

Lee M. Waid: An Oral Historical Case Study of Students  
from an All-Black Rural Virginian School between 1963 and 1970

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**Abstract**

This qualitative study reflects the researcher's aim to capture the oral histories of students who attended Lee M. Waid, an all-Black rural Virginian school, between 1963 and 1970. This purpose lies in the researcher's attempt to thoroughly and accurately capture a time in history after desegregation was mandated, Freedom of Choice plans were implemented or being created, and integration was occurring across the nation, Virginia, and Franklin County. This study is guided by the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff who were part of Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970? The researcher followed the 10-step interview protocol of Creswell and Poth (2018) and adapted 15 interview questions from Johnson's (2015) dissertation *The Addisonians: The Experiences of Graduates of the Classes of 1963-70 of Lucy Addison High School, An All-Black High School in Roanoke, Virginia*. The interview questions were slightly adapted to suit the researcher's study to gain insight into student experiences at Waid School. The researcher purposefully selected 14 participants by looking at existing data through the use of primary documents and snowball or chain methodology. Fourteen of the participants were former students of Waid School and two were former faculty members of Franklin County Public Schools. The exploration of student experiences during desegregation is vital to preserving the history, legacy, and influence of Black education.

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**General Audience Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to shed light on the experiences of Black students during desegregation in Franklin County, Virginia. The researcher aimed to capture the oral histories of students who attended Lee M. Waid, an all-Black rural Virginian school, between 1963 and 1970. The voices of the participants and their stories add to the breadth of literature and body of knowledge on the desegregation process. Before the completion of this study, the perspectives and experiences of participants had not been formally documented.

A brief review of the literature on the history of Black education at the national, state, and local levels provides essential background information for historical context leading to the desegregation of United States public schools. An overview of southern segregated schools provides insight into the supports and values held within all-Black schools before and after the initiation of the desegregation of schools. The examination of student experiences during desegregation provides critical insight on America's pathway toward equity in education, the effect of desegregation from the student perspective, and the remnants of segregation that still exist today in American public schools.

Through a qualitative case study, the researcher conducted interviews with former students and stakeholders of Lee M. Waid. The researcher reviewed primary documents such as yearbooks, newspaper articles, and other documents provided by participants. Through interviews with participants, (a) high expectations from teachers and administrators, (b) parent and community support, (c) familial attitudes or beliefs about segregation and integration, (d) school pride, and (e) each participant meaningfully reflected on their individual school experiences during desegregation. The themes identified in the study are similar to those identified by other researchers who have explored the initial desegregation of schools and the supports and values held within segregated schools. One of the recommendations of this study encourages additional research and documentation of student experiences during desegregation. The exploration of student experiences during desegregation is vital to preserving the history, legacy, and influence of Black education.

## **Dedication**

This study is dedicated to the students, faculty, and community of Lee M. Waid who demonstrated strength, courage, and resiliency during civil unrest and the evolving educational time of desegregation. To the former students of Waid: Cleive and John Adams, Gwen Adkins, Audrey Dudley, John Jamison, Paul Mattox, Walter Meadows, Glenna Moore, Edwina Prunty, LaVerne Tiggler, A.J. Tyree, and Rebecca Tyree, I am thankful to have had the opportunity to work with you and I am proud to have been selected by you to share your story. I hope this study sheds light on the educational experiences that established the foundation of your educational career at Waid and speak to your resiliency and perseverance during the many difficult times you had to face as a student. Ms. Huffman and Ms. Johnson, thank you for your support, knowledge, and vulnerability to share your stories. Your optimism, passion for education, and dedication to advocating for the rights of others have assisted many of the students in this study, the community, and myself as an educator. Although this study may be complete, I feel that I have gained much insight from so many perspectives that not only touched my life but will soon impact the lives of many others through your perspectives. As you continue to inspire others today, during these trying times, I am even more thankful for the vulnerability of your stories and the sharing of your lens during desegregation and in today's society seeking to break down systematic barriers in education and beyond.

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First, I want to give thanks to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, for all that He has done for me. By His plan and His will, I have been able to navigate battles and obstacles that would not be possible without His guidance and love.

Thank you to all my friends, family, and colleagues for all of your support over the last three years. Daily, I am reminded of how blessed I am to have each one of you in my life.

To my children, Connor James and Ada Grace, may the Lord bless you and keep you for all your days. I pray that you will continue to seek His guidance in all that you do and continue to feed the fire of curiosity that you have for learning. I pray that you continue to live your lives with passion advocating for the rights of others. I pray that you spend your days embracing and recognizing the differences of others and how those differences together will positively change the world for all. The completion of this part of my educational journey was by His design. As a first-generation student, I have worked tirelessly to make you proud by breaking down one barrier at a time to ensure you have more opportunities.

To my life partner and wife, Ashley. Words cannot describe how thankful I am to have you by my side. You provided words of encouragement when I needed them the most. You spoke my dreams into existence when I was in doubt or wanted to give up. Thank you for being a role model to our children and for advocating for the rights of others and equality through your life's work.

To my cohort, thank you for all the laughs and memories. The relationships that we have built, and their importance to me, cannot be put into words. I value the time we have spent together and the friendships we have made, with a full and grateful heart.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction to the Study**

#### **Overview of the Study**

The study aimed to capture the oral histories of students who attended Lee M. Waid School (“Waid”) located in Franklin County, Virginia, an all-Black rural Virginian school, between 1963 and 1970. Franklin County Public Schools has a history of a delayed response to initial and final desegregation, however, other areas across the Commonwealth were also delayed by factors including opposition and litigation. Although segregation in the United States today is illegal and considered the past, the nation’s contemporary *de facto* segregation is an effect that stems from the era of *de jure* segregation. As a historical building of Franklin County in which natives take care and hold pride, the experiences and perceptions of 12 former students who attended Lee M. Waid as a segregated school, 2 former Franklin County Public Schools faculty members have been formally documented to ensure that this time in history is captured accurately and thoroughly to serve as a reference for future generations. The exploration of student experiences during desegregation is vital to preserving the history, legacy, and influence of Black education at the local, state, and national levels.

My motivation for conducting this study was to promote awareness in education of social justice, equality, equity, and access within U.S. public schools as this topic is just as relevant today as it once was. I wanted to bring forth students’ personal oral accounts of their educational experiences in segregated schools. This study is guided by the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff who were part of Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970?

#### **Statement of the Problem**

Limited research exists on the experiences of students who have attended all-Black southern segregated public schools (Poff, 2014; Walker, 2000), including rural high schools in the Commonwealth of Virginia (Johnson, 2015; Richardson, 2012). The problem of limited research on perspectives and experiences includes the exclusion of student voices from the literature on school segregation because it focuses more on the inequalities of schooling during the segregation and integration eras (Johnson, 2015; Poff, 2014, 2016; Walker, 1993, 2000, 2001). According to Richardson (2012) and Walker (2000), the majority of published historical

accounts or histories have failed to shed light on the contributions of Blacks. The limited research and scholarly examination of Black history (Richardson, 2012) and Black education “has ignored a rich and complex heritage” (Ashelman & Dorsey-Gaines, 2001, p. 2). In order to add to the literature on all-Black southern segregated public education, student perspectives and experiences should be explored to address the characteristics of all-Black schools central to the Black community (Johnson, 2015).

### **Purpose and Justification of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to capture the perspectives of students who attended an all-Black rural Virginian school between 1963 and 1970. The perspectives and self-reported experiences of participants who attended Lee M. Waid School created stories that document and provide insight on the desegregation time period. The justification of the study centers around the need to document the history of education, specifically Black education as it relates to this study, and how it has evolved in the United States; specifically, Virginia. Therefore, this study is justifiable with the remnants of social justice in education and problems with access for students in Title 1 schools, rural areas, and *de facto* segregation in Virginia and the United States. In this study, the voices of participants based on their experiences during desegregation were captured.

### **Research Questions**

The main research question is, What were the experiences of students and staff who were part of Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970?

Sub questions are:

1. What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?
2. How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?

### **Definitions of Terms**

*All-Black schools* are defined as schools that were segregated by race and only attended by Black or African American students (Johnson, 2015).

*Black or African American* refers to people with African ancestry. The use of the term Black will be used by the researcher except when quoting or citing a source that may use dated terms such as Negro or Colored (American Psychological Association, 2009).

*Black education* is defined as the teaching or providing of instruction in areas such as academics, character development, or social instruction to Blacks or African Americans throughout the history of the United States and specifically in all-Black schools (Johnson, 2015).

*County training schools* are defined as “larger public county schools for Negroes in Southern states which are open in the higher grades to children from all parts of the county, and offering, or planning to offer, work including the eighth-grader or higher” (Redcay, 1935, p. 12, as cited in Richardson, 2012, p. 13). Many county training schools were supported by funding sources from the community and funds such as the Rosenwald Fund. These schools were later supported by public funding and some became high schools (Redcay, 1935; Richardson, 2012).

*De facto segregation* as a result of school zoning or housing patterns (Tyack, 1967) that do not require an “affirmative duty to integrate” because of the legal difference between de jure and de facto (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, p. 351).

*De jure segregation* is best described as occurring before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), unconstitutional, and derives from law or the intentional acts of school officials. States having legal segregation prior to 1954, have intentionally planned to address “vestiges of past discrimination” (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, p. 352).

*Desegregation* in this paper is defined as a policy and process of ending racial separation as set by *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) in public schools (Alexander & Alexander, 2015).

*Freedom of Choice* is defined as a system of assigning pupils to schools with parental input of preferred school of choice (Tyack, 1967).

*Gatekeeper* is an individual who controls access to potential participants that the interviewer does not know (Seidman, 2006).

*Integration* is defined as the policies and process and attempts to merge separate educational facilities as one, or over time, by admitting students of color to previously all-White

schools as set by *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* (Alexander & Alexander, 2015). According to Tyack (1967) and Richardson (2012), integration occurs when the assimilation of American life reaches citizens of all races educationally, culturally, socially, politically, and economically.

*Massive Resistance* is defined as laws that supported political agendas and movements to combat the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling with refusals and actions to resist desegregation (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998).

*Segregation* in this paper is defined as the separation of individuals based on race in education, social settings, and other aspects involving interactions necessary for daily life (Tyack, 1967).

*Snowball or chain* sampling strategies are defined as obtaining information from individuals of interest who are then able to connect with other individuals including friends, family, or community members (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2020).

### **Significance of the Study**

Significance lies in the researcher's concern to document student perspectives and preserve a time in history after desegregation was mandated, Freedom of Choice plans were implemented or being created, and integration was occurring across the nation, Virginia, and Franklin County. Accounts of students who formally attended Waid are known orally and in some written forms to the community, but they have not been formally researched or documented. Thus, the researcher sought to capture former student perspectives through interviews to formally document the first-hand accounts of students to add to the literature on all-Black rural southern segregated public schools post-*Brown* and preserve this time in history.

### **Organization of the Study**

Chapter One discusses the purpose and research question that drives the study. The need for the study and its impact on the history of Black education in the Commonwealth of Virginia and Franklin County is discussed. The researcher notes the limitations and delimitations of the study and a list of essential terms and definitions as used in the study.



Chapter Two details the historical context of the study. The history of Black education in Virginia before the Civil War to desegregation is reviewed. Five essential periods in the history of Black education are identified and discussed. Litigation as it relates to Black education and the unconstitutionality of separate, but equal, is reviewed within the five time periods. The researcher also incorporated the perceptions and narratives of students on desegregation by reviewing texts written by students who attended schools during segregation and the Freedom of Choice Era. A review of Black education in Franklin County is discussed noting the significant influence of members of the Black community and Franklin County's path to full integration. An overview of Southern segregated schools and the value of Southern segregated schools are also discussed.

Chapter Three details the methodology of the research. The researcher followed the path of historical research by utilizing primary and secondary sources. Sources used in the study varied from yearbooks to newspaper articles. The study was dependent on sources to support the history of Lee M. Waid and Black education in Franklin County, Virginia. Primary and secondary sources were essential in supporting the details of participants interviewed and assisted the researcher in painting a picture of participant experiences in word form. The number of participants, selection criteria, interview process, methods of data collection, and analysis of data are discussed in chapter Three.

Chapter Four details individual student perspectives that were derived from individual interviews with students who previously attended Waid during the desegregation era from 1963 to 1970.

Chapter Five discusses the findings, analysis of data received from the interviews, summary, discussion, and recommendations for further study component of this study.

Regarding the appendices, the researcher included artifacts collected during the study. The artifacts provide visuals that correlate with participant experiences such as photographs of teachers, administrators, students, and school clubs. Additional images included in the appendices include newspaper articles that document events noted by participants or individual participant achievements.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Review of the Literature**

#### **Introduction**

The topic of this literature review is Black segregated schools in the South. The focus of it is the values and support systems that enhanced the experiences of students in these types of schools. The most complete era of state-supported segregated education for African Americans in the South occurred during the years of 1935 and 1969. This time period provides “the most evidence of the cultural style representative of the community’s values, norms, and expectations” (Walker, 2000, p. 256). This paper is organized around the following topics: synthesis, a historical review of Black education and segregated schools, and student perspectives and research findings that detail the characteristics of segregated schools in the South. General information is included, which is not exhaustive, on the history of Black education in the South, segregation, desegregation, White perceptions and influence on policies, Massive Resistance, legal cases, Black teacher organizations, and the influence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

#### **Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria**

When researching online databases, the researcher used key search terms including: *desegregation, integration, Black student perspectives, NAACP, Franklin County, Virginia, and Black education*. Databases searched include: ERIC, VTWorks, Google Scholar, and Education Research Complete. In each of the searches, the parameters for the search included peer-reviewed, scholarly, and full-text items available. Also, the researcher exclusively searched for studies or scholarly articles written in English and conducted in the United States of America. When searching the ERIC database in April 2020, the search yielded 101 results for the term *Black student perspective* and 103 results for the term *desegregation*. The majority of the search terms dealt with Black teacher or administrator perspectives or educational impacts of Black students in public schools and higher education. Several other articles related to diversity, the resegregation of schools post-*Brown*, and litigation. A Google Scholar search using *Black student perspective* yielded 31 results. Upon retrieval of these results, the researcher customized the search to sort the results by relevance and used a combination of the search terms *Black student perspective* and *desegregation* which yielded 7 results.

Education Research Complete generated 3 results when using a combination of search terms which included *desegregation* and *Black student perspectives*. The three results aligned with school desegregation and Black teacher and student perspectives, but only one fully investigated the perspectives of students during desegregation or in a segregated school in great detail. Poff's (2014) dissertation *School Desegregation in Roanoke, Virginia: The Black Student Perspective* most closely fit the researcher's search parameters and inclusion criteria due to the in-depth analysis of the history of Black education, school integration, and the documentation of Black student perspective during the years of integration. Poff's qualitative analysis of Black student perspectives during the integration of schools in Roanoke, Virginia assisted the researcher in making connections to support the literature review for Franklin County, Virginia which is part of Southwest Virginia. The researcher also searched VTech Works for electronic theses and dissertations using the search terms of *desegregation* and *Black student perspectives*. Using the search term *desegregation*, VTech Works generated 447 results. Of the 447 results, 282 were dissertations. The researcher searched the 282 dissertations using *segregation*, which yielded 5 results, one of which was a study of an all-Black high school by Johnson (2015). The researcher refined the search to combine the terms *Black student perspective* and *desegregation*, yielding two results, which included the historical and qualitative methodologies of Poff (2014) and Johnson (2015). Johnson's dissertation *The Addisonians: The Experiences of Graduates of the Classes of 1963-70 of Lucy Addison High School, An All-Black High School in Roanoke, Virginia* closely aligned with Poff's, but varied due to his emphasis on the experiences of students who attended an all-Black high school.

### **Synthesis of the Literature**

The researcher compiled salient references into a table that was later color-coded to look for similarities amongst references and ultimately, themes in Appendix A. To set research parameters, inclusion criteria focused on historical information on Black education prior to and after the Civil War and up to the integration of schools. The history of Black education in the United States before and after the Civil War period is essential to provide an accurate depiction of how policy and governance influenced Black education at the local, state, and federal levels.

The creation of the public school system in the South can be directly related to the efforts and initiatives of ex-slaves that sought out education and held its attainment with obtaining freedom. Anderson (1988) and Walker (2000) noted that African Americans resisted some

interest of groups such as Northern philanthropists or the Freedman's Bureau when initiatives were not in alignment with their own as education was an area that African Americans took pride. Walker (2000) serves as a salient source in synthesizing the historical context of segregated schools during a time of "overt racism" (p. 258). According to Walker (2000), the time period ranging between the years 1935 and 1969 aligns with "the emergence of widespread state-supported education for African American segregated education, particularly the beginning of high school education in some settings..." (p. 256). Upon reviewing Walker's (1996) *Their Highest Potential*, works such as *Black Teachers on Teaching* by Foster (1996) and *Along Freedom Road* by Cecelski (1994) were added to the review of the literature of African American schooling during the years of segregation.

In order to analyze characteristics of segregated schools and the values that were held by the students, literature noting the historical backgrounds of African American schools, newspaper articles, books, school board minutes, and oral accounts or interviews from those who attended or taught in segregated schools are used as sources of information for the researcher. The review of the literature for the history of Black education and the value of segregated schools in the African American community surrounds published or peer-reviewed sources. The reference lists of articles and books that focused on the history of Black education and segregated schools in the South were reviewed. This review of reference lists revealed additional articles that included additional resources. The local Historical Society of Franklin County, Virginia, and the genealogy room of Franklin County Library located in the Town of Rocky Mount, Virginia were other resources used. At each of these locations, the researcher reviewed maps, yearbooks, and documents that noted the history of education and Black education in Franklin County. Many of the books published by the local historical society contained oral and written accounts that were compiled by local Franklin County natives detailing community, church, and local business involvement in Black education. While several writings were located, the researcher questioned the potential for additional written accounts that were not found or available at these locations that would add to the essential understandings and accounts of segregated schools.

### **Review of National, State, and Local Public School Desegregation**

Nine commonalities emerged from the review of the literature: (1) community support, (2) influences of local business owners and churches, (3) culture, (4) persistence, (5) ideas of

social equality, (6) organizations for equality and advancement such as the NAACP and Black teacher organizations, (7) hardships, (8) political disagreements, and (9) separation via segregation. Movements identified by the researcher and researchers such as Poff (2014) and Johnson (2015), align with 5 time periods that signal changes in Black education: (1) prior to the Civil War, (2) the Reconstruction Era, (3) the Industrial Education Era, (4) the Pursuit of Equality Era, and (5) the Era of Integration.

Poff (2014) and Johnson's (2015) dissertations vary in the differing experiences of students in an all-Black high school versus the experiences of the first nine students who integrated schools in the years 1960 and 1961 as described by Poff (2014). Johnson's (2015) dissertation most closely aligns with the researcher's central focus on Black education in the South during segregation, specifically an all-Black high school in Southwestern, Virginia. In Johnson's dissertation, the reader is able to align the focus of this review of literature with the research conducted by Johnson in documenting oral accounts of characteristics and values held within all-Black schools during the years of segregation. Further evaluation of the researcher's table notes the various positions that White southerners held in the area of politics ranging from liberals, moderates, to segregationists when evaluating the impact and influence of Jim Crow Laws and the inequities caused by their enforcement.

### **Black Education in the South Prior to Desegregation**

The history of Black education from the national, state, and local levels provides insight and a historical timeline that outlines this review of the literature. Five time periods in United States history, through the lens of Black education, have been analyzed and are depicted in Figure 1. In this study, a historical context of Black education before the Civil War up to the central focus statewide supported education in the South during the years 1935 to 1969 is reviewed. The review of Black education in the South prior to desegregation is analyzed with limitations of research not being exhaustive in all areas due to limitations of works that may not be known to researchers or scholars.

#### **Figure 1**

*Timeline of Black education in the United States.*



### **Black Education Prior to the Civil War.**

A variety of factors influenced Black education in the South including: politics, culture, and economics (Anderson, 1988). According to Anderson (1988), “Black education developed within this context of political and economic oppression” (p. 2). In the years before the Civil War and after, the educating of Blacks was associated with fears of power struggles for White slave owners (Bullock, 1967). In the 1740s, South Carolina prohibited the teaching of slaves significantly before rebellion and resistance movements began to take place creating a domino effect to other states enacting similar laws (Savage, 1972). The prohibition of literacy skill education of slaves to slaves decreased the likelihood of occurrences where slaves “(1) wrote passes out of slave country for themselves, or (2) used their skills to expose the harsh realities of slavery, which the press had yet discovered” (Savage, 1972, p. 285). Formal plans to educate slaves or enhance skills through literacy were not intentionally planned for due to the nature of working on the plantation and the oppressive nature of slavery, but educational opportunities developed early on in the form of vocational trades such as carpentry, seamstresses, and blacksmiths (Bullock, 1967).

Some early slave-owners emphasized the importance of slaves having biblical literacy and instruction associated with Christian worship through reading, but not by learning to write (Cornelius, 1983). According to Cornelius (1983) and Vaughn (1974), most early Black education derived from early slave owners or missionary’s belief on focusing on the importance of one knowing how to read the word of God for oneself; however they limited the teaching of additional skills, such as writing, which would jeopardize social hierarchy (Brown, 1990; Cornelius, 1983; Lucas, 2013; Vaughn, 1974). Cornelius (1983) and Vaughn (1974) denote the importance of religious context for learning by both slave owners and slaves.

On the other hand, Brown (1990) and Lucas (2013) note that the desire for self-sufficiency on some Southern plantations promoted the teaching of literacy skills, mechanics, and craft. In 1819, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law prohibiting the teaching of literacy skills to Blacks; however, this law was followed at the discretion of slave owners (Dabney, 1971; Lucas, 2013). Many practices associated with the teaching of literacy skills to Blacks were impacted by the Southampton County revolt in 1831, led by Nat Turner, an educated slave. Many of these practices were impacted by the Southampton County revolt in 1831. The slave insurrection, led by Tuner, involved the massacre of Whites which caught the

attention of legislators and this attention led to a stricter social hierarchy that already consisted of laws aimed to keep Blacks uneducated (Alexander, 1943; Brown, 1990; Dabney, 1971; Lucas, 2013; Poff, 2014; Vaughn, 1974). As the support of abolitionists and the fears of Southern slave owners intensified, in 1848 the Virginia General Assembly outlined additional punishments for those teaching reading or writing skills and prohibited the “assembly of slaves, free Negroes or mulattoes for the purpose of religious worship when such worship is conducted by a slave, free Negro, or mulatto” (Guild, 1936, pp. 178-179). Initiatives by slaves to enhance reading skills through biblical teaching sessions formed opportunities associated with assuming religious leadership roles within the slave community and in careers after the war (Cornelius, 1983).

### **The Reconstruction Era and Opposition of Black Education: 1865-1876.**

The economy of the south after the war was depleted and unstable. Newly freedmen had difficulty finding work with sufficient wages for tasks they previously performed before the war. To address the economic needs of the south, sharecropping and other incentive contractual arrangements were used to link freedmen to farm labor during times of harvest (Fleischman, Taylor, & Oldroyd, 2014).

### **Post War Organizations.**

The Freedman’s Bureau (1865-1872) was created in March of 1865 by Congress, as a temporary subdivision of the war department to work toward improving the lives of Blacks after the war. Its purpose was to reunite and relocate families along with assisting the heirs of Black soldiers in collecting pensions and back pay (Fleischman et al., 2014).

The antebellum South did not welcome the concept of universal schooling and former slaves strived to gain support for public education. Former slave initiatives and support from Northern missionary societies, the Union army, Republican politicians, and organizations such as the Freedman’s Bureau led to influence in the state governments for education. According to Anderson (1988), early Black schools had begun forming well before the Emancipation Proclamation, such as a school established in 1861 led by Mary Peake in Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Few Blacks received an education before the establishment of segregated public schools, and organizations such as the Freedman’s Bureau and religious groups such as the American Missionary Association (AMA) worked to provide an education to former slaves (Bullock, 1967; Johnson, 2015; Poff, 2014; Vaughn, 1974).

Many African Americans equated knowledge with freedom and “their self-reliance and deep-seated desire to control and sustain schools for themselves and their children” was a priority (Anderson, 1988, p. 5). The Freedman’s Bureau attempted to assist as many freedmen and families as possible, but the organization was short-lived for it was disbanded in 1872 due to pressures and negative actions by white supremacy groups (Fleischman et al., 2014). Although the Freedman’s Bureau was short-lived, the educational efforts resulted in “38,554 Black students enrolled in 706 schools with 493 teachers by 1871” (Lucas, 2013, p. 17; Ruffner, 1871, p. 173). The end of the Civil War, the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, and the need to revive the south did not negate the fact that African Americans, still faced many challenges and obstacles to overcome. Many newly freed Blacks were faced with learning a new approach to life out of the confinement of slavery, yet a strict social order remained intact that did not truly grant Blacks freedom within the constraints of a white society resistant to an inclusive lifestyle (Anderson, 1988; Fleischman et al., 2014). The progress made during the Radical Reconstruction period was stalled by pressures of white supremacy groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, a group of violent whites who aimed to silence, intimidate, and deter progress toward equality and freedoms for Blacks.

***Roberts v. City of Boston (1849).***

In 1849, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts legalized the concept of racial segregation in Boston public schools in the case of *Roberts v. City of Boston, 59. Mass. 198* (1849). In this case, an African American child was not permitted to attend the school closest to their home for they were required by the school board to attend an all-Black elementary school. The court concluded, under the Constitution of Massachusetts, that the separation of races in schools was permitted as long as facilities were equal (Alexander & Alexander, 2015).

**The Industrial Education Era: 1876-1915.**

“The General” also known as Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder and first principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, focused on industrial education for African Americans after the civil war through a teacher’s training program (Anderson, 1988; Armstrong, 2012). The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was the progeny of the Freedman’s Bureau’s normal schools and was established in Hampton, Virginia in 1868 by the American Missionary Association (Armstrong, 2012). Armstrong, a member of the Freedman’s Bureau, envisioned a segregated society where White people were in power or leadership positions and



Blacks served as laborers (Armstrong, 2012; Poff, 2014). “The primary aim was to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil or the dignity of labor” (Anderson, 1988, p. 34). Armstrong’s approach to education for Blacks caught the attention of northern philanthropic organizations, generated sources of funding, and appealed to White southerners (Armstrong, 2012; Poff, 2014).

The Hampton Institute’s most notable graduate came in the form of Booker T. Washington. Washington arrived at the Hampton Institute in 1872 at the age of twenty-five years old (nps.gov, 2015; Tuskegee.edu, 2020). Washington was born into slavery in 1856 on a 207-acre farm previously owned by James Burroughs, located in Franklin County, Virginia (nps.gov, 2015; Tuskegee.edu, 2020). Washington’s autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, details life on the farm as a young boy and moving to West Virginia with his mother, step-father, and two brothers (nps.gov, 2015). Washington is best known for his promotion of an industrial-style education that instilled hard work during the day and classes during the evenings (nps.gov, 2015; Tuskegee.edu, 2020). Booker T. Washington taught at the Hampton Institute after graduating and then later became the first principal of the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama in 1881 now known as Tuskegee University (Tuskegee.edu, 2020).

The views and promotion of industrial education by Booker T. Washington soon came to be questioned by an educator known as W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois called for social equality and for light to be shed on the submissiveness of Washington’s approach through an industrial education. Du Bois believed that all individuals were entitled to an education and the practices of the Hampton Model did not promote social change or fully educate those who attended industrial schools because of the emphasis on labor and trade attainment (Poff, 2014). Du Bois called on teachers at the Hampton Institute to promote higher education to the most deserving and dedicated students (Poff, 2014). The educational philosophy of Du Bois focused on the importance of history, inquiry, and the need for understanding of needs (King, 2017). Du Bois’s talented tenth phrase was discussed in his article *The Talented Tenth* (1903) published in *The Negro Problem* by Pott (1903) who wrote that Du Bois argued the importance of African Americans obtaining a higher education for the top 10% of the population.

***Plessy v. Ferguson (1896).***

In 1868, the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment was adopted which stated a constitutional basis “existed for racial discrimination to be held impermissible at the federal level” (Alexander & Alexander,

2015, p. 340). Unfortunately, racial segregation did not end with the enactment of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Courts failed to enforce the intent of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and states across the south enacted Jim Crow laws which impacted every aspect of daily life for African Americans including “separate waiting rooms in railroad stations, train case, telephone booths, separate storage for textbooks used by Black children, separate Bible for swearing in some southern courts, and of course, separate schools” (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, pp. 340-341). “Separate-but-equal” as concluded in the *Roberts v. City of Boston* case was adopted in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896) by the United States Supreme Court. A dissenting opinion was given by Justice Harlan who stated that separate facilities between races would contribute to the creation of a racial caste system that excluded Blacks from associating with Whites. Justice Harlan emphasized that the constitution is “color blind” and that every man regardless of color is entitled to personal liberties that are protected by the Constitution.

The *Plessy* decision was upheld until *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896) established the ‘separate but equal’ doctrine that held racial segregation constitutional as long as facilities were equal. The ‘separate but equal’ ruling also impacted education. States were permitted to make laws that separated the races without deeming one inferior to the other. Due to the *Plessy* decision, the Commonwealth of Virginia initiated a series of laws that governed transportation, public schools (1902), residential neighborhoods (1912), and social areas such as movie theaters (1926) (Guild, 1995). Throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia during the Jim Crow era, signs could be found that designated areas with signage stating for “Colored” and “White” (Guild, 1995).

### **The Pursuit of Equality Era: 1915–1954.**

Du Bois’s worldview of education and demands for equality encouraged organizations and other Blacks to challenge the current practices and treatment of Blacks in America (Johnson, 2015). Before *Brown v. Board*, the Virginia state NAACP joined the national NAACP organization to undermine the current legislation and overall constitutionality of segregation (Daughterity, 2014).

#### ***Brown v. Board of Education (1954-1955).***

Thurgood Marshall and the NACCP believed there was a better chance of deeming segregation unconstitutional with *Plessy v. Ferguson’s* (1896) separate, but equal (Bell, 2004; as

cited in Mungo, 2013). The NAACP decided a better attempt could be made at acquiring equal access when attacking the constitutionality of segregation versus equal access by itself (Bell, 2004; as cited in Mungo 2013). *Brown v. Board of Topeka* (1954) ruled that separate schools according to race was not equal and unconstitutional, thus ending decades of *de jure* segregation (Kluger, 2004; Ogletree, 2004; as cited in Mungo, 2013). The decision “separate is not equal”, as defined in *Brown v. Topeka Kansas* (1954), was preceded by federal interventions such as the Freedman’s Bureau and the passage of the Second Morrill Act (Jones, 1974).

