), first encountered slavery when he visited plantations in Barbados, and he and his church began to oppose it soon afterward (Embree, 1829, in Buchanan & Nash, 1995).
Robert and Mary Embree came to America from Great Britain around 1640. They lived in Stamford, where Robert died in 1656. Mary married George Baldwin in 1757, and they and the Embree children moved to the town of Hempstead, Long Island. The Baldwins and their descendants subsequently moved with many other Quakers, first to Long Island, and later to New Jersey and Pennsylvania to avoid persecution as severe as death for their expressed religious beliefs. William Penn founded Pennsylvania in 1682 as a colony for religious freedom. In ensuing years, some of the Embree family members moved to Virginia, and Moses Embree III moved to South Carolina and then to what was then North Carolina and now is Washington County, Tennessee. According to a combination of history and legend, Moses Embree III lived in a fortified cabin near Telford, Tennessee, in the winter of 1779-80, and he allowed John Sevier and his first wife, Sarah Hawkins (whose nephews included David Crockett), to stay with him during an Indian attack. Thomas Embree, who was the first son of Moses Embree III, married Esther in Virginia and they settled in the Nolichucky area of Tennessee near Bumpass Cove. That area became known as Embreeville. Thomas was a well-known Quaker who became an abolitionist, and his house is thought to have been a station on the “underground railroad” for runaway slaves to use on their escape to the North. (Embree, 1829, in Buchanan & Nash, 1995).

In 1775, the American colonies had approximately 500,000 Negro slaves, in addition to a substantial number of free Negroes. Virginia and South Carolina had more than half of all Negro slaves in the colonies, with 165,000 in Virginia and 110,000 in South Carolina. North Carolina had about 75,000 and Maryland approximately 80,000.
The other nine colonies had slave populations ranging from 629 in New Hampshire to 15,000 in New York and 16,000 in Georgia (Bergman, 1969).

By 1808, every state had passed a law prohibiting the importation of additional slaves, but, apparently beginning in 1803 with South Carolina, several states repealed those laws (Collins, 1904, reissued in 1969).

The growth of cotton as the main agricultural product of the South was a principal factor in the spread of slavery from East to West in the South. In 1824, the Atlantic coastal states produced over twice as much cotton as did the southwestern states and territories, but by 1841 the Southwest’s share of the total cotton crop was about double that of the Southeast. This change not only assured the determination to maintain slavery throughout the South, but also contributed to political unity throughout the South on “…all fundamental policies affecting cotton culture and slavery…” (Hockett, 1940, p. 615).

In the 1840s and 1850s, numerous free Negroes became active abolitionists. Frederick Douglass and Michael Ward were two of the best known black abolitionists. They spoke at large and small gatherings and they wrote and published papers, journal articles, and books. They tried to convince Americans, particularly white Northerners, that slavery corrupted whites and was inhumane to blacks. Many actions of the federal government, including the Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott decision, all indicated a shift in favor of slave interests (Ripley, Finkenbine, Hembree, & Yacovone, 1993). They responded by adopting a strategy involving political action in concert with various antislavery political parties. Frederick Douglass’ *North Star* began publication in 1847 and changed its name to *Frederick Douglass’*
Paper in 1851. The paper became highly respected for both its ideas and its expression. Several black leaders attended the founding meeting of the American Free Soil Party in 1848, thus allying themselves with the Northern populist movement.

In 1846, David Wilmot, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, attached a rider to a bill that would have prohibited slavery in any territory acquired by the U.S. in the Mexican War. The bill passed in the House but failed in the Senate. In that same year, a law was passed in New Jersey that banned slavery in that state (Bergman, 1969).

Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in 1852. The book depicted slavery as harsh and inhumane, and it crystallized opinions on both sides of the issue. A year later, *Pro-Slavery Argument*, written by several authors who included a College of William and Mary professor and a U.S. Senator and a South Carolina Supreme Court judge, portrayed a life as a slave in the South as more humane than life as a “wage slave” for a northern white factory worker (Bergman, 1969).

The Missouri Compromise, The Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott Decision

In 1820, Congress enacted the so-called “Missouri Compromise”. It admitted Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state, and stated that all future states admitted to the Union would be free states if they were north of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes (also known as the Mason-Dixon Line), whereas all new states south of that line would allow slavery (Nevins, 1970).
In 1850, Congress enacted the Fugitive Slave Law, which authorized anyone claiming to own a Negro as a slave to “take possession” of that Negro as soon as proof of ownership was provided to a federal commissioner. The law did not provide for court hearings or trials, but it did authorize the imposition of fines up to $1,000 on any person who refused to help capture a fugitive slave, and it also allowed imprisonment for up to six months for the same offense (Bergman, 1969, p. 196).

The “Missouri Compromise” had prohibited slavery in all western territories north of the 36 (degree), 30 (minutes) line. In the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Congress eliminated the prohibition of slavery north of that line. Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois introduced that act as a means to increase the rate of settlement in the “Mid-West” (Bergman, 1969, p. 205).

Heidler and Heidler (2000) described Dred Scott as a man who was born a slave in Virginia within a few years of 1800. When his owner died in 1846, he began to seek a legal status as a free person. His case was deliberated for approximately ten years in various state and federal courts, and it was sent to the U.S. Supreme court in 1856. The Supreme Court issued its decision in March of 1857. Roger Taney (1858, quoted in Heidler & Heidler, 2000), who was Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court said,

The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and constituent members of this sovereignty? We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word “citizens” in the Constitution, and can, therefore, claim none of the rights and privileges, which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States (p. 2193).
Abraham Lincoln’s 1858 (quoted in Heidler & Heidler, 2000) acceptance speech for his nomination as a candidate for election to the U.S. Senate by the Illinois state Republican convention included the following statements about the Dred Scott decision:

Firstly, That no Negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendent of such slave, can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States. This point is made in order to deprive the Negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of the United States Constitution which declares that “The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states” (p. 2188);

Secondly, Neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States Territory. This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the Territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future” (p. 2188);

Thirdly, That whether the holding a Negro in actual slavery in a free state makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the Negro may be forced into by the master…” (p. 2188).

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation

Beginning in 1860, the southern states seceded from the United States of America, one at a time by means of a separate state convention in each state. Representatives of the first seven states to secede met at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1861. There they formed the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis as their president. Even before the Confederacy was officially formed on January 9, 1861, Confederate troops opened fire on U.S. Army Fort Sumter, South Carolina. That action effectively began the Civil War between the South and the North (Hockett, 1940).
President Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary *Emancipation Proclamation* on September 22, 1862, calling it a “necessary war measure” (Hockett, 1940, pp. 767-768). The proclamation stated that all slaves in the Confederacy in places still rebelling against the U.S.A. would be granted their freedom on January 1, 1863.

The Civil War was long and bitter. The Union forces finally triumphed on April 9, 1865, when Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia (Morison & Commager, 1962).

**Reconstruction After the Civil War**

The period from the end of the Civil War in 1865 until 1877 is labeled “Reconstruction” by many U.S. historians (Stamp, 1965). During that time, Republican presidents and the so-called “radical” Republican-dominated U.S. Congress tried to provide and guarantee a variety of civil rights to Negroes. Historians are divided about whether such laws were merely long-overdue requirements to assure legal equality for Negroes or whether those measures represented excessive punishment of southern whites that led to a reaction and a setback of progress for Negroes. On the first day of the 1865 session of Congress, moderate and radical Republicans in both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives met to exclude representatives and senators from the 11 former Confederate states from being recognized and seated as members. In December of 1865, the same moderate and radical Republicans appointed a Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Its 12 members included nine Republicans and three Democrats, and they were divided between six Senators and nine Representatives. On April 28, 1866, the
Joint Committee on Reconstruction issued its report. It said that the 11 southern states were “…disorganized communities without civil governments” (p. 111).

Thaddeus Stevens, a radical Republican from Pennsylvania who was the leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Senator Charles Sumner, the radical Republican leader from Massachusetts, were the foremost leaders of Reconstruction. They led the effort to divide the former Confederate states, except for Tennessee, into five federal districts, each of which was run by a high U.S. Army general. By 1868, most of the southern states were controlled by a combination of Negroes, northern white opportunists called “carpetbaggers”, and disreputable southern whites called “scalawags”.

In the election of 1876, Democrats were able to regain control of eight of the 11 southern states. Republicans, represented by a “…coalition of carpetbaggers, scalawags and Negroes” (p. 186) still controlled the three remaining southern states (Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina). Democrats in those states contended that election fraud had illegally prevented them from winning the elections in those three states. The new President, Rutherford B. Hayes, although he was a Republican, ordered the U.S. soldiers out of the South and effectively ended Reconstruction. Three post-Civil War amendments to the *U.S. Constitution* and a number of federal laws represented a substantial part of the Reconstruction legacy that have survived to this day (Nevins, 1970). They are summarized in the following sections.
The Thirteenth Amendment

The Thirteenth Amendment to the *U.S. Constitution* was proposed on February 1, 1865, and ratified on December 18, 1865 (Morison & Commager, 1962). It contained the following two brief sections:

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction (Yudof, Kirp, Levin, & Moran, 1992, p.1008).

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation (Yudof et al., 1992, p. 1008).

The Civil Rights Act of 1866

Congress adopted the first postwar civil rights act on March 14, 1866 (Bergman, 1969). It gave citizenship to “…all persons born in the U.S. and not subject to any foreign powers, excluding Indians not taxed” (p.249). It provided equal rights for citizens “…of every race and color…” to enter contracts, sue in court, buy, own and sell property and to receive “…full and equal benefit of all laws” (p. 249). President Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill and Congress overrode his veto.

The Fourteenth Amendment

The Fourteenth Amendment was proposed on June 16, 1866, and ratified on July 28, 1868 (Morison & Commager, 1962). It included the essence of the 1866 Civil Rights Act (Bergman, 1969). Two of its sections stated,

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges
or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws (Yudof et al., 1992, p. 1008).

Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article (Yudof et al., 1992, p. 1009).

The Fifteenth Amendment

The Fifteenth Amendment was proposed on February 27, 1869, and ratified on March 30, 1870 (Morison & Commager, 1962). It said,

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation (Alexander & Alexander, p. 843).

In 1873, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the appropriate interpretations of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (Morison & Commager, 1962b). Justice Miller, said in the Court’s majority opinion,

No one can fail to be impressed with the one pervading purpose found in them all, lying at the foundation of each, and without which none of them would have been even suggested; we mean the freedom of the slave race, the security and firm establishment of that freedom, and the protection of the newly made freedman and citizen from the oppressions of those who had formerly exercised unlimited dominion over him (p. 85).

U. S. Civil Rights Acts from 1870 to 1875

Congress passed several civil rights acts from 1870 to 1875. According to Morison and Commager, two of the most important were the so-called “Enforcement Acts” of May 31, 1870, and February 28, 1871. They brought Negro voting rights under
the jurisdiction of the federal government. The Ku Klux Klan Act of April 20, 1871, made it a federal crime to conspire to prevent the equal protection of laws for Negroes. The Civil Rights Act of March 1, 1875 guaranteed Negroes… “full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land and water, theatres, and other places of public amusement”, as well as the right to serve on juries (p. 86). The U.S. Supreme Court effectively overturned the 1875 Civil Rights Act. Speaking for the Court, Justice Bradley said,

It would be running the slavery argument into the ground to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make as to guests he will entertain, or as to the people he will take into his coach or cab or car, or admit to his concern or theatre, or deal with in other matters of intercourse or business (p. 88).

Black Codes and Jim Crow Laws

“Black Codes were enacted after the end of Reconstruction, mostly by white Democrats, in all former Confederate states except Tennessee. According to Wright (2001),

The drastic consequences of President Johnson’s hands-off approach to reconstruction appeared immediately. The new state bureaucracies—in most cases little different from the old ones—began passing laws to suppress their emancipated populations. These laws, known as “Black Codes”, essentially reinstated slavery. Though nominally meant to spell out freed blacks’ civil rights, they did more to proscribe those rights than anything else. Mississippi’s November 1865 codes were, with South Carolina’s, among the first. Along with the age-old miscegenation provisions, the laws added clauses designed to retain the white supremacist social hierarchy of slavery by punishing behavior judged disrespectful or insubordinate to whites (p.377).

Funding Differences Between Negro and White Schools in North Carolina

According to the U.S. Bureau of Education (1917),
In the 15 States and the District of Columbia for which salaries by race were obtained [for the year 1912], the public-school teachers received $42,510,703 in salaries. Of this [amount], $36,649,827 was for the teachers of white children and $5,860,876 was for the teachers of 1,852,181 colored children. On a per capita basis, this is $10.32 per white child and $2.89 for each colored child (p. 10).

Anderson (1988) pointed out that in 1910, North Carolina’s population included 1,500,511 whites and 697,843 Negroes. The Negroes represented 31.6% of the total population. Children between the ages of 6 and 14 years in that same year included 325,555 whites and 169,034 Negroes. Among whites, 12.3% were recorded as being illiterate, but 31.9% of the Negroes were illiterate. Teachers’ salaries funded by public appropriations for public school teachers in North Carolina in 1910-1911 totaled $2,056,850, of which $1,715,994 went to teachers of white children and $340,846 was paid to teachers of Negro children. In per-capita terms, this amounted to $5.25 per white child and $2.02 per Negro child.

