The History of Princess Anne County Training School and Union Kempsville High School Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia 1925-1969

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Abstract

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the history of Princess Anne County Training School and Union Kempsville High School in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia. The method of inquiry was qualitative, historical research that relied on oral histories to provide a cultural understanding of the school from the perspectives of its students, administrators, teachers, and staff. The school's history was reconstructed through direct engagement with individuals whose interviews recounted the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School. In order to minimize the nostalgic influence and bring greater validity to the oral histories, data were also collected from historical accounts, school board and community organization minutes, local periodicals, and school artifacts.

Segregation cultivated legally separate-but-equal schools for Blacks and Whites, with little or no attention given to actual equality. In 1925, the Black community in Princess Anne County, Virginia, mobilized to build a high school for their children who were denied an education beyond seventh grade. Princess Anne County Training School opened for Black students in 1938 and initially utilized a curriculum based on industrial education. It was the first and only Black high school in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia. As Princess Anne County Training School progressed, the Black community eventually repudiated the term, training school. The school's name was changed to Union Kempsville High School in the fall of 1961. Gradual desegregation inaugurated by the *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions led to a decline in student enrollment, and Union Kempsville High School closed in 1969.

Dedication

This study is dedicated to the memories of my mother, Dr. Ruth Jones Harris; and my husband, Mr. Calvin Cromwell Lucas. From my mother's example, I learned to keep God close and that there is always room for improvement. From my husband's lifestyle, I learned that it is important to work hard, but it is equally as important to have fun.

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Words cannot express my gratitude for the members of the Princess Anne County
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Context of the Study

Former students and teachers of Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School (PACTS/UKHS) took a last walk through their dated but treasured school on Saturday, June 30, 2007 (Bowers, 2007). The luster was gone, but heartwarming memories lingered in the halls of the first and only Black public high school in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia. Since the closing of PACTS/UKHS in 1969, the building had housed the Virginia Beach City Public Schools (VBCPS) Center for Effective Learning (Roth, 2007). A petition circulated "to have the school declared a historic landmark" (Payne, 1997a, A1), but the petition did not prevent the demolition of the aging structure in the summer of 2007 to make way for a multimillion-dollar VBCPS alternative education center called The Renaissance Academy (Roth, 2007). The symbolic last walk and demolition were bittersweet in the hearts and spirits of PACTS/UKHS Tiger alumni. According to a Union Kempsville High School graduate, "while we see plans for a beautiful new facility to serve many young people, there is a fear that once the building is gone, our history will be forgotten" (Bowers, 2007, p. 1).

In the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the United States Supreme Court mandated separate-but-equal public facilities for Blacks and Whites (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). Even though *Plessy v. Ferguson* upheld the constitutionality of separate accommodations on railroads, the decision was critical to the history of public education in the United States. Segregation became fundamental in the development of public education in the Commonwealth of Virginia as well as in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach. The separate-but-unequal reality of *Plessy* forced Black children in the county to pay tuition and travel to Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk if they wanted more than a seventh-grade education (Payne, 1997a). In 1925, Black parents organized the Princess Anne County Training School Association and began fundraising with the dream of "a safe and decent educational environment" (Payne, 1997a, p. A1) in the county where Black high school students could excel. The association raised \$1200 within a year and purchased four acres of land to build such a high school (Payne, 1997a). Time did little to diminish the desires of the Black parents, and PACTS opened in the fall of 1938 (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008). Bake sales were held and chicken dinners were sold to provide the new school

with everything from a set of encyclopedias to heating fuel (Payne, 1997b). What PACTS lacked in materials was made up with high expectations and commitment from the Black community (Payne, 1997b).

The county training school movement began during the school term of 1911-1912 in Louisiana and supported the idea of an industrial education for Black students beyond seventh grade (Redcay, 1937). In 1938, the objectives of the movement coincided with the educational needs of Princess Anne County's Black children. Gradually the term, training school, took on a negative connotation and came to be considered demeaning. Upon request from representatives of the Black community in 1962, Princess Anne County Training School was renamed Union Kempsville High School (Payne, 1997b).

The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision declared segregated schools unconstitutional, and Black parents were granted *Freedom of Choice* in school selection for their children (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). Union Kempsville High School's population dwindled as its students began to transfer to better equipped, predominately White schools located closer to their homes. In 1969, the impact of desegregation and a declining enrollment finally led to the closing of PACTS/UKHS (Payne, 1997b). A timeline of the history of PACTS/UKHS is in Appendix A.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

In 2007, the Virginia Beach City School Board approved architectural plans to build The Renaissance Academy, a new alternative education center, on the original site of PACTS/UKHS. A picture of The Academy is located in Appendix B. The plans contained a physical commemoration of PACTS/UKHS arranged in an exhibit museum area including a replication of the Union Kempsville High School auditorium (Jones-Howell, 2006). The entrance of the museum is displayed in Appendix C. PACTS/UKHS alumni willingly joined forces with VBCPS officials to establish protocols for the collection of yearbooks, class rings, photographs, and other artifacts the organizers hoped to display in the museum (Jones-Howell, 2006).

The plans for a museum to commemorate PACTS/UKHS impressed the researcher and provoked an interest in individuals who had a personal connection to the school as students, administrators, teachers, or staff members. The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the history of Princess Anne County Training School and Union Kempsville High School in

Princess Anne/Virginia Beach between 1925 and 1969. Simultaneously, the study shared literature that chronicled Black education in the South during the years of segregation. Documenting the history of PACTS/UKHS could prove to be strategic in redefining the relationship between school and community in response to the issue of diversity (Lindsey, Robins, & Terrell, 2003). It could offer VBCPS educational leaders a greater awareness and understanding of the Black community and its commitment to student achievement in Virginia Beach (Lindsey et. al., 2003). The researcher sought insight into how PACTS/UKHS was able to come into existence and sustain itself for more than three decades in spite of limited school board support and the barriers of segregation. Defying the odds was integral to the real-life stories of the study's participants, which could inspire any Virginia Beach student to strive for educational excellence. Passing on the school's history to children and adults was a significant means of preserving the legacy of PACTS/UKHS (*Strategic Goals*, 2007).

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

The statement of the problem investigated in the study was: *How did major historical* events affect the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969? Segregation, the county training school movement, and desegregation were the major historical events examined. The *Plessy* decision qualified the separate-but-equal doctrine with the belief that segregation did not in itself constitute unlawful discrimination (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). Yet, it was clear by the close of the nineteenth century "that White and Black children would be trained in two different kinds of schools---indeed, in two distinct sociocultural worlds" (Bullock, 1967, p. 147). Blacks verbally protested the establishment of the racial caste system carved out by segregation, but "agreed to gear their educational aims to standards defined in terms of their own limited sphere" (Bullock, 1967, p. 147).

The county training school movement emerged in the early 1900s in an effort to improve educational opportunities for Black students in the rural South (Beauregard Parish, 1996). The movement, initiated and financed by Northern philanthropic organizations, coincided with the desire of Black parents for better schools and won the support of Southern Whites through its advocacy of industrial and manual education in Black secondary schools (Link, 2000). Northern and Southern Whites agreed that industrial schooling provided a minimal form of education better suited for what they considered to be the limited capacities of Southern Blacks (Link,

2000). The county training school movement also embraced the immediate need for competent Black teachers (Fultz, 1995). The majority of the teachers in rural Black schools "had [little] more than the crudest kind of elementary education" (Redcay, 1935, p. 37). To fulfill this need, the county training school movement included provisions for teacher training to improve the skills and knowledge of Black teachers (Fultz, 1995).

The desegregation of public schools began with the *Brown* decision of 1954 when the Supreme Court proclaimed that segregated schools had denied Black children their right of equal protection under the law as provided by the 14th Amendment (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). The 1955 *Brown* decision ordered school authorities to desegregate public schools "with all deliberate speed," (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955) but it was a slow and laborious process, and compliance often meant offering some sort of *Freedom of Choice* plan (Daniel, 2004). These plans allowed Black students to enter all-White schools, and a few White students who opted to enter all-Black schools (Daniel, 2004). The landmark decisions that ended de jure segregation could be considered instrumental in the demise of many formerly all-Black schools across Virginia (Lyons & Chesley, 2004) including PACTS/UKHS.

In order to address the problem of this study, the following questions were identified and investigated by the researcher:

- 1. What motivated Black residents in Princess Anne County, Virginia to promote and financially support a secondary education for their children?
- 2. What was the relationship between segregation and the quality of education provided at PACTS/UKHS?
- 3. What role did the county training school movement play in curriculum development and student goal-setting at PACTS/UKHS?
- 4. What common themes surfaced in the research concerning the growth and operation of the PACTS/UKHS?
- 5. What factors led to the demise of PACTS/UKHS?

Methodology

Qualitative historical research methods were used to investigate the history of PACTS/UKHS in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach between 1925 and 1969. The methodology relied on oral histories and was ethnographic in its effort to provide a cultural understanding of

the school from the perspective of its students, administrators, teachers, and staff (Walker, 1996). The school no longer existed, and its history was reconstructed through direct engagement with the study's participants who shared their stories about the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS. In the words of Lichtman and French (1978),

Historical study is a broadening and humanizing experience. History provides a glimpse of what people have thought and felt in times and places very different from our own. It portrays the splendor of past civilizations and records their decay and decline. (p. xv)

Since direct examination of the past was impossible, the researcher relied on surviving records of events observed and remembered (Furay & Salevouris, 2000). These events were captured in the colorful oral histories taken from interviews with various individuals associated with the school. Despite the "historically significant memories" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 171) in interview accounts, oral histories could also be full of "wishful recollections and the adjustments of hindsight" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 171). The influence of nostalgia could encourage the tendency of interviewees to recall with fondness the goodness of a previous time period in their lives (Walker, 1996). In an effort to minimize this nostalgic influence, the researcher depended on the triangulation of data. Different sources of data were collected in congruence with the study's research questions to verify the consistency of findings and to validate the oral histories of those with personal connections to PACTS/UKHS (McMillan & Wergin, 2006). A variety of primary sources, "pieces of evidence written or created during the period under investigation" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 144), and secondary sources, "an account of the period in question written after the events have taken place" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 144) were used to expand and confirm the reconstructed stories of the interviewees. Primary and secondary sources utilized in the investigation included (a) the Constitution (b) Supreme Court decisions, (c) school board minutes, (d) local newspapers, (e) letters of correspondence, (f) community organization minutes, (g) yearbooks, (h) pictures, (i) artifacts, and (i) historical accounts.

The participants in the study consisted of Black individuals who were students, administrators, teachers, or staff at PACTS/UKHS between 1938 and 1969 and several White residents of Virginia Beach, Virginia, who had knowledge of the school and/or events during the period under study. In preparation for the physical commemoration of the school, the VBCPS Media and Communications Development (MCD) requested the formation of a committee to

research, collect artifacts, and write the school's history to assist the architects in the design of the museum. The PACTS/UKHS Historical Committee, as it was named, consisted of the following individuals who graduated from and/or taught at PACTS/UKHS: (a) Ruby Lonesome Allen, Class of 1948/high school chorus teacher; (b) Erma McPherson Brown, Class of 1962; (c) Margie Wilson Coefield, Class of 1961; (d) Edna Hawkins-Hendrix, Class of 1969; (e) Otealia Kimble Jennings, Class of 1948/ elementary chorus teacher; (f) Roy Alvin Reid, Class of 1943/band director; (g) Tina Schofield-Warren, Class of 1961; (h) Jean O. Siler/Business Department Chair; (i) Mary Henry Smith, Class of 1961; (j) Esther Grimstead Wilson, Class of 1941, and (k) Laurice Malbon Yarn, Class of 1965. See Appendix D for a picture of the historical committee. The researcher was given permission from the MCD, to join the historical committee as a liaison between it and the school division. As liaison, the researcher provided a meeting place for the committee and assisted in researching and organizing gathered information. The following topics emerged from meeting discussions and guided the historical committee in writing a history of PACTS/UKHS: (a) Churches and one-room schools before 1925, (b) PACTS/UKHS preparation for building by colored citizens, 1938-1969; (c) PACTS/UKHS construction and layout for elementary and high schools, 1937-1953; (d) Administrators, teachers, staff, courses, and salaries; (e) Class pictures; (f) Programs and activities (e.g. music, athletics, clubs, Homecoming, etc.); (g) Success of PACTS/UKHS students after graduation; (h) PACTS/UKHS students who served in the military, 1938-1969; and (i) The Last Walk, June 30, 2007.

In collaboration with the historical committee, the VBCPS MCD videotaped interviews of PACTS/UKHS students, administrators, teachers, and staff. The interview questions were devised by Yolanda Jones-Howell, a MCD public relations coordinator, based on PACTS/UKHS history and brief pre-interview conversations with each interviewee. There were 13 individuals selected and interviewed inclusive of seven members of the historical committee.

The three days scheduled for the PACTS/UKHS interviews in the VBTV studio at the Advanced Technology Center in Virginia Beach coincided with the need for an end-of-the-year project for the VBCPS Diversity Youth Ambassadors. The Diversity Youth Ambassadors, middle and high school students who served on their schools' Diversity Youth Advisory Councils, were invited by MCD to assist with the interviews. This was a tremendous opportunity for the students to interact with members of the Black community and hear first-hand accounts of

PACTS/UKHS history from those who had personal connections to the schools. Interested Diversity Youth Ambassadors were required to attend an evening workshop hosted by MCD on interview skills and techniques.

MCD contacted the interviewees by letter to confirm the dates, times, and location of the interviews and to share a list of the interview questions. Mrs. Jones-Howell and the Diversity Youth Ambassadors, acted as the interviewers for the videotaped interviews on Days 1 and 2 of the interviews while the researcher observed. On Day 3 of the interviews, the researcher acted as the interviewer in the absence of Mrs. Jones-Howell. MCD edited the videotaped interviews, added still photographs, captions, and backgrounds to create polished videos to feature in the PACTS/UKHS Museum. The unedited videotaped interviews and transcriptions were placed in the museum archives, where the researcher accessed them. Eventually, MCD invited others with personal connections to PACTS/UKHS to be interviewed and added their stories to the PACTS/UKHS Museum videotaped interview archives. Data collected by the researcher from the PACTS/UKHS Museum were extremely important to the study.

Solicitation of ideas and suggestions from the historical committee supported the researcher's efforts to identify possible interviewees whose living memories would be sifted, analyzed, and interpreted (Furay & Salevouris, 2000) in order to reconstruct the history of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969. The participants selected for the researcher's interviews were (a) Thaddeus T. Cason, Sr., (b) Cora Lee Goodman, (c) Velma Mills Haynes, (d) Hortense Russell Spence, (e) Charles A. Willis, (f) Joshua Darden, Jr., and (g) Ronald W. Thompson. Of the seven individuals the researcher selected for interviews, Mr. Darden and Mr. Thompson were the only two not included in the MCD videotaped interviews for the PACTS/UKHS Museum.

The oral histories of Mr. Cason, Ms. Goodman, Mrs. Haynes, Mrs. Spence, Mr. Willis, Mr. Darden, and Mr. Thompson were used to trace the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS. "Consistent with historical methodology, the real-life stories aimed to convey a sense of another time and place," (Walker, 1996, p. 221) and "sought to understand the meaning that school life held for its participants" (Walker, 1996, p. 221). The researcher's interviews, with a more focused approach, assisted each interviewee in reconstructing a "personal history with as much accuracy and vivid detail as possible" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 172). Using the study's research questions and themes that emerged from the videotaped interviews from the PACTS/UKHS Museum as a guide, the researcher crafted 21 interview

questions to elicit more detail and emotion from the interviewees (Walker, 1996). The interviews conducted by the researcher added to the data collected from the videotaped interviews for the museum. The researcher's interviews solicited details about the impact of segregation, the county training school movement, and desegregation on PACTS/UKHS. More explicit questions about the day-to-day management and operation of the school were also a part of the interviews led by the researcher.

Three White Virginia Beach residents were also selected to participate in the researcher's interviews. These participants included (a) Edward E. Brickell, VBCPS superintendent when PACTS/UKHS closed; (b) Robin D. Davenport, VBCPS principal and lifelong resident of Princess Anne/Virginia Beach; and (c) Stephen S. Mansfield, Princess Anne/Virginia Beach historian and Virginia Wesleyan College archivist. From the 21 interview questions mentioned above, nine questions were adapted to interview the White study participants. Their oral histories were compared and contrasted with the historical accounts of the study's Black participants to broaden the researcher's perspective on the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS. The interview questions for the Black participants are located in Appendix E, and the interview questions for the White participants are in Appendix F.

On June 8, 2008, the researcher successfully completed the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) Training in Human Subjects Protection. The certificate of completion for the training is located in Appendix G. On November 19, 2008, the researcher initially requested IRB approval to interview subjects for the study, and the approval from IRB was received on December 10, 2008 for a 12-month period. The researcher subsequently submitted continuation requests to IRB on November 22, 2009, November 22, 2010, and November 18, 2011. Approvals were granted on December 10, 2009, December 10, 2010, and December 10, 2011 respectively. The current IRB approval for the study was requested on November 12, 2012, and approved on November 12, 2012. The IRB approval is in Appendix H.

IRB informed the researcher on May 11, 2009, that the Risks section of the required "Informed Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects" had been modified because it did not include a statement of the potential risks of the study or the opportunity for the participants to withdraw from the study. The "Informed Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects" is located in Appendix I. Correspondence was sent to each participant selected by the researcher for interview to explain

the modification. Response cards were enclosed in the correspondence to be returned to the researcher affirming that all transcribed information from the interviews could be used in the study. See a sample of the correspondence in Appendix J. The response card was requested to be returned from each participate on or before July 10, 2009. None of the participants opted to withdraw from the study or retract any interview information.

The 10 participants selected for the researcher's round of interviews were first contacted by telephone and given a thorough explanation of why they were asked to share their oral histories and to establish a date, time, and location of the interview. The telephone conversations were followed by a letter confirming the exact date, time, and location of the interview along with a list of interview questions. See the confirmation letter in Appendix K. The letter also included a legal release form that explained the extent to which their oral histories were to be used in the study (Furay & Salevouris, 2000). The interviewee's signature was obtained on the form prior to beginning the interview. All of the interviews were audio recorded for the purpose of accuracy and transcribed into a narrative format. The audio recordings and transcriptions of the interviews are stored on the home computer of the researcher. Backup CDs of the audio recordings and transcriptions are stored in the home office of the researcher. In order to increase credibility, the narratives were member checked by mailing them to the interviewees for review and approval prior to using their content in the study (McMillan & Wergin, 2006). Upon completion of the study the audio recordings and transcriptions were removed from the home computer of researcher and placed on a portable hard drive, and the backup CDs were placed in a locked box in the researcher's home office for safe keeping.

The data gathered from the primary and secondary sources were analyzed, qualitatively, by transcribing all findings into a narrative format. The narratives were used as a means to organize and house data collected on segregation, the training school movement, and desegregation of public schools and their influence on the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969. The data were first color-coded, based on the following themes derived from the study's research questions: (a) blue-motivation of Black parents in Princess Anne County to promote and financially support a secondary education for their children; (b) green-relationship between segregation and the quality of education provided by PACTS/UKHS; (c) red-county training school movement's role in curriculum development and student goal-setting at PACTS/UKHS; (d) purple-common themes concerning the growth

and operation of the PACTS/UKHS; and (e) brown-factors that led to the demise of PACTS/UKHS. Information from other sources related to the themes derived from the research questions were included in black and labeled as "triangulation point one" and "triangulation point two." Each color-coded data entry also included source information to display the use of a variety of primary and secondary sources. From the organization of the data, the researcher was able to "piece together the scenery of the past from fragments that lie scattered," (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 153) and developed a "guiding idea to propel" (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 153) the content of the study with as little bias as possible. According to Furay and Salveouris (2000),

Interpretation is the most basic and final product of a historical study. Interpretation is, in its most fundamental sense, generalization. It is that mental act in which one rises above the details of a given experience and makes a statement that characterizes the entire experience according to its principal elements. (p. 184)

The researcher's interpretation of the color-coded data concluded the inquiry and brought meaning to the oral histories of 10 individuals who were personally connected to the establishment, growth, operation and demise of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969.

Limitations of the Study

The study was dependent upon the recall of the participants and use of their oral histories to reconstruct events related to the history of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969. The possibilities of bias, false information, misinterpretation, or misunderstanding had to be acknowledged in reference to the school's students, administrators, teachers and staff. The use of primary sources, secondary sources, and triangulation added validity to the analyzed data used in the study.

Time was another issue in reference to interviewing because most of the participants in the study were 60 years old or older. Some possible interviewees were in poor health and could not participate in the study, and two died just prior to the start of the interview process.

Delimitations of the Study

The investigation was restricted to the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969 based on the perceptions of the study's participants and other triangulated sources. No attempt was made to look at the elementary schools for Blacks in

Princess Anne/Virginia Beach between 1925 and 1969. The study also made no attempt to compare or contrast PACTS/UKHS with any other training school or high school in existence between 1925 and 1969.

Definitions of Terms

Many of the words used in the content of the inquiry were subject to multiple meanings. In order to minimize misinterpretation in this narrative account of the history of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969, the following terms have been defined according to their intended meaning for the study:

- 1. Black Term used to name the people of color about which the narrative of the study was written; the terms, Negro, colored, and African American can be used interchangeably with Black.
- 2. County training school movement Educational movement designed to stimulate the development of secondary education for southern Blacks with an emphasis on industrial training, teacher preparation, and philanthropic funding (Redcay, 1937).
- 3. County training school Public county schools for Negroes in the southern states that offered, or planned to offer, work including the eighth grade or higher based on an industrial training curriculum and teacher training courses; and were aided by the John F. Slater Fund (Redcay, 1935).
- 4. De facto segregation Racial separation that occurred in fact or practice, but not required by law (Bullock, 1967).
- 5. De jure segregation Racial separation forced by law (Bullock, 1967).
- 6. Desegregation Assignment of students to a school with no regard for race in accordance with the 1954 *Brown* decision (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954).
- 7. Industrial education Vocational training that includes applied science and technology, trade schools, and manual instruction (Anderson, 1988).
- 8. Jim Crow laws laws enacted to segregate Blacks and Whites (Smith, 1993).
- 9. Massive resistance Virginia's rejection of and failure to desegregate public schools mandated by the 1954 and 1955 *Brown* decisions (Gates, 1962).
- 10. Normal schools Schools created to train individuals to become elementary teachers (Bullock, 1967).

- 11. Northern philanthropists Wealthy, White capitalists from the North who donated millions of dollars to offer an industrial schooling and teacher preparation to Blacks in the south after the Civil War (Redcay, 1935).
- 12. Segregation Practice of separating Blacks and Whites in accordance with the 1896 *Plessy* decision that established the separate-but-equal doctrine in the United States (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).
- 13. Separate-but-equal Phrase denoting the segregation of facilities or services for Blacks and Whites declared to be the same in quality (Kauper, 1954).

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 begins with the introduction of the study on the history of PACTS/UKHS between 1925 and 1969 as well as an explanation of its purpose and significance. The statement of the problem and the research questions are followed by a description of the study's investigative methodology. The historical framework utilized for the analysis is outlined in Chapter 1 along with the limitations and delimitations of the study and the definitions of terms.

A historical overview of the education of Blacks in Virginia between 1831 and 1960 constitutes Chapter 2. It provides an account of racial segregation validated by Supreme Court approval of the separate-but-equal doctrine and how it impacted the education of Black children. The chapter expounds on the county training school movement and offering of industrial education and teacher preparation to Blacks students as well as the intentions of Northern philanthropists involved in the movement. Chapter 2 concludes with details of school desegregation by way of the *Brown* decisions and the response of massive resistance in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Chapter 3 is a historical overview of the education of Blacks in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach from the antebellum years to the 20th century.

The researcher utilized oral histories in Chapter 4 obtained from interviews for the study and videotaped interviews for the PACTS/UKHS Museum to write the history of PACTS/UKHS based on the perspectives of the school's students, teachers, administrators, and staff. Triangulation of primary and secondary sources is evident in this chapter in order to bring validity to the oral histories. Chapter 5 concludes the study with a summary, discussion, and recommendations for further study.

Chapter 2: The Education of Blacks in Virginia

Prohibition of Black Education

During the years of Virginia's history prior to the Civil War there were mixed emotions amongst Whites concerning the education of slaves and free Blacks. It was the belief of some Southern plantation owners that the self-sufficiency of their plantations called for slaves to be taught to read and write as well as to be trained in mechanics or a particular craft (Brown, 1990). Other Whites in the South felt that ignorance made slaves more manageable while education intensified their desire for freedom (Brown, 1990). Educating slaves and free Blacks also could serve as a means of Christianization, but Christianity could mandate a call for their freedom (Brown, 1990). As the 18th century was coming to a close, abolitionist propaganda stimulated unrest and discontent among Blacks and a fear of slave insurrection in the White community (Meagher, 1939). Virginia's General Assembly passed a law prohibiting the teaching of Blacks in 1819, but many slave owners ignored the law and used their own discretion about the education of their slaves (Dabney, 1971).

In August of 1831, Nat Turner led the only slave insurrection in Virginia's history that involved the massacre of Whites. Turner was an educated slave who lived on a plantation in Southampton County, Virginia, owned by an indulgent master named Joseph Travis (Dabney, 1971). Turner, a part-time preacher who thought he saw visions, gathered a group of 60 other slaves and "embarked on an orgy of indiscriminate slaughter" (Dabney, 1971, p. 225) beginning with Master Travis and his family. "The insurrection was over in 48 hours. Militia from neighboring Greensville County went into action, along with other militia...from Fort Monroe and a contingent of U.S. Marines" (Dabney, 1971, p. 225). All of the insurrectionists were captured or killed, except the mastermind. After two months of eluding the authorities, Turner was captured, convicted, and hung for his role in what became known as Nat Turner's Rebellion (Dabney, 1971).

The atrocious circumstances of the insurrection led by Turner excited the public. White hysteria led to the murders of 200 Blacks who had nothing to do with the rebellion (Dabney, 1971). If Nat Turner, a slave who was well treated and seemingly content, could lead such an uprising, then "what assurance was there that similar rebellions would not occur at almost

anytime and almost anywhere" (Dabney, 1971, p. 226)? The governor of Virginia, John Floyd, who had favored gradual emancipation of slaves, was quick to react. In December 1831, he urged the General Assembly to revise all laws intended to preserve the subordination of slaves (Dabney, 1971). The state legislature of Virginia considered abolishing slavery, but in a close vote decided to retain the institution and to enact a repressive policy for slaves and free Blacks (Alexander, 1943). As stated in the Act of 1831 passed by the Virginia General Assembly:

All meetings of free Negroes or mulattoes at any school house, church, meeting house or other place for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or the night shall be considered an unlawful assembly. Warrants shall direct any sworn officer to enter and disperse such Negroes and inflict corporal punishment on the offenders at the discretion of the justice, not exceeding twenty lashes. Any white [sic] person assembling to instruct free Negroes to read or write shall be fined not over \$50.00, also be imprisoned not exceeding two months. It is further enacted that if any white [sic] person for pay shall assemble with any slaves for the purpose of teaching them to read or write, he shall for each offense be fined, at the discretion of the justice, \$10.00-\$100.00. (Guild, 1936, pp. 175-176)

In 1848, the General Assembly enacted yet another repressive policy that increased the punishment for violating the prohibition of teaching slaves and free Blacks to read and write. The law also prohibited any "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). The Acts of 1831 and 1848 were enforced until the end of the Civil War in 1865—this meant that for more than a generation there were no formal opportunities provided to educate Blacks in Virginia, and the education of Blacks was actually prohibited by state statutes (Alexander, 1943). Influential leaders in the commonwealth justified their uncompromising opposition to free schools "on the broad ground that it was not a governmental function to educate all children" (Heatwole, 1916, p. 229) because "it created hopes and aspirations that could never be realized by laboring classes" (Heatwole, 1916, p. 229).

Following the Civil War, White Virginians who celebrated the notion of denying an education to Black children enthusiastically transplanted the inclination into the era of Reconstruction. Unfortunately, former slaves emerged from captivity with a tremendous zeal for knowledge that was expressed in the same intensity and frequency as their anger about being kept illiterate (Anderson, 1988). Historian Clement Eaton was quoted as saying, "the paramount evil of Southern slavery was not that the slaves were mistreated physically, but that they were deprived of the opportunity to develop their capabilities fully" (as cited in Dabney, 1971, p. 253). Newly freed slaves became the first native Southerners to actively campaign for universal, statesupported public education. The planter aristocracy had always tolerated public schools for the poor, but held that the state government had no right to intervene in the education of their children (Anderson, 1988). It was the aristocratic belief that public education "violated the natural evolution of society" and "threatened the familial authority over children" (Anderson, 1988, p. 4). Newly freed slaves challenged the ideology of the White aristocracy, resulting in a Black movement to reform public education based on "their self-reliance and deep-seated desire to control and sustain schools for themselves and their children" (Anderson, 1988, p. 5). The actions of education-starved freedmen were supported by Republican politicians, Northern missionaries, the Union army, and the Freedmen's Bureau; and responsible for the focus on universal education in the South after 1865 (Anderson, 1988).

On March 3, 1865, Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, to centralize the supervision and management of all matters related to refugees and freedmen (Bullock, 1967). The Bureau, perhaps the nation's first federal welfare agency, was a part of the Department of War and a former Union general, Oliver Otis Howard, was appointed commissioner by President Andrew Johnson (Dabney, 1971). Orlando Brown, another former Union general, was appointed assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Virginia and opened his headquarters in Richmond (Dabney, 1971). The Bureau was charged with many responsibilities after the Civil War, but had its biggest success in the area of education. Its funds were devoted to building schools for Blacks in Virginia throughout the South with Northern philanthropic organizations providing teachers for these schools (Brown, 1990). The Freedmen's Bureau supervised day schools to

instruct the young, night schools for older children and adults, industrial schools that taught trades, as well as Sunday schools devoted to basic education and Christianity (Henderson, 1971).

John W. Alvord, an insightful Northerner, was appointed Inspector of Schools and Finances for the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, and eventually his title was changed to general superintendent (Anderson, 1988). "He appointed a superintendent of schools for each southern state to help compile records on the Bureau's educational activities" (Anderson, 1988, p. 6). By December 1865, Mr. Alvord had traveled throughout most of the Confederacy. He filed his first general report on the conditions of Bureau schools by January 1866 (Anderson, 1988). According to the first general report, former slaves craved education because they equated the power and influence among Whites with learning. Their freedom offered a wonderful stimulus for Blacks as well as Whites to make an effort for self-improvement (Alvord, 1866). Mr. Alvord recognized the freedmen's desire to learn as the "natural thirst for knowledge common to all men" (Quarles, 1989, p. 292). "The South could not escape the beneficent impact of this mass educational enterprise" (as cited in Quarles, 1989, p. 294). By December 1, 1865, 90,589 Blacks were enrolled in 740 schools established under the auspices of the Freedman's Bureau across the South under the tutelage of 1,314 teachers (Alvord, 1866). In the Virginia, 12,898 Blacks were enrolled in 90 schools with 195 teachers (Alvord, 1866). Despite the opposition of free schools amongst the commonwealth's influential leaders, Blacks in Virginia were translating their educational aspirations into realities (Quarles, 1989).

Most of the teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau schools were eager Yankees with humanitarian and religious interests as well as a desire to renovate the South with Northern principles (Swint, 1967). In 1864, Lyman Abbott, a clergyman and author, eloquently captured the presence of the Northern teacher in the South in the following lines from an article in the *New Englander*:

We have not only to conquer the South; we also have to convert it. We have not only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets, but also by ideas and institutions. We have not only to destroy slavery, we must also organize freedom. (Abbott, 1864, p. 77)

In 1866, philanthropic societies were encouraged by the Bureau to cover the cost of teacher salaries that were fixed at \$35.00 a month, which made teaching positions in the South even more desirable to Northerners (Swint, 1967). By 1869, there were 9,503 Bureau teachers, and 5,000 of them were Northerners who wanted to teach Southern Black children (Swint, 1967).

Southern Whites lived in fear that the Northern teachers "would plant the doctrine of social equality in the minds of Negroes" (Bullock, 1967, p. 42). The fear bred a resentment that often made it difficult for these teachers to find lodging or to worship in White churches (Swint, 1967). The following excerpt from a letter written to a Northern teacher by James C. Southall, editor of the *Charlottesville Chronicle*, on February 12, 1867 illustrated the South's resentment: "...you come among us not merely as an ordinary teacher, but as a political missionary...only tending to disturb the good feeling between the races" (as cited in Bullock, 1967, p. 42).

There was also an aspiration on the part of the Bureau to have competent Black teachers instruct Black students. Alvord noted in his July 1, 1868, annual report that two normal schools in Virginia, the Richmond Normal High School and the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, had been successfully organized for the purpose of training Black teachers (Alvord, 1868). He had high hopes that these two schools would supply competent Black teachers who better understood the characteristics of Black students and aroused less hostility from Southern Whites (Alvord, 1868).

Towards the end of 1868, Congress ceased all Freedmen's Bureau work except for its efforts in education, and all Bureau operations were terminated by June 1872. Inadequate funding, federal government occupation with other national interests, and continued hostility from Southern Whites were factors that led to its end, but not before making tremendous strides in Black education (Anderson, 1988). Only six years had passed since the commonwealth prohibited schooling for slaves and free Blacks, but as indicated in Table 1, Virginia had 38,554 Black students enrolled in 706 schools with 493 teachers by 1871 (Ruffner, 1871). The end of the Freedman's Bureau raised concern for Black Virginians about the availability of educational opportunities. The former slaves' eager desire for knowledge was a natural expression of freedom as well as a therapeutic path away from the pains of bondage (Anderson, 1988).

Virginia Mandates Universal Education, 1870

Universal education was not a popular cause in Virginia. The General Assembly voted it down when Thomas Jefferson introduced a system of public education for the masses as well as for the intellectual elite in 1779 (Dabney, 1971). Many Virginians accepted the effort only as a means of educating the poor and supported the General Assembly's establishment of the Literary Fund in 1810 as a state source to finance pauper schools. It was the former slaves of the

commonwealth who "played a central role in etching the idea of universal education into southern state constitutional law" (Anderson, 1988, p. 19).

Table 1

Virginia Public Schools, 1871

School Information	White	Colored	Total
Number of schools	2,158	706	2,864
Pupils enrolled	89,734	38,554	128,288
Average number attending daily	52,270	23,452	75,722
Number of teachers	2,521	493	3,014

Note. Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1871, p. 173

The census of 1840 revealed an exceptionally high degree of illiteracy in the Commonwealth of Virginia. "The total number of white [sic] illiterates was given as 58,732, or approximately one in thirteen" (Dabney, 1971, p. 248). The shock and embarrassment of the census led to a state convention held in Richmond in 1841 that called for universal education in Virginia, but the General Assembly still failed to enact the needed taxation. "From 1850 to 1860 there had been a gain of about two thousand upon the illiteracy of whites [sic]" (Heatwole, 1916, p. 213). "Virginia was a social and educational leader in the eleven commonwealths [sic] which seceded," (Heatwole, 1916, p. 213) but the end of the Civil War disclosed the collapse of its social order and industrial institutions. By 1867, nearly 22% of the state's population including 207,505 of its former slaves could not read or write (Heatwole, 1916). Despite the startling illiteracy statistics, the economically painful years of Reconstruction created an atmosphere that made education relatively unimportant to the impoverished residents of Virginia (Buck, 1952). Nevertheless under these daunting conditions the commonwealth inaugurated a free public school system.