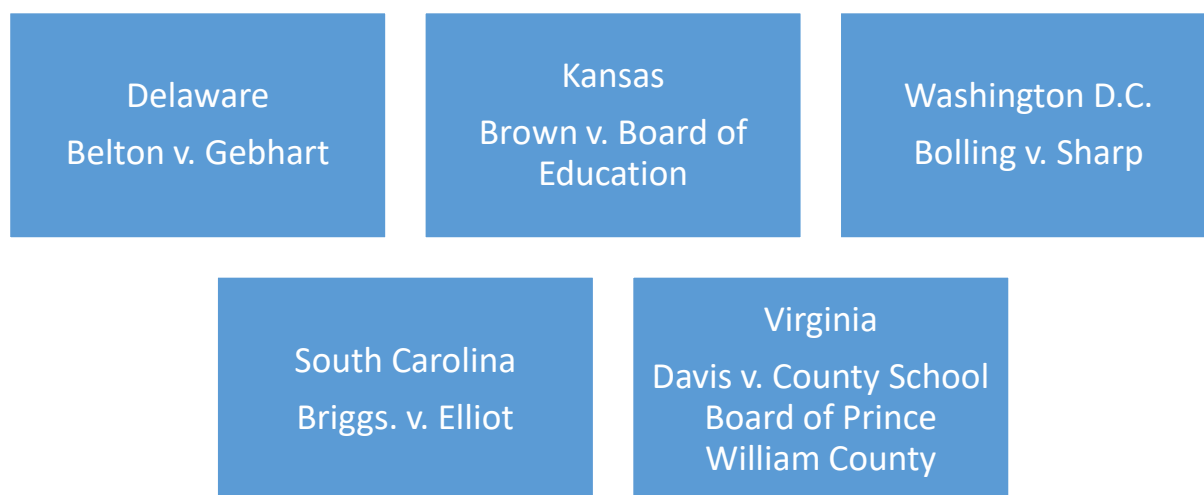
The issue in *Brown v. Board of Education* included a combination of cases were presented in the Supreme Court which consisted of *Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince William County* (1957) and four other suits filed by the NAACP from other locations as displayed in Figure 2. The Supreme Court had to evaluate the legal issue of whether or not the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment nullified school segregation. According to Alexander and Alexander (2015), the essential question was to “determine whether the constitutional intent was to prohibit state statutory or regulatory segregation of the public schools” (p. 343). Due to the impact that the *Brown* decision would have on society, “alternative enforcement measures” were evaluated and the plaintiffs, defendants and other participants were requested to present possibilities for implementation (pp. 343-344). The official plan finally adopted by the Supreme Court occurred in 1955 and issued that desegregation of public should occur “with all deliberate speed” because *Brown* addressed “state enforced segregation” (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, p. 344).

***Briggs v. Elliott (1955).***

*Briggs v. Elliott*, 132 F. Supp. 776 (E.D.S.C. 1955), which centered on the issue of desegregation versus integration, was a case combined with four others presented in *Brown*. The essential question posed to a federal judge was to determine if *Brown* intended to “abolish school-sanctioned segregation” or did the decision set the precedence that schools are to be integrated with the intention of including others previously excluded (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, p. 344). It was concluded that no person should be denied the right to attend school on the basis of race and also stated that the Constitution does not explicitly state that integration is a requirement. The decision in this case remained as a point of reference and guideline for school divisions resisting integration (Alexander & Alexander, 2015). The federal government’s intervention in the decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* solidified a crucial and landmark victory for the education of Blacks across the nation (Jones, 1974).

**Figure 2**

*Cases Appealed to United States Supreme Court as the Single Case Brown V. Board of Education.*



The ruling of *Brown* determined that the segregating of schools was unconstitutional and the Supreme Court ordered the federal courts to desegregate schools “with all deliberate speed;” however, a completion date for the desegregating of schools was not established. The interpretation of the phrase “with all deliberate speed” varied and many southern Whites strongly opposed school desegregation (Daughterity, 2014).

**Massive Resistance**

White segregationist groups such as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, a prominent group in Virginia, were established and encouraged White opposition to desegregation (Daughterity, 2014). Between the years 1954 and 1959, the term massive resistance was coined due to the efforts of state officials in opposition of desegregation and aimed to pass legislation that made the desegregation process more difficult (Daughterity, 2014). According to Lassiter and Lewis (1998), “White southerners never agreed about how their communities should respond to the Supreme Court’s 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional” (p. 1).

Despite the insistence of leading segregationist politicians that they spoke for a homogenous Solid South, many White southerners believed that compliance with the

Supreme Court's decision was inevitable and the discussion over what forms desegregation would assume should begin from that promise. (p. 1)

During this time, the culture of Virginia was being tried, political disagreements were rampant, and social and educational priorities were at the forefront (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). Virginians likely found themselves torn between three political categories of Liberals, Moderates, and Segregationists (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). Within this struggle, the goal of *Brown* was countered with resistance and proponents of gradualism (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998).

Political influence was a major factor in the closing of some schools for an extended period of time to combat integration. Politicians such as Henry F. Byrd Sr. passed laws deemed as "Massive Resistance" through the Virginia General Assembly which stated that school divisions across Virginia go against the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown* and cut off funds to any public schools that aimed to integrate (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). Segregationists across Virginia began to establish private schools as a replacement system for school closures and as an effort against integration. Massive Resistance caused legislation that closed schools in some areas such as Little Rock, Arkansas, and three Virginia communities for varying time frames (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). For some school divisions such as Prince Edward County, Virginia, this meant abandoning public education altogether and shutting down schools for all students for five years. Where Prince Edward County demonstrated an extreme effort to avoid integration, other divisions did close schools for a short period of time, such as in Norfolk and Charlottesville (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). Most individuals, during the school closings, found that it was better to integrate than not to educate anyone at all.

Desegregating schools was not the ultimate goal of the lawsuits that occurred in the 1940s and 1950s, but most African Americans wanted the same access to resources as their White counterparts (Kluger, 2004; Morris, 2008; as cited in Mungo, 2013). "African American communities wanted school districts to provide schools that were equal to their White counterparts in terms of funding and resources, and to be able to attend schools that were close to their homes" (Kluger, 2004; as cited in Mungo, 2013, p. 112). To combat the obstacles before and during segregation, students, teachers, families, and other community members maintained close relationships (Heller, 2019). Heller (2019) in an interview with Walker, describes Black educators before and after desegregation as glue because "they brought the NAACP and local activists together –and then they quietly stepped into the background" through intentional

collaboration (p. 45). According to Walker (2009), African Americans experienced anxiety for what was to follow desegregation, but they had hope for higher-quality facilities and more opportunities. In addition, African American students maintained hopes that the resiliency taught by Black educators during Jim Crow segregation and closeness of the community would not be lost.

### **The Era of Integration**

The process of desegregation and the integration of schools across the South fostered a variety of experiences. “As a result of court mandates, African American and White children were finally attending schools together throughout the South. Although physically desegregating schools had been realized, actual integration within schools and communities was still a concern of many in the African American community” (Mungo, 2013, p. 113). According to Walker (2015), the ending of *de jure* segregation brought about mixed emotions for Black educators and “concerns about the disruption of their power to advocate for Black children, the incongruity between language and practice in desegregation plans, and the lack of attention to the educational needs of Black children in the desegregation process” (p. 112). Southern states created laws to combat integration, but one of the most unique Massive Resistance laws is the Virginia Pupil Placement Act (VPPA) (Eskridge, 2010). The VPPA was governed by the Virginia Pupil Placement Board (VPPB). The VPPB assigned Black students to schools relieving the local school board from assigning pupils (Eskridge, 2010).

A series of other states in 1956 were working on creating their own versions of pupil placement boards such as Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi (Eskridge, 2010). The Virginia Pupil Placement Act differed from other Massive Resistance laws because it did not “specifically address race, which made it exceedingly difficult for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to challenge (Eskridge, 2010, p. 248).” According to Eskridge (2010), politicians such as Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. and Governor J. Lindsay Almond carefully worded the bill without noting race and worked around desegregation by establishing criteria for placement. The VPPA bill set forth criteria for placement that allowed the denial of Black students based on available classroom space, safety, and examined the possibility of disruption (Eskridge, 2010).

***Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (1964).***

Many Southern schools continued to avoid or delay the integration of public schools post-*Brown*. This delay can be directly linked to the number of private schools that were established by Segregationists (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998). Some school divisions closed schools and aimed to provide vouchers for White students to attend accredited private schools (Alexander & Alexander, 2015). *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, 377 U.S. 218 (1964) addressed this issue by concluding “to close public schools and contribute tax funds for students to attend segregated private schools was a violation of equal protection” (Alexander & Alexander, 2015, p. 345).

***Green v. County School Board of New Kent County (1968).***

The United States Office of Education issued guidelines to school districts to promote effective integration by adding pressure to states that if guidelines given are not followed, federal funding could be withheld (Alexander & Alexander 2015). Freedom of Choice plans were initially accepted and viewed as permissible to gain progress in the area of integration, but many school districts were not intentionally seeking an effective method of assisting in the transition of a unitary system of public schools. As determined by the Court, freedom of choice plans were acceptable as long as they assisted in the desegregation of schools; however, the Court further stated that if integration in school districts were not successful new alternatives would need to be created to successfully house Black and White children within the same school setting (Alexander & Alexander, 2015).

**Student Perceptions and Narratives on Desegregation**

A few former students have written books about their experiences and others have worked to capture the accounts of this time to be sure it is formally documented. Experiences such as those of Lee (2017) of Lunenburg County, Virginia bring to the surface educational disparities, the impact of Massive Resistance, and the Freedom of Choice Era. As a graduate of 1970 in Lunenburg County, the last year before Lunenburg High was fully integrated, Lee (2017) describes the student perspective during integration and discusses issues such as school consolidation. Lee (2017) notes the importance of connectedness within the county and how local church organizations along with efforts of the NAACP provided support during the transition from segregation, desegregation, to integration. Lee (2017) and Lassiter and Lewis (1998) note the political efforts of those who assisted in the creation of Massive Resistance such as William “Bill” Munford Tuck. Tuck, a lawyer and lieutenant to the Harry Byrd Sr.

organization stated “There is no middle ground, no compromise. We’re either for integration or against it and I’m against it...If you ever let them integrate anywhere the whole state will be integrated in a short time” (Lassiter & Lewis, 1998, p. 43; Lee, 2017, p. 123). Following the court mandates of *Brown*, during the 12 years of 1968 and 1980, the South’s number of segregated schools declined dramatically making the South the most desegregated region in the country (Orfield, 1983; also cited in Mungo, 2013). Walker (2009) explored the notion of real integration versus second class integration and Mungo (2013) noted the significance of marginalized Black students and teachers in desegregated school settings.

In addition to Lee (2017), Andrew Heidelberg (2006) shared his narrative as one of the Norfolk 17 to first integrate the City of Norfolk Public Schools. Heidelberg detailed the hardships that occurred during his experiences with integration with chapters titled *D-Day* and another *The War is on*. Verbal and physical attacks are frequently mentioned in Heidelberg’s (2006) narrative and Heidelberg’s denial letter from the Virginia Pupil Placement Board was featured by Eskridge (2010). In the denial letter, Heidelberg’s academics met qualifications; however, he was denied admittance to Norview High School due to concerns for his safety along with the safety of others currently enrolled at the school (Eskridge 2010). Following the criteria set forth by the VPPA, Heidelberg’s application was denied on the premises of disruption and safety as found in the internal notes of the VPPA. Eskridge (2010) further noted that the denial letters sent home were subject to change and often did not include reasons as stated internally with the VPPA.

### **Black Education in Franklin County, Virginia.**

A brief historical analysis of the history of Franklin County, Virginia provides additional information on Black education along with celebrated natives such as Booker T. Washington. Dr. Washington, a notable graduate of the Hampton Institute and first principal of the Tuskegee Institute, was born into slavery on the Burroughs plantation in a small cabin in Franklin County, Virginia on Route 29. A national park is now located in his honor where locals gather yearly for a gospel music celebration and historical reenactments called *Juneteenth*. In 1908, Washington returned to Franklin County for the first and last time since his departure as a 9-year-old boy in 1865 (Bicentennial, 1986). Washington’s return to Franklin County generated a greeting of about 200 people in a series of visits across the South (Bicentennial, 1986).



According to the Franklin County Bicentennial (1986) published by the Franklin County Historical Society, contributions from members of the local community, as well as organizations such as the Rosenwald Foundation assisted in the success of the vision laid out by Franklin County advocates for change in the area of education for African Americans. The Rosenwald Foundation provided funding for The Franklin County Training School to construct the former four-room building in 1926 and the Franklin County School Board provided additional assistance which initiated the school's name change from Booker T. Washington Franklin Normal and Industrial Academy to the Franklin County Training School (Historical, 2000). According to Ramsey (1975), Franklin County Training School "was financed through local funds and grants from Rosenwald and other philanthropic organizations" (p. 20). Rocky Mount School was constructed in 1915 and consisted of a 20 room dormitory that served staff and out-of-town students which shortly after its construction was renamed Booker T. Washington Franklin Normal and Industrial Academy (Bicentennial, 1986).

Serving as the Superintendent of Franklin County Public Schools for over four decades, Harold W. Ramsey (1975) detailed many of the obstacles faced African Americans and Whites in the county. Prior to the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ramsey (1975) stated "the Superintendent, the County Board and District Board members were faced with a gigantic task-namely to get popular approval for a system of free education for black and white alike" (p. 11). During the initial years of Ramsey's tenure as superintendent, 25 of the 27 schools available to Black students were one-room schools (French, Barton, & Flora, 2007). Ramsey (1975) described funding as "nonexistent", noted the limited number of individuals qualified to teach, and described building as "obsolete or inadequate" (p. 11). Furthermore, Ramsey (1975) noted that White "people had to be convinced of the wisdom of education Negroes" (p. 11). Reflecting on his experiences, Ramsey (1975) concluded, "it is little short of miraculous that" the formation and widespread support of public school education "took root, not only in Franklin County but over the state as well" (p. 11).

In 1948, land near Bald Knob was purchased by the Franklin County School Board. This purchase replaced the previous four-room structure which served as the school for African American students (Bicentennial, 1986). Before the building was renamed Lee M. Waid in 1957, the school maintained its former name that was established in the four-room structure known as The Franklin County Training School (Bicentennial, 1986) Today Lee M. Waid Elementary

School houses approximately 400 elementary school students from early childhood through fifth grade.

Documentation from Franklin County School Board minutes on February 8, 1965 note that Franklin County “recognized its obligation to comply with regulations established by the General Assembly of Virginia, and the State Board of Education, and the Congress of the United States” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, February 8, 1965, p. 592). The minutes further noted that it believes public schools are in operation for the collective benefit of all children. The practice of assigning pupils to schools was noted to fall under the direction of the State Pupil Placement Board “on the basis of requests by the parents of children to be enrolled and agrees to accept pupils as assigned” by the board (Franklin County School Board Minutes, February 8, 1965, p. 592). On March 8, 1965 representatives of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) of Waid School met with the Board and asked for improvements to some parts of the school building. The Board agreed to take care of some of the building requests and would consider others. The group was then asked to select a small committee to meet with the school board about applications from “Negro parents who might want their children to enter White schools” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, March 8, 1965, p. 595). The desegregation process of all Franklin County Public Schools was announced on May 10, 1965 (Franklin County School Board Minutes, May 10, 1965).

The school division chose to desegregate in September of 1965 in grades 1, 8, 10, and 12 on the Freedom of Choice basis (Franklin County School Board Minutes, May 10, 1965). “This plan provides that all Franklin County pupils enrolling in these grades may choose to attend the formerly White or formerly Negro school nearest to their home” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, May 10, 1965, p. 606). Four additional grades were included in the Freedom of Choice plan for the 1966-1967 academic year. The school division maintained the plan that all grade levels would be open to Freedom of Choice by the fall of 1967 due to the date specified by the Health, Education, and Welfare Act.

Franklin County School Board Minutes from April 9, 1973 detail some unrest taking place at FCHS School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973). The all-White nine girl selection for the junior varsity cheerleading squad was posted at the Junior High School and School Board minutes reflect the statement that “Black girls became rather excited about the results and did much to arouse the feelings of the Black students prior to the home room period” (Franklin

County School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973, p. 1230). Black students later began to assemble in the auditorium lobby and nine students were selected to “represent their interest in the matter” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973). A bomb threat call was made to Franklin County High School and students sought shelter to the rear of the building and the bus parking lot due to a rain storm (Franklin County School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973). An additional statement regarding reports from White parents was noted concerning their children being pulled off of the bus “by a group of unidentified Blacks” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973). Additional days following these events were summarized and noted meetings with Black student representatives and tension in the hallways. Attempts to hold meetings with Black and White students were noted, but inclement weather interfered with the scheduled date of March 21, 1973, and the meeting was rescheduled for March 23, 1973. Reports continued to be made regarding threats from Blacks to Whites. A bi-racial committee meeting was held on March 23, 1973 with students who shared their thoughts on the differences in the way Blacks and Whites cheer. “Blacks maintain that there would not be two whites at F.C.H.S. who could have made the old Lee M. Waid squad” (Franklin County School Board Minutes, April 9, 1973, p. 1231). On March 27, 1973 a group of White students gathered near the auditorium lobby and sought a meeting with administration. The following day, a group of White parents requested to meet with administration and student curiosity and interest caused a blockade in the hallway. Superintendent C. I. Dillion Jr. made the following statement found in the April 9 1973 school board minutes:

There is a great deal of racial tension in Franklin County and it surfaced with the cheerleader episode at Franklin County High School. The public schools remain the only institution in which considerable desegregation has taken place. As long as this is true, racial problems will continue in the schools here just as they have across the United States. Desegregation is a problem with which the whole community must work (p.1231).

In a Franklin County News Post article titled “parent set county-wide meet” (Anonymous, 1973a p. 1), the conversation that took place with parents and principal Wesley Naff Jr., was detailed “in an effort to get an answer to why two unqualified Black girls were named to the junior varsity cheerleading squad” (see Appendix GG). During the meeting, Principal Naff was asked to remove the recently added Black cheerleading squad members. “Naff said that he would have to say ‘no’ to a request to remove the two black girls from the cheer squad.” With hopes of

diffusing the cheerleading situation, Naff worked with a bi-racial committee “composed of black and white students, black and white teachers”, and community representatives (Anonymous, 1973a). The biracial committee recommended, “that the two black girls scoring the highest in the tryouts to be added to the squad” and this recommendation was followed. Disagreements continued to take place surrounding the number of Black cheerleaders that should be added to the junior and varsity cheer squads in 1973 and after. The heated discussions soon led the Naff’s decision to resign after his fourth year as principal of Franklin County High School. In a subsequent newspaper article by the Franklin News Post (1973b), the turmoil and explosive disagreements surrounding Naff’s resignation were discussed. “His resignation came about as a result of the explosive racial situation at the high school caused by the dissention over appointment of an all white junior varsity squad and the addition of two blacks later under pressure from the black community” (Anonymous, 1973b, p. 1).

### **Overview of Southern Segregated Schools**

A review of literature on parental involvement in African American schools by Walker (1996) revealed seven forms of supports: “founding new schools, providing financial and other support to existing schools, organizing institutions to support education, petitioning governmental agencies, convening conventions, participating in demonstrations and school boycotts, and using law suits to achieve educational equity” (pp. 257-258; also cited in Walker, 2000). Monies generated by parents and families of African American students across 15 states exceeded funds that were contributed by the Rosenwald Fund and schools were built throughout the South (Franklin, 1974; Walker, 2000). According to Anderson (1988), in Virginia 62.4% of the \$1.9 million dollars collected from public taxes was spent on the construction of Rosenwald Schools. In addition to the funds used from public taxes, “Black Virginians contributed an additional \$408,000 out of their own pockets between 1914 and 1932” (French, Barton, & Flora, 2007, pp. 18). The Rosenwald Fund between the years 1914 and 1932 helped to “finance the construction of more than 5,000 rural black schools with a combined school capacity of more than 660, 000-more than two-and-a-half times the total number of black children that attended school in 1900” (French, Barton, & Flora, 2007, pp. 17). In addition, “more than 360 such schools were built in Virginia during this time, providing classrooms for 952 teachers and nearly 43,000 students-almost double the state’s number of black children in 1900” (French, Barton, & Flora, 2007, pp. 17-18).

Regardless of the conditions and resistance that African Americans faced striving for equity in education, familial engagement was high (Walker, 2000). Resistance and racial tension in the South were supported by White supremacy groups such as the Ku Klux Klan who reached “peak membership of (reportedly) five million” as measured from the years 1900 to 1935 (Walker, 2000, p. 258; Woodward, 1974). Oppressive measures continued to heighten in the 1920s and 1930s due to the Jim Crow Laws and intentional legislation that aimed to disenfranchise African Americans (Walker, 2000).

Anderson (1988) and Walker (2000) noted the establishment of Black elementary schools during the 1930s and the slower progression of establishing high schools. Due to the variation in funding available to African American schools compared to White schools, limited resources were utilized effectively and educators, families, and the community worked to address the regarded racial and social motivation that geared toward African Americans not needing an education (Ashmore, 1954; Bond, 1939; Walker, 2000). Southern supports for African American education focused on the economy of the South and added high schools for African Americans to support the workforce by gearing toward an industrial education model held in high regard by Samuel C. Armstrong and Booker T. Washington of the Hampton Institute. Bond (1939), Walker (1996, 2000), noted the challenges still faced by African Americans in rural areas due to lack of high schools and details initiatives to work with Northern philanthropists and Southern Whites support for education that did not directly align with the overall goal of equity in the education for all African Americans. Northern philanthropists along with Southern Whites who called for education for African Americans did so while seeking to maintain their own conceptions of Black education and social order (Armstrong, 2012; Bond, 1939; Poff, 2014; Walker, 2000).

Due to the lack of funding appropriated to African American schools, the typical structure ranged from one to two-room schoolhouses with one to two teachers (Fultz, 1995a). According to Fultz (1995a), “93.4% of the 24,079 African American schools in fourteen states in 1925-1926 were rural” and 82.6% or three-fourths of the schools were one-room structures (Fultz, 1995a, p. 402). About 74% of African American teachers taught in rural schools (Fultz, 1995a). According to Link (1986), the design and financing of public schools in 19<sup>th</sup> century Virginia were managed by localities under the Department of Public Instruction. The establishment of schools in Virginia grew substantially between the years 1870 and 1900 (Link, 1986). Link’s (1986) described public schools in Virginia as:

Housed in makeshift buildings—often barns, churches, and homes—nineteenth century schoolhouses did not project the primacy of state power but blended into the topography. Indeed, schools embodied central features of their social surroundings. In an isolated, rural society, they were intensely local; in a cultural that valued family above all, they were family-dominated; in a society based on strict racial and class rankings, they reflected widespread social inequality; and in an impoverished agricultural economy, they were poor and makeshift (pp. 23).

Anderson (1988), Fultz (1995b), and Walker (2000) noted the consistent trend in data for rural African American schools continuing into the twentieth century and impacting teacher training, limited resources, student to teacher ratios, accessibility, attendance, and teaching conditions.

### **Segregated Schools Value in the African American Community.**

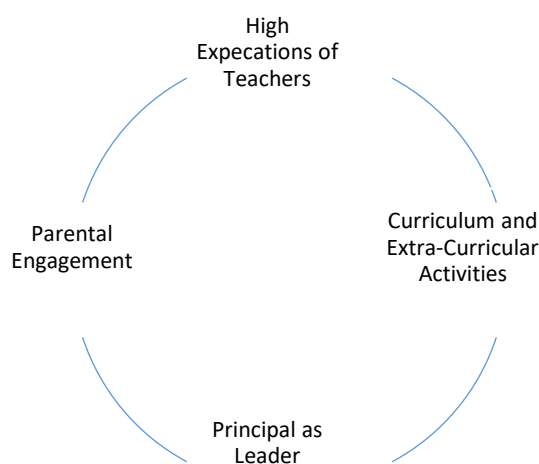
Segregated schools were part of the community and those who attended took great pride in them. For many, the school was directly connected to local churches, families, and, ultimately, the community. For many years, the literature has discussed what made segregated schools different by examining their inequalities versus equalities in areas such as facilities and access (Horsford, 2010; as cited in Mungo, 2013). Walker (2000) cites Anderson (1988) and notes the significance and level of involvement of African Americans in the advocacy and support of education for their children following the antebellum South through 1935. According to Walker (2000), it is essential to understand how the challenges African Americans faced led to the “behaviors of schools and communities after 1935” (p. 260). Most of the literature surrounding what made segregated schools successful can be found through Walker’s (1996, 2000, 2009, 2013, 2019) examination of southern schools and educators of southern schools in which key themes of relationships, spirituality, work ethic, and community emerged. “Similar to Walker’s (2000) research, these participants also identified excellent teachers, parental support, and curriculum and extra-curricular activities as reasons the segregated schools were valued by African American students” (Mungo, 2013, p. 119).

Furthermore, Walker (1996) found that “segregated schools were places where students, teachers, and community relationships were fostered and maintained” (Mungo, 2013, p. 119). According to Walker (2019), “schools encouraged black children to aspire, to believe they could be anything they wanted to be” in segregated schools (p. 14). Common themes and

characteristics of segregated schools have been gathered through data collection by Walker (2000) and are depicted in Figure 3. Mungo (2013) captured counter-narratives that detailed the perceptions and experiences of African American students who attended segregated schools in Edgecombe, North Carolina.

### Figure 3

*Common Themes and Characteristics of the Segregated School (Walker, 2000)*



According to Mungo’s (2013) qualitative study and Critical Race Theory counter narratives, findings indicated that schools not only focused on academics but were viewed as social environments where education was highly valued by all stakeholders including the community and family members. “Critical race theory emerged from the arguments of legal scholars who believed that race played a dominant role in the current legal structure but was often ignored or overlooked in favor of laws and policies that inherently disadvantaged African Americans” (Bell, 1992, 2004; as cited in Mungo, 2013, p. 113). In the Mungo (2013) study, purposeful sampling and snowballing methodology were used to make contact with former students who met the inclusion and exclusion criteria of living in the area being studied, attended school during a set timeframe, and were African American. In research conducted by Mungo (2013) and Walker (1996, 2000), the exploration of participant voices through oral histories provide an opportunity for participants to share experiences in their own words. According to Mungo (2013), “the critical race theory tenant of voice is central to educational scholarship” and “critical race theorists believe African Americans and other minorities must have a voice and tell

their own stories” (p. 114). The counter-narrative data was analyzed by thematic coding and revealed three categories of educational experiences, the purpose of education, and attitudes about education. According to Mungo (2013), “participants had a deep connection to their segregated schools and therefore believed that integration removed the community involvement and educational environments that African American students needed to be engaged in school and academically successful” (p. 111).

Post *Brown*, many felt the loss of connectedness with community, and “cultural capital” (King, 2005, as cited in Mungo, 2013, p. 113). Also, through the narratives of the Mungo (2013) study, many detailed an increase in physical resources of White counterparts but noted an impact of access to Black educators who held emphasis on resiliency, racial awareness, and pride. Segregated school communities in North Carolina have been studied by Cecelski (1994), Dempsey and Noblit (1993), and Walker (1996) during the Jim Crow era (Mungo, 2013). In each of the studies, “an extremely strong, positive relationship between the African American communities and their schools, and that African Americans valued their schools and the commitment of its teachers to their students” (Mungo, 2013, p. 112). Stakeholders such as principals, teachers, parents, and community members were essential to the success of segregated schools and held high educational expectations (Walker, 2000). According to Walker (2019), “segregation-era Black educators set the groundwork for an equitable and aspirational education system for all” (p. 13). Teachers in segregated schools were viewed as instrumental and highly regarded in African American communities in both academics and in the social setting (Mungo, 2013).

### **Research Findings on Student Voices.**

To add to the literature in the areas of segregation and integration of public schools, the segregation and desegregation experiences and perspectives of students must be explored.

Naming one’s own voice is necessary for three reasons: (a) reality is socially constructed, (b) stories allow oppressed groups the ability to preserve their histories and ideas, and (c) the exchange of stories from teller to listener allows those who are unaware to see the world in a new way. (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2005, pp. 56-57, as cited in Mungo, 2013, p. 114).

It is important to note that “oral interviews have not always been accepted as a historical inquiry” and until this acceptance only archival documents that emphasized the inequalities have



primarily been available (Dougherty, 1999, as cited in Walker, 2000, p. 254). According to Dingus (2006), personal narratives are essential because they “underscore racial, gendered, relational, familial, and social class complexities, reframing segregated school environments as sites of supportive relationships where students were pushed to excel despite overwhelming circumstances” (p. 213, also cited in Mungo, 2013). The documentation of personal narratives of students during desegregation in Franklin County Public Schools provides insight and oral histories of the learning experiences and perseverance of African American students seeking social and educational justice and equal learning opportunities.

### **Rationale of the Study**

Being an educator/educational leader at a historically segregated school, Lee M. Waid (Waid) Elementary School in Franklin County Virginia since 2016, mobilized my interest in reviewing the literature on Black segregated schools in the South. During my time as an educational leader at Waid School, I have been fortunate to foster relationships with students who previously attended Waid during segregation who are now active volunteers, grandparents, and staff members. The conversations and experiences that have been shared by these individuals highlight and emphasize the importance of the values held at Waid School in the past and how so many of these values are still present in the school culture today. The school culture reflects active community involvement, parental support, and high expectations that derive from previous school mission and vision statements, and school song. The historical and communal influence of the school is apparent and the formal documentation gained from this study captures the time period of desegregation through the lenses of former students and stakeholders of Waid.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to capture the perspectives of students who attended an all-Black rural Virginian school between 1963 and 1970. The perspectives and individual stories, oral histories, of former students and stakeholders are based on the self-reported experiences of participants who attended Lee M. Waid School.

At the beginning of my doctoral journey, I knew I wanted to investigate the desegregation era through the voices of students as I further researched America's pathway to equality in education. With a focus on educational policies and leadership, the aim was to add to the body of literature on the desegregation of public schools, promote awareness in education of social justice, and shed light on the promise of *Brown* as it relates to education today. It is my hope that the results of this research will preserve a time in history that will thoroughly and accurately document the oral histories of student experiences during a monumental time in public education to serve as a reference for scholars and future generations.

#### **Research Design/Methodology**

The study used qualitative methods, historical research approaches, and interviews to collect the oral history of students who attended Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970. In this study, the researcher used a combination of archival research, the review of scholarly literature, and interviews with participants. The researcher aimed to find evidence on the values and support systems that enhanced the experiences of students at Waid School during the years of desegregation with the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff that were a part of Lee M. Waid School, during the years 1963 to 1970? The research is supported by the following sub questions:

1. What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?
2. How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?

Participants contributed to a one-on-one interview with the researcher who conducted all interviews. When selecting the interview location, the researcher sought to assist participants in choosing a location that was easily accessible, private, spacious and promoted dialogue that could be recorded using a digital sound recorder and digital platform. During the Coronavirus (COVID-19), the researcher conducted interviews using Zoom. Before the interview, the interviewer informed the interviewee of the purpose of the study, plans to use the results, and reviewed a consent form that was verbally agreed upon by the interviewee. The researcher used qualitative strategies for data collection by Creswell and Poth (2018) as displayed in Figure 4. In the study, interview data based on student perspectives and experiences at Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970 were collected one at a time with each participant. All interviews were documented using the Zoom iCloud recording feature, anecdotal notes were kept by the researcher, and the audio recordings were transcribed following each interview.

**Figure 4**

*Data Collection Activities*



(Source: Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 149)

Adhering to the interview protocol of Creswell and Poth (2018), the researcher continuously reviewed the parameters of the study including the interview protocol located in the instrument design and validation section, maintained consideration of the participant's time, and time specified for the interview. After the completion of the interview, the participant's responses were transcribed. The transcripts were provided to participants to review for accuracy and agreement in keeping with their recorded responses. The researcher conducted a content analysis of verified transcripts and coding to look for themes in the self-reported experiences of students. The identification of themes and assignment of codes assisted the researcher in examining student self-reported experiences to view them individually before analyzing data across cases (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2020). The transcription data were organized in a Microsoft Excel document with tabs indicating participant names, rows indicating question numbers, and column headings indicating the questions asked. The coding/themes derived from each participant's responses in the Microsoft Excel document were further organized in two additional tabs for primary and secondary participants according to the cross-reference matrix (see Appendix D).

For reliability, three qualitative researchers with doctoral degrees reviewed and generated their own codes and themes from 10 to 20 pages from two sets of participant data. The two sets of participant data reviewed resulted in codes and themes similar to those identified by the researcher. The three researchers identified events/activities that typically took place during the school day, types of extracurricular activities, familial value of education, teacher-student relationships, and community support for the school. The researcher identified similarities and differences in codes and themes across participant data.

This process assisted the researcher in checking for consistencies in coding. According to Marshall and Rossman (2016), inter-rater reliability may be used to determine if a study's instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure. After member checks were received by participants, intercoder reliability was performed in light of the purpose of this study. Based on the data collected, the information was generated about the desegregation time period through the lens of former students. Through data collection, the researcher identified themes across participant responses that were supportive of some of the characteristics of all-Black southern segregated schools previously supported in the literature review.