Harlan (1958) also cited statistics from the U.S. Office of Education. He said that, for the year 1900,

The average term in the Southern seaboard was less than 100 days, about half of that of New England…The average North Carolina child attended school just 21.9 days a year, or one-fifth as long as the Massachusetts child…Just as the “average” obscured sharp regional differences in educational facilities, so similar inequalities existed within the Southern region. Negro schools were almost everywhere in the South at the base of the educational pyramid (pp. 18-20).

Harlan (1958) continued that, in spite of overall financial improvements for public schools in North Carolina by the 1914-1915 school year, Negro schools were still lagging behind white schools. In that year, there was a total of 801,397 public school children in North Carolina, including 540,410 white school children (67.4% of the total)
and 260,987 Negro children (32.6% of the total). But white schools received $4,000,186 in public funding, compared with $598,988 for Negro schools. White schools received 87.0% of total public funds, while Negro schools received 13.0% of the total. In the same year, white teachers in North Carolina city schools averaged $448.61 in salary, while Negro teachers in city schools averaged $256.60 in salary. The rural white average was $247.42, and the Negro rural average was $127.78.

In 1915, Harlan (1958) said that North Carolina had a total of 258 public high schools, of which 134 had four-year programs. He added,

Enrollment was 16,783. Besides these, nineteen “farm-life” or agricultural high schools enrolled 1,143. These were all white children; the state recognized no Negro secondary education, though apparently there was some secretive instruction on the secondary level. In the following year the federal commissioner reported one Negro high school in the state with 19 pupils out of a state total of 15,649 secondary students. In fact, local white hostility to the idea was so strong that when the Rosenwald Fund began about this time to aid in the establishment of a few Negro secondary schools to train Negro teachers, it called them “training schools” rather than high schools (pp. 133-134).

According to Alexander (1980), “[T]he capstone of segregation came in 1896 with Plessy v. Ferguson, …in which the separate-but-equal rationale was implanted as a national standard applying to the Fourteenth Amendment”(p. 457). It is somewhat ironic that the case itself had nothing to do with education. It was centered on the attempt of Mr. Plessy to board a railroad car in Louisiana that was off limits to Negroes. Part of an existing Louisiana law stated,

…that all railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this State, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by partition so as to secure separate accommodations (p.457).

Justice Brown provided the standard when he said,
In determining the question of reasonableness it [the legislature] is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order (p.457).

Alexander (1980) went on to point out that this decision was quickly extended to education and in subsequent litigation brought before it, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to respond to the litigation, stating that such decisions were solely the states’ concern. By taking this position, the Supreme Court virtually assured that the separate black and white schools would remain intact. The Negro children often were sent to extremely inadequate school facilities with poorly prepared teachers. In addition, because of the southern plantation owners’ need for field workers, the Negro children often were allowed to attend school for only a small portion of each year.

*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

The separate-but-equal doctrine of the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision remained the law of the land throughout the United States until 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court issued its decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case (sometimes called “Brown I”). This class action case was filed against the board of education for operating segregated elementary schools in accordance with a state law that permitted such segregation in cities with over 15,000 population. The Supreme Court ruled that separate (meaning segregated) public schools for black and white children were inherently unequal and unconstitutional. Alexander and Alexander (1985) said about the decision, “The case was not only a watershed in American education but was one of the most
important decisions ever rendered by the Supreme Court” (p. 463). La Morte (1990) reinforced Alexander’s opinion with the statement that,

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it is under the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system (p.302).

La Morte pointed out that the Brown decision said,

Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes any discussion of whether any such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (p. 302).

The inclusion of one phrase in the Brown decision slowed the implementation of the desegregation of public schools for many years. That phrase, “with all deliberate speed”, appeared in the following passage from the decision,

…the cases are remanded to the District Courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees that are consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases (p. 304).

The phrase “with all deliberate speed” allowed school districts and entire states to postpone desegregation. La Morte (1990) quoted Justice Felix Frankfurter as having said, “Nothing could be worse from my point of view than for this court to make an abstract declaration that desegregation is bad and then to have it evaded by tricks” (p. 306).
Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District, according to Alexander (1980), was the 43rd largest public school district in the United States in 1969, when the Swann case was filed. Approximately 29% of the public school students were Negro, and about 71% were white. After refusing to approve three plans that the school board had proposed (under court order) to desegregate the students, teachers and administrators, the district court appointed Dr. John Finger to develop such a plan. The resulting “Finger Plan” called for closing seven schools, revising student attendance zones for individual schools to increase integration, and establishing a single athletic league. The final revised plan was approved by the district court on February 5, 1970. That decision was appealed, first to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals and later to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the lower courts’ rulings. The final court-ordered plan required bussing some inner-city Negro students to achieve racial integration. Bus trips for elementary school students were deemed to average about seven miles each direction and not to require more than 35 minutes each way. That reportedly compared to a previous school district transportation policy that required over 23,000 students per day to travel by bus an average of 15 miles each way.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District desegregation plan was ended on April 15, 2002, when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to consider an appeal of the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. That decision said that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District, “…had effectively dismantled the vestiges of segregation and become ‘unitary’” (Greenhouse, L., http://www.ny
The Charlotte-Mecklenburg case was important both nationally and in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. It legitimized bussing of students to achieve racial desegregation, and it served as an example for adjoining Gaston County.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

The research methodology used in this study was qualitative. It involved interviewing my former classmates, teachers, and administrators from Highland High School and other students and administrators whom I knew or were suggested to me by those I interviewed. The comments of the interviewees provided an insight into the experience of Negroes in segregated schools that could not be duplicated in the literature. Their experiences while attending or working in Negro high schools provide unique insights regarding the educational facilities, curricula, and culture of the era.

Research Questions

Research Question 1. What were the highest grade levels offered before graduation in Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

Research Question 2. What subjects did former Negro high school students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina take in their last years in high school?

Research Question 3. How well did Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina prepare their students for jobs?

Research Question 4. What happened to Negro high school teachers and administrators in the Piedmont area of North Carolina when their schools were closed or desegregated?

Research Question 5. What were the conditions of buildings, equipment and supplies in Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?
Research Question 6. When and why did Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina close?

Research Question 7. What were the effects of public school desegregation on Negro students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

I collected the information for this study through one-on-one interviews. In addition, I corresponded with my interviewees through the mail and by telephone. Creswell (1998) made reference to eventful occurrences that had an impact in the past and made an impression on society as worthy of purposeful study. In addition, Seidman (1991) suggested the purpose of interviewing was to understand the experiences of others and to make meaning of them. My goal was to have the interviewees report on and about themselves and their experiences and clarify their responses in their own words (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), and as a result “take us into their lifeworld to see the content and pattern of their experience” (McCracken, 1998, p.9).

Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) described “snowball or chain sampling” as a process of asking well-situated people to provide information that would lead to other individuals who should provide relevant information leading to other knowledgeable individuals who could provide appropriate information about the subject, thus acquiring a “highly credible service” (p.234). The individuals interviewed in this study met those standards.

The interviews were recorded for later transcribing, and I probed for more complete answers as needed. In addition, I took notes about the interviews in longhand as the interviewees answered the questions. An African American who was familiar with the speech patterns of the interviewees, thus providing greater reliability, transcribed the
interviews. Interview subjects were sent transcribed copies of their statements and asked to clarify or add to any of their remarks as desired.

My co-chairs and another faculty member provided expert review of the interviews and suggested changes as needed. By maintaining a notebook, the recorded recollections of the interviewees, using an African American transcriber, allowing interview analysis, and using expert review, I met the requirements for conformability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In addition, I met the requirements for confirmability as stated by Leininger (1994) by having the interviewees restate their responses at the end of the interviews and allowing them to examine the written statements for accuracy.

**Interview Format**

Using the standardized open-ended interview as discussed by Gall, Borg & Gall (1996), I created two sets of questions to ask the respondents. One set of questions was prepared for the interviewees who were students that attended segregated high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina and one set of questions for the teachers and principals in the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina during the same period.

**Student Interview Questions**

1. In what year did you attend a Negro high school? What was the highest grade offered before graduation in your last year in high school?

2. Were your school buildings, including desks, classrooms, bathrooms, lockers and playgrounds in good condition? Please describe.
3. What subjects did you take during your last year of high school?

4. How well did your Negro high school prepare you for employment after you finished high school?

5. What effect did the Negro high school personnel and parents have on the survival of the Negro high school(s)?

6. How do you feel today about your experiences in the segregated Negro high schools and the desegregation in public schools? (including bussing, etc.)

7. What is your opinion regarding the future of desegregated high schools in North Carolina? How are they good or bad for African Americans?

8. Did you have any experiences that you would be willing to share relating to the segregated school period you lived through?

Because the teachers, principals, and other school administrators experienced the segregated Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina from a different perspective than the students, a somewhat different set of questions was asked of them. These questions were designed to elicit responses that would allow the reader to gain additional insights into the segregated Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina during the same period when the student interviewees attended those high schools.

Teachers', Principals' and Other School Administrators' Interview Questions

1. As an educator who worked in a Negro high school during the segregated period, how did you cope with keeping students interested in becoming educated?

2. Did the curriculum and school supplies give you the support you needed to achieve what you expected from your students
3. How well do you believe that Negro high schools prepared their students to be employed after graduation?

4. What were the required qualifications for the teachers in your Negro high school?

5. When desegregation was implemented can you tell me what happened to the teachers, principals and other personnel when the Negro high schools closed?

6. When and why did Negro high schools close? Can you tell me what happened to your Negro high schools?

7. Are there any experiences that you would be willing to share concerning the segregated Negro high school era?

Chapter 3 has described the methodology used in this dissertation and cited relevant literature to support the format. This study was conducted through the use of personal interviews and utilized the answers of two sets of respondents: Negro students who attended segregated high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina; and teachers and administrators who were involved with the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina during the same segregated era. As a member of the group of students being interviewed, I was able to include my own experiences and views in the presentation of this study and found them to be congruent with the interviewees. The study thus provided a connection between the interviewees that allowed for a richness in the data collected that Gall, Borg & Gall (1996) spoke of as providing connections between the participants and their stories (p.30). In addition to the questions posed to the interviewees, Chapter 3 has provided relevant literature to support the methodology.
Chapter 4 presents the interview findings and summarizes the common as well as the unique responses in order to enable understanding the experiences of these interviewees during the segregated Negro high school era in question.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and makes recommendations for future studies of related topics.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The experiences of African Americans who attended segregated Negro high schools prior to the integration of the schools in the 1960s have been largely neglected in the literature regarding American schools. This study was an attempt to fill a portion of that void by conducting interviews with African Americans in one small section of North Carolina. The research findings in this study were primarily based on the one-on-one interviews that I conducted with students who had attended Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina between 1934 and 1966. I conducted interviews in order to gain as complete a sense of the history of the segregated Negro high schools as possible. The responses and paraphrased comments of the former Negro students to the interview questions are presented below. They are followed by the responses and paraphrased comments of the former Negro teachers, principals, and other school administrators from the same era.

In addition to the formal research questions that were answered, a number of additional themes were identified from the data, which added a richness to the study that only personal recollections could provide. The additional themes and the implications they have for the future are presented at the end of this chapter and more completely in Chapter 5.
Negro High School Student Interview Questions and Responses

Question 1. In what year did you attend a Negro high school? What was the highest grade offered before graduation in your last year in high school?

In the Negro high schools during the 1930s until the early 1940s, most students graduated at the end of the eleventh grade. There was one student who said she had graduated from the eighth grade. There were six students who graduated from the 11th grade. There were 16 students who graduated from the 12th grade from the mid-forties until 1966, when most Negro high schools were closed.

Question 2. Were your school buildings, including desks, classroom, bathrooms, lockers, and playgrounds in good condition and please describe?

Students who graduated in the 1930s and the 1940s stated that their school buildings were in fair condition. Desks were the usual old school desks that had round holes in the tops. Some classrooms were in fair condition and others didn’t have proper space. Bathrooms could have been better--sometimes they were dirty and unsanitary. Some schools did not have sufficient restroom areas, there were outside toilets, we used outside toilets. Several said that there were no lockers; just a coat hanging area, or that lockers could have been better. Playgrounds were spoken of as just regular old dirty playgrounds, and they didn’t have any playground equipment. In 1954 a new high school building was built. Students who went to the new school generally agreed that the desks, classrooms, bathrooms, lockers and playgrounds “were in pretty good condition in the years they were there.”

Two students in the eastern Piedmont area of North Carolina spoke of their school as having a very different appearance from the schools in the rest of
Pender County Training School reminded you of a college campus, because the wooden framed buildings scattered over many acres of land. For example, if we had to go to the auditorium, which was also used as the gymnasium, we had to walk several miles to get to that building. Likewise, with the other classes, they were spread out among the many buildings. We used the outside toilets. I don’t remember what we did to wash our hands, but we didn’t have bathroom facilities that we now have. There was space for the playground across by the auditorium. As far as equipment was concerned, we had very little, maybe a softball and a bat or a game of horseshoes, but to compare the equipment then with what we use now is from one extreme to the other. If I remember correctly, the desks were like the usual old school desks that had round holes in the top with inkwells, where you kept your bottle of ink and ink pen. They were single desks with a smooth top. The classrooms were medium sized. I don’t remember how large the classes were, but the rooms were large enough to accommodate the number of students we had.