Virginia's Constitutional Convention of 1867 commenced on December 3, 1867, with a membership of 105 including 24 Black delegates (Heatwole, 1916). Judge John C. Underwood, a native New Yorker and sincere Unionist who had moved to Virginia prior to the Civil War, was named chairman of the convention (Buck, 1952). According to Robert and Carter Glass (1937), co-authors of *Virginia Democracy*, the Legislature was made up of a motley group of "scalawags, carpet baggers, and negro [*sic*] allies," (Glass & Glass, 1937, p. 179) who met under the protection of military authorities and assumed to speak for the people of Virginia. The media referred to the gathering as the "Mongrel Convention," the "Black Crook Convention," and the "Bones and Banjo Convention" (Dabney, 1971 p. 367). Strong opposition to Judge Underwood's convention did not stop the adoption of a state constitution that "brought the first unequivocal mandate to the governing officials of Virginia to provide genuine public education" (Buck, 1952, p. 65) to all children. The 1870 Constitution of Virginia included the following provision in Article VIII, Section 3:

The General Assembly shall provide in its first session under this Constitution a uniform system of public free schools, and for its gradual equal, and full introduction into all counties of the State by 1876, or as much earlier as practical. (Guild, 1936, p. 179)

Based on this constitutional mandate that created a free public school system for Black and White children, the General Assembly stated in the Code of 1870, Chapter 259:

This act provides for a system of free public school for persons between five and twenty-one years, that white [sic] and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school but in separate schools, under the same general regulations as to management, usefulness, and efficiency. (Guild, 1936, p. 180)

On March 2, 1870, the General Assembly appointed William Henry Ruffner as the first Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was an educator, minister, and son of Dr. Henry Ruffner, leader of Virginia's common school movement in the 1840s (Dabney, 1971). Thirty days after being appointed, Superintendent Ruffner submitted a plan to the General Assembly for a uniform system of public schools in Virginia that was signed into law on July 11, 1870 (Morton, 1924). His plan called for a state board of education headed by the superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents of schools, and district school trustees (Morton, 1924). The board of education would include the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, and the state attorney general (Morton, 1924).

Elementary schools in Virginia flourished under Superintendent Ruffner in the 1870s, but laws prohibiting the use of state funds for high schools caused secondary school development to lag (Dabney, 1971). In spite of his plan for uniformity in education, Superintendent Ruffner decided to segregate students by race because he "felt that the Negroes, just out of slavery, were in a relatively primitive state of civilization" (Dabney, 1971, p. 382) and that they required separate schools. He also knew that educating the children separately would minimize White hostility towards Virginia's new and fragile system of free public schools.

Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896

In 1890, the state of Louisiana passed a law calling for separate accommodations for Blacks and Whites in railway carriages (Groves, 1951). The Citizens Committee of African Americans and Creoles asked Homer Plessy, a shoemaker, to test the validity of the Louisiana law in 1892. Mr. Plessy could pass for White, but his great-grandmother was Black making him one-eighth Black. He seated himself in the White-only railway carriage, and shared information about his Black heritage with the conductor (Groves, 1951). Mr. Plessy was immediately arrested and jailed. The case reached the United States Supreme Court, and in 1896 a landmark decision upheld the constitutionality of separate accommodations on public transportation for Blacks and Whites as long as they were equal (Groves, 1951).

Mr. Plessy's defense was based on the denial of his rights granted under the *Thirteenth* and *Fourteenth Amendments*. Justice Henry Billings Brown delivered the majority opinion in the case that quickly dismissed the denial of rights under the *Thirteenth Amendment* that abolished slavery (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). Dismissal was on the grounds that separation of Blacks and Whites did not create a state of bondage implicit in the idea of involuntary servitude as written in the *Thirteenth Amendment* (Kauper, 1954). The *Fourteenth Amendment* forbids the making or enforcing of "any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of United States...nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" (*Fourteenth Amendment*, 1868). Justice Brown's opinion admitted that the objective of the *Fourteenth Amendment* was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). He went on to explain that if the court's decision made Blacks feel inferior, it was not because of the act, but because Blacks chose to feel inferior (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).

Justice John Harlan was the lone dissenter in the 1896 *Plessy* decision, but vigorous in the language displayed in his opinion when he said:

What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by whites? (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896)

In regards to racial segregation in public schools, the practice of separating students by race for instruction had already been established throughout the South at the time of the *Plessy* decision. Separate public schools for Blacks and White were prevalent in Washington, D.C., and in some Northern states before and after the Civil War (Kauper, 1954). It was not a surprise when the Virginia General Assembly passed the Code of 1870 requiring separate schools for Blacks and Whites in its newly adopted state system of public education (Guild, 1936). For 58 years following the *Plessy* decision, Blacks in Virginia claimed that the separate-but-equal public schools were discriminatory and detrimental to the education of their children (Kauper, 1954). Inequities in expenditures for Black education coincided with the lack of a defined timeline given to state and local authorities on the equalization of segregated public schools (Kauper, 1954).

Period of Initiation and Awakening, 1870-1906

In the *Education for the Needs of the Negro In Virginia*, Fred M. Alexander (1943) claimed that the evolution of public education for Blacks in Virginia between 1870 and 1936 was divided into two periods. He referred to 1870-1906 as "The Period of Initiation and Awakening" when Virginia began a gradual acceptance of responsibility for educating Black children. It was demonstrated by the productivity of the State Board of Education, the endorsement of emerging Black leaders, and the use of organized philanthropy to fund Black schools.

During "The Period of Initiation and Awakening," Superintendent Ruffner's advocacy of educating Blacks was made apparent in his *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1871) when he said: "From the first, the colored people of all ages showed a strong desire to acquire knowledge; and we have testimony of our school officers that their desire continues to this day unabated" (Ruffner, 1871, p. 116). The ratification of the *Fifteenth Amendment* (1870) which coincided with the "Period of Initiation and Awakening" and the Civil

War Reconstruction era (1865-1877), enfranchised male ex-slaves and impacted the vote throughout the entire South. Ex-slaves voted, ran for office, and won seats in the General Assembly for the first time in Virginia's history. With these newly elected Black officials came the much-needed support for the adoption of a free system of public education for all children across the commonwealth.

The arrival of universal education in Virginia by 1870 necessitated the call for philanthropy to financially sustain free public schools for Black children (Alexander, 1943). Northern organized philanthropic groups such as the Peabody Fund (1867), the Slater Fund (1882), and the General Education Board (1902) began to donate money on a small scale during "The Period of Initiation and Awakening" (Alexander, 1943). Along with the organized philanthropic support came an interesting stipulation because "the Peabody and Slater Funds appropriated money for Negro education only to schools which conformed to Southern white [sic] insistence on industrial education for the subject race" (Harlan, 1968, p. 8).

"The Period of Initiation and Awakening" also included the most prolific years of the life of Jabez L. M. Curry, a college professor, lawyer, politician, Baptist minister, and a Confederate officer. Dr. Curry was born in Georgia, grew up in Alabama, and taught at Richmond College in Virginia for 13 years (Dabney, 1971). He was an advocate of universal education, and the preeminence of Dr. Curry's educational leadership was associated with being elected the second and last general agent of the Peabody Fund in 1881. Nine years later, he was elected general agent of the Slater Fund (Spivey, 2007). It was this Southern gentleman with authority over the Peabody and Slater Funds, who created a policy to appropriate funds only to Black schools that offered industrial education (Harlan, 1968).

Dr. Curry argued that both Black and White workers in the South had made little advance in the skills and methods of labor since the antebellum years and that it was the task of education to train and organize the masses of unskilled laborers (Spivey, 2007). He "understood Northern economic interest in the South" as well as the desire of White, wealthy Southerners "to build a new Southern community on the remnants of the Old South" (Spivey, 2007, p. 74). "A New South was in the making, an emerging, industrial South laced with Northern capital" (Spivey, 2007, p. 73) as "The Period of Initiation and Awakening" concluded. The emergence of the New South was dependent upon developing the South's natural resources, and that development was contingent on the availability of labor. Dr. Curry believed industrial education was the only

appropriate means of training Blacks for unskilled labor positions while simultaneously instilling the values they needed to work hard, live clean lives with high morals, and recognize their place in the New South (Spivey, 2007).

Period of Development and Accomplishment, 1906-1939

From 1898 to 1900, Southern White education reformers and Northern industrialists gathered in Capon Springs, West Virginia, to convene the Conferences for Education in the South (Anderson, 1988). The first three annual meetings of the conferences were private, and no Blacks or Northern missionary societies were invited or allowed to attend. The conference participants' purpose was to develop "an educational and social ideology that would appeal to a wide range of social groups within the South and the nation" (Anderson, 1988, p. 83). Informal discussions took place on how to convince Southern planters that universal education would not provoke racial competition, but that "rudimentary schooling could help upgrade Black labor productivity while preparing Blacks for racially prescribed social roles" (Anderson, 1998, p. 82). A select group of White industrialists and education reformers had used the Conferences for Education in the South to initiate an educational renaissance with industrial education as its cornerstone, by the turn of the 20th century (Heatwole, 1916, p. 306).

The educational renaissance swept through the commonwealth, and "contributed a marked impetus to the improvement of education" (Alexander, 1943, p.110) for all children. The renaissance ushered in an era in Virginia education from 1906 to 1939 called "The Period of Development and Accomplishment" with goals of improving teacher preparation, increasing school revenue, establishing high schools, and providing industrial training (Alexander, 1943).

In 1905, Jackson T. Davis, a Virginia educator, was named division superintendent of Henrico County Schools (Link, 2000). He was very interested in adapting the "neatness, orderliness, and efficiency" (Brown, 1990, p. 123) of Hampton Institute "where academic studies coincided with vocational education to rural schools in Henrico" (Brown, 1990, p. 123). In *Schooling for Blacks in Henrico County, Virginia 1870-1933*, Linda Bigger Brown (1990) described a visit Dr. Davis made to the Henrico school where Virginia Estelle Randolph, a Black teacher, had cleaned and landscaped her school grounds as well as whitewashed the school building. Dr. Davis concluded that Miss Randolph's methods could serve as a model for other Black teachers (Brown, 1990).

In 1907, Anna T. Jeanes, a wealthy Quaker from Philadelphia, donated \$1,000,000 "for the purpose of assisting in the Southern United States community, country, and rural schools for the great class of Negroes to whom the small rural and community schools are alone available" (Brawley, 1971, p. 57). Dr. Davis applied for and received financial support from the newly organized Jeanes Fund and convinced Miss Randolph to become the first Jeanes teacher in 1908 (Link, 2000). The Southern Black teachers, mostly females, selected to become Jeanes teachers were trained and dispatched into rural counties of Virginia to inaugurate industrial education, but for all practical purposes to encourage the physical modernization of Black schools through making personal connection with the community (Link, 2000). The success of Jeanes teachers brought Jackson T. Davis to the attention of state officials and Northern philanthropists, who believed he was the best choice to act as Virginia's first State Supervisor for Negro Education (Link, 2000).

During "The Period of Development and Accomplishment," the increase of organized philanthropic funding to Southern Black schools coincided with the increase of Northern industrialists with economic interests in the South. As specified by Dr. Donald Spivey (2007), a history professor at the University of Miami:

Northern money dominated the development of industry in the New South, and the captains of those industrial enterprises became acutely aware of the value of black [sic] labor. Industrial education would aid in the heightened exploitation of that labor. It is little wonder, then, that a movement in support of industrial schooling would gain the support of Northern industrial magnates. (Spivey, 2007, p. 69)

A Northern businessman named Robert Curtis Ogden became the leader of the industrial education movement after the death of Dr. Curry in 1903. Mr. Ogden was the owner of a New York clothing company who "knew better than anyone the importance of Southern cotton to the North, and he understood the importance of Southern black [sic] labor to the harmonious relationship of both" (Spivey, 2007, p. 80). He had a genuine interest in the economic contribution of Black labor, and as the newly elected president of the Conference on Southern Education, Robert Ogden now had the platform required to market the advantages of industrial schooling for Blacks (Spivey, 2007).

Mr. Ogden spoke to Northern industrialists as a Northern industrialist, and successfully promoted his philosophy that "defined education and commerce as twins and industrial and

educational progress as inseparably connected" (Spivey, 2007, p. 81). Northern industrialists acknowledged the interdependence of schooling and business as a major source for profit-gain, and their philanthropic organizations responded with vigorous support of public education in the South (Buck, 1952). The Jeanes Fund (1908), the Phelps-Stokes Fund (1911), and the Rosenwald Fund (1912) began providing aid to finance schooling for Southern children in addition to the Peabody Fund, Slater Fund, and General Education Board (Alexander, 1943). The Peabody Fund, the oldest of the organizations, had long since been the greatest single benefactor for education in the South, but John D. Rockefeller changed that by establishing the General Education Board. Vast sums of money were "placed at the Board's disposal without any restrictions except that it be used for the promotion of education" (Buck, 1952, p. 156). The Slater Fund committed to financing county training schools for Black students with a secondary level curricula based on industrial education (Redcay, 1935). The Phelps-Stokes Fund supported Jeanes teachers and the education of Native Americans. Along with the Jeanes Fund, the Slater Fund also promoted "effective types of supervision, teacher training, and curriculum for the Negro schools" (Buck, 1953, p. 140) that met with public approval. "By 1932, the Rosenwald Fund had participated in the construction of more than 5,300 schools; these cost more than \$4.2 million in public and private funds and housed more than 650,000 black [sic] children and 15,000 teachers" (Link, 2000, p. 6). By 1939, money received from philanthropists along with the efforts of state and local authorities transcended into real progress for the education of Black children in Virginia (Alexander, 1943).

The Mann Act was approved on March 14, 1906, and provided a great stimulus for development of high schools in Virginia during "The Period of Development and Accomplishment" (Buck, 1952). Under the law, the General Assembly earmarked an annual allocation of \$50,000 to establish high schools in the state. Based on a request from Joseph D. Eggleston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1906 to 1913, agriculture, manual training, and domestic economics were added to the curricula for Virginia high schools in 1908 (Buck, 1952). The addition of the industrial education courses motivated the General Assembly to increase funding for high schools to \$100,000 annually. In 1910, the State Department of Public Instruction published the Course of Study for the Public High Schools of Virginia (Buck, 1952). This course of study, displayed in Table 2, prescribed the minimum requirements for graduation from a first-grade high school in the commonwealth.

High schools for Blacks progressed, but at a slower rate than White high schools in Virginia during "The Period Development and Accomplishment" (Alexander, 1943). Seventy-four White high schools reported in 1905-1906 increased to 218 in 1906-1907 (Buck, 1952). By 1915-1916, five training schools for Blacks had opened in Alleghany, Caroline, Nottoway, Roanoke, and York counties, and by 1917-1918, 17 Black secondary schools offered four, three, or two years of high school work (Buck, 1952).

Table 2

Course of Study for the Public High Schools of Virginia,
1910

Courses	Units
English	4
Mathematics	3
History	3
Science	2
Electives Latin, German, French, Spanish, history, physical geography and agriculture, manual arts, botany and zoology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics	5
Total Units Required	17

Note. Buck, 1952, p. 145

Hampton-Tuskegee Model v. Talented Tenth

Many influential leaders in Virginia openly and uncompromisingly opposed the government being held responsible for educating all children for fear of encouraging hopes and aspirations that could never become reality for the Black citizenry (Heatwole, 1916).

Fortunately, the federal government held a very different opinion about educating Black

children. In 1867, the Freedman's Bureau sent Samuel Chapman Armstrong, an educator and Union army general, to Hampton, Virginia with the charge to relieve the pitiable conditions suffered by slaves liberated by the Union and to "adjust the difficulties that had developed between the races" (Bullock, 1967, p. 32). In order to organize the diverse assortment of Hampton Blacks into a cohesive community, he designed a program that would effectively train Black teachers (Bullock, 1967). Using expertise gained from operating a manual labor school in the Hawaiian Islands and the financial backing of the American Missionary Association, General Armstrong outlined the structure for the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Bullock, 1967).

It is an irony of Black history that the "ideology and programmatic challenge to the exslaves' conception of universal schooling and social progress was conceived and nurtured by a Yankee, Samuel Armstrong" (Anderson, 1988, p. 33). The general "believed that blacks [*sic*] should be politically disfranchised and fitted for the physical drudgery of unskilled farm and domestic labor" (Anderson, 1988, p. 40). Hampton Institute, as it was called, opened in 1868 on 125 acres located on the Hampton River with goals:

To make Negroes of service to themselves and whites [*sic*], to dignify human labor by reinforcing it with intelligence, to develop a sense of responsibility within each pupil by giving him specific tasks to perform, and to saturate the entire program with useful forms of manual labor. (Bullock, 1967, p. 32)

As newly emancipated citizens, freedmen struggled with devising a social and educational status that did not dispute or disturb the power of Southern Whites. General Armstrong's pedagogy, which became known as the Hampton Model, avoided confrontations and maintained "within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power" (Anderson, 1988, p. 33).

The constant emphasis on the trade school aspect of Hampton Institute obscured the school's premise to train and produce competent common school teachers for the South's Black educational system (Anderson, 1988). The normal school concept at Hampton was often confused with one of industrial education because General Armstrong employed a unique manual labor routine designated to teach steady work habits, self-help, and practical knowledge as the foundation of the school's teacher training program (Anderson, 1988). "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). General Armstrong's certainty that the richest values in learning came from sources beyond books manifested itself at Hampton by educating "the head, the heart, and the hand" (Buck, 1952, p. 74). Hampton Institute was neither a college nor a trade school because most of its beginning students had less than an elementary education. Students could not earn a bachelor's degree, but would leave Hampton with a strong work ethic and the teacher preparation courses to qualify for a common school teaching certificate (Anderson, 1988).

The Hampton Model made it possible for General Armstrong to act on his belief that providing instruction to Blacks had to be suitable to the subordinate social role they would play in the emerging New South. The extensive manual labor routine at Hampton Institute combined "hard work, political socialization, and social discipline to mold appropriate conservative black [*sic*] teachers" (Anderson, 1988, p. 36). Those in opposition believed that the Hampton Model:

Essentially called for the effective removal of black [sic] voters and politicians from southern political life, the relegation of black [sic] workers to the lowest forms of labor in the southern economy, and the establishment of a general southern racial hierarchy. (Anderson, 1988, p. 36)

Leading American politicians, businessmen, and philanthropists such as Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, and Jabez L. M. Curry actively supported the Hampton Model as the possible solution to the "Negro problem" (Anderson, 1988, p. 72). The Slater Fund exclusively financed Black industrial education and expanded the Hampton Model pedagogy in the 1880s (Harlan, 1958). On the other hand, Black colleges financed by missionary societies or Black organizations gave industrial education a subordinate role in their curricula (Anderson, 1988). In 1896, during a debate on Black education at the American Social Science Association it was concluded that no form of industrial training yet devised could take the place of a college curriculum in giving Black students the power of thought and skills for leadership (Anderson, 1988).

It became increasingly clear to General Armstrong that a powerful cadre of missionary educators and Black leaders were not going to accept industrial training as the dominant form of Black education. The creator of the Hampton Model turned to his efficient apostle and Hampton graduate, Booker Taliaferro Washington, for help in persuading his adversaries to support his

theory (Bullock, 1967). In *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography*, Dr. Washington supported General Armstrong and the Hampton Model with the following words (Washington, 1901):

The greatest benefits that I got out of my life at the Hampton Institute, perhaps, may be classified under two heads—

First was contact with a great man, General S. C. Armstrong, who, I repeat, was, in my opinion, the rarest, strongest, and most beautiful character that it has ever been my privilege to meet.

Second, at Hampton, for the first time, I learned what education was expected to do for an individual. Before going there I had a good deal of the then rather prevalent idea among our people that to secure an education meant to have a good, easy time, free from all necessity for manual labour. At Hampton I not only learned that it was not a disgrace to labour, but learned to love labour, not alone for its financial value, but for labour's own sake and for the independence and self-reliance which the ability to do something which the world wants done brings. At that institution I got my first taste of what it meant to live a life of unselfishness, my first knowledge of the fact that the happiest individuals are those who do the most to make others useful and happy. (Washington, 1901, pp. 73-74)

Booker T. Washington was born a slave on April 5, 1856, in Franklin County, Virginia, moved to Malden, West Virginia, at the close of the Civil War, and entered Hampton Institute as a student in 1872 (Bullock, 1967). His strong work ethic and respect for Hampton's life training quickly made him General Armstrong's prize pupil. After completing his studies at Hampton in 1875, Dr. Washington returned to Malden and taught grade school. He later attended Wayward Seminary in Washington D.C. In 1879, he returned to Hampton Institute to take a teaching position and work as General Armstrong's secretary (Bullock, 1967). The general was vigilant in his efforts to indoctrinate Dr. Washington, and primed his mentee to effectively convey industrial training as the best approach to educating all Black children (Bullock, 1967). The Hampton Model demanded Black subordination to Whites, but Washington truly believed that hard work would eventually earn his people a respectful place in society (Bullock, 1967). With that thought in mind and General Armstrong's support, Dr. Washington founded a Black normal school in Tuskegee, Alabama, based on the Hampton Model. The Alabama legislature granted a charter, and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute opened in 1881 (Anderson, 1988).

Northern industrialists rallied behind Dr. Washington's efforts to adhere to the industrial education idea that sanctioned Black subservience to Whites. They embraced him as the Black Moses of the New South and financially backed the growth and development of Tuskegee Institute (Spivey, 2007). Northern industrialists William H. Baldwin and Andrew Carnegie donated astronomical amounts of money to aid the school and to take care of the personal needs of Dr. Washington (Spivey, 2007). The success of Tuskegee Institute was an anomaly---it was a Black institution of higher learning in the South with an all-Black staff and a prominent Black leader resented by White Southerners who offered little or no financial support. The South perceived Tuskegee as a place that did very little for the state of Alabama while being supported and managed by people in the distant North (Spivey, 2007).

In 1895, Dr. Washington rose to national prominence after delivering his Atlanta Compromise speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition. With hopes of reducing the fear of White Southerners, Washington eloquently dismissed Blacks' struggling for political power instead of sustaining their status as laborers by saying:

Cast down your buckets where you are...cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. It is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life...No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities. (Washington, 1901, pp. 219-220)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was one of a small group of college-educated New England Blacks to criticize the industrial education theories of Dr. Washington. Dr. Du Bois was a civil rights activist, educator, historian, writer, and scholar born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, during Reconstruction (Du Bois, 1968). He graduated from Fisk University in 1888, entered Harvard College where he earned a second bachelor's degree and a master's

degree, and became the first Black to receive a doctorate degree from Harvard University in 1895 (Du Bois, 1968). Dr. Du Bois was secretary of the 1905 Niagara Movement and a cofounder of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) organized in 1909 (Du Bois, 1968). The radical persona of Dr. Du Bois contradicted the conservative air of Dr. Washington in his 1903 publication, *The Souls of Black Folk*. In Chapter 2 of the publication, Dr. Du Bois adamantly responded to the Atlanta Compromise speech:

Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of wartime has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing. In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth—

and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. (Du Bois, 1903a, pp. 50-51)

Dr. Washington's concept of education and social order collided with the expectations of Dr. Du Bois and his White liberal allies in the North. It was their intent to develop an educational system that would extend Black emancipation, not push Blacks into a system that presupposed their political and economic subordination (Du Bois, 1903a). Aggravated by the ramifications of industrial training for Black Southerners, Dr. Du Bois insisted on full civil rights and increased political representation, fostered by the Black intellectual elite he referred to as the Talented Tenth (Du Bois, 1903b). He was firm in his belief that one in ten Black men could become effective leaders of their race if exposed to an academic education rather than industrial training (Du Bois, 1903b). Dr. Du Bois expounded on these thoughts in the following excerpt from his article, "The Talented Tenth" featured in the 1903 publication, *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representatives of Negroes To-day*:

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. (Du Bois, 1903b, pp. 33-34)

Dr. Du Bois proved to have won an ideological war that eventually prevented industrial training from dominating the educational plan for Southern Black students. The slow victory of the academic education ideology hinged on Dr. Washington's relentless efforts to convince the Black population of the benefits of remaining in the South as cheap and contented laborers (Anderson, 1988). The Tuskegee principal dismissed the Black exodus to the North and forthrightly claimed that Blacks stood a much better chance of economic progress in the South (Anderson, 1988). By the turn of the 20th century, Dr. Washington had become the quintessential Black educator influenced by General Armstrong to train, rather than teach, the Black working class (Anderson, 1988). The highly acclaimed Hampton Model transitioned into the Hampton-Tuskegee Model because Dr. Washington, an ex-slave, ceded legitimacy to an educational and social philosophy that cast Blacks in subordinate roles in the emerging New South (Harlan, 1974).

County Training School Movement

In 1899, at the second Conference for Education in the South in Capon Springs, Northern philanthropist William H. Baldwin expressed the following ideology of industrial training for Blacks:

The potential economic value of the Negro population properly educated is infinite and incalculable. In the Negro is the opportunity of the South. Time has proven that he is best

fitted to perform the heavy labor in the Southern States. The South needs him; but the South needs him educated to be a suitable citizen. (Anderson, 1988, p. 82)

Mr. Baldwin advised Black Southerners to,

Avoid social questions; leave politics alone; continue to be patient; live moral lives; learn to work...and know that it is a crime for a teacher, white [sic] or black [sic], to educate the negro [sic] for positions which are not open to him. (Anderson, 1988, p. 84)

The Capon Springs coalition advocated the education of Blacks as a result of concern over the South's labor needs and the desire to maintain White supremacy (Spivey, 2007). The educational renaissance that saturated the South by 1905 sustained the belief that "ignorance and stupidity were the impediments to industrial growth and development," (Spivey, 2007, p. 77) could only be remedied with industrial schooling for Blacks. By 1910, all proponents of universal education for Black Southerners agreed that the infrastructure necessary for a viable Black public school system did not exist (Anderson, 1988). Nearly two-thirds of the Black children of elementary-school age were not enrolled in schools, primarily because there were not enough school buildings or teachers to accommodate them (Anderson, 1988). Recognition of the need for industrial education, the lack of school buildings, and the "large vacuum in the South's black [sic] teaching force, especially in the rural common schools" (Anderson, 1988, p. 137) set the stage for the commencement of the county training school movement.

Northern philanthropic organizations, such as the Slater Fund, the General Education Board, and the Jeanes Fund, were very conscious of the connection between schooling and business, and began "to pursue their interest in the development of industrial and manual training for black rural schools through state departments of education and particularly through the preparation of teachers in county training schools" (Anderson, 1988, p. 137).

Credit was given to the Slater Fund as the front-runner in the early days of county training school development (Redcay, 1935). John F. Slater, a Connecticut philanthropist, appropriated \$1,000,000 in 1882 to create the fund for "the general purpose of uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states...and by conferring on them the blessings of a Christian education" (Redcay, 1937, p. 39). By 1911, trustees of the Slater Fund contended that many of the Black schools established by religious groups after the Civil War "adopted inapplicable and unattainable courses of study, borrowed from advanced civilizations," (Bullock, 1967, p. 124) with no reference to the "Negro's special conditions" (Bullock, 1967, p. 124). If

Black children were to learn, they had to be taught by Black teachers. Methods of the Slater Fund, thought to be more realistic, provided "more normal industrial work in Negro schools and colleges" (Bullock, 1967, p. 124) and promoted the establishment of "Negro county training schools with an emphasis on teacher training" (Bullock, 1967, p. 124).

Professor A. M. Strange was the Black principal of Kentwood Agricultural and Industrial School in Kentwood, Louisiana. A letter from Professor Strange soliciting aid for his school was submitted to the Slater Fund on November 17, 1910. James Hardy Dillard, the general agent of the Slater Fund, mailed Professor Strange a positive response on November 23, 1910, and immediately began to work with school officials in the Tangipahoa Parish where the school was located (Redcay, 1937). A decision was made to change the name of the school to the Tangipahoa Parish Training School for Colored Children of Louisiana. The parish school board provided teachers and equipment while the Slater Fund lent its assistance of \$500 toward the salary for an industrial teacher (Redcay, 1937). The training school's first academic year was 1911-1912, and marked the beginning of the county training school movement, according to Slater Fund history (Redcay, 1937).

The county training school movement honored the need for rural secondary schools with better-prepared teachers that endorsed a curriculum of agricultural and industrial education for Black students. In financial cooperation with local agencies, the Slater Fund was willing "to share in initial expenditures and in continuing the support of such educational undertakings" (Redcay, 1935, p. 31). Dr. Dillard thought it expedient to attach certain conditions to Slater Fund grants "to strengthen the sense of responsibility of public authorities for providing more advanced educational facilities for Negroes in rural areas" (Redcay, 1935, p.31). "At the same time these requirements helped to avoid the pauperizing tendencies which often characterize the mis-application of philanthropic effort" (Redcay, 1935, p. 31). From the beginning and in effect in 1911-1912, Slater Fund offers to assist in the establishment of county training schools were made on the basis of the following conditions (Redcay, 1935):

- 1. The school property shall belong to the state, county, or district, and the school shall be a part of the public school system.
- 2. There shall be an appropriation for salaries not less than \$750 from public funds raised by the state, county, or district taxation.

3. The teaching shall extend through the eighth year with the intention of adding at least two years as soon as it shall be possible to make such extension. (Redcay, 1935, p. 31)

In 1920, a further condition indicated that the school term for a county training school had to be at least eight months (Redcay, 1935).

Six years after the opening of first county training school in Louisiana, county school boards, state departments of education, and philanthropic groups began debating the aims and purposes of county training schools "to lend direction to the efforts of the schools already established and those to follow" (Redcay, 1935, p. 33). At a meeting of State Agents for Negro Education, Leo M. Favrot, Arkansas State Agent; James L. Sibley, Alabama State Agent; and Jackson T. Davis, Virginia State Agent; were appointed "to set forth the general aims and purposes of County Training Schools [*sic*] and to formulate a suggested course of study" (Redcay, 1935, p. 32). The state agents, assisted by others interested in the establishment and maintenance of county training schools, presented the following aims and purposes:

- 1. To offer Black students in rural public schools two or three years of advanced work beyond common school.
- 2. To establish a county Black school that will respect its physical plant, equipment, teachers, curriculum, and plan of operation.
- 3. To emphasize all common school studies and how it all relates to the lives of Black students for the purpose of achievement.
- 4. To provide industrial training with emphasis on home and farming.
- 5. To prepare county Black children to make good livings based on knowing how to care for the home and the land.
- 6. To prepare Black young men and women to become qualified rural elementary teachers by enabling them to meet legal requirements of the state. (Redcay, 1935)

In order to finance the aims and purposes of the county training school movement, the Slater Fund worked in collaboration with other philanthropic organizations that championed the cause. The General Education Board aided in the purchase of equipment and the building of dormitories and homes for teachers (Redcay, 1935). The Rosenwald Fund financed the building of schoolhouses for county training schools (Redcay, 1935). The Jeanes Fund supported industrial education teachers in county training schools by providing their salaries (Redcay, 1935). The

Carnegie Corporation and the Peabody Fund contributed money that was distributed by the Slater Fund for the growth of the movement (Redcay, 1935).

By 1924, it was evident that the county training schools would become high schools. The Slater Fund made appropriations to schools with the clear understanding that aid would discontinue once the schools were well organized and completely supported by their school boards (Redcay, 1937). Once the county training schools became fully accredited four-year high schools, they were no longer eligible for support from the Slater Fund (Redcay, 1937). Teacher training was attempted in most county training schools, but lacked an effective course of study. The expansion of college-level teacher training coincided with states raising standards for teacher certification. Both of the occurrences diminished the necessity of teacher training in public secondary schools, and by 1932, teacher training programs had been abolished in county training schools, with the exception of Louisiana (Redcay, 1935).

In 1912, one of Virginia's earliest county training schools opened in Blackstone, Virginia, and was named the Nottoway County Training School (Gates, 1934). The school struggled in its early years, but between 1918 and 1924 its operating expenses increased from \$1180 per year to \$9000 per year while student enrollment increased from 205 to 430 (Gates, 1934). The York County Training School was established in 1914, and the Caroline County Training School in Bowling Green, Virginia, opened in 1916 (Gates, 1934). By 1924, it was evident that the county training schools would afford a secondary education for Virginia Blacks who were rarely offered studies beyond eighth grade (Redcay, 1935). Dr. Eggleston, who was at one time Virginia's State Superintendent of Public Instruction and a member of the Slater Board, suggested the schools "be called *County Training Schools*, and that, when they had developed into high schools, they be so termed" (Redcay, 1935, p. 37). By 1934, Nottoway Training School and York County Training School had become four-year accredited high schools (Gates, 1934). Nottoway Training School was renamed Luther H. Foster High School when a new structure was built for Black students in 1950.

Segregated Schools in Virginia

Black education waned in Virginia at the turn of the 20th century as it did throughout the South. The promise of Reconstruction was the past, and the legality of racial segregation was the present. Black enfranchisement and Black political officeholders were on the decline. White

Virginians continued to look at universal education with horror, and the State Department of Public Instruction disfavored having to finance schools for Black children (Harlan, 1958). John E. Massey, Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1890 to 1898, was quoted as saying he was "tired of seeing white [*sic*] men taxed to educate negroes [*sic*], who show their ingratitude by arraying themselves against us at every election" (Tyler, 1915, p. 182-183).

Virginia's political machine headed by United States Senator Thomas S. Martin of Charlottesville was the major hindrance to educational reform in the state (Harlan, 1958). The machine stressed low taxation, fought against appropriations for public schools, and effectively impacted the selection of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Harlan, 1958). The 1901-1902 Virginia Constitutional Convention was obsessed with an anti-Black sentiment supported by the machine. Black education and the need to remove the political menace of Black voters were topics of debate at the convention. The machine was profound in its desire to disenfranchise Blacks and to alleviate the fear of educated Blacks influencing ballot box returns (Harlan, 1958).

The Virginia Constitution of 1902 heightened the significance of racial segregation in public schools and made it constitutional to spend less money on Black education (Harlan, 1958). Article II, Section 18 of the 1902 constitution also adopted a poll tax that had to be paid in order to vote (Guild, 1936). Failure to pay the tax expediently disenfranchised most Blacks across the state (Harlan, 1958). Even with these so-called victories, the commonwealth was still compelled to educate Black children because if it did not, then outside do-gooders would provide schooling not useful to them and a danger to the peace of Virginia (Harlan, 1958).

Quest for Equality

The inhumanity of de jure segregation, terrorism, disenfranchisement, and sharecropping had taken a toll on the Southern Black population by the early 1900s (Bullock, 1967). The sparseness of educational opportunity stifled the growth of their communities and undermined the success of their children (Kerlin, 1920). Keeping Blacks out of the mainstream of American culture set the stage for a relentless quest for equality stemming from their discontent with Southern refusal to grant adequate opportunities for upward mobility (Bullock, 1967). A protest movement began with the NAACP at the helm focused on the unbearable conditions under which Blacks had to live. "Although Negroes had acquiesced to segregation, they had not surrendered their rights for equality as citizens of the United States" (Bullock, 1967, p. 213).

America's entrance into World War I became another bone of contention that hampered the relationship between Blacks and Whites. In the 1920 publication, *The Voice of the Negro 1919*, Robert T. Kerlin referenced the following statement made by President Woodrow Wilson to a group of prominent Black ministers at a White House conference on March 14, 1918:

I have always known that the Negro has been unjustly and unfairly dealt with; your people have exhibited a degree of the loyalty and patriotism that should commend the admiration of the whole nation. With thousands of your sons in the camps of France, out of this conflict you must expect nothing less than the enjoyment of full citizenship rights--the same as are enjoyed every other citizen. (pp. 40-41)

Inspired by the words of President Wilson and their acceptance in Europe, Black soldiers returned to the United States after World War I with high hopes of their patriotic sacrifices having a positive impact on race relations (Williams, 2011). Instead, they were confronted with a rise in White supremacy and a surge of violence towards Blacks. Between 1918 and 1919, the number of Blacks lynched in the South increased from 64 to 83, and at least 11 of the victims were soldiers returned from the war (Williams, 2011). With no signs of racial equity on the horizon, Blacks felt justified in their bitterness and compelled to openly express their discontent (Bullock, 1967).