### **Research Design Justification**

A qualitative study using historical research approach was used to capture the experiences and oral histories of former students, teachers, and other stakeholders of Waid. The results of the study add to the literature in the areas of segregation, desegregation, and integration of public schools during the years 1963 to 1970 in the specific area of student narratives. Studies have been completed in other rural areas by other researchers in or around Southwest Virginia surrounding the research of the history of all-Black schools or the desegregation of schools such as the history of the last segregated school in Bedford, County named Suzie G. Gibson (Richardson, 2012) and a case study on the desegregation of George Washington High School and Langston High School in Danville (Hedrick, 2012). The two studies that most closely aligned with the researcher's topic and desire to add to the literature of student narratives during the desegregation process were Johnson's and Poff's. Both Johnson (2015) and Poff (2014) conducted studies in Roanoke, Virginia, specifically researching the oral accounts and experiences of students who either attended an all-Black school or were the first students to desegregate Roanoke City Schools. Based on the outcome of this study, the formal documentation of 12 student narratives and two faculty narratives may be used as a reference to gaining insight through the lens' of students during the initial years of desegregation.

### **Research Questions**

The research question used to drive the study is as follows: What were the experiences of students and staff that were a part of Lee M. Waid School, during the years 1963 to 1970?

#### **Sub Questions.**

1. What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?
2. How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?

## **Site/Sample Selection**

### **Study Setting**

The study school is a rural Title I elementary school in Southwest, Virginia serving students ranging from early childhood through fifth grade.

### **Selection of the Participants**

The selection of 14 participants (all interviewees) were based on two criteria: participants must have attended Waid as a student or served as a stakeholder of Waid School as a Franklin County Public Schools staff or community member. Participant selection was purposeful and followed criterion sampling due to the above stated predetermined criteria (Creswell & Poth, 2018). To meet the study's predetermined criteria, participants were all from the Franklin County Community, attended Waid, taught at Waid, or were involved in the desegregation process of Franklin County Public Schools during the years 1963 to 1970. The participants were selected based on their connection to Waid during the segregation and desegregation periods. Additional participants were generated through snowball methodology in which the researcher gained information about additional participants as the researcher interacted with participants (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2020). Participants included siblings, parents, spouses, former teachers, and other members of the community.

After potential participants were identified, the researcher initiated contact with the participants, detailed the purpose of the study, and explained what data were being sought through interviews and self-reported perspectives. The participants consented to participate verbally by phone or via the electronic platform Zoom through a verbal agreement consent form. The researcher submitted an explanatory email to participants with email access. The participants, through verbal and written consent, were asked if their names and other identifying factors brought to light during the interview and first-hand accounts were permitted to be used by the researcher. Participants were informed of their right to revoke their consent at any time. The interviews were conducted at an agreeable place for both parties using Zoom.

## **Data Collection Procedures**

### **Data Collection**

Data collection occurred in single interview sessions, lasting no more than one hour one-on-one with the researcher and participant. During the Coronavirus (COVID-19), interactions

and interviews took place through Zoom. The researcher followed the outlined interview protocol and recorded all interviews using the Zoom iCloud feature. The participants interviewed were based on the number of students who were enrolled at Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970 which included the introduction to family members and friends that added to the total number of documented oral accounts. Recordings from the interview sessions were generated using Zoom's iCloud and iCloud transcription feature. Participants were asked to review the transcriptions to verify the accuracy of their recorded responses before analysis of data by the researcher. After member checks by participants were completed, the researcher conducted a content analysis of transcripts and identified themes in the experiences of students and stakeholders of Lee M. Waid. The researcher organized data from the transcripts according to codes, themes, and a cross-reference matrix for interview questions (see Appendix D).

### **Instrument Design and Validation**

To address the researcher's need for a valid instrument to use during interviews, the researcher reviewed dissertations and other studies seeking information on the oral accounts of students during segregation or desegregation. To address the researcher's need to determine an effective interview protocol, the researcher utilized the researched-based process of Creswell and Poth (2018).

Creswell and Poth (2018) suggested 10 steps for effective interview protocols; this research-based process was used in the study as follows:

- Determine the research questions that will be answered by interviews.
- Identify interviewees who can best answer these questions based on purposeful sampling procedures.
- Distinguish the type of interview by determining what mode is practical and what interactions will net the most useful information to answer research questions.
- Collect data using recording procedures when conducting one on one or focus group interviews.
- Design and use an interview protocol, or interview guide.
- Refine the interview questions and the procedures through pilot testing.
- Locate a distraction-free place for conducting the interview.

- Obtain consent from the interviewee to participate in the study by completing a consent form approved by the human relations review board.
- As an interviewer, follow good interview procedures.
- Decide transcription logistics ahead of time (p. 165).

The researcher chose to adapt and utilize interview questions created by Johnson (2015) due to the initial piloting of the questions, adaptation of the questions, and successful completion of the study. These interview questions and the adaptations assisted in answering the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff who were part of Lee M. Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970?

Interview questions from Johnson's (2015) dissertation *The Addisonians: The Experiences of Graduates of the Classes of 1963-70 of Lucy Addison High School, An All-Black High School in Roanoke, Virginia* were slightly adapted to suit the researcher's study. Johnson (2015) followed procedures for oral history outlined by Yow (2005) in her book *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists to Develop the Interview Protocol*. Johnson conducted his study using Yow's (2005) interview steps including: setting up an initial meeting to provide reasoning for the study, building rapport and listening carefully to the interviewee, and scheduling a second session if there is an indication that the narrator has more to tell the interviewer.

Johnson (2015) generated questions to prompt students to describe their experiences and identify the support they received while attending Lucy Addison High School. After field-testing the items with his father Robert R. Johnson Sr. and Dr. E. Wayne Harris, both graduates of G. W. Carver in Roanoke, Virginia, Johnson modified the questions to reduce asking interviewees similar questions during one session. It is important to note that Johnson's reasoning for field testing these items with his father and Dr. E. Wayne Harris rests in their personal educational experiences of attending another all-Black high school in Roanoke, Virginia. This alignment supported the experiences Johnson was aiming to capture with students who attended Lucy Addison High School during the years 1963-1970. Johnson transcribed, coded, and analyzed the field test items from both participants and removed some questions due to their repeating nature. Johnson discovered an "idea of the climate, culture, and day-to-day activities that took place at Carver from both students" while also noting the supports that enhanced the educational experiences of the two participants (p. 40). Johnson created and used a cross-reference matrix to



identify how the study's research questions correlated with interview questions. This cross-reference matrix has been adapted to note the researcher's questions and corresponding interview questions, with Johnson's permission on October 26, 2019 (see Appendix G). The topic and time frame of Johnson's study relates to the research conducted by the researcher on capturing student experiences orally to create written accounts and to provide documentation of the desegregation of public schools at the local, state, and federal levels.

During the interview process, the researcher sought to capture the experiences of students and staff who taught or attended Waid School during the years of desegregation. The researcher aimed to gain information and insight through the self-reported experiences about the overall impact of participants' education at Waid and how it impacted their lives in the past and in the present.

### **Interview Protocol**

In the study, the interview protocol and methodology of Creswell and Poth (2018) were consistently followed for each case. The interview protocol can be found in Appendix C.

### **Limitations/Delimitations**

Limitations and delimitations are acknowledged in this study. According to Mauch and Birch (1993), a factor that may affect a study in a significant way that is not able to be controlled by the researcher is defined as a limitation. The researcher acknowledges the limitations of time, mortality, and access to primary resources for the time period being studied. First, the recollection/memory of experiences during the 1963 to 1970 academic years was considered and resources such as yearbooks or photographs were used as available. Secondly, many former students and faculty no longer living in Franklin County, Virginia, have experienced health-related concerns, or are now deceased. The participants in the study may not have reported their personal experiences with complete accuracy, but provided an oral history of their perspective and accounts during the last years of segregation in Franklin County, Virginia. Primary sources such as yearbooks, photographs, school board minutes, and newspaper articles were used as available in the study, but secondary sources were used when primary sources were not available.

Delimitations are defined as boundaries, what is controlled in the study, what is included in the study, and what is left out of the study (Roberts, 2010). In the study, delimitations that

were controlled included the time of the study, the location of the study, selected samples for the study, and the overall criteria of the study (Roberts, 2010). The study was delimited to the period from 1963, two years before beginning desegregation in Franklin County, Virginia, to 1970, which was Waid Schools' last year as a segregated school prior to full desegregation. At the close of the 1970 academic year, Waid School was closed as a high school and converted to an elementary school. The study was further delimited to individuals who attended or were employed by Franklin County Public Schools or at Lee M. Waid School, thus the sample size was 14 participants.

The researcher also acknowledges control of biases by examining something that the researcher was not directly connected to through personal experiences in a time period before connection with Waid School or the participants involved. The researcher has served as an administrator of Lee M. Waid Elementary School for the last five years. Also, possible research participants may include current staff members of Waid School. To address this bias, the interview questions will only be related to participant experiences at Waid School during the time period of 1963 to 1970.

### **Data Treatment and Management**

All study data is stored password-protected computer at the researcher's residence and will be maintained for at least two years. The researcher and committee chair, Dr. Carol Mullen, have sole access to the study data via a shared Virginia Tech Google Drive for secure access and storage. Interviews were transcribed using the Zoom iCloud transcription feature. The researcher reviewed audio-recordings from each participant to ensure that accuracy of participant responses before member checks were conducted. Data were uploaded to the researcher's computer and stored in files that were labeled with the participant's name and the date and time the interview took place.

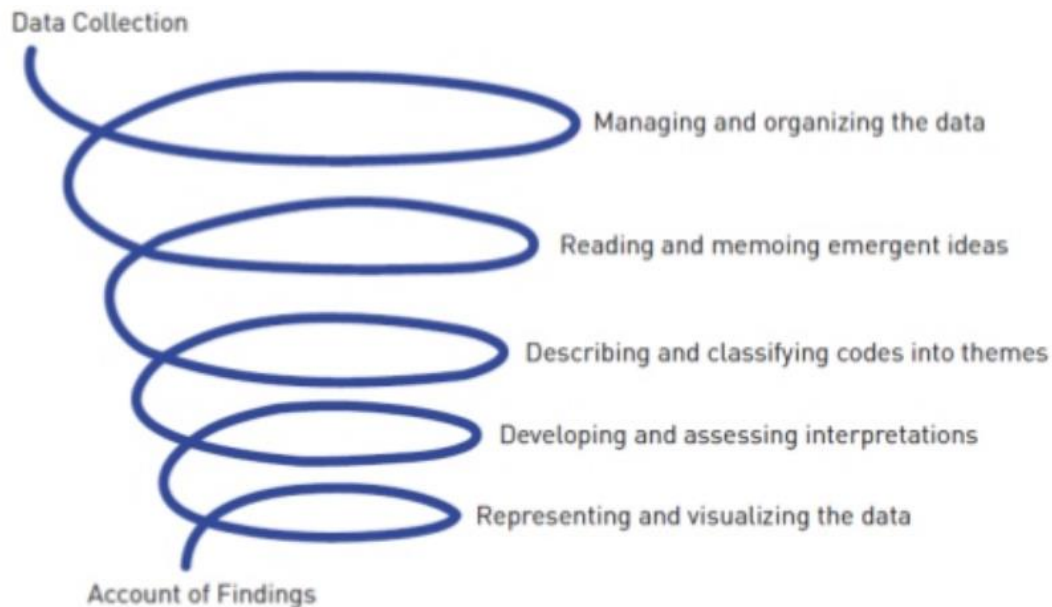
### **Data Analysis**

The researcher reviewed a variety of qualitative research methods to determine a strategy that supported analyzing themes across cases and within data. The researcher followed the data analysis spiral recommendations by Creswell and Poth (2018). In this study, data were managed through the use of files and spreadsheets, by reading transcripts and notes multiple times,

establishing codes and categories, interpreting the data, and creating visual representations of the data through displays such as a matrix to note similarities and differences in data.

**Figure 5**

*The Data Analysis Spiral* (source: Creswell, 2018, p. 186)



In addition to adhering to the data analysis spiral in Figure 5 by Creswell and Poth (2018), the researcher followed a case study research approach for data analysis and representation by Creswell and Poth (2018) with each participant.

- Create and organize data files to manage and organize data.
- Read through text, make margin notes, and form initial codes by reading and memoing ideas.
- Describe the case and its context to describe and classify codes into themes.
- Use categorical aggregation to establish themes or patterns to develop and assess interpretations.
- Use direct interpretation and develop naturalistic generalizations of what was “learned” to represent and visualize the data. (p. 199)

To initiate the data analysis process and prepare for data collection, the researcher utilized a Microsoft Excel document. This document was used by the researcher throughout the study to generate data from the open-ended interview questions for data analysis. Due to the length of participant responses and the need to organize questions according to the cross-

reference matrix in Appendix D, each sheet contained participant names, column headings indicating the interview questions, transcribed responses from participants, and anecdotal notes. Coding was used by the researcher and tracked in the color-coded Microsoft Excel document. Codes are “used to retrieve and categorize similar data units so the researcher can quickly find, pull out, and cluster the segments relating to a particular research question, hypothesis, concept, or theme” (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2020, p. 63).

Themes are “extended thematic phrases” that can be applied to data to identify the “what” or meaning of units of data (Miles et al., p. 73). The researcher reviewed coding strategies and methods such as first and second cycle coding, values coding, emotion coding, and in vivo coding. According to Miles et al. (2020), *values coding* is defined as the application of the three related codes values, attitudes, and beliefs. Values coding “is appropriate for studies that explore cultural values, identity, intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions in case studies, appreciative inquiry, oral history, and critical ethnography” (p. 67). Emotion coding, similar to values coding, explores participant experiences, and notates the emotion stated by the participant or noted by the researcher. Also according to Miles et al. (2020), in in-vivo coding, codes are assigned to short phrases used in the participant’s language to “prioritize and honor the participant’s voice” (p. 65). Due to the nature of the study, values, emotion, and in vivo coding were selected as appropriate coding methods. The researcher chose to use emotion and in vivo coding in order to identify the emotions of participants and in vivo coding to identify trends in data and repeatedly used phrases by participants. Also, the researcher used an initial coding cycle to gather data into categories and then followed up with a second cycle of coding to summarize data into themes and relationships among participants in determining the frequency of codes amongst participants noting similarities and differences.

### **Study Approval Process**

The Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board Training (HRPP) was completed prior to conducting the study (the HRPP completion certificate is in Appendix J). The researcher completed CITI training on Social and Behavioral Research (see Appendix B). An HRPP Research Protocol was completed and the study was approved by the Virginia Tech Human Research Protections Program (the approval letter was dated May 15, 2019).

### **Summary**

Chapter 3 detailed the following components: research design and justification, study site, participants, limitations and delimitations, procedures for collecting, managing, and analyzing data, and university approvals. Through this study, the researcher sought to add to the literature on student voices and perspectives during desegregation. Furthermore, the researcher, using the self-reported experiences collected from interviews, generated oral histories of students who attended Lee M. Waid, an all-Black rural Virginian school, between 1963 and 1970. The selection of participants was based on the participants' access to Waid School. The researcher interviewed 14 participants who attended Waid School, taught at Waid School, or served as a stakeholder of Waid during the 1963 to 1970 academic years; 12 were former students, one was a teacher and the other held both the roles of teacher and central office administrator. The researcher interviewed one participant at a time in a one-on-one setting through Zoom. The interview sessions lasted no longer than an hour to provide participants adequate time to reflect on their educational experiences of the past. This documented study preserves time in educational history, specifically the history of Black education.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Introduction to Findings, Student Perspectives, and Secondary Participant Perspectives**

#### **Introduction to Findings**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to capture the perspectives of students who attended Lee M. Waid, an all-Black rural Virginian school, between 1963 and 1970. The researcher sought evidence on the values and support systems that enhanced the experiences of students at Waid School during the years of desegregation with the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff that were a part of Lee M. Waid School, during the years 1963 to 1970? Sub questions were:

1. What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?
2. How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?

The researcher scheduled interviews with participants as the researcher's and participant's schedules permitted. All initial contact with participants occurred through telephone and all interviews occurred through Zoom due to the Coronavirus (COVID-19).

#### **Student Perspectives**

The perspectives of 12 students who attended Lee M. Waid School during the timeframe of 1963 to 1970 are detailed in Chapter 4. Of the 12 student perspectives, two participants are brothers, three students have remained life-long friends, and two are married. All interviews were conducted via Zoom due to the Coronavirus (COVID-19). The transcribed interviews were made available to participants via email or by paper copy as requested by the participant. After participants reviewed for accuracy and agreement of their recorded responses, the researcher conducted a content analysis of verified transcripts. In this content analysis, the researcher assigned codes and looked for themes in the self-reported experiences of students. Through the identification of themes and assignment of codes, the researcher was able to take apart the self-reported student experiences to view them individually before putting them back together for a cross-case analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2020). The transcription data collected by the researcher was organized in a Microsoft

Excel document with tabs indicating participant names, rows indicating question numbers, and column headings indicating the questions asked. Data collected add to the body of literature on the history of the desegregation of American public schools at the local, state, and national levels. For reliability, three qualitative researchers with doctoral degrees reviewed and generated their own codes and themes from 10 to 20 pages of participant transcription data as indicated in Tables 1 and 2.

**Table 1**

*Sample 1 Intercoder Reliability Codes*

Researcher	Intercoder 1	Intercoder 2	Intercoder 3
Sung songs; Pledge of Allegiance; Multi-subject classes; Cafeteria and lunch; Church songs in the mornings; Bells for changing of classes; Basketball, transportation concerns	Lunch; P.E.; Basketball	Songs; Pledge of Allegiance; Lunch; Recess; Church songs	Songs/church songs; Daily Schedule: Pledge; Classes (instruction); Lunch, Instruction; Recess; High school: Bells; Classes changing; Basketball
Pep-rallies; PTA; Choir director; Wonderful teacher; Basketball, transportation limitations	Basketball; teachers like parents	Pep-rallies; PTA; Choir; Basketball	Pep-rallies; PTA Meetings; Band/choir; Basketball; No vehicle

(continued)

Table 1(*cont.*)

Researcher	Intercoder 1	Intercoder 2	Intercoder 3
Mother went to second grade; Father never went to school; Father could not read or sign name; Mother could write; Parents valued education; Responsibility; Determination; Transportation limitations; Basketball Parent's Night-parents unable to attend due to transportation limitations.	Support in finishing school	Parent support to finish school	Education is valued; Education is important
Great teachers; Motherly teachers; Determined teachers; Small classes; Taught for understanding/mastery; Poor grades in elementary; excelled in high school; Salutatorian; No assistance with work at home; Determination to succeed; Positive teacher/student relationships; Mr. Painter	Teachers as second parents	Great teachers; Determined; Wanted us to succeed; Understood what was being taught; Close relationships; Time of Civil Rights and a lot of division amongst Blacks and Whites	Great teachers/made sure you understood; Teachers built relationships
Community support; Donations from community; Marching band at Christmas parade; School pride; School contributors; Herman Law; Lee Melon Waid	Community donations	Donations; Community contributors	Supported school; Donated; Participated; Lee M. Waid and Herman Law as contributors; School spirit; Marching band in Christmas Parade



**Table 2***Sample 2 Intercoder Reliability Codes*

Researcher	Intercoder 1	Intercoder 2	Intercoder 3
Self-contained classes; Memories of previous buildings on the campus; Parents were teachers; All subjects; Day began with devotions; Pledge of Allegiance, Recess and games; Father was the basketball coach	Lunch; P.E.; Basketball	Self-contained classes; Rode to school with mother; Devotions; Classroom instruction; Lunch; Recess; Buses	Self-contained classes; Rode to school with my parents; Daily schedule; Devotions(pledge/prayer); Instruction; Lunch; Recess (circle games); Buses
Basketball games; Annual Lee M. Waid pageant; Assemblies; Graduation ceremonies; Dances; Parents had duty at dances; Proms; Intramural Basketball games, Reverend McKinley Hamilton Bible Study in school sessions; PTA meetings; Parental involvement, Student clubs (New Farmers of America; New Homemakers of America)	Basketball, Basketball games	Waid as center for African Americans; Basketball games; Pageants; School dances; Intramural basketball games; Proms; PTA meetings; Bible classes; 4H; NFA, NHA	Church groups; Basketball; Pageants, Assemblies; Graduation ceremonies; Dances/proms; Bible classes; PTA Meetings; Clubs; 4H; NFA (New Farmers of America); NHA (New Homemakers of America)
Parents valued education; Paternal grandparents earned college degrees two generations out of slavery; Second generation college student maternal side of family; Family involved in community; Church involvement	Extremely positive, knew power of education	Education important to family; Parents as contributing members of the community	Education is important/valued; Higher education valued

(continued)

Table 2 (cont).

Researcher	Intercoder 1	Intercoder 2	Intercoder 3
Teacher's kids; Positive role models in school setting/church/community; Close-knit community; Sense of connectedness; Reverend McKinley Hamilton pastor; Community involvement in desegregation transition	Teacher's kids; Many positive role model as a child	Great teachers; Determined; Wanted us to succeed; Understood what was being taught; Close relationships; Time of Civil Rights and a lot of division amongst Blacks and Whites	Role Models (surrounded by educators and community members)
Basketball games; Christmas Parade; Marching band; Pride in African American community; Support from Black churches; Funding from the Black community and churches for schools and materials	School pride; Lee M. Waid band	Donations; Community contributors	Support of school; Community came together; Black community that either paid for or demanded supplies; buses; building materials; School Spirit; Marching band in Christmas Parade

All interviews occurred in June 2020, July, and August of 2020. The 14 participant interviewed include: contacted was John Jamison (Waid: Class of 1970); Cleive Adams (Waid: Class of 1967); Laverne Tiggler (FCHS Transfer: 1968); John Adams (FCJHS Transfer: 1967), ; Glenna "Hawkins" Moore (FCJHS Transfer: 1965); Eudora "Edwina" Prunty (FCJHS transfer: 1965); Paul Mattox (FCHS: Class of 1971); Gwen Adkins (FCHS: Class of 1970); Walter Meadows (FCHS Transfer: 1969); Rebecca "Holland" Tyree (Waid: Class of 1968); A.J. Tyree (Waid: Class of 1965); and Audrey "Clements" Dudley (FCHS: Class of 1970). In this chapter, student perspectives will be presented alphabetically by family last name.

In addition to the oral histories provided by the 12 primary participants, two secondary participants assisted the researcher in the triangulation of data. Both secondary participants were former teachers in Franklin County Public Schools and remain active in the Franklin County community. Betty Huffman was the first White teacher contracted to teach at Lee M. Waid School in 1967. Florella Johnson began her teaching career in a one-room schoolhouse in Boones Mill, Virginia, was one of the eight Black teachers selected for the initial desegregation of Franklin Public Schools plan for faculty and staff, and served for thirty-seven years as an administrator.

Most participants reside, work, and serve as active community members of Franklin County. One participant resides in the Roanoke area and is actively involved with the Franklin County community. Cumulatively, the oral stories of participants provide insight to the values, support, emotions, and experiences of Black students at Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970. While many students remained at Waid School during the Freedom of Choice Era, some Black students transferred to Franklin County Junior High School and Franklin County High School before the mandatory year of integration for Franklin County Public Schools in 1970. The individual experiences of participants will be reviewed for the remainder of the chapter.

**The Adams Family: Cleive Adams Lee M. Waid Graduate (Class of 1967) and John Adams Franklin County High School Transfer (Class of 1967)**

Cleive Adams and John Adams both attended Lee M. Waid School for several years. The Adams family originated from West Virginia. Born to the parents of Cleive Adams Sr. and Bertha Adams, the Adams family had five children. In order from oldest to youngest: Marsha (Tyree), Cleive Jr., John, Marilyn (Clements), and Linda (Barlow). Their father worked at a local factory. The Adams family generationally valued the power of education and supported their children in obtaining an education. The Adams family closely monitored their children's academics and attendance as the Adams children rarely missed school days (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Mr. Adams graduated high school Mrs. Adams completed her education up to the 11<sup>th</sup> grade. As parents, Mr. and Mrs. Adams wanted all of their children to graduate high school "because they realized without an education, you couldn't go far, in this society" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). The Adams family belonged to a local church and often attended Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings. Community relationships during Cleive and John's attendance at Lee Waid were described as a close-knit community family with strong ties consisting of great neighborhoods, positive relationships with neighbors, and friendships. Cleive Adams is a graduate of Waid School and attended Waid grades first through twelfth, from 1955 to 1967. John Adams began attending Waid School in 1957 and transferred to Franklin County High School (FCHS) during the Freedom of Choice Era in 1967. John Adams graduated in 1969 from FCHS.

The impact of segregation on the education of both Cleive and John Adams was comparably described as a divided society with limitations. When speaking with Cleive Adams he recalled. "We didn't like it, but we had to accept it the way things were and nobody wanted to

live society that was segregated” (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). When speaking to John Adams he recalled the feelings of being divided: “We always felt like we had a line drawn between us... You didn’t cross that line. Nor did you want them to cross your line” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). John Adams described the divisive nature of segregation in the experiences that he had when catching the school bus “you would meet the White school buses when you know you’re going back and forth and you would feel kind of like they were on one side of the line and you was on the other side of the line” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Both Cleive and John’s lenses during desegregation paint an image of the time in which they grew up and foundational experiences they encountered during their educational careers and adult lives.

From 1955 to 1967, Cleive Adams attended Waid School. On a typical day, Adams remembers beginning his day in his homeroom classes, reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, reciting the Lord’s Prayer, singing songs, and reciting daily devotions. Adams recalled being a part of the school’s band, choir, and playing basketball. During his time at Waid, Adams recalled having dances such as junior and senior proms, cinema events, and basketball games. Adams further describes observing teachers demonstrate school pride through the creation of activities such as making posters and holding pep-rallies. Adams felt that the teacher's pride in the school was passed down to the students, ultimately fostering a sense of school pride. “They had a lot of school spirit. We were proud of our school” (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020).

According to Adams, teachers at Waid School were encouraging, kind, and supportive of the overall well-being of all students. In the area of academics, when describing teacher and administrator expectations, Adams recalled one of his former principals, Mr. Atkins, and described him as understanding, passionate, and firm. Following the passing of Mr. Atkins, Adams notes that his next principal was strict and fair. Adams also described other influential relationships within the school that noted the care and compassion demonstrated by the secretaries of the school. When discussing teacher relationships in the community outside of the school, Adams described having a fourth-grade teacher as a relative, his cousin. In addition to the positive relationships fostered at Waid, academic supports were provided such as the teaching of study habits and college preparatory courses. “They encouraged us to, you know, buckle down and study hard. They were all behind us and did the best that they could. I think they did a very

good job” (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). After high school, Adams attended Virginia Tech for two years.

During his time in college, he began to reflect on his academics and overall preparedness for college. “I realized after about a month there that the education that we got at Lee Waid was a step behind what the White kids got” (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). However, Adams feels that his teachers did the best they could to prepare him and other students for college and the workforce (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). When discussing Adams’ decision to remain at Lee Waid or consider transferring to Franklin County High School (FCHS), he noted that he “felt satisfied” where he was and didn’t want to get into some of the “scuffling and scrapping and fighting” that he knew about (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). He further stated that his brothers and sisters went to the high school and they did well, but he just didn’t feel that transferring was the best decision for him. The desegregation process in Franklin County impacted Adams’ senior class size dramatically. Adams recalled his senior class starting around 300 students and by his senior year in 1967, he recalled about 40 graduating students, noting that some students dropped out of school and others transferred to FCHS. When discussing the comparison of educational experiences for students who chose to go to FCHS compared to the students who decided to stay at Waid, Adams stated that he did feel that students in both environments learned.

I enjoyed my experience at Lee Waid during desegregation. The teachers were great. And I think we were taught better, too. I think the teachers spent more time with us at Lee Waid because they knew what we had to face out here in this world. I think they spent more time getting us prepared ...where some of the students who went to Franklin County...I used to come in contact with a lot of them. And some were just shuffling through. I think I learned more at Lee Waid than I would have at Franklin County. Because at the time, some of the teachers were reluctant to teach Blacks. So what they did, some shuffled right through and they gave them a diploma. But, at Lee Waid, you did learn (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020).

Adams notes that during the desegregation process, there were mixed emotions that came from students, teachers, the Black community, and the White community.

But, now I think the attitude has changed. Different types of students and teachers. In the beginning, everybody had to learn. There was a lot of prejudice on both sides... A lot of

situations going on. But I think things have changed, hopefully. Hopefully, they've changed. But, I did enjoy my teachers. They did teach us (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020).

Upon reflecting on his educational career, Adams identified several teachers who made a significant impact on his learning and life. Mrs. Atkins was Adams' first-grade teacher and the wife of Principal Atkins. Adams recalled his first-grade teacher as caring and compassionate and "the wife of our principal at that time" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). "She didn't have any children. But, she loved every child like it was her own" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). Adam's also recalled working with Ms. Ferga Johnson, sister of Florella Johnson, as his guidance counselor. According to Adams, all his teachers were great teachers who were dedicated to making a difference in the lives of children. "Any one of them would stand out. They were all behind you and pushing you and encouraging you. You know, you wanted to better yourself; they were behind you and would do everything they could to help you excel" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). According to Adams, all his teachers were great teachers who were dedicated to making a difference in the lives of children.

Adams reflected on his enrollment as a college student at Virginia Tech and identified the impact of segregation on his college and the emotions he felt during his experience. Adams noted the impact of segregation on his education. Adams noted that when he arrived at Virginia Tech, the school had "seven black girls and black guys" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). Adams further reflected on how he may have possibly been better prepared for his college experiences of integration if he would have attended Franklin County High School. "I believe if I would have gone to a White school, maybe I would have done better. But, it wasn't very inviting. I didn't feel very comfortable" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). Adams further noted "I really didn't feel comfortable...you could feel the resistance and when I got to school it more or less a token thing" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). Adams in reviewing his experiences at Virginia Tech stated "now that I look back on it, I know that if you go ahead and dedicate yourself and work harder you can make it, but I just got discouraged in a sense" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). While enrolled at Virginia Tech, Adams was a part of the Air Force ROTC and had aspirations to become a pilot, but noted during that time "there weren't too many Black pilots" (C. Adams, personal

communication, June 17, 2020). After serving in the war and thinking over not passing the qualifying exams to fly a jet, Adams states that he feels a lot differently now about not passing the exam now than he did back then. Adams recalled the events surrounding flying jets during Vietnam, Prisoners of War (POW's), and men getting injured during his time in Vietnam and briefly discussed how that could have changed the trajectory of his life.

Since his college and military experience, Adams has reflected on his experiences and found that he is satisfied with his life, noting "we all have a destiny" and his "went a different route" (C. Adams, personal communication, June 17, 2020). After Adam's high school and college experience, he pursued electronic courses and began working at General Electric before being drafted to Vietnam, just six months into his marriage. After serving in the Army for two years, Adams returned home to his wife, later four children, and began working at General Electric before establishing his drywall and plaster business that is still actively serving the Franklin County and local communities.

From 1957 to 1966, John Adams attended Waid School before transferring to FCHS. On a typical day, Adams recalled playing basketball, singing songs, and working in small groups or one on one with his teachers. Adams recalled proms and other dances taking place, but notes he wasn't old enough to attend those activities during his experience at Lee Waid (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). When describing his teachers and school administrators, Adams noted that all of his teachers were dedicated. "I realized later on that they were just determined to see to it that we get a good education, you know best they had to work with. And they stayed involved in a lot of activities we had, you know school activities" (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Adams further noted that during his nine-year educational experience at Lee Waid, he felt that he always had his teacher's undivided attention. In 1967, Adams chose to transfer FCHS from Waid before it was mandatory.