Other students from different schools in the Piedmont area responded by saying:

Things at the school were not nice. They were dirty and unsanitary. All the books were old.

The time that I was in elementary school, there were outside toilets. We did not have a furnace. We had to go outside to get coal to continue fire. In high school we did have inside bathrooms. We had inside heat, so that we didn’t have to go outside for anything. It was real poor and it wasn’t up to a regular classroom standards.

The building was in fair condition, the bathrooms could have been better, lockers could have been better, the classrooms were in fair condition, I cannot say good condition, because they were not in good condition, they were in fair condition. The playgrounds were in fair condition also. We didn’t have any playground equipment. I do remember having some balls out there, but any other equipment we didn’t have, not in high school.

The school had just been built in 1955 and the school building was a nice facility, because it had been built to replace an old facility in Gastonia. For that reason, we had a nice new building.

Facilities at our school were nice. We all had decent desks, bathrooms were kept clean, and the play yard was intact.
Our facilities were not adequate. In our classrooms, the desks were pretty good but all the books were old books. They were dirty and had four to five names in them. They were sending them from the white high school to the black high school so we had to use them…second-hand stuff.

In our junior/senior high schools, things were in good condition, but not excellent. The hallways were always clean, waxed. The janitorial staff always kept the building in good condition. It was a brick building. We were never cold, never hot. It was good. We didn’t experience anything negative.

Yes, our facilities were in good condition. The bathrooms had all necessities needed. The classrooms had desks and the teacher had a desk, the blackboard was okay, we had chalk, and a place to hang our coats. They were equipped nice.

Highland was a school where we attended first through twelfth grades. It leaked in the old building. I can remember the stairways leaked. The bathrooms were in very, very terrible condition. Our cafeteria was downstairs in the elementary building. In the high school building, the bathrooms would leak and sometimes stop up. The building leaked. We had no windows on the front of our building only on the side. Our library was in a classroom. When I was in the eighth grade, they finally built a gym and auditorium. At Second Ward High School there was a very good building. We had a beautiful playground, a gym, auditorium, and dining area. Overall, it was a beautiful building. It was very nice and everybody seemed to enjoy it.

I think our facilities were nice. My junior year, a brand new building was built. The restrooms were new. The restrooms in the old building were also very well maintained. The playgrounds were not as nice as other schools but they were adequate. I attended Reed High School.

In my school the facilities were not always in good condition. Some were…the restrooms were not always clean…most of the time you would have to see if you could find someone to clean them for you. The playgrounds were fair. There were no locker rooms or desks.

Our facilities were fairly new, because my older brother graduated in ’54 and that’s when this high school started—he’s 12 years older than me, so it was probably fairly new and in good condition.

The facilities were in pretty good condition in the years I was there. We had desks, they had been used but in fair shape. We had lockers with combinations.

When I first started school we didn’t have adequate space. My kids laugh at me when I tell them I went half a day. First to sixth grade was a half day. And the
seventh and twelfth grade went through the second part. We didn’t have enough space, as far as that was concerned. That’s why I say we didn’t have adequate desks, because we had to separate the schools into half-days for high schools and junior high. In Union School, first grade was on one campus. In high school everything was fine. In our commerce class, we had typewriters, but they weren’t up to par.

The bathrooms, playgrounds were not in good condition and the classrooms were only in fair condition.

Playgrounds weren’t in good condition. In the ’60s, there were boys’ playgrounds and the girls just had their desks to do their work on. It was a struggle to get our work done. Our books were very terrible. Hand-me-downs from one grade to another. Scratched out. Couldn’t read it. I don’t remember any new books in my time.

Question 3. What subjects did you take during your last year?

Students stated that the following subjects were taught:

English, history, physical education, mathematics, and science. Other subjects included: home economics, French, Spanish, chemistry, physics, algebra, trigonometry, industrial art, business administration, typing, secretarial courses, shorthand, social studies, science, and basic math.” One student also had “chorus, advanced math, and extra-curricular activities.”

We had an advanced college prep set of courses that required us to buy new textbooks because it was so advanced. In fact, in my freshman year of college, my chemistry book was same as the one I used as a senior in high school.

My schedule was made up of senior English, physics and physics lab, chemistry, French III and chorus and advanced math, which is comparable to algebra-trigonometry.

During my last years, 1966-1969, I attended Ashland High School. I took physics, advanced English, algebra-trigonometry, Latin, things of that nature. I think I also took typing. I knew I was going to college and I needed to develop that skill for typing and I am glad I did. I didn’t have any extra-curricular activities.

Question 4. How well did your Negro high school prepare you for employment after you finished high school?

There was a wide range of responses to this question, depending on when
and where the students attended school. For example, some students said,

“We were well prepared because many went on to college.” Others responded by saying, “They didn’t really prepare me. There wasn’t too much preparing for them to do, we were expected to have menial positions, and domestic technicians, housekeeping, janitorial, cooking and working in somebody’s house. The only vocations described were teaching, nursing or being a beautician. I was not well prepared.”

In the mid-1950s, when the new school was built, better training programs were introduced in the Negro high schools' curricula. The following explanations were given for this question:

They didn’t prepare me at all. My mother sent me to beauty school to be a beautician.

As I look back, the school did a very poor job, because at that particular time there were very few jobs available for an educated black person. You were competing with those who had instructed you, so it would bother you to do that and we had to really look other places to find employment.

We weren’t that well prepared. In fact, I took two remedial courses in college, my freshman year. A lot of courses that I had in high school really didn’t equip me to be ready for college work. I majored in home economics when I went off to college. I found out there were more things connected with home economics than just cooking and sewing. The chemistry part, I mean we didn’t have a lab in school we could experiment and do processing with, so I was not well prepared. I really had to go in and do some self studying.

The teachers that I came through taught me a lot, and I learned. I didn’t learn as much as I should have. The teachers were more motivated. Most of my teachers were middle aged and seemed to care about the students. They were concerned about you. That made it better. After you graduated, down through the years, you might run across a teacher that taught you. I loved my teachers and admired them. Those were some good days.

When I left Highland, I went to college. I was at North Carolina Central and when I walked on campus to take my entrance exam I found out that I was one of the few students that had a slide rule. My physics and math teacher had exposed us to slide rules, so in terms of a science/math background it was phenomenal. In terms of English, my teachers did an excellent job getting us prepared for writing and one of the things that stays with me with regard to one of my teachers is that he was one that had you to go into high order thinking in the days when it was
input/output in terms of recall. Mr. Moses had you to do a lot of analytical thinking back then.

After I finished high school I went to college. I was prepared for college. I didn’t have everything that I needed, because I did have subjects that I wasn’t prepared for, when I entered college. French was one subject I was not prepared for but all the others I would say that I was somewhat prepared for as to what I majored in when I went to college.

None of us were prepared for the workplace at that time. The only vocation was teaching that prepared you for the workforce. We didn’t get any vocational training at all in high school. Most of the students went on into housework after leaving high school and a few did go to college. It wasn’t like it is today where you can just finish and go on to school and get any degree you want.

I think during that particular time we were well prepared, because many went on to college and succeeded.

Well, I think they did good because they gave us tests to see what we were qualified for. Scholastic tests and aptitude tests to see what you really wanted to major in. They would give you these tests to tell you what you were really good at.

The schools didn’t do anything to prepare me. My mother prepared me for it after high school. I was a domestic technician and that was cleaning the white folks house. I put it nice.

The emphasis at my high school was not on employment. We did not have employment opportunities. There was little reason to be prepared for good jobs. Blacks couldn’t get jobs in the local industries. We couldn’t get jobs in the mills, except in menial positions and we were trying to go beyond that.

It prepared me quite well under the circumstances, because we were not up to par as far as material things, but we had good teachers and I came up under a good coach who helped me tremendously.

I thought that I was well prepared, all things considered. We didn’t have access to some of the things that I learned about as a result of going to a white high school to take my SAT. I had no idea, because we lived in an isolated environment for the most part, but going to that school to take the SAT, I was able to see the kinds of equipment they had. We had the same equipment, but generally they had more of the equipment. We had the experiences of the used textbooks. I was probably a senior in high school when I recall having my first new textbook. Everything else had been handed down. I think that in Gastonia
city schools might have operated differently from a fairness and equity standpoint than many other schools in our county and other parts of the state.

In Second Ward School, all of the seniors had to teach a class in what they wanted to major in when they went to college. And I had planned to major in engineering, so I taught mechanical drawing, as that was part of engineering my senior year. I went on to A&T, started out majoring in engineering and then after getting into ROTC and getting into some other things, I joined the army. Then I went on to A&T for many years.

I think they prepared us very well, because we had teachers who were dedicated, who showed a lot of tender loving care and they took the time to help you if you did not understand and that was so important. They were not the type of teachers that OK if you don’t know it we will just move on. They would all take the time to explain it again to make sure that you understood. I think I was pretty well prepared for a Negro high school.

It prepared me pretty well, because I know I got the education to finish high school that enabled me to go out after high school and secure a job.

I think it was pretty well secured for me. I wasn’t interested in college right after school and I should have been. But I was able to go out into the workforce and get a job and work and get married. I have always worked and have always been able to do and get what I really wanted and needed. So, I think my education was pretty good. I had very good teachers and they were all black. They knew our families, so we had to do what was right. So, I think it was very good.

To my knowledge I was well prepared with the material that we had to use which was limited at that time. We were short on books a lot of times, we were short of, well, of different things we really needed.

They did a good job. When you don’t have anyone to push you and to keep you going in some direction it’s hard, and it’s individual. I wasn’t pushed enough. There were things that I wanted to do that I couldn’t do. Other than that, they got me to do what I could do. They motivated me to do things. If I had tried harder then I could have done more, but I didn’t try hard enough.

Question 5. What effect did the Negro high school personnel and parents in the community have on the survival of the Negro high school?

Parents and teachers worked to help in any way the school saw fit to use them as we had an actual PTA. They had PTA projects, selling candy in the community, most of the children’s parents participated. Teachers had support of the parents
and community. Also, parents were involved in activities with the teachers who helped motivate the children.

Community was a big theme and it was stated that as far as communities and schools, they worked hand in hand. Also, the interest was in the children but they didn’t have much power in the high schools. Negro high schools had support in whatever we did. We were taught to be the best by our parents, teachers, community leaders, administrators, religious leaders, and business people.

The only thing that the parents had was the hope that we might survive with what we had, which was limited. We did not have sufficient books. There were a lot of things that were needed that we did not have and our parents could not support us with them.

I think they had a lot of influence. The parents, even the superintendent, played a big part in the effectiveness of the high school, because of the superintendent, T. T. Murphy. My mother was a teacher and my mother knew the superintendent from way, way back, so whatever they discussed was done, because she had a lot of influence on the superintendent. It was pretty effective.

They gave us nickels and pennies and dimes. We saved it so we could get our band uniforms. Sometimes we would get 10 cents a week and we would save it so we could get our uniforms.

They signed a petition trying to get them to keep the schools open and it just didn’t work. They wanted to do away with the school. We wanted it integrated. They had the other say---they were more powerful.

I think that parents and the entire community embraced the Negro high school. For ball games, concerts and anything that happened, people in the community felt a part of it and would come out and support those activities, regardless if they had children that were a part of it or involved. They would come to baccalaureate, graduations or ball games and to concerts and plays. The Negro high school was a focal point in the community.

As a whole, I think they did the best they could with what they had to work with. Like, my mother wasn’t educated, she didn’t go to school, and there were a lot of things she could have done if she had the right environment and the intelligence to do it. She couldn’t even read or write. I tried to help her, but she just couldn’t do it.

That’s a very important question, because the community embraced the Negro high school, curriculum and the teachers in Highland. The community and everyone involved did their best to encourage all the students to do their best and when there came a time where students were not doing their best. Like I said
before, the intimate relationship that they had with you as students you came to feel as though they were your parents at times because they would always talk to you, invite you to their homes or churches or take you aside and treat you like their child to try to get you to do your best and excel rather than what you were doing. That was just wonderful. In whatever we did, we were taught to be the very best by parents, teachers, community leaders, administrators, religious leaders, and business people.

I have mixed emotions on that. Some parents were very supportive with what they were able to do spiritually, financially, and doing all they could. There were others not at all positive/interested due to low income or some type of stereotyping between the school system and those who were not interested in completing school.

I think the parents were involved in activities with the teachers who helped motivate the children and helped them get the proper things that they needed, equipment and things that normally they would not have had. They had fundraising activities to provide the proper things the school needed. The parents were brought up in the school system.

The schools and the community worked hand in hand. I remember once, my brother wanted to play in the band and I remember my father didn’t have enough money to buy an instrument and our principal, Mr. Blue, he was very instrumental in helping him get what he needed. As far as communities and schools, they worked hand in hand.