The quest for equality was fueled in Black communities by the words of Alain L. Locke, a Black writer and philosopher acknowledged as the dean of the Harlem Renaissance, in his 1925 publication of *The New Negro*:

For generations in the mind of America, the Negro has been more a formula than a human being---a something to be argued about, condemned or defended, to be "kept down," or "in his place," or "helped up," to be worried with or worried over, harassed or patronized, a social bogey or a social burden...the mind of the Negro seems suddenly to have slipped from under the tyranny of social intimidation and to be shaking off the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority. By shedding the old chrysalis of the Negro problem we are achieving something like a spiritual emancipation. (Locke, 1924, pp. 3-4)

The voice of the "New Negro" was loud and clear, especially on the matter of Black education. It was the quest for equality that allowed that voice to ring out in the halls of justice on the side of public schools for Black children (Bullock, 1967).

NAACP Legal Team in Virginia

In 1935, Charles Hamilton Houston, resident vice-dean of the Howard Law School, was appointed the first Special Counsel for the NAACP. Dean Houston established an equalization strategy that allowed the NAACP to play a significant role in dismantling Jim Crow laws. The strategy made it possible for lawsuits to be filed demanding that facilities provided for Black students be made equal to those provided for White students, carefully stopping short of a direct challenge to the *Plessy* decision ("NAACP Legal Department History," 2009). He successfully argued several cases from 1935 to 1940 using the strategy, including *Murray v. Maryland* (1936), which resulted in the desegregation of the University of Maryland's Law School. Thurgood Marshall, the first Black U.S. Supreme Court Justice, was Dean Houston's mentee and student, and succeeded him as the Special Council for the NAACP ("NAACP Legal Department History," 2009).

Melvin O. Alston, a Black commerce teacher at Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk, Virginia, took up the gauntlet in a 1939 quest for equality. Mr. Alston filed a pay equalization suit against Norfolk with the Norfolk Teachers' Association, the Black union, as a co-litigant. The suit was filed to challenge Black teachers doing the same job being paid less than their White counterparts (Littlejohn, 2004). The NAACP legal team, Oliver W. Hill, Sr., William H. Hastie, Jr., Leon Ransom, and Thurgood Marshall argued that Norfolk's pay schedule violated their client's 14th Amendment equal protection rights (Littlejohn, 2004). The judge in the case found that Mr. Alston voluntarily entered into a contractual relationship with Norfolk and had no rights to contest his rate of pay (Alston v. Norfolk, 1940). Mr. Marshall appealed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, where the Norfolk salary schedule was placed under a microscope (Littlejohn, 2004). The circuit court's 1940 decision overturned the previous opinion and ruled "the School Board's use of a racially discriminatory salary schedule was a 'condition' that violated black [sic] teachers' rights under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment" (Alston v. Norfolk, 1940). The school board's appeal to the Supreme Court was denied and Norfolk's Black teachers agreed to a three-year salary equalization plan (Littlejohn, 2004).

Brown v. Board of Education, 1954 and 1955

A Black third-grader in Topeka, Kansas, named Linda Brown had to walk one mile through a railroad switchyard to get to her Black elementary school, even though a White elementary school was only seven blocks away (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). Linda's father, Oliver Brown, tried to enroll her in the White elementary school, but the principal refused her entry. The NAACP legal counsel eagerly came to the defense of the Browns, as it had long waited for the appropriate opportunity to challenge segregation in public schools (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). Other Black parents joined the Browns, and in 1951, the NAACP requested an injunction that would forbid the segregation of Topeka's public schools. The Brown case was consolidated by the Supreme Court with four similar cases from South Carolina -Briggs vs. Elliot, Virginia - Davis v. Prince Edward County, Delaware - Gebhart v. Belton, and Washington D.C. - Bolling v. Sharpe (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). In each case, the plaintiffs sought to invalidate laws that permitted the segregation of Black and White children in public schools (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). The team of NAACP attorneys led by Mr. Marshall included two Virginians, Mr. Hill and Spottswood W. Robinson III of Richmond. They bravely challenged a prevailing constitutional orthodoxy by declaring that separate-but-equal facilities did violate the 14th Amendment (Green, 2004).

In May, 1951 Mr. Hill and Mr. Robinson from the NAACP legal counsel in Richmond, Virginia, filed suit on behalf of 170 Black students attending the all Black Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia, (*Davis v. Prince Edward County*, 1952). The students had staged a two-week strike to protest poor school conditions. Before agreeing to take the case, Mr. Hill and Mr. Robinson insisted that the students directly challenge segregated schooling, rather than seek equalization of the school facility (*The Prince Edward Case and the Brown Decision*, 2003-2004). The plaintiffs asked that the state law requiring segregated schools in Virginia be struck down. In regard to segregated education, a three-judge panel at the U.S. District Court unanimously rejected the students' request stating, "we have found no hurt or harm to either race" (*Davis v. Prince Edward County*, 1952). However, the school board was ordered to proceed with plans to equalize Moton High School (*Davis v. Prince Edward County*, 1952). When the Supreme Court overturned the ruling and ordered desegregation via the *Brown* decision, White Virginians launched a campaign of massive resistance (Gates, 1962). The Board

of Supervisors for Prince Edward County refused to appropriate any funds for the County School Board for the period 1959-1964, effectively closing all of the county's schools for five years (Gates, 1962).

The strength of the NAACP legal defense team in the *Brown* case rested upon the conditions that had been created by the forces of segregation. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a Black psychologist, noted that segregation was detrimental to Black children. He highlighted that as the minority children learned their status, they often reacted with feelings of inferiority (Green, 2004). This sense of inferiority affected their motivation to learn and, thus had a tendency to retard their educational and mental development and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). In its unanimous decision, the Supreme Court held that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read the following majority opinion in the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling:

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 3)

The *Brown* decision was reargued a year later for the purpose of determining an implementation plan to desegregate schools. On May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court ruled:

The fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles...and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion...with all deliberate speed... (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955)

Massive Resistance in Virginia

The *Brown* decision overshadowed the administration of Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley between 1954 and 1958. The governor appointed the Gray Commission, made up of influential legislators from the General Assembly and led by State Senator Garland Gray of Waverly, Virginia, on August 30, 1954 (Dabney, 1971). The commission attempted to prevent extensive school closings, but, at the same time, avoid compulsory integration (Glasscock, 2003). "It also recommended a tuition grant program to permit students to attend nonsectarian private schools and public schools outside of the localities in which they resided" (Glasscock, 2003, p. 20). In February 1956, United States Senator Harry F. Byrd, political machine boss in Virginia, declared that massive resistance would be the best course to take in dealing with school desegregation (Gates, 1962). NAACP attorneys filed a motion in the federal district court on April 23, 1956, asking that Prince Edward County be "ordered to begin school desegregation no later than September 1956" (Gates, 1962, p. 125). Three days later a similar motion was filed in Newport News which "was the first new suit of this nature to be filed in Virginia" (Gates, 1962, p. 125) since the 1954 *Brown* decision. By May of 1956 school boards in Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Arlington County were brought under legal attack by Black parents guided and represented by NAACP legal counsel (Gates, 1962).

On August 27, 1956, Governor Stanley introduced a plan that would close any school under court order to integrate and cut off state funding to any schools that reopened in compliance with the court order (Dabney, 1971). Schools closed in Warren County, Charlottesville, Norfolk, Prince Edward County, and other areas in the state (Dabney, 1971). In 1958, the newly elected Virginia governor, J. Lindsay Almond, complied with Governor Stanley's plan and called for the school closings (Dabney, 1971). The court system was relentless in its efforts to end massive resistance in Virginia and on January 19, 1959 the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia declared Governor Almond's school-closing proclamations void (Bly, 1998). The governor had no choice but to recognize the futility of massive resistance and to accept school desegregation as a reality (Bly, 1998). *Freedom of Choice* legislation was passed in 1959, and Governor Almond mandated the desegregation of all Virginia public schools in 1960. These conclusions led to declining student populations in all-Black high schools across the commonwealth, and many of them closed their doors by 1969

(Dabney, 1971). Separate-but-equal was gone, but so were the names, memories, and achievements associated with defunct all Black high schools in Virginia.

Chapter 3: The Education of Blacks in Princess Anne County/ Virginia Beach, Virginia

Black Education in Princess Anne County - Antebellum Years

On June 1, 1691, the House of Burgesses, the legislating body for the Virginia colony, granted a request to divide the Lower Norfolk County. The eastern third of Lower Norfolk became Princess Anne County (Mansfield, 1989). An agrarian-based economy brought prosperity to the county due to the contributions of its slave population. During antebellum, the years prior to the Civil War, Blacks made up over 40% of the residents in Princess Anne. According to the 1830 census, there was at least one slave residing in 62% of the White households in the county (Mansfield, 1989).

The Commonwealth of Virginia was protective of its Southern social society entwined with the institution of slavery. Unlike the Northerners and Westerners who supported women's rights and abolition of slavery, Southerners tended to support reform movements that "might change individuals rather than society as a whole" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 51). Wealthy "Princess Anne farmers who could afford the time and expense associated with commitments" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 51) to reform would set the impetus for the county's system of public education.

Sporadic opportunities for education were available in Princess Anne County during the 1830s via common schools. A common school, operated by an individual designated as the teacher, offered elementary instruction to White students whose parents could afford to pay the tuition (Mansfield, 1989). At the time, the state required each county to appoint school commissioners for the purpose of identifying indigent families. The children from identified indigent families were allowed to enroll in common schools, and their tuitions were paid out of money sent to the commissioners from the Virginia Literary Fund (Mansfield, 1989). Affluent Princess Anne families were also privy to the academy at Kempsville that offered a more advanced level of schooling between 1831 and 1842. The academy accommodated as many as 50 students under the instructional leadership of Robert C. Galbraith (Mansfield, 1989).

There was also the question of Black education in Princess Anne as it was across the commonwealth. Some White residents of the county believed teaching slaves and free Blacks to read and write was a means to increase their understanding of the Bible and the doctrines of

Christianity (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Colonel Anthony Walke, Jr., owner of the Fairfield plantation in Princess Anne County, was convinced that the literacy of his slaves was essential to the self-sufficiency of his plantation (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). In some instances, being able to read and write added to a slave's market value when being sold on the auction block (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

The positive attitudes of Princess Anne County Whites in regard to Black literacy changed after the slave insurrection led by Nat Turner in 1831 (Dabney, 1971). Virginia's General Assembly passed legislation making it illegal for slaves and free Blacks to assemble for the purpose of being educated (Guild, 1936). Slave quarters were patrolled and severe penalties were imposed in the county for unlawful assemblies for the purpose of teaching Blacks (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

The extremely high rate of illiteracy revealed by the census of 1840 generated a panic in Virginia. The alarm instigated spirited discussion on public education in the commonwealth from 1841 to 1846 (Buck, 1952). "An Education Convention for Northwestern Virginia was held at Clarksburg on September 8th, 1841, at which Dr. Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College submitted a plan of public instruction" (Buck, 1952, p. 47). Governor James McDowell delivered a message to the Virginia Legislature in 1843 in which he expressed concern over the high illiteracy rate of White adults in the state (Buck, 1952). In 1845, citizens of Richmond appointed a committee to promote the cause of public education in Virginia. The governor's plea and public agitation prompted the General Assembly to pass an act for the establishment of district public school systems on March 5, 1847 (Buck, 1952). The law did not require, but gave localities the option to set up free public school systems for White children (Buck, 1952).

The residents of Princess Anne County held a public meeting in February 1847 to consider a response to the option of establishing local public schools (Aho, 2009). A petition drive was used to generate support for a referendum, and in the spring of 1847the county's voters approved the organization of a public school system (Aho, 2009). In 1848, one-room schoolhouses were built in 21 districts across Princess Anne County and by 1859, 800 White children were enrolled and regularly attending school during a 10-month school year with a \$7,000 budget (Mansfield, 1989). Princess Anne was one of only 12 localities in Virginia to provide public education prior to the Civil War (Aho, 2009).

John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859 produced a significant and new development in sectional differences between the North and South. It was the first time Northern force was used against the institution of slavery in the Old South (Mansfield, 1989). Brown was dead by the time Princess Anne residents rallied to condemn the atrocities of Harper's Ferry, and "resolved to form vigilance committees to query all suspicious persons" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 65) sighted in the county. The county praised Henry A. Wise, Virginia's governor during the raid, for his prompt response in dealing with the demise of John Brown and his followers (Mansfield, 1989).

By February 1860, Wise had retired from politics and resided on the 884-acre Rolleston plantation he had purchased in Princess Anne County. He abandoned the property two years later after it was seized by Union forces and used as a school for Blacks run by the American Missionary Association (Mansfield, 1989). Rolleston eventually became a refuge for slaves placed there by the Union Command, and after the Civil War it served as a Freedmen's Bureau headquarters where Princess Anne County ex-slaves were educated (Mansfield, 1989).

Black Education in Princess Anne County - Reconstruction

The turbulent and controversial era of Reconstruction was an unpredictable consequence of the Civil War during which the United States debated its role in interracial democracy. In order to enforce the principle of equal rights, Congress enacted laws and constitutional amendments that made it possible for Blacks to vote and hold public office (Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2003). According to Dr. Stephen Mansfield in *Princess Anne County and Virginia Beach: A Pictorial History*:

In March 1867, almost two years after the war's conclusion, Congress adopted a series of Reconstruction Acts which provided for eventual restoration of the Union. Under the terms of that legislation, the commander of each newly created military district would institute a registration of black [sic] and white [sic] voters, who would then elect delegates to a state constitutional convention. By April, Lt. Morton Havens of the Veteran Reserve Corps had been designated...as Princess Anne registrar. Throughout the summer, Havens and his assistants set up tables at Kempsville, London Bridge, and other sites, and when the books closed just before the October election, slightly over half of the approximately eighteen hundred voters were black [sic]. (Mansfield, 1989, p. 68)

Willis Augustus Hodges, a free Black born in Blackwater, Princess Anne County, in 1815 was the victor in the October election and represented the county as its delegate to Virginia's Constitutional Convention of 1867 (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). At the age of 21, Hodges had moved to New York where he was "variously a shopkeeper, teacher, editor, and supporter of abolitionism," (Mansfield, 1989, p. 68) but returned to the county before the end of the Civil War. Princess Anne County's first Black elected official frequently participated in convention deliberations, advocating equal educational opportunities and condemning the intimidation of Black voters (Mansfield, 1989). Unfortunately, the media mocked Hodges' presence at the convention, and he was "always quoted in dialect by the conservative press" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 68). White Virginians strongly opposed what they perceived as a legislature of "scalawags, carpet baggers, and negro [sic] allies" (Glass & Glass, 1937, p. 179). Despite the opposition, the ridiculed constitutional convention "brought the first unequivocal mandate" (Buck, 1952, p. 65) for universal public education to Virginia. Hodges was a participant in the historically significant decision to provide a free, public education for all children in the commonwealth, both Black and White, but in separate schools (Frasier, 1971).

The Virginia Constitution of 1870 required that all localities support public education, and Princess Anne County schools became a part of the new statewide system (Aho, 2009). Unfortunately, the Virginia mandate of universal education did not result in immediate attention to schools for Black children. A Confederate veteran, Edgar B. Macon, was selected as Princess Anne's first school superintendent, and the county's school system structure was broadened to eventually include separate schools for Black children (Aho, 2009). Without any assistance from county officials, Princess Anne's Black community moved forward to open the Ebenezer School in 1872 (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Everett Williams, the school's first teacher held classes in the rear of Ebenezer Baptist Church (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). After 38 years, a two-room structure was built in the churchyard where the Ebenezer School continued to offer an elementary education to Black students in Princess Anne County until 1946 (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

As Dr. William H. Ruffner prepared to resign his position as Virginia's State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he wrote the following statement in his July 1881 annual report in regard to the education of Blacks:

I showed the public value of our colored populations, and contended that they were fully capable of receiving an education, and that every reason for educating whites [sic]

applied equally to educating blacks [sic]; and that whilst it was necessary to educate the races in separate schools there should be no discrimination in respect to their schools as to "management, usefulness or efficiency." (Ruffner, 1881, pp. 124-125)

Dr. R. R. Farr succeeded Dr. Ruffner in 1882 and "carried on in much the same vigorous spirit as his predecessor" (Buck, 1952, p. 94), but their advocacy of equal educational opportunities for all children was ignored. Classes in the rear of a church or in a lodge hall and one or two-room schools erected on church property with little or no support from the school system became the accepted norm in providing public education for Black children in Princess Anne County (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Even though the efforts of Black parents championed the cause, the inequity of schools for Black and White children in the county was apparent by 1886 (Farr, 1886). As shown in Table 3, 10 schools took care of the educational needs of the 1,979 Black students while 21 schools were available to teach 1,904 White students in the Princess Anne County (Farr, 1886).

Table 3

Princess Anne County Schools, 1886

School Information	White	Colored	Total
Number of schools	21	10	31
Pupils enrolled	1,904	1,979	3,883
Number of teachers	21	10	31

Note. Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1886, p. 11

Ten years after Dr. Farr's 1886 Annual Report, the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of separate-but-equal public facilities for Blacks and Whites in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The landmark decision legitimized the existing segregated public schools, but did very little to change the inequities of schools for Blacks and Whites in Princess Anne County (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

Black Education in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach - 20th Century

At the turn of the 20th century, Black parents and concerned leaders across Princess Anne County mobilized to act on the great need of schools for their children. This mobilization of the county's Black residents coincided with "a period of rapid progress in education" (Buck, 1952, p. 140) for the commonwealth. Elementary schooling for Blacks in the early 1900s had become more acceptable in the state, largely because of the emphasis on industrial education (Dabney, 1971). Perhaps the possibility of a minimal public education moved a Black delegation from the Seatack community to meet with the Princess Anne County School Board in 1908. The delegation requested a school for delivering instruction "where their children could receive a proper education" (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998, p. 119). In prompt response to the request, the school board furnished a building secured by the Seatack delegation and hired a teacher (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). The building was located on the property of the Mt. Olive Baptist Church located at 310 North Birdneck Road. The structure that served as the church building for the Mt. Olive congregation from 1894 to 1908 became essential in the education of Black children in Seatack (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). On November 9, 1908, Sarah Parsons Daughtry, a 1902 graduate of Hampton Institute, accepted a six-month contract from the Princess Anne County School Board and became Seatack Colored School's first teacher for a salary of \$20.00 per month (Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting, November 9, 1908).

By 1912, "the Negroes of Virginia and elsewhere were acquiring a degree of confidence in themselves and in their race" (Buck, 1952, p. 205). Blacks in the Seatack community found confidence in the merits of public education, but were apprehensive about the school's physical condition and maintenance. The students attending Seatack Colored School had to use outhouses, bring in water from the well, and cut wood to heat their building. The community dismissed the apprehension and confidently commenced fund-raising in 1920 for building purposes, industrial works, and a teacher's salary (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). On February 6, 1923, John Sharp, William Burford, and William Addie Grimstead, trustees of the Seatack Public School League, purchased property for \$1800.00 to erect a new three-room Seatack Elementary School at 141 South Birdneck Road (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). In March 1952, Great Neck, Oceana and Seatack schools were consolidated to form Seatack Elementary School, which became the first consolidated school for Blacks in Princess Anne County. The property for the school was

purchased by funds raised by Black Seatack parents, community leaders, and school board funds. The new school was built at a cost of \$360,000.00 and contained a general office, a principal's office, a library, clinic, auditorium, cafeteria and 12 classrooms (Aho, 2011).

The approach used by the Black residents of Seatack to acquire school board funds for public education was replicated in Black communities throughout Princess Anne County. After several meetings with the Princess Anne County School Board in the early 1920s, William C. Skinner, a Black Beechwood resident, was finally told to raise \$1000 for a school that would be matched by the school board (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). With another \$1000 from the Rosenwald Fund and a piece of property donated by Grace Keeling on Pleasure House Road, Mr. Skinner built and furnished a three-room school, purchased materials, and hired a teacher (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). The William Skinner School opened in 1923 and offered an elementary education to Black children coming from the Beechwood, Gracetown, Reedtown, Lake Smith, and Burton communities in Princess Anne for the next 30 years (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

In 1928, the decision was made by Princess Anne County School Board to sell Creeds Colored School (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, July 6, 1928). A year later, Blacks residing in Creeds had the confidence to request school board support for a new school:

A delegation of Colored people from Creeds appeared before the Board in the interest of a school to be erected at Creeds. They were told that the Board would appropriate \$350.00 to assist in the erection of said building, if they in turn would turn over all moneys that they had in hand for the above purpose to the School Board, leaving the planning and erection of said building to the jurisdiction of the School Board. The delegation agreed to this. It was further agreed that title to said property be made in the name of the School Board. The balance due on site for the school was ordered paid by the School Board. Legal steps for same as to title and etc. were to be turned over to E. J. Smith, Commonwealth's Attorney of Princess Anne County. (Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting, July 16, 1929)

The Seatack approach was empowered by confidence, and the reluctance to request school board funds for educating Black children dissipated. By the 1929-1930 school year, the school board had employed 25 Black teachers to instruct in 17 different Black elementary schools across Princess Anne County (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, July 24, 1929).

In 1905 there were 50 high schools in the Commonwealth of Virginia, but by 1910 that number had grown to 360 (Heatwole, 1916). "Under the stimulus of the incentive fund given by the state and the work of the state examiners, the number of high schools increased rapidly," (Heatwole, 1916, p. 329) and there were over 400 secondary schools in the commonwealth by 1916. The multiple one, two or three-room school houses erected on church properties in Princess Anne County provided only an elementary education for Black students in the early 20th century. "The idea of high schools for Negroes was making headway slowly but steadily," (Buck, 1952, p. 229) and by the 1917-1918 school year there were 17 Black high schools outside of the cities implementing two-year, three-year, or four-year secondary programs of study. "Six of those schools were known as county training schools and each of them was aided to the extent of \$500 annually by the Slater Fund" (Buck, 1952, p. 229).

Oceana High School opened in Princess Anne County for White students in 1908. By 1912, Kempsville High School and Creeds High School had also opened for Whites, but there still was no public educational facility in the county for Blacks beyond seventh grade (Mansfield, 1989). Some could afford to pay the \$35.00 tuition to send their children to Booker T. Washington, the Black high school in Norfolk. Booker T. had its beginning in 1911, and in 1914 it became the first Black accredited high school in Virginia (*A History of Booker T. Washington High School*, 2003). Esther Grimstead Wilson, a 1941 PACTS/UKHS graduate, shared the following account of her daily trek from Princess Anne County to Norfolk in her PACTS/UKHS Museum videotaped interview:

My father worked for Norfolk Southern and he could get a pass for me to ride the rail bus to Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk. That's how I happened to go...that one year. It was an adventure because at that time with the segregation, on the rail bus, the conductors had to ask the colored to move back when more people got on. I do remember that to avoid all of that sort of thing, when I got on the rail bus I always got on the back seat and I always brought something to read. I read until I got to Broad Creek where the rail bus had to slow down to go across a trestle. It stopped at Park Avenue over there where Norfolk State University is. I would get there and walk over to Booker T. Sometimes it was raining and cold, but I made it for a year. (Wilson, 2008b)

With hopes of rectifying the fact that there was not a Black high school in the county, according to the October 26, 1925 minutes in the *PACTS Association Record Book*:

The teachers, patrons, pastors and friends of the Public Schools of Princess Anne County assembled at Seatack on the above date, the Div. Supt. J. H. Carroll having called a mass meeting to discuss ways & means of raising money to build a Training School [sic] in Princess Anne County for Colored children. It was voted that a permanent organization be formed that the work may be more successfully carried on. The election of officers resulted as follows: President, Supt. J. H. Carroll; Vice President, Mrs. Mary Whitehurst; and Secretary-Treasurer, M. E. Gray. (*PACTS Association Record Book*, 1925, pp. 1-2)

This 1925 historic collaboration of like-minded Black citizens and the superintendent of Princess Anne County Schools launched an ongoing community effort via the Princess Anne County Training School Association (PACTS Association). For the next 13 years, the association was relentless in its endeavor to finance and build a training school that offered Black children a secondary education in Princess Anne County (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

The PACTS Association immediately began to "raise money by holding contests, bake sales, excursions, and other community activities" (*The Last Walk*, 2007, p. 4). Association monthly meetings were held, and reports of donations from the county's Black churches, school leagues, and lodges were received (*The Last Walk*, 2007). Students in the colored common schools of Princess Anne County donated their pennies, nickels, and dimes in the sum of \$142.50, which was the first donation reported to the training school association (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 26, 1925, p. 2). The association actively promoted the dream of a high school for their children, and the possibility of it becoming a reality energized the Black community. Thinking back on all of the excitement, Mrs. Wilson recalled:

When I was a little girl I heard whispers about meetings they were having; and the quarters and change being saved to build this training school for the colored, at that time we were called colored, students in Princess Anne County. (Wilson, 2008b)

Mrs. Wilson's mention of whispers about the meetings validated the necessity to conceal certain aspects of PACTS Association business. Millie James McPhearson, a Princess Anne County resident and entrepreneur, was one of the founders and trustees of the association (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). In a videotaped interview for the PACTS/UKHS Museum, his granddaughter, Erma McPhearson Brown, commented about the fear of "a revolt or opposition...so they met secretly for years even though they were told they could raise the money" (Brown, 2008).

On May 30, 1926, the PACTS Association's acting president, Daniel Riddick, appointed Mr. McPhearson, Lewis Henry Brinkley, Jr., and James W. C. Davis as a committee to investigate and report on purchasing property for building a training school (*PACTS Association Record Book*, May 30, 1926). Aware of some opposition from the Princess Anne County School Board, the three association trustees armed with bravery and determination moved forward (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Pictures of the PACTS Association trustees are located in Appendix L. On August 9, 1926, Mr. McPhearson, Mr. Brinkley, and Mr. Davis signed a deed agreement with Walter and Deliah Kemp that bought property to build PACTS. Four acres of land were purchased in the Kempsville area near Euclid Road at \$300 per acre for a total of \$1200. A copy of the deed is in Appendix M. Unfortunately, the land purchase depleted the association's treasury, and the school board's lack of response stymied interest and donations from the Black community. Yet, the association never lost sight of its goal to build a training school where Black children could get a high school education (*PACTS Association Record Book*, September 6, 1926).

Almost four years after the association's land purchase, a faction from the Colored School Leagues attended the Princess Anne County School Board Meeting on February 19, 1930. League representatives stated that they had raised money and purchased property to be used as a site to build a Black high school. They requested school board assistance in establishing a training school. The board asked Robert Johnson, the Princess Anne County Schools Superintendent, to look into the matter and report his recommendations at the next meeting (*Minutes of the Princess Anne County School Meeting*, February 19, 1930).

At the June 12, 1927 PACTS Association meeting, Mr. McPherson had reported his meeting with W. D. Gresham, the State Supervisor for Negro Education. Mr. Gresham shared that he would look into getting financial support from the Rosenwald Fund to aid in building a Black high school in Princess Anne County (*PACTS Association Record Book*, June 12, 1927). Three years after this meeting, Superintendent Johnson brought a letter from Mr. Gresham to the attention of the school board. The letter asked "that the board make a substantial appropriation to assist the negroes [*sic*] in the county in constructing a training school" (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, April 16, 1930). Following a lengthy discussion, a motion was made and carried to table the discussion about a training school for a year to "study the

purpose of such a school and ascertain the feasibility of a future expenditure toward such a construction" (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, April 16, 1930).

A second letter from Mr. Gresham was read at the school board meeting on June 18, 1930, referencing the necessity of a secondary education for Black students in Princess Anne County. "It was decided by the Board after much discussion, that inasmuch as the budget had not taken care of same it would be inadvisable to consider same" (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, June 18, 1930).

Stephen S. Mansfield, author of *Princess Anne County and Virginia Beach: A Pictorial History*, recounted in his interview with the researcher that by the early 1930s:

Princess Anne County was the only county in Virginia with a comparable Black population that didn't offer high school level education for Black children, and that certainly is a black mark on the history of the county that was one of the very first in the state to establish a public school system. (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009)

Despite the lack of commitment from the Princess Anne County School Board, the PACTS Association continued meeting, sponsoring fund-raisers, and rallying the support of the Black community. On September 4, 1932, the association hosted a fund-raiser at the Stock Company Fairgrounds in Princess Anne County. The festive occasion drew a large crowd anxious to hear various speakers, enjoy good food, and play field sports and games. Mary E. Gray, association secretary-treasurer, shared its history and accomplishments. Mr. Gresham, the Negro Education State Supervisor, spoke about the advantage of education. "Push, Perseverance, and Pleasantness" (*PACTS Association Record Book*, September 4, 1932, p. 105) were his key talking points.

After yet another discussion about the building of a proposed training school for Blacks at the March 1, 1934, Princess Anne County School Board meeting, it was agreed to submit the project. On the motion made, seconded, and carried unanimously "the Board voted to appropriate the sum of \$4,697.77 for the purpose of constructing said Training School [sic], this amount to be derived from the contribution of local negroes [sic] (\$1,697.77) and the grant of \$3000 from the Slater Fund" (Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting, March 1, 1934). A motion had finally been carried to appropriate money to build a high school for Black students, but none of it would come from the Princess Anne County School Board.

The PACTS Association immediately requested and was granted a special meeting with the school board on March 19, 1934. Mr. McPherson and L. P. Roberts represented the association to appeal for expeditious action from the school board to insure the construction of the training school, and presented the following resolution:

The officers and members of the Training School Association held a meeting on the date to discuss the necessity of having a Training School and transportation for our boys and girls. After some discussion, a motion was made to appoint a committee to meet your honorable board. During the years we have been working, we have to our credit, to put at your disposal, four acres of land, paid for; \$1,079.00 in the County Treasure's office and \$974.45 in the Merchant Mechanics Bank. In view of this fact we are asking you to please build us a school.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration, we are—Obediently yours, Committee - M. J. McPherson, M. J. Williams, L. H. Brinkley,

D. Riddick, President, N. S. Jernigan, Acting Secretary (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, March 19, 1934)

Eight years had passed since the PACTS Association bought four acres of land to erect a much-needed county training school for Black students. The association was fed up with their children having to wait, and baffled by the school board's lack of response to its March 19, 1934 resolution. Motivated to act, the PACTS Association made the decision to add grades eight through eleven to Union Kempsville School, a Black elementary school, located on the property of Union Baptist Church (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). A training school had not, yet been constructed, but Princess Anne's first high school offerings for Black students began in the fall of 1934 at Union Kempsville School. Mary L. Tuston was principal and Hattie L. Goodman was the first teacher to provide a high school education to Black children in Princess Anne County (*The Last Walk*, 2007).

Offering high school classes at Union Kempsville School by 1934 was applauded, but the PACTS Association had not given up on its dream of an actual high school for Black students. In 1936, a \$14,000 federal grant was secured from the Works Progress Administration (WPA), a New Deal agency, to build the Princess Anne County Training School. Its total construction cost was estimated at \$22,000, and the PACTS Association would raise the remaining funds (*The Last Walk*, 2007). A cornerstone laying ceremony took place on October 21, 1937, to

commemorate the start of construction (*The Last Walk*, 2007). The structure was designed by Rudolph, Cooke and Van Leeuwen of Norfolk, Virginia and built in monolithic concrete (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). It consisted of four classrooms, a principal's office, a library, and an assembly room (Gray, 1939). A second two-room building was added in 1939 for agricultural and home economics classes. Its cost of \$5,133 was also funded by a grant from the Works Progress Administration (Gray, 1939). See pictures of the school and the agriculture building in Appendix N.

In the spring of 1938, a group of Black seniors graduated high school in Princess Anne County. These were the 19 students who began their secondary education at Union Kempsville School on the property of Union Baptist Church in 1934 with Mary L. Tuston as principal (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). They never occupied the training school, but were held in high esteem and designated as the first graduating class of PACTS/UKHS. The first and only Black high school in Princess Anne County opened in the fall of 1938 at the intersection of Cleveland Street and Witchduck Road (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). The original PACTS faculty of four included Thaddeus C. Smith, Sr., principal and teacher; and Hattie L. Goodman, Bettie V. Forbes, and Harry Robinson, teachers (Gray, 1939). A list of PACTS/UKHS administrators, teachers, and staff is located in Appendix O. Mary E. Gray was the first Jeanes teacher in Princess Anne and eventually became the school system's Supervisor of Negro Elementary Instruction. The following excerpt was taken from Mrs. Gray's article, "Princess Anne County Looks Forward," published in the January 1939 issue of the *Virginia Teachers Bulletin*:

The new Princess Anne County Training School is a result of keen interest and cooperation between the county school board and the colored patrons of Princess Anne, because their dreams of about nine years have come true. The school year 1938-39 finds the institution working in full swing with a corps of four teachers, an average of 162 students. Students are busily engaged daily in the extracurricular activities of the school, namely, dramatics, literary club, Hi-Y, Girl Reserve, Script, Glee club and baseball. Enough cannot be said of the untiring efforts of Superintendent Frank W. Cox, Supervisor Mary E. Gray, W.P.A. Adviser T. C. Walker, and the County Training School Association, which is headed by Daniel Riddick of Piney Grove, Virginia. (Gray, 1939, pp. 25- 26)

PACTS became an instant source of pride for the Black community in the county. The PACTS Association carried on its function, and continued to raise money to finance their school. By the end of 1938, the association even began to have its meetings at the school, instead of the county churches (*PACTS Association Record Book*, December 11, 1938). Black residents basked in delight when it was announced to the public that PACTS was accredited as a class 'A' high school by the Virginia Department of Education (Princess Anne Training School, 1941). On May 23, 1941, hundreds of county residents, both Black and White, poured into the training school for a celebratory banquet during which multiple three-minutes speeches offered up praise to PACTS for achieving full accreditation (Princess Anne Training School, 1941).

At a Princess Anne County School Board meeting on August 20, 1946, a letter from Thaddeus Smith was read in which he requested to be relieved of his duties as principal of PACTS after 12 years in the position. He also asked to be reassigned to classroom duties with no modification in his salary (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, August 20, 1946). The school board voted to grant Mr. Smith both of his requests, and Mr. Joseph V. Boykin replaced him as the second and final principal of PACTS (*The Last Walk*, 2007).

On September 17, 1946, a delegation of Black citizens headed by Mr. W. Frances Taylor with Attorney Victor J. Ashe as spokesperson attended the Princess Anne County School Board meeting. The delegation requested that consideration be given to improving school facilities for Black students in the county (Minutes of Princess Anne County Board School Meeting, September 17, 1946). Mr. Taylor then sent a letter to Virginia Governor William M. Tuck describing the deplorable conditions of Princess Anne County's Black schools such as snakeinfested toilets, no school nurses, only five buses available to transport Black children to 13 different county schools, students forced to drink from water pails, and Black residents being asked to raise money to equip the training school (Princess Anne Schools To Be Surveyed, 1946). Governor Tuck immediately referred the matter to the Virginia Department of Education, which resulted in a special commission being appointed by G. Tyler Miller, State Superintendent of Public Instruction and sent to survey the Black schools in Princess Anne County (Princess Anne Schools To Be Surveyed, 1946). The commission's survey substantiated the school conditions reported by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Ashe. The commission recommended a long-range building program that contemplated the construction of a new high school building in addition to the original PACTS structure and the construction of three new strategically located regional

Black elementary schools as soon as it was possible to do so (*Minutes of the Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, April 20, 1948). The Princess Anne County School Board reacted favorably to the recommendations and secured an \$80,000 loan from the Virginia Literary Fund to add four classrooms, a cafeteria, lavatory facilities, and a heating plant to PACTS in 1949 (*Minutes of the Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, July 1, 1949). A picture of the school with the addition is in Appendix P.

A 15-acre site, adjacent to PACTS, was purchased by the Princess Anne County School Board in 1950 to build a new high school for Black students in order for the campus to accommodate a consolidated center for elementary grades in the Kempsville District (*The Last Walk*, 2007). This initiative was also in response to the commission's recommended long-range building program to improve Black schools in the county. Elementary students who attended the one or two-room schools at (a) New Light, (b) Union Kempsville, (c) Piney Grove, and (d) St. Johns were to be transferred to PACTS (*The Last Walk*, 2007). The estimated cost of the new training school was \$300,000 with its construction financed by a special tax levy for \$50,000 and a state grant for \$250,000 (*Minutes of the Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, April 18, 1950). The state-of-the-art facility located on Witchduck Road and designed by Rudolph, Cooke, and Van Leeuwen opened in the fall of 1953. The new PACTS featured 14 classrooms, a library, a cafeteria, a 526-seat auditorium, a gymnasium, a home economics facility, an industrial arts area, a band room, a science room, a principal's office, and boys' and girls' bathrooms (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Pictures of the new school are in Appendix Q.