Adams notes that he was focused on playing golf as a young man and as he progressed through his academic career he began to think more about college. At the time of Adams' transfer, the local country club, Willow Creek, did not allow Black golfers to play (2019, February 8). While Adams wasn't permitted to play at the country club, he did work as a caddie alongside some of his cousins and friends (2019, February 8). During his time as a caddie, in an article with the Franklin News Post, Adams expressed that he longed for additional golfing opportunities. "I wish we had the opportunity to reach our potential at that time, but we didn't"

(2019, February 8). Adams further noted that he “stayed angry from about age 18 to 43” noting that he “couldn’t be a Tiger Woods” (2019, February 8). Due to the realization of the obstacles that he faced during desegregation and the Civil Rights Movement, Adams realized that he needed “to get serious about maybe going to college” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Adams is aware of the potential that was within him as an adolescent in the area of golf. “I know for a fact that I would have been a professional golfer, but I am thankful. If I had to go through it again I would, knowing how it helped others” (2019, February 8).

For Adams, the desegregation time period brought about many experiences from playing sports to making new friendships. “I enjoyed it. It was a thrill to, you know, to be inter-racial. It was a challenge to meet other people. And we got along at that time well” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Adams initial years at FCHS occurred in the midst of the Civil Rights movement, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Arthur Ashe’s recognition as the first Black man to win the U.S. Open, and many other emotional events for the Adams family and America (2019, February 8). His desegregation experience brought about many emotions for Adams in gaining new experiences at FCHS and foundation of his education that began at Lee Waid. Adams expressed how he missed Waid School and his former classmates throughout the desegregation process. “All of us didn’t transfer at the same time, so it divided us from our other class members, and it was kind of a touch and go thing. You was glad to meet others, but yet you were sad because you wasn’t with your other friends that you were with early grades up” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). Adams further discussed how he missed his former teachers and how he felt a sense of loss that was once a feeling of connectedness with his teachers.

You know when you left Lee Waid, you left your teachers, too. So, we didn’t have the teachers of color that we did have. There was very few in numbers at that time. And so, you know, you kinda lost... You kind of lost the grip of confidence of being at ease because you didn’t have the Black teachers like you were used to. But, eventually as I stated...I grew accustomed to it. (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020)

When discussing his overall experience with the desegregation process, Adams found that many students, like himself, had an array of experiences. For Adams, he along with many others were essentially “walking in the same path” and “found that there was some good and bad in both areas” of the desegregation process (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020).



“So, you know, I learned to make a judgment for myself once I did transfer schools and everything that you was passed down to you or whatever was debatable” (J. Adams, personal communication, June 19, 2020). During Adams’ reflection of the desegregation process, he emphasized the importance of relationships and the impact of making new relationships in the desegregated school setting.

Adams further noted that his reflection on his experiences and the decisions he made, come with no regrets. In an interview with the Franklin County News Post, Adams offered advice to the younger generation about how to effectively handle racism and discrimination. “Anchor. Don’t go back, just keep pushing forward. Just anchor. Because your time is going to come if you don’t give up” (2019, February 8). After high school, Adams noted that he did attend college for a year and a half. One of his driving factors for pushing forward with seeking higher education was to have more employment opportunities. Over his career, Adams served as a Class A contractor, often working with his brother Cleive Adams, building sectional homes. As an ending statement about his experiences during the desegregation of schools in Franklin County, Adams stated, “You can’t always go forward. Be still and wait upon the Lord. Be still. Your day will come” (2019, February 8).

As students, both Cleive and John Adams did note different experiences during the desegregation of schools in Franklin County as individuals. Both Cleive and John felt the Black community greatly supported Waid School: financially, emotionally, academically, and spiritually through church involvement, organizations, and events. In addition, both Cleive and John noted the significant and lasting impact that their teachers made in their lives and educational careers at Lee M. Waid.

**Gwendolyn “Gwen” Adkins: Franklin County High School Graduate (Class of 1970)**

Gwendolyn “Gwen” Adkins began attending Lee M. Waid School in 1959. Adkins’ maternal and paternal sides of the family valued education and were active in the Ferrum community. Her paternal grandmother was a teacher and raised her two children on her own. Adkins’ father, graduated high school, served in the military and attended Virginia State College for two years. Adkins’ mother originated from the Ferrum area of Franklin County, Virginia. During her mother’s childhood, Adkins’ maternal grandfather “built a schoolhouse and hired a teacher to teach her, my mother’s family. And they only went to seventh grade. During that time, going to the seventh grade was a good education” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10,

2020). She describes the Ferrum area in which she lived as a “family community” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). When describing interactions with neighbors and other members of the Ferrum community, Adkins described the importance of respect and how this was to be shown to her parents, her friend’s parents, and other adults in the community.

According to Adkins, the feelings, attitudes, and opinions held by her parents during segregation stemmed from her parent's desire to provide their children opportunities. “We want you to do the best and get the best because your parents always want the best for you. That was the rule of thumb. Your parents always wanted the best for you. Then you pass that on to your children, your family, generationally” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). When reflecting on the segregation of schools, Adkins states that she “didn’t realize there was another side to the world...that’s the school you were used to” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). When describing the impact of segregation and how it affected her education, Adkins notes that her parents “always wanted us to have a better life than they did. They always wanted better for their children. And a lot of parents’ right here had the same concept. I want my child to have a better life, not that their life was bad, but you always wanted better for your child than what you had” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins noted that she always followed the direction of her parents and their expectations for her as they requested.

According to Adkins, a typical day at Waid School was very structured. She remembers taking math, English, science, and history classes. Outside of her coursework, she recalled recess and little to no disciplinary issues during the school day. “We were told, when we went to school we went to learn, not to act up” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Bible study sessions and lessons did occur during the school day at Waid. When thinking back to the school environment and school culture, she feels that “It added a whole different atmosphere to school and a calmness to the school, learning about the Bible during the school day” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). During the school day and sometimes after-school, she remembers Waid School hosting dances, proms, pep rallies, basketball practices, and basketball games. She did not attend the dances or proms at Waid due to her age and being transferred to Franklin County Junior High during her middle school years. Adkins recalled a great amount of community involvement in events and special activities at Waid School. Of the activities, Adkins remembers the annual May Day event. Before the May Day event, students would practice

wrapping the May Pole to prepare for the actual May Day event with the community that typically took place on a Saturday. The event also involved a variety of foods and vendors from the Franklin County Community.

According to Adkins, the teachers and instructional staff at Waid School were professionals who were firm in their expectations of excellence for students. “They wanted to make sure you learned” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins remembers on one occasion, a teacher provided her firm, but positive redirection to focus and complete her tasks as expected. “A teacher said to me one time, she said let me tell you something, Ms. Adkins. You need to do your work and learn. And she was right. And my grades did improve, they really did” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Along with her teachers, Adkins’ mother actively monitored her academic progress while setting high expectations for her behavior during the school day and at home when completing school tasks.

My mother, her idea was, when you came home and you didn’t know your homework, then you weren’t listening. That was it. And so she would get on us and make us go back to school, and make sure we were listening. It wasn’t our teacher’s fault, it was my fault because it was my responsibility to get it (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020).

Adkins feels that the Black community actively supported the school and that parental involvement was evident. When discussing parental support, Adkins believes that the expectations that parents had for their children at the schoolhouse and home were essential to student success. “We were taught that you go to school to learn you follow directions from your teachers and no misbehavior” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins further highlighted character traits and values that parents, such as her own, aimed to instill in their children at home, at school, and in the community. “Parents expected children to accept responsibility. It wasn’t anyone else’s fault but mine because I had to be responsible for my behaviors, my actions, and my learning” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). According to Adkins, parental involvement and support was evident during her time at Waid School.

The desegregation process for Adkins at FCHS was a struggle filled with mixed emotions and change. Adkins’ father explained to his children and to his family that he wanted his children to get the best education possible, so he imitated the desegregation process for his children’s

transition from Waid to FCJHS and FCHS. During her father's plan to transition his children to FCJHS and FCHS, his son Ronald was a senior at Waid. "So he allowed him to stay at Lee Waid. But the rest of us transferred to the White school" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Before Adkins' transition, her family and teachers at Waid held conversations with her and other students about preparing for a change in their learning environment. "We didn't really know what to expect. We didn't. They talked to us about it. But until it slams you in the face, you don't really realize what you're getting yourself into" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins recalled being in class and having other students not want to sit next to her. "I'd be in the classroom and there'd be people who wouldn't want to sit next to me" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020).

White students at FCJHS and FCHS were sometimes receptive and at other times they were not. "You could feel being in the school that you will probably not wanted there by some students. But a large number of the students seemed to be very receptive" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). When reflecting on teacher-student relationships, Adkins recalled the first time she ever witnessed a student disrespect a teacher by talking-back was during her transition to FCJHS. "And I got real quiet because I knew when I went home, no, my parents would not tolerate it. Parents really, really, wanted you to get a good education" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). She also recalled having one teacher who did not want to be touched by Black students. "I had a teacher who black children couldn't touch. And she was serious about that. But, I was able to touch her. Well, she touched me. I didn't touch her, but she was scared of black children" (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins also recalled having a very caring teacher at FCHS who assisted her with Algebra when she was having difficulty.

She looked at me and she said you know what, you can do this. And I looked at her and I listened. She said, I'm going to help you. And she did tutor me. And I made an A after that point. But, she really stayed on me. She had the sweetest smile and her voice was so pleasant and that really impressed me. Because at that time, you wouldn't think a teacher would stay behind and work with children (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020).

When reflecting on her overall experience at both Waid and FCHS, Adkins stated "I learned just as much at Lee Waid as I did at Franklin County High School" (G. Adkins, personal

communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins further reflected on her experiences and concluded that Waid prepared her “for the cultural aspects of life and that self-identification and being proud of who you are, what you’re supposed to be doing and setting goals for yourself” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020).

Post high school graduation, Adkins initially wanted to establish a career in the arts. She attended Ferrum College, since it was close to home, and earned an Associate’s degree in history.

I needed to go to a small school because in this community, we were kind of sheltered. We were protected. We weren’t exposed to all the things like children are now, we weren’t. I never remember seeing my parents argue. You went to church, you visited family, and went to school. That’s what you did.

After attending Ferrum College, Adkins transferred to East Tennessee State and continued with a major in history. Her roommate was majoring in education and invited Adkins to join her in working with some students locally. After having this experience and working with a professor from the college’s education department, Adkins decided that she needed to major in education. When discussing her change in career paths, Adkins noted, “God put that on my path for me to do that” (G. Adkins, personal communication, July 10, 2020). Adkins served in Franklin County Public Schools as a teacher and special education administrator with a career spanning over 41 years, retiring in 2016. Currently, Ms. Adkins serves on a committee titled Advocates for Education. This committee aims to provide information to families across the Franklin County Community through informational sessions and providing resources.

**Audrey “Clements” Dudley: Franklin County High School Graduate (Class of 1970)**

Audrey “Clements” Dudley attended Lee M. Waid School from 1958 to 1968. The Clements family valued the power of education and closely monitored their children’s school attendance. “Their goal for us was to always be better than they were” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). When recalling her school attendance as a child, Dudley described a time when she and her siblings tried to plan to miss a school day, but laughingly noted that her mother found out and they didn’t plan to miss a school day again. When reflecting on growing up in a segregated society, Dudley stated that she didn’t understand segregation at that time because the neighborhood she grew up in was for the most part integrated (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

The relationship they my grandparents and parents had built with the White neighbors lasted throughout my years as a teenager. Everybody knew everybody. No racial tensions in the neighborhood until we realized that we had some missing parts to the puzzle. It was always understood, who is who and the Whites had more, but never outwardly treated us any different (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

As the desegregation plan for Franklin County Public Schools came into effect, many students chose to remain at Waid, while other students such as Dudley, decided to transfer to FCJHS and FCHS during the Freedom of Choice Era. Dudley discussed the feelings of sadness and lack of closure when the last year of the County's desegregation plan in 1970 closed Waid's door as a high school forever. As a transfer student to Franklin County High School, Dudley remembers arriving feeling "scared to death that I wouldn't know anybody and be alone" (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

Dudley's emotions associated with transferring from Waid to FCHS were anticipated by her family. She feels that her family prepared her for this time of change by discussing the potential situations that she may face and the feelings she may have associated with those situations. The Clements family held discussions with their children about how other students or individuals may call them names but emphasized that they expected their children not to go "over there calling and doing any name-calling" advising them to "speak and go on" (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). Further noting that if someone doesn't speak to you, "don't worry about it" (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). When considering transitioning to FCHS, Dudley stated that "we knew eventually it was going to have to happen", so she and her family decided to initiate the desegregation process. Dudley noted that her transition to FCHS wasn't hard for her due to her ability to make friends, including White friends, very quickly. "I like to talk and made some white friends immediately. I guess they were inquisitive, and just wanted to see what I was all about" (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). She feels that her teachers at Waid School adequately prepared her and other students for the transition to FCHS. "They explained that this was a whole new environment and what they teach would be different from what we had been taught at the school" (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). In the transition from Waid to FCHS, Dudley did feel a sense of loss leaving a familiar setting, but noted that she did receive

additional learning opportunities due to differences in curriculum access. “And even though I had to leave, it was always in my heart” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

According to Dudley, a typical day at Waid began with a bus ride to school, coursework, and participation in extracurricular activities such as the youth choir, cheerleading, and playing basketball through the recreation department. Most of Dudley’s courses in high school were aligned with business administration, typing, and learning short-hand. She recalled dances on Friday nights, proms, and class reunions that took place after she graduated from high school. School spirit and pride were displayed throughout Dudley’s educational experience at Waid School: “We genuinely took pride in and defended its name on all occasions, of being a Hawk. And that was the only name that we knew and it meant to soar high in all that you do” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). At Waid School, there were positive teacher-student relationships. For Dudley, the teachers at Waid had a “motherly influence” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). Dudley recalled the teachers of Waid having close community ties and relationships with parents. In the area of student discipline, she noted that “you couldn’t act up when you went to school” because the teachers knew all of the parents of the children in their classrooms (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). Teachers were actively involved in searching for scholarships to assist students in preparing for college and the financial needs associated with college attendance.

In addition to supporting and preparing students for college advancement, teachers also worked with students to provide experiences for or link students with vocational trades of interest. Dudley recalled seeing and interacting with faculty and staff members Waid sometimes at church functions, but not often, due to living in a rural area and the lack of transportation for many residents. Parental involvement at Waid School often took place during Parent Teacher Association Meetings (PTA). During PTA meetings, Dudley recalled parents having discussions and making plans to raise money for the basketball team, travel, and the purchasing of new uniforms. “The PTA was a time for parents who had concerns about the students, they could come discuss with the teachers that night of the PTA meeting” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020). Parent involvement in the Clements family and in other families at Waid School was an essential support that assisted students with their daily and long term educational needs. “My parents and probably most of the parents made a way for all of us to have everything that we needed to graduate” (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30,

2020). Two-way communication between parents and teachers occurred and parents respected the opinions and recommendations made by teachers (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

Teacher opinions mattered at that time. If they saw potential in a student that wasn't being met by the student, the teacher would be in contact with the parent and discussed their concerns. In most cases, a call from the teacher, whether good or bad, an attitude adjustment in the student always occurred (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

Dudley described the impact of segregation on her education combined with her experiences at Waid as the foundation of her education.

Waid School offered Dudley a variety of learning experiences that served not only as the beginning of her education but as a road map that helped her find out who she was meant to be. Dudley, as a child, felt encouraged to grow into the person she was meant to be and was reminded daily of who she could become through conversations with teachers. She recalled her teachers talking to her about Lee M. Waid and his influence on Black education in Franklin County, Virginia.

I remember this great big ol' picture of this man in the hallway and they would tell us that was Mr. Waid. I think they just did that to show us what you could become, even though you were Black. (A. Dudley, personal communication, August 30, 2020).

After high school, Dudley attended Ferrum College for a semester, began a career with Sears, later served as a representative for All-State, and then served as a member of Franklin County Public Schools until her retirement in August 2020.



### **John Jamison: Lee M. Waid Graduate (Class of 1970)**

John Jamison attended Waid School from 1961 to 1970. Born to the parents of James Jamison and Ella Jamison, Jamison's family originates from the Sydnorsville area of Franklin County, Virginia. The Jamison family had five children. Mr. Jamison worked at a local factory and Mrs. Jamison worked as a housekeeper and then served as a custodian at Franklin County High School and later a local factory. Before attending Lee M. Waid, Jamison attended one of the many one-room schoolhouses in Franklin County until its closure, Gap Branch. At the time of his transfer from Gap Branch to Waid, he believes he was in the third or fourth grade.

The Jamison family valued the influence and power of obtaining an education. Mrs. Jamison, John Jamison's mother, went to school up to the second grade. Mrs. Jamison could read and write. Mr. Jamison, John Jamison's father, did not attend school, "he could count, but he couldn't read or sign his name" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). According to Jamison, his mother was adamant that he was going to finish school. Due to Mrs. Jamison's belief in the power of education and the need for Jamison to focus on his schoolwork, she wouldn't let him get a part-time job because she thought he would "quit school" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). The Jamison family supported their children in their educational endeavors and aimed to remove barriers to their attainment of education. As a first-generation high school graduate, Jamison noted that two of his younger siblings did graduate after him from Franklin County High School.

On a typical day at Waid School, Jamison's day was very structured from arrival to dismissal. Jamison recalled beginning the day by singing spiritually themed songs, reciting the pledge of allegiance, and transitioning to his courses throughout the instructional day. For Jamison, the interactions and time he spent in the cafeteria during lunch are memorable. Jamison recalled the names of former cafeteria staff members, discussions with his peers, and the quality of the food served. Living in rural Franklin County, transportation limitations did exist and impede student involvement in extracurricular activities and parent involvement in school events. Serving as an active member of the Waid School basketball team and choir, Jamison noted that his participation in other activities at the school was limited due to transportation concerns. "We didn't have a vehicle, so it was hard to get back and forth to events" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). During the winter beginning in tenth grade, Jamison played basketball for Waid School under the guidance of Coach Samuel Hawkins. "We had basketball

practice in the evenings after school” and “we had to catch rides home” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). “We didn’t have a practice bus or anything” to “take us home after practice”, “so we got a ride with friends” or whoever had a car (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020).

Other activities that took place at Waid School included basketball games, pep rallies, choir performances, and Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings. Jamison was also a member of the Waid School choir, directed by Mrs. Keene. When speaking of Mrs. Keene, Jamison noted that she “was a wonderful teacher” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). The Jamison family was actively involved in their children’s education, but barriers surrounding transportation impacted their attendance to many school events. “As a matter of fact, I remember once we had a basketball game”, “it was Parent’s Night and they weren’t able to come” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Jamison’s brother came in the place of his parents and “when they called out his name,” “I was glad to have him there, but I really wanted my parents to be there” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). For Jamison, living in a rural area with limitations in transportation proved difficult to navigate during his high school years.

Jamison’s educational experiences were filled with memories of personal academic growth, positive teacher relationships, and support from the Black community for Waid School. In elementary school, Jamison recalled not having “good grades” and the struggles he faced with completing homework assignments. “I didn’t have anybody to help me with my homework, because, like I said, my father didn’t go to school. My mother didn’t go to school. My oldest brother, he quit school. So, I really didn’t have anyone to help me” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). As Jamison moved through his middle school and high school years, he became more and more determined to be as successful as possible in school. He began to ask more questions in class and ask for additional assistance from his teachers as he needed it. “I think that sometimes they may have gotten tired of me asking questions, but I always asked questions” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). By the time that Jamison reached the twelfth grade, he earned the title and honor of serving as the Salutatorian to his graduating class of 1970. Jamison earned a basketball scholarship to Virginia State and felt as if everyone wanted him to go to college. “No one asked me if I wanted to go to college, but they all said, you’re getting good grades; you need to go to college” (J. Jamison, personal

communication, June 10, 2020). He knew that his acceptance and attendance to Virginia State would be a hardship for his family, even though he had a scholarship.

Jamison's perseverance and determination along with the support of his home and school family, assisted him in reaching his personal goals for his education at Waid School. Jamison felt supported and cared for by his teachers, who he described as having motherly influence, acting as a second set of parents. "I had great teachers. They were just like my mom. They were determined. They wanted us to succeed" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Jamison's learning environment consisted of small classroom sizes and frequent checks for understanding. "Whatever the class was and what we were going over, they always made sure that you understood what was being taught" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Teachers at Waid focused on the whole child approach to teaching and learning. Jamison notes that his teachers supported him and other students academically, emotionally, and socially. "They were concerned if you had a problem. If you came to school with a problem from home, they would talk to you and help you" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). He has fond memories of one teacher, in particular, Mr. Edgar Painter, who joined the Waid School staff during the Freedom of Choice Era from FCHS. Mr. Painter, a White teacher, intentionally sought to establish a relationship and build rapport with Jamison.

At first, I was I was not too friendly towards him. Because at the time the Civil Rights Movement was going on, and it just, was a lot of division among Whites and Blacks. And Mr. Painter really tried to make friends with me and I wouldn't let him in. But one evening he asked me if I wanted to go with him and do a little target practice after school. And I did. I was a little afraid, but, I didn't want him to know that. We did and we got to know each other better after that. (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10 2020). For Jamison, the bonding experience that he shared with Mr. Painter positively impacted their teacher-student relationship from that point on. After the target practice experience and getting to know Mr. Painter more, Jamison actively refers to Mr. Painter as one of his favorite teachers.

During the Freedom of Choice Era, Jamison decided to remain at Lee M. Waid until he graduated in 1970. He recalled that during Franklin County's Desegregation Plan, students had to apply for acceptance to FCHS. With each passing year of the desegregation plan, he notes that his class size dramatically decreased with some choosing to go to the high school and some dropping out. "I chose to remain at Lee Waid. I just didn't feel that I could transition" (J.

Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). During his time at Waid, Jamison heard stories from friends and former classmates about fighting and the turmoil that was taking place at FCHS. He felt that he did possess the temperament needed at that time to be successful in transitioning from Waid School to FCHS. He doesn't regret his decision to remain at Waid School, but also acknowledges that he doesn't "hold anything against the students that did go. They had the temperament and they could succeed" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020).

As Jamison reflected on the atmosphere and learning environment of FCHS during the 1960s, he concluded "we weren't really accepted there" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). "I did what I thought was best for me at that time" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Jamison's decision to remain at Lee Waid was made based on his analysis of what he personally needed to be successful during his high school years. When comparing the education that he received at Waid to what other Black students that attended FCHS received, Jamison feels that the students who attended FCHS did receive "a better education" due to access to enhanced materials and resources coupled with individual student determination for success (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Jamison acknowledges that he could have completed the coursework and tasks at FCHS with success, but he had to consider the importance of his social and emotional well-being during a time of civil unrest. "I feel like I got the best education I could, considering the circumstances" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). As an adult, Jamison is aware of the additional opportunities that were afforded to students at FCHS, but is thankful for the educational experiences and life-long relationships built during his time at Waid School.

Growing up in a segregated school environment, deficits and inequities existed between Waid and FCHS. Over the years, Jamison has reflected on the education that he received at Waid compared to the education of White students at FCHS. "I look back and see how there were, there were definite differences in the education that I received and the education that, that Whites received" (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). For Jamison, the teachers and staff members of Lee M. Waid were invested in the education of students, but their access to essential materials such as textbooks and other curriculum needs were not equal to those of FCHS. A memorable and eye-opening experience that shed light on the differences in resources and access for segregated schools came during his participation in a television game show with

other Waid students. Upon arrival, he felt as if he and other students were “pretty well educated with what the teachers had” to provide instruction with. The results of the television game show did not fair in Waid’s favor. “We were far behind compared to the White schools, all-White schools. What we got was the leftovers of what the White schools had and it just wasn’t the same education. You were left behind in other words” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). With Jamison’s personal realization of differences in access to curriculum materials and resources, he continued to persevere and grow throughout his time at Waid School.

Prior to his graduation from Waid in 1970, Jamison earned a basketball scholarship to Virginia State. As the salutatorian of his graduating class, Jamison had to decide whether or not he wanted to attend college immediately after high school or choose a different path. For Jamison, most people told him “you’re getting good grades” and “you need to go to college” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). As Jamison contemplated his decision to go to college, he thought about his parents, his family, and their needs. “It wasn’t something I thought I could excel in simply because of the fact...My parents were poor and I knew it would be a hardship on them, even though I had a scholarship” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). His scholarship to Virginia State would have covered most of his expenses, but Jamison was cognizant of his family’s needs. “I had a scholarship, but I knew also that it would be hard for them with me going off to college” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). Jamison’s decision to join the Army after graduating high school was supported by his desire to limit and avoid additional hardships for his family.

Jamison decided to join the Army after graduating high school. While many of his friends and former classmates were drafted into the Army, Jamison volunteered. Jamison’s Army experience also presented him with a segregated experience but noted that he “was exposed to a lot of different kind of people in the Army” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). While in basic training, he “developed friendships with other races” that provided him with a “worldly education as far as learning how to live with other people” and “Interact with different races” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). During his time in the Army, Jamison volunteered to serve in Vietnam. When reflecting on his educational experiences, Jamison states that over the years he initially regretted not going to college; however, Jamison expressed that these experiences with other people over the years through his education coupled with those in the Army, have helped him to become a better person. “I feel like I’m a better

person because of those experiences that I had (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). For Jamison, he no longer regrets not attending college immediately after high school due to the rewards of his personal growth and interactions with others. After accepting a position with the Franklin County Public Schools Maintenance Department, he did attend college classes at Virginia Western. Jamison worked with the Franklin County Public Schools for thirty-three years. Today, Jamison still lives in the Franklin County community. Mr. Jamison has one son from a previous marriage and one daughter with his wife, Mrs. Jamison.

When reflecting on his overall educational experience, Jamison expressed words of positivity and love for Lee M. Waid. “I loved Lee M. Waid. Nobody loved Lee M. Waid any better than I did. It was like a home away from home. You knew each teacher and they knew you (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). For Jamison, his teachers treated him as if he was one of their children. The learning environment was conducive to establishing friendships and felt like an extended family with “brothers and sisters and a whole bunch of mothers and fathers” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020). “Every time I step into that school. It’s just like I never left” (J. Jamison, personal communication, June 10, 2020).

#### **Paul Mattox: Franklin County High School Graduate (Class of 1971)**

Paul Mattox attended Lee M. Waid School from the first through the seventh grade from 1959 to 1965. Born to the parents of Early Henry “Boyd” Mattox and Frances Hughes Mattox, Mattox’s father was a tobacco farmer and pastor at a local church. His mother was a homemaker and later worked at a local furniture factory after the closure of the family farm. The Mattox family had eleven children, nine sons and two daughters. The Mattox family valued the power of education and the importance of working together as a family. Mattox recalled attending school regularly and assisting his father on the family’s tobacco farm in the Sontag area of Franklin County. He recalled his father stressed the importance of getting an education and learning how to earn a living to support a family. The Mattox family held discussions about segregation and how it impacted their family; such as the reasoning behind separate schools for Black and White children. Mattox noted that the community in which he lived had Blacks and Whites that knew one another well and worked together. As Mattox reflected on some of the issues that arose during desegregation, he didn’t recall any specific conflicts in the Sontag community where he grew up.

Attending Lee M. Waid from the first to seventh grade, Mattox's typical day was structured and included songs, all course content areas, extracurricular activities, and basketball. Although Mattox was not old enough to attend many of the dances at Waid, he recalled the high schoolers having dance events including proms. He also recalled students having practice sessions for cheerleading and basketball. Of all of the events for older students of Waid, Mattox recalled basketball games as an event that was popular for the entire community. May Day was an event that all stakeholders of Waid participated in. This annual event occurred on the first Saturday in May. Students practiced for participation in this event by wrapping pastel-colored fabric around what was called a "May Pole."

Teachers and other stakeholders of Lee M. Waid School were caring and held high expectations for students. "I just have to say they were all wonderful because they pushed you to do better" (P. Mattox, personal communication, July 6, 2020). As Mattox reflected on his childhood education, he concluded that he initially thought that his teachers were being "mean", but as he got older he realized that his teachers were strict and held high expectations because they cared about him: "They wouldn't let you slide through. No matter what, they were going to push you" (P. Mattox, personal communication, July 6, 2020). Mattox's sister-in-law, Rachel Mattox, was a teacher at Waid. She served as a teacher and principal in Richmond City Schools before her retirement. Mattox's older brother Joe Mattox also taught in Richmond City Schools. During Mattox's Waid educational experience, the Black community supported the school during the school day and extracurricular events. Mattox recalled the support that the local community gave to the athletics department for baseball and girls and boys basketball.

Prior to Mattox's eighth-grade year, he decided to transfer to FCJHS. He expressed his main motivation for transferring was to get more basketball playing time while also gaining some new school experiences. "I guess when I first went to the White school" there weren't "many Blacks going there" (P. Mattox, personal communication, July 6, 2020). When comparing his educational experiences at FCJHS to those of Black students who decided to remain at Waid, Mattox concluded that there were some initial differences that he had to come to terms with. For Mattox, the biggest difference came in the form of instruction or how things were presented from one school to the next.

After graduating from FCHS in 1971, he received several scholarships to play basketball and further his education. Mattox attended Columbia University in South Carolina on a

basketball scholarship. He then attended High Point College (renamed High Point University), for four years on a basketball scholarship. Mattox returned to Franklin County, Virginia after college and ran a loader for Rocky Mount Dale Quarry until his retirement. Mattox feels that his educational experience at Lee M. Waid was fun and ultimately taught him “how to get along with people” (P. Mattox, personal communication, July 6, 2020). He attributes his learning of how to get along with others from the modeling of his former teachers at Waid School.

### **Walter Meadows: Franklin County High School Transfer (1969)**

Walter Meadows attended Lee M. Waid School from 1965 to 1969. Born to the parents of Walter Meadows Sr. and Nannie Marie Meadows, the Meadows family had six children, four daughters, and two sons. In order from oldest to youngest: Annie, Sarah, Joyce, Walter Jr., Marshall, and Lisa. The Meadows family lived in the Sontag area of Franklin County, Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Meadows valued the power of education and emphasized its importance to their children to “get a good job” and become productive citizens of Franklin County. The Meadows family discussed segregation and highlighted their familial value of fair treatment for all individuals. “My parents tried to come together and be as one” (W. Meadows, personal communication, July 14, 2020). For Meadows, his parent’s example and expectations of fair treatment for all assisted him and his siblings with getting along with others on a daily basis.

On a typical school day, Meadows remembers having a structured day filled with reading, writing, mathematics, science, and history. In his classes, Meadows remembers having very small class sizes and being able to work with teachers in a one-on-one setting often. “Teachers at that time were very strict. They encouraged us to be all you can be” (W. Meadows, personal communication, July 14, 2020). He remembers singing the school’s song daily and the school colors of blue and gold that were celebrated daily and on special occasions. Meadows also played on the basketball team. School-wide celebrations did occur with the most memorable event being May Day. Additional extracurricular activities also took place at the school such as dances, proms, and other assemblies.

During the initial years of Franklin County’s Desegregation Plan beginning in 1965, changes began to take place at Waid. Meadows remembers when the first few White teachers were hired at Waid School and when many students began to transfer to FCJHS and FCHS. Meadows attended Waid School until 1969 and he didn’t initiate his transfer to FCHS. “We had to go and my parents raised us to be nice to everyone” with the premise that everyone in return



will be nice to you (W. Meadows, personal communication, July 14, 2020. The Freedom of Choice Era was coming to an end and the last graduating class of Waid would be the Class of 1970. Graduating in 1973, Meadows completed his high school experience at FCHS.

Today, Meadows serves as the lead custodian for Lee M. Waid Elementary School. Meadows has served in this role for forty years. In addition to serving as the lead custodian for Lee M. Waid, Meadows has served as a bus driver for the past forty-three years. His dedication to Lee M. Waid and Franklin County Public Schools over his career totals forty-three years.