There was not much input from the teachers or the community, it was just something that we were told we had to do. It was not like we could say we did not want to move, we wanted to keep our schools, and that they would let us keep them. We were told we would have to move. For example, Highland High School is still standing as a building, not in the same place, but it is still standing. Highland High School started off as a high school, moved to a junior high school and now it is a technical school. The community and the school board had more input in that decision. Of course, it was discussed that Highland High School could stay where it used to be. This decision was a political issue. So now it is the school that a lot of people have to attend. I believe that you have to have a certain GPA to attend. So, therefore, the teacher and community did have input.

Well, not much in the beginning…we were the last class to graduate from Highland Junior-Senior High School before it was integrated. And, after that, I think it turned into a junior high. They had PTAs, projects, selling candy in the community, most of the children’s parents participated in the selling.

Then, we had actual PTA, as we called it, they took up money and what little bit they had to offer they were able to give the school to help in any way the school
saw fit to use it. But, they had good relationships with the school personnel and the parents. Had it not been for the parents at that time at the schools, I don’t know what our school would have been like. Because they were very forceful with the children and the teachers and the schools and to keep the schools going and they were the ones the teachers could really count on for the behavior of the children.

Question 6. How do you feel today about your experiences in the segregated Negro high school and the desegregation in public schools? (including bussing, etc.)

Many students said there had been a great change in high schools since those days. The bussing certainly could have been better, but the bussing was still a good thing. In the Negro high school we were all as one, we had church, a community, and a school. Many expressed that there’s a great big difference between now and back then. Many had mixed feelings. Others expressed that during desegregation “you hardly had any help except for parents. You had to have faith”. Sample responses follow:

Bussing was used from high school days as a form of segregation. It was also used as a tool for desegregation. I think I would like to look at bussing as simply a form of transportation. I think that it has its place. As for the transition from segregated to desegregated, there are positives and negatives. In the segregated environment that we grew up in, we were nurtured, we were given special attention, we were motivated. Teachers seemed to take a special interest in each child. Families felt a part of the school. In Christmastime, everyone would come to the school gymnasium and watch their child perform in the Christmas play. I think that was lost with desegregation. Our children have a diminished experience. Being a recipient of a segregated education and later watching my children in a desegregated school system there was a distinct difference. My children were nurtured. In fact, they did exceptionally well in integrated schools. It did show some impact on my children when they moved beyond high school.

Bussing...we had to walk four miles to get to the bus. The first bus was black and it had blackened curtains on the outside so when the rain and wind would blow you would get wet and then you got off and you walked back the four miles. The next year we had what we called a good bus. It was an orange bus. It was one the whites had used before we got it. We always got the used things. The books and everything were used before we could get them. But, we made the best of them. We had some good Negro teachers. My mother was a teacher. She saw that we were guided in the right direction so that the prejudices with the whites
would not interfere with what she wanted. She always said to be the best that you can and with the seven children she had, she had five children graduate from college. The first one graduated from college would have to help the next one and the next one would have to help the next one, except for my sister, she went to Bennett. She went to Bennett, but she got a job and she had four brothers and sisters helping her.

When I graduated from college in 1938, my mother said, Willie, you have to get a little more work, and I looked her dead in the eyes and said, “Mama, if I don’t go to college this year I won’t go next year,” and she ran her hand in her bosom and pulled out a little drawstring. She had five dollars, fifty cents and two dimes and she said, “Honey, this is what I have for you to go to college.” I took that $5.70 and went to where I worked as a domestic technician. I got my B.S., my master’s and I taught 42 years before I retired.

That is sort of a mixed bag, because there were some gains and some losses. Losses was that you missed out on the control of elementary classroom and the teachers had control and they had respect and they could teach with the limited materials that they had. Integration was good for the adults, but the children got left behind and we are seeing results of that now as it’s passed down to the second and third generations of desegregation because there is no social or community element regarding schools. Mass integration has separated the child from the schools and the parents.

There’s a great big difference between now and back then. Back then in the ’60s as far as segregation, we had a hard time. I’ve had some incidents of different ones making fun of you and things like that. Now it’s more segregated than it was back then. There’s a big difference now than in the ’60s.

It was a wonderful experience. It was an experience that I will never forget. As I tell some people, I grew up on a farm. I don’t regret it. The best experience I have ever had and the same is true with going to a segregated school. Something that I will always remember and will never forget. In segregation, we learned, the teachers taught us and we learned. They cared about each child. But, in desegregation, it's sad to say that’s not true because I have seen so many teachers who teach just for their paycheck. You walk up and down the hallway and you see black students sitting in chairs outside the classroom and you stop and ask the question, “Why are you here, why aren’t you in the classroom?” Well, the teacher put him out. Why do you suppose the teacher put him out? Because the teacher was white, the child was black. She had no interest in that child’s education, so to solve the problem, out in the hallway the child would be placed. As far as bussing is concerned, I grew up in the country. I loved every minute of it. I rode the school bus approximately 22 miles one way and we were so bonded until we just enjoyed riding that bus whether it was raining, warm or what have you. I remember the time down at Morris Creek National Park which is a
historical park in the North Carolina history. It rained so hard that by the time we
got back in the afternoons, the place would be flooded and we’d park the bus and
take our shoes off and have a good time wading the water. But, as far as the
integration of the school busses, I never went to an integrated school. We never
had problems. There were two high schools in the country and I had my choice of
going to the one in Pender or to the one in Rocky Point and because I had a sister
who taught at Pender County Training School, I chose to go there.

I think they should have left the schools like they were. If they were going to be
integrated, they should have done all of them at the same time, not just let a few
go to the school. They should let everybody go. But, they didn’t do that. I never
had to take the bus. I walked. We lived in walking distance.

I think integration is good. When I was going it was segregated. After I had kids,
they went to segregated schools. In that time it was segregated. It was a good
thing in some ways. I feel like it should have happened a long time ago because
we are all God’s children, no matter what color we are. He still loves us and He
wants the best for all of us. If you seek after that, then it will work out. My
children, they went to segregated schools and they turned out good. It was a
wonderful thing, just a long time happening. There was no bussing.

Unfortunately, we didn’t have bussing. We had to walk to school. If you lived
within a four-mile radius (approximate) you had to walk to and from school every
day. I did it from 1966 to 1969. Actually, when I got my license, I started to
drive my parents’ car and I drove my sister and me to school in my senior year.
That was truly a blessing, because it wasn’t too many African-Americans in that
time that could drive cars to high school, because everybody was walking or
taking a bus. In rural areas, bussing got the students to high schools. The effect
that it had upon me…I had mixed feelings. I enjoyed some of it and some if it I
didn’t. It made me become more racist in one aspect, because I hated white
people at one time. I grew out of that, thank heavens, but the way some of the
students and faculty treated us made me really hate them. I did some bad things
trying to get back at them. Thank heavens, I didn’t get into trouble, but it was just
stupid things. They never knew it was me. I was one of the quiet rebels. In my
high school, at times I was the only African-American in the class, especially in
my college curriculum. It was only one or two of us. I received negative
responses from both whites and African-Americans. African-Americans felt like I
thought I was better than everyone else and I was a bookworm and whites felt I
wasn’t smart enough to be in there. We had it from both sides. Emotionally and
mentally, that was very tough to deal with for a young person. I look at that and
look at myself and ask, How in the world did you get through that? Because
those were very trying times and I hardly had any help except for my parents.
They were behind me 100 percent and my religion. You had to have faith. The
odds were stacked against you. Everybody was looking for you not to succeed.
You were going to fail somewhere. We were determined to make it work and I did.

Well, back then they didn’t have a lot of bussing because most of us walked to school. The busses didn’t come into that situation until we got out of high school, after it was integrated. I feel the teachers don’t give enough attention to the students like when my kids started going to school. It seems like they weren’t as close to kids like it was when I went. Everybody went to that same school—parents, older sisters and brothers—and if you did something wrong, they would say ‘now you know your older brother and parents wouldn’t want you to do that.’ But, it seems teachers nowadays don’t have that closeness or time to spend with their kids. Maybe that’s why they are getting into trouble nowadays. If they had a difficulty their kids could be affecting them, too, because kids can be cruel to other children. I don’t think they are close enough to the students or not getting them interested in the schools to make them continue their education, because a lot of them are getting into trouble.

I didn’t really have much of a comparison at that time, but I felt that I was well prepared when I went off to college. I felt I was able to compete with people that attended high school all over the country, not just in North Carolina, but from the north and all points. I felt that I had been given good preparation and I attributed that to the fact that we had a progressive principal in Mr. Jeffries, who employed top-notch teachers and made sure that students that were underneath his tutorage were having a high quality educational experience. I attribute my being able to matriculate to North Carolina State University and North Carolina College in Durham at that time and to be able to compete with folks who were extremely well qualified. Not only were they well qualified, they were concerned about their students’ doing well in the schools. As far as the desegregation of the schools and bussing, I think we lost some things from a community standpoint by the desegregation of schools. I think we operated at that time under the adage that it takes an entire village to raise a child and I think we need to be more like that today. But because of situations and circumstances such as bussing, we have moved away from that to a large extent. We have taken the emphasis off of community by bussing children across town, oftentimes passing one school to get to another.

I think desegregation was more of a positive outlook towards the school system. Those that were not black had a positive look towards education and that helped. It also rubbed off on some of the blacks as they went on to high school. I had to walk two miles to school. I wasn’t allowed to ride a bus. But later, I felt bussing was fairly good. There were times when children had to be bussed to school.

I think it’s great now. We didn’t have it when I finished school. I think it’s a great situation. A lot of the black children weren’t able to be with white children
and now that they are learning from them and things that they didn’t know, for instance, a lot of things that they say that we don’t say. Speaking correct English. When you are around them, you listen to them and you hear things that they say and you correct yourself. You say, “I’ve heard them say that all these years. I can see that that was not the way to say it.” You don’t want to be like them, you want to be proper. You correct yourself and act in the manner you are supposed to go in. So, busing…I think bussing is good so as not to be used so far off, but to get them in a good school to get the proper education. I think it is excellent.

First of all, after segregation/integration come about I saw then that we were not equally together—books, supplies, teaching methods and whatever it takes for the learning situation. We were not together as the other schools were. After the integration is when I came to realize why we didn’t have certain things in our schools and where the materials and the books were. A lot of times we didn’t have enough books. And when we got them, the pages were torn out and I can remember taking the standardized tests and we didn’t have enough because we couldn’t write on the test. We had to use a sheet of paper under them to put the answers on and our teachers were given the tests the day of the test. I found out that after the integration came about the teacher had all the year to plan, make copies of tests. In regard to how the standardized tests were not using the same format, they used the same format, but they didn’t use the same words. In other words, we could keep copies of our tests to prepare the children for them so when time comes for the tests they would know what to do. In other years, when I was in high school, we only got that test when we were getting ready to take it and we didn’t hardly know how to use the test, so there’s been a lot of changes that took place and a lot of things that happened. We didn’t know why, but after the integration came about we knew why there was a shortage of instructional materials—books, etc. I don’t like bussing. I would rather have the neighborhood schools, but I know that with neighborhood schools we still aren’t going to be fair—things are not going to be distributed fairly among the schools. I don’t like bussing because sometimes children get on the buses at six in the morning and they don’t arrive to school until eight. That’s too long. You take a child and bus him from his neighborhood over to another neighborhood and I really don’t like that part of it. I don’t like bussing.

When I was a little girl we did not have the same equipment of white schools. Even with bussing, that was the only way we could get to my school. I remember passing by white schools to get to my schools. There were good things, such as getting more material, but the discipline like receiving character education, that was raw. It had shut down some barriers as far as having total respect for each other.

I don’t think we will ever return to a segregated system even though some systems appear to desegregate. Basically, the future will need to mirror society as a whole. It would be wonderful if we could have all neighborhood schools.
Desegregated schools will be an extreme. They probably will be a cornerstone for a better school system. It’s both good and bad. Bad for reasons I have already stated. Good because if we go beyond high school no one can pigeon hole us. The bad is that if we remain in the minority in the integrated schools, then a lot of our education is lost. Some integrated schools today diminish everyone’s social advancement. The other bad thing is that the teachers don’t take enough interest in the minorities as they should. It has a lot to do with the students in different backgrounds. My daughter was fortunate enough to qualify for a scholarship at Ashebrooke. She didn’t get it but teachers took special interest in her. If that could happen to every black child, then maybe the situation would be better.

I feel like it would have been better if they had been desegregated. Bussing would have been all right. We didn’t have bussing. Some children were bussed in. I don’t approve of bussing now. I think they should go to school nearest them.

Really, we have never had the required amount of busses to deal with, nor have they been suitable. Most of the time they were overcrowded, then we didn’t get sufficient amounts of whatever we needed because the busses would break down and we were left in the old, waiting for a ride.

I feel like its been a great change in high schools since those days. The bussing certainly could be better, but the bussing is a good thing that allows children to get to and from good schools and have better opportunities now.

Question 7. What is your opinion regarding the future of desegregated high schools in North Carolina? How are they good or bad for African Americans?