H. C. Benjamin, Clyde Siler, and Robert F. Hagans appeared before the Princess Anne County School Board on May 16, 1961 with a petition requesting PACTS be re-named in honor of Thaddeus C. Smith, the school's first principal. The school board voted to postpone taking positive action on renaming the training school at that time (*Minutes of the Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, May 16, 1961).

The early 1960s was a pivotal time in Black American history with the onset of the civil rights movement. It was a decade defined by incredible courage and the strength of character to stage sit-ins, challenge the segregation of interstate transportation, or host voter registration drives in the South (Baldwin, 2011). Freedom was in the air in ways that challenged White authority and even contested established Black ways of doing things (Baldwin, 2011). Just because of the times, renaming the training school became a controversial issue in Princess

Anne. The "we shall overcome" era impelled Black residents of Princess Anne to think differently about the only Black high school in the county being called a training school (Baldwin, 2001). They no longer took pride in the label, and Black parents, patrons, and students openly began to question why Black children had to be trained rather than taught. The Princess Anne County School Board had a concern about naming the school after a person because of its intention to move away from that practice (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). After discussion and compromise, the school board voted to rename the Princess Anne County Training School as Union Kempsville High School, effective with the 1961-1962 school year (Payne, 1997a).

The Times They Are A-Changin,' the title of a 1960s Bob Dylan hit, could have easily become the tag line for Princess Anne County during the decade. A monumental event in 1963, related to politics rather than education, would change the county forever. In 1906, a two-square mile resort area in Princess Anne County called Virginia Beach had been incorporated as a town. It had become an independent city in 1952. On January 4, 1962 residents of Princess Anne County and the city of Virginia Beach went to the polls to vote on a referendum to merge the county with the city. They voted 9,015 to 2,001 to merge, and Princess Anne County ceased to exist while the City of Virginia Beach emerged as "The World's Largest Resort City" (Mansfield, 1989, p. 196). The Virginia Beach City Council met for the first time on January 1, 1963 representing the boroughs of Princess Anne, Virginia Beach, Bayside, Kempsville, Lynnhaven, Pungo, and Blackwater.

At a Virginia Beach City School Board meeting on January 19, 1965, Superintendent Frank W. Cox, brought the following federal requirement to the attention of the board:

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, necessitating the filing of an "Assurance of Compliance Certificate" (H.E.W. Form 441) with the U.S. Office of Education as a condition for receipt of federal grants under P. L. 815 and 874; and likewise for entitlement to receive other federal funds. This certificate is a part of the regulations promulgated to implement Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, January 19, 1965)

The school board voted unanimously to execute the certificate and forward it to the appropriate authorities. In taking this action, the Virginia Beach City School Board agreed "to make no distinction on the ground of race, color, or national origin in providing to individuals any services, financial aid or other benefits under any program receiving Federal financial

assistance" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, January 19, 1965). The school division upheld its policy "to permit pupils to enroll or transfer upon request, *Freedom of Choice*, from one school to another if the pupil lives within the attendance area of the school to which he desires to attend or to which he wishes to transfer" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, January 19, 1965).

The school board's *Freedom of Choice* policy did not precipitate hasty depletion of the UKHS enrollment. In the opinion of, Edward E. Brickell, who was appointed superintendent of Virginia Beach City Schools in March 1968, the attitude of reluctance from Black parents surfaced because:

Many of the parents of the students at UK had been there themselves in the older days, and may have said, "I still remember Judge Goss, he was my P. E. teacher, I still remember John Perry, he was my chemistry teacher." Along with the churches, UK was sort of the center of the Black community. (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009)

Black parents in Virginia Beach wanted the best for their children, and that could mean leaving the only all-Black high school in the history of the recently merged city. Decisions to transfer came slowly, but eventually the UKHS enrollment did decline as more Black students opted to attend a high school that was better equipped or one closer to their homes (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Dr. Brickell presented a desegregation plan to the school board on January 21, 1969, that called for the closing of UKHS due to a serious drop in enrollment. He "advised that the mandate of existing statutes and court proceedings specifies that Virginia Beach must move to a unitary school system [system that has eliminated all segregated schools] effective for the 1969-1970 session" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, January 21, 1969). The school board approved the plan, and UKHS shut down operation in June of 1969.

PACTS/UKHS had honorably served its students, parents, and patrons in the Princess Anne/Virginia Beach Black community for 31 years and would never be forgotten (*The Last Walk*, 2007). In a PACTS/UKHS Museum videotaped interview, Margie Wilson Coefield, a 1962 graduate, had this to say about her beloved school:

I would just like to say that I am grateful to our ancestors who came up with the idea, such as the Princess Anne Training School Association, to start the high school, and to have a high school built. We had so many young people prior to the building of this

school who had to go to Norfolk, if they wanted to attend high school. They had to go to New Jersey. They had to go to New York. They had to go out of the state. Therefore, by having a high school, it meant that we were afforded the educational advantages so we could go on and further our education; so that we could be able to compete in a very competitive world in order to become productive citizens. I am grateful to our ancestors for doing that. If I hear someone say, I attended Princess Anne County Training School, I immediately turn around. It's like family. A legacy has been passed down to us that we want to pass down to our children. (Coefield, 2008)

Chapter 4: The Oral Histories of PACTS/UKHS

What is Oral History?

"Oral history is a research method that involves in-depth interviewing to retrieve personal testimony delivered in oral form" (Yow, 2005, p. 3). Several terms are often used interchangeably with oral history. Among them are recorded memoir, life history, life narrative, and taped memories that "imply that someone else is involved who frames the topics and inspires the narrator to begin the act of remembering...then records and presents the narrator's words" (Yow, 2005, p. 4). During the interview process, dates are jumbled, people are confused, and some memories are just lost; but the oral evidence extracted from the narrator's words must be convincing and verifiable (Ritchie, 2003). Oral history should not be a stand-alone source of reference, but when substantiated by other materials it makes a critical addition to the data gathered for a historical study (Ritchie, 2003).

The researcher gathered "memories and personal commentaries of historical significance" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 19) from the narratives of those who were students, administrators, teachers, or staff at PACTS/UKHS between 1938 and 1969. By virtue of in-depth interviews, their oral histories relayed events and episodes these individuals lived through or heard about from relatives and friends (Lichtman & French, 1978). They recounted PACTS/UKHS legends and gossip, described the school's customs and traditions, and conveyed its importance to the Black community in Princess Anne/ Virginia Beach (Lichtman & French, 1978). Each of the following participants had a specific relationship with PACTS/UKHS, and agreed to share their oral histories with the researcher for this study:

- 1. **Thaddeus T. Cason, Sr.** (*Student*) Mr. Cason attended PACTS from eighth grade to eleventh grade. He started high school in 1950 and graduated in 1954.
- 2. Joshua Darden, Jr. (Student/Teacher) Mr. Darden was a student at PACTS from 1952 until 1957 when he graduated valedictorian of his class. He returned to the school in 1962 to teach physical education and was eventually named head coach of football and track. Mr. Darden remained at UKHS as a teacher/coach until it closed in 1969.

- 3. **Cora Lee Goodman** (*Student*) Ms. Goodman began her high school career at PACTS in 1949 and graduated in 1953.
- 4. **Velma Mills Haynes** (*Student/Staff*) Mrs. Haynes entered PACTS as an eighth grader in 1943 and graduated in 1947. After completing college, she was hired as the PACTS/UKHS head secretary in 1955 and remained in that position until the school closed in 1969.
- 5. **Hortense Russell Spence** (*Student*) Mrs. Spence attended PACTS for four years, from the eighth grade through the eleventh grade. She enrolled in September 1945 and graduated salutatorian of her class in May 1949.
- 6. **Ronald W. Thompson** (*Student*) Mr. Thompson was the youngest participant in the study. He attended UKHS only for eighth grade during the 1966-1967 school year.
- 7. **Charles A. Willis** (*Teacher/Administrator*) Mr. Willis came to Princess Anne County from Buckingham County, Virginia, in 1961 to teach seventh grade science at Bettie F. Williams Elementary School. In 1964, he was assigned to UKHS to teach science and became the school's assistant principal in 1965. Mr. Willis remained a UKHS assistant principal until the school closed in 1969.

Several White Virginia Beach residents were also interviewed for the study. Their taped memories were compared and contrasted with the historical accounts of Black participants in order to broaden the perspective of the researcher. The following White participants were interviewed:

- 8. **Edward E. Brickell** Dr. Brickell was appointed superintendent of VBCPS in 1967and was superintendent when UKHS closed in 1969.
- 9. **Robin D. Davenport** Mr. Davenport is a lifelong resident of Princess Anne/Virginia Beach, where he was born and raised in Blackwater. Presently he is principal of Creeds Elementary School in Virginia Beach.
- 10. **Stephen S. Mansfield** Dr. Mansfield was a professor and dean at Virginia Wesleyan College and is now the Virginia Wesleyan archivist. He is also a Princess Anne County historian and the author of *Princess Anne County and Virginia Beach: A Pictorial History*.

In addition to the oral histories collected by the researcher, data were collected from the interviews of the following individuals with specific relationships with the school videotaped for the PACTS/UKHS Historical Committee project:

- 1. **Ruby Lonesome Allen** (*student/teacher*) Dr. Allen is a 1948 PACTS graduate and taught at PACTS/UKHS from 1953 to 1969.
- 2. **Joseph Boykin**, **Jr.** (*student*) Dr. Boykin is a 1964 UKHS graduate and the son of Principal Boykin.
- 3. Margie Wilson Coefield (student) Mrs. Coefield is a 1962 UKHS graduate.
- 4. **Edna Hawkins-Hendrix** (*student*) Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix is a 1969 UKHS graduate and a local historian.
- 5. **Otealia Kimble Jennings** (*student/teacher*) Mrs. Jennings is a 1948 PACTS graduate and taught at PACTS from 1955 to 1957.
- 6. **Erma McPhearson Brown** (*student*) Mrs. Brown attended PACTS from 1949 to 1960, but graduated from Booker T. Washington High School in 1962. She is also the granddaughter of Mr. Millie McPhearson, a PACTS Association trustee.
- 7. **Roy Alvin Reid** (*student/teacher*) Mr. Reid is a 1943 PACTS graduate and taught at PACTS/UKHS from 1950 to 1969.
- 8. **William E. Russell** (*student*) Dr. Russell is a 1956 PACTS graduate.
- 9. **Jean O. Siler** (*teacher*) Mrs. Siler taught at PACTS/UKHS from 1950 to 1969. She started the school's Business Department, sponsored the yearbook and advised the newspaper staff.
- 10. Mary Henry Smith (student) Mrs. Smith is a 1961 PACTS graduate.
- 11. **Roy Spain** (*student*) Dr. Spain is a 1966 UKHS graduate.
- 12. **Carlos Frances Wilson** (*parent*) Mr. Wilson had two daughters to graduate from UKHS in 1962.
- 13. Esther Grimstead Wilson (*student*) Mrs. Wilson is a 1941 PACTS graduate.

The oral histories of study participants and data collected from the videotaped interviews of the PACTS/UKHS Museum supported a historical reconstruction enabling the researcher to trace the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS. Class pictures of study participants who were students, teachers, administrators, or staff at PACTS/UKHS and videotaped interviewees for the museum are located in Appendices R through CC.

Motivated Black Residents in Princess Anne County

The first meeting of the PACTS Association on October 26, 1925 at Mount Olive Baptist Church in Seatack occurred 60 years after the abolition of slavery in the United States. Newly freed slaves and free Blacks had been granted American citizenship and given the right to vote. In time, possession of constitutional rights cultivated the confidence needed by the association to initiate a conversation about a better education for Black children in Princess Anne County. For some, a better education meant additional instructional materials, properly trained teachers, and improved school structures. For others, it meant a high school for Black children in the county as recalled by Mrs. Haynes, a 1947 graduate of PACTS:

I do know that they wanted one because in my mother's situation, she had to go to Norfolk to go to high school. I was very young, but I remember her always talking about how she had to leave her mother and stay with a cousin in Norfolk so she could go to high school. And, how she had to walk from Princess Anne Road to Baker Road, catch the rail bus, and walk from that distance all the way home every Friday. My mother was really delighted that they were preparing to build a high school. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Mrs. Hayne's understanding of a better education for Black children was confirmed by a primary source, the *PACTS Association Record Book*. As documented by the record book, the mass meeting called on October 26th by Princess Anne County Division Superintendent J. H. Carroll was for the purpose of discussing "ways and means of raising money to build a Training School in Princess Anne County...which would offer better educational advantages to the Colored youths" (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 26, 1925, p. 1).

A better education also signified a future filled with opportunities that had once been unattainable to Blacks. Ms. Goodman, a 1953 PACTS graduate, called to mind the parents' desire for a higher quality of living for their children:

By times being tight during the 20s and 30s most people worked in the fields. They didn't have no big time job to go to 'cause by being Black that was a strike against you from the beginning. Parents felt they could have better opportunity, but so many of the Black children were not able to read and write; and if you can't read then you can't do anything. Parents felt if they could get their children to at least graduate from high school that

would give them a better opportunity in life. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2008)

Roy A. Reid was a 1943 PACTS graduate who returned in 1954 to teach music. He created the school's band program and remained at PACTS/UKHS until it closed in 1969. In a videotaped interview for the PACTS/UKHS Museum, Mr. Reid reflected on his mother's belief that a better education could enhance his future. In an excerpt from his videotaped interview, Mr. Reid shared the following:

At that time, a seventh grade education was an achievement and I was sort of breaking the mold because I was going to high school. Most people my age were going for employment—going to work as laborers. I felt like I needed to continue my education, however, I probably would not have completed high school had it not been for my mother. She was a high school graduate and taught in Gibbs, North Carolina. Well, my dad grew up on the farm and went as far as fifth grade. He would leave chores for me to do and then go off to work. Instead of doing the chores, my mother told me to go to school. My dad never said anything, and I fell in love with school. (Reid, 2008)

The Black residents of Princess Anne County committed to the obligation of a better education for their children, and supported the PACTS Association decision to purchase land for building a proposed training school in spite of little or no support from the county school board (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 26, 1925). Mr. Cason, a PACTS student, recalled "parents raising funds to buy the land because there wasn't much help from the county at the time" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). Ms. Goodman remembered that "the Princess Anne County School Board at that time didn't appropriate any money or any land for a high school for Black children" (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009). It was stated at the November 15, 1925 PACTS Association meeting that a location for the proposed training school had been selected "near Euclid [Road] on the estate of Mr. Walter Kemp who says he will sell to us as much land as is necessary from two to five acres at \$300 per acre" (*PACTS Association Record Book*, November 15, 1925, pp. 7, 8). Even though the association did not have the necessary financial backing from the school board, the association membership was constant in its effort to build the proposed training school.

Black churches were essential to the education of Black children in Princess Anne County. Most of the one and two-room Black elementary schools were located on church properties with the teachers hired by the school board (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). At a 1933 board meeting, "a delegation from the Union Kempsville School appeared before the Board requesting that a teacher be added to that school to take care of the large pupil enrollment" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, October 19, 1933). A motion was made, seconded, and voted upon "to furnish another teacher during the present school year if finances would permit and without any such provision next year" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, October 19, 1933). The Union Kempsville School was a Black elementary school housed on the grounds of Union Baptist Church. Similarly, Ebenezer School, Piney Grove School, Nimmo School, and Seatack School were located on other church properties (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). Mr. Darden, a PACTS/UKHS student and teacher, relayed his feelings on the significance of Black churches in Princess Anne County:

The church was a big thing in the Black community. This is why I think deacons always talk so much in church because Blacks were never used to having any authority. The church gave them a place where they could have that authority. So, civic league meetings and things like that, mostly the churches were used. And just like the schools, elementary, we had little two-room schools in every community almost. And so, like I said, the church was the focal point. (J. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

Many of the leaders in Black churches were also leaders in the PACTS Association, and it seemed logical that the church emerged and assisted the association in raising money for the proposed training school. The Black elementary schools in Princess Anne County each had a league that was represented at the first PACTS Association meeting. Each school league raised money, and reported its donations and pledges at the association meetings (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 26, 1925). The leagues remained active throughout PACT/UKHS's existence. Ms. Goodman, a 1953 graduate, described a school league as "a special committee within the church body who would ask parents, anybody who was a relative of a student, or even a visitor at church to give whatever they had for the school" (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009). Black churches in the community fueled the PACTS Association fundraising efforts to erect a Black high school in Princess Anne County.

In addition to fundraising hosted by churches and leagues, donations were pledged by local fraternal organizations. At the second PACTS Association meeting held at Union

Kempsville Church, donations were reported from the Eastern Star Tent #48, the Knights of Gideon, the Daughters of Princess Anne Tent #349, and the Knights of Mystic Chain (*PACTS Association Record Book*, November 15, 1925). Individual donations for the proposed training school were also commonplace. Mr. Darden recalled that his paternal grandfather was involved in the fundraising to purchase land for the school (J. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Mrs. Haynes remembered "some of the older ladies in her community like Ms. Wilson and Mrs. Dorothy Johnson talking about the fundraisers" (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). Even though Mr. Cason's family was not directly involved, he did recall conversations about dinners, baked goods, and candy being sold in his community to fund the training school (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). In the following passage, Mrs. Spence, salutatorian in the class of 1949, thought back on her parents' views on education and their contribution to the building of PACTS/UKHS:

There were twelve of us in the family, and I was the sixth child. My daddy was a truck farmer who grew vegetables and my mother raised poultry. We ate our meals at a long table with a long bench on the back for the kids to sit, and dinnertime was conversation time. That's when my parents began talking about the school and other things. I remember that daddy said that the Whites did not want us to get much education and that they kept stalling on building a Black high school. He remarked once, while we were at the table, that one of the members of the school board could hardly read. Although my daddy only had a seventh grade education, he was a registered voter and believed in self-improvement. My daddy and momma donated vegetables and chickens for fundraising to help in purchasing land for the old PACTS. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

W. D. Gresham, State Supervisor of Negro Schools, was invited to speak at the January 6, 1926, PACTS Association meeting. In the following passage, Mr. Gresham commented on the importance of training schools to Black children:

He told of the 33 training schools in the state, some of them giving two years high school work, others three and a few four years, but as yet there is only one accredited high school known as the Virginia Randolph High School of Henrico County. He pleaded for a greater chance for the boys and girls and urged parents to give freely of their means to this worthy cause. He spoke of the aid given by the Rosenwald Fund under certain

conditions—that two or more acres of land be purchased and that the building be erected according to the State or Rosenwald Plan. (*PACTS Association Record Book*, January 6, 1926, p. 11)

The presence of a state official at an association meeting stimulated the Black community, and four acres of land near Euclid Road were purchased for \$1200 on August 9, 1926, to build the proposed training school. It took another ten years of fundraising and requesting school board financial support before the construction of PACTS/UKHS began in 1937 (*The Last Walk*, 2007).

The opening of PACTS/UKHS in the fall of 1938 brought tremendous joy to the Black patrons, parents, teachers, and students of Princess Anne County. Esther Grimstead Wilson was a ninth grader during the 1938-1939 school year, and in her videotaped interview for the PACTS/UKHS Museum she gave her account of the first day of school at Princess Anne County Training School:

I remember that first day because I remember the preparation for that day. I was interested in what I was going to put on. You had your Sunday clothes, you had your school clothes, and then you had your everyday clothes; and I really wanted to look good. So the night before, I laid out my Sunday clothes to wear for this first day. I was really so excited, and I wanted to be the first one who walked through that door. We had an old car of course, and it looked like it just wouldn't go fast enough. When we got in sight of the school, right in front of the school, I saw someone already standing at the door. People didn't push and do what they do now. And, I waited patiently and I was about the fourth through the door. When we got inside everyone was so excited because it looked like so much space. We thought, all of this space for us. It was so much space 'cause there weren't any seats. For the registration there were four teachers there that day. They didn't know where to register me cause of having gone one half of the eighth grade in Princess Anne and one half of the ninth grade at Booker T. They didn't know whether to put me in the eighth grade or the ninth grade. They finally decided to put me in the ninth grade, and if I did all right, I could stay. I did finish with a 3.75 average, so I stayed. I stayed for the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade. Mr. Thaddeus Smith was the principal at that time and he was the only one in the office, there was no secretary or anything. I had a portable typewriter at the time 'cause my uncle had a bus that took people to the Naval Base and I

would type his tickets every week. I guess they knew that I could "hunt and peck" on the typewriter; so, I guess that's the reason they put me in the office with Mr. Smith, when I first got there. I remember that. (Wilson, 2008b)

The PACTS Association celebrated the victory of the school opening, but quickly recognized its work had to continue in order to sustain the county's first and only Black high school. "The matter and manner of raising money for the school" (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 4, 1938, p. 199) was discussed at the October 4, 1938, PACTS Association Ways and Means Committee meeting as well as "the matter of getting lights in the high school" (*PACTS Association Record Book*, October 4, 1938, p. 199). Along with the association, PACTS/UKHS students and teachers eagerly involved themselves in school fundraisers to purchase instructional supplies, teacher materials, and sports equipment for recess. In reminiscing about her first day at PACTS/UKHS, Mrs. Wilson commented about the absence of seats in the school, and her first fun school project was to raise money to buy seats (Wilson, 2008b). Ms. Goodman looked back at a particular school fundraiser, the PACTS May Queen Contest, with fond memories:

Classes on all grade levels raised money for the May Queen Contest. Various parents during the May Queen Contest would bake pies, cakes, and at lunchtime we would sell them by the slice. Ms. Fanny Miles who ran the Miles Grill on Newtown Road would let us use it for socials, and we charged at the door to raise money. The person who raised the most money on a particular grade level would be named the eighth grade May Queen or the ninth grade May Queen, and so on. The person who raised the highest amount of all the grade levels would be named the PACTS May Queen for that particular year. The May Queen Contest was like a family experience at school because we cared about each other so much. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009)

There was much more work, yet to be done at PACTS, and many in the Black community were consistent in their efforts to nurture the growth and development of the training school. Mr. Cason was one who took pride in the school that was 10 to 15 miles from his home because he remembered when there was no Black high school in the county. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). Mr. Willis, a PACTS/UKHS teacher and assistant principal, did not grow up in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach, but he recalled the strong connection between the community and the school. Unfortunately, he had limited knowledge of the history behind

this strength because it was rarely discussed in his presence (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). The *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, a nationally acclaimed Black newspaper published by Mr. Plummer B. Young, took pride in advancing interracial goodwill (Suggs, 1988). The *Guide* highlighted the PACTS class of 1943 commencement exercises and honored the community's commitment to a better education for its Black children (*Eighteen Graduate at Princess Anne School*, 1943). When asked what PACTS/UKHS meant to people in the Princess Anne County Black community, Mrs. Spence pondered and quietly responded:

They showed it. They showed it when they came out, even though a lot of their children dropped out of school for various reasons. Parents would always come out to see their children perform. Many in the Black community attended graduation even if they did not have children graduating. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

Purchasing property and building a high school was a great accomplishment for any Black community in the rural South between 1926 and 1938. Wanting a better education for their children, a clear but simple motivation for the Black community, unleashed years of continuous advocacy for PACTS. The PACTS Association stood at the helm and charted a course that transformed into a movement to bring secondary Black education into the county. The association strategically used the churches to harness the support of Black county residents. Most of the leaders in the PACTS Association were also respected leaders in Black churches, and this eased the tension of gaining the trust of the masses (*PACTS Association Record Book, 1925-1940*). Membership into the association's movement became inclusive of any interested soul willing to give time to the cause.

The study participants had not been born when the PACTS Association began its quest to build a high school for Black children in Princess Anne County. Yet, except for the participant who did not grow up in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach, they were all aware of the association meetings and the fundraising that became an integral part of their community. The oral histories triangulated by primary and secondary sources lend testimony to the notion that educational requests from the Black community instigated the use of delay tactics by the Princess Anne County School Board to avoid building a high school for Black children. The participants did not mention whether the White community in Princess Anne County had to raise money in order to have a high school provided for their children, or the speed at which the county school board

moved to open a White high school. Dr. Mansfield, the Virginia Wesleyan College archivist, believed:

The county started out with a commitment to education, although it was for White children, but that heritage got muddied by its slow movement to embrace equal educational opportunities for the African American children. It wasn't until 1908 that White children had the opportunity to go to high school in Princess Anne, so those that wanted to go beyond elementary school had to go by train or some other means into Norfolk---the county was even a little slow with regard to the White children. (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009)

The recollections of the study participants also did not include anything about the PACTS Association meeting in secrecy due to fear of White opposition. Mrs. Brown, granddaughter of Mr. McPherson, an association trustee, and Mrs. Wilson, a ninth grade student at PACTS/UKHS in 1938, recalled the secrecy and fear, and were quoted earlier in the study.

The lack of interest on the part of the Princess Anne County School Board in building PACTS/UKHS was acknowledged, but not completely understood in the Black community, especially, since the county division superintendent called the first PACTS Association meeting and was even elected its first president (PACTS Association Record Book, October 26, 1925). The superintendent may have been interested, but the minimal school board attention and financial support catapulted fundraising for PACTS/UKHS into the Black community. A decade of raising money to build a Black school high was followed by three decades of raising money to maintain the same school. Fundraising was never ending because there was always a need, and lulls in school fundraising were not remembered. As time passed, the PACTS Association Record Book showed a decrease in donations and pledges coming from the Black leagues and fraternal organizations in the county. Entries in the record book professed diminished community interest and the demand for new methods to bring in more donations (PACTS Association Record Book, 1925-1940). None of the study participants called to mind conversations about alternatives to the fundraising or applying for grants from Northern philanthropic organizations such as the Rosenwald Fund that was noted by the State Supervisor for Negro Education when he spoke at a 1926 PACTS Association meeting.

The PACTS Association made the call for a better education, and the Black community sometimes stalled in its response, but it never abandoned the cause of building and sustaining a

high school for their children. The oral histories used in the study did not investigate every question related to PACTS/UKHS history, but they did give evidence of the motivated Black residents in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach who turned the dream of PACTS/UKHS into a reality.

Relationship Between Segregation and the Quality of Education at PACTS/UKHS

On May 18, 1896, the United States Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that segregation was constitutional and that racially separated public facilities, if equal, were not discriminatory (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The landmark decision that assisted Virginia in its efforts to strip "Negroes of many of the gains they had made since emancipation" (Harlan, 1958, p. 138) through the ratification of the Virginia Constitution of 1902. This constitution disenfranchised Blacks to eliminate them as a political menace in the commonwealth and imposed racial segregation in public schools to disregard Black education in Virginia (Harlan, 1958).

The "Economic and Social Survey of Princess Anne County" based on the 1920 United States Census was reported by the University of Virginia in 1924. More than two decades after the Virginia Constitution of 1902 legally segregated public schools and 17 months before the first PACTS Association meeting, data were gathered and published that revealed inequities in the education of Black and White children in Princess Anne County. Whites made up 53% of the county's total population, and Blacks constituted 47%. The census defined illiteracy as "those ten years of age and over who cannot write their own names in any language" (Ferebee & Wilson, 1924, p. 38). The illiteracy rate for the White population was 4.2%, and 14.6% for the Black population—both lower than the illiteracy rates for the Commonwealth of Virginia (Ferebee & Wilson, 1924). The General Assembly passed a new compulsory education law in 1918, and by 1924 White school enrollment in Princess Anne had increased 21% and Black school enrollment had increased 93%. As shown in Table 4, there were 56 White schools in the county and only 25 Black schools despite the tremendous increase in Black school enrollment. Included in the total of 81 county schools were six White one-room schools and 11 Black oneroom schools. Table 4 also documents a longer school term for White students and a lower average daily attendance for Black students during 1924 in Princess Anne County (Ferebee & Wilson, 1924).

De jure segregation of public schools especially influenced the quality of high school education in Princess Anne County. As early as 1908, the school board opened Oceana High

School for White students, offered high school courses at Charity School by 1916, and built Kempsville High School in 1924. A new Oceana was erected in 1926, but was destroyed by fire two years later. Oceana was rebuilt in 1929, and 10 years later Creeds School was rebuilt to serve as both an elementary and high school for White students (Mansfield, 1989).

Table 4

Economic and Social Survey of Princess Anne County, 1924

Information	Whites	Negroes	Total
Population	7,200	6,426	13,626
Illiteracy	304	936	1,240
Number of schools	56	25	81
Number of pupils	1,462	1,710	3,172
Term in days	180	160	
Average Daily Attendance	1,110	954	

Note. University of Virginia Record Extension Series, 1924, pp. 37 - 55

Princess Anne County may have been slow in its approach to developing high schools, but the law stated that the facilities separated by race had to be equal. The county had made no attempt to offer secondary level courses to Black students, who had to travel to Norfolk to attend high school. In 1926, the PACTS Association purchased land with donations from the Black community and requested school board assistance to build a high school for their children. Frustrated by years of waiting and lack of school board interest, the association added grades eight through 11 to Union Kempsville School in 1934. The first and only Black high school in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach opened in 1938 with no chairs or lights. The 19 seniors who completed their high school studies at Union Kempsville School the same year are considered the first graduating class of PACTS/UKHS. Before her death in 2011, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Cason, a

member of the class of 1938, "recalled a parent asking a school board member for chairs and being told to chop logs for the students to sit on" (Finally, a place for learning, 1997).

The participants in the study grew up during the time in American history when separate-but-equal was the law and encountering the restraints and humiliation of segregation was the reality. An article on the Africana Age website entitled *The Civil Rights Movement* imparted the following description of Blacks living in the United States under the edict of segregation:

By the middle of the twentieth century, black [sic] people had long endured a physical and social landscape of white [sic] supremacy, embedded in policy, social codes, and both intimate and spectacular forms of racial restriction and violence. The social and political order of Jim Crow—the segregation of public facilities—meant schools, modes of transportation, rest rooms, and even gravesites were separate and unequal. (Baldwin, 2011)

The oral histories also provided a description of life in a segregated society, but through the feelings and personal experiences of the study's Black and White participants. Mr. Darden did not hear much about Jim Crow from his family while growing up in Princess Anne County, and expressed, "I was accustomed to it, and could not imagine what it would be like if segregation was not the way of the life" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). A segregated way of life was foreign to Dr. Mansfield who lived in an integrated northern Illinois town until he began his studies at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. As a White participant in the study, he recounted his initial exposure to segregation:

When I came to William & Mary in 1960 from Northern Illinois, one of the things that really struck me most was the rigid division of labor. I mean, this sounds terrible but all of the people who maintained the grounds at the college and served in the kitchen and so forth were African American—there were no Whites. Back in my hometown in Illinois there were more Whites performing those kinds of functions, so it just struck me as a sociological phenomenon that I was encountering. (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009)

The cultivation of segregation in the South was no mishap, but a strategically contrived lifestyle based on strong and deep-rooted feelings that Blacks were not equal to Whites. "To destroy segregation would be to destroy the south" (Wallace, 1956a, p. 119) was the philosophy of many White Southerners. According to Ms. Goodman who began her high school career at

PACTS/UKHS in 1949, Blacks in the county did not agree with the philosophy, but learned to adjust:

My mother always taught us to try to obey the rules and regulations of the land. She taught us that when we got on the bus to go to the city of Norfolk, to go to the back. If we needed to get a sandwich or something while we were in the city of Norfolk, the majority of the time we had to go to the back door of the facility to get it. You carried your sandwich out and ate it going down the street to the next store or whatever. We just adjusted to the times, and none of us could do anything about it because we were so young. I'm just glad that things have changed. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009)

The same year the 1954 *Brown* decision was handed down, Mr. Cason graduated from the training school. He recalled the useless feeling as a boy of not having much choice, but to deal with segregation:

Oh, so many things happened—separate bathrooms, played together and whatever, but bathrooms, they'd go to theirs and we'd go to ours. Drinking fountains at the time were the same way. You know, we're together, but when it came to drinking or eating or whatever, just separated. Sort of put a hesitation on how you really felt about life. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009)

As a White child living in a segregated community, Mr. Davenport also had to adjust to the consequences of Jim Crow. He was raised in the southern end of Princess Anne County that is now the Blackwater section of Virginia Beach, Virginia. He befriended the one Black family that moved into his all-White neighborhood, and his White friends did not understand. They believed "that Blacks are Blacks, Whites are Whites, and you don't mix together" (R. D. Davenport, personal communication, April 28, 2009). Mr. Davenport learned early of the personal conflict brought on by segregation, and is, now, principal of Creeds Elementary School where he was once a student. He recalled the following boyhood memory related to segregation:

I can remember when I was attending Creeds Elementary School and integration came in—I can remember the first Black students to attend our school. Back in those days we had programs in early spring—the May Day presentation, the May Day poles. When the first Black students came in, the Creeds principal at that time, said there will never be a Black queen or king at our school—so we're just going to cancel the May Day programs.

I thought, gosh, what a shame for us to be missing out on all that just because of Black students are coming. To me that was not right to do, but I was a kid and you go with the flow. (R. D. Davenport, personal communication, April 28, 2009)

Described in a *Life* magazine article by Robert Wallace entitled "The Voices of the White South," many White Southerners considered Black people to be human beings, but harbored a belief that Blacks comprised the lowest social element. It was a belief substantiated by claims of Blacks being lazy, lacking body cleanliness, and accumulating a high number of arrests (Wallace, 1956a). Implication of an inferior status for Blacks encouraged a theory that "segregation protected the integrity of both races, and Negroes were better off" (Wallace, 1956a, p. 107). Blacks' being designated second-class citizens was a tragedy of segregation, and was denounced in several of the oral histories used in the study. As a child, Mrs. Haynes, the PACTS/UKHS head secretary, did not remember her parents talking about segregation, but "they would always remind us that we were somebody...and they wanted us to be positive about who we were and how we acted" (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). Looking back on his childhood, Mr. Willis, a PACTS/UKHS assistant principal, recounted that "we never thought about the segregation end of it, but we knew things were what they were. Our parents said we could do as well as anybody else—we picked up on that and just kept moving" (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). In the 1960s, Mr. Thompson moved from Norfolk, Virginia, to Princess Anne County when he was 12 years old. He reminisced about his Norfolk neighborhood and how it insulated him from the consequences of Jim Crow:

Well, believe it or not, I didn't encounter it very often. I don't have an instant where it was problematic...but I was aware of the racial tension. We lived in an all-Black community. I had grown up in an all-Black school system in Norfolk. My neighbors were Black. I didn't really have to deal with segregation as a child because my whole world was just Black people. When I went to Union Kempsville, I had the option to go to Kellam High School. I had gone to a Black elementary school and a Black middle school. I wanted to continue with the Black education experience. (R. W. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009)

Mrs. Spence firmly stated in her oral history, "separate-but-equal facilities for Blacks and Whites never existed in Virginia, specifically, in Princess Anne County. There was never equality" (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009). In Part 5 of *Life* magazine's

Background of Segregation series, Mr. Wallace pointed out the inequality of the separate-but-equal doctrine including the open and hidden restraints on day-to-day existence for Black people. The primary source validated the participants' memories of little being said about segregation and the importance of being able to adjust. On the authority of the article, Blacks were thoughtful and, in private, articulate about segregation, but did not make many direct statements about it and were in constant fear of publicly speaking their minds (Wallace, 1956b) Experiencing the indignation of White Only-No Colored Allowed-Jim Crow signs did not compare with trying to ease a child's hurt with a feeble explanation of why she had to go to the separate-but-unequal Black playground instead of the White playground that was closer and nicer (Wallace, 1956b). The Black community understood the injustice of segregation. Dr. Brickell, VBCPS superintendent from 1968 to 1987, relayed his own thoughts about separate-but-equal in the following excerpt from his oral history:

I worked in South Norfolk and Franklin before I became superintendent in Virginia Beach. Each one of those was racially segregated. I found in South Norfolk and Franklin, the idea of separate-but-equal. I don't really want to call it a joke because it wasn't a laughing matter--they were indeed separate, but they were hardly equal—the facilities and educational amenities, and all the things that go with a good education and good teaching. One of the first times I ran into it, I was an assistant principal in South Norfolk, and I also coached baseball. We had a Black high school and a White high school, and the Black high school baseball coach happened to be a friend of mine. He came to me one time because he wanted some used baseballs and used bats. He didn't have any money to buy the essential things to play baseball, and I learned later the same was true with textbooks. Separate-but-equal was not real. (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009)

Generally, the impact of segregation on the personal lives of the study's participants coincided with the consequences of Jim Crow in regards to their education. They again acknowledged the presence of segregation and described how it manifested itself in the educational process at PACTS/UKHS. In looking at segregation from the perspective of a building administrator, Mr. Willis called to mind:

I didn't really pay attention to the impact segregation had on the educating of Black students. We knew the school was different from the other schools. When I say different,

we more or less didn't have the advantage of speaking about developments in education because we were not contacted. The Whites in the school system did everything, and nobody met with us to find out what Black children needed. (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009)

As a student, Mrs. Spence also did not notice the impact of segregation, and recalled the following, "I knew we were segregated and we were limited in supplies, but I didn't get the full impact because our teachers were so dedicated that they made us feel special" (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Margie Wilson Coefield, chairperson of the PACTS/UKHS Historical Committee, agreed that the role of the teacher was essential to the success of PACTS/UKHS. She was quoted as saying, "Our teachers would always tell us that we could succeed, no matter what. They would constantly tell us that the only individuals who are losers are the ones who don't try" (Coefield, 2008). According to Otealia Kimble Jennings, a student and teacher at PACTS/UKHS, the teachers were devoted. They prepared her for life and laid the foundation for her future learning (Jennings, 2008). Mr. Darden, valedictorian of the class of 1957, also had positive feelings about teaching and learning at PACTS/UKHS. After graduation, he had a change of opinion and shared his thoughts in the following account:

As a student, I didn't know exactly how we were different from Whites. But, as for teaching, I just felt they were taught just like we were. I never discovered the difference until I got out of high school. Matter fact, even kids from Norfolk and Portsmouth were better educated than we were because they had more course offerings and better teachers. When I say better, they were more qualified with certifications, and some of our teachers weren't certified in what they were teaching. (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

Another oral history used in the study mentioned a teacher instructing in a discipline for which he was not certified, but gave no explanation as to why this occurred. The limitations of the teachers were expressed, but learning still took place (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). The ill effects of segregation could have clouded the dreams of the students at PACTS/UKHS had it not been for the dedication of their teachers even those who lacked certification.