### **Glenna “Hawkins” Moore: Franklin County Junior High School Transfer (1965)**

Glenna “Hawkins” Moore attended Lee M. Waid School from 1958 to 1965. Born to the parents of Samuel and Nadine Hawkins, Moore comes from a family of educators. Moore’s father Samuel Hawkins was a physical education, mathematics, and French teacher. He also served as Waid School’s basketball coach. Her mother was a home economics teacher and later an administrator of Waid School. Mr. Hawkins originated from Concord, North Carolina and Mrs. Hawkins was originally from the Sontag area of Franklin County, Virginia. Moore’s family was very involved in the community through their local church, First Baptist Church, located on Patterson Avenue in Rocky Mount, Virginia. Samuel and Nadine Hawkins were actively involved in the community as stakeholders of Lee M. Waid, members of community organizations, and in their place of worship. Today, both of Moore’s parents are honored in the Franklin County community with a gymnasium named after her father, Samuel L. Hawkins, and an honorary portrait of her mother, Nadine Hawkins, located in the main office hallway of Lee M. Waid School. The mascot of Lee M. Waid has remained the same stemming from the school’s proud past and promising future. Known as the Hawks, the school’s mascot choice was derived from Moore’s family name Hawkins, in honor of her father the school’s basketball coach.

The power of education and its value stems from her maternal and paternal family members before her, who advocated and fought for equal access and educational opportunities for children of color.

My maternal grandmother, Dora Young, like many other black men and women, fought hard to better the condition of educational opportunities for their children. I know my grandmother, wanted her children out of those one-room schools and into a school like

Lee M. Waid. Which, of course, it ended up that everybody was at Lee Waid, and out of those one-room schools (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

For Moore, the greatest gift that her family has ever given her stems from their familial value and aspirations for education. Her maternal and paternal grandparents “earned their college degrees just one or two generations out of slavery” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Moore’s mother, Nadine Hawkins, was the valedictorian of her graduating class. She recalled her mother describing the process for scholarships and college applications for her high school years. Mrs. Hawkins described that “the Valedictorian had a scholarship to Virginia State College, whereas the salutatorian of the class, got a scholarship to Virginia Union” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). As the daughter of a farmer, Mrs. Hawkins described that “the real aspiration for her would be to be a farmer’s wife and not necessarily go to college” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). A fire was ignited in Moore’s mother when an aunt from Roanoke, Virginia came to visit her and her father on Hawkins’ graduation day. Hawkins’ aunt expressed to her father the importance of her attending college and that conversation changed the trajectory of Hawkins’ future.

So my mother was the first in her family to go to college, but after she went all of her brothers and sisters did. So you could say that college was just important in my family. I really never even thought about not going to college and just didn’t seem to be an option. So my family’s conversations about college tended to center around which college and which sorority I might consider (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Growing up in the segregated South, the Hawkins aimed to provide their children with a variety of experiences that included traveling to see family and planning for destinations far from home. “I think that was a big support for me and learning about the world” and the “world beyond Franklin County” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

From an early age, it was clear to Moore that her parents “abhorred the southern policy of racial segregation” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). She was able to see and hear her parent’s reactions to symbols of racial segregation such as confederate flags and statues, remnants of the Jim Crow South, at home in Franklin County, and on the way to visit her father’s family in Kannapolis, North Carolina. Upon arrival to Kannapolis, she remembers reading a sign stating “Klu Klux Klan Capital of the World” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). The Hawkins family believed in the power of travel and exposing their children to the

world beyond Franklin County. Moore's father once told her "I want you to realize that where you live is not necessarily the best and not necessarily the worst" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Mr. Hawkins wanted his children to experience the similarities and differences in the world beyond Franklin County. Many of the children at school would tell Moore that her parents "were rich because they were teachers" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Laughingly Moore noted that she found out "later that teachers were not rich" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

In later years, Moore found out that her parents had to "borrow money to be able to live during the summer" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Moore's parents would work during the summer to "pay for the loan that they would get each summer" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). "So one summer in 1960, they couldn't find summer jobs, so they decided to just put my brother and me in the station wagon that we owned, and just go across country to California" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Before the Hawkins family heading west to California, Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins went to Washington D.C. to pick up a book called *The Go Guide* which is similar texts to *The Green Book*. Over the years, Moore searched for a *Go Guide* with limited success "but, eventually I did find there was such a thing as a *Go Guide*" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). *The Go Guide* was "not quite as popular as *The Green Book*" (G. Moore, personal communication June 25, 2020). "Now this *Go Guide*, would tell them where Black folks could stay, where they could sleep, where they could eat", and where they could get gas for their vehicles (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Moore was about seven years old and her brother was five during the time of the trip. While driving through some towns, Moore recalled that her mother "might say, well, your cousins live here" to her father. Throughout the trip, Moore recalled her mother using this phrase often and thought to herself "my goodness, we've got a lot of cousins" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). She later found out that her parents "were identifying Black communities" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

The Hawkins family actively combatted the southern policy of racial segregation through their work and involvement in the community. Moore recalled a civic protest that took place in 1971 with the arrival of a new business in town, Kroger. Local community members had growing concerns with the company's failure to hire minority employees. Representatives from

the local NAACP, Bethel AME Church, and First Baptist Church organized a protest where Moore “was able to see the African Americans in my community that were mentors” working toward equal employment opportunities (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). “I could see them organizing and making signs and preparing food, which was usually soups to give substance to the people who were in those picket lines. And I was just really impressed, especially with the black women that took charge” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

From the first to seventh grade, Moore attended Waid School. On a typical school day, Moore recalled attending self-contained classes consisting of one teacher and a group of students. During her attendance, she remembers the white clapboard building that once stood where the main parking lot of the school now exists. She typically rode to school with her parents, primarily her mother, and waited in her mother’s home economics classroom before the school day began. Each school day began with devotions followed by classroom instruction, recess, and lunch. She recalled the circle games that one of her teachers, Mrs. Atkins, played with the students: Ring around the Roses, Little Sally Ann Sitting in the Sand, London Bridge, and several others. During the school day, Moore also remembers taking part in Bible Study sessions with Reverend McKinley Hamilton. At the end of the school day, most students caught the school bus, but Moore usually waited with her mother until the end of the school day due to her father’s coaching schedule. Waid School hosted a variety of events during Moore’s attendance. The school served as the largest “center for African Americans at that time” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Special events and extracurricular activities included basketball games, the annual Lee M. Waid pageants, proms, and other dances, graduation ceremonies, intramural basketball games, and student clubs. “Basketball games were probably the most attended and that’s when the gymnasium, gym auditorium, was packed” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). The Waid basketball team played other African American schools from surrounding areas such as Martinsville, Salem, Roanoke, and Clifton Forge. Annually, Lee M. Waid held a pageant. In 1959, Moore remembers being named “Little Ms. Lee M. Waid Princess” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). For most of the dances that occurred at Waid School, Moore was too young to attend. Her parents had duties and supervisory roles during some school dances. She remembers sitting on the bleachers and watching the high school students dance.

Proms were held in the gymnasium and Moore recalled the beautiful decorations and themes designed by Dorothy Phelps, a former art teacher whose name is honored on what is now the Student Services building at FCHS. Moore's father set up intramural basketball games "And I remember the high school students sitting in the stands just laughing at first, second, third, fourth through seventh-grade boys playing basketball" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Other activities that took place at Waid included: 4H, sewing competitions, and student organizations such as New Farmers of America (NFA) and New Homemakers of America (NHA). "Mrs. Maddie Moody was the black Cooperative Extension agent and she would come into the schools and usually after school" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). While attending Waid School, Moore was a part of a sewing competition and she attributes her sewing abilities to the skills passed down from her mother, Nadine Hawkins, a former home economics teacher.

School pride was displayed during the school day, after school, and through community events. Basketball games were a large social event where "a whole lot of the Black community came together" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). The Lee M. Waid Band participated in the annual Christmas Parade where the whole town "looked forward to the time when the Lee M. Waid band would come dance down Main Street" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Moore's recollection of the Lee M. Waid Band included a group of students who were "just full of motion" similar to "most Black high school bands in Virginia" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). For Moore, the basketball games and other events such as the annual Christmas Parade featuring the Lee M. Waid band, "created a lot of pride in the African American community" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Support systems at Waid School included parent involvement, positive role models, spiritual support through local church organizations, and support from the Black community of Franklin County. Parental involvement at Waid School was demonstrated in a variety of ways through parental participation at school events, parents serving as community partners, and parents advocating for the education of their children at school board and Parent Teacher Association Meetings (PTA). "My mother described PTA meetings, how heated they could sometimes get, how long sometimes they could be, and the type of business that went on and in those PTA meetings" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Over the course of Moore's educational career, she was influenced by positive role models within the school setting,

the church, and the local community. In Moore's childhood neighborhood, "there were at least nine families and 13 educators" that lived on Patterson Avenue (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Across the street from Moore's family home, lived her principal C.L. Atkins. In addition to the educators that lived on Patterson Avenue, Moore noted that the careers of other influential community members included a beautician, blacksmith, railroad serviceman, businessmen, plumber, town maintenance employee, other domestic tradesmen and women, and a cooperative extension agent (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). "I was very privileged to have lots of role models, good role models. Positive role models" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). The Hawkins family worshiped at First Baptist Church on Patterson Avenue. "In First Baptist Church you found teachers, domestic workers, all kinds of skilled Craftsman, factory workers, business owners, farmers" and other influential members of the community that made a lasting impression on the life of Moore.

Our pastor was Reverend McKinley J. Hamilton, who was a classmate of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. And there was a Mr. O.T. Little. He was a butcher at Simpson Supermarket. He was from Alabama, and he was a Sunday school teacher. He told us about the 1950s, 1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott. Now I remember them primarily when I was in high school at Franklin County High School, trying to deal with racial issues (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

During Franklin County's desegregation process, Moore remembers Reverend McKinley J. Hamilton and Mr. O.T. Little working with the schools and the community to provide guidance and insight on how to address situations of concern as they arose.

The Black community of Franklin County has historically supported and advocated for the education of Blacks. According to Moore, "It was actually historically, the Black community that either paid for, or demanded supplies, buses, and building materials at Lee Waid. Black churches, specifically the Pigg River Baptist Association, supported Lee M. Waid" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Before the initial desegregation plan for Franklin County was drafted, Moore had expressed to her parents her desire to attend FCJHS.

In fact, my mother told me before she died, so you know, about 15-20 years ago, that every time we passed by that school going up... I would get so excited and I would say, I wish I could go to that school, you know, knowing that I couldn't...knowing that it was

for whites only, but in 1965, I was among fourteen African American kids who integrated the school. There was seven of us in eighth grade and seven in ninth grade.

In the fall of 1965, Moore and fourteen other African American students integrated FCJHS and FCHS.

As a child, Moore stated that she didn't realize that there was an application that had to be filled by her parents. In 1965, there were three all-Black schools in Franklin County: Booker T. Washington in the Hardy-Wirtz area, Truevine Elementary in the Glade Hill-Penhook area, and Lee M. Waid in the Town of Rocky Mount. All African American students in the county attended Waid for high school. Moore feels the desegregation process was "controlled and planned" and feels that others "say it wasn't horrible in this area because they may be comparing it to others, more urban areas" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Some teachers and students were polite and welcoming during Moore's first year at FCJHS, others were not. Going through the halls, Moore recalled Blacks students sometimes being called the "N" word and the feelings associated with the emotional toll of desegregation. One very emotional and intense time during Moore's educational experience "at FCHS was the day that Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, or the days around that, when we saw students and White students expressing joy that Martin Luther coon was dead" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). For Moore, social stratification existed at both Waid and at FCHS.

Like, no matter what social hierarchy you experienced at Lee M. Waid, you were at the bottom of the totem pole as a Black student at Franklin County High School. I think because Whites were just as unknowledgeable about us, as we they. We were all lumped in together (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Social strata at Waid was dependent on the jobs you had, whereas at the high school, it was more obvious which families came from wealth or had the most respect in the county (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). When walking through the halls of the high school, Moore remembers positive feelings and emotions about when she would run into other Black students or former classmates from Waid. "You sort of congregated in between classes because you were so glad to see somebody you really knew and who really knew you" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Bus incidents between Black and White students did occur in some communities, with some being worse than others. With a short bus ride home, Moore only recalled minor situations on her bus were “occasionally somebody wouldn’t want you to sit with them, next to them” so she would have to use her hip on occasions to bump her way into a seat (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). In high school, Moore tried out for the cheerleading squad. At the time of Moore’s cheerleading tryouts, faculty members of FCHS selected which students would be chosen to join the squad. Moore was selected as the first Black cheerleader of FCHS and feels that during the time she was selected there “may have been some pressure for them to finally select a Black cheerleader” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Her most memorable teacher from FCHS was Ms. Elsie Turner, a White teacher. Ms. Turner taught American History and “she described the Civil War as the War of Northern Aggression and she pronounced the word Negro as Negras” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020).

The dynamics of Moore’s classes and the separation of Black and White students felt as if “they deliberately put one African American in each class” seeming as if it was intentional that African American students were “spread out” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). The emotions and feelings associated with being isolated from other African American peers revisited Moore when she was a military wife and mother of three sons.

We lived in communities where there was a very small African American population, one time in Granite City, Illinois. So, I always volunteered at those schools because I felt it important that the military kids see somebody during their school day from their community. And so, that, I think, came from the feelings that I had at the high school and junior high school.

During Moore’s initial years at FCJHS and FCHS, there were at most one to two African American students in each of her classes.

While Moore was attending FCJHS, changes began to take place at Waid. Between the years 1967 and 1968, “there were a few white teachers brought to Lee Waid and a few Black teachers were scattered to certain previously White schools out in the county” (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). One White teacher, Betty Huffman, was the first White teacher to join the Lee M. Waid faculty. “She ended up being the cheerleading coach for the Black girls at Lee M. Waid and when she knew that the next year, they would be at the high school, she wanted them to have an equal opportunity to compete” (G. Moore, personal



communication, June 25, 2020). There were also changes to the Virginia High Schools League's (VHSL) policies that impacted Moore's father, Samuel Hawkins, and the basketball team at Lee M. Waid due to school closures. Many of the teams that Waid School previously played against for high school basketball, closed or were turned into elementary schools. Mr. Hawkins then "had to join a new league" and play schools in other areas such as Floyd and Meadows of Dan.

Moore's experiences at Waid prepared her for the desegregation process and for life post-Jim Crow South. Moore's experiences at Waid along with her experiences at FCJHS and FCHS, helped her to be successful as a student and post-high school graduation. Several factors enhanced and impacted Moore's educational foundation from Lee M. Waid School. Of those factors, Moore notes that love, respect, high expectations, and historical truths helped her and other "young Black children during the years of Jim Crow policies" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). "I think the administration, faculty, and staff had higher and different expectations than White educators for African American students" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Post high school graduation, Moore earned a Bachelor of Science degree from Norfolk State University in Sociology. She then attended Virginia Polytechnic University as a graduate student earning a Master's in Urban Planning. Throughout Moore's husband's (Larry Moore) service in the military, she served in a variety of fields from education to sociology. After reflecting on educational experiences as a child and young adult, Moore feels that her adolescent education coupled with her college education at Norfolk State and Virginia Polytechnic University, all prepared her for the life that she is "fortunate to live" (G. Moore, personal communication, June 25, 2020). Today, Moore resides in Franklin County, Virginia with her husband. Moore and her husband are the proud parents to three sons and five grandchildren: four granddaughters and one grandson. As a family, the Moore's are actively involved in Franklin County community. In September of 2018, Moore and the Franklin County chapter of the NAACP, organized a luncheon event that discussed the past of Franklin County Public Schools featuring former teachers and students during the Freedom of Choice Era. Over the last fifteen years, Moore and her husband have served as a members of the Franklin County chapter of the NAACP.

**Eudora "Edwina" Prunty: Franklin County Junior High School Transfer (1965)**

Eudora "Edwina" Prunty attended Lee M. Waid School from 1958 to 1965 for her first through seventh grade academic years. Prunty's father grew up in the Sontag area of Franklin

County on a farm. He attended school up to the third or fourth grade (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). Her father did earn his General Education Diploma (GED) later in life and spent many years working at the Bassett Furniture Company. Prunty's mother graduated from high school and attended school through the eleventh grade. During the day, her mother was a maid for a family in the Town of Rocky Mount consisting of a mother, father, and one child. "She cleaned the house, she did the laundry, she'd cook their meals and then she walked home and fixed dinner for all of us" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). During Prunty's attendance at Lee M. Waid, her family lived in the Grassy Hill community which is now often considered an extension to Diamond Avenue. For the Prunty family, their morning routine began around 5:00 a.m. with her mother packing lunches, making breakfast, and assisting everyone with getting to work or school. When her father returned home late in the evenings, the family gathered for dinner. Mr. Prunty "said the grace and after, each one of us cited a Bible verse" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). The Prunty family valued the power of education and obtaining an education was seen as non-negotiable. "My parents felt and truly believed that a good education would be a path for us to have a better life than what they themselves had experienced" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). "We had to have an education so that we could do something other than work in a factory or be a maid" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). Living in a rural area, the majority of her parents days consisted of their daily work schedules, church attendance and service, and raising their children.

On a typical school day, Prunty recalled learning in self-contained classrooms where one teacher taught all subject areas. In second grade, Prunty recalled being in a split classroom, with half of the students being as second graders and the other half of the students as third graders. She recalled learning all subject areas including math, reading, science, and history. In addition to her core curriculum courses, she remembers having weekly Bible Study sessions with a local minister. Prunty has fond memories of her school experience at Waid and remembers on special occasions the teachers would call on students to sometimes lead the class in demonstrating how to solve a math problem or to lead a class discussion. "I just remember being quite sociable and having an enjoyable learning experience" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). Friendships were developed over the years as most students remained in classes with one another from one year to the next. The students were able to get to each other and one another's families

very well. Special events and extracurricular activities took place during Prunty's attendance at Waid School.

I can remember being involved in May Day each year. May Day was a big event at our school where the whole school would celebrate on a Saturday. It was more of a festival and families would come together. And you had a May Day Fairy, May Day Princess, and May Day Queen (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

The memorable events of May Day and wrapping the May Day flag poles along with other extracurricular activities that took place reminded her of the school spirit, being with family, and overall camaraderie that made up the atmosphere of Lee M. Waid. "I think Lee Waid was like the hub of the community" for the Black community as a "family centered environment" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

School spirit was displayed at its highest during basketball games. "Basketball was the sport that was just where everyone came together" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). During basketball games, members from the surrounding communities of Franklin County would come to show their support for the Waid basketball team. Cheerleaders moved from the start of the game to the finish without missing a beat. For Prunty and many others in the Black community, there was and still is today an overwhelming sense of pride associated with being a Lee M. Waid Hawk.

Prunty's teachers and administrators served as models that she wanted to emulate. "They looked, dressed, talked, and walked very professionally. And so, I felt the need to want to emulate these individuals" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). During Prunty's experience, she felt that teachers at Lee M. Waid were vested in student success and knew how to provide the type of instruction that students needed as a whole group and individually. "I got a solid education and it prepared me for the next steps in my life" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). She knew one teacher personally, outside of school, and that was her Aunt Lula Saunders (see Appendix U), who served as Prunty's seventh-grade teacher. After her seventh grade year, Prunty transitioned to FCJHS.

In the fall of 1965, Prunty was one of the fourteen students who received acceptance letters from the Virginia Pupil Placement Board to attend either FCJHS or FCHS. Prunty's interest and choice to go to FCJHS was initiated by her childhood and life-long best friend, Glenna Moore. As Prunty recalled, Moore expressed her desire to attend FCJHS by stating

“Edwina, let’s go to the White school” (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). “I didn’t even know what the White school was, and throughout the seventh grade, these two little adolescents started putting their heads together” (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). As the year progressed, Prunty and her best friend Moore continued to talk about the different options offered at FCJHS, such as new science labs. During Prunty and Moore’s conversations, Moore expressed that “if we wanted to, we could go to that school, too. So we plotted and we talked about it and she and her family found out the path for getting to that school” (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

Within the year of Prunty and Moore’s initial discussions, their families submitted an application requesting for the two to be granted permission to attend FCJHS. Once their parents submitted the request, their families were required to participate in an interview with the Superintendent of Schools. Following the interview, families accepted to attend FCJHS and FCJHS received a letter in the mail stating that their child had or hadn’t been approved by the school board (see Appendix CC). Prunty’s family was the first to interview with the superintendent of Franklin County Public Schools and were also the first family to receive an acceptance letter, permitting their child Eudora “Edwina” Prunty to attend FCJHS. “During the course of my parents’ interview with the superintendent, he said to them, “you know, she’s the first of her kind to do this” (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). According to Prunty, she and Moore “almost felt compelled” to go to FCJHS (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). “Our parents wanted us to have the best education because we had to go to college” and FCJHS had additional learning opportunities available to assist Prunty and Moore with preparing for college and their futures.

As Prunty reflected on her school experiences after attending Waid, she found that her transition can best be explained as “culture shock” (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). As Prunty was navigating a new school environment and many other obstacles that adolescents face during their middle school years in puberty, her previous sense of acceptance and being at ease at Waid School was not the reality of what she experienced at FCJHS.

When you sat on a school bus, you always had a seat by yourself. When you walked into a classroom, if you sat at a desk...all desks to the right, to the left, in front, behind...those desks would remain empty or vacated as soon as you sat down. You walk down the hall and you see a group of individuals coming toward you and when they got next to you the

one closest to you were pushed onto you. If you accidentally brushed up against someone that person vehemently rubbed his arm, his clothing as though he was touched by something nasty (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

As an adolescent, Prunty felt very confident before her arrival to FCJHS. Every day at FCJHS wasn't negative, but many experiences caused Prunty to question "what have I done" for daily, "you were not treated on any level as being almost human" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). Prunty was determined that she "was going to be in that school to get the best education" that she could get (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). As the years progressed, Prunty did have positive experiences. She was a member of Tri-Hi-Y, Spanish Club, and the Drama Club. Prunty joined the track team and played volleyball at FCHS and felt as if she was accepted in these athletic settings. "So, those extracurricular outlets, made it such that the whole experience wasn't one big nightmare. So, it was a school experience with the good, the bad, and the ugly" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

Reflecting on her overall experience at Waid, Prunty expressed that it wasn't until after high school she realized how great her experiences from grades one through seven impacted her life. The school atmosphere of Waid that consisted of a whole school and family spirit was "precious" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020). "I don't think I realized how wonderful that was until I went to Franklin County Junior High and then Franklin County High School feeling so disconnected" from "the people there that I just didn't realize just how much and how precious that was" (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

After graduating from FCHS in 1970, Prunty attended Knoxville College and earned a Bachelor's degree with a double major in English and speech education (2008, June 3). Prunty accepted her first teaching position with Franklin County Public Schools in 1975 as a reading and math teacher for Glade Hill Elementary and Truevine Elementary School (2008, June 3). She later served as an eighth grade English teacher at Benjamin Franklin Middle School from 1976 to 1985 (2008, June 3). Prunty earned a Master's degree from the University of Virginia in administration and supervision. From 1996 to 2008, Prunty served as an administrator at FCHS (2008, June 3). She retired from her influential role at FCHS after thirty-two years of service (2008, June 3).

### **LaVerne Tiggler: Franklin County Junior High School Transfer (1968)**

LaVerne Tiggie attended Lee M. Waid School from 1958 to 1966 for grades first through ninth. Born to the parents of Guy and Mary, the Dudley family had three children. In order from oldest to youngest: LaVerne (Tiggie), Marie (Preston), and Mandel. The Dudley family held high expectations for their children, the attainment of an education, and felt that “knowledge was power” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). For the Dudley family, being around other individuals who went to college such as Tiggie’s best friend’s mother, Nadine Hawkins, the family decided that education was the key to their children’s success.

My parents had very high expectations for us because they wanted us to have a better life than what they had had, um, so they instilled into each of us a high value for education. I have two other siblings and all three of us went to college, and I was the first. (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020)

Mr. Dudley attended school up to the fifth grade and Mrs. Dudley graduated high school. Tiggie’s mother had to leave Franklin County to graduate high school because “they would not allow Black students to go beyond the seventh grade in Franklin County” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). To complete high school, Mrs. Dudley went to live with her aunt in Roanoke and graduated from Lucy Addison.

On a typical day, from first grade to ninth, Tiggie remembers working closely with her teachers and participating in school-wide events. Mrs. Atkins was Tiggie’s first-grade teacher. “She was just a loving and compassionate teacher” who “had high expectations for us all” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Tiggie recalled learning manuscript strategies and her progress with the early stages of the writing process from Mrs. Atkins. While in the band at Lee M. Waid, Tiggie learned how to play the clarinet from the guidance of Mrs. Keen, band teacher. For Tiggie, Mrs. Keen was a fun, caring, and special teacher who “knew the talent of music” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Annually, Tiggie recalled participating in the school-wide event of May Day that occurred in the spring. On May Day, the students of Lee M. Waid would wrap the May Day Pole with different ribbon colors as they practiced during the school day before the event. “There was an order on how you rotated around the pole to make this beautiful display of all the colors” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). In addition to the wrapping of the May Pole, there was also a variety of games and food served at the event. Attending basketball games and watching the cheers performed by cheerleaders were also memorable events for Tiggie.

Teacher and student relationships during Tiggles attendance at Lee M. Waid were positive. “The teachers were just very compassionate, caring, and they were disciplinarians. You knew what was expected of you and they did not allow anything but the best from you” (L. Tiggles, personal communication, June 18, 2020). During Tiggles experience at Waid, teachers held high expectations for all students. Students were expected to come to class with all necessary materials and follow the directions established by teachers. “They expected us to perform because they understood why it was important for us to get our education, so the expectations were high” (L. Tiggles, personal communication, June 18, 2020). In the area of discipline, school stakeholders and parents worked very closely together to monitor student behaviors and expectations during the school day and at home. Corporal punishment was active during Tiggles early years and she recalled that paddling and the use of a ruler to the palm of one’s hand were sometimes used to redirect student behaviors or to address disobedience. The school principal and teachers worked very closely with parents to address behavioral concerns. “There was a real close relationship between the home and the school in regards to the child being successful” (L. Tiggles, personal communication, June 18, 2020). She openly discussed how her parents approached discipline by holding her accountable for her behaviors and actively supporting and valuing the opinions of teachers and administrators at Waid.

Outside of the schoolhouse, Tiggles established a positive relationship with Mrs. Holmes. Mrs. Holmes was a teacher at Waid and she lived down the street from Tiggles. She provided small snacks for children in the neighborhood and was always kind. Of the snacks provided, Tiggles recalled having graham crackers as one of her favorite treats. Mrs. Holmes’ husband, Mr. Holmes, was then the principal of Booker T. Washington Elementary School. Student support at Lee M. Waid was found in the care and dedication of teachers to student learning and success. This support established was established by expectations and rapport with students and families of Waid School. “I felt that they really cared about me and wanted me to learn” (L. Tiggles, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Tiggles early years at Waid School through her ninth grade year provided her with a solid foundation that assisted her in transitioning to FCHS.

With the arrival of the Freedom of Choice years in Franklin County, Tiggles decided to transfer to FCHS after her ninth-grade year at Waid School. Before Tiggles transfer, her best friends, Glenna Moore and Edwina Prunty, had already decided to transfer to FCJHS in 1965. She recalled having conversations with her best friends asking them not to leave and coming to

the understanding that they were ready to make the transition from Waid to FCJHS. It was difficult for Tiggie to navigate the decision of joining her friends in an unknown environment or staying in one where she felt safe. “I felt the teachers knew us and they cared about us” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). As Tiggie progressed through her education at Waid, she felt that in order to be prepared for college, she needed to leave Waid and attend FCHS.

I needed to leave to go to the high school because there were a lot of resources and services that were at the high school that were not at Lee Waid. Typewriters and the books and materials were not the same at Lee Waid, as they were at the high school (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020).

For Tiggie’s parents, the decision for their children to transition was rooted in their desire for additional learning opportunities. Tiggie believes that her parents “probably would have preferred” for her to stay at Lee Waid, but they recognized “that opportunities were better at the high school”, so they supported her leaving Waid.

Tiggie’s transition to FCHS from Waid was a difficult one. Her experiences are best described as “painful”, “terrible”, and “very hard” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). She recalled being barked at by other students and feeling isolated as the only Black student in most of her classes. “We would walk down the halls and people would be sitting on the floor in the high school halls and they would bark at us as though we were animals. I can remember being the only black student in the classroom” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Tiggie recalled having some of the same students from one classroom to another, but they were not considered friends for they did not associate outside of the classroom. Tiggie thought carefully about where she sat in each classroom because she wanted the teachers to be able to see if someone was bothering her. “I remember sitting in the front row because I didn’t want to sit” “in the back and the teacher not see someone picking on me” (L. Tiggie, personal communication, June 18, 2020). While at FCHS, Tiggie joined the Foreign Language Club and spent most of her time outside of school with her family and at church. She was also involved in 4H after school hours. The emotional toll that Tiggie faced daily reminded her of her goal and desire to persevere to earn her diploma and to graduate with honors.

While at FCHS, Tiggie established a positive relationship with several teachers such as Mrs. Phelps and Mr. Nix. Mrs. Phelps “was a Black math teacher and I got to go to her house



for tutoring. She would let me come over and go over material that I didn't understand" (L.Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Mr. Nix was Tiggle's Spanish teacher and she described him as a gentle, calm, and sensitive teacher. Tiggle still communicates with Mr. Nix and feels as if he was sensitive to the Black students at FCHS. Reflecting on the process of desegregation, Tiggle feels that "no one really prepared any of the teachers, the Black teachers who had to leave Lee Waid to go to the high school and White teachers who were at the high school" in the area of "just being sensitive or trying to help the teachers who are coming over" (L.Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Thus, she feels that the transition was hard for everyone.

As Tiggle reflected on her experience, she wishes she would have been able to speak to some of her former teachers about their experiences, the positive and the negative. She feels that her overall experience and emotional toll during desegregation has made her more of a sensitive person. "I think more of a sensitive person so that I never wanted to treat people like that, because I know how it made me feel, what it did to my emotions" (L.Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Tiggle's experiences during desegregation and the emotions associated with it, have continued to remain with her and are relevant to the civil unrest that is taking place today in America. "I think the impact makes you much more sensitive, makes you much more aware of what's going on now in our country with the young people who are in the streets fighting for justice. And it is so sad that after all these years, they have to be doing that" (L.Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). When comparing her educational experience at FCHS to the students who chose to remain at Waid, Tiggle feels that she was presented with more exposure to the curriculum and opportunities to learn. She also found that additional sports were offered at FCHS such as track in addition to other sports such as basketball. Science labs at FCHS were larger and had more equipment and courses such as typing were also more advanced. For the students who decided to remain at Waid, Tiggle notes that many are very successful and still attended college. She has reflected back on her decision over the decades since her high school graduation.

They didn't have to go through what we went through when it came to moving down the hallways, like we had scars, the emotional scars from all that. Some people don't even now want to even remember those years, and I get that. I don't want to remember much of it or even think about it a lot (L. Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020).

Tiggle's educational career included a loving foundation that assisted her in navigating a very difficult high school experience during desegregation.

As Tiggle reflected on her emotions associated with Waid, she recalled the feelings she had of walking down the halls; the "special feeling of just being there", and feeling safe (L. Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). The care and compassion of the stakeholders and their level of professionalism remain in her memory until this day. "They knew who we were, and we knew them, and that meant so much" (L. Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020).

After graduating high school, Tiggle attended St. Paul's College earning a Bachelor's degree in elementary education. Tiggle had long planned to become a teacher but noted that she did consider becoming a nurse. She noted that when she was in school, the "only thing you pretty much knew about being, as far as a person of color, was to go into being a teacher or a nurse" (L. Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020). Before becoming a teacher, Tiggle remembers playing school and acting as a teacher, creating lessons for her younger brother and sister. Tiggle's choice to become a teacher was also deeply rooted in her desire to emulate the teachers that she had growing up. "So, watching the teachers that I had made me want to be able to be someone to help young people, as I was helped. So, that is why I chose to go into education to be a teacher" (L. Tiggle, personal communication, June 18, 2020).