It was expressed that the future, as it is, is good for desegregated high schools, especially the way the school board and the courts are taking over. Many stated they felt that today’s teachers don’t give enough attention to students. It was generally felt that we should keep desegregated schools. There are better opportunities for our children. It was pointed out the first thing they do will help our children to associate with other races and they will get a vital education. Many realized that public schools will always win. This phrase expresses the sentiment of others, desegregated schools now are where you
can try to meet and understand one another’s cultures. Children today have a better
education for getting things done and better jobs and they are better equipped and better
educated. Many felt that desegregation was a good thing. One said, "I think
desegregation is great now, because of the choice of schools and everything.
Desegregated schools are good for African Americans now. The only problem might be
the bussing." Some felt that the African American students had lost a lot in the
desegregated schools. Others stated that teachers now do not challenge them. They look
at their skin and say that they can’t do it. Finally, it was expressed this way:

I think it’s a positive step toward preparing students for the future, educationally
as well as socially.

You know, that is the $65,000 question. I do know that there must be lots and
lots and lots of changes because the black teacher is not going into the classroom
now because they are going where the money is right and what’s going to be left?
Most of them will be caucasians, some of them will be interested in teaching that
child and others will not be interested—just there to get that good paycheck.
That’s why I never believed in paying teachers extra money for doing extra work.
Just because they do that extra work does not mean that they are teaching that
child not one thing. If all the teachers, well the opportunity there is greater, we
have more courses, etc. If all the teachers were really interested in teaching every
child, regardless of his or her ability, that would be fantastic. But right now, I
don’t see it that way.

I think it’s come a long way from where it was. It still exists. It’s eroding but
that evil, ugly head of racism is still out there. I truly believe that we are moving
into a positive direction. We didn’t have a choice with desegregation. It didn’t
matter if it was good or bad for us. We didn’t have a choice. We had to go. If
you wanted to graduate from high school you had to go. We had to deal with it
and they had to deal with it. One of my fellow students said, “You guys just came
in and faded our land and our way of living and we don’t have to accept you if we
don’t want to.” And in social circles we were never accepted. For example, in
my senior year, one or two weeks away from graduation, all the black students
were walking out of the classroom. They could have kicked us out. I was in a
physics classroom, and Mr. McGinnis, who was about five feet tall, locked the
doors. One of the football players knocked the glass out of the door, opened the
door, and said, “Harry Washington, you are going to come out of here right now!”
I was so frightened, because my parents had told me that I was not to be a part of
that or they were going to punish me. I was frightened. I didn’t know what to do. Mr. McGinnis said, “He doesn’t have to go anywhere.” I was caught in the middle again. I didn’t want to get hurt. I didn’t want to be involved with it because my parents would be upset so I made the sacrifice again by saying that maybe if I go out with him and be seen I can get by. I told Mr. McGinnis that I was going out because I didn’t want any trouble or violence because all the students were just shaking. All the students were just running outside. It was just like a riot. They had never seen that before in Gastonia. All of a sudden, the news was there. I was hiding in hopes that no one would see me. Photographers were just snapping pictures. I had to go. It was a sacrifice I made. My parents asked was I involved when I got home and I said no. But, I had to make that sacrifice. We were in between. At a young age, here you are having to make a decision, and you don’t have any help, so if I wasn’t taught or had good values then I would have made a bad decision then. A lot of kids today don’t have what I had and still have. You have to have a good base, faith and good moral character. All of my teachers in Highland knew my parents and knew what was expected of me and they always instilled that in me—to do my best and to make the right choices. So that’s what I did. It’s a good thing because socially now, even in the business world, if you don’t have the social skill of being able to interact with whites and blacks, not only whites and blacks, but other nationalities, then you are left in the field. You won’t be able to do business with them, because you lack that skill. That is very important.

I can’t think of anything in particular with a lifetime. I thought that the whole education process was impressive for most students, but when I look back I think they will be impossible to achieve in integrated schools. It’s just that there is a great deal of ethnicity. After all, our school was a part of the community. It was the center-gathering place that made it a family experience. I, as well as all educators, would like to see that today, I believe.

I feel that the black child, the Negro child, is not gonna have it as she deserves. They do not challenge them. They look at the skin and they say they can’t do it. That’s what I feel.

Well, they have come a long way since the ’60s. A lot of things have been done. Different spiritual ladies that have brought them up to this day and time now so they have a better education for getting things done and better jobs now. As far as African Americans, they are good. They have more colleges and more institutions to better themselves--better-equipped and better education.

I think at this point they are trying to get back to the closest neighborhood schools that they possibly can, but it won’t be completely that way, because you have got to integrate. It’s going to be desegregated from here on out, because of the differences in cultures. We have more of a cultural blend than we used to and the result of that you will see a battle between private schools and public schools. I
think public schools will always win from now on out, because public schools have been there in the beginning, even when the black people couldn’t really go to public schools. That’s the only outlet that has been for us and it’s been the cheapest way out for us, because a lot of people can’t afford private schools. In my opinion, public schools are here to stay.

I think the future, as I see it, is good for desegregated high schools, especially the way the school board and the courts are taking over and taking a big part of the schools now. I think we have a great future in our schools as far as bussing is concerned and the consideration of the school boards and the law enforcement has provided ways and means of students in high school to continue on.

I don’t know. I hope it will work. I think we are getting along better. I think we are starting to understand that there is not that much difference between our people except the color of our skin and I think that we are all trying to do the best we can. I hope that we can continue to do as well or better than we are doing now. I don’t know that I am able to answer that, since I am not affiliated with students. I think that they take on bad habits. The high schools nowadays are doing better than they did before. They are getting everything that they need. When I went into the segregated schools, we got everything we wanted.

I don’t think it was bad for African-Americans. If that’s what they need to do to get an education, then it is good. If they get in there and try to make it work then it will work. In some cases, it won’t work. But, you just have to get in there and try. If you don’t try, then it won’t work.

I feel that the school system, as it was, could not have gotten any worse. So it stands room for them to be better. It’s much more understanding and we are much better than we were. Well, really, this question could work both ways. It could be good for me and bad for you. This question is according to where we are. Because nothing is alike and all of us are not treated alike, so I can’t put one being mistreated or all being mistreated, so really that question could go both ways.

Just like I was saying, schools are not close enough with the kids. I think, well, maybe, the kids have hard times at home, so they might not get the love and attention they might get at home where they may have gotten it at school. These teachers don’t have that time to spend. If they don’t get it they feel like if they can’t make it then they can quit. And then they are out in the street trying to make that fast buck. Then again, if you are smart enough they can work with you. A lot of them are coming out and they still can’t read and write. The teachers nowadays need to get interested and closer to the kids. Maybe that would help the kids from being in trouble because they might not be getting it at home. All of them are not like that. Some teachers are good, going out of their way to help other children. I think that’s what desegregation has helped, and then again the
blacks might be influencing the whites because a lot of whites are trying to do what the black kids are doing. With the earrings and the baggy pants, a lot of white kids are trying to be black.

I think the future is great. The society has demanded that we do this and I think desegregation is great now, because of the choice of schools and everything. Schools are good for African-Americans now, because now they have the choice of schools to go to, the only problem might be the bussing. I wish things had been like this when I was growing up. If things were like they are now when I was coming up, I probably wouldn’t have got a job and wanted to be married. I probably would have furthered my education and I probably would have been retiring. I always wanted to be an elementary teacher and I probably would have been retired by now if I had had my education. Things are so easy now for the young children growing up today to get an education. There are grants and all kinds of things. Nowadays they do not have an excuse. Parents and grandparents now are making more money than they have ever made in their lives. They are helping their children and grandchildren. If they don’t get a good education now, its just because they don’t want to. When I was coming up, we didn’t have people to tell us and push us that we need to be here and to be there. If it were so, I would have been there by now. So, I think things are really great. I think it is excellent for them. I just think they need to stop and think about what they want to do and stop being so playful. They just need to do it and stop procrastinating. That’s what most of the young people are doing now. It doesn’t make sense.

I say, for the most part, our African American students have lost a lot in the desegregated schools. I don’t know why, but unless the teachers and the parents and the administration come together and work out a plan that is best suited for the students and not the administration. I think that the Afro-American child is going to be lost in the future because we have so many teachers that are teaching and they are not for the best interest of the child and these Afro-American boys and girls are just not interested anymore, for the most part. They are lazy and whenever something happens in the classroom—they are a little hyper or upset—the first thing they want to do is test them and put them in special ed when they are not really for special ed and it’s a lot to be desired—no communication between parents and teacher and it’s really a sad situation and I am concerned and I have been concerned, especially when I was in the school system, about what is going to happen to our Afro-American children, because of the leadership and the administration of the school system.

Question 8. Did you have any experiences that you would be willing to share relating to the segregated school period you lived through?
Most students had stories to tell about some incident that occurred in their lives such as the experience of a student who said,

Walking two or three miles a day to school and while walking, those students who were not black could ride the bus. When the white bus would pass the walking black students, they would ride past us and laugh. On days when it was raining I would have to make decision to go to school or go back home and sometimes we went back home.

Another touching story was about a student who wanted to go to college after graduation whose family was farmers. Her mother “pulled out a little drawstring…and in that little drawstring she had five dollars, fifty cents and two dimes. Her mother then said to her “This is what I have for you to go to college.” This young lady took the $5.70 and went to where I worked as a domestic technician. She entered college and she stated, “I got my B.S., my masters and I taught 42 years before I retired.”

Students had a variety of experiences during segregation that expressed how challenging the times were and others spoke of the close communities of people. To sum it all up one student said, “I count it a joy to have gone through that because it has made me stronger and learn how to treat people even better.”

Other students said,

I remember several times downtown during Christmas parades. People were telling me where I should go and watch the parade come through. I didn’t hold it against them. I just thought it was ignorant because my mother didn’t teach us black or white. We were all just people. I just thought they were just silly people. Forgive and forget. As I got older, I realized what was going on. You think about it when you hear about it happening to other people. I am grateful that I didn’t go through too much. I’ve seen a lot at the counters where they had signs that say black or white, bathrooms, at dime stores, etc. You couldn’t stand at the counter after ordering a hot dog. I count it a joy to have gone through that because it has made me stronger and learn how to treat people even better.

When I was going to school we had a place called Eagles. We could go in there. And they would make everyone stand up at a time. They had these water
fountains where they had colored water and white water. We weren’t allowed to
drink the white water. We always had to drink out of the colored water. And, if
you tried to drink from the white water, they would put the manager on you.

As I indicated, I think we lived in isolation. We didn’t have a lot of interaction
with those that represented the majority at that time, because most of my
movement was restricted to my neighborhoods that were all Negro at that time. I
would only venture out of my own little world with my parents or family
members. I think that was done to a large extent as protection for us and allowed
us to be insulated from a lot of mean and bad things that were happening to
people at that time. I was a high school student right at the time that we were
trying to fully integrate within our community with access to movie theatres and
lunch counters and things of that nature. So, in 1963, we did have an occasion to
venture out a little bit more and it was then that I really understood that my
parents and others in my community had tried to isolate us, because people can be
mean and cruel.

There are a few stories that have happened. For example, I knew a white girl, we
liked each other and she was well off. Her parents pulled her out of school and
sent her away to keep her from me because her parents didn’t want her to be
affiliated with an African American. They didn’t say that, they said the “n-word.”
I have an example. My car was parked on the wrong side of town "supposedly"
and my mother was a good friend with the mayor. Mr. Jeffries was the black
mayor of Gastonia at that time and he told my mother that my car was seen
parked in the “wrong side of town at the wrong time of the night. And-hint, hint—
I should not be doing what I was doing.” Again, I made the right choice. I didn’t
go down to see this young lady anymore. We still tried to see each other and they
found out somehow. People had the “old values” of no mixing of the races.

There had been mixing of races since the beginning of time and you are not going
to stop that. That started a lot of interracial dating and a lot of people didn’t like
that and there were a lot of fights that occurred, not because of words, but because
we were moving into a territory where we shouldn’t have been. Black guys and
white girls and white guys and black girls were not supposed to be together, but it
happened and it will continue to happen.

Back then it was rough. I have also had experiences as far as going to school. If
you were not as smart as the white students or because you were black you were
called names and made fun of.

I had some experiences, like walking two to three miles a day to school. And
those students who were not black could ride a bus. They would ride past us and
laugh. There were days when it was raining and we had to make the decision to
go to school or go back home and sometimes we went back home. I lived on a
farm and I did farm things, like pick cotton, milk cows, fold cotton, carry water, plow the field, take baths in a spring, and tried to plow using a mule.

Because we are the black people denied our education from the early part of our coming to America, we ought to eat it up. Public schools have been good, because it was spread out over a whole town, city, community, state and the whole nation. It’s free access. It’s available to everybody. You can’t be excluded. If you went private, that’s an individual choice based on your ability to pay. I went to a private college on a basketball scholarship. The difference between that was the private college. Because of the smaller classes, we were able to get individual attention and we were more than a number, we were a name.

The term public means everybody has an opportunity to go to public schools. Now, students have a choice of receiving vouchers. For instance, a church can set up its own schools and children can receive vouchers, which I think is a good thing because a lot of black people who may not have the money can receive a voucher, so that their child can have an education where the class is smaller. And you have one teacher in a classroom that has maybe ten students.