References to the lack of instructional materials at PACTS/UKHS were made in several oral histories used in the study. Prolonged absence of support from the school board placed limitations on teaching and learning in the only Black high school and became a prime example of Princess Anne County schools being separate, but not equal. Mr. Cason wondered why money for the Black high school had to come from fundraisers in the Black community instead of from school board allocations (T. A. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). As evidenced in *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South*, his thoughts were compatible to those of Miss Virginia Estelle Randolph of Henrico County, Virginia. Miss Randolph, a Black educator and the first Jeanes Supervising Industrial Teacher in the United States, "resented the fact that white [sic] schools financed their improvements from public taxation while black [sic] schools had to raise the money from children and parents" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 253). PACTS/UKHS students were taught to make do with less, but sometimes the pain of not having would surface as Mrs. Haynes recounted:

It hurt me worse than anything because we knew Kempsville High School right down the street had a stage that was bigger and better than ours. If they were having a musical they'd invite a group of seniors from PACTS. We wondered why the curtains on our stage couldn't be drawn—well, we didn't have any curtains on our stage. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009).

After graduating from the training school, Mrs. Haynes returned to PACTS/UKHS to serve as head secretary. As a staff member, she remembered:

If we needed supplies, we had to have fundraisers to get the items; and I didn't think that was fair. The classes would do some type of project so they could raise money to get certain items for the school. Sometimes we'd wait a couple of months before we would get all the books we needed to supply our classes. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009).

The separate-but-unequal reality shifted the responsibility of support from the school board to the Black community. For example, the PACTS Association requested continued fundraising to provide the lumber needed to construct the PACTS agriculture building. It was expected that the association would see to it that the lumber was purchased and delivered to the location of the building site (*PACTS Association Record Book*, June 18, 1939). This entry from

the association's record book verified the detrimental effect segregation had on the availability of funds for PACTS/UKHS.

The restraints of Jim Crow blocked local funding, hindered curriculum development, and diminished the capacity of the administration at PACTS/UKHS. Though the presence of segregation was not often verbalized in Black families, there was an understanding of the obligation to adjust. Out of the adjustment grew tremendous pride that enabled PACTS/UKHS to defy the odds of segregation by earning full high school accreditation in 1941. At the celebratory banquet, the principal of PACTS/UKHS, Mr. Thaddeus Smith paid tribute to those assembled by saying, "one-hundred per cent cooperation of the parents, students and friends of both races are responsible for what has been accomplished" (Princess Anne Training School Wins State Class 'A' Rating, 1941, p. 8). "In Their Own Words" is an area in the PACTS/UKHS Museum that features the school recollections of Dr. William E. Russell and other students and teachers. He recalled how passing by White schools on the bus to PACTS reminded him of what his school didn't have. In spite of what he and his classmates had to go through, Dr. Russell proudly declared it to be the best time in his life (Russell, 2008). It was school pride that stirred Ms. Goodman to pay homage to teachers "who instilled in us to be the best we can be," (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009) and to always treat people with kindness and respect even if they do not reciprocate. During the interview process, Dr. Brickell was asked to rate the quality of education offered to students attending PACTS/UKHS. With no hesitation, the past VBCPS superintendent answered, the quality of education was "very good, and equal to anything in the all-White schools" (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009). The pride of the Mighty Tigers loosened the restraints of Jim Crow, and permitted PACTS/UKHS accolades to escape the confinement of segregation.

County Training School Movement and PACTS/UKHS

The county training school movement was designed to stimulate the development of secondary education for Southern Blacks with an emphasis on industrial training, teacher preparation, and philanthropic funding (Redcay, 1937). The movement was not accidental and was considered by its benefactors, "the most noteworthy cooperative effort to be found in the annals of American public education" (Redcay, 1937, p. 53). Tangipahoa Parish Training School for Colored Children of Louisiana, the first county training school, opened in 1911 under the

auspices of the Slater Fund, a Northern philanthropic organization. The Slater Fund worked in collaboration with local school boards and state boards of education to share the financial obligations for building and maintaining county training schools for Black students (Redcay, 1937). Once a county training school became a fully accredited four-year high school, it was no longer eligible for support from the Slater Fund. Many county training schools were unsuccessful in their efforts to provide curriculum that adequately prepared students to meet state standards for teacher certification. With the exception of Louisiana and a few other locales, the officials of the county training school movement phased out teacher preparation (Richardson, 1932). Eventually, other philanthropic organizations began to contribute monies, to be dispersed by the Slater Fund, to increase the number of county training schools (Redcay, 1937). By 1932, there were 384 training schools located throughout the South, and 56 of them were in the Commonwealth of Virginia (Richardson, 1932).

As the county training school movement gained momentum, "the aim to develop these schools into regular four-year high schools gained impetus" (Redcay, 1937, p. 44). There was also a need to clearly state the aims and purposes of the movement because some rural Black high schools were labeled county training schools out of tradition rather than policy (Redcay, 1937). In compliance with policy, the Princess Anne County School Board should have taken the lead on building a training school for its Black students, but it was the PACTS Association and Black community who took the responsibility to engineer the project. The idea of stimulative assistance from philanthropic organizations to promote local effort and responsibility to Black education was primary to sustaining the movement (Redcay, 1937). A county wanting a training school had to be willing to cooperate and secure this type of assistance. At the February 15, 1934, school board meeting, the PACTS Association submitted money and the Slater Fund offered to appropriate a designated amount over a period of five years, while the school board made no financial obligation to the training school project (Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting, February 15, 1934). Two years later, the county accepted a WPA grant for \$14,000 to build PACTS/UKHS, and the PACTS Association raised any remaining funds needed (The Last Walk, 2007). The movement encouraged community-run fundraisers for training schools, but not the replacement of local financial commitment, as was the case in Princess Anne County.

The participants had little knowledge of the existence of the county training school movement. Dr. Mansfield did not know any details, but believed it was related to the philosophy of Dr. Booker T. Washington and the structure of Tuskegee Institute (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009). Mr. Willis, pensively, responded to the question about the movement by saying:

I think it was a job-training practice so that people could get hands-on work such as being a brick mason or in plumbing, small engines, and agriculture. That didn't only happen in the Black schools, you had it in many of the White schools in the South. (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009)

Questions about the county training school movement were not asked of those who participated in the videotaped interviews for the PACTS/UKHS Museum. The oral histories used in the study did not provide any information about teacher preparation, but that was understandable since it was phased out before a training school was built in Princess Anne County. Other than a grant offered by the Slater Fund, there was no mention of PACTS receiving support from a Northern philanthropic organization.

In *Schooling for the New Slavery*, a secondary source on Black industrial education, connections were made between the economic contribution of Black labor and the advantages of industrial schooling for Black children (Spivey, 2007). Training Blacks instead of educating them was acceptable to most White Southerners and critical to the development of the New South (Harlan, 1968). For this reason, the course of study for a training school had to emphasize agriculture and industrial education. A year after the construction of PACTS, the two-room agricultural building was added to teach agriculture and home economics (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998).

The PACTS/UKHS students who were interviewed for the study represented the classes of 1947, 1949, 1953, 1954, and 1957. In reviewing the oral histories, the agricultural building decreased in significance the longer PACTS/UKHS remained open. Most of the participants did not realize that the agriculture, industrial arts, and home economics classes taught in the agricultural building were related to an industrial education curriculum established specifically for Black students attending county training schools. Mrs. Haynes, a 1947 graduate, looked back on her days as a PACTS student and remembered:

That's when the boys separated from the girls. The boys went over for their agriculture to learn things about farming, and they had the New Farmers of America Association. They were able to travel to different places with the teacher, and go to conferences. Now, the home economics was good for the girls even though the class was not fully equipped. We learned about sewing, cooking, table setting, etiquette, and things of that nature. It would prepare you to act as a young lady. It was interesting, but if I had to trade home economics with something else, I would trade it for a business class. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

A 1949 PACTS graduate, Mrs. Spence said as a student she did not realize there was any connection between agriculture and home economics courses and a particular method of teaching Black children. She did think the school was trying to prepare her and her classmates to become homemakers and farmers. Mrs. Spence did not like the idea of industrial education, and she did not like home economics (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009). Whereas, Mr. Cason, a 1954 graduate, recounted the good times he had in his agriculture class:

I believe that agriculture was one course that all the boys had to take. It was one of my favorites really. One of the projects was to raise livestock. I raised chickens and pigs from little bitties on up. Quite a big experience, and I enjoyed doing [it]. The chickens would get so large and I would sell them. The teacher kept on top of us to make sure we were doing right. I had to do the work on my own time, after I got home in the afternoon or before school. We had to keep track [of] what we were feeding them and how we were feeding. If I wasn't feeding them right, they would look poorly. If they looked healthy, then that's how you got paid. Even after I got out of high school my dad and all of us continued to raise livestock. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009)

A new PACTS/UKHS constructed in 1950 consisted of classrooms, library, auditorium, gymnasium, cafeteria as well as laboratory and home economics facilities (*The Last Walk*, 2007). By the time Mr. Darden arrived in 1952, all classes were taught in the new school structure, and the purpose of the agricultural building changed along with a curriculum based only on industrial education. Course offerings at PACTS/UKHS would expand to broaden the scope of opportunity for Black students in Princess Anne County. Joseph V. Boykin, the second and last principal of

PACTS/UKHS, launched a college preparatory curriculum to qualify graduates to attend college (Boykin, 2008).

The Orange County Training School in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was built with money from the Rosenwald Fund in 1916. After pressure from parents in the Black Northside community, the school was renamed Lincoln High School in 1948 because they were tired of their children being trained and not taught (Koesters, 2012). Vanessa Siddle Walker penned the history of Caswell County Training School in her book, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South*. In the early 1960s, Caswell County Training School students lobbied to change the school's name to Caswell County High School "because they didn't like the perception of the term, training school" (Walker, 1996, p. 171).

The feelings of Black parents in Princess Anne County proved to be similar to those of Black parents in Orange and Caswell Counties. More than a decade had passed since the training school was renamed in Orange County, and the Black South was entrenched in a movement for civil rights that advocated cultural pride and self-worth. Conversations about the term, training school, having a negative connotation began to circulate in the Princess Anne Black community. A representative committee appeared before the school board in May of 1961, and requested that Princess Anne County Training School be renamed in honor of its first principal, Thaddeus C. Smith (*Minutes of Princess Anne County School Board Meeting*, May 16, 1961). Mrs. Spence looked back and recollected memories of renaming the training school:

As a student, you know, we didn't mind the name, training school. At first, I did not care for the name change because we did have some fond memories of Princess Anne County Training School. It was later that I found out that all of the Black county schools were called training schools such as Accomack County Training School. When I found out, I became very displeased and agreed with the name change (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009).

By 1961, Mr. Darden was in college, but said he knew there was a lot of dispute in the Black community over renaming the school (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008), whereas, Ms. Goodman was not aware of any controversy (C. L Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009). Mrs. Haynes spoke of the embarrassment felt in community about being called a training school (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009), and Mr. Cason simply wanted the name to change so his alma mater could finally be called a

high school like all the others (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). Reading certain documents and from what he was told after becoming superintendent, Dr. Brickell was able to recall:

The renaming was not a contentious issue in the White community, but there were some very prominent Black citizens who felt, and I think rightfully so, that there was a stigma attached to that name, that ought not be. Because it's no longer just a place where you learn carpentry and masonry and machine shop—it's more than a training school. You have history, English, math, science, foreign language, you know, everything you have in other schools. A couple of people, and they could be wrong, told me, that part of the White community felt if we raised Union Kempsville to the level of the other schools it could forestall integration. (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009)

The Princess Anne County School Board finally voted to rename the county training school Union Kempsville High School, effective the 1961-1962 school year (*The Last Walk*, 2007). The study participants shared a variety of thoughts about the necessity of changing the label of training school to high school. The Black study participants did not mention school board approval of the name change possibly being used as a means to delay integration, but Dr. Mansfield concurred with Dr. Brickell in the following statement from his interview with the researcher:

White Southerners were paying attention to the Supreme Court decisions in the 1940s that were forcing Southern states to provide equal if not integrated education at the college level for non-White children. So, people who were really reading the tea leaves sensed it was only a matter of time before the Supreme Court would apply that policy to elementary and high schools as well as colleges. That's why Southerners bit the bullet from their perspective and began putting a lot more money into schools for Black children by the early 1950s, hoping that if they provided equal facilities for Black children, the schools wouldn't have to be integrated. (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009)

Several Black parents living in Princess Anne County prior to 1938 bore the expense of sending their children outside of the county for access to a secondary level of study. However, the county training school movement afforded accessibility to a high school education for every Black child in Princess Anne. Regardless of limited board support, a school opening with no

chairs, or funding based on bake sales, the usefulness of the movement was confirmed in "Pioneering in Negro Education," a primary source:

In 205 counties the training school was, for Negro pupils, the sole source of secondary education at public expense. To Negroes in areas wherein public secondary education borders so closely on non-existence, these schools render a service which is almost beyond measure. (Redcay, 1937, p. 45)

The Black participants in the study and those featured in the PACTS/UKHS Museum benefited from a high school experience based on a movement of which they had little or no knowledge. Like Caswell County Training School in *The Highest Potential*, PACTS/UKHS was a community-defined good school, and from its history valuable lessons can be learned about teaching Black children accompanied by the implications of the county training school movement (Walker, 1996).

Growth and Operation of PACTS/UKHS

The growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS spanned over three decades in defiance of a separate-but-unequal reality and the interruptions of teaching and learning generated by segregation. In a secondary source, "Patterns of black [sic] excellence" Dr. Thomas Sowell, explained that "under the dual school system in the era of racial segregation, the lack of interest in black [sic] schools by the all white [sic] board of education allowed wide latitude of black [sic] subordinates to run the black [sic] part of the system" (Sowell, 1976, pp. 36-37). The researcher applied Dr. Sowell's ideas of "benign neglect" and integrating "support, encouragement, and rigid standards" (Sowell, 1976, p. 37) with student self-worth to illustrate PACTS/UKHS' use of the wide latitude to seek educational excellence.

Similar to Dr. Walker's findings in her 1996 study of Caswell County Training School, educational excellence was the overall goal for PACTS/UKHS because failure to learn was unacceptable. Striving to meet this goal established a rationale for promoting continuous growth and conducting vital school operations. Examination of oral histories and videotaped interviews for the museum offered by PACTS/UKHS students, teachers, administrators, and staff exposed details of people and events focused on achieving educational excellence. The following themes emerged from examining the details: (a) day-to-day management, (b) principal leadership, (c)

role of the teacher, (d) student success, and (e) school activities. Delving into the themes allowed the researcher to chronicle the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS.

Day-to-Day Management

The day-to-day management of PACTS/UKHS changed as the school evolved. Mrs. Jennings was a high school student at PACTS/UKHS between 1944 and 1948. In her videotaped interview for the museum she reminisced about a typical school day:

Well, my school day started early in the morning. My mother always prepared a nice breakfast for me. I would gather up my books and pencils and materials and I had to walk like a quarter of a mile down the dusty path to catch the bus on Indian River Road. The bus driver had to pick up students who lived in different communities. And I think it was over an hour before we reached Princess Anne County Training School. When we got there, I immediately went to my homeroom. Miss Goodman was my homeroom teacher, and she was there to greet me and other students. After putting our things away, the class had devotions. Devotions consisted of the Lord's Prayer, the Pledge of Allegiance, and sometimes the song, America. The roll call was done, and then announcements were made. We changed classes when the bell sounded. The classes being taught included Math, Science, History, English, and a little French. The girls went to home economics classes, and the guys were in shop with Mr. Robinson. The school day continued, and finally it was lunchtime. We had no cafeteria—lunch was served out of a coat closet that was in my classroom. And, hot dogs were always on the menu. After lunch, we had recess and then went back to our different classes. At the end of the day, the bell would sound and I returned to my homeroom. We got ready to leave, went out, and caught the bus home. (Jennings, 2009)

Circumstances related to attending PACTS became typical and a part of the day-to-day management of the school. Black children came from all over Princess Anne County to attend the high school—some lived as far as 15 or miles away. When the school opened in 1938, there was no transportation provided, so PACTS students walked, carpooled, and even caught rides in an undertaker's hearse. Mrs. Haynes, a member of the class of 1947, recalled that she and her cousins rode to school in a limousine for two months at their parents' expense. Finally, they went to see Mr. Smith, the principal, about the transportation issue, and he called Mr. Cox, the

superintendent at the time. According to Mrs. Haynes, but with no verification from other sources:

The principal told Mr. Cox that he had two irate parents in the office demanding transportation for seven students to get to school. There were others in the community trying to get to school, too. I bet you in two weeks we had a bus...we had a bus. The bus driver picked up from Creeds, brought them in, and had to come back over to get us. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Based on the oral histories and verified by the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia* for 1941, one privately owned bus provided transportation to PACTS for many years (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1941). In 1945, three publicly owned buses and one privately owned bus handled the transportation needs of all Black students in Princess Anne County (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1945). By 1951, the county school board had allocated 10 buses for all Black students in Princess Anne and the number of buses increased as Black student enrollment increased (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1951). By the mid-1960s, bus transportation for students in Virginia Beach was no longer handled according to race. Mr. Thompson, a UKHS eighth grader in 1966, commented about the excellent bus service that "went almost door-to-door despite the driver having to cover a lot of territory and pick up a lot of kids" (R. W. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009).

PACTS began with four classrooms, a principal's office, a library, and an assembly room (*The Last Walk*, 2007). The school year consisted of six six-week grading periods along with midterm and final exams according to a 1938 report card (*High School Report Card of Princess Anne County Public Schools, 1938*). Before 1950, each school day started at 9:00 a.m. and ended at 3:00 p.m. with five 45-minute classes. Mrs. Haynes, a 1947 graduate, was mindful of the principal stepping out into the hall, ringing a bell, and students moving to their next classes (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). Based on the oral histories used in the study, after 1950, the time for the school day remained from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. with six 45-minute classes.

There was no cafeteria in the school until 1949. Mrs. Spence graduated that year, and she remembered prior to the cafeteria:

There was a kitchen, we formed a line, and we had to take our plates into the classrooms to eat. Lunch cost 25¢. We had meatloaf or another meat with mashed potatoes, gravy, cabbage, or other vegetables—either corn bread or a hot roll and some dessert. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

By 1969, the PACTS/UKHS cafeteria had a staff of five to prepare and serve lunch that included homemade soup, hot rolls, hot dogs, hamburgers, French fries, and fried chicken (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009).

For the first 15 years of operation at PACTS recess or activity period was a typical part of the school day. It was 35 minutes in length and comprised of doing exercises led by homeroom teachers, eating lunch, and playing games. After lunch, if equipment was available, the girls played softball while the boys played football using a ball made from a sock filled with rags. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). During the 1953-1954 school year, when Mr. Cason was a senior and Mr. Darden was a freshman, recess was replaced with a physical education program because PACTS finally had its own gymnasium.

Assemblies for the student body were coordinated and presented through day-to-day management of Princess Anne County's Black high school. Free movies on Fridays, a magician performance, and junior and senior class plays were examples of assemblies held in the 1940s (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009) Mrs. Spence also recollected an assembly held at the beginning of each school year that started with the Pledge of Allegiance and the Lord's Prayer followed by a review of the school rules by the principal (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009). The movies were no longer free assemblies by the time Ms. Goodman was a PACTS student in the early 1950s. Each student had to pay 25¢ to see the movie, and a portion of the proceeds went to the gentleman who showed the movie. The other portion was used to purchase dodge balls and softballs, so the grade levels could play against each other during a special activity period on designated Fridays (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 24, 2009). The new PACTS facility that opened in 1953 included a 526-seat auditorium. This meant the entire student body could be assembled to hear guest speakers, see class plays, and enjoy musical concerts (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008).

The physical condition of PACTS/UKHS, based upon the day-to-day management of the school's building maintenance, impacted the efforts for excellence. Securing seats and lights

after the school opened in 1938 was urgent and mandatory for an effective learning environment. There were no indoor bathrooms. They were installed in 1949 to the delight of many students who were fearful of snakes when using the outdoor facilities. Four more classrooms were also added in 1949 to accommodate the increase in student population. By 1953, an additional 14 classrooms were added to the new school for elementary instruction. Mr. Cason spoke about building maintenance while he was in high school between 1950 and 1954. He recalled that "it took a while to get repairs done; and sometimes if it was something that the kids could do we'd pitch in and help, instead of waiting for the county to come in" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). As an assistant principal at UKHS, Mr. Willis handled building maintenance from 1967 to 1969. He remembered that having repairs done was not really a problem. He would put in a request; workers from the school plant would come, and do what needed to be done (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). Dr. Brickell also looked backed on the maintenance of UKHS in the late 1960s, and made the following comment:

I spent a lot of time at UK—it wasn't given the same physical and maintenance attention that maybe other schools were given, and I felt that was not right. Say, the boys would break a mirror in the locker room, and I'd ask the person in maintenance to replace it. I was director of secondary education then, and I remember his response was, "Well, they'll just break it again;" and I said, "Well, we'll just replace it again." (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009).

PACTS/UKHS was a clean school, as stated by all of the Black participants in the study. School pride was ingrained in the staff and student body, and the attention given to keeping the building clean was an extension of this pride. A 1953 graduate, Ms. Goodman, recounted the memory of Mr. Fuller being hired to clean the school, but teachers still requiring students to pick up all paper and books from the floor before leaving class (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009). Mr. Darden remembered that out of sheer respect for PACTS/UKHS, "you just didn't see a piece of paper down anywhere in the building" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Mr. Willis looked back on his custodial staff as a dedicated group of people, most of whom grew up in Princess Anne County. The school was a source of pride for them and meeting their work requirements became more than just a job.

When the school closed in 1969, Mr. Willis was thrilled to say he never received a complaint about the cleanliness of UKHS (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009).

Principal Leadership

Principal leadership was the second theme to emerge that lent itself to the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS. The Black high school principals in Princess Anne County operated with great autonomy because of school board and central administration "benign neglect." In *A Class of Their Own* Fairclough described the value of using such control over a school to equalize the unequal through skillful leadership (Fairclough, 2007). PACTS/UKHS principal leadership utilized the autonomy in its desire to obtain educational excellence despite the lack of resources.

The challenges of being a school principal were great, yet it was considered one of the most respected professions in the Black community. The principals were looked up to and emulated—and the public had high expectations of top job performance no matter how difficult the odds. Effective Black principals in segregated schools required the interconnection of community and school to fill the gap left by the board's neglect (Walker, 1996). The school's growth and operation was dependent upon the strong and creative leadership of its principals.

In the 31 years of the existence of PACTS/UKHS, there were only two principals. Thaddeus Clay Smith, Sr. was principal from 1938 to 1946. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia; and a Master of Arts degree at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. He was hired in 1937 as the first Black male teacher in Princess Anne County (*The Tiger*, 1963). He taught at Union Kempsville School during the 1937-1938 school year and was sponsor of the graduating class. In 1938, PACTS/UKHS opened and Mr. Smith was appointed its first principal, and was also assigned to teach science (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). A picture of Mr. Smith is in Appendix DD.

According to a primary source, a letter from Mr. Smith was read at a school board meeting requesting "that he be relieved of the principalship and given a teaching assignment with no modification in salary" after serving eight years as PACTS principal (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, August 20, 1946). The school board consented to his request. The study participants gave no reason for his decision to leave the principal position, but he

continued to teach biology at UKHS until his sudden death on January 22, 1961 (*The Tiger*, 1963).

Mrs. Wilson was in ninth grade when PACTS opened in 1938, and she developed a special relationship with Mr. Smith. In her videotaped interview for the museum, she explained that he was in the office alone with no clerical support. Someone in the school knew she had a portable typewriter because she typed the tickets for her uncle's bus shuttle service. Due to her clerical skills, Mrs. Wilson was asked to act as Mr. Smith's secretary during any free time from her classes (Wilson, 2008b). He kept important school business in a locked box and had her pay bills, count money from fundraisers, and record sums in a ledger (Wilson, 2008b). In his oral history, Mr. Cason revealed that he also had a memorable connection to the principal:

He [Mr. Cason] was named after Mr. Smith. He was Thaddeus Clay and I am Thaddeus Theopius. He told my mother that if she named her child after him he would buy all my books when I got to his school. I got his name, but he never did buy those books. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009)

Study participants who were students when Mr. Smith was principal, held him in high regard and said he was noted for his strength and strict discipline. Mrs. Haynes remembered:

He had the greatest respect and the school was run with the greatest respect. When he left his office to come into the hall just to watch the classes change, there was complete silence and there was respect. Everybody respected his authority. Everybody respected his administration and the way he was interested in the boys and girls, and wanted all of us to learn. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Mrs. Spence thought back on Mr. Smith's dual role as principal and teacher, his strict disciplining, and his demand for respect:

He was an outstanding principal and an outstanding teacher. He was a teaching principal. He taught science and biology during my enrollment. Yes, he did teach me, and he was very strict. We really learned a lot from him. If you just turned your head in the opposite direction to not pay attention to him, he would say, "You, Miss!" or "Mister, stand up!" He demanded respect and he got it. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

Mr. Smith had a physical disability, and it was mentioned in several oral histories. Those who commented on the disability also stated it did not diminish his effectiveness as principal.

Ms. Goodman was the only participant to recollect an accident that left Mr. Smith paralyzed from his waist down:

He was injured in an elevator accident when he was an elevator boy. The elevator he was operating fell to the basement and it crushed him. He was 17 at the time of his accident. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009)

He used a walking cane, but Mr. Smith still needed and received assistance from his students. Based on information relayed by Ms. Goodman:

Each day a child would help him to go down the hall to his classroom. He would hold on to the student's hand and talk while moving to class. If it was raining, two of the boys would pick him up and bring him into the entrance of the school, and then he would get help to his class (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009).

"He could walk, but he twisted from side to side when he did," (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009) said Mr. Cason in his oral history. "The boys would take him around to different places, where he needed to go—two on each side of him; they picked him up and carried him" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009).

In his efforts to meet the goal of educational excellence, Mr. Smith placed an emphasis on discipline to assure a safe and positive learning environment. "You didn't want to go see Mr. Smith, not that he would kill you or anything, but the punishment he put on you, you wouldn't do it again—he knew what he was doing. Everybody respected him" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). The students, teachers, and parents did not object to his discipline methods as stated by Mrs. Haynes:

No one challenged his ability, things that he said, or the way he handled anything. Mr. Smith didn't spank. When he talked with you, you were so frightened; you didn't want to be sent home. He would get on the telephone and relate that experience to your parents and he would threaten that you could be dismissed because he wasn't going to have it in his school. He would lean against the wall, take his cane and point saying, "young man you straighten up, you walk that line, don't get out of that line." He was well-liked even though everyone knew he was a strong disciplinarian (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

In spite of his human frailties, Mr. Smith's leadership style aided the growth and operation of PACTS. In his eight years as principal, the student population and faculty increased,

curriculum and student activities expanded, and the interconnection of community and school was accomplished (*Maroon-Tiger*, 1946). Mr. Smith coordinated the May Queen Contest and other school projects to raise needed funds. With the assistance of the PACTS Association, a Parent Teacher Association was organized by 1940 (*PACTS Association Record Book*, September 29, 1940). "He was such a strong person in his beliefs, and he knew what he wanted. Everybody really admired what he could get done----Mr. Smith did an awful lot" (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009).

Upon the resignation of Mr. Smith, Joseph V. Boykin, Sr., was appointed principal of PACTS in 1946 and remained in the position until the school closed in 1969. He was a native of Clinton, North Carolina, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and History from Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina. Mr. Boykin later earned a Master of Science degree in Secondary School Administration from Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia (Twenty-one School Employees to Retire, 1971). After UKHS closed in 1969, he remained with VBCPS for two more years as the building administrator of the Center for Effective Learning. In June of 1971, he retired from public education after serving 34 years in North Carolina and Virginia (Twenty-one School Employees to Retire, 1971). See Appendix EE for a picture of Mr. Boykin.

Mrs. Haynes described Mr. Boykin as a soft-spoken gentleman of great intelligence who wanted more for Black children (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). In an excerpt from the 1969 yearbook principal's message, he expressed the following to UKHS seniors, "Do not let this achievement be the end of your educational endeavor. It is only a foundation upon which you may become more refined, and prepared for a suitable vocation" (*The Tiger*, 1969, p. 2). The second principal of Princess Anne's only Black high school was able to win the respect of his students and teachers. Mr. Thompson, a student at UKHS only for his eighth grade year, had the impression that he had to respect his principal. With conviction, he stated, "Mr. Boykin carried himself in a way that called for me to respect him, and that's all I can say about that" (R. W. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009). A 1966 graduate of UKHS, Dr. Ray Spain, shared in his videotaped interview for the museum that Mr. Boykin was very quiet, ran a well-organized school, and was respected by everyone (Spain, 2008).

In 1957, Mr. Darden graduated from PACTS and returned to the school to teach in 1962. Mr. Boykin had been his principal both as a student and as a teacher. Mr. Darden characterized him as "meek and humble with a real interest in students and staff—he was approachable. You

had to have a good relationship with him—you didn't have a choice" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). The principal was also greatly admired by Mrs. Coefield who called to mind Mr. Boykin always being a gentleman and a professional. In her videotaped interview for the museum, the 1962 graduate remembered him having a good rapport with both teachers and students. "Whenever he spoke, you listened because he had something very worthwhile to say" (Coefield, 2008). After graduating in 1947, Mrs. Haynes returned to PACTS in the 1950s to work in the school's main office. As Mr. Boykin's secretary, she remembered that he always abided by the rules and regulations of the school system as a means of protecting the school and himself. There were people who believed he was playing it too safe, and as principal they wanted him to be more assertive (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009).

Mrs. Haynes also pointed out that some interpreted Mr. Boykin's quiet demeanor to represent a lack of interest in the school, despite his sincere concern about the future of PACTS/UKHS and its students (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). From 1967 to 1969, Mr. Willis served as assistant principal under Mr. Boykin. In his oral history he spoke about a vision the PACTS/UKHS principal possessed:

Mr. Boykin, I think he had a vision of kids becoming scientists, doctors and lawyers. I don't think he had much of a vision of kids becoming brick masons and plumbers and what have you. But, that would have been a pretty good vision because that's the way things were. (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009).

His son and a 1964 PACTS/UKHS graduate, Dr. Joseph V. Boykin, Jr., was mindful of his father's realization that Black children could not possibly compete with only an industrial education (Boykin, 2008). This impelled Mr. Boykin to utilize his leadership skills and promote a college preparatory curriculum for Black high school students in Princess Anne County. It was the vision of a mild mannered principal who proposed choice in the curriculum for PACTS/UKHS students, making a college degree as attainable as a plumber certification (Boykin, 2008).

Mr. Boykin handled discipline with the assistance of his secretary, Mrs. Haynes. He was not forceful in his approach, but he did suspend students. Mr. Cason said, "he'd smile at you and throw the book at you at the same time" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). The following account, as claimed by Mrs. Haynes, described the suspension process prior to assistant principals being assigned the responsibility of student discipline:

Sometimes, we would have a group of five or six going home, being suspended. I had my little box on my desk. I would put a card in the box for a student on suspension, and if the child didn't return to school on the designated date, I'd let the principal know. Mr. Boykin would call the parents to say the suspension was over and the child should be back in school. When the assistant principals, Mr. Donald Morgan and Mr. Willis were assigned to PACTS/UKHS, they were designated to handle discipline, and I didn't have to do that job any more. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

A parent and the father of Margie Coefield, Carlos Wilson had two daughters who graduated from UKHS. During his videotaped interview for the museum, he shared memories of his fondness for Mr. Boykin. Then in his late eighties, Mr. Wilson recounted:

Mr. Boykin, he was the principal up there at the school. I was real fond of him. I used to go up and sit and talk to him about certain things sometimes. He used to tell me, "Wilson, you got two nice girls. You have to keep them in school." I said, "I intend to." He said, "I never see much of you." I said, "Well, I'm working all the time. One of my brothers will be up there to pick them up and take them." He said, "You'll never regret it." (Wilson, 2008a)

The soft-spoken, intelligent gentleman took the time to speak with a parent because he wanted more for the students at PACTS/UKHS. During his tenure as principal, Mr. Boykin led the school through curriculum and faculty expansion, construction of a new school, addition of a physical education program, and the launching of a school newspaper. The school yearbooks, primary sources used in the study, validated Mr. Boykin's positive impact on the school. He was instrumental in securing membership for PACTS/UKHS in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, a regional accreditation agency (*The Tiger*, 1968). The yearbook staff referred to Mr. Boykin as the builder and dedicated the 1963 yearbook to him (*The Tiger*, 1963). The Central Office and his building staff honored him in 1968 on J.V.B. Day when his portrait was unveiled and hung in the school (*The Tiger*, 1968). The fruit of his labor gave Black children a competitive edge, and brought tremendous reward to PACTS/UKHS.

Principal leadership at PACTS/UKHS defied the odds of segregation and other interruptions in the education of Black children in Princess Anne County. Regardless of differences in approach, Mr. Smith and Mr. Boykin diligently labored to meet the goal of

educational excellence. The skill and creativity of two men were largely responsible for the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS.