Tiggle also earned a Master's degree in guidance and counseling from Radford University and postgraduate studies in the principalship from the University of Virginia. Tiggle served as a fourth-grade elementary teacher at Burnt Chimney Elementary for three years, visiting teacher for the division for seven years, and assistant principal at Burnt Chimney and Boones Elementary for one year. She further served as an assistant principal at Lee M. Waid for one year, principal at Lee M. Waid for one year, a guidance counselor at Benjamin Franklin Middle School for twelve years, special education administrator for one year, and central office special education administrator for seven years. From 2008 to 2019, Tiggle served as the co-director for a program called *Bridge to Life with C.H.A.M.P.S.*, which seeks to work with the local community including churches and other organizations to create proactive and preventive opportunities for middle school age students (2008, March 13). She continues to be active in the Franklin community and with Franklin County Public Schools by working with current and retired educators and students.

**Alexander J. "A.J." Tyree Jr.: Lee M. Waid Graduate (Class of 1965)**

A. J. Tyree attended Lee M. Waid from 1953 to 1965, from the first to the twelfth grade. Tyree was born to the parents of Alexander Tyree and Eliza Tyree. Mr. Tyree attended school to the fourth grade and Mrs. Tyree attended school to the seventh grade. Mr. Tyree was a farmer and worked at the local saw-mill. Mrs. Tyree was a housekeeper and was active in the church choir. Mr. Tyree's family originates from the Sontag area and Mrs. Tyree's family originated from the Wirtz area of Franklin County.

On a typical day at Lee M. Waid, Tyree recalled taking a variety of courses, extracurricular activities, and high expectations from teachers and administrators. Most of the courses that Tyree was enrolled in during high school surrounded the topic of agriculture. He remembers having pep rallies, basketball games, baseball games, sock hops, and other dances on Friday nights and weekends. He also recalled that the school's colors of blue and gold were also celebrated with pride. Tyree's teachers all expected him and the other students of Waid School to do their best in their classes. While he was a student at Waid, his aunt served as one of his English teachers. With this relationship, Tyree noted that he always wanted to do his best because he knew his aunt would tell his mother if wasn't meeting expectations. Growing up during a time when schools were separate for Black and White students, the Tyree family knew and wanted their circumstances surrounding their children's education to improve. Reflecting on his educational experiences, Tyree feels as if this separation kept him from a lot of the aspects of life that he picked up on later. He feels that there were more opportunities available at Franklin County High School than at Lee M. Waid such as updated coursework and curriculum materials.

After graduating from Lee M. Waid in 1965, the first year of Franklin County's Desegregation Plan, Tyree was drafted into the Army. Tyree served in the Army for two years, before returning home to Franklin County. While in the Army, Tyree spent 14 months in Vietnam. During his experience, he was promoted to Sergeant E5. He feels that the discipline that was instilled in him from a very young age, including his Waid experiences, assisted him in moving up in the ranks in the Army. After returning home to Franklin County, Tyree worked for several contractors on local roads. He later worked as a custodian at Lee M. Waid with Howard Newbill and during a few nights at work, several break-ins occurred. While working with a few officers from the Town of Rocky Mount, Tyree was encouraged to join the police department. Tyree was the first Black officer for the Town of Rocky Mount for two years with badge number

110 (See Appendix DD). During Tyree's years as an officer, the police department was in the municipal building under Chief Pickeral.

Tyree's fondest memories come in the form of the Waid's architecture and how the school evolved over his years as a student. He remembers how the school was built one section at a time and the four-room building where they taught several classes spanning over a couple of grade levels. Tyree also recalled the two-room building that was once part of Waid and how stoves were used in the classrooms. "They had two teachers that taught one or two classes over there, one in each room. And one of the teachers over there, she taught my mother in school" (A. Tyree, personal communication, July 29, 2020). Today, Tyree lives in Rocky Mount, Virginia with his wife Rebecca Tyree. Mrs. Tyree was also a graduate of Lee M. Waid School.

#### **Rebecca "Holland" Tyree: Lee M. Waid Graduate (Class of 1968)**

Rebecca Tyree attended Lee M. Waid in elementary school, transitioned to Truevine Elementary School, and later attended Lee M. Waid for high school from 1964 to 1968. The Holland family valued the influence of education and monitored the academics and attendance of their children. During her entire educational career, Tyree only missed one day of school. Mr. Holland attended school through the third grade and Mrs. Holland completed school through the eighth grade. Mr. and Mrs. Holland were involved in the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) at Lee M. Waid aimed to support the community by helping in a variety of ways from providing essential items to those in need and supporting the efforts of other community organizations. Tyree's maternal family members originated from West Virginia.

On a typical school day at Lee M. Waid, Tyree remembers participating in a very structured day, completing coursework across subject areas, and participating in extracurricular activities. Upon arrival to school on a segregated school bus, Tyree attended her homeroom classes and began her day with the Pledge of Allegiance and prayer. Throughout the day, Tyree recalled transitioning from one class to another and for lunch. After her regularly scheduled classes, Tyree participated in a variety of during school and after school extracurricular activities. She recalled actively participating in her physical education classes and singing in the school's choir. While in the choir, she remembers specific details about the try-out or auditioning process. The choir director and other teachers were very detailed and held high expectations for students who participated. "We couldn't just get up there and sing, they really were meticulous.

You had to rehearse to become a member of the choir” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020).

During her high school years, Tyree was a member of the History Club. After-school special events and occasions took place throughout the year. Proms at Waid were intentionally planned for and a theme was selected each year by the junior class. Students actively participated in creating decorations and setting up for the prom that took place in Waid’s gymnasium. The Waid prom was “very formal back then” and the girls wore long dresses, long lace gloves, and accessories such as earrings. She recalled taking additional time and care with deciding on an “up-do” hairstyle and how her make-up would be worn when she attended the prom. In addition to the prom, Tyree recalled a high level of support for sports at Waid. Baseball and basketball events were high spirited and the cheerleaders were very active during sporting events. Annually, Tyree and other students at Waid participated in the spring event of May Day. Before the event, students practiced wrapping the May Pole with a series of colored ribbon for about three weeks. Students attended the event on the first Saturday in May wearing their best outfits. “But you had to practice a certain way to know how to wrap the May Pole and when you finished wrapping the May Pole, it was such a beautiful, beautiful pastel pole” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). During the event, a variety of food items would be served and Tyree recalled the culinary efforts of the cafeteria staff to ensure that everyone received a delicious meal and treats.

Graduation was another very special occasion that took place at Waid. Tyree remembers the criteria for selecting a shoe for the choir and graduation, a closed-toe pump with a heel. Before the graduation ceremony, students and families participated in a Baccalaureate ceremony on the Sunday prior to graduation, in Waid’s gymnasium. During the Baccalaureate, students wore their cap and gowns and had guest speakers such as a local pastor. “It was kind of a solemn ceremony, but it was really neat” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). For Tyree, the Baccalaureate ceremony gave “honor” the graduation ceremony itself assisting students in closing one chapter of their lives in preparation for the next.

As Tyree described her teachers and school administrators, she remembered Lee M. Waid stakeholders having high expectations for student success, and the careful planning of lessons by teachers. She believed that all of her teachers possessed the mindset that all students gain as much knowledge as they can to assist them in navigating their future. Teachers were strict and held close relationships with families. Disciplinary issues were not typically observed and

parents held high expectations for students to follow the teacher's directions as they were given. There was a mutual understanding and respect between teachers and parents coming together to ensure student success through strict and clear expectations from the home to school environment.

Other supports that joined the home to school connection for Tyree included her friends and guidance counselors. She remembers receiving incentives to promote her efforts in the area of academics from guidance counselors and secretaries. Her interactions with faculty and staff members of Waid, especially the secretaries, made a lasting impression on her decision to later become a secretary. Tyree has many memories of reciting poems and other documents during public speaking lessons. During sciences classes, the lessons were very structured and the teachers aimed to relate the content to her life personally and to real-life experiences. For Tyree, Mr. Willie J. Hicks and Mrs. Holmes exemplified the level of professionalism that she admired and aimed to emulate. Mr. Hicks was an English teacher and Mrs. Holmes was a home economics teacher. She described her teachers as having "pride in themselves" and the "way they talked to you" (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020).

The Black community was supportive and active in the events that took place at Waid. Tyree feels that the historical significance and foundation of the school as a training school enhanced community and parental involvement. She and many other students had parents who previously attended Waid when it was a training school and felt that there was a sense of pride associated with attending the school. The school's spirit and pride were displayed at most events, but Tyree feels that school spirit was its highest during pep rallies, basketball games, and at the annual Christmas parade. She feels that the community looked forward to Waid's marching band's performances during the Christmas parade each year.

Growing up during segregation, Tyree grew up in a neighborhood where she feels that Blacks and Whites had relatively good relationships with one another. She feels as if the area in which she grew up focused more on the concept of family versus "dwelling on segregation" (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). Tyree's parents spoke with her about transitioning to FCHS and the feelings that she might have associated with it, she expressed to her parents that she wanted to remain at Waid for her last two years of high school. "I chose to stay there because I felt more at home and more at ease" (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). Even though she chose to remain at Waid, Tyree remembers many challenging

experiences during the desegregation of Franklin County Public Schools. When waiting for her school bus, she often had “problems with White children hollering out the window and calling names they shouldn’t have” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). Tyree’s mother, addressed this issue by requesting that her daughter “just ignore it” and to “try not to be as ignorant as they are” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020).

While at Waid, Tyree remembered speaking with friends and family members about some of the difficulties that some students faced at FCHS. “I think the parents, Black and White, seemed to have a harder time with it than the students did” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). There were “White teachers who really wanted to transition into this and I remember them as being very oriented and wanting to make it work” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020). When comparing her experiences and access at Waid to FCHS, she notes that there were more social interactions available and the ability to make additional friendships in an integrated setting. Tyree feels that her experience at Waid during desegregation was a positive experience that prepared her for her future. She feels that Waid taught her and other students to be “proud of who you are”, “strive to be your best person”, “have pride in your school”, and to “treat others how you want to be treated” (R. Tyree, personal communication, June 21, 2020).

After graduating high school, Tyree worked as a teacher’s assistant at Truevine Elementary School. She later attended Ferrum College in an integrated setting taking courses associated with business and earned an Associate’s degree. Today, Mrs. Tyree serves as a secretary with Franklin County Public Schools and has served in this role for 46 years. Mr. and Mrs. Tyree share five children, five grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.

### **Secondary Participants.**

#### **Betty Huffman: Lee M. Waid Teacher and Librarian**

Betty Huffman served as a classroom teacher and librarian with Franklin County Schools during the initial years of desegregation and after (see Appendix EE and Appendix FF). In 1965, Huffman joined Lee M. Waid as a primary grades teacher, Waid’s first White teacher. Before arriving to Franklin County, Virginia, Huffman sought a community to promote the growth of both herself and her husband as a newly married couple. Shortly after applying for a teaching position, Huffman received a call from the Director of Education, Mr. Al Hartley. When offered the position, Huffman readily accepted. Mr. Hartley followed Huffman to her car where her

husband waited and he asked her if she wanted to think about her acceptance decision and discuss it with her family and husband. For Huffman, the decision had already been made; she wanted to teach and she had just accepted a teaching position. Huffman agreed to take the contract home to discuss her acceptance to teach at Waid School, an all-Black school. Prior to Huffman's discussion with her family, she was unaware that some Black teachers in the county had already been assigned to formerly all-White faculties. Huffman was informed that to prevent losing federal funding, a White teacher needed to be added to the faculty of Waid School. While discussing her decision with her family, Huffman's mother was not in agreement and her father and husband supported her decision. "I told them I would talk it over with family, but my family wasn't going... to be going to school" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman feels that her decision to teach at Lee M. Waid mattered to her mother. "It mattered to my mother. She never forgave me" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman feels that her decision mattered to her father due to his desire to see her "happy" and "teaching" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020).

Huffman's teaching experience at Waid provided learning opportunities for her and her students in the area of cultural competency and awareness of the differences among individuals. One of her most memorable experiences in the classroom occurred during a class discussion that was initiated due to some name-calling by peers. Huffman led the discussion and worked with the students alongside the school principal to lead a polar bears versus black bears scenario. She recalled telling the principal that she didn't feel equipped to handle the upcoming discussion and he requested that she get out all of the different shades of construction paper that she had available. Huffman lined up construction paper colors ranging from black to brown, to pink, to white in the chalk tray. For Huffman, the lining up of the different colors of construction paper was a typical practice used when students made puppets or wanted to choose the color of paper to be used to create self-portrait because she "wanted them to have paper that was the color of their skin" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). The principal asked all of the students to find the color of paper they felt most closely resembled their skin color and then requested everyone to take a seat. Huffman noted, that no students chose the black or white construction paper. From Huffman's memory, the principal stated "nobody took black paper, nobody took white paper. You all took these different shades of brown" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). She then stated that the principal led a discussion about



melanin and how it impacts how each person looks differently based on the levels that they may have within them. He said, “those of you that are the darkest have the most melanin receptors and then those of you that are the lightest” have fewer melanin receptors (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020).

As the discussion continued, the principal then asked which piece of paper could be used to describe Huffman’s skin tone and one little boy said “she’s pink” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). This experience along with many others assisted Huffman in knowing what “third graders were experiencing during that time” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). She discussed that the students were experiencing how they were perceived and what they were called and this discussion assisted in the understanding that “Black is beautiful” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman also recalled having conversations with students about changes that were taking place at Waid and recalled the intense emotions surrounding some of the fears associated with desegregation for younger children. She remembers one child crying stating “mama says I can’t go because White teachers are mean” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). As she tried to console the student, some other children stated “Mrs. Huffman is White” and the child hollered back “no, she’s not. She’s not mean!” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). As civil unrest across the nation continued, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1968 brought forth a variety of emotions for Huffman. Huffman heard the news of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination on the radio on the way to work with a friend. She recalled feelings of devastation, sorrow, and “what’s this going to do to the kids” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). “I was just solemn” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). As Huffman continued to navigate the school year, she continued to advocate for the needs of students by working alongside her colleagues.

During her teaching career at Waid School, Huffman also served as the cheerleading coach. Huffman recalled traveling to basketball games with the cheerleaders, basketball players, and coaching staff. “We were going to White schools as well as Black schools. Each county around this was in a different stage of integration and some had fully integrated” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). During her observations as a cheerleading coach, Huffman noted that some schools if not fully integrated, had integrated basketball teams. Huffman’s recollection of her experience as the cheerleading coach at Waid brought back many

memories that involved the close relationships that she built with students and staff, intense and scary situations when traveling, and unfair treatment of members of her squad during tryouts at Franklin County High School during a competition. As Huffman, the cheerleading team, and the basketball team traveled around to surrounding counties she noticed and felt different levels of “ceilings” with each environment she entered (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). “There were definitely ceilings and people let it be known” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). She recalled one incident of having cherry bombs thrown into a bathroom stall while the cheerleaders were changing their clothes after a game. For Huffman, her recollection of the event and feelings associated with it were described as if “you were being shot at” while wondering “how do cover all of the girls on the cheer squad” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). She remembers, arriving at a school where the designated changing areas for the Waid squad had overflowing commodes and unclean conditions.

As Huffman continued to serve as the cheerleading coach, she aimed to prepare the squad for a competition at Franklin County High School (FCHS). Huffman arrived at the event and sat slightly behind one of the faculty members who was scoring performances. She noted that before some of the FCHS girls beginning their performance, their names were already marked with approval by the individual sitting in front of her. Members of the Waid squad followed the performances of the FCHS students. Huffman described the members of Waid squad as “athletically superior” with skills of gymnasts (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020).

After speaking with several of her friends and voicing her concerns over the voting process, Huffman realized that many factors were impacting the issuing of points for the various girls that were performing. She found that the Waid squad as well as many of the girls from the schools in the county did not receive points. “I later found out that it wasn’t just the Black girls that didn’t get points. It was the girls from the country schools” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). She found that many of the student's performances were disregarded based on the location of their residence or the influence of their family’s name in the county. For Huffman “It was a hard thing to deal with, how one race of people can do that to another and we’re all actually the same race” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman believes that “you never know who your cousins are” and feels strongly that the

perseverance and resiliency taught and demonstrated by the educators at Waid School and the members of the local Black churches was essential to the success of students.

Huffman has positive and fond memories of working with the faculty and staff at Waid School. For Huffman, Waid offered a family type of environment that supported her during her first year of teaching and the years to follow. She had close relationships with other teachers and teacher assistants. One close friendship was established with Serena Prunty, a teacher assistant in Huffman's classroom. Prunty gave Huffman the support she needed during her first year of teaching that helped her be successful. Huffman described Prunty as a master teacher, one who provided her with Masters' level experience, without taking Master's degree courses. "She was a master teacher herself and she shared with me. And when I did something that she thought was really good, she let me know and told me what. And it couldn't have been better for me as a teacher" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman's interactions with Prunty helped her progress in her ability to monitor student questions, student interactions, and identify individual student needs. She also recalled working very closely with other teachers, administrators in and out of the schoolhouse such as Gloria Woods, Eleanor Woods, Florella Johnson, Willie Helms, and Curtis Anderson.

During Huffman's years of teaching, she noted inequities that existed in curriculum resources and access. While serving on the science committee for third grade, Huffman reviewed sets of texts to determine which aligned most closely with the needs for Waid and the needs of third graders. She notes that only five texts were going to be approved and remembers receiving an array of materials to review. During her review of the texts, Huffman began to make note of the resources that Waid needed, noted the condition of desks and other equipment, and stated that there was a "definite difference" in the materials and resources available at Waid. She recalled receiving a visit from the division superintendent during the 1968-1969 school year. During his visit, he requested to see all of the science texts and stated, "I'm sending someone to get those books" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman replied "we were supposed to keep them here" to be used in the school (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). His response to her statement caught her off guard as he stated that his teachers at other schools needed the texts. Huffman quickly replied, "I thought we were your teachers, too" (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). When reflecting on this event Huffman stated "You're taking these wonderful textbooks and all the

materials, which we never had the money to afford” knowing that the school could not purchase “all the things that came with a textbook” ” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman spent many afternoons and weekends transferring ideas from textbooks and creating activities from them to add to her lesson plans.

The learning environment at Waid was student-centered. Huffman recalled attending faculty meetings and having discussions that focused on the importance of the whole child and familial needs. The teachers and staff members of Waid carefully planned for the needs of students. “We worried about them, we cherished them” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). During faculty meetings, staff members openly discussed and planned together to meet student and family needs if a parent was sick, a family needed blankets or food, and the assignment of mentors. Huffman recalled working with other members of Waid and the Department of Social Services on several occasions with the intent of finding supports for students who were desperately in need of things that were not within the school’s locus of control. However, with many of the very personal events that she was a part of, she found that the greatest strength was found within the school and the community through Waid stakeholders and members of local church organizations.

Over the years, Huffman states that she is thankful for the relationships that she has built with former students, their families, and faculty and staff members. Huffman is reminded of the relationships that she has established over the years through her daily interactions in the community. Whether she is visiting the grocery store or visiting friends at the local hospital, Huffman has had friends state “how do you feel having these women, these grown women, come in and tell you about their children and grandchildren” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). For Huffman, it makes her “feel wonderful” (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020). Huffman feels that during her years teaching at Waid, she “never forgot what color the children were, she forgot what color” she was (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020).

When you are surrounded by 34 children and many loving, caring adults, and they’re not the color you are; you don’t notice your skin. You’re inside looking out and it’s not like you feel separated. They never made me feel like I was an intruder (B. Huffman, personal communication, August 28, 2020).

Huffman's teaching career was paved with optimism and hope for the future. Arriving to Franklin County, Virginia as a newlywed in the '60s, she now realizes how dangerous it was to break social conventions and challenge the strict racial and social hierarchy that existed in the south. Fifty-four years since her teaching experiences, she kept her memories alive and shares them with other family members through the many letters she wrote to her mother during desegregation. Huffman was thankful that her family pediatrician insisted that her family keep the letters that she wrote from her first year teaching in Buchanan County in 1963 through her initial years with Franklin County, until 1975.

**Florella Johnson: Franklin County Public Schools Teacher, Administrator, and Associate Superintendent**

Florella Johnson served as a teacher and associate superintendent during the Freedom of Choice years. Johnson describes Franklin County's desegregation plan as "multi-faceted" beginning with the desegregation of faculty. "They desegregated the faculty at three elementary schools, the Franklin County high school, and the junior high school" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020).

When they chose in 1965 to do the desegregation of faculties, they chose 8 black teachers to, to do that: one teacher was sent the Snow Creek school, one teacher was sent to Ferrum School, two teachers were sent to Burnt Chimney Elementary school and the other four teachers were placed on the campus where Franklin County High School and the Junior High School existed. And I was the person that went to Ferrum elementary. I was chosen to go to Ferrum elementary to teach fourth grade (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020).

Johnson's discussion and contract to join Ferrum Elementary stemmed from an observation and discussion with the Director of Education at the time, Mr. Al Hartley. Mr. Hartley visited Truevine Elementary School where Johnson was then teaching and spent the day in her classroom. At the end of the day, he left a letter in her mailbox stating that for the upcoming year she would be assigned to Ferrum Elementary School. "We had a long conversation about that and I did ask him if I had a choice in the matter and he told me that I did not" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020). After their discussion, Johnson began to make her preparations for teaching fourth grade at Ferrum Elementary. At the time of Johnson's transition to Ferrum Elementary, she was working on her Master's degree in reading. Shortly after her

arrival, Ferrum Elementary was approved for a Title I grant for a reading teacher position. Johnson applied for this position without hesitation.

There were some feelings about letting me take that position because the superintendent felt that at that time school divisions across the country had been talked about for placing Black teachers in programs like reading and some of those arm programs rather than letting them be a classroom teacher. He was real hesitant to move me, but I kind of begged for it.

Johnson's determination to seek the role of a reading teacher at Ferrum was rooted in her goal to "help people see that Black teachers could really take on programs on the side and incorporate those programs in the school, not just something that you just get one or two kids here or there" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020). While serving as the reading teacher at Ferrum Elementary, Johnson worked with all grade levels and "was able to establish a rapport with all of them" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020).

When recalling the student supports available at Waid School during desegregation, Johnson noted limitations to academic resources and support. Prior to desegregation, Johnson noted deficits such as not having a nurse assigned to Waid and limited access to updated curriculum materials and resources. After the initiation of the desegregation of Franklin County Schools, student and teacher support came in the form of Title I funding and other federal grants. "But it wasn't until 1965 that they really had things that made a real difference because along with desegregation came federal grants, Title I came into the district, and Lee Waid had that. And so at that point they received reading teachers and some other support services" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020). Prior to Franklin County receiving federal grants, most student supports came in the form of teachers, teacher assistants, and other support staff.

The desegregation plan and the closing of Waid as a high school "greatly affected the school and the community" (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020). "After the fall of 1970, Lee Waid High School no longer existed (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020). In addition to the closing of Waid as a high school and change to an elementary school, the Black community and White community had mixed feelings about what grade levels would attend Waid and Rocky Mount Elementary School. The younger students in grades one, two, and three were placed at Lee M. Waid and students in grades four, five, and six were placed at Rocky Mount Elementary School. The Black community had some concerns with

this decision because they felt as if the younger students were placed at Lee Waid “because they wouldn’t remember” much about Lee Waid (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020).

That's why they made that division and they and they objected to this. And they wanted it to be different because they wanted them to do a one to six program at each one of the buildings, but they chose to put the younger kids at Lee Waid and the older kids at Rocky Mount. There was a lot of anxiety. There were a lot of mixed feelings about that concept being used to do that (F. Johnson, personal communication, September 3, 2020).

During the desegregation time period, Florella Johnson served in various roles with Franklin County Public Schools serving as both a teacher, administrator, and associate superintendent over a span of 46 years. Johnson taught at the last one-room school in the county, Fairmount School in Boones Mill, Virginia until its closure in 1961. She accepted her first administrative position in 1970. For the Johnson family, education is a family career. Her grandfather and mother were also educators. Johnson’s son, Jerome Johnson, followed the family footsteps of a career in education serving as a teacher and then administrator until his retirement.

### **Summary**

The students who attended Lee M. Waid School all described a variety of events that established the foundation of their education. Of the former students interviewed, some decided to remain at Lee M. Waid during the Freedom of Choice years while others decided to transfer to FCHS. While no two experiences are identical, commonalities exist among the participants. Participants described familial values and the prioritization of education in their home. Typical school days at Waid were structured and involved an array of coursework, extracurricular activities, and positive relationships among teachers, students, and parents. All participants were involved in either vocational courses, college preparatory courses, or extracurricular activities such as sports or clubs. All participants described the level of dedication, compassion, and strict expectations that they received while attending Waid. Parental and community involvement occurred during PTA meetings, band and choir concerts, sporting events, and school-wide celebratory events such as May Day. School culture and pride were displayed in a variety of ways and participants described the feelings associated with being a Lee M. Waid Hawk. All of the participants described receiving a quality education that was student-centered during their learning experiences at Waid.

Of the participants interviewed, several students chose to remain at Waid School while others chose to apply to transition to the formerly all-White FCHS. The students who chose to remain at Lee M. Waid openly expressed in unique ways that they felt safe, comfortable, and at ease in a familiar setting. Students of Waid School detailed the individual attention, intentional lesson planning, and preparedness for life in a desegregated society that they received. When comparing the education of students who chose to remain at Waid School to those who decided to transfer to FCHS, most participants noted that more opportunities were present at FCHS in the form of curriculum access and materials, sports, and college preparatory courses. While deciding to remain at Lee M. Waid, several students expressed that after reflecting on their educational experiences they are cognizant that they may have had additional opportunities at FCHS if they would have transferred. It is important to note, that even though most participants openly discussed contemplating the decision they made years ago to stay at Lee M. Waid or to transfer to FCHS, participants expressed that they had to make the decision again, their choice would remain the same based on their individual needs at that point in their lives. Several participants described their family's love for Waid, individual love for Waid, and continued love for Waid as an elementary school where several of their children and now grandchildren attend.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Summary of Findings, Implications, and Conclusions**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative study was to capture the perspectives of students who attended an all-Black rural Virginian school between 1963 and 1970 to add to the literature on all-Black schools prior to and after the desegregation time period. This study sought to find the values and support systems that enhanced the experiences of students at Waid School during the years of desegregation with the research question: What were the experiences of students and staff that were a part of Lee M. Waid School, during the years 1963 to 1970? The research was supported by the following sub questions:

1. What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?
2. How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?

This chapter contains an overview, a summary of the findings, discussion of the findings, implications of findings, conclusions, recommendations for further research, implications for practice, suggestions for future studies, and researcher reflections.

#### **Summary of Findings**

From the interviews with participants, five common themes emerged: (a) high expectations from teachers and administrators, (b) parent and community support, (c) familial attitudes or beliefs about segregation and integration, (d) school pride, and (e) each participant meaningfully reflected on their individual school experiences during desegregation. The themes identified in the study are similar to themes identified by other researchers who have studied the initial desegregation of schools and the support and values within segregated schools.

Participants were former students of Waid School during the years 1963 to 1970. Of the 14 participants in the study, 12 were primary participants and two were secondary. Of the 12 primary participants, 4 graduated from Waid, and 8 transferred to Franklin County Junior High School (FCJHS) and Franklin County High School (FCHS) during the Freedom of Choice years

based on their own decision, decisions made by their parents, or due to Lee M. Waid's closure as a high school.

### **Discussion of Findings**

**Finding 1.** *Participants believed that teachers and administrators held high expectations for students.* The 12 participants shared their personal learning experiences as a student of Waid School during the desegregation period and noted that teachers and administrators held high expectations for students in the area of academics and behavior. Participants described how teachers and administrators were strict, set high expectations for academic achievement, and provided nurture and care to support students' social and emotional well-being.

**Finding 2.** *Participants indicated that their parents and family held high expectations for their education.* All 12 participants shared that their parents and other family members valued the power and influence of education. The majority of the participants in the study were first and second-generation high school graduates. The participants openly discussed how their families aimed to remove barriers so their children could obtain the best education possible. Many parents of the participants, worked several jobs so their children could focus on schooling. The majority of participant families discussed the opportunities that would be available for their children at Franklin County High School in the areas of coursework and extracurricular activities. As a result of these conversations, eight out of the twelve participants decided to transfer to the formerly all-White Franklin County High School so they could have additional opportunities to further their education.

**Finding 3.** *Participants indicated that there were strong parent and community support at Waid School.* Of the 12 participants, 11 indicated that there was a high level of parental and community involvement during their educational experience. Parental and community involvement at Waid School included Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings, support from churches, guest speakers, and Bible Study leaders during the school day, and events that drew in the local community such as the Christmas parade and basketball games.

**Finding 4.** *Participants noted that their families had familial attitudes and beliefs about segregation and integration.* All 12 primary participants acknowledge familial beliefs and attitudes that their family held about education. Of the responses from the 12 participants, topics surrounding segregation and integration involved inequities in education, family discussions

about the Freedom of Choice years, student experiences in college, and the observation of their family's involvement in advocating for change through protests or local organizations.

**Finding 5.** *Participants indicated that there was a strong sense of school pride at Waid School.* All 12 participants noted that school pride was displayed during the years they attended Waid. During their attendance, events such as basketball games and May Day brought the community together. Additional events such as the Christmas parade, choir and band concerts, and pep rallies also engaged the students and community in enhancing school spirit and pride. For many students and families, Lee M. Waid served as the “hub” of the Black community (E. Prunty, personal communication, June 26, 2020).

**Finding 6.** *Participants indicated a sense of loss over the closure of Lee M. Waid as a high school, feeling of isolation during their initial years of desegregation, or feeling of disconnection from their former teachers and peers.* For most participants, Lee M. Waid School was a home away from home. The connectedness of the school, home, and church community provided a safe place that helped students grow and flourish socially, emotionally, and academically. Participants reflected on their experiences at Waid, those who transferred to the high school and those who did not, and all 12 participants noted feelings of being safe, at ease, or comfort. Of the interviews with participants, attending Waid contributed to the student's feelings of self-love and self-identification. Participants further felt that the teachers and administrators of Waid School prepared them for the desegregation process and for the many obstacles they may face as young adults and adults.

**Finding 7.** *Participants meaningfully reflected on their individual school experiences during desegregation.* Participants reflected on their individual learning experiences at Waid School. Of the 12 participants, eight also provided insight on their experiences as a student of FCJHS and FCHS.

## Conclusions

This study was designed to address a deficit in the literature on student experiences during the desegregation of American public schools. Through the documentation of oral histories, participants shared their educational, emotional, and social experiences at a formerly all-Black rural, Virginian school. This study captured the voices of 14 participants, 12 students and 2 former Franklin County Public Schools staff members. Five common themes emerged from interviews with participants: (a) high expectations from teachers and administrators, (b)

parent and community support, (c) familial attitudes or beliefs about segregation and integration, (d) school pride, and (e) each participant meaningfully reflected on their individual school experiences during desegregation.

The themes identified in this study are similar to those identified by other researchers who have studied the values and supports within segregated schools, the desegregation of schools, and the integration of schools. High expectations from teachers and administrators were described by 12 participants. Participants described their teachers as caring, encouraging, strict, and as motherly. The support of parents and the close relationship between the school and home were noted by 12 participants. Participants described positive and collaborative teacher-parent relationships. Parental and community involvement were noted in the study by 11 participants. Participants described PTA meetings and partnerships with businesses and community members through school-wide events. Familial attitudes and beliefs about segregation, desegregation, or integration were shared by 12 participants. Participants described conversations about policies regarding segregation, discussions about the Freedom of Choice years and options for their family, and how to handle to prepare for hostile situations that they may be presented with. School pride and how it was displayed at Waid was described by 12 participants. Participants recalled the school colors of blue and gold, sports, and school-wide events such as May Day. The 12 participants in the study reflected on their experiences at Waid during desegregation. Of the twelve students, four graduated from Waid School and eight chose to integrate FCJHS and FCHS on their own or when it was mandatory after the spring of 1970. In addition to the experiences detailed from the segregated school setting, participants provided insight on their experiences during the initial years of Franklin County's desegregation plan, the conversations that took place with their families during the Freedom of Choice years, and how their experiences have impacted their lives.