From a social and from an aspect of coming up with respect and a care of education were special. We didn’t have a lot of dressing, but we learned to present ourselves well with the two or so pieces we had. We learned how to carry ourselves, represent ourselves, and present ourselves in school. We had pride that I don’t think kids have today, because of looseness of desegregation policies. We have a lot of melting pots going on. Everybody is trying to copycat other people and they don’t know what it means. They are symbolizing their dressing and they don’t know what that symbolizing means. They have lost a purpose. They are just existing whereas when we came to school it was old traditional black schools or colored schools, whatever you want to call them, we had a purpose. We had goals. We were driven and we were reminded by even those teachers who knew we could replace them one day that they took the time to encourage us, pushed us and we were forced to reach out to teachers and now it’s a cop-out. If they can’t hound you, they send you home and they keep sending you home until you get mad enough that you won’t want to come back. We would get a whooping in school. I remember, Mr. Scooner had me to feed the coal furnace one morning. I had a choice of feeding the coal furnace or getting a whooping. I definitely didn’t want to go home because I knew that there was going to be a whooping so I fed the coal furnace and I begged him not to tell my mama and he asked me did I promise not to do that anymore and I minded him.

One of the things was that most of the schools had a free lunch program, even though it was financed through the city, state or county. If you were hungry—somebody would say, “Go ahead and feed him, I’ll pay for it.” Coming up in a Negro, black school, it was instilled in you to have pride in what you do and
whatever you had to do, you did your best. And now you have to give a lot of incentives to get kids to do their best, like prizes or awards. We didn’t have that, we felt good about ourselves before we came to school, even though we might not have had a lot of things materially. I always felt that I was special, because my mom and dad treated me as though I was special and even the children in our community. If they did certain things that maybe were inappropriate, the child was not an outcast. The community would come to that child or that family and try to help them out. If their parent was incarcerated, that child would not feel bad, because that child would have that community to help them to get through whatever problems they had. They were not ostracized or put to the side. They were still feeling like they were important and worthwhile, because they could work through any environment they needed to because they had something to offer. That is something that we had in the black school. We always came through and had a way of coming together. Our kids would bring us together. Our church would bring us together and we always had a strong binding force that we had hope. That’s how we got through it. Faith, family and love is the one good thing that we had.

I think now that we have mixed together things have narrowed off pretty well. There were some good things that each race shared with each other, as well as there were bad things. But on a whole, I think that we are doing very well now.

My experience was good and bad. I worked for three years. I was in school for 13 years. I went back to the same school that I left and I was very surprised when I got back there. Things were basically the same. We couldn’t get anything unless we requisitioned for it and we would requisition for our supplies they were barely issued to us. I said then that there were a shortage of our books, workbooks. We didn’t have any. Materials and everything, we didn’t have any, but, when integration came about in 1970 and I was moved to an integrated school, we had everything, everything. You could write on a piece of paper and throw it in the trash can because you knew that there was more paper you could get and you didn’t have to requisition for it. Workbooks galore! Then, right before, in the ’90s, in the ’80s, and ’90s, in our integrated schools, we had everything. We had so many things, so that whenever we were asked what we needed we couldn’t think of anything that we needed, because we didn’t need anything. But, that told us something. Whenever they segregated we were way behind—didn’t have anything. At that time we thought that we had it good, but we didn’t.

When we went to integrated schools, they cared a little bit about that you made attendance and their big thing was behavior. They always tried to say we had behavioral problems. I never had that when I went to the Negro high school. When I went to the integrated school, even though my test scores put me in college curriculum, I was told that I still had behavioral problems. My parents were constantly coming to the school for conferences regarding my behavior and
me. Even though I was making high grades, sometimes they were falsified. I remember one incident where I wanted to run for sophomore president and I needed one point and this teacher failed to give me a correct grade on my English paper. It was like they wanted to break your spirit. They didn’t want African Americans to excel over their white children, but we were just as smart or smarter than they were. I was and still am. But, they tried to break us spiritually and emotionally.

Negro High School Teachers’, Principals’ and Other Administrators’ Interview Questions and Responses

(The following interviewees were given pseudonyms to provide readers with a better understanding of the roles they represented.)

Question 1. As an educator who worked in a Negro high school during the segregated period, how did you cope with keeping students interested in becoming educated?

Mrs. Surry, the wife of a principal of a Negro high school for over 50 years, responded:

We were very lucky that we had children who were anxious to learn and their parents were very anxious to learn and very cooperative in helping us with anything that needed to be done. Therefore, the children showed obedience and lots of cooperation. They were taught according to their needs. We tried to give the children information that they needed, not what was stated in the book sometimes. Sometime we had to make it simpler than the book. Whatever was used we went that way. In elementary schools, we taught on levels. Children might be in the same grade but might be learning at different levels and different ways. They couldn’t always learn by the same methods.

Mr. Hayes, a dedicated educational administrator for years, gave the following answer, which expressed the cooperation of parents and the community who worked together for the education of the children:

I find that there was a three-tier process of education that was emphasized: (1) The parents who realized that for their kids to really have an opportunity in life they had to have an education so parents, although they may have had little education were highly motivated to see their children educated. (2) I also saw that the church was the foundation for the black families and children and the
church was also an element to foster education. (3) And then the teachers were interested in all children, whether or not they taught them. They got to know the children and they were able to probe the parents and make sure the children understood that education and achievement was important.

Mrs. Hood, not only a worker in the day school, but also in the evening adult school, gave the following answer:

It was never very hard to keep students interested in education. First of all, it was mandatory in North Carolina that children attend school until age 16, even in segregated schools. Most children wanted to learn, because if they were not in school there were always chores to do at home that parents demanded. It was always easier to attend school and be with their friends. There weren’t very many other things that children could do so it didn’t take a lot of motivation from teachers to get children to come to school. Also books fascinated them, because many of them didn’t have books at home.

Mr. Mathis was not only a teacher, but he was also a coach, and he dedicated his life to helping youths succeed by keeping them active. He was a leader in his community and became a principal. He said,

Being a coach has a little more influence on some students than some teachers who are not in the public eye. Young men especially were influenced by my method of coaching. I felt discipline was very important and that was a positive thing. There were a few negative things that happened, because I was in an authoritative position. Some of those same parents who were attending school during my day were not as supportive of me.

Question 2. Did the curriculum and school supplies give you the support you needed to achieve what you expected from your students?

Mrs. Surry was very prompt in giving her answer, because she had been through many years of sacrifice to come to the aid of her children and had worked with her husband to help many students who would have been deprived of a better education.

Mrs. Surry stated:

Unfortunately, we never had enough supplies to provide the instructional work we wanted to give to the children. I found out later as integration came there was a
difference. So, teachers bought most of the materials, especially instructional supplies that we had to use. We used our own pocket money to do it. In the summertime, we used to have backyard workshops where we would get together and make instructional supplies like charts, alphabet cards, phonics cards, anything we thought might help the children because we were not getting help from the school system. There was a course in N. C. Central in making charts and things that the children would need and going there some summers would give us credit towards our certification. We would learn how to make things that the children might need. It would help us to teach the children and when we would come back, we taught all the other teachers out there. There were no workbooks allowed in our classes. We were told that we needed to make up material to check our children’s learning as they went along, but we weren’t supposed to have workbooks. We could make up master copies with skills we wanted taught and run them off. We didn’t have a duplicator. We had a “jelly pan” that we put the master copy on the pan, pulled it up, took the plain sheets of paper and rubbed it over the master copy to make extra prints. That’s the way we got our handouts for the other children. They wouldn’t let us have commercial things such as phonics charts and alphabet cards. We had to make those. I found out later that they had them in the white schools. We couldn’t use them in the black schools. It looked like the blacks were discouraged from using commercial aids so that the white children would have more of them.

Mr. Hayes gave a firm answer to the second question when he stated:

No, we had the privilege as teachers to build on a curriculum on the basis of what we felt were needed for the children. Through our experiences, we brought strength to the curriculum to make up the difference. We also used our own resources for supplies and for giving children the opportunity to get the education that they needed. We never had enough books, paper, desks, etc.

Mrs. Hood responded to question two as follows, because she came to work when a new high school was built in 1954 and things were beginning to be better for the Negro high schools. Therefore, her answer was different from the teachers and principals who had taught in the old Negro high school. Mrs. Hood responded:

I had enough materials for the time. Even though looking at today’s situation and days that led into integration we probably could say that we were deprived and our schools were deprived, but when we look back at the times, perhaps we were not. There were enough textbooks for our children and we used tablets and pencils and there were erasers and blackboards and, of course, teachers had to use those as a means to get the information across to children. Our children had their own tablets, paper and pencils so that they could get the information that was to
be learned. If we were to think about science, perhaps all of the laboratories were not equipped. We found ways to deal with those problems. Instead of ordering frogs for the class that I taught, the children would bring frogs from home. We dissected using razor blades, straight pens to hold them down and alcohol to put the frogs to sleep.

Question 3. How well do you believe that Negro high schools prepared its students to be employed after graduation?

Mrs. Surry responded that in the Negro high schools the students were exposed to as many educational and social activities as possible to develop their potential and allow them to grow in a caring and acceptable environment. She stated,

Considering some limited backgrounds and abilities, I think the children preformed exceptionally well. Much of the talent was discovered in the children by having a “performance”. We would have class assemblies or programs once a week and then two or three grades would get together and have an operetta. Then, there was the rhythm band and the marching band, which, Carrie Washington was the first majorette. We also had minstrel shows. In May, we would have a May Day exercise outside where all grades participated. All elementary children would learn a dance. Each grade had to perform a different dance and dress in costume. High scholars performed a royal court with a queen and king and attendants, which was very interesting. I think because the teachers were so close to the students and showing them that they wanted them to do well. When the students finished high school, they were determined to just finish and do well for themselves and maybe better than anyone else in their families. We’ve had graduates in all walks of life. I can’t just name an occupation that somebody wasn’t in.

Mr. Hayes expressed the same idea but faced the fact that there were few opportunities for Negro high school graduates to receive gainful job offers. He responded,

I think that was one motivation of each teacher; knowing that they had to prepare the children to be better than what they were faced with by the white students in order to have any opportunities. Therefore, they had to put an emphasis on the reading and the writing and communication and doing it right was important as we taught our children.
Mrs. Hood expressed that Negro high schools did have problems and the Negro high school graduates struggled to overcome the many obstacles that had been placed in their educational journeys. She said,

I think the high schools were very effective. We used the textbooks and we taught what was in the textbooks. Students learned what was there and now today there are leaders who have been able to lead in integrated situations and were better prepared for integrated situations than many people thought with their biased opinion that black children would be able to do. Because they did study the material that we provided and because of their intense desire to better themselves, many of the students found pleasure in reading and wanted to succeed. Many of them were the first ones in their families to have the opportunity to go away to other schools.

Mrs. Mathis expressed the idea that students were being prepared and encouraged to work in the mills in Gastonia, North Carolina. These mills only began to offer jobs to Negroes in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Before that time, the Negroes were only hired for domestic or menial jobs in the mills. She responded,

Under the circumstances, we had to work with many deficiencies. We did a pretty good job in preparing them for after school. One of the things we motivated for them was going to Gastonia and working in the mills and make a decent salary. A lot of the focus was on getting a job in the mills.

Question 4. What were the required qualifications for the teachers in your Negro high school? Several respondents answered as follows:

Mrs. Surry: The teacher had to have at least a Bachelor of Science degree and back in the early '40’s if they had a bachelor’s degree then that was sufficient. But, most black teachers were not satisfied with that. They felt they had to go on and go a little bit higher because they knew at some point they wanted to have their masters degrees. Most of them used the time to get their degrees in the summer. They had to use their summer vacation time to prepare for the advanced degrees.

Mr. Hayes: There were very high standards. We had to master the disciplines of the four-year colleges and we had to be certified in the disciplines we taught in order to get a job. There was competition for teaching jobs at that time and the
two careers that we knew we could excel in were teaching and preaching. If we chose teaching, we were well taught to teach.

Mrs. Hood: We had to have a college degree. We had to have a state required certification. Some of the old teachers finished normal school. That was before my time. They had to go to six weeks of summer school, where they had to pay their own expenses to get to the college and pay the tuition, buy their own textbooks to be able to advance and get through to the next year. I didn’t realize that your tuition could be paid or you could get reimbursed for travel until I started working in integrated schools. Teachers worked hard to attain their degrees and certifications. They took years and years of summer school to complete their bachelor’s degree. I had a bachelor’s degree before I started teaching.

Mr. Mathis: You needed to be a college graduate. When I came back I was placed as a sixth-grade teacher. I stayed there for one year. I hadn’t worked with kids that young. I then moved on to high school.

Question 5. When desegregation was implemented, can you tell me what happened to the teachers, principals, and other personnel when the Negro high school closed?