Role of the Teacher

The most dominant theme to emerge in the study was the role of the teacher. Oral histories revealed that the participants were unanimous in their belief that teachers were indispensable to the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS. Mrs. Edna Hawkins-Hendrix, a 1969 graduate, affirmed that teachers were the best part of PACTS/UKHS (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008). Reminiscent of his days as a UKHS student, Dr. Spain stated:

I can't ever remember a time in school I would have thought there was any disagreements or dissension among the faculty. I assume there was just given the nature of people working together, but it wasn't obvious. The teachers always seemed to focus on us. (Spain, 2008)

Mr. Cason recounted the effectiveness of the teachers who disciplined them, befriended them, and insisted with sincerity that they learn. He emphatically expressed in his oral history, "with the tools they had, they taught us and we learned; they knew what they were doing" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009).

As stated in Adam Fairclough's *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South*, Black "teachers saw themselves as leaders of the race and considered themselves role models" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 8). They were "valued in the community as representatives of their people who had made it" (Walker, 1996, p. 81). This coincided with the thoughts of Mr. Darden who recalled teachers, along with preachers, being "held in the highest esteem in the Black community" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). In the segregated South, "many blacks [sic] preferred to be taught by and among their own kind" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 7). Black teachers understood better than most how White supremacy limited Black education as well as the link between politics and education. On the authority of a secondary source entitled *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South*, Black teachers of the period were on the front line of battle over education and empowered by their willingness to lead:

The issue of leadership reinforced black teachers' sense of common identity. Teachers shared a belief that education would liberate the black [*sic*] masses from ignorance,

degradation, and poverty. They insisted that the colored race would sink or swim according to the education they received. A people impoverished by slavery and benighted by enforced ignorance urgently required lessons in freedom. (Fairclough, 2007, p. 7)

Teachers at PACTS/UKHS joined in the battle and like other Black teachers "accompanied their faith in the power of education with a strong sense of historical mission" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 8). Teachers were considered the shapers of thought and molders of sentiment, and that they were making history through those they taught (Fairclough, 2007). With the power of education in mind, the role of PACTS/UKHS teachers was to instill self-pride, to prepare Black students to compete in a competitive society, and to encourage them to always do their best (Coefield, 2008; Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008; Spain, 2008). The PACTS/UKHS faculty also offered lots of care and concern as well as good classroom management. Mr. Darden remembered that very few students were sent from class to the office, just out of general respect for the teachers (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). The VBCPS superintendent, Dr. Brickell also looked back on PACTS/UKHS teachers and stated:

So, the school, academically, I think was successful, and I say that was due to the long tenure of so many of the faculty. They had been there a long time, and they were pretty well trained. When I say they were tough on the students, I mean that in a positive way. Those teachers were mostly firm believers in the doctrine, "in loco parentis" (in place of parents) and they took care of things. (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009)

Hattie Goodman, Bernadine Rasberry, William Watson, Judge Goss, John Perry, Robert Setzer, and Emily Morgan were some of the names mentioned when participants in the study were asked about their favorite teachers. Pictures of PACTS/UKHS teachers are located in Appendix FF. Mrs. Spence, a retired career teacher, really liked Miss Goodman because she was so good at explaining the grammar in teaching English. "I just hung on her every word—even as young child I was interested in speaking correctly" (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009). Coach Goss, a health and physical education teacher, taught and coached Mr. Darden. He remembered all the tales Coach Goss would tell—Mr. Darden and other students had such respect for the coach they believed him. When he returned to UKHS to teach, Coach Goss was still telling his tales, but the students tended not believe anymore (J. A. Darden, personal

communication, November 12, 2008). Mr. Thompson remembered his eighth grade English teacher, Mr. Setzer, who was the first to expose him to Shakespearean sonnets. "Mr. Setzer walked around and talked often reciting lines from one of the sonnets, and we thought it was so cool" (R. W. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009).

Jean O. Siler started the business department at PACTS/UKHS teaching typing and shorthand. The principal, Mr. Boykin, also selected her to sponsor the yearbook and the school newspaper (Siler, 2008). Mrs. Siler shared the following story in her videotaped interview for the museum about her first day as a teacher at PACTS on September 5, 1950:

I found several brand new typewriters against the wall, but on the floor, as there were no tables for the machines. The desks in the room were those attached with tops attached to the sides of the chairs. If I were to teach the students to type, the machines had to be placed on the shaky desks. This proved to be unwise as students often forgot that if they stood, the weight of the machines on the desks resulted in the machines falling on the floor. (Siler, 2008)

Ruby L. Allen graduated from PACTS in 1948 and returned to the Princess Anne County Public Schools in 1952 to teach choral music (Allen, 2008). She did not initiate the choral music program in the school system, but she did cultivate the choral music program at PACTS/UKHS. The Optimist Club of Virginia Beach annually honored a selected teacher from each school. In 1967, the UKHS student body chose Dr. Allen to be honored as its Teacher of the Year because of her bubbly personality, patience, diligence, and outstanding work with the school chorus (*The Tiger*, 1968). In her videotaped interview for the museum, Dr. Allen recounted the following memory of her chorus classes at PACTS/UKHS:

We were called the frill. We all know that. In those days chorus was a frill. You take chorus because you really couldn't take anything else. So, you know, the choir had gotten that reputation. I had football players, basketball players, cheerleaders—everybody was in the chorus. If you look in the yearbook, you can see how large the choirs were; they were huge! Everybody was in chorus, but we did well. (Allen, 2008)

PACTS/UKHS teachers were held accountable for the setting the tone for learning. In order to do this effectively, an interconnection between teachers and parents had to exist. In her study of Caswell County Training School, Vanessa Siddle Walker found that the intrinsic interest of Black parents in schooling was "characterized from very supportive of education to very

suspicious of education," (Walker, 1996, p. 65) and everywhere else on the spectrum. While these parents understood the value of education, some did not understand why teachers "sought to change the way blacks [sic] spoke, thought, and behaved—to raise blacks to their level and encourage them to adopt different values" (Fairclough, 2007, p. 17). The study participants made no mention of dissension between teachers and the parents of PACTS/UKHS students in their oral histories. Mr. Darden did recollect the ability of his teachers to gain student respect by way of their caring attitudes. "We learned out of respect for our teachers and because our parents would not tolerate anything else. School was almost like an extended household" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008).

The role of the PACTS/UKHS teacher was multifaceted and extended well beyond the classroom. It included Miss Goodman directing the senior class play, Mr. Watson taking a group of students on a class trip, or Mr. Perry setting up a special room about Black history (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008). The 1966 school yearbook was dedicated to teachers, and the following excerpt from the poem, "Tributes to the Teacher" by W. A. Bozarth was on the dedication page:

"Honors" for the dedicated teacher

Perfect understanding of the child,

Seeds sown for a great harvest

Causing life to be more worthwhile. (*The Tiger*, 1966, p. 4)

Teachers were serious and sincere in their approach to the education of Black students who attended PACTS/UKHS. There were participants in the study who spoke of the limitations of teachers caused by segregation, lack of funding, and non-certification. Mr. Willis, the assistant principal, remembered the dedication of the teachers as well as "one or two that had to be disciplined every once in a while" (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). The oral histories still overwhelmingly identified the role of the teacher as the force most responsible for the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS. Recalling his admiration for teachers as a student at the only Black high school in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach, Dr. Spain said it best in his videotaped interview for the PACTS/UKHS Museum:

As students we lived certain values. They were kind of embedded in what we did and what we were supposed to do. Be it the way you behave or being honest or being responsible; all of those things, they weren't taught to us, they were part of an environment created by our teachers. Being respectful—respecting ourselves and each

other. Respecting not just our teachers but all adults and feeling the sense of community. Through living these values, our teachers helped us learn that we were part of something bigger than just the school—there was a larger community inclusive of us and the rest of the world. (Spain, 2008)

Student Success

Student success is the ultimate outcome of education, and it emerged as a theme related to the growth and operation of the PACTS/UKHS. In reference to student success, the participants in the study responded to questions about the strengths and weaknesses of the school's curriculum and whether it prepared them for the future. The courses listed in Table 5 were taken from a report card, a study artifact, which belonged to Bertha Coffee, a senior at PACTS in 1938. A copy of the 1938 report card is located in Appendix GG. According to a 1941 high school report card, mechanical drawing, general shop, home economics, bookkeeping, and shorthand had been added to the list of course offerings. A copy of the 1941 report card is located in Appendix HH. Even though the courses were listed on the report card, they were not all offered to the students at PACTS/UKHS. Bookkeeping and shorthand were available to students in other Princess Anne County high schools as early as 1941, but were not offered at PACTS until Mrs. Siler started the business department in 1950 (Siler, 2008). As late as 1967, Mr. Willis, the UKHS assistant principal, remembered that the school could not offer as many electives as it wanted due to the lack of staffing (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009).

Mrs. Haynes, a 1946 PACTS graduate, went into the business field and became the head secretary at the school. There were no business classes available to her during her years in high school. She described what it was like starting college never having ever touched a typewriter:

As a student, it was my desire to work in an office, but I didn't know what to call it. So, I said I wanted to be a typewriter, but I never saw a typewriter other than the one in the principal's office. I never had the opportunity to even go in to touch the typewriter that was in the office. When I started Norfolk State, it was four of us who had graduated from PACTS, and we took a typing class, but we had never touched a typewriter. It was heartbreaking to think that we'd gone through high school with a desire for a career, and

went to college and had to start from scratch. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Table 5

Course Offerings for Princess Anne County High Schools, 1938

Course List		
English	Trigonometry	General Science
Algebra	Arithmetic	Biology
Plain Geometry	History	Chemistry
Solid Geometry	French	Agriculture
	Latin	

Note. High School Report Card of Princess Anne County Public Schools, 1938

Mrs. Haynes went on to say in her oral history that she did not think of the lack of business classes as a weakness in the PACTS curriculum. "Some of my friends went very deeply in the science area, some went in the health area; and I never heard them complain about what they didn't have in high school to help them when they were in college" (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). Another PACTS student, Mrs. Spence, who graduated in 1949, recounted the following about the curriculum and preparedness:

As a student at Princess Anne County Training School, the curriculum was limited. We were taught the basics—English, math, science, geography, history and the extras were French, biology, chemistry and home economics for girls and agriculture for boys. All of the subjects were compulsory. Everybody had to take the same subjects. My high school classes helped me, but I did not feel prepared until after I began my career as an elementary teacher. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

Ms. Goodman was a 1953 graduate and Mr. Cason was a 1954 graduate. They were more than satisfied with the education they received at PACTS. Ms. Goodman thought back on her high school days, and remarked:

My education at PACTS prepared me all right. After graduating, I decided to go and get a job and work to help my family pay off a mortgage loan. School always taught us to be good citizens, so with the first little bit of pennies that I made after graduation—I paid poll taxes for my mother and all of my aunts, so we could become first class citizens and learn to vote. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 16, 2009)

Mr. Cason commented, "Well, I tell you the truth, I believe what I learned at PACTS prepared me for adult life" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). He gave full credit to the teachers who "made sure that you learned" (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009).

Non-certified PACTS/UKHS teachers were a weakness in the delivery of the instruction, according to Mr. Darden. He was valedictorian of the class of 1957 and was convinced that the weakness made him less competitive, academically, when he entered college. In his oral history, Mr. Darden recalled the situation about his high school chemistry class:

Chemistry—I took that with a man who was not certified to teach chemistry. I had nothing I could do at my own table as far as experiments were concerned. Students had to stand around his desk and watch him do things. We had to walk out in the hallway several times because he would mix things that weren't supposed to be mixed. When I went to college I could see a difference between what the kids from Booker T. in Norfolk knew about chemistry and those who came from PACTS. (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix, the author of *Black History---Our Heritage: Princess Anne County - Virginia Beach, Virginia* and a 1969 UKHS graduate, became an author and a historian. She reminisced about her time in Miss Goodman's English class and how her science teacher, Mr. Perry, taught her about Black history. Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix did not feel that high school specifically prepared her to write and publish a book, but it did infuse in her the self-confidence needed to undertake such an endeavor (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008).

The Black study participants and the individuals who interviewed for the museum varied in their assessments of the PACTS/UKHS curriculum and preparation for life after high school.

Some of the graduates involved in the study did not feel ready for future endeavors, but none of them ever stated that their high school education was responsible for any failures in their lives. Limited course offerings hampered teaching and learning, yet there was an increase in the number of PACTS/UKHS graduates over the years. There were 48 graduates in 1957 (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1957), 71 graduates in 1960 (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1960), and 117 graduates in 1965 (*Annual Report of the Superintendent*, 1965). The researcher was unable to verify the presence of non-certified teachers in the school. One of the oral histories did reveal an understanding of the evolution of academics and curriculum at PACTS/UKHS. Mrs. Haynes talked about how she struggled in her college classes at Norfolk State, but she worked hard and did well. Pride filled Mrs. Haynes' heart on her return to PACTS/UKHS when she discovered all of the positive academic changes that had taken place in less than 10 years. Looking back on that time, she remembered:

When I came back as head secretary, the business department was blooming! They had shorthand, economics, business economics, business English, and three or four years of typing. P.E. classes, tennis, and basketball had been added. Calculus was a new math subject, Spanish was added, and a French teacher who spoke fluent French had been hired. The library was fully equipped, and students could go there and get whatever you wanted. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Educational excellence remained the goal of PACTS/UKHS through its years of growth and operation. In addition to strong academics, teacher effort and parental backing also impacted student success. The teachers were dedicated to the power of education and committed to children with faith in what was possible to achieve. As claimed in a secondary source, Black parents provided an invisible support that reinforced school policies through good, old-fashioned "home training" (Walker, 1996, p. 81). Black parents in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach secured and maintained a quality high school, taught their children to respect the school and its staff, and set high expectations for learning. PACTS/UKHS students responded with great appreciation by dedicating five of the 13 school yearbooks to their parents. One was dedicated to their mothers (*The Tiger*, 1946; *The Tiger*, 1955; *The Tiger*, 1958; *The Tiger*, 1959; *The Tiger*, 1960; *The Tiger*, 1961). More importantly, the children reciprocated by acknowledging and acting on the correlation between the goal of educational excellence and student success.

School Activities

Academics were always the PACTS/UKHS priority, but school activities were also important in relationship to the growth and operation of the school, and emerged as the final theme. A 1999 research report by Rachel Hollrah claimed that student involvement in extracurricular activities enhanced intellectual and social development (Hollrah, 1999). PACTS/UKHS understood the concept as far back as 1938, and school activities became a mainstay in the high school.

There was an interest at PACTS/UKHS to establish traditions that would increase school spirit. The PACTS/UKHS school spirit began with student respect and was channeled into a variety of school activities. Some of the school traditions, listed in Table 6, included the PACTS/UKHS mascot and colors that had been established by 1946 (*Maroon-Tiger*, 1946). No details were included in the oral histories as to how the mascot and colors were chosen. The school song, entitled "Alma Mater," for the Maroon and Gray Tigers was written after 1952, according to Ruby Allen. She did not remember the exact year, but she wrote the lyrics to the tune of the Yale alma mater while she was the school's choral director (Allen, 2008). A copy of the PACTS/UKHS school song is located in Appendix II. The study participants spoke of class songs and class colors before there was a school song. Mrs. Haynes explained, "There was a class song, but no school song. Members of the class of 1947 got together and made up words for the class song and put it to the tune of another song. You know we've been trying to remember our class song..." (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009). Ms. Goodman recalled that green and yellow were the class colors for the class of 1953, but none of the participants was able to recollect or sing their class songs or the school song.

Table 6

Traditions Established at PACTS/UKHS

School Traditions	
School Mascot	Tiger
School Colors	Maroon and Gray
School Song	Alma Mater (lyrics by R. L. Allen)
School Yearbooks	Published in 1945, 1946, 1955, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969
School Pictures	Taken every school year

Note. Information gathered from PACTS/UKHS yearbooks

The first PACTS/UKHS yearbook, *La Royale Princesse Year Book of the Senior Class*, published in 1945, highlighted the junior class honoring the seniors with a formal dance on April 6, 1945. The Hi-Y Club was established to provide training on the religious side of life for boys, and the T. C. Walker Club encouraged students to use their talents in the performing arts. The 1945 yearbook also included the New Farmers of America Club, the Home Makers Club, and a baseball team (*La Royale Princesse*, 1945). A list of PACTS/UKHS student activities from 1945 to 1969 is located in Appendix JJ. By 1946, the Mary Gray Club and the Maggie Walker Club, service organizations, had been added to the list of extracurricular activities along with the Honor Society and a school chorus (*Maroon-Tiger*, 1946). The researcher noted that several of the school clubs were organized specifically to satisfy the needs of PACTS students and named for notable Black Virginians. T. C. Walker was the first Black to practice law in Gloucester County, Mary Gray was the first Jeanes teacher in Princess Anne County, and Maggie Walker of Richmond was the first female bank president in the United States. The school administration also allowed the students to form their own clubs. Looking back, Mrs. Haynes recounted:

They allowed us to have our own little clubs, if you so desired. Some of the members of different clubs even dressed alike. I'm ashamed to tell you, but I was in a club. There were three of us—we were the smallest members of the class of 1947, and we just were

not going to be defeated. Have you ever heard the song, "The Pistol Packing Mama?" We formed, the three of us, and we called ourselves the PPM Club. Nobody was going to bother us just because we were small. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

The PACTS Homecoming had its beginning in the fall of 1948, but there was no yearbook published that school year to capture the festive event. Mrs. Spence, a participant in the study, was the first PACTS Homecoming Queen. Miss Homecoming Queen 1948 shared the following details of the occasion:

I believe I wore a lavender gown and a round, shiny, lavender head dress. It was floral pattern and looked like real flowers. As I recall, there were three senior participants who ran and the student body voted on us. I remember that Miss Goodman was one of those who set the criteria. We had to be students in good academic standing and have ladylike manners. No one who was unladylike would qualify. I was a member of the drama club and the glee club. I was also one of two salutatorians in the class of 1949. (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009)

Ms. Goodman, a member of the class of 1953, mentioned not being able to take part in the glee club or the drama club because they were offered after school. Unfortunately, the after school bus transportation she needed to participate was not available to PACTS students. Ms. Goodman did actively take part in class night, an activity for graduating seniors along with the baccalaureate service and the graduation ceremony. Her remembrance of Class Night 1945 was described in this excerpt from her oral history:

The graduating class had something called Class Night when the seniors put on the class play. My aunt, Miss Hattie Louise Goodman, was the director of the play. Other than the play, Class Night also consisted of giving gifts to the seniors based on how you acted at school. For instance, if you were known for cutting up and making everyone laugh the whole time you were in high school, you would be given a clown. I was one of those ones, so I got a clown. I was the giftorian for the girls in the senior class, and another classmate was the giftorian for the boys. My aunt had written out what each child did, for example, we had one student—every day she would beg for a penny, so we gave her some pennies. Another one would never have paper, so that person was given a pack of

paper. One student could never catch the school bus; she would always be late, so we gave her an alarm clock. (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009)

The 1950s brought more activities, clubs, and sports teams to PACTS. A band directed by Mr. Reid and a mixed chorus under the direction of Dr. Allen became the core of a budding music department (*The Tiger*, 1955). *The Hi-Lighter*, the PACTS/UKHS school newspaper, was published for the first time in 1951 under Mrs. Siler's sponsorship. The publication included editorials, club news, and feature stories about students, teachers, sports, and school events (Siler, 2008). In an article from the *The Hi-Lighter*, a primary source used in the study, the PACTS/UKHS Choir and Band Spring Concert was advertised to take place on Thursday, April 25, 1968, at 8:15 p.m. in the school auditorium. It was opened to the public and would feature "choral and instrumental numbers of classical, romantic, and modern composers" (Choir and Band News, 1968). A copy of *The Hi-Lighter* is in Appendix KK.

Student interests expanded and resulted in the organization of more clubs such as the Dramatic Club, Tri-Hi-Y, the Library Club, the Music Club, the Spanish Clubs, the History Clubs, and Student Council (*The Tiger*, 1955; *The Tiger*, 1958; *The Tiger*, 1959). Yearbook pages of school activities are located in Appendices LL through RR. There was not yet a physical education program, but Mr. William "Buddy" Manley coached football and basketball from 1950 to 1953, a step up from just playing at recess (Smith, 2008). The oral histories used in the study did not make any reference to a connection between increased student activities at PACTS and the new school or the *Brown* decision.

With the opening of the new PACTS facility in 1953 came a gymnasium, and that meant organized sports for the students. As a teacher and a coach at the school, Mr. Darden said, "organized sports gave our students a chance to play competitively and get recognition for it" (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). The program of organized sports started with football and basketball, but grew to include track and tennis. PACTS/UKHS student athletes, both boys and girls, played under the Virginia Interscholastic Association (VIA), the regulatory organization of Virginia Black high school sports from 1954 to 1969 (Smith, 2008). In 1957, the Tiger football team posted a 7-2 record, but was denied the VIA Group II Eastern District Championship because of an ineligible player (Smith, 2008). With an increase in student population, PACTS/UKHS entered the VIA Group I Eastern District during the 1959-1960 school year (Smith, 2008). As a school with VIA Group I status, PACTS/UKHS would play top

divisions high schools such as Booker T. Washington (Norfolk), George Washington Carver (Newport News), Crestwood (Chesapeake), and I. C. Norcom (Portsmouth) (Smith, 2008).

By 1964, Coach Goss had become athletics director, and the head football coach, William Price, left for a position at Norfolk State University (Smith, 2008). Mr. Darden only had two years of coaching experience, but was recommended by Mr. Price to take over as head football coach. Mr. Darden recalled those who believed he was too young for the position and Joseph V. Boykin, the principal, being influenced to select someone else. Finally, Mr. Boykin decided that Mr. Darden was the best man for the job, and appointed him head football coach for UKHS in 1964 (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008).

The school year of 1965-1966 was one to remember for UKHS due to a huge football victory along with a new stadium being named for and dedicated to former principal Thaddeus C. Smith (*The Tiger*, 1966). Mr. Darden and his assistants, Robert Setzer, Charles Harvin, and Clyde Siler, believed from the start of the season that their team had the "feel of champions" (*The Tiger*, 1966, p. 111). With a great deal of enthusiasm, Mr. Darden reminisced about his winning season as head football coach at his high school alma mater:

We ran a wing team because Price, that's what he had. I didn't change the system because it takes a lot of getting used to. We had never beat Booker T. before—they used to kill us and we beat them. Carver in Chesapeake used to wear us out, and we beat them. Norcom in Portsmouth was the only game we lost that year. (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

The UKHS football team tied for the VIA Group I Eastern District Championship and placed second in the Virginia during the 1965-1966 school year. The season record of 8-2 generated overwhelming Tiger pride, but according to Mr. Darden, the head football coach and his players, Clarence Nelson, William Price, William Snowden, and Roosevelt Cornick, the win over Booker T. Washington was their greatest accomplishment in PACTS/UKHS football history (Smith, 2008). Mr. Darden was named the VIA Group I Eastern District Coach of the Year, and *The Tiger* 1967 yearbook was dedicated to him, his coaching staff, and his winning team (*The Tiger*, 1967).

Day-to-day management, principal leadership, role of the teacher, student success, and school activities emerged in the study as themes defining the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS. Empowered by what the school system refused to do, the PACTS/UKHS staff

and patrons set the goal of educational excellence for its Black students. The lack of school board interest and limited funding did not stop the successful growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS.

Desegregation and Demise of PACTS/UKHS

Brown v. Board of Education was a unanimous Supreme Court decision handed down on Monday, May 17, 1954. The decision held that the racial segregation of children in public schools violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment with a rationale based on the dehumanizing effects of segregation:

Segregation of white [sic] and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro [sic] group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of negro [sic] children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system. (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954)

The Supreme Court convened a year later to issue the directives to implement the 1954 *Brown* decision. Given the embedded nature of racial discrimination in public schools and the diverse circumstances under which it had been practiced, the Court requested further argument on the issue of relief (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955). On Tuesday, May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education II*. The decision conferred much responsibility on local authorities as well as the courts that originally heard school segregation cases to implement the principles embraced by the Court in the *Brown I* decision. Localities were urged to promptly act on the new principles and to move toward full compliance "with all deliberate speed" (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955).

The landmark decisions of 1954 and 1955 were tremendous victories for the NAACP and its legal defense team led by Mr. Thurgood Marshall. At a gathering of NAACP officials in Atlanta, Georgia days after the *Brown* decision, attendees adopted the "Atlanta Declaration" that stated:

All Americans are now relieved to have the law of the land declare in the clearest language: "...in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Segregation in public education is now not only unlawful; it is un-American. (Along the NAACP Battlefront, 1954)

Public education in American was changed forever. How would the changes influence the destiny of PACTS/UKHS?

The *Brown* cases were decided more than a decade before Dr. Brickell became superintendent of VBCPS. In his oral history, he expressed the following thoughts about the inceptive consequences of the landmark decisions:

People with whom I worked and associated called it "Black Monday" because I remember the edict or decision was issued on a Monday. The implementation decree didn't come down until a year later; and said, now, here's how you're going to do it. The court for whatever reason, and maybe they were right, I don't know why—they're a whole lot smarter than I am. They put something in there that gave some of the die-hard segregationists what they thought was a way out. Schools would be, or the public facilities would be, integrated "with all deliberate speed." Now, you know "with all deliberate speed" can mean a lot of different things. (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009)

Other oral histories used in the study revealed that Mr. Willis was in college, Mr. Cason was a senior at PACTS, and Mr. Darden was at PACTS freshman in 1954. Mr. Willis followed the day-to-day development of the *Brown I* decision in one of his education classes, Mr. Cason was unaware of the decision, and Mr. Darden did not learn of the decision until he attended college in 1957 (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009; J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008; C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). Ms. Goodman graduated from PACTS a year before the *Brown I* decision. She was aware of the decision and recalled, "Black children continued to still go to PACTS because they liked the environment there even though it didn't have the best of facilities" (C. L. Goodman, personal communication, March 14, 2009). Mrs. Spence was teaching elementary school in Princess Anne County in 1954. She stated her awareness, but made no further comment about the *Brown* decisions (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009). Mr. Thompson had no

recollection since he was two years old when the *Brown I* decision was handed down (R. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009). Mrs. Haynes was head secretary at PACTS in 1955, and thinking back on the *Brown* decisions, her memories were ones filled with happiness:

When it was understood that it was time for desegregation, you know, it was just a joyful time. We just thought you can't tell us anything now---we've been doing what you told us to do for so long, but now, we can do all that you can do. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

Three of the participants in the study were too young to have been aware of the *Brown* decisions in 1954 and 1955. Others were aware, but made few comments. No questions were asked about the *Brown* decisions in the videotaped interviews for the PACTS/UKHS Museum. Mrs. Haynes' expression of joy coincided with the triumph of the NAACP. Dr. Brickell's notion of segregationists looking for a way out was validated in *The Making of Massive Resistance: Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation 1954-1956* by Robbins Gates. Based on the *Southern School News*, a primary source used by Mr. Gates, on June 19, 1954, a group of 20 White Virginia state legislators from the Fourth Congressional District [Princess Anne County was in the Second Congressional District] met and adopted the following resolution regarding the desegregation issue:

We desire to have recorded our unalterable opposition to the principle of integration of the races in the schools and that we hereby pledge to the people of our district [Fourth Congressional District] and to all the citizens of Virginia our determined purpose to evolve some legal method whereby political subdivisions of the state may continue to maintain separate facilities for white [sic] and Negro students in schools. (Southern School News, 1954, p. 13)

Massive resistance to school desegregation had been declared in Virginia by 1956. It resulted in lawsuits being filed, hours of court proceedings, and schools being closed. Princess Anne County schools did not close during massive resistance, but several all-White schools closed for five months in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk (Dabney, 1971). The most extreme school closing case in the country took place in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The county officials closed all of the schools in 1959, and they remained closed until 1963 (Dabney, 1971). The era of massive resistance in the commonwealth ended in 1959, when the governor of

Virginia ordered all public schools to desegregate in 1960 (Dabney, 1971). It was the consensus of the study participants that it took 10 years before they were able to see the effects of the *Brown* decisions on PACTS/UKHS.

With the order to integrate public schools, Virginia Beach began desegregation in 1962 when 37 Black students were admitted to White schools. Princess Anne and Virginia Beach merged in 1963, and 56 Black students were admitted to White schools (Roth, 2009). In 1964, Bayside High School opened as an integrated school with four Black students. Citywide, 127 Black students attended White schools in Virginia Beach. Parents of these 127 Black students had to fill out pupil placement cards and get permission to transfer to White schools (Roth, 2009). The Virginia Beach City School Board met in 1965 and created a policy "to permit pupils to enroll or transfer upon request, *Freedom of Choice*, from one school to another if the pupil lives within the attendance area of the school to which he desires to attend or to which he wishes to transfer" (Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting, January 19, 1965). The announcement of *Freedom of Choice* did not prompt Black parents in Virginia Beach to rush out and immediately transfer their children from Black schools to White schools. Dr. Mansfield, the Virginia Wesleyan College archivist, believed:

The residual awareness of what had happened at Little Rock, the Norfolk 17—those children feeling very isolated and parents concerned, not just for their safety, but for whether in that kind of an environment they'd really get the level of education they were getting at UKHS. (S. S. Mansfield, personal communication, May 5, 2009)

The option of *Freedom of Choice* gave way to discomfort and uncertainty for Black parents and students. The decision to leave UKHS and enroll in an all-White high school in Virginia Beach was one that took great care and thought. Mr. Cason had graduated 11 years before *Freedom of Choice*. His response to why Black parents made no immediate transfers was similar to the opinion of Dr. Mansfield. Mr. Cason remarked:

There were some who were a little hesitant to make the change because they didn't know what to expect. With us being segregated so long, once you get the kinks out, you know, you live by it. After some went to the White school and got along; then others got on the bandwagon, so to speak. The children had a lot of opportunities they didn't have before that they had once they desegregated. Whites would make fun of the Black children, but

that was to be expected. Some got on pretty good, some didn't. (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2008)

In his videotaped interview for the museum, Dr. Spain shared that 1965-1966 was his senior year at UKHS and that desegregation had already begun in Virginia Beach. Dr. Spain said, "I had the option before I graduated to probably go to Virginia Beach High School, but I decided to stay at Union Kempsville. I think I made an excellent decision" (Spain, 2008). Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix, a 1969 UKHS graduate, was also given the option to choose. She and her sister stayed at UKHS even though they lived next door to Bayside High School. Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix recalled how the bus driver, Ms. Annie Snead, altered her bus route for two years, "to pick up my sister and me and take us to UK, so we could graduate from Union Kempsville" (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008).

During the 1965-1966 school year, Mr. Darden, a UKHS teacher and coach, remembered: First, we lost one boy, William Stancil. I taught him as a seventh grader, but he went to Princess Anne High School as an 8th grader because he was really good at science and stuff—real smart. The following year we had a few go to Kellam and some went to Bayside. Just small groups of kids went. Most of the kids stayed there with us at UK until they closed the doors. (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008)

Only Mr. Darden and Mrs. Spence mentioned the ability level of a Black student in reference to making the decision to transfer to an all-White school. Mrs. Spence, a PACTS graduate, recalled "a few Black students, who excelled academically, were selected by their teachers to integrate. Most of them did not go to the White schools because their parents felt they would be mistreated" (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009).

Some went, but many stayed. According to the UKHS assistant principal, Mr. Willis, "about 10% percent of the students went to integrated schools; and when they did, I'd say the same number of staff members went too" (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). Despite her fierce loyalty to PACTS/UKHS, Mrs. Haynes recounted a personal reflection in her oral history on the *Freedom of Choice*:

If it's over there for them, it's got to be over there for you. There's nothing over there that you can't have or be a part of. So you need to go and see what it's like, take advantage of it. By the second year of *Freedom of Choice*, they were ready and wanted to go. There

was a new school opening in their community, a brand new school, and they wanted to go—that was their choice. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

By 1967, what to do with UKHS was a controversial issue for VBCPS. The school's student enrollment was decreasing, and it was in need of great repair on the authority of Vivian Taylor, chairperson of the Union Kempsville PTA, the Virginia Beach Council on Human Relations, and the NAACP (Rowe, 1967). School Board Chairperson J. W. Buffington said the school's staff was making ongoing improvements at the school despite Mrs. Taylor's complaint of a leaky roof and a faulty heating system (Rowe, 1967). The Virginia Beach City School Board finally made the decision to have UKHS remain a high school for the 1967-1968 school year (Rowe, 1967).

Table 7

Decline in UKHS Enrollment and Graduating Seniors, 1964 - 1969

School Year	Number of Graduates	Total Enrollment
1964-1965	117	1,143
1965-1966	162	1,016
1966-1967	128	960
1967-1968	108	853
1968-1969	92	638

Note. Annual Reports to the Superintendent 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969

There were only three all-Black schools remaining in Virginia Beach by 1968—Seaboard Elementary, Seatack Elementary, and UKHS. In a school system with about 36,500 students, approximately 2,000 of those students were still attending segregated schools (Roth, 2009). The steady decline of enrollment and graduating seniors at the Black high school is displayed in Table 7. The UKHS student population dropped from 1,143 during the 1964-1965 school year to 638 during the 1968-1969 school year. The school board did not see the need of a fourth high school in the Kempsville-Bayside area, and the size of the UKHS student body was

not conducive to maintaining a comprehensive high school program (Beach Studying Abandonment, 1968). Dr. Brickell, VBCPS superintendent, "sought out Black leaders and clergy to allay concerns about integration. With Navy support and a population interspersed with transplants from around the country, Virginia Beach seemed ready" (Roth, 2009). At the January 21, 1969, Virginia Beach City School Board meeting, Dr. Brickell presented a desegregation plan that included the closing of UKHS and "advised that the mandate of existing statutes and court proceedings specified that Virginia Beach must move to a unitary school system effective for the 1969-70 session" (*Minutes of the Virginia Beach City School Board Meeting*, January 21, 1969). The school board approved the plan and authorized the superintendent to submit it to the appropriate agencies.

An array of emotions surfaced in the school and community when the decision to close UKHS was officially announced. There was great sadness about the demise of PACTS/UKHS because it had been such an integral part of the Black community for 31 years. Mrs. Hawkins-Hendrix, a graduating senior in 1969, recalled the sadness in her videotaped interview for the museum:

We knew in the beginning of our senior year that we would be the last class. I don't think we planned anything special—we just made the most of it. Everybody was sad, we didn't want to leave, but we knew we had to go. At least it was my last year, so I didn't feel it as much as those who had to go to other schools. I cried that day [Her last day a UKHS.]. (Hawkins-Hendrix, 2008)

It was the disappointment that caused many to question why UKHS had to close. Did it have anything to do with it being a Black school or was it because UKHS was not up to standard? Mrs. Haynes eloquently expressed her disappointment in this passage from her oral history:

I don't think they felt the school could be adequately upgraded to meet the standards of the other schools. They were afraid that White students living in the geographic location of the school would have to come to UK, and it wasn't up to par. I don't believe they wanted that. We had White teachers and a White administrative assistant, but there were never any White students in attendance at UK. I think they should have improved UK, so other children could have the opportunity to be exposed to what we enjoyed there. I believe they would have enjoyed it, too. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March 17, 2009)

The closing of the school also caused the feeling of discontent. In 1968, Mr. Darden tried to apply for membership in the Virginia High School League, but he was told it would not be necessary since UKHS would not exist after 1969. As a head coach, Mr. Darden was dismayed by the thought of his football and track teams becoming extinct (J. A. Darden, personal communication, November 12, 2008). Mr. Thompson voluntarily transferred to Kellam High School as a ninth grader, but recollected the attitudes of Black students who were forced to transfer to Kellam as rising seniors. According to Mr. Thompson, they were upset and sincerely believed that UKHS was "good enough for us [Blacks] to go to, but it was not good enough for them [Whites] to go to" (R. Thompson, personal communication, March 12, 2009).

Sadness, disappointment, and discontent were all true emotions related to the closing of UKHS, but they did not cast a shadow on the study participants' thoughts about the education of Black children. "I felt sad even though we had good times there. I just thought it was time for our children to get exposed to the same education as Whites," (H. R. Spence, personal communication, March 24, 2009) said Mrs. Spence. Mr. Cason recounted that closing the school put Black children in a new society, and we had to get used to it (T. T. Cason, personal communication, March 13, 2009). Mr. Willis remarked, "It was a good thing to close the school, really, in that the kids were now exposed to a more comprehensive education [based on curriculum]" (C. A. Willis, personal communication, March 16, 2009). With buy-in from the Black community and full support of the school board in regards to the demise of the PACTS/UKHS, Dr. Brickell commented, "The children were the constituents, not the voters, and that made a world of difference" (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009).