The findings seven findings of the research correlate with seven of the nine initial commonalities of the review of the literature on Southern segregated schools: (1) community support, (2) influences of local business owners and churches, (3) culture, (4) persistence, (5) ideas of social equality, (6) hardships, and (7) separation via segregation were also found in the interviews with participants. Of the nine, political disagreements and the influence of organizations for equality and advancement such as the NAACP and Black teacher organizations were not found to be findings of this study based on participant interview data. The seven

findings of the study correlate with research previously conducted on all-Black Southern segregated schools. Segregated schools were part of the community and those who attended them took great pride in them. For the participants of this study and based on the review of the literature, the school setting was directly connected to local businesses, churches, groups of families, and they typically served as the hub of the community.

According to Walker (2000) and Anderson (1988), there was a significant level of involvement of African Americans that came in the form of advocacy and support of education for their children and the community as a whole. The literature surrounding the components that made southern segregated schools successful can be found through Walker's (1996, 2000, 2009, 2013, 2019) examination of southern schools and educators of southern schools (Mungo, 2013). Key themes of Walker's (1996, 2000, 2009, 2013, 2019) research that emerged in the review of the literature included relationships, spirituality, work ethic, community, high expectations of teachers, parental engagement, and curriculum and extracurricular activities as reasons that segregated schools were valued by African American Students. The findings of the researcher are supported by Walker's (1996) findings that "segregated schools were places where students, teachers, and community relationships were fostered and maintained" (Mungo, 2013, p. 119). Similar to Walker's (2019) findings, participants in this study acknowledged the care and support that teachers provided to prepare them for some of the challenges they may face in their futures. "Schools encouraged Black children to aspire, to believe they could be anything they wanted to be" in segregated schools (Walker, 2019, p. 14). This study adds to the body of literature on the history of desegregation, specifically the history of desegregation in Southwest Virginia, and to formally document the oral accounts of participant experiences into written form. The information provided can be used to support further studies on the experiences of Black students during the desegregation time period.

### **Implications for Practice**

In order to address some of the systematic barriers to equal access and equity in education, the researcher recommends that division level leaders, principals, school counselors, teachers, and parents should consider the seven findings of this study and the following implications for practice:

1. *Division-level leaders, principals, teachers, and other educational stakeholders should consider the power and influence of positive student-teacher relationships and*

- their impact on student social, emotional, and academic success.* This implication for practice is associated with Findings 1, 2, and 3. Teachers must aim not only to build rapport with students, but be able to meet the individual social-emotional, cultural, and academic needs of students. The influence of a teacher and their ability to make an impact in the lives of students may be limitless.
2. *Division- level leaders, principals, teachers, and other educational stakeholders should intentionally plan to address the need for culturally responsive curriculum, classrooms, and teaching.* This implication for practice is associated with Findings 1, 2, 3, and 5. In order to develop and promote a culturally responsive curriculum, division- level leaders must continue to emphasize the importance of cultural competency. School divisions and community organizations can promote cultural competency by having stakeholders reflect on their views, family norms, and cultural identities. Initiatives by the Department of education at the federal, state, and local school division levels should continue to provide professional development along with resources and training materials to enhance stakeholder awareness of cultural competency.
  3. *Division-level leaders, principals, teachers, and other educational stakeholders should consider short and long-term plans for promoting and sustaining student academic success while adhering to the social, emotional, and cultural resources needed to support student success.* This implication for practice is associated with Findings 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. To support the developmental process for students, educational personnel must continue to conduct needs assessments and provide ongoing support using the whole child approach. In order to support and foster a learning environment that promotes academic success, students must feel safe. To help students feel safe to express their wants and needs, school personnel must continue to foster positive relationships with students that focus on the social, emotional, physical, and academic well-being of students.
  4. *School divisions, division-level leaders, principals, teachers, and other educational stakeholders should intentionally plan to foster and sustain informative community partnerships with businesses, churches, families, and other local organizations to promote and support student success.* This implication for practice is associated with

Findings 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. Based on the findings of this study, student academic success stems from the establishment of partnerships that adhere to the social, emotional, physical, and academic well-being of students. Students who are offered support in and out of school through their local churches and other organizations are more likely to experience success due to the increased support from their established relationships.

### **Policy Implications**

Over several decades, attention has been drawn to the achievement gap and the inequities that exist in American public schools. Division -level leaders, principals, teachers, and other educational stakeholders are at the forefront of the battle for equity and access in the educational system for all, especially students of color. Divisions across the Commonwealth of Virginia and actions by the Virginia Department of Education have made deliberate attempts to address the need for culturally relevant and inclusive educational practices. Across the country, educational policies in the form of bills and resolutions have continued to be presented by state legislators. Many intentional and deliberate attempts have been made by school divisions across the country to close the achievement gap, but there must also be systematic changes made to educational policies at the local, state, and federal levels. The plan for planning and creating a systematic plan for equitable access for all students will vary by school, school division, school regions, and at the state and national levels. To move toward a more equitable education system, barriers such as personal, familial, cultural, and those regarding student socio-economic stance must be addressed. Conversations about school funding and the issue of racial segregation versus segregation by poverty must also continue to be discussed to address the remnants that still exist in American public schools from *de jure* segregation.

### **Suggestions for Future Studies**

Based on the findings, recommendations for further study stem from the need to document the experiences of other students who attended segregated schools, desegregated schools, and were a part of the initial years of the integration of schools. With participant ages ranging from the '60s to 70s at the time of the interview, limitations for further studies need to be approached with speed due to the limitations of time, mortality, and the participant's ability to report their experiences with as much accuracy as possible.

Further research should be conducted to document the experiences of former students and graduates of Lee M. Waid before and after the desegregation time period. This study captured the oral histories of 12 former students and graduates of Waid School during the years of desegregation, but there are many more stories that should be told and formally documented to serve as a historical reference for the Franklin County community, the state of Virginia, and at the national level. Time is of the essence for capturing the oral histories of students that attended Waid and other formerly all-Black schools. Oral stories and student accounts from the desegregation time period are often known to the community and family members, but not formally documented. The timely formal documentation of these oral histories is crucial to preserving a monumental time in history, but issues of mortality and the increasing age of participants serve as a limitation to future studies.

In addition to capturing the oral histories of additional students who attended Waid as a segregated school, the oral histories of students who integrated Waid as an elementary school beginning in the fall of 1971 should be explored. This exploration could yield additional information that is historically relevant to the integration of Franklin County Public Schools and all public schools, especially those in rural areas. Many formerly all-Black schools were entirely closed, but in Franklin County, Waid was converted into an elementary school. In the study completed by Johnson (2015), he questioned how White students felt to integrate a formerly all-Black school. Many of the questions posed by Johnson are relevant to this study with similar recommendations to explore the perceptions of Black and White students at Waid School during the years 1970 to 1973. Similar to Johnson, the researcher recommends seeking information from participants on the climate of the school, the culture of the school, feelings of being welcomed or unwelcome, and experiences in their classes and extracurricular activities. The perspectives and oral histories of the students who were a part of the classes to be integrated at Waid School and other schools similar to Waid School may serve as an additional historical reference.

### **Reflections**

As a first-generation high school and college graduate, the doctoral experience has been humbling and rewarding. Throughout my educational career, I have personally struggled with navigating some of the ins and outs of the educational system due to being a first-generation student. While the coursework may not always be demanding, there are some aspects of



navigating one's educational experience, such as selecting high school courses or applying for college, that assistance was minimal. Throughout my educational career, I learned from some of the most amazing educators who helped shape who am today. Through my childhood and educational experiences, a passion ignited in the area of shedding light on issues of equity and access. The personalized experience of learning over the years from the most dedicated teachers not only informed my career but fostered a lifelong passion and advocacy for the removal of systematic barriers and access in the field of education.

To the current and former students of Waid, the history of Waid is inspiring and offers insight to the struggle for equity and equal opportunities in education during the era of segregation, the Civil Rights Movement, and today. Through the stories of the participants in this study, an illustration through their words allows readers to make connections to the themes that shaped their learning experiences at Waid and beyond. It is my hope that this study adds to the literature of the history, legacy, and influence of Black education.

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**Appendix A**

**National, State, and Local Public School Desegregation**

**Table 1**

*National, State, and Local Public School Desegregation*

<b>Author and Year</b>	<b>Methods/ Data Sources</b>	<b>Central Themes</b>	<b>Organizations</b>	<b>Social Movements</b>	<b>Legislative Highlights</b>
Poff (2014)	Qualitative/ Interviews Newspaper Articles Archival Documents	Desegregation Massive Resistance Black Education Roanoke, VA Black Student Perspective Pupil Placement Board School Board Minutes and plans for integration	NAACP Freedman’s Bureau	W. E. B. Du Bois’ ideas of social equality Booker T. Washington’s Industrial Education	Alston v. School Board of City of Norfolk, 112 F.2d 992 C.A. 4 (1940). Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, 103 F. Supp. 337 (D.C. VA 1952). Freeman v. County School Board, 82 F. Supp. 167 (D.C. VA 1948). (Ashley v. School Board of Gloucester County and Smith v. School Board of King George County). Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. (1968). Green v. School Board of City of Roanoke Virginia, 304 F2d 118 (1962). Green v. School Board of City of Roanoke Virginia, 428 F2d 811 (1970).

(continued)



Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
Lee (2017)	Qualitative/ Personal Experience Interviews Resident of Lunenburg County	Process of desegregation in Lunenburg County, VA Educational Disparities Massive Resistance Freedom of School Choice- Black Student Perspectives Lee was a graduate of 1970- last year before Lunenburg High was fully integrated Trend of School consolidation	NAACP Local Church Efforts	Samuel C. Armstrong American Baptist Missionary Society Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute KKK	Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, 103 F. Supp. 337 (D.C. VA 1952). <i>Civil Rights Act of 1964</i> <i>Elementary and Secondary Act of</i> <i>1965</i> Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. (1968). Griffin v. School Board of Prince William County Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)
Heidelberg (2006)	Personal narrative on desegregation Norfolk, VA	The Norfolk 17 Initial school desegregation Hardships Verbal attacks Layout of texts chapters follow a war theme (D-Day, The War is on...)		Racial attacks Physical attacks (Lavera Forbes incident)	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
Nagy (2012)	Former Franklin County resident Franklin County News Post Self-Published Books personal narratives of living in the county	History of Franklin County Industry and Agriculture Moonshine Capital Life and Death Education People Places	Franklin County Courthouse Local Businesses	Local business and church leaders	
Lechner (1998)		Massive Resistance	NAACP	Lawyer-politician Lindsay Almond: aimed to avoid “(1) bloodshed by white supremacists, (2) military rule by the federal government as had occurred in Little Rock, and (3) integration at too fast a pace for the South to accept gracefully (Lechner, 2012, p. 634).”	Politics Political Culture <i>Brown v. Board I</i>

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
Hedrick (2002)	Qualitative/ Case Study/ Newspapers Interviews Correspondence with key figures in Danville, Virginia  Constant-comparative method (Maykut and Morehouse) / Bronfenbrenner’s concept of the nested environment was the theoretical model used to organize the data.  Danville, Virginia in 1970  George Washington and Langston High Schools	Segregation  Desegregation  Integration  School Board Minutes and plans for integration	NAACP	Near riots in September of 1970 and the Danville Youth Commission is formed	<i>Freedom of Choice</i> in effect in Danville, Virginia since 1965  In 1970, full integration followed  Near riots in September of 1970

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
Hudson & Holmes (1994)		<p>African American Teachers/ Administrators decrease following <i>Brown I</i></p> <p>82,000 African American teachers in 1954 and by 1964 38,000</p> <p>Diversity</p> <p>Competency tests</p> <p>Obstacles that minority students must overcome</p>		Emphasis on the importance of diversity in the field of education	Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
JLassiter & Lewis (1998)	Qualitative/ Newspapers Archived Documents Supreme Court Cases	<p>Virginia culture, Political disagreements, social and educational priorities</p> <p>Concept of tokenism, “all deliberate speed” of <i>Brown</i> countered with resistance and proponents of gradualism</p> <p>Token segregation</p> <p>White southern response to <i>Brown</i> largely political</p> <p>Massive Resistance caused legislation which closed schools in some areas such as Little Rock, AK and 3 VA communities one being Prince Edward County</p> <p>Replacement system of private schools accelerated due to segregationists</p> <p>Freedom of Choice</p> <p>Pupil Placement Board</p>	<p>NAACP VCPS SNCC NANN SRC VDOE SLP</p>	<p>Martin Luther King Jr.</p> <p>Jim Crow Laws and inequalities</p> <p>Private School Movement</p> <p>Liberals, Moderates, and Segregationists</p>	<p>Most of the case reviewed in this work were stated in above works</p> <p><i>Harrison v. Day</i> <i>James v. Almond</i> <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i></p>

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
Mungo (2013)	<p>Qualitative/ Critical Race Theory Counter narratives</p> <p>Sampling purposive because those interviewed had to meet criteria of living in area being studied, attended school there during set timeframe, and had to be African American</p> <p>Michelle Foster's (1997) community nomination used to locate participants- this occurs when members of the Black community were solicited by having a direct contact to speak with them</p>	<p>Perceptions and experiences of African American students who attended segregated schools in Edgecombe, North Carolina</p> <p>Experiences during 1960's per participants through counter narratives</p> <p>Findings indicate schools were social and academic environments were education was highly valued and expected by families and members of the community</p> <p>Relationships, Community emerged throughout</p> <p>Black teachers wanted to increase racial awareness, pride, and know</p>	NAACP	Following the court mandates of <i>Brown I</i> , during the 12 year span of 1968 and 1980, the Souths number of segregated schools declined dramatically making the south the most desegregated region in the county (Orfield, 1983; Mungo, 2013)	<p>Thurgood Marshall and the NACCP believed there was a better chance of deeming segregation unconstitutional with <i>Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)</i> (Bell, 2004; Mungo, 2013)</p> <p>Separate but equal</p> <p>Consequently, <i>Brown I</i> ruled that separate schools according to race was not equal and unconstitutional.</p> <p>Ending decades of <i>de jure</i> segregation (Kluger, 2004; Ogletree, 2004; Mungo, 2013)</p>

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	<p>Michelle Foster's (1997) community nomination used to locate participants- this occurs when members of the Black community were solicited by having a direct contact to speak with them</p> <p>Snowball sampling- occurred because through narratives other individuals were identified as participants who fit criteria of participant such as relatives, neighbors, and friends.</p>	<p>Researchers Walker (1996) and Foster (1997) emphasized impact of segregated schools on African American community</p> <p>Teachers instrumental and highly regarded in African American communities</p> <p>Academic Social lives</p> <p>Desegregating schools was not goal of lawsuits that occurred in 1940's and 1950's, but wanted same access to resources as white counterparts as stated in (Kluger, 2004; Morris, 2008; Mungo, 2013)</p>			

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	<p>Data analyzed by thematic coding (Educational Experiences, Purpose of Education, and Attitudes about Education)</p> <p>“Critical race theory emerged from the arguments of legal scholars who believed that race played a dominant role in the current legal structure but was often ignored or overlooked in favor of laws and policies that inherently disadvantaged African Americans (Bell, 1992, 2004); Mungo, 2013, p.113).”</p>	<p>NAACP decided better attempt at acquiring equal access was to attack constitutionality of segregation versus equal access along (Bell, 2004; Mungo 2013)</p> <p>African American students experienced anxiety for what was to follow desegregation according to Walker (2009)</p> <p>Hoped for better quality facilities and more opportunities</p> <p>Hopes that resiliency taught by black educators during Jim Crow Segregation and closeness of community would not be lost</p>			

(continued)



Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	<p>“The critical race theory tenet of voice is central to educational scholarship and to this study. Critical race theorists believe it is necessary for African Americans and other minorities to have a voice and tell their own stories (Mungo, 2013, p. 114).”</p> <p>“Naming one’s own voice is necessary for three reasons: (a) Reality is socially constructed, (b) Stories allow oppressed groups the ability to preserve their histories and ideas, and</p>	<p>Notion of real integration versus second class integration (Walker, 2009)</p> <p>Marginalized black students and teachers in desegregated school settings (Mungo, 2013). Some felt that <i>Brown I</i> realities emphasized more on the separate than the equal (Horsford, 2010; Mungo, 2013)</p> <p>Many felt loss of connectedness with community, and “cultural capital (King, 2005; as cited in Mungo, 2013, p. 113).”</p>			

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	(c) The exchange of stories from teller to listener allows those who are unaware to see the world in a new way (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2005; Mungo, 2013, p. 114).”	Gained physical resources of white counterparts, but lost access to Black educators who held emphasis on resiliency and racial awareness and pride.			
Walker (2000)	<p>Qualitative/ Surveys, published documents, interviews, books, conference papers</p> <p>Excludes general work about segregation and desegregation</p> <p>A review of resources in ERIC along with books about specific schools in which the author came in contact with</p>	<p>Stakeholders such as principals, teachers, parents and community members were essential to the success of segregated schools and held high educational expectations</p> <p>Connectedness with community</p> <p>Oral interviews have not always been accepted as historical inquiry (Doughtery, 1999; Siddle Walker, 2000, p. 254). Until this occurrence, the main source of inquiry was through archived documents.</p>		<p>African American students and their parents can often be depicted as complacent or just appreciate of the opportunities presented by organizations</p> <p>Differences in IQ’s of black and white students have been noted along with other measurable differences in school lunch availability and library books or access variables (Ashmore, 1954; Pierce et al., 1955; Walker, 2000)</p>	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	<p>Synthesis of African American literature and research emphasizing importance of segregated schools and their stakeholders who aimed the best education under restrictive circumstances</p> <p>Notes methodological limitations of researchers of the past with primarily relying on archival resources versus the new acceptance of oral stories and interviews and historically accepted</p>	<p>Most archived documents emphasized inequality Example: those found in Divisions of Negro Education in Georgia and North Carolina</p>		<p>Contrary to belief, the idea that Black schools were inferior is very different than how African Americans held their schools to be</p> <p>African American schools were held with high regard with high expectations and value for education within and beyond into college</p> <p>The community support within the schools permeated into the external environment as a support system</p> <p>This misconception may stem from the Europeans who have reported with limited exposure to the community itself</p>	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	<p>Notes that conclusions previously derived mainly focused on what was observable and easily measured without in depth questioning of what was already taken place in the schools that did not equate to inequalities.</p> <p>“Their research thrust is focused on capturing what on Bullock (1967) would term the "unintended consequences" of school segregation, that is, the ways in which African American schools strived to become intellectual institutions,</p>			<p>The type of teaching and learning that was valued in segregated schools needs to be explored more and because it hasn't be synthesized or made known.</p> <p>Authors such as (e.g., Anderson, 1988; Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967) limited their research timeframes when large amounts of segregated schools were in existence or emphasize legalities toward equality.</p>	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
	despite the expectation of European Americans that any learning beyond menial employment was unnecessary (Ashmore, 1954; Crow, 1992; Walker, 2000, p. 254).”				
Walker (2009)	Qualitative/ Archived records of Black professional organizations	<p>Perspectives of Black educators during racial desegregation</p> <p>Quotes from Dr. Horace Tate and “second class integration”</p> <p>Recounts of his experiences with racism through his commentary</p> <p>Stories of Black educators in segregated schools have been excluded from school desegregation narratives</p>	<p>Georgia Teachers and Education Association (GTEA)</p> <p>National Council of Officers of State Teachers Associations (NCOSTA)</p> <p>NAACP</p>	<p>Dr. Horace Tate commentary to professional Black organizations about real integration versus what he described as “Second Class Integration”</p> <p>Dr. Horace Tate discussed the vision of <i>Brown</i> for equality- not just equality of facilities</p> <p>Acknowledgement that segregated schools had a lot to offer to their students in a whole child sense- socially, emotionally, and spiritually.</p>	<p>Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).</p> <p>Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. (1968).</p>

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
		<p>“Where their voices collectively do enter into the story, theirs is a portrait of a lack of participation, fear of job loss, and general antipathy toward the noble cause of acquiring civil rights for all citizens (Tushnet, 1987; Walker, 2009, p. 269).”</p> <p>Concern for contemporary educators not importing the ideology of educators during de jure segregation in today’s world and racial desegregation concerns</p> <p>Educational voices-are minimalized or elevated among peers</p> <p>Black educators financial support of NAACP</p>	<p>National Education Association (NEA) Federal government-Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW)</p>	<p>The end of segregated schools resulted in job losses for Black teachers and administrators who advocated for integration in more than equality of facilities and teacher salaries (initial areas of interest), but access and opportunities.</p> <p>The NAACP’s initial focus of inequality in schools was determined to be a method to ultimately reach targeting societal inequalities.</p> <p>Black advocates worked through petitions, letter, personal visits, and litigation.</p> <p>NAACP needed financial support of Southern Black organizations to enhance its influence and campaign for school equality.</p>	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
		<p>“Literature fails to note Black educators strong commitment to organizations to support a smoother and “equitable school integration policy ((Fairclough, 2007; Tushnet, 1987; Walker, 2009, p. 270).”</p> <p>Black educators as “advocates for education before and after <i>Brown</i> decision (Walker, 2009, p. 270).”</p> <p>Educators of today have little knowledge of what Black educators experiences during segregation could add to today’s equity needs and how these accounts can add to the literature or complexity of it.</p> <p>Segregated past is complicated, Black educators as advocates for equality before and after <i>Brown</i> decision</p>		<p>NAACP chapters were few due to hazards of being a member and this membership being known to White counterparts of the South-particularly rural areas</p> <p>Historical accounts hold school strategies toward equality as NAACP actions, but there was a reciprocal relationship due to Black educators of the GTEA holding themselves as equal participants</p> <p>Siddle Walker (2009) states that the NAACP held Black educators of the GTEA as equal partners.</p> <p>Black educators attempted to scope what integration would look like such as equally distributing students and Black and White teachers along with custodial staff and secretaries as in New Kent County</p>	

(continued)

Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
				<p>GTEA members organized a booklet titled <i>An Inclusive Guide to School Integration</i> to assist dominated White school boards with integration for which as reported by Walker (2009)-concerns were not acknowledged</p> <p>GTEA admitted to NEA in 1951-bitterness arose with some issues that were not handled accordingly to the GTEA by the GEA and NEA</p> <p>1962 John F. Kennedy appointed Francis Keppel as Commissioner of Education-was advised that race relations and education were not connected and he should stay out of it, but Keppel became involved and the ESEA soon followed with Harold Howe who wanted to see that Federal funds were distributed without discrimination.</p>	

(continued)



Table 1 (cont.)

Author and Year	Methods/ Data Sources	Central Themes	Organizations	Social Movements	Legislative Highlights
				Howe was removed for his ideas about policies and support of policies due to Southern protests and opposition	

**Legend**

ESEA: Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

HEW: Health Education and Welfare

GEA: Georgia Education Association

GTEA: organization for black educators, established in 1878, protested Georgia’s distribution of funding and inequality- past activities included philanthropic funding from the Rosenwald Foundation for building rural schools in the South for Black children

KKK: Ku Klux Klan (White Supremacy Group)

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NANN: National Association of Negro Women

NCOSTA: National Council of Officers of State Teachers Associations- executive secretaries of Black teacher professional organizations within the South whom argued for more than the integration taking place

NEA: National Education Association SLP: Southern Leadership Project

SNCC: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

SRN: Southern Regional Council

VCPS: Virginia Committee for Public Schools

VDOE: Virginia Department of Education

**Appendix B**

**CITI Program Course Completion Certificate**



Completion Date 23-Feb-2019  
Expiration Date 22-Feb-2022  
Record ID 30699653

This is to certify that:

**Star Norton**

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

**Social & Behavioral Research** (Curriculum Group)  
**Social & Behavioral Research** (Course Learner Group)  
**1 - Basic Course** (Stage)

Under requirements set by:

**Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University (Virginia Tech)**



Verify at [www.citiprogram.org/verify/?w0b38bb1b-c88a-486a-9155-8a4d9a846688-30699653](http://www.citiprogram.org/verify/?w0b38bb1b-c88a-486a-9155-8a4d9a846688-30699653)

## Appendix C

### Lee M. Waid Student Experiences 1963-1970 Interview Protocol

The interviewer will say this to the participant: Thank you for participating in this oral history interview and for sharing your experiences as a student of Lee M. Waid School. As you consented, you will be identified and quoted as the source of any information provided by you unless you have requested to remain anonymous. The researchers will not release information gathered in the study to anyone other than those working on the project without written consent by participants.

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of interviewee:

(Briefly describe the project)

Do you wish to participate?

Record Subject's Response:  Yes  No

Do you agree to be audio-taped/video-taped/  
photographed?

Record Subject's Response:  Yes  No

Printed name of person consenting:

Signature of person obtaining consent:

Date:

Printed name of person obtaining consent:

Questions:

1. What years did you attend the Franklin County Training School/Lee M. Waid School?
2. Please describe a typical day for you at the Franklin County Training School/Lee M. Waid School. (Probes: What classes did you take? Were you involved in any extracurricular activities such as athletics or clubs?)
3. What other activities took place at the school during or after school? (Probes: Were there dances, proms, assemblies, special activities? Did community or church groups use the school for events?)

4. What was your family's attitude towards education? (Probes: Why did your parents place this value on education? What was their schooling experience? What was their role in the community?)
5. Please describe your teachers and school administrators. What were their roles and expectations in regards to your education? What was your relationship with your teachers in the community outside of the school?
6. What was the role of the Black community in regards to support of the Franklin County Training School/Lee M. Waid School and the fact that it was an all-Black school?
  - i. Describe how school spirit and pride were displayed?
7. What supports did the Franklin County Training School/Lee M. Waid School students have to help them graduate and be successful during the time you attended the school? What career and educational choices did you make after leaving high school and do you feel attending Lee M. Waid prepared you for those choices?
8. You grew up during the time in American history when separate schools for Blacks and Whites were required by law. What were the feelings, attitudes, and/or opinions your family and you held about segregation? What do you believe was the impact of segregation on your education?
9. What do you remember about desegregation of Franklin County Public Schools and what changes took place at Lee M. Waid School after desegregation?
10. After desegregation did you consider transferring to another high school (i.e. Franklin County High School)? Why or why not?
11. How do you think your school experience and education at Lee M. Waid compared to the experiences of Black students who chose to transfer to a different high school (Franklin County High School) after desegregation?
12. What did you learn about Lee M. Waid while attending Lee M. Waid School and the legacy he left behind in the Franklin County Community?
13. Can you please identify the names of potential secondary participants and their contact information so that I can request an interview with them?
14. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experiences attending Lee M. Waid School?

## Appendix D

### Cross Reference Matrix

<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Corresponding Interview Questions</b>
What were the experiences of students and staff that were a part of Lee M. Waid School, during the years 1963 to 1970?	<b>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13</b>
What support did students at Lee M. Waid receive during the years 1963 to 1970 to enhance their academic success?	<b>4, 5, 6, 7, 12</b>
How and why did the school change from the years prior to the desegregation of schools in Franklin County in 1963 to its final year of operation as a high school in 1970?	<b>12</b>

## Appendix E

### Lee M. Waid Secondary Participant Interview Protocol

The interviewer will say this to the participant: Thank you for participating in this oral history interview and for sharing your experiences as a stakeholder (teacher, administrator, community member) of Lee M. Waid. As you consented, you will be identified and quoted as the source of any information provided by you unless you have requested to remain anonymous. The researchers will not release information gathered in the study to anyone other than those working on the project without written consent by participants.

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of interviewee:

(Briefly describe the project)

Do you wish to participate?

Record Subject's Response:  Yes  No

Do you agree to be audio-taped/video-taped/  
photographed?

Record Subject's Response:  Yes  No

Printed name of person consenting:

Signature of person obtaining consent:

Date:

Printed name of person obtaining consent:

Questions:

1. What were the experiences of the students attending Lee M. Waid after the desegregation of Franklin County Public Schools beginning in 1965?
2. What supports did the students receive while attending Lee M. Waid from 1963 to 1970?
3. How did the final year of Franklin County's Desegregation Plan affect Lee M. Waid students and the Franklin County community?

## Appendix F

### Researcher's Notes for Initial Conversation with Participants

1. Lee M. Waid, formerly the Franklin County Training School, was built in 1948 and now serves as an elementary school.
2. The last graduating class of Lee M. Waid School before full integration was held in 1970.
3. Franklin County began desegregation plans in 1965. The final year of the desegregation plan occurred in 1970.
4. I am looking to tell the story of the experiences of students who attended Lee M. Waid School from 1963-1970 before they are lost.
5. The purpose of the study is to document oral histories from the perspectives of the students of Lee M. Waid School from 1963 through its closure as an all-Black school in 1970.
6. I will focus on understanding the climate, culture, and foundation that supported Lee M. Waid students during the time when Franklin County Public Schools implemented a desegregation plan.
7. I will interview secondary participants such as staff and community members to help provide additional information to compare with the information gathered from the students.
8. I am interested in knowing your perspective as a former Lee M. Waid student.
9. Do you have any questions about the study?
10. Would you be willing to participate in this study?

## Appendix G

### Permission to Use Interview Questions



**Robert Johnson** [redacted]  
to me ▾

Sat, Oct 26, 2019, 9:46 PM ☆ ↶ ⋮

Good evening Star!

I hope you have enjoyed a wonderful weekend.

Thank you reaching out to me and giving me a little background of your study. Capturing the historical perspectives of black education in Southwest Virginia is not only vital to history but also important to preserving the legacy, history, and foundation of it as well.

I am looking forward to hearing all about your study and the foundations of education you discovered during your research.

Please feel free to use my research questions in any way to further your research and positively impact your study.

If I can be of further assistance, feel free to contact me at any time. I can be reached by cell at [redacted] or by my VT email.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

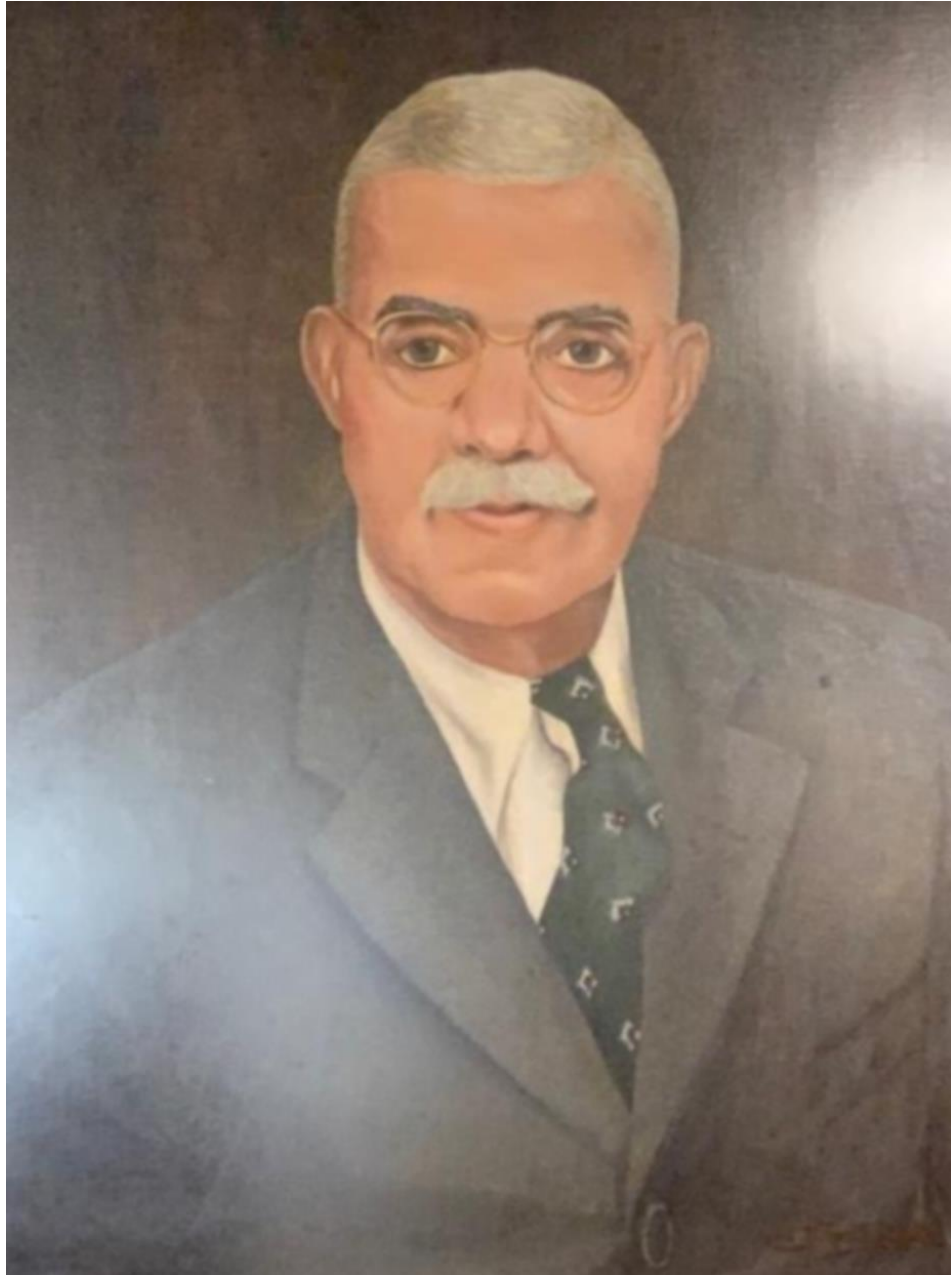
Best wishes,

Rob Johnson



**Appendix H**

**Photograph of Lee Melon Waid**



**Appendix I**  
**Recruitment Letter**

Hello Mr., Mrs., and Ms. (last name of participant),

I want to first thank you for your time and consideration to participate in my study. In addition, I also want to thank you for assisting me in documenting the experiences of students who attended Lee M. Waid during the years 1963-1970.