Respondents said,

Mrs. Surry: Some of the black teachers were assigned to black schools. A few teachers’ aides were assigned to the black schools. When I say schools, I am mainly talking about Highland Elementary, where I taught. After the old building was torn down around 1966, it took care of the children that left the old school and it was a combined school with an old white school in the area. A white principal was assigned to relieve the former Highland Elementary School and the black principal was not given a job as a principal anywhere. He was assigned to be reading specialist in a white school, which had some blacks coming into it. He wasn’t even assigned a classroom. He was given a little corner in a hallway to teach, which was not very good, because there was a lot of traffic passing by and he was very discouraged about it and shortly thereafter, he retired. A few black principals were assigned to lead schools which had been all white, but very few. A few black teachers followed their black principals. The teachers had to go where they were assigned, but some black teachers preferred to go into the new situation. Many of them resigned and went other places away from their school. At first, more black teachers were moved around than whites.
Mr. Hayes was a teacher in the segregated Negro high school and the desegregated school system. He later became a principal in the desegregated period. He reported:

In many cases those teachers were funneled out to other schools. Yet, the best teachers were sent to the primarily new schools. Most of our extremely challenging academically black teachers were sent out of the black school into the white schools. I don’t remember anyone losing his or her job because of it (integration). But, it was clear that they felt we were not qualified to come into their white schools. I had an experience in a white high school where they wanted to give us additional training to help us compete with the white teachers. This was Gaston County, but it was pretty much a universal thought that black teachers were not as well trained to teach. The reality came that we were prepared to teach and we had master’s degrees where they did not. What happened was that it forced them to go back and increase their academic abilities. In the beginning, jobs weren’t lost, but then we came into the testing program starting to require a certified national test and through this, many of the black teachers lost their jobs, because they did not come up to the level that had been normed. So, they were forced out through a national test called the National Teachers’ Evaluation.

Mrs. Hood was not only a teacher, but she was a community worker and a mother of five children who were primarily raised in a segregated community and first attended the segregated schools and later the desegregated schools. She became a principal and was promoted to a supervisor. Her response was:

We first had freedom of choice schools where some children could go on their own free will to schools (white schools). That was how the schools became integrated in the beginning. Then the state under law decided that they could not, would not keep all black and all white schools open. So, we had integration of schools. That began to happen in 1965-1966 and was the ending of Highland High School and other schools in Gaston County that were integrated with white high schools and, unfortunately, all of the high schools were closed if they were black high schools. Black students had to attend white schools. Some, we found out, were not any better equipped than those our students had been attending. We found that the teachers had certification, bachelor’s or master’s degrees in all the subjects that they taught. White teachers all had ‘B’ certifications that were required to teach. Many of the Negro high schools buildings are still standing but were converted to junior high schools and some were closed. Chavis is now a middle school or elementary. It was kept up. Highland is now a showplace for
Gaston County, in that it has become the technical high school. The main entrance has been turned to another direction and students come into Mitchell Street. It doesn’t look as though it is coming into the black community. It is serving a great purpose. Students from all over Gaston County try to get their students into this good program that has state and national recognition. They place their names into a lottery.

Mr. Mathis served in both the segregated and desegregated school system. He said:

When the schools were integrated, many of the teachers went to the integrated schools. There were some on the junior high level who remained in a predominately black school. I was one of the fortunate ones chosen as a coach and a teacher for two or three years. After the third year, my principal evaluated me and moved me to assistant principal. Some of the teachers went to integrated schools and some stayed in black schools.

Question 6. When and why did Negro high schools close? Can you tell me what happened to your Negro high schools? Various interviewees said:

Mrs. Surry: A few formerly black schools remained open with mixed personnel, but desegregation really began in 1965, but it was hardly noticed. One Highland Elementary School teacher was assigned to a white high school with the understanding that if she didn’t like it she could return to the black school and the next year she did return. In 1966, a few more blacks were assigned to white schools. In 1968, the Highland Elementary was replaced by Woodhill Elementary and most of the teachers went into that white school, with the exception of the principal. By 1970, the teachers seemed comfortable around each other. The old elementary building was torn down around 1969 or 1970, but the high school building is still standing, although it is in ruins. They have been trying to keep it. I’ve heard it is going to be a shopping area around it. They may leave it standing, they may not. We didn’t have but one black high school in the Gastonia school system. Although the school systems were combined to form Gaston College, we still didn’t have but one black high school.

Mr. Hayes: Most black high schools were closed. What happened to them was that they either became educational facility buildings for the administration or they became a junior high if it was a high school and if it was an elementary school, it was forced into becoming an auxiliary building for the administration. The premise was that it was hard to get a white student to go to a school that was all black.

Mr. Hawkins: We were told it was because of integration. In order for integration to occur, we had to go to Ashland High School versus the white high
schools coming to our high school. I don’t know why it wasn’t done on an equal, 50-50 basis, but we all had to go to one high school in the city of Gastonia. We weren’t given a choice.

Mr. Mathis: I believe it was a demand from the federal government that integration was something that needed or had to be done. One of the buildings was torn down, one was turned into an Elks Club, and the other is still in operation, but it is a technical school.

Question 7. Are there any experiences that you would be willing to share concerning the segregated Negro high school era? Respondents said,

I have had many experiences through that time that were there due to design. Black teachers were pretty much slaves to their jobs due to the fact they did a lot of duties in addition to their jobs in order to keep their jobs. They had to come back at night and go to the sales and football games and marching bands. Yet, they had to do their paperwork and had to take it home, because they did not have time in the school day to do their work. In many cases, they had to try hard to have family time of their own.

I believe black students, by observing some of the positive things going on in white schools, were motivated them to want to better themselves. There were others that took a negative approach. Dark skin=I can’t do what they do. However, I thought it was more positive than negative.

When Negro children competed among themselves they had more opportunities for leadership in all black or segregated schools than if they went to integrated schools. Students who had been members of the National Honor Society, who had been presidents of clubs in their respective schools, no longer got the opportunity, didn’t get the change to be elected, because there were fewer minorities in segregated schools than there were majority of students. They were closed out of some clubs and made to feel as if they didn’t belong. As far as sports, many have the opportunity to excel in sports, but when it came time to be recommended to better colleges, many of them were on their own. Instead of being sought after to get some of the better scholarships, that same emphasis wasn’t put on the academics for the athletes as it was in the black schools. In black schools, if they were outstanding in academics they were expected to be outstanding in sports also. Progress is coming along slowly, but I think there are good things that will come out of integration, but we have lost some valuable opportunities for some of our children. In some instances, they feel as if they have socially and academically fallen through the cracks.

I think the segregated school had some good parts, there were some good things that came out of it. I really think that our children were cared for and really knew
that they were cared for. And, all teachers tried to do whatever they could to help those children. Having worked in both situations (all mixed and all black), I found that white teachers were little more lax in most situations to the black students, because as one teacher told me, “She really did not know how to work with the blacks.” My answer to her was, “so you work with the blacks like I work with the whites and whatever they need I get it for them.”

Summary

The stories told by the students, teachers, principals, and other school administrators from the segregated Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina were in some ways similar and dissimilar in others. The major differences seemed to relate to the time period the various interviewees attended the schools. It was clearly a strong memory for each of the respondents. The indignity of having to attend schools that were poorly maintained, poorly equipped, and inadequately supplied was an experience that many of them recalled vividly.

On the other hand, many of those same interviewees had warm recollections of the way the schools, parents, and communities bonded together to give the best possible education to the children of the era under the challenging circumstances.

Mixed emotions colored their responses to the questions concerning the benefits of desegregation to themselves, their children, and present and future generations. Some spoke of the reality of all Americans needing to learn to live together and that such a goal could not be achieved if they continued to live, go to school and work in their racially isolated communities. Those respondents spoke of America as a “melting pot” that should provide every American with pride. Others spoke of the losses that had occurred with the desegregation of the schools, as parents became less involved in the education of their children and white teachers did not give the Negro students the help and support
they needed in the desegregated schools. Some even spoke of the white teachers as deliberately ignoring the accomplishments of the Negro students in the desegregated schools and unfairly referring them for special education when, in fact, the students simply needed to be taught at the levels and in ways in which they could best achieve. Again, the responses seemed to be based on the time period when the interviewees attended high school and whether or not other types of social segregation policies, such as not being allowed to eat at the lunch counters where they purchased their sandwiches, made them more bitter towards the white population in general. One respondent even stated that she had become more racist over the years because of the loss of community that desegregation had brought about.

Additional themes elicited from the interviews are presented in Chapter 5, as well as recommendations for future studies of this phenomenon.

The research questions that were posed in Chapter 1 were answered during my interviews of these former Negro students, teachers, principals, and other school administrators of the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. Those questions and the responses follow:

Research Question 1. What were the highest grade levels offered before graduation in Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

In the Negro high schools during the 1930s until the 1940s, most students graduated at the end of the 11th grade. There was one student who said she had graduated from the 8th grade. There were 16 students who graduated from the 12th grade from the mid-forties until 1966, when most Negro high schools were closed and the students were sent to predominately white schools. Consequently, the response to this research question
depended upon the time periods during which the individual respondents attended the Negro high schools.

Research Question 2. What subjects did former Negro high school students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina take in their last year in high school?

In the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina, students who attended high school during the '30s through the '60s when the schools were integrated all listed English as their most common subject. History and various forms of mathematics followed this closely. For girls, home economics was the next most common subject and boys were most likely to have a course in some type of industrial arts (woodworking, welding, etc.). All students spoke of taking biology, science or physical education, and sometimes all three courses were taken. The smallest number of students took Spanish, French, typing, geography, business administration, and accounting. Again, the courses taken depended on the time periods when the students attended high school and also often on whether or not the high school was located in a town (such as Gastonia) or in a more rural setting in the Piedmont area.

Research Question 3: How well did Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina prepare their students for jobs?

A wide range of answers was given to this question as well. Some students pointed out that there were no jobs available for Negroes during the 1930s through the early 1960s, other than in domestic types of positions. Many of them worked as maids or servants in the homes of the white people, although some spoke of working as beauty technicians. Consequently, those students who responded in this manner pointed out that
they did not take a great deal of what was offered in high school very seriously because they could not see how it would benefit them in the work world.

Students who were encouraged by their parents and teachers, even in those early years, pointed out that they did everything they could to be able to go to college and better themselves. As it became easier for Negroes to secure better paying jobs, students told stories of working hard in physics, chemistry, and trigonometry in order to be able to compete with the white students for grants and to be able to gain entrance into college.

It was clear that being able to attend college gave the Negro students, as it did white students, opportunities for more prestigious positions. Many of the students who were able to attend college were able to secure positions as teachers, principals, and other school administrators. One student who was interviewed had become a medical doctor. There were probably even more students who had secured professional positions but, because of the time lapse since these students were in the segregated high schools of the Piedmont area, many had either died or moved away and were unable to be reached.

Although there were many interviewees who said they were poorly prepared by their segregated schools to find jobs after graduation, those responses were offset by those of other students who pointed out that it did not require hard work on their part to take and succeed in the more challenging college preparatory classes. They also gave credit to their parents and teachers for their encouragement and refusal to let them give up on their goals.

Research Question 4: What happened to Negro high school teachers and administrators in the Piedmont area of North Carolina when their schools were closed or desegregated?
According to the responses of the professional educators who were interviewed (teachers, principals, and other school administrators), there were a variety of experiences that they had after integration. Some of the schools, for example, Highland High School in Gastonia, remained primarily black for quite a while in the 1960s, and many of the Negro educators were retained. In addition, some of the Negro teachers were assigned to other primarily Negro schools. However, some of the Negro teachers were stripped of their professional status and were placed as teacher aides in predominately white schools, where their main jobs were to work with the Negro students whom the white teachers did not want to teach. A white principal was assigned to relieve the former Highland Elementary School Negro principal and the Negro principal was not given a principal position at any school. He was assigned to be a reading specialist and according to one respondent, he was not “even given a classroom, he had to teach out in the hall.” He became very discouraged at this injustice and shortly thereafter he retired. In addition to the principal, many of the Negro teachers chose to retire rather than receive what seemed to be unfair and inappropriate assignments based on their credentials (many of these teachers said they had masters degrees).

As they spoke of the experiences they endured, many of the respondents pointed out that, even when the Negro teachers received assignments in the predominately white schools, it was made clear that they were not looked upon as equals of the white teachers. They were given the least desirable classrooms and the most academically challenged students. The state of North Carolina also introduced a new testing program for the teachers that reportedly was normed in such a way that few of the Negro teachers could
successfully pass it. This was seen as another method of removing the Negro teachers from the school systems.

Nonetheless, as time has moved on, many Negro teachers are now teaching in the integrated schools and have achieved success. The vestiges of racism seem to remain on both sides, both black and white, but such problems do not seem to be seen as the norm in the current schools. Several of the interviewees spoke of the superior education that they believe their children and grandchildren are receiving in the integrated schools. These respondents declared that they would not want to go back to the segregated schools for a number of reasons. The two most often mentioned reasons were: (a) the need to come to terms with the fact that we are all Americans and must learn to live together in a productive manner and, (b) the belief that if we returned to segregated schools, the black schools would not be allowed to measure up to the standards of the predominately white schools. They would not be given equal buildings, equipment, and materials in order to do the job that needs to be done.