The children were gone and the building that was once PACTS/UKHS became the Center for Effective Learning (CEL), a program to help at-risk students successfully function in a school setting with focuses on instruction, intervention, and behaviors. Dr. Brickell took great care in placing UKHS teachers in various schools throughout Virginia Beach (E. E. Brickell, personal communication, April 20, 2009). Mr. Boykin stayed on as director of CEL until he retired in 1971, and Mrs. Haynes remained as head secretary. Staying was difficult—as she observed the change of the guard in a building that had housed the only Black high school in the history of Princess Anne Count/Virginia Beach, Virginia, Mrs. Haynes recalled:

I had to do purchase orders and order everything new. They didn't want anything that was there, and that hurt. Then, one Monday, I went in and all of the pictures down the halls

were gone. The new teachers coming in didn't have any connection to our school, and they didn't have any interest in looking at pictures of Black graduating classes---and they were gone, and that hurt a lot. (V. M. Haynes, personal communication, March17, 2009)

There was no fanfare, no bands playing, no streamers or balloons—PACTS/UKHS simply closed its doors. The class of the 1969 dedicated the final publication of *The Tiger* to all of the students who came before them. A copy of the dedication is located in Appendix SS. The last graduating seniors from Princess County Training School/Union Kempsville High School paid tribute to the legacy of their alma mater with the following words:

We, the last graduating class of Union Kempsville High School wish to dedicate this, our last Senior Class Annual, to all those who have gone before us and who, by their accomplishments here, have made our academic growth a little less crowded with "growing pains," and a little more endowed with the imagery of years well spent in the pursuit of an education. (*The Tiger*, 1969, p. 2)

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Summary

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the history of Princess Anne County Training School and Union Kempsville High School in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia. The statement of the problem investigated in the study was: *How did major historical events affect the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of* PACTS/UKHS *between 1925 and 1969?* Segregation, the county training school movement, and desegregation were the major historical events examined. Inquiry into the problem necessitated the crafting of research questions to address: (a) the motivation of Black residents to build a high school, (b) the relationship between segregation and quality education, (c) the role of the county training school movement in curriculum development and goal-setting, (d) the themes that emerged concerning the growth and operation of the school, and (e) the factors leading to the school's demise.

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 established the principle of separate-but-equal public facilities for Blacks and Whites in the United States including public schools. The legality of segregation stunted the intellectual, emotional, and social development of Black children across the South as it did in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach. Yet, the commitment of the Black community to the education of its children never faltered.

The PACTS Association, supported by Black churches in the county, met for the first time on October 26, 1925, to discuss the feasibility of building a Black high school in Princess Anne County. The association led Black residents in raising money to purchase property for the school, only to have their accomplishments ignored by the county school board. Black parents found it difficult to understand the dismissal of a secondary education for their children. It took 13 years of making school board requests, waiting, raising money, and more waiting—before a high school was built for Black students. In the fall of 1938, Princess Anne County Training School opened with four classrooms, four teachers, no seats, and no electricity—but with a group of children eager to learn.

In the late 19th century, Northern philanthropists began to promote industrial education for Black children in the South. It was believed that a rudimentary high school education with an emphasis on a strong work ethic would improve job productivity. Industrial education became

the premise for initial curriculum development at PACTS/UKHS. In the school's early years, girls were required to take home economics and boys had to take agriculture or shop. Joseph Boykin, successor to Thaddeus Smith as principal in 1946, introduced a college preparatory curriculum to the students of PACTS/UHKS. A college preparatory curriculum did not dismiss a strong work ethic, but strengthened the possibility of entrance into institutions of higher learning. Mr. Boykin wanted more for Black children. He envisioned PACTS/UKHS students having a competitive edge that could not be accomplished with only an industrial education.

The demise of the only Black high school in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach began about 10 years after the Supreme Court handed down the 1954 and 1955 *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions. Racially separating children for the purpose of educating them was declared unconstitutional, and localities were ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955). The Commonwealth of Virginia took the hard road of massive resistance that concluded in school closings. The move to maintain separate-but-unequal schools in the commonwealth was denied, and in 1960, the governor ordered desegregation of all public schools in Virginia. By 1962, 37 Black children were attending White schools in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach. The Princess Anne County School Board offered *Freedom of Choice* in 1965, and the student enrollment at PACTS/UKHS began to decline.

PACTS/UKHS was a victim of desegregation like many of the Black high schools in the South during the late 1960s. The *Brown* decisions revolutionized public education, allowing Black children to be exposed to better school facilities and instructional materials as well as the rigidity of interracial competition (Fairclough, 2007). After more than three decades, PACTS/UKHS quietly closed its doors in June of 1969. The loss was difficult and sadness prevailed, but the overwhelming Tiger pride that still exists is proof that the Black community never faltered in its commitment to the education of Black children.

Discussion

In examining the history of PACTS/UKHS, the researcher thought it important to dedicate time to a historical overview of the education of Black students in the Commonwealth of Virginia and in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia. The overview revealed a wealth of literature about Black education not just in Virginia, but also throughout the Southeastern United States. Extracting from scholarly works, government documents, and

periodicals the researcher created a scenario to bridge "the chasm between the past being studied and the account that is the product" (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 13) in the study.

The historical overview of Black education in Virginia was a necessary preparation to fairly receive the significant memories taken from the oral histories of PACTS/UKHS students, administrators, teachers, and staff. Even though data were also collected from the videotaped interviews for the PACTS/UKHS Museum and multiple primary and secondary sources, the personal contact with those who offered their oral histories was most important to the researcher. Their willingness to share their perspectives on the history of PACTS/UKHS was natural and unforced. To accommodate the study participants, the researcher scheduled interviews in locations that would be most convenient to the participant. Some were interviewed in their homes, others came to the researcher's job, and one even requested to be interviewed at McDonald's. Despite the location, study participants came ready to answer questions and armed with stories to tell. The researcher allowed them to respond as they saw fit and to make meaning of their own experiences (Yow, 2005).

The interviews were an unforgettable experience, but the transcribed oral histories were extremely overwhelming for the researcher. An unwillingness to meet the challenge caused a lengthy delay in completion of the study. Reluctantly, the researcher restarted the work on the history of PACTS/UKHS. Sifting, analyzing, and interpreting the content of the oral histories inspired the researcher to complete the study and convey the stories of those who were so willing to share (Furay & Salevouris, 2000).

Historically, Black children have been fully or partially denied an education in the Commonwealth of Virginia. This could have been attributed to the ongoing questions of why and how Blacks should be schooled. The controversy over the questions often provoked debate absent of Black opinions about Black education. Regardless of the exclusion, Blacks held a high opinion of education and believed it was directly linked to an individual's position in society.

In 1925, the Black community in Princess Anne County decided to act on its belief about Black education and staged a mass meeting to discuss building a high school for their children. The ramifications of segregation were understood, and Blacks had no choice but to work within the confines of separate-but-unequal. With this in mind, Blacks parents in the county did not ask if their children could go to the White high school, but they did ask if their children could simply go to high school. The only motivation was a parent's desire for the best for his or her child—

believing that education was the impetus for success. Frederick Douglass said, "Education, the sheet anchor to a society where liberty and justice are secure, is a dangerous thing to society in the presence of injustices and oppressions" (Smith, 2004). In order for Black people in America to survive, they had to be educated because it was the one area that could make a weak person strong and a Black person equal (Smith, 2004).

Dealing with the ills of segregation shaped the work of the PACTS Association and the Black community in relation to building and maintaining a high school for their children. The "benign neglect" on the part of the county school board became its standard and proved to be ineffective, while supporting PACTS/UKHS became an ongoing commitment of Black Princess Anne residents (Sowell, 2007). The stamina and patience of the PACTS Association and the Black community were unintended effects of the school board's disregard for the education of Black children in Princess Anne County. In the study, *Susie G. Gibson High School: A History of the Last Segregated School in Bedford County, Virginia*, Tracy Richardson gave an account of the Bedford County School Board's sluggishness to act on the request of the Citizen's Club [a Black community organization in Bedford] for a new Black high school (Richardson, 2012). Bedford Blacks also experienced limited board support and construction delays, but the "benign neglect" proved to be futile when Susie G. Gibson High School opened in 1954 for Black students all over the county (Richardson, 2012). The endurance of the Black community in Bedford paralleled the Black community in Princess Anne, both with an uninterrupted focus on Black education.

Once PACTS/UKHS opened in 1938, segregation directly and indirectly affected every aspect of the school. It determined the curriculum, quality of instruction, availability of materials and equipment, organized sports, and even building maintenance. To be beneficial, PACTS/UKHS had to meet the needs and values of Black children living in a segregated society. The absence of school board support stimulated by segregation heightened the role of the PACTS Association. The community meetings and fundraisers related to PACTS/UKHS staged by the association replaced what the school board should have been doing. It is imperative to mention that the ongoing active participation of the PACTS Association amid the dangers of segregation was phenomenal. What the organization did for Black children in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach should never be forgotten.

The study participants lived during the era of Jim Crow when the presence of segregation was the way of life. Black study participants commented about sitting at the back of the bus, not being able to eat at a lunch counter, and always being issued used—never new—schoolbooks. Their separate-but-unequal high school was cherished because it was considered to be better than no school at all. The perspective of a White study participant on segregation intrigued the researcher. As a child, the White study participant suffered the rejection of other Whites for befriending a Black family that moved into the neighborhood. Adjustments had to be made by a White child similar to those made by a Black child growing up in a racially segregated society. The researcher comprehended the disadvantages of Jim Crowism for Blacks, but had to also consider the negative impact segregation had on Whites.

None of the participants in the study were familiar with the county training school movement and its purpose. They were not aware of the relationship between the movement and the industrial education curriculum offered at PACTS/UKHS. The movement called for collaboration between a local school board and a Northern philanthropic organization that financially supported the training school, but the researcher found no evidence that Princess Anne County School Board ever contacted such an organization for assistance. Interpretation of school board minutes pointed out the lack of board interest in PACTS/UKHS and that funding for the construction of the school would come from the WPA—not from a philanthropic organization.

The researcher pondered on why the Princess Anne County School Board did not secure funding from a philanthropic organization to assist in building PACTS. The William Skinner School, a Black common school in the county, was partially financed with Rosenwald money in 1923—why not obtain similar assistance for PACTS. In 1934, the Slater Fund offered \$3,000 in support of the school's construction, but for whatever reason that did not materialize. The researcher speculated that the school board had little or no interest in the county training school movement. Collaboration with Northern philanthropists would have meant making an effort to educate Black children and that was contradictory to school board behavior in reference to supporting Black education. Turning a blind eye on the children at PACTS/UKHS was harmful, but not fatal. No evidence was discovered in the study to provide a motive for school board's "benign neglect," but the ongoing support of the community allowed Black students at PACTS to defy the odds.

Limited school board support and no funding from a philanthropic organization were reasons the researcher believed PACTS/UKHS was not a true county training school in regards to the guidelines of the movement. Study participants had little or no knowledge of the county training school movement. Mrs. Mary Gray was the first Jeanes teacher in Princess Anne County and was eventually replaced by Mrs. Bettie Forbes Williams (Hawkins-Hendrix, 1998). The study did not reveal any relationship between the work of the Jeanes teachers and PACTS/UKHS industrial education curriculum. The *Rosenwald Schools of Virginia* web site listed 27 county training schools constructed in Virginia between 1917 and 1932 that were financed by the Rosenwald Fund (*Rosenwald Schools of Virginia*, 2010). Common schools financed by the Rosenwald Fund were also listed on the site, but the William Skinner School was not included.

Princess Anne County Training School was renamed Union Kempsville High School in 1961. The term, training school, was synonymous to a Black high school in the South, but it did not mean that every training school followed the requirements of the county training school movement. The term was eventually associated with racism because many White Southerners at the turn of the 20th century were more comfortable with Black children being trained versus being taught. According to the researcher's findings, there was no controversy in Black community over the name of the school when PACTS opened in 1938. Less than twenty years later, the *Brown* decisions ushered in the 1960s and freedom was in the air. Blacks began to challenge White authority as well as some of the traditions and attitudes of their own race. A group of Black citizens arrived at a school board meeting in 1961 with a petition to change the name of PACTS. It was not a mistake, but a sign of the times. The once acceptable term, training school, had become a controversial source of embarrassment for many Blacks and prompted the demand for change.

The triangulation was challenging, but exciting when a primary or secondary source was discovered to confirm the oral histories that framed the narrative of the study. The availability of museum videotaped interviews, historical accounts, artifacts, periodicals, and meeting minutes was extraordinary and brought the strength of reality. Yet, the true beauty of investigating the history of PACTS/UKHS rested in the following themes that emerged from inquiry into the growth and operation of the school: (a) day-to-day management, (b) principal leadership, (c) role of the teacher, (d) student success, and (e) school activities.

Oral evidence is interactive and the study participants were given the opportunity to offer interpretation as well as facts (Yow, 2005) when recalling memories related to the growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS. It was through the emerging themes that they spoke candidly about transportation to school, respect for their principals, favorite teachers, the value of learning, and the year the football team was second in the commonwealth. The researcher found that PACTS/UKHS traditions were established to increase school spirit—the mascot was a Tiger, school colors were maroon and gray, and a school song written in the 1950s. There were school yearbooks, a school newspaper, an annual prom, and a Homecoming Queen selected by the student body. Organized sports became a reality once the new school facility opened with a gymnasium in 1953. Along with a host of clubs, the only Black high school in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach also had its own marching band and concert chorus. The Black study participants gave kudos to the school's two principals, Mr. Smith and Mr. Boykin; but they were most complimentary of the teachers. The investigation also revealed that PACTS/UKHS students clearly understood the important role their parents played in the construction and maintenance of the school, and dedicated the first six school yearbooks to them.

In reflecting on the successful growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS, the researcher began to look at the emerging themes as the unintended effects of White effort to suppress the education of Black students who attended PACTS/UKHS. The 1946 yearbook listed the names of various school organizations tailored specifically for PACTS/UKHS students were named for Black role models. Effective principal leadership instituted a goal of educational excellence that promoted a college preparatory curriculum for the school's students in addition to industrial education. PACTS/UKHS teachers understood the power of education and conveyed to their students that learning was nonnegotiable. Instruction was delivered to Princess Anne County Black high school students in the 1938 structure with no lights and seats with just as much conviction as it was in the state-of-the-art facility in 1953. The researcher referred to the above as unintended effects because they were not supposed to happen in an all-Black high school manipulated and controlled by segregation. Black high school students in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach treaded on an uneven playing field in a world of separate-but-unequal, but they endured. The unintended effects brought beauty to the study—they were evidence that proved the White effort to suppress the education of the Black students who attended PACTS/UKHS was a failure.

The growth and operation of PACTS/UKHS eventually gave way to the *Brown* decisions that mandated the transition from segregation to desegregation. Blacks detested the consequences of segregation, but learned to survive in a society separated according to race. Desegregation was supposedly a positive change, but it took Black students and parents out of their comfort zones. Virginia first responded with massive resistance to the *Brown* decisions, but by 1960 all public schools had been ordered to desegregate. A *Freedom of Choice* policy was activated in Virginia Beach in 1965, and PACTS/UKHS closed in 1969.

The researcher thought it ironic that PACTS/UKHS survived under the restraint of segregation, but collapsed under the liberation of desegregation. In 1965, UKHS was not prepared to compete against other high schools in Virginia Beach. It was an older structure in need of repair, student enrollment was declining, instructional materials and equipment were minimal, and the future of the school was uncertain. By 1969, desegregation was the reason for the closing of Black high schools across the South or reducing them to junior high status. PACTS/UKHS students, administrators, teachers, and staff anticipated the end and accepted the demise with quiet grace and style.

The significance of PACTS/UKHS to the Black community in Princess Anne/Virginia Beach was almost bigger than life and the association, parents, and teachers were at the core. The PACTS Association plotted and guided its community through an unwavering course to build and maintain the school. PACTS/UKHS parents were willing to do whatever was necessary in order that their children could go to high school. PACTS/UKHS teachers strove for educational excellence and demanded that their students learn.

The significance of PACTS/UKHS to the Black community is also the legacy of the school. The silent grace of the Black community in regards to the loss of PACTS/UKHS was about sadness, but not defeat. The 31-year operation of teaching and learning fragmented by the restrictions of segregation was a tremendous victory. PACTS/UKHS students were taught to respect the value of education because learning was not an option. It was always about Black children getting a high school education—and they did. More than four decades have passed since the school closed its doors, but the memories will preserve the legacy. The PACTS/UKHS Museum, class reunions, local presentations on the school's history, and annual Christmas galas only exist because the Black community remembers. As long as the community remembers, the Maroon and Gray Tigers live!

Recommendations for Further Study

The completion of this study on the history of PACTS/UKHS led to recommendations for further study. This inquiry examined the effect of segregation (*Plessy v. Ferguson*), the county training school movement, and desegregation (*Brown v. Board of Education*) on the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS. A logical expansion of this study would be to investigate the establishment, growth, operation, and demise of PACTS/UKHS based on three different major historical events. The effects of the Great Migration of Southern Blacks to the North, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Civil Rights Movement on PACTS/UKHS are important historical events worthy of examination.

Seatack Elementary School was a Black school that opened in Princess Anne County in 1908. It remains open today, in a different location and in a state-of-the-art building. How and why did it survive transition from segregation to desegregation and PACTS/UKHS did not? An investigation of Seatack Elementary is recommended for study. The history of Seatack could be paralleled with the history of PACTS/UKHS. Parental and community involvement, why the school's name was never changed, and how and why it transitioned from segregation to desegregation without demise could be examined in such a study.

A study of the students who took advantage of the *Freedom of Choice* policy and transferred from UKHS to predominately White high schools is recommended for further research. The investigation could examine the years between 1965 and 1969 along with the advantages and disadvantages of the transfer to the students who chose to change schools. The researcher could also explore the reasons for deciding to transfer and the expectations of Black students and parents of what the White high school would offer. An inquiry of whether those expectations were met could also be undertaken as a part of the study.

It is recommended that a study be done of the students who graduated from PACTS/UKHS between 1938 and 1969. The researcher could use the qualitative, historical approach to investigate the connection between graduating seniors from PACTS/UKHS and adult success. An emphasis could be placed on the impact of segregation on the educational process at the school and the significance of that high school education in relationship to success as an adult. Selected students from a variety of graduating classes could be interviewed for the

study, and their oral histories could be used to gather data along with other primary and secondary sources.

A comparative study on Black teachers who were transferred to predominately White high schools after UKHS closed is also a recommendation for possible further study. The inquiry could compare and contrast teaching at UKHS with teaching at a predominately White high school using the themes that emerged in this study related to the growth and operation of UKHS. The themes include (a) day-to-day management, (b) principal leadership, (c) role of the teacher, (d) student success, and (e) school activities.

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Appendix A PACTS/UKHS Timeline

1925 October 26	Initial PACTS Association meeting held to discuss building a training	
	school for Black students in Princess Anne County.	
1926 August 9	PACTS Association purchased four acres of land in the Kempsville area	
	near Euclid Road to build a Black high school.	
1930 February 19	Black citizens requested assistance from the school board in establishing a	
	training school for Black students.	
1930 April 16	Letter from State Supervisor for Negro Education requested funds to build a	
	training school; board tabled discussion for a year.	
1930 June 18	Second letter from State Supervisor for Negro Education was discussed;	
	board decided not to build a training school at that time.	
1934 March 1	Board appropriated \$4,697.77 to build a training school using money from	
	the Black community and Slater Fund; no school board funds were	
	allocated.	
1934 March 19	In a special board meeting, the PACTS Association offered more money it	
	had raised and land to help with building the training school.	
1934-1935	PACTS Association was weary of waiting and grades eight to eleven were	
	added to Union Kempsville School. The training school had not been built,	
	but the first high school offerings were available to Blacks students in	
	Princess Anne County.	
102/		
1936	A federal grant from the Works Progress Administration for \$14,000 to	
	build the training school; estimated cost of the school was \$22,000 and	
	PACTS Association would raise remaining cost.	

	Cornerstone laying ceremony commemorated start of PACTS construction.
1937 October 21	
1938 Spring	Union Kempsville School graduated 19 Black seniors, and which was
	considered the first graduating class of PACTS even though they never
	attended the new training school.
1938 Fall	PACTS opened featuring four classrooms, principal's office, library, and
	assembly room with a faculty of four, Thaddeus Smith as principal, and no
	lights or seats.
1939	Agricultural building added at the cost of \$5,133 with classroom space to
	teach agriculture, shop, and home economics classes.
1941 May 23	PACTS celebrated achieving full accreditation from the Virginia
	Department of Education (VDOE).
1946 August 20	Thaddeus Smith resigned as PACTS principal after 12 years.
1946 Fall	Joseph Boykin replaced Mr. Smith as principal of PACTS.
1946 Fall	Deplorable conditions of Black schools in Princess Anne County reported to
	Virginia Governor William Tuck; VDOE commission sent to survey.
1949	On recommendation from VDOE commission four classrooms, cafeteria,
	lavatory facilities, and heating system added to PACTS.
1950	On recommendation from VDOE commission school board purchased a 15-
	acre site, adjacent to PACTS, to build a new PACTS facility.
1953 Fall	New PACTS facility opened featuring 14 classrooms, library, cafeteria,
	526-seat auditorium, gymnasium, home economics facility, industrial arts
	area, band room, science room, principal's office, and boys' and girls'
	bathrooms.

1054 May 17	Brown v. Board of Education I unanimous decision declaring racially
1954 May 17	Brown v. Bourd of Education I unanimous decision deciating factany
	segregated public schools unconstitutional.
1955 May 31	Brown v. Board of Education II unanimous decision ordering public schools
	to desegregate "with all deliberate speed."
1956 to 1959	Massive resistance to the <i>Brown</i> decisions in Virginia.
1960	Governor James J. Lindsay Almond ordered the desegregation of all public
	schools in the Virginia.
1961 May 16	Black citizens presented a petition to the board requesting the re-naming of
	PACTS in honor of Thaddeus Smith, the first principal.
1961-1962	PACTS re-named Union Kempsville High School, effective the 1961-1962
	school year.
1962 January 4	Residents of Princess Anne County and the city of Virginia Beach voted to
	merge and Princess Anne County ceased to exist.
1962 Fall	Thirty-seven Black students admitted to White schools in Virginia Beach.
1963 Fall	Fifty-six Blacks students admitted to White schools in Virginia Beach.
1964 Fall	Bayside High School opened in Virginia Beach as an integrated school with
	four Black students; total of 127 Black students attending White schools in
	Virginia Beach.
1965 January 19	Virginia Beach School Board established a Freedom of Choice policy.
1967-1968	UKHS student enrollment had decreased from 1,016 during the 1965-1966
	school year to 853 during the 1967-1968 school year.
1969 January 21	E. E. Brickell, superintendent of Virginia Beach schools, presented a
	desegregation plan that called for the closing of UKHS.
1969 June	UKHS closed.

Appendix B

The Renaissance Academy



Appendix C
Entrance of PACTS/UKHS Museum





Appendix D PACTS/UKHS Historical Committee



Appendix E

Interview Questions for PACTS/UKHS Students, Administrators, Teachers, and Staff

- What was your relationship to Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville
 High School (PACTS/UKHS)? Were you a student, administrator, teacher, or a staff
 member? What were the years that you spent at PACTS/UKHS.
- 2. You grew up during a time in American history when a separate-but-equal facility for Blacks and Whites was the law. What were the feelings, attitudes, or opinions of your family about segregation? Share a personal experience as a child that you believe happened because you were living in a segregated society.
- 3. Share anything you know or heard about meetings, fund-raisings, conversations that took place in Princess Anne County's Black community concerning the purchase of land to build a high school for Black students. Make mention of any family members who were involved in these meetings, fund-raisings, or conversations.
- 4. As a student, administrator, teacher, or staff member at PACTS/UKHS, did you pay attention to the impact segregation had on your education? If you did, then talk about how that impact manifested itself at PACTS/UKHS.
- 5. As a PACTS/UKHS student, teacher or administrator, what were the strengths and weaknesses of the PACTS/UKHS curriculum? List any courses that you remember being offered. Did the content of the PACTS/UKHS curriculum adequately prepare you for college or the workplace? Why or why not?

- 6. Share your thoughts about why there was a separate structure built for agriculture, industrial arts, and home economics classes. Do you think there was a relationship between these classes and the approach to teaching black children? Why or why not?
- 7. As a student at PACTS/UKHS were you aware of the training school movement that placed an emphasis on industrial training for Black children?
- 8. Why do you think the school's name was changed from Princess Anne County Training School to Union Kempsville High School in 1961?
- 9. Think about the structure of the school day at PACTS/UKHS, and answer as many of the following questions as possible:
 - a. How did you get to and from school?
 - b. What time did school begin and end?
 - c. How many class periods were in each day, and how long did each class period last?
 - d. Did you bring lunch, go home for lunch, or could you buy lunch at school? Was there a cafeteria? If you could buy lunch, then what were some of the menus and what did it cost?
 - e. Were there ever school assemblies? If so, where were all of the students assembled? What would be a reason to have a school assembly?
 - f. Was student recess a part of the school day? If yes, then what did the students do during recess?
 - g. List extracurricular activities made available at school. Talk about your involvement in any of these activities.
 - h. What do you recall about the physical conditions of PACTS/UKHS while you were in attendance? Tell about school maintenance and cleanliness.

- 10. Mr. Thaddeus Smith and Mr. Joseph Boykin were the only PACTS/UKHS principals. Which was principal during your time at the school? How would you describe him in his role as principal and what was your relationship with him.
- 11. If you were a PACTS/UKHS student, then what did you think of the teachers and how they conducted classes? Who was your favorite teacher(s) and why?
- 12. If you were a PACTS/UKHS teacher, then what did you think of your students and their attitudes about school. Talk about things you did in your classroom to inspire students to achieve for excellence.
- 13. If you were a PACTS/UKHS administrator, then what did you think of your student body and teaching staff? Give an example of your instructional leadership that helped teachers to grow and supported student success.
- 14. If you were a PACTS/UKHS staff member, what were your responsibilities in the school?

 Describe the relationship between PACTS/UKHS staff and students/teachers/administration?
- 15. What was the role of the Black community in the growth and development of PACTS/UKHS? And, what do you think having a high school for Black students meant to the Black community?
- 16. What were the school colors for PACTS/UKHS. Do you remember if there was a school song? If so, can you still sing it? Was there a school mascot? If so, what was it? Did you take class pictures, and was there a school yearbook?
- 17. The 1954 *Brown vs. the Board of Education* legally ended segregation. Were you aware of the decision when it was handed down? If you were, share examples of how desegregation influenced your lifestyle.

- 18. Talk about changes at PACTS/UKHS that you noticed after the *Brown* decision, and whether you think they were related to desegregation and why?
- 19. When Black parents in Virginia Beach were given *Freedom of Choice* in 1966, why do you think they did not immediately pull their children out of PACTS/UKHS and send them to one of the predominately White high schools in the city?
- 20. What are your feelings and opinions about why PACTS/UKHS closed its doors in 1969?
- 21. In concluding your interview, is there anything else you might want to say about your relationship with PACTS/UKHS?

Appendix F

Interview Questions for White Residents of Virginia Beach, Virginia

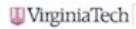
- 1. How long have you lived in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia? Did you live in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia between 1925 and 1969? Did you attend or work in a Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia high school between 1938 and 1969? If so, which one?
- 2. You grew up during a time in American history when a separate-but-equal facility for Blacks and Whites was the law. What were the feelings, attitudes, or opinions of the White community in Princess Anne County concerning Black parents' support of building and maintaining a Black high school in the county?
- 3. Why do you think the first and only Black high school in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia was originally called a training school?
- 4. What did you think about the change of the school's name from Princess Anne County Training School to Union Kempsville High School?
- 5. Based on your personal knowledge, can you rate (excellent, very good, good, fair, poor) the education of Black students who attended PACTS/UKHS? If so, what is your rating and why?
- 6. The 1954 *Brown vs. the Board of Education* legally ended segregation. Were you aware of the decision when it was handed down? If you were, share examples of how desegregation influenced public schools in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia.
- 7. When Black parents in Virginia Beach were given *Freedom of Choice* in 1966, why do you think they did not immediately pull their children out of PACTS/UKHS and send them to one of the predominately White high schools in the city?

- 8. What are your feelings and opinions about why PACTS/UKHS closed its doors in 1969?
- 9. In concluding your interview, is there anything else you might want to say about your relationship with PACTS/UKHS?

Appendix G Training in Human Subjects Protection Certificate of Completion



Appendix H IRB Approval



Office of Research Compliance Institutational Floring Doord 2000 Kirelt Drive, Suite 2000 (3457) Blacksburg, VA 24060 540/221-4606 Fax 540/231-0660 email integral edu

wobsite http://www.irb.st.edu

MEMORANDUM

DATE:

November 13, 2012

TO:

Wayne Tripp, Joanne Harris Lucas, Travis Twiford

FROM:

Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires May 31, 2014)

PROTOCOL TITLE:

*The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School and Union Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach,

a, 1925-1969°

IRB NUMBER:

08-722

Effective November 12, 2012, the Virginia Tech Institution Review Board (IRB) Chair, David M Moore, approved the Continuing Review request for the above-mentioned research protocol.

This approval provides permission to begin the human subject activities outlined in the IRB-approved protocol and supporting documents.

Ptans to deviate from the approved protocol and/or supporting documents must be submitted to the IRB as an amendment request and approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of any changes, regardless of how minor, except where recessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. Report within 5 business days to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at:

http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/responsibilities.htm

(Please review responsibilities before the commencement of your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Approved As:

Expedited, under 45 CFR 46.110 category(les) 6,7

Protocol Approval Date:

December 10, 2012 December 9, 2013

Protocol Expiration Date: Continuing Review Due Date*: November 25, 2013

"Date a Continuing Review application is due to the IRB office if human subject activities covere-under this protocol, including data analysis, are to continue beyond the Protocol Expiration Date.

FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS:

Per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.103(f), the IRB is required to compare all federally funded grant. proposals/work statements to the IRB protocol(s) which cover the human research activities included in the proposal / work statement before funds are released. Note that this requirement does not apply to Exempt and Interim IRB protocols, or grants for which VT is not the primary awardee.

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

- Invent the Future

IRB Number 08-722

page 2 of 2

Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board

Date*	OSP Number	Sponsor	Grant Comparison Conducted?

^{*} Date this proposal number was compared, assessed as not requiring comparison, or comparison information was revised.

If this IRB protocol is to cover any other grant proposals, please contact the IRB office (irbadmin@vt.edu) immediately.

Appendix I

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Informal Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: "The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1925 – 1969"

Investigator(s): Dr. N. Wayne Tripp, Joanne H. Lucas, and Dr. Travis Twiford

I. Purpose of this Research/Project

The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1925 – 1969" is a historical study being conducted by Joanne H. Lucas, a doctoral student in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University under the supervision of her advisors, Drs. Tripp and Twiford.

The purposes of the study are to document the history of Black students who were educated in Princess Anne County Training School or Union Kempsville High School, to promote communication between Virginia Beach City Public Schools (VBCPS) and the Black community, to preserve the legacy of the only Black high school in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia, and to inspire all VBCPS students to strive for academic excellence

You are one of seven to eight individuals who have been selected for interviews based on your relationship to the school. All participants in the study were students, administrators, teachers, or staff at Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School between 1925 and 1969. As a participant in the study, you will be asked to share your recollections of your experiences as the basis of oral histories that will become primary sources for the study.

II. Procedures

You will be contacted first by telephone to request your participation in the study and to explain why you are being asked to share your oral history. During the telephone conversation, you and Joanne Lucas will mutually agree on an interview date, time, and location. The interview will not exceed one hour without your consent. The telephone conversation will be confirmed with a letter stating the agreed upon interview date, time, and location and a list of interview questions for the interviewee to review prior to the interview.

III. Risks

The interviews will be designed to stimulate your recollection of specific events and experiences, which might possibly evoke some emotional reaction. Retrieving memories through oral history interviews can result in discomfort or slight emotional distress for the interviewees. While none are anticipated in this study, you can refuse to answer any interview question that causes you emotional distress or discomfort.

IV. Benefits

Your involvement in the study will add to the study's accuracy and completeness and will thereby assist in preserving the legacy of Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School.

Please understand that no promise or guarantee of benefits is being made to encourage you to participate in the study.

Upon its completion, you may contact Joanne Lucas for a summary of the results of the study's findings.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

By signing this consent form, I agree to be interviewed and share my recollections of my experiences at Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School. I also agree to be quoted and identified as the source of the interview. I understand that I can request that I not be quoted or identified as the source of all or any portion of my interview and that the researcher will honor that request without penalty. The interview will be audio-recorded, placed on a CD, and housed in the home office of Joanne H. Lucas. The CD will be given temporarily to Lauren Mackey for the purpose of transcribing the content into a narrative format. The narrative format will be sent to the interviewee for review and approval before its use in the study. Once the study has been completed and approved, then the CD will be destroyed.

It is possible that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view this study's collected data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for the oversight of the protection of human subjects in research.

VI. Compensation

Your involvement in the study is strictly voluntary, and there is no compensation for participating.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

You are free to decide not to answer any and all interview questions, and you can withdraw participation from the study at any time without penalty.

VIII. Subject's Responsibilities

I voluntarily agree to participate in this study, "The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1925 – 1969." I have the following responsibilities:

- To be present for the interview based on the agreed date/time/location.
- To notify the investigator, if I cannot be present for the interview.
- To be prepared to answer the interview questions in order to share my oral history.

IX. Subject's Permission

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this study, "The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1925 – 1969." I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent:

	Date
Interviewee's Signature	
Interviewee's Name (printed):	

Should I have any pertinent questions about this research or its conduct, and research subjects' rights, and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury to the subject, I may contact:

Ms. Joanne H. Lucas, Study Investigator (757-471-1195/jhlucas110@cox.net) Dr. N. Wayne Tripp, Dissertation Committee Co-chair (540-231-9728/wtripp@vt.edu)

Dr. Travis Twiford, *Dissertation Committee Co-chair* (757-363-3930/ttwiford@vt.edu)

Dr. David M. Moore, VT Institutional Review Chair (540-231-4991/moored@vt.edu)

NOTE: Subjects <u>must</u> be given a complete copy (or duplicate original) of the signed Informed Consent.

Appendix J

Correspondence about Transcriptions and Risks Error

Joanne H. Lucas

3908 Lombard Court Virginia Beach, Virginia 23453 757-471-1195 (H) 757-263-1177 (W) 757-651-1238 (Cell) jhlucas@vbschools.com

Date

Dear

On DATE, I interviewed you for my study documenting the education of Black students attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia between 1925 and 1969. A copy of the transcribed audio-recorded interview is enclosed. Please call me on or before Monday, July 6, 2009, if there is anything in the transcription that you do not want used in the study. If I can use all of the transcribed information, then indicate that on the enclosed response card.

Prior to the start of the interview on DATE, you signed an *Informed Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects* form. Please note that an error was made in what was stated under section **III. Risks** of the form you signed. If for some reason, you would like to withdraw your information from the study because of the error, then indicate that on the enclosed response card. Section **III. Risks** of the form should have read as:

III. Risks

The interviews will be designed to stimulate your recollection of specific events and experiences, which might possibly evoke some emotional reaction. Retrieving memories through oral history interviews can result in discomfort or slight emotional distress for the interviewees. While none are anticipated in this study, you can refuse to answer any interview question that causes you emotional distress or discomfort.