With your consent and agreeance, I would like to meet with you or speak with you by phone on (day of the week), (month), (day), (year) at (time) a.m. / p.m. If possible, I would like to meet with you at (name of place).

If you are able to speak with me on this date at this time and the location specified, please respond to me by email at [...] or by phone [...] to confirm. If you are unable to meet at this date, time, or place, I will contact you to find another meeting that will work according to your schedule.

Thank you,

Star A. Norton

## Appendix J

### Virginia Tech HRPP Training Certificate



## Appendix K

### Virginia Tech HRPP Approval Letter



Division of Scholarly Integrity and  
Research Compliance  
Institutional Review Board  
North End Center, Suite 4120 (MC 0497)  
300 Turner Street NW  
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061  
540/231-3732  
irb@vt.edu  
<http://www.research.vt.edu/sirc/hrpp>

#### MEMORANDUM

**DATE:** May 15, 2020

**TO:** Carol Ann Mullen, Star Adrianna Norton

**FROM:** Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires October 29, 2024)

**PROTOCOL TITLE:** Lee M. Waid: An Oral Historical Case Study of Students from an All-Black Rural Virginian School between 1963 and 1970

**IRB NUMBER:** 20-419

Based on the submitted project description and items listed in the Special Instructions section found on Page 2, the Virginia Tech IRB has determined that the proposed activity is not research involving human subjects as defined by HHS and FDA regulations.

Further review and approval by the Virginia Tech HRPP is not required because this is not human research. This determination applies only to the activities described in the submitted project description and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made you must immediately submit an Amendment to the HRPP for a new determination. Your amendment must include a description of the changes and you must upload all revised documents. At that time, the HRPP will review the submission activities to confirm the original "Not Research" decision or to advise if a new application must be made.

If there are additional undisclosed components that you feel merit a change in this initial determination, please contact our office for a consultation.

Please be aware that receiving a "Not Research" Determination is not the same as IRB review and approval of the activity. You are NOT to use IRB consent forms or templates for these activities. If you have any questions, please contact the Virginia Tech HRPP office at 540-231-3732 or irb@vt.edu.

#### PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Determined As: **Not Research**  
Protocol Determination Date: **May 15, 2020**

#### ASSOCIATED FUNDING:

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this protocol, if required.

*Invent the Future*

## Appendix L

### Virginia Tech HRPP Addendum Approval Letter



Division of Scholarly Integrity and  
 Research Compliance  
 Institutional Review Board  
 North End Center, Suite 4120 (MC 0497)  
 300 Turner Street NW  
 Blacksburg, Virginia 24061  
 540/231-3732  
 irb@vt.edu  
<http://www.research.vt.edu/sirc/hrpp>

#### MEMORANDUM

**DATE:** July 17, 2020

**TO:** Carol Ann Mullen, Star Adrianna Norton

**FROM:** Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires October 29, 2024)

**PROTOCOL TITLE:** Lee M. Waid: An Oral Historical Case Study of Students from an All-Black Rural Virginian School between 1963 and 1970

**IRB NUMBER:** 20-419

Based on the Amendment application, the submitted project description, and items listed in the Special Instructions section found on Page 2, the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) has determined that the proposed activity is not research involving human subjects as defined by HHS and FDA regulations.

Further review and approval by the Virginia Tech Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) is not required because this is not human research. This determination applies only to the activities described in the submitted project description and does not apply should any additional changes be made. If additional changes are made you must immediately submit another Amendment to the HRPP for a new determination. Your amendment must include a description of the changes and you must upload all revised documents. At that time, the HRPP will review the submission activities to confirm the original "Not Research" decision or to advise if a new application must be made.

If there are additional undisclosed components that you feel merit a change in this determination, please contact our office for a consultation.

Please be aware that receiving a "Not Research" Determination is not the same as IRB review and approval of the activity. You are NOT to use IRB consent forms or templates for these activities. If you have any questions, please contact the Virginia Tech HRPP office at 540-231-3732 or [irb@vt.edu](mailto:irb@vt.edu).

#### PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Determined As: **Not Research**  
 Protocol Determination Date: **May 15, 2020**

#### ASSOCIATED FUNDING:

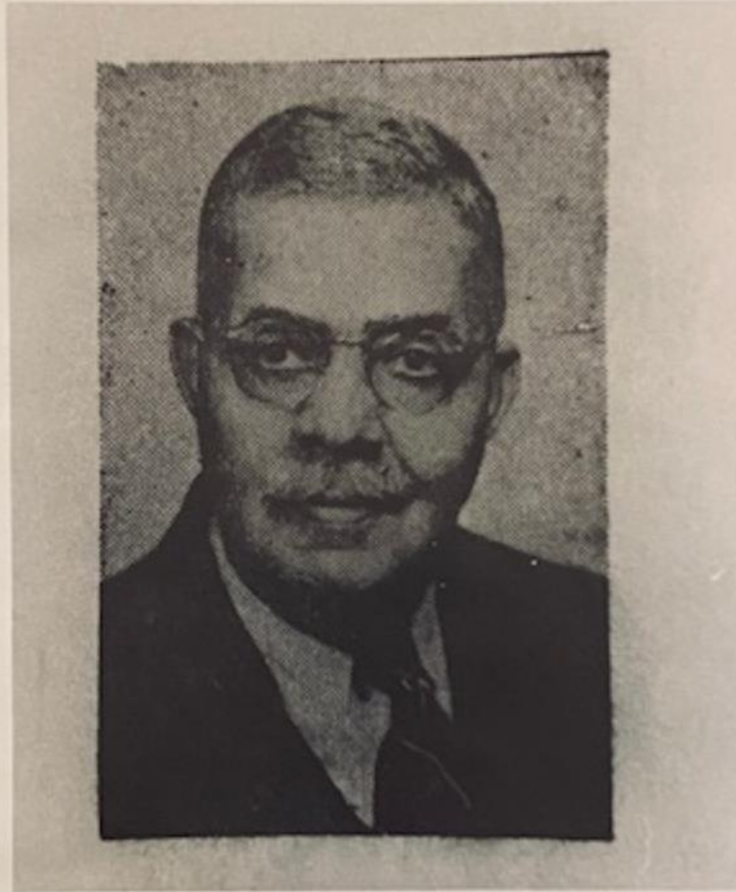
The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this protocol, if required.

*Invent the Future*

## Appendix M

### Lee M. Waid Yearbook Tribute

# IN MEMORY



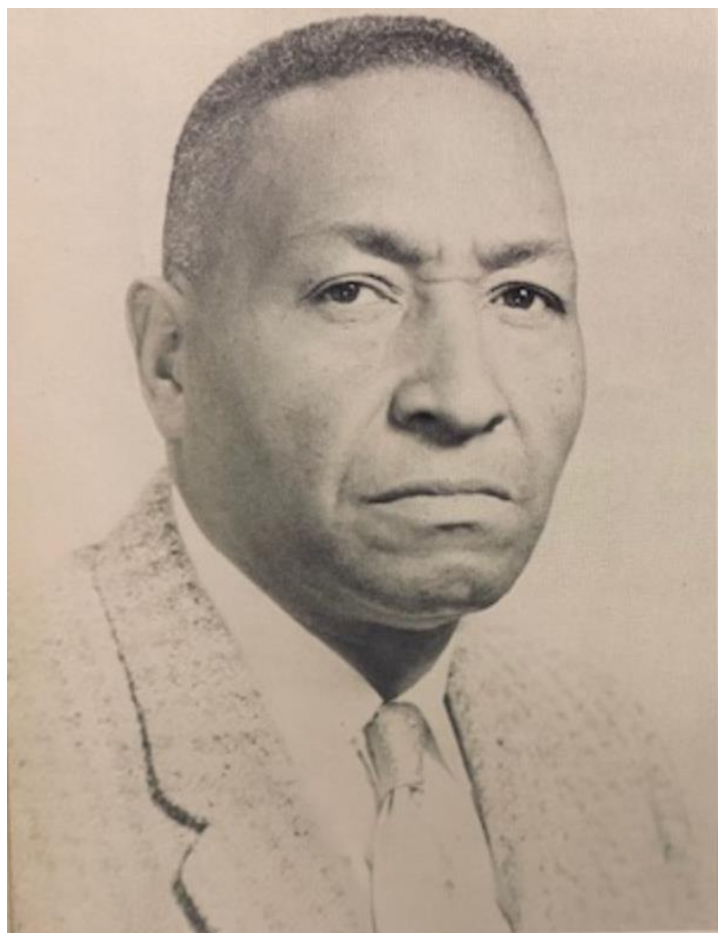
Lee Melon Waid

There have been numerous Blacks that have made valuable contributions to Franklin County. One such individual was Lee Melon Waid who was a businessman for many years. In April 1957, Franklin County Training School was renamed Lee M. Waid School in his honor. Also earlier, a wing of Franklin Memorial Hospital had been dedicated in his honor.

Although Mr. Waid had only a grade school education and no children, his vision and determination extended far. He always encouraged people to strive for improvement. Mr. Waid was a diligent worker in local organizations that fostered black education, especially the Pigg River Baptist Association.

## Appendix N

### Lee M. Waid Yearbook Tribute



C.L. Atkins,  
Principal

"All is well that ends well" is a statement attributed to a famous philosopher and educator. Certainly that type of thinking can be considered very useful in our everyday lives. I believe it has a purposeful meaning in our school society.

Each year the Seniors under the careful guidance of sponsors assume the task of getting out a yearbook. It is a project which requires much time, effort, money, and responsibility to reach the desired end or goal. It involves many individuals working together collectively and individually.

We want to recognize the parts played by the parents and the business concerns throughout the community and the county. They have so graciously contributed to the completion of this project.

In conclusion, may I say that since you have had such a vigorous beginning and have carried on so well thus far, there is every reason to believe that the end will be a happy one. That the sponsors, seniors, faculty and students of the Lee M. Waid School will ever be proud of a task well done.

To all who had anything in anyway to do with its success, I am eternally grateful.

## Appendix O

### Lee M. Waid Yearbook Tribute

**“WE SALUTE  
NADINE HAWKINS”**

Nadine '40's  
Student F.C.T.S.  
I will study and get ready, and perhaps my chance will come.  
— Lincoln

Nadine '50's  
Teacher — F.C.T.S.

Nadine '60's  
Teacher L.M.W.

Nadine '70's  
(Below) Principal L.M.W.

Nadine '80's  
(Below) Retirement L.M.W.



Appendix P

Lee M. Waid May Day



## Appendix Q

## Lee M. Waid Building Addition Cornerstone

# Cornerstone Is Laid at Lee M. Waid Addition



Lee M. Waid pupils were urged by Rev. M. H. Hopkins to take advantage of opportunities the school offers at cornerstone laying ceremonies Wednesday for the \$200,000 addition to the Waid School.

Rev. Hopkins also reminded pupils of the early sacrifices made by early residents of Franklin county that led up to the cornerstone laying.

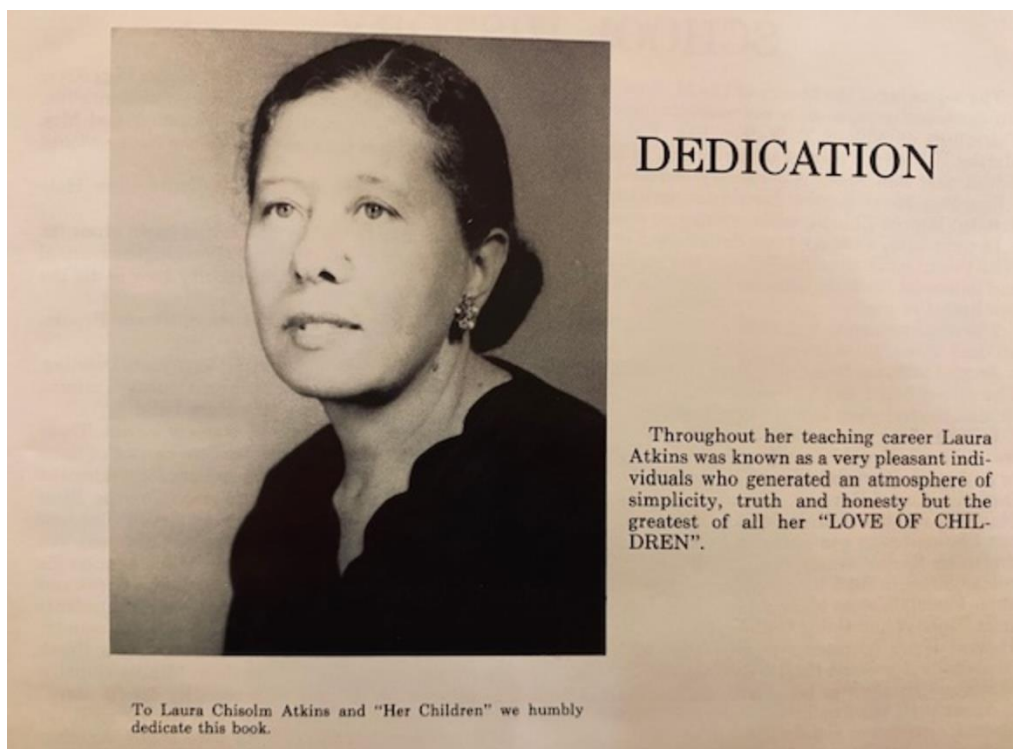
The event was attend by all students at the school and school officials such as H. W. Ramsey, superintendent of county schools, Douglas Reeves, president of the Student Participation association; Mrs. Mammie A. Holland, oldest teacher in point of service at the school; Sandra Jones, soloist; and the school choir directed by Mrs. Frances L. Keen.

C. L. Atkins, principal of the school, was master of ceremonies. Before the cornerstone was cemented into place, Atkins read the following list of the contents of a box that was placed inside the stone.

Photographs of the late Lee M. Waid, in whose honor the school is named; photographs of H. W. Ramsey, superintendent, Mrs. Minnie M. Mearns, supervisor; and Mrs. Mammie Holland, teach

## Appendix R

### Lee M. Waid Yearbook Tribute Laura Atkins



# Appendix S

## Lee M. Waid Teachers

### TEACHES ON THE HILL '20's-'70's



Charles Scripps, unknown, Mattie Egginton, Marnie Holland, Artie Gwaltney, Corlisa Tyles

Cullen Atkins  
Laura Atkins  
Curtis Anderson  
J.E. Algood  
Malvin Beasley  
Nanni Berger  
William Bond  
Lucy H. Brooks  
W.T. Boops  
Isabelle Boggs  
Patsy Cobbe  
Howard Collins  
Ann C. Cary  
Wyche Chapel  
Cottide Craighead  
Justia B. Crosby  
Thelma Crichton  
Eudora Calhoun  
Lee Davis  
Geneva Dannerville  
Vesper M. Edwards  
Ethel Eaton  
Laverne Fuller  
Gaston Finney  
Helen Finney  
Henry Foster  
Barbara Finney  
Clarence Frow

Artie Gwaltney  
Estelle Golden  
Ben Gabelen  
Henry F. Green  
Richard Green  
Gwendolyn Glasgow  
James Holmes  
Lancetta Holmes  
Willie Hicks  
Ruth Hillard  
Sarah M. Hicks  
M. Nelson Hugginsbottom  
Marnie Holland  
Edgar A. Hammond  
Jackie S. Holland  
Judy W. Hicks  
Carole Harris  
Sam Hawkins  
Nadine Hawkins  
Willie B. Hines  
Betty Hoffman  
Jean Jackson



Florella Johnson  
Marion Johnson  
Thomas Jones  
Richard Johnson  
Fayona Kent  
Marie Lightner  
Nelly Lawson  
Evelyn Lester  
Rachel Mathis  
S.L. Lester

Eudora Mullins  
Robert Mullins  
Ceraldine Morris  
Clifford Mc Knight  
Dorothy Phelps  
Louise Prouty  
Rena Ponderester  
Alfred Prouty  
Edgar Painter  
Lorraine Pleasant

Delia Pagan  
Doris Perkins  
George Riddick  
Loretta Riddick  
Marie Roberts  
Ruby Reeves  
Cloria Scott  
Laura Sporkack  
David Soper  
Beatrice Swanson  
Mary F. Smith  
Eunice Straton  
Charles Scripps  
Sarah Short  
Lula Swanson  
Charles B. Smith  
Candice Tylet  
Helen Thomas  
Susanne Tracy  
Eunice Taylor  
James Worthington  
Euphemia Wilkerson  
Helen Whitworth  
Archie Wade  
Selma Wood  
Fannie Tyson  
Paul Walker

Ira S. Phelps, Earl Woods  
Minnie Murreman, and Laura Atkins

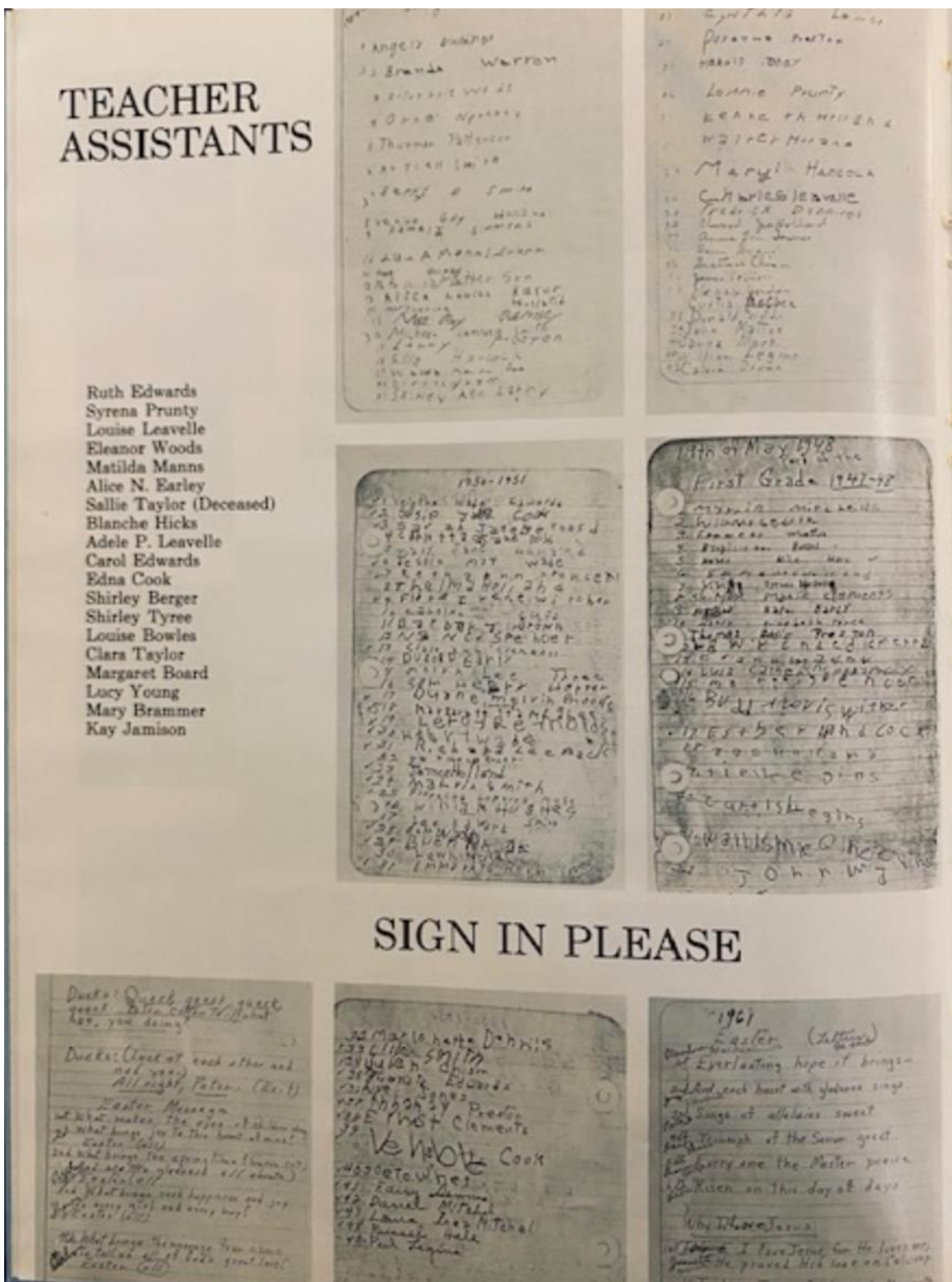
Ira Phelps  
Directory in foreground

### THE FACULTY



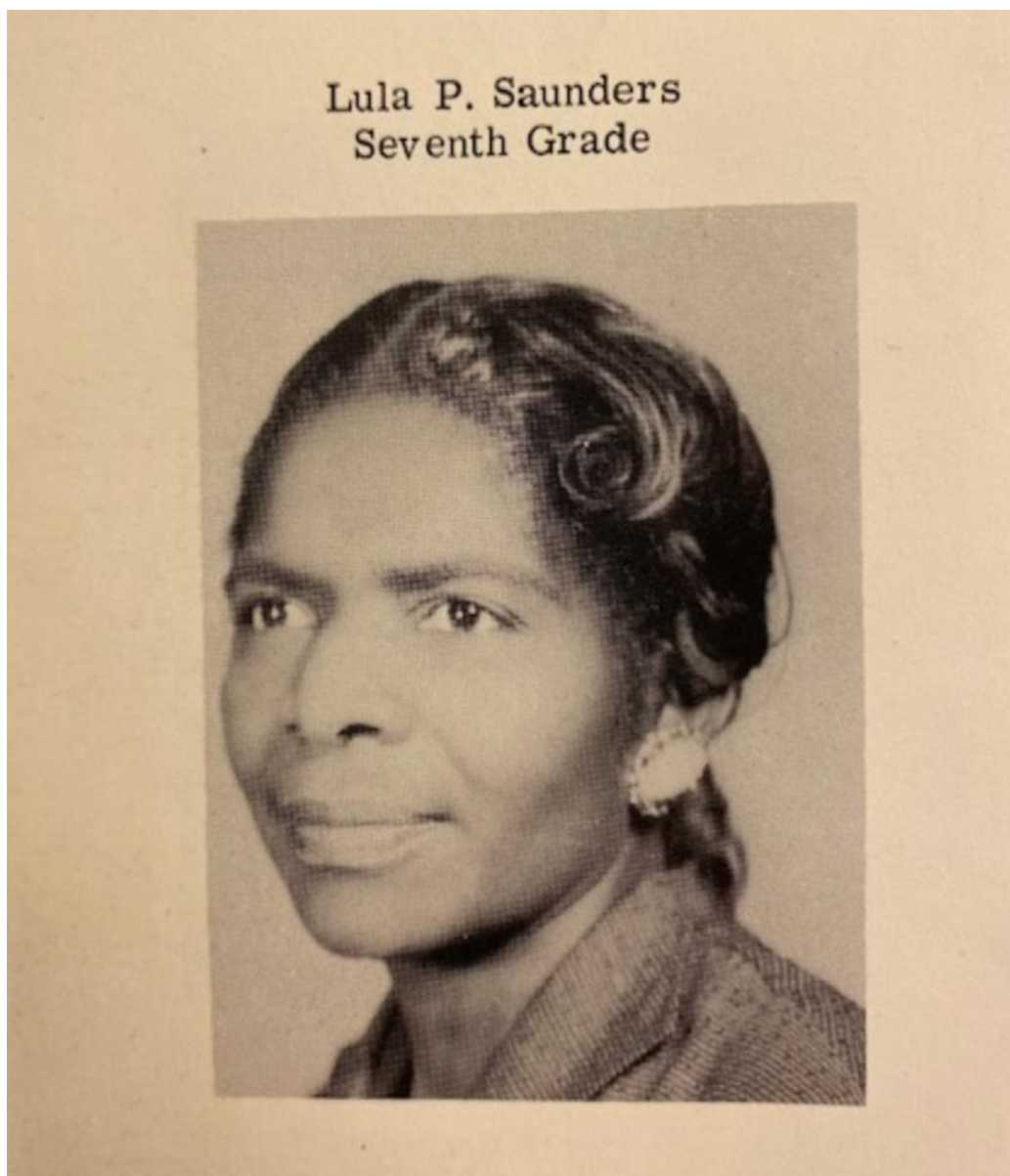
Appendix T

Lee M. Waid Teacher Assistant Sign-in Sheets



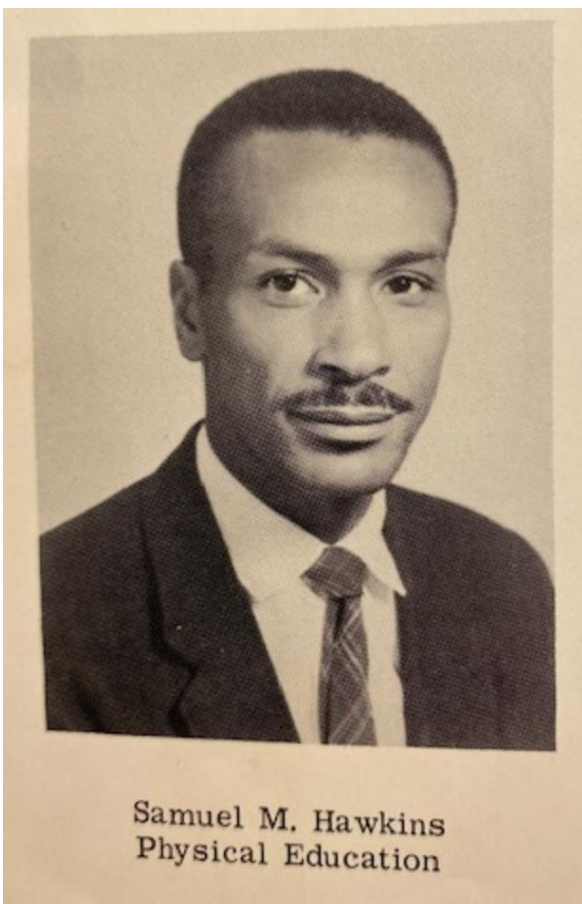
Appendix U

Lula P. Saunders Aunt of Eudora "Edwina" Prunty



Appendix V

Samuel M. Hawkins and Nadine Y. Hawkins Parents of Glenna "Hawkins" Moore



## Appendix W

### Lee M. Waid Guidance Council and Student Council



GUIDANCE COUNCIL

STUDENT COUNCIL





### Appendix X

### Lee M. Waid Science, Chemistry, and Mathematics Clubs



Appendix Y

Lee M. Waid English, History, and Library Clubs



Appendix Z

Lee M. Waid 4-H, New Farmers of America (NFA), and New Homemakers of America  
(NHA)

4-H'ers



NHA'S



NFA'S



### Appendix AA

### Lee M. Waid Band, Choir, and Dance Group



BAND



CHOIR



DANCE GROUP

### Appendix BB

### Lee M. Waid Sports Teams



VARSIITY



JUNIOR VARSITY



ELEMENTARY

BASEBALL



## Appendix CC

## Pupil Placement Board Acceptance Letter

PUPIL PLACEMENT BOARD  
406A East Main Street  
Richmond 19, Virginia

May 11, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Prunty

[REDACTED]  
Rocky Mount, Virginia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Prunty:

This is to advise that the Pupil Placement Board at its meeting on May 10, 1965, approved the placement of your child, Eudora Edwina, in Franklin County Junior High School, in Franklin, Virginia, as requested by you.

Sincerely yours,

*Birchell S. Hilton*  
Birchell S. Hilton  
Executive Secretary

BSH/c  
cc: Div. Supt.

## Appendix DD

## First Black Officer for the Town of Rocky Mount, Virginia

**Employs Tyree**

Alexander J. Tyree Jr., 28, of Court Street Extension, will become the first black man to serve as a Rocky Mount patrolman. He was sworn in Monday night, shortly after Council unanimously voted to hire him on a recommendation from Police Chief B. G. Pickeral.

A native of Franklin County, Tyree attended Lee M. Waid School and graduated from there in 1965. His parents are Mrs. Eliza Tyree of Sontag and the late Alexander J. Tyree.

The new patrolman spent two years, from 1966 to 1968, serving in the U.S. Army, first in basic training at Ft. Gordon, Georgia, then for 14 months in Vietnam. In Vietnam, he drove a truck, and was promoted to Sergeant E5 as an assistant squad leader. Upon his return to the county, Tyree worked in several capacities, and his most recent employment has been at Lee Waid School as a custodian.

**Alexander J. Tyree, Jr.**

The officer, who will assume his new duties July 1 at a \$600-a-month salary, is married to the former Adine Stockton of Franklin County. They have three children, Bernadette, 5, Blake, 3, and Willie, 9 months.

The addition of Tyree brings to 10 the number of police officers in Rocky Mount. In recommending him to Council, Pickeral said he believed Tyree was the most qualified man to fill the position.

**Dance**  
**ROCKY MOUNT**  
**MOOSE LODGE**  
**JUNE 14, 1975**  
 9 p.m. to 1 a.m.

**Appendix EE**

**Betty Huffman**





**Appendix FF**

**Betty Huffman with Students**



### Appendix GG

### Parents Set County-Wide Meet

10¢  
 ONE SECTION  
 6 PAGES  
 PHILPOTT LAKE  
 Second Class Postage  
 Paid at Rocky Mount  
 Serving Franklin County  
 Rock

# Smith and Dillon



Parents meet with Wesley Naff, principal of Franklin County High School.

## Parents Set County-wide Meet

A group of angry parents met last Friday with Wesley Naff, principal of Franklin County High School, in an effort to get an answer to why two unqualified black girls were named to the junior

but she quit trying because she said she didn't stand a chance." Naff said he met with about 50 white students last Tuesday who protested the adding of blacks to the cheer squad. He

"To compound matters we had a bomb threat. We have a procedure we follow in such a case. We call the telephone company and have them trace the call, then we evacuate the building and teachers search

There is ill feeling, and I don't know how to fix it, but the main consideration is that no harm has come to your children," he replied. "One person in the group said, 'If you are going to let these black cheerleaders remain on the squad, you should grade