Research Question 5: What were the conditions of buildings, equipment, and supplies in Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

The conditions of the buildings, equipment, and supplies in the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina, according to the respondents, were never on an equal footing with those of the white high schools. Even the best of the high schools, which seemed to be located in the towns of the area, were not as well equipped as the white schools were, although they were better equipped than the rural schools. Some respondents spoke of attending schools that did not have inside toilets and even many of those that had inside toilets were described as dirty and unsanitary. The
buildings themselves were not well maintained by the school systems and were allowed to disintegrate and ultimately fall apart. Students spoke of attending school in buildings that were not well heated, that leaked when it rained, and were generally unappealing to all who were there. In addition, the schools lacked equipment for their labs, such as biology and chemistry. One teacher told of having the students bring frogs that they caught themselves, anesthetize them, and use paring knives brought from home to perform their required dissections in biology.

Desks were old, worn-out, and seldom provided enough seating for all of the students in the classes. Such desks were constantly falling apart and were not replaced when they were beyond repair. Some teachers had no copy machines to provide lesson sheets for the students and had to devise ways to make do with what they could bring from home or receive from the churches or community stores as they attempted to meet the needs of the students.

Typewriters, when available, often were missing keys and had been used in the white high schools to the point that few of them were usable by the students. There was not enough in the way of such basic supplies as paper, pencils, and chalk, so, once again, the teachers had to use their ingenuity to come up with different ways of teaching the students.

Nonetheless, it came through loud and clear throughout the interviews that all of the teachers realized that gaining an education was the only chance the students would have for success in the world of work and they felt their sacrifices and hard work were worth the effort. The student respondents seemed to express many of the same feelings. Their parents, in conjunction with the support of the churches and the teachers, provided
a foundation that let them know they were valued and that they needed to work hard in school in order to move on to a better life than their parents had experienced. It was heartwarming to hear how this triad worked together to support the youth of the community and how many of the young people did succeed in going to college and receiving their degrees.

Thus, while the answer to this research question certainly points out the inequity of the Negro high schools in relationship to the white schools, the responses from the interviewees demonstrated a determination that deserves to be remembered through such literature as this document so that it will never happen again.

Research Question 6: When and why did the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina close?

The response to this question was almost unanimously answered by the interviewees that occurred closing in the 1960s as a result of the court orders. Despite the fact that the Supreme Court had told the schools to integrate as far back as 1954, the phrase within the decision that has been mentioned earlier “with all deliberate speed”, allowed the states and districts to postpone the integration process until the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which soon led to measures taken to make meaningful changes. Despite the recognition of the unfairness of the educational inequities that these interviewees remembered, there was not so much rancor in their responses as there was sadness that such a system had ever existed. Shortly after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, all segregated high schools were integrated. However, the integration was for the Negro students to be bussed to the white high schools, rather than for any sort of balance between the two. Former students spoke of having to ride for as much as two
hours on the school bus to get to the white high schools where they did not feel welcome in those early years.

Most of the former Negro high schools were converted to storage usage and in some instances they became community centers. However, because most of them were in such poor condition, most ended up being torn down after a time. Some of the former students from Highland High School in Gastonia are working in conjunction with the historical society and other community groups to maintain the remnants of the hold high school. This issue has not been resolved, however, and there is some doubt on the part of many of the respondents that it will ever happen.

Research Question 7: What were the effects of public school desegregation on Negro students in the Piedmont area of North Carolina?

When desegregation first came about in the 1960s, the first students to enter the white high schools felt unwanted by the students, teachers, and the administrators. Many reported unjust experiences, such as being referred to special education in order to be removed from the regular classrooms. However, with the passage of time, the respondents indicated that the majority of them believed that integration of the schools had been beneficial for the Negro students. Because the white schools were so much better equipped and the range of classes offered was greater, many of them believed that the number of African American students who attend college now is greater than it was when the schools were segregated.

Nonetheless, many respondents were saddened by the loss of neighborhood schools and the loss of close communion among the schools, the parents, the churches, and the communities. Because of the distances involved between the schools and the
communities where the black families primarily reside, the interaction between the different parts of the community reportedly seldom takes place.

One common desire expressed by the respondents was for some way to return to the concept of neighborhood schools without losing the benefits of the better desegregated schools. However, no one could offer a method that would keep all the benefits of desegregation and retain all the benefits of the neighborhood schools.

This summary of the interviews of the former students, teachers, principals, and other school administrators who attended or worked in the segregated high schools of the Piedmont area of North Carolina and the analyses of the research questions posed in chapter one complete this chapter.

Chapter 5 includes a summary, common themes identified from the interviewees’ responses to my questions, and recommendations regarding both educational practice and further research.
CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY, COMMON THEMES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This dissertation is a qualitative study of persons who were in segregated Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina between 1934 and 1966. It is based primarily on the interviews of individuals who had attended those schools as students or who had worked in the schools as teachers, principals, or other school administrators. It also includes a description of the conditions of black people who were brought into this country as slaves and the many ways they were prevented from attending any type of school that would allow them to attain skills in order to find gainful employment and assert their rights as individuals to be a part of the larger society. In particular, this dissertation includes information about the discrepancies between Negro and white schools in North Carolina once the Negro children were allowed to go to school.

Common Themes

The interviewees who had either attended or worked as professionals in the Negro high schools in the Piedmont area of North Carolina spoke of their views of the integration of the high schools in the Piedmont area as bringing both gains and losses to their lives and the lives of their descendents. The losses they spoke of were:

(1) The loss of close ties among the school teachers and administrators, the parents, the churches and the communities at large;
(2) The loss of caring teachers who respected the students and encouraged them to reach for high goals, such as going to college and obtaining well-paying jobs;

(3) The belief that many white teachers, who are now in the majority as teachers and administrators in the integrated schools, do not believe that black students can do as well as white students in higher level college preparatory classes, which often makes the black students feel inferior to their white classmates;

(4) The perception that integration has made some black and white students, parents, and community members more racist than they were when they lived, worked and went to school in their segregated communities, including the schools;

(5) The conclusion that the lack of closeness among the black students, teachers, and administrators has been a major cause of many of the juvenile problems that are prevalent in integrated high schools; and

(6) The belief that some black communities have lost the feeling of “a village taking care of a child” that had existed before the children were bussed many miles away to integrated schools that were predominately white.

On the other hand, based on their own experiences and the observations they have made over the past few decades of integration, many of the interviewees spoke of the following gains that they believed the desegregation of schools has brought about:

(1) The black students now attend school in better buildings that contain appropriate furnishings, equipment, books, and other needed materials and experiences that enrich student lives;
(2) There is less segregation in public places such as drug stores, restaurants, theaters, and other typical places that young people like to have the freedom to patronize;

(3) There is a need to make integration in schools succeed in order to have a more heterogeneous society that mirrors life in America;

(4) Black students who graduate from integrated schools are more appropriately prepared to find good jobs or be accepted into better colleges than was the case when they were attending segregated schools;

(5) Many black children today are learning the social skills they need to succeed in the business and professional world; and

(6) Courts and school boards are trying hard to make sure that black and white children receive equal opportunities.

**Recommendations**

Interviewees expressed the view that this study would have an important role to play in preserving memories of a time that need to be remembered and recorded by those who experienced it. Consequently, I recommend that this study be duplicated in other locations, not only in North Carolina, but also throughout the United States. A second recommendation is to study current practices in areas where there are predominately black high schools still in existence in order to ascertain whether those schools are being funded and otherwise treated on as equitable a basis as those schools that remain predominately white. We cannot claim to have true equal opportunity for all Americans if major discrepancies exist.
Peter Applebone, a national correspondent for *The New York Times*, wrote an article that appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* on April 23, 1995, about John Hope Franklin. It seems fitting to end this study with some of the material from that article. Applebone described Franklin as “…perhaps the century’s pre-eminent black scholar.” In addition to writing what is considered to be the definitive text on the black experience in America, Franklin worked with Thurgood Marshall as a historical researcher on the *Brown v. Board of Education* lawsuit and became “…perhaps the most honored man in academia with 105 honorary degrees” (p. 34).

Franklin said on his 80th birthday about the African American’s search for a place to call home. He stated:

Let’s say you’ve got pristine schools, racially divided, white schools, black schools, …Say they’ve both got everything and then they graduate. Where do they go now? Where are the whites going to learn about blacks? Where are the blacks going to learn about whites? You’re just postponing the conflict until they get grown, and it’s much harder to learn anything then (p. 37).

On that note, it is my belief that the members of the African American community whom I interviewed would wholeheartedly agree. We are all Americans and we must continue to learn how to best live, learn and work together for the greater good of all, both now and in the future.
REFERENCES


February 11, 2002

Dr. Michael E. Ward
State Superintendent of Public Instruction
301 North Wilmington Street
Raleigh, NC 27604-2825

Dear Dr. Ward:

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis at East Tennessee State University. I am writing a dissertation on Negro high schools in North Carolina. I am a 1948 graduate of Highland High School, which was a Negro high school, in Gastonia, North Carolina. I will greatly appreciate your providing information about as many of the following topics as possible for the period from 1896 to 1964.

1. The total number of Negro high schools in North Carolina during the above period;
2. The dates of establishment, locations and dates of closing;
3. The grade levels required for Negro high school graduation during this period by years when grade levels increased and the date when all Negro high schools were required to have the 12th grade added to their curricula;
4. The approximate numbers of Negro high school students graduated by year or decade;
5. The required qualifications for Negro teachers in Negro high schools in North Carolina and the approximate number employed in the state of North Carolina by year or decade;

Please feel free to add any other information or comments about the positive or negative effects of Negro high schools. Thank you kindly for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Carrie S. J. Washington
East Tennessee State University
P. O. Box 13577
Johnson City, TN 37614

zcsw9@etsu.edu
March 27, 2002

Ms. Carrie S. J. Washington  
East Tennessee State University  
Post Office Box 13577  
Johnson City, TN 37614

Dear Ms. Washington:

In response to your request for information on the history related to African-American high schools in North Carolina, I regret that this type of data has not been collected or recorded by our Division of School Reporting Statistical Research section. However, there are several resources that you may wish to explore relative to your dissertation topic. John Hope Franklin, Duke University Professor Emeritus, is a noted historian who has written a number of books and articles on African-American history including education. Another possible source is History of North Carolina by J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton (1919) Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company. Volume III, Chapter 16, covers educational developments from 1860 through 1919. There may be additional volumes that cover later years. Please keep in mind that this source may be difficult to find.

Your topic is quite interesting. I wish you the best of luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Michael E. Ward

MEW/MRP/m
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

1. As an educator who worked in a Negro high school during segregated periods, how did you cope with keeping students interested in becoming educated?

2. Did the curriculum and school supplies give you the support you needed to achieve what you expected for your students?

3. How well do you believe that your Negro high school prepared its students to become employed after graduation?

4. What were the required qualifications for teachers in your Negro high schools?

5. When desegregation was implemented, can you tell me what happened to the teachers, principals and other personnel in the schools that were closed?

6. When and why did your Negro high schools close? Can you tell me what happened to your Negro high school buildings?

7. Are there any experiences that you would be willing to share concerning the segregated Negro high school era?
APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

1. In what years did you attend a Negro high school?

2. Were your school buildings, including desks, classrooms, bathrooms, lockers and playgrounds, in good condition? Please describe.

3. What was the highest grade offered before graduation in your last year in school?

4. What subjects did you take during your last year?

5. How well did your Negro high school prepare you for employment after you finished high school?

6. What effect did the Negro high school personnel and parents in the community have on the survival of the Negro high school?

7. How do you feel today about your experiences in the segregated Negro high school and the desegregation in public schools (including bussing, etc.)?

8. What is your opinion regarding the future of desegregated high schools in North Carolina? How are they good or bad for African Americans?

9. Did you have any experiences that you would be willing to share related to the segregated school period you lived through?
I, ____________________________________________, have been told by Mrs. Carrie Washington that her research project will be based on interviews of students, teachers and administrators who were connected with Negro high schools. She told me my name would not be used in her report. I agree to allow her to interview me and to tape record our interview.

Signed ________________________________________________

Date ________________________________________________
VITA

CARRIE SMITH JOHNSON WASHINGTON

Personal Data: Date of Birth: October 10, 1930
Marital Status: Married

Education: Public Schools, Gastonia, North Carolina
Gaston College, Dallas, North Carolina;
    Associate Degree, Business Administration, 1983
Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina;
    Bachelor of Technology, Business Technology, 1993
Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina;
    M.A., Adult Education, 1993
Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina;
    Ed. S., Higher Education Administration, 1997
East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee;
    Ed. D., Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 2002

Professional Experience: Doctoral Fellow, East Tennessee State University;
    Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, 1999-2002
Substitute Teacher, Gaston County Schools, Gastonia, North Carolina; 1998-1999
Textbook Coordinator/Secretary/Accountant, Gaston County Schools, Gastonia, North Carolina; 1984-1996
Secretary, Gaston College, Highland Night School, Gastonia, North Carolina; 1972-1973

Honors: Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society, 2001
Trail Blazer Award, from the Appalachian State University Faculty and Staff Council, 1999
Educational Office Person of the Year Award, from the North Carolina Association of Educational Office Personnel, 1982