I really cannot find the words to express how much I appreciate your interview. It is critical to the outcome of my study on the education of Black students who attended Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School. An addressed, stamped response card pertaining to the transcription and section **III. Risks** is also enclosed. Please complete it and return it to me via the mail on or before Monday, July 6. 2009. Feel free to contact me, if you have any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Joanne H. Lucas

Enclosure

The Education of Black Students Attending Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia 1925 - 1969

RESPONSE CARD

for

Interviewee

PLEASE CHECK, SIGN, RETURN TO JOANNE LUCAS, VIA MAIL, ON OR BEFORE 7/6/09.

	All of the transcribed information from my interview can be used in the study.
	I understand that an error was made under section III. Risks on the Informed Consent
for	Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects form, but I am not
nte	erested in withdrawing my information from the study.

Signature Date

Appendix K

Confirmation Letter

Joanne H. Lucas

3908 Lombard Court Virginia Beach, Virginia 23453 757-471-1195 (H) 757-263-1177 (W) 757-651-1238 (Cell) jhlucas@vbschools.com

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Dear

My name is Joanne H. Lucas and I am a doctoral student at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. This letter is to confirm your participation in my study documenting the history of Black students educated at Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, Virginia between 1925 and 1969.

According to our telephone conversation on DATE, you agreed to share your oral history with me during an interview in regards to your relationship with Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School. The interview will not exceed one hour without your consent. The agreed interview date, time, and location are as follow:

> **Interview Date: Interview Time: Interview Location:**

Feel free to contact me, if you have any questions or concerns about the interview process. If for some reason you are unable to be present for the interview, please notify me a soon as possible. e

Carefully read the	enclosed "	Informed (Consent for	Particip	oants in I	Research	Projects	Involving
Human Subjects"	form, sign	it, and giv	e it to me	on the	day of tl	he intervi	ew. A	list of the
interview questions	s is also end	closed.						

I look forward to working with you.

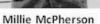
Sincerely,

Joanne H. Lucas

Enclosure

Appendix L **PACTS Association Trustees**







James Davis



L. H. Brinkley



Daniel Riddick

TRUSTEES OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL ASSOCIATION OF PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY

In 1926, the Association purchased four acres of land for \$1200.00 at the corner of Cleveland Street and Witchduck Road to build the first and only high school for Black students in Princess Anne County/Virginia Beach, VA.

Appendix M

Deed for Land to Build PACTS/UKHS

DEED BOOK 87 PAGE 193 CLERK'S OFFICE CIRCUIT COURT, VIRGINIA BEACH, VA

M. J. McPHERSON, ET ALS, ETC. TO/DEED OF B. B. S. SCHOOL BOARD OF PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY

THIS DEED, Made this 9th day of March, 1937, between M.J. McPherson, J.W.C. Davis, and L.H. Brinkley, Jr., Trustees of the Training School Association of Princess Anne County, Virginia, parties of the first pert, and the School Board of Princess Anne County, parties of the second part.

WITNESSETH, that for the sum of ten dollars (\$10.00) and other valuable consideration, the solid parties of the first part do grant with general warranty, unto the solid parties of the second part the following property, to-with All that certain tract, place or parcel of land lying, shuate and being near Euclid in Kempsville Magisterial District of Princess Anne County, Virginia, Virginia, and more particularly bounded and described as follows:

Beginning at a point on the western side of the Bay share road on the line between the property hereby conveyed and the property of D. S. Baylor, which was formerly conveyed and to Herman Blerkorrte by Waher Kemp and running therace N. 68° W 420 feet to an iron pin; thence S. 23° 42′ W. 429 feet to an iron pin; 5. 68° E. 420 feet to an iron pin on the western side of Bay Share road; thence running along said Bay Share Road N. 23° 42′ E. 420 feet to an iron pin, the point of beginning. Containing 4 agree, nore or less, according to a plat made of the property by J.H. Milholland, County Sarveyor, July, 1926, to which plat reference is hereby made for a more particular description and to be attached hereo and recorded herewith.

The above described property is conveyed to the parties of the second part for the purpose establishing a free high school for the colored children of Princess Anne County. If the grantees herein or their successors or assigns shall cease to use the property for a free High School purpose, the land shall revert to the granters herein and they shall have the right to reenter without the process of law.

The parties of the first part covenant that they have the right to convey the land to the grantees; that they said grantees shall quiet possession of the said land free from all encumbrances; that they, the said partitles of the first part, will execute such further assurances of the said land as may be requisite, and that they have done no act to encumber the said land.

WITNESS the following signatures and seals the day and year first above written.

M. J. McPherson (SEAL) J. W. C. Dovis (SEAL) L. H. Brinkley, Jr., (SEAL)

L. H. Brinkley, Jr., [SEAL] STATE OF VIRGINIA, COUNTY OF PRINCESS ANNE. to-

I, Ruby Butt, a Notary Public in and for the County and Snate aforesaid, do certify that M.J. McPherson, J.W. C. Davis, L.H. Brinkley, Jr., whose names are signed to the writing above bearing date on the 9th day of March, 1937, have admowledged the same before me in My County

oferesold.

Given under my hand this 9th day of August, 1937

Appendix N PACTS and Agriculture Building 1938 and 1939





Appendix O

PACTS/UKHS Administration, Faculty, and Staff

1934 - 1969

ADMINISTRATION



Mrs. Mary L. Tuston
Principal of Kempsville School on the grounds
of Union Baptist Church where grades eight through eleven were
added for Black high school students in Princess Anne County
1934 – 1938

PACTS/UKHS PRINCIPALS



Mr. Thaddeus C. Smith 1938 – 1946



Mr. Joseph V. Boykin 1946 – 1969

PACTS/UKHS ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS



Mrs. Lourena S. Archer 1955 – 1962



Mr. Donald E. Morgan 1963 – 1967



Mr. Charles A. Willis 1965 – 1969

FACULTY



PACTS Faculty - 1941
T. Smith, * H. Goodman, * H. Robinson, * B. Forbes-Williams, * F. Rogers-Ballard

*Original Princess Anne County Training School Faculty

Years Taught	Teacher's Name	Subject(s) Taught
1925 – 1946	Mrs. Bettie Forbes Williams*	History/English
	Taught elementary then high school	
1934 – 1969	Miss Hattie L. Goodman*	English
	1 st high school teacher for colored students	
1937 – 1961	Mr. Thaddeus C. Smith*	Science
1937 – 1969	Mr. Harry L. Robinson*	Agriculture/Science
1938 – 1969	Mr. Robert L. Gordon	English/French/History/Guidance
1940 – 1969	Mr. Charles Kenneth Wilson	Mathematics/Algebra
1941 – 1969	Mrs. Frederica Rogers Ballard	Home Economics/Science
1946 -	Ms. Beatrice Woodhouse	English/History
1948 – 1969	Miss Olive F. Daughtry	Mathematics/Algebra
1950 – 1969	Mrs. Bernadine A. Rasberry	English
1950 – 1969	Mr. Roy A. Reid	Music (Band)
1950 – 1969	Mrs. Jean O. Siler	Business Education
1946 – 1969	Ms. Mary Brockett	Guidance
1946 – 1969	Mrs. Louise H. Carter	History/Civics
1952 – 1969	Mrs. Sarah W. Reid	Special Education/Reading
1952 – 1969	Mrs. Oscelleta Wilson Walston	Science/Home Ec./English
1953 – 1969	Mrs. Ruby L. Allen	Music (Choral)
1953 – 1955	Mrs. Rose Marie Johnson Ferguson	Physical Education
1953 -	Ms. Katherine Montague	
1953 – 1969	Mr. William J. Watson	History/Government
1953 – 1969	Mr. Judge Goss	Physical Education
1955 – 1969	Mr. Alexander Woodhouse	Industrial Arts/Driver's Ed.

Teacher's Name	Subject(s) Taught	
Mrs. Lillian Hill Brown	Physical Education	
Mrs. Otealia Kimble Jennings	Music (Choral)	
Mr. Clyde I. Siler	Physical/Driver's Education	
Mrs. Mabel C. Nicholson	Physical Education	
Mrs. Mattie B. Patterson	Spanish	
Mr. William Price	Physical Education/Science	
Mr. Lankford Weston	Physics/Mathematics	
Mrs. Maurice B. Greene	English	
Mrs. Doris W. Knox	English/History	
Mrs. Katie P. White	Mathematics	
Mrs. June Setzer Walton	Physical Education	
Mr. Robert Setzer	Math/English/History	
	General Science/Arithmetic	
Ÿ	Art	
	Mathematics	
	English/Business Education	
•	English	
	Physics/Geometry/Algebra	
	History/English	
	Algebra/Physics	
	French/English	
	Agriculture	
	Geography/History	
	Physical Education	
	7th Grade/Physical Education	
<u> </u>	Health & Physical Education	
	History/English	
· ·	Physics/Algebra/Arithmetic	
	Special Education/History	
	Geography/Sociology	
	Arithmetic	
Mrs. Jovce Carter Stevens	Biology	
	History	
	Biology/General Science	
	Physical Ed./Life Scien./Biology	
	English	
,	English	
	English	
	English	
7	Geography	
	Physics	
Mr. Charles Willis	Biology	
	Mathematics	
	Business Education	
	Mechanical Drawing	
	Health & Physical Education	
	·	
Mrs. Matilda Freeman	English/Reading	
	Mrs. Lillian Hill Brown Mrs. Otealia Kimble Jennings Mr. Clyde I. Siler Mrs. Mabel C. Nicholson Mrs. Mattie B. Patterson Mr. William Price Mr. Lankford Weston Mrs. Maurice B. Greene Mrs. Doris W. Knox Mrs. Katie P. White Mrs. June Setzer Walton Mr. Robert Setzer Mr. Armistead Young Mrs. Inez C. Wilson Mr. Rodney Greene Mrs. Audrey Russell Patrick Mrs. Alice A. Durgan Miss Hester R. Pair Miss Alice Walton Mrs. Hester P. Pleasants Mrs. Bernice H. Greene Mr. Herman Valentine Mr. Frank Valentine Mrs. Ruth H. Brown Mrs. Doris Nance Miss Emily Morgan Mrs. Elvin Reid Mrs. Jessie Jones Mrs. Alice Haskins Mr. J. A. Jones Mrs. Joyce Carter Stevens Mrs. Joyce Carter Stevens Mrs. Charles L. Harvin Miss R. A. Perry Mr. W. Daniels Mrs. Evelyn W. Smith Mrs. M. C. Allison Mr. John L. Perry	

Years Taught	Teacher's Name	Subject(s) Taught
1966 – 1969	Mrs. Joyce C. Griffin	Science
1966 – 1968	Mr. Edward J. Smith	Mathematics
1966 – 1969	Mrs. Anita Alston Thomas	History
1966 – 1968	Mr. John L. Haines	Mathematics
1967 -	Mr. W. B. Williams	Art
1967 – 1968	Miss Dadie J. Capps	Speech/Drama/Art
1967 -	Mr. J. Haynes	Mathematics
1967 -	Mrs. Cassie Wells	Mathematics
1967 – 1969	Mr. Quentin D. Owen	Physical Science
1967 – 1968	Mrs. Vanleigh Johnson	Special Education
1967 – 1969	Mrs. Leola T. Coles	Special Education
1967 – 1969	Mrs. Ruby M. Riddick	Reading
1967 – 1969	Mrs. M. Bowman	Reading
1967 – 1969	Mr. Jacob Whitehurst	World History
1967 – 1968	Mrs. Sudie Reed	Business Education
1967 – 1968	Mrs. Jane P. Cleary	Reading
1967 – 1969	Mr. Clifton C. Farrar	ICI Coordinator
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Rose Mary Hooper	Art
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Jacqueline Coleman	Choral Director
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Mary G. Garrison	Reading
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Linda Paulson	Geography
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Patricia S. Wallace	English
1968 – 1969	Mr. Norman L. Halladay	General Mathematic/Geometry
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Agnes J. Knight	Health & Physical Education
1968 – 1969	Mrs. Ola D. Corprew	Special Education

STAFF

LIBRARIANS
Mrs. Catherine M. Fink
1955 – 1957
Mrs. Jacquetta A. Robinson
1957 – 1968
Mrs. Shirley C. Johnson
1967 – 1968
Mrs. Carnell Clay
1968 – 1969

GUIDANCE COUNSELORS

Mrs. Mary Brocket

1955 – 1969

Mr. Robert Gordon

1963 – 1969

Mr. J. Liner

1967 – 1968

Mrs. Kathryne C. Bentley

1968 – 1969

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT Mr. John W. Robbins, Jr. 1968 – 1969

CLERKS

Ms. Ruth Reid

1947 –

Mrs. Velma Haynes
1955 – 1969
Mrs. Blanche Bell
1955 Mrs. Evelyn Gregory
1958 Miss Ellen Walker
1958 Mrs. Nelle Jones
1960 -

Mrs. Bernette Gregory

1960 -

Mrs. Mildred Allison
1963 Mrs. P. T. Young
1965
Mrs. Shirley C. Johnson
1967
Mrs. Ruby Moore
1966 - 1969
Miss Claudette Shaw
1968 - 1969
Mrs. Versie Hassel
1969

SCHOOL NURSES Mrs. Cora W. Wilson 1960 – 1969 Mrs. Shirley Mirman

1968 – 1969

CUSTODIANS

Mrs. Maybelle Artis, Mr. Ivory Hodges, Mr. Greenwood Ferebee, Mrs. Gertrude Whitehurst 1959 – 1960

Mrs. Gertrude Whitehurst, Mr. Ivory Hodges, Mr. James Garfield, Mrs. Maybelle Artis

1962 – 1963

Mr. R. Fitzgerald, Mr. S. Dildy, Mr. J. Newan, Mrs. Miller 1968 – 1969

CAFETERIA STAFF

Mrs. Mary Knight, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, Mrs. Eva Smith, Miss Blanche Boone, Mrs. Leonia Russell, Mrs. Gertrude Russell 1959-1960

Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, Manager, Miss Blanche Boone, Mrs. Gertrude Russell, Mrs. Mary Knight, Mrs. Leonia Russell, Mrs. Sadie Williams, Mrs. Marion Smith

1962 - 1963

Ms. E. Jackson, Ms. L. Johns, Ms. T. Gilchrist, Miss B. Boone, Ms. D. Russell 1968-1969

Appendix P PACTS with Addition 1949



Appendix Q PACTS/UKHS 1953 - 1969

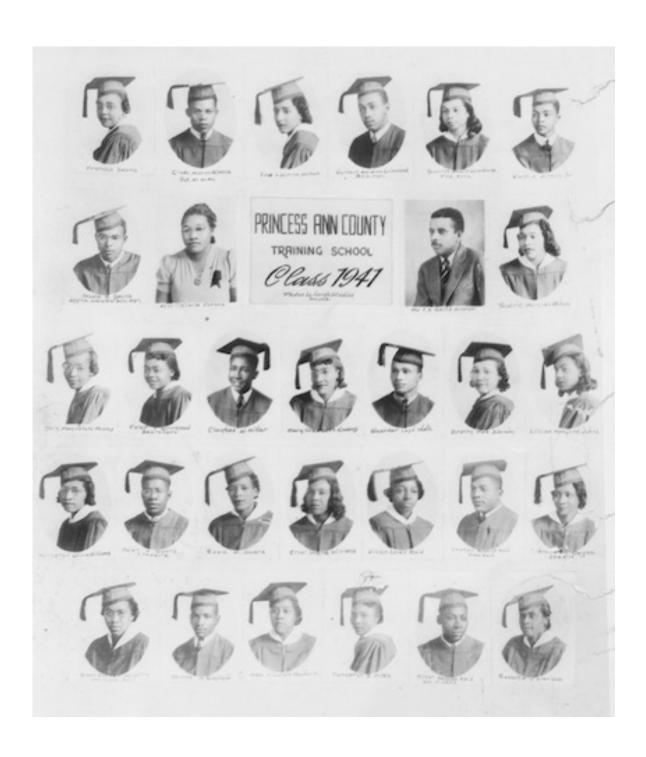




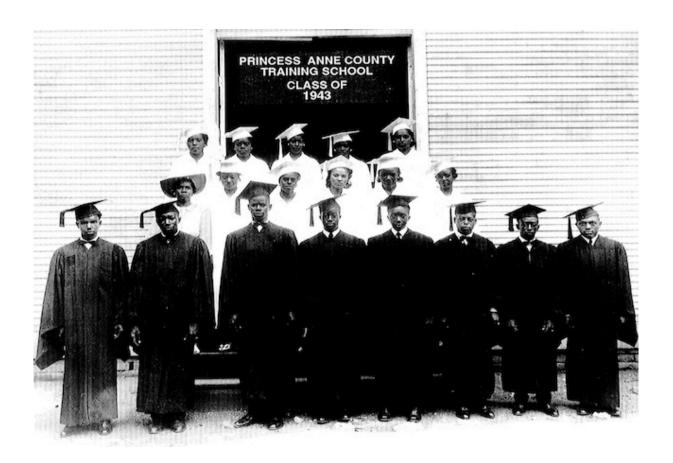
Appendix R Class of 1938



Appendix S Class of 1941



Appendix T Class of 1943



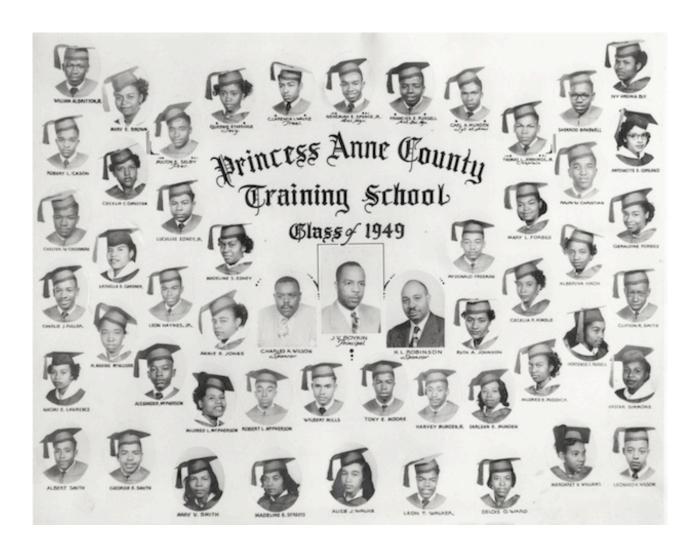
Appendix U Class of 1947



Appendix V Class of 1948



Appendix W Class of 1949



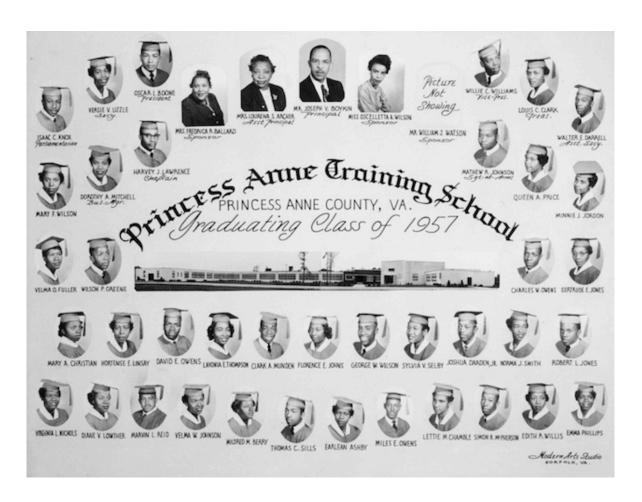
Appendix X Class of 1953



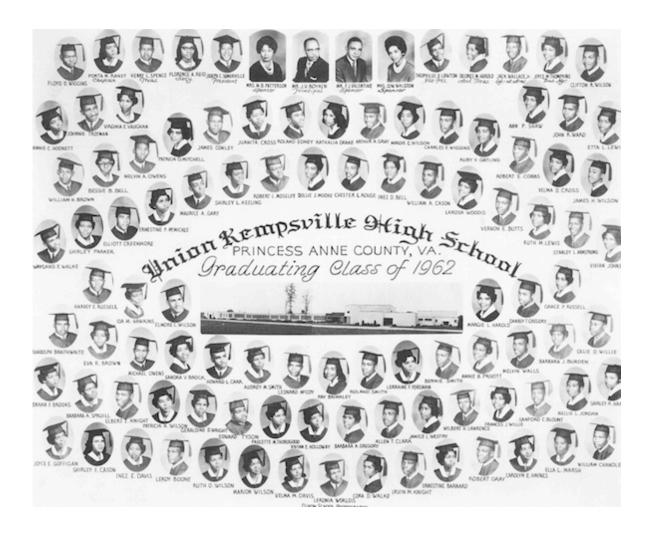
Appendix Y Class of 1954



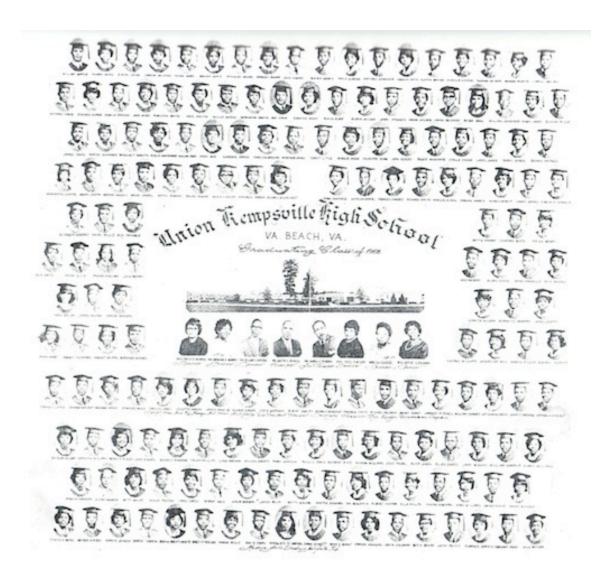
Appendix Z Class of 1957



Appendix AA Class of 1962



Appendix BB Class of 1966



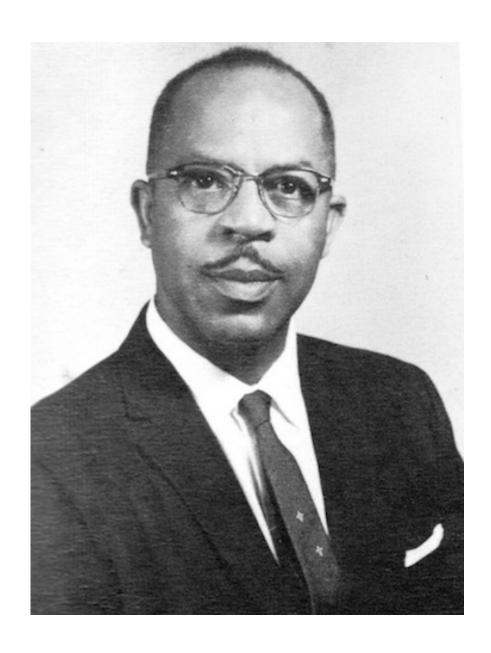
Appendix CC Class of 1969



Appendix DD Mr. Thaddeus Clay Smith, Sr. PACTS Principal 1938 - 1946



Appendix EE Mr. Joseph V. Boykin, Sr. PACTS/UKHS Principal 1946 - 1969



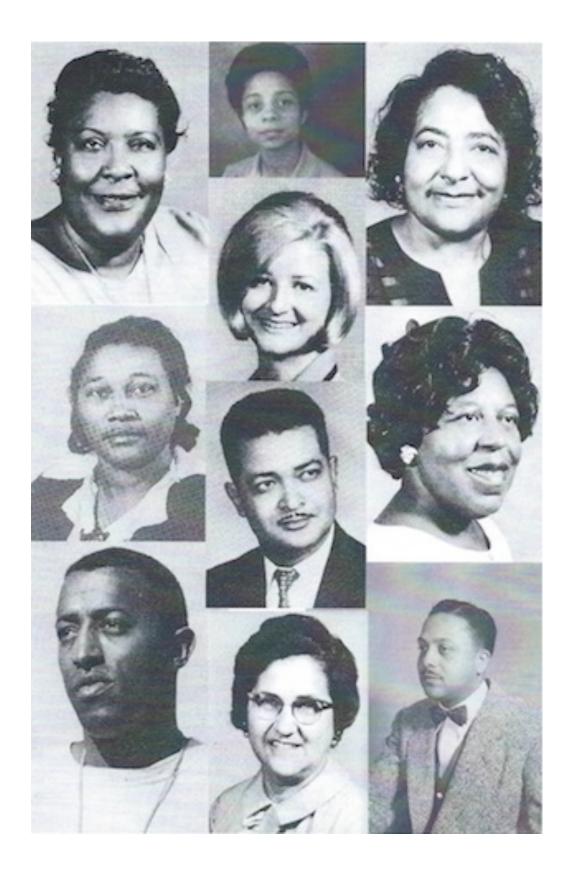
Appendix FF
PACTS/UKHS Teacher Pictures











Appendix GG 1938 Report Card

HIGH S	SCHOOL REPORT CA	RD
of Princess	Anne County Public S	Schools
	REPORT OF	
Punit Callo	e Bentha crase 1	11260
	so anne County Inais	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	6
For the term ending		198.4
Signature of Parent	or Guárdiañ:	
Period 1 Januar	in of Coffee	
Period 2 J ann	in 7 Caffee	
Period 3 For	nie 7 Orffee	
Period 4 Famo	ie 9 Coffee	
Period 5	//	
Period 6		
	CERTIFICATE OF PROMOTION	
We certify that	Α	has
passed the following	classes: Draduate	2
passed the ronormag	Date 5/4	150
	- PIO X1	1
	1 hadden to	Teacher
	V NV	Principal
weeks period. You are promptly. If a pupil i attention to any trait Regular and punc good work. Irregular:	s: e filled in and sent to you for inspection at the requested to sign in the proper space and refreceives a low grade on any subject or the tryou should make it a matter of immediate trual attendance is necessary if pupils are to battendance and tardiness make good school operation is solicited in the endeavor to secure F. W. COX, Division Superi	turn to the school eacher calls your e inquiry. be expected to do work impossible, the best develop-
#H #17-100162	(OVER)	

PERIODS	1	2	3	Ex	Av	4	5	6	Ex	Av	Ye
No. half days absent	34			- 2							
No. whole days absent	5	1	1			3					
No. days present	20	20	17			20					
No. times tardy	21	-	41			×/					
Citizenship	0	1	C	C	0	玉	n	K	A	K	K
Effort	0	0	C	0	C	R	B	K	K	K	8
Application	0	0	0	0	C	崇	12	n	h	1	n
English	P	n-	0	0	0	B 中 C-	0-	0	n.	0	0
Algebra	L		-	-	-	-		_	172	-	0
Plane Geometry											
Solid Geometry		П									
Trigonometry									-		
Arithmetic											-
History	0.1	0	0.	0.	0	B-	0	0	-	0	C
French						C					1
Latin	~	27	CT	Cr	13	-	274	C	8	CT	0
General Science											-
Biology											
Chemistry	0	al	0.	C+	CL	B.	0	0	01	0	0
Agriculture		-7	-	-	T	40	G	-	CT	C	5
										H	
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	SYSTE			KAD	ENG						
A-95-100 B-88-94		-81 -75					-60-1		0		

Appendix HH 1941 Report Card

	HIGH SCHOOL REPORT CARD	
of P	Princess Anne County Public Scho	ools
	REPORT OF	
Pupil	-4 0	
School T	Grade	
For the term	The Lord Car	ala
		941
1	Parent or Guardian:	
Period 1	1 0 3 marin	
Period 2	10	
Period 3	mera Morthern	
Period 4	nnaa Northern	
Period 5		
Period 6		
	CERTIFICATE OF PROMOTION	
We certify tha	at	
	lowing classes:	ha
	Date	
		eacher
	T	
	Pri	
NOTE TO PARE This report of each six week return to the sc	ENTS:	incipa1
This report of each six week return to the se subject or the te a matter of imme	Pri Pri	e end e and any ake it

RIODS	1	2	3	Ex	Av	.4	5	6	Ex	AVI	Av
half days absent	1			1			-	-	-	1	-
o. whole days absent	1			1				-	-	-	-
o. days present	1	1	1	1			-	1	1	-	
o. times tardy	T	1	1	1		-	-	+	1	-	
itizenship	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	+	+	1	-
Effort	1	1		1	1	-	+	+	+	-	1
Application				1	-	1 5	IV	A 1	TH	17	1
English	E	P	11	31/1	3113	IR	1	214	1	H	1
Algebra	-		1	1	-	+	+	+	+	+	1
Plane Geometry	1	1	1	1	+	+	+	+	1		T
Solid Geometry		1	1	+	+	+	+	+	T	1	T
Trigonometry		1	1	-	+		+	+	1	T	1
Arithmetic			-	11-1	nt	11	TI I	17	71	9-15 H-15	14
History	- 1	1	H	7	01	211	Tr l	13+	BT	7- F	74
French		71	B	101	12.1	21	7	-	1		1
Latin					-	1			1		1
General Science			_	1		-					1
Biology			67	nt	Ħ	nt	H-	H		BI	BT
Chemistry	_	B	18	10	17		1	1			
Agriculture		-	1	1	1				-		
Mechanical Drawing		1	+	-	1	1	1	1	-		-
General Shop	-	15	Ip	1	H	13	IH	13	1 B	B	B
Home Economics		B	TE	1	1	1	1	1			_
Bookkeeping				_	_	-	1	1	1		1

Appendix II PACTS/UKHS Alma Mater

Words by Ruby L. Allen to the tune of Yale song

Princess Anne, we raise our voices Now in praise to you.

In our striving you have helped To keep our goals in view.

Many hopes are built upon Foundations laid today.

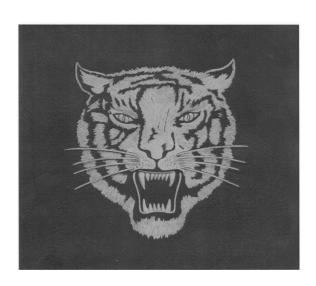
So to you, we pledge our honor, Hail maroon and gray!

> Hail to UK high forever! Hail, all hail to thee!

We will always stand together Through eternity.

Even when we leave, We'll love you In the same fond way.

Dedicated, ever loyal, To maroon and gray!



Appendix JJ

Activities/Clubs/Sports

La Royale Princesse Year Book of the Senior Class of the Princess Anne County Training School for year of 1945*

Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Senior Dance	Junior class honored Senior Class with a formal dance on April 6,
	1945.
Hi-Y Club	Provided training in the religious side of the life of a boy.
T.C. Walker Club	Composed of students with varied talents; included male and
Bettie Forbes, sponsor	female quartets; and sponsored two plays, Having Their Pictures
	Took and an original, 1945 Versus 1861.
New Farmers of America	Organization of Negro schoolboys studying vocational
Harry Robinson, sponsor	agriculture.
Home Makers Club	Composed of students in the Division of Home Economics.
Frederica Rogers, sponsor	
Baseball Team	Team sport for boys.
Harry Robinson, coach	

^{*}This was the first yearbook for Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School.

There were no Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School yearbooks between 1947 and 1954. In 1948, Hortense Russell Spence was crowned the first Miss Homecoming Queen for Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School. There was not yet a formal health and physical education program, but there was a football and baseball team coached by William "Buddy" Manley from 1950 to 1953. In 1955, Mr. Boykin assigned Mrs. Jean Siler to work with class sponsors to publish a yearbook. Mrs. Siler was also asked to sponsor the school newspaper called *The Hi-Lighter*. There were also no yearbooks for 1956, 1957, 1962, and 1964.



Maroon-Tiger Year Book Senior Class of 1946 PACTS

Robert L. Gordon, yearbook sponsor Yearbook was dedicated to the parents.

Activities/Clubs	Explanation
Senior Class Play	Kicked Out of College: A College Farce in Three Acts
	by Walker Ben Hare
Hi-Y Club	
T.C. Walker Club	
The Dramatic Club	
Jr. Miss Savings Club	
Jr. El' Choclos Club	
New Farmers of America	
New Home Makers Club	
Glee Club	
Honor Society	
Mary E. Gray Club	Service organization.
Maggie Walker Club	Service organization.



The Tiger Yearbook Class of 1955 PACTS

Yearbook was dedicated to parents.

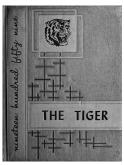
Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1955 - Dorothy Williams
Jr./Sr. Prom	The frame of the first of the f
Band	
Mixed Chorus	
Dramatics	
Music Club	
Library Club	
New Farmers of America	
Homemakers Class of America	
Tri-Hi-Y	Motto: To create, maintain, and attend throughout the home,
	school and community high standards of Christian character.
Hi-Y	Motto: To create and maintain throughout church, school, and
	community high standards of Christian character.
Yearbook Staff	
Industrial Arts Club	
School Patrol	
Football Team	
Varsity Boys Basketball Team	
JV Boys Basketball Team	
Girls Basketball Team	
Pep Squad	



The Tiger 1958
Presented by Senior Class PACTS
Euclid, Virginia

Yearbook was dedicated to mothers.

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	
Jr./Sr. Prom	
High School Band	
High School Choir	
New Farmers of America	
New Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	Motto: Progress Is Our Most Important Project
Dramatic Club	
Tri-Hi-Y	
Hi-Y	
Library Club	
Student Council	
The Hi-Lighter Staff	Princess Anne County Training School/Union Kempsville High School publication; published for the first time in 1951 with editorials, club news, and feature stories (sports, school events, student of the issue).
Yearbook Staff	
Football Team	
Boys Basketball Team	
Cheering Squad	



1959 The Tiger Presented by PACTS Bonney Rd., Euclid, Virginia

Yearbook was dedicated to parents.

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1958 - Naomi Wright
Band/Majorettes	
Choir	
Tri-Hi-Y	
Hi-Y	
The Hi-Lighter Staff	
Yearbook Staff	
Spanish Clubs	
History Clubs	
Dramatic Club	
Student Council	
Library Club	
New Farmers of America	
New Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	
Football Team	
Varsity Boys Basketball Team	
JV Boys Basketball Team	
Girls Basketball Team	
Cheering Squad	
Track Team	



The Tiger Yearbook/Class of 1960
Princess Anne County Training School/521 Bonney Road – Norfolk, VA
Yearbook was dedicated to parents.

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1959 - Marzelia Neal
Athletic Banquet	
Band/Twirlers	
Mixed Chorus	
Hi-Y	
Tri-Hi-Y	
The Hi-Lighter Staff	
Spanish Clubs	
Yearbook Staff	
Civics Club	
Dramatic Club	
Student Council	
Library Club	
New Farmers of America	
New Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	
Football Team	
Varsity Boys Basketball Team	
JV Boys Basketball Team	
Girls Basketball Team	
Track Team	
Cheerleaders	



Yearbook of the Class of 1961 The Tiger Princess Anne County Training School Norfolk, Virginia

Yearbook was dedicated to parents.

	Explanation
Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1960 - Audrey Price
Varsity Band	
Choir	
Dramatics Club	
Tri-Hi-Y	
Y-Teens	To promote growth in character, in friendship with others, in
	religion and in knowledge and love of God.
Student Council	
Library Club	
Les Gourmets	
Drill Team	
New Farmers of America	
Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	
The Sportsmen Club	
Club Españól	
Boys Basketball Team	
Girls Basketball Team	
Cheering Squad	
Boys Track	



The Tiger 1963 Union Kempsville High School 521 Bonny Road, Virginia Beach, Virginia

Yearbook dedicated to Mr. Joseph V. Boykin, principal.

In Memoriam to Mr. R. H. Owens/In Memoriam to Mr. Thaddeus Clay Smith, Sr.

	H. Owens/in Memoriam to Mr. Thaddeus Clay Smith, St.
Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1962 - Maria Gordon
Junior/Senior Prom 1962	Convention Hall
Class Night 1964	
Christmas Assembly 1962	
Graduation 1962	
Mixed Chorus	
Varsity Band	
Student Council	
Xinos	Xino Requirements: a written report, an autobiography, participation in worthwhile community projects, readiness to display industry, intelligence, diplomacy, and resourcefulness
The Girls' Club	To develop moral, mental and material growth among its members. Hosted a program to honor teachers.
National Honor Society	3
Girls Drill Team	
Industrial Arts Club	
Y-Teens	
Dramatic Club	
Sports Club	
Spanish Club	
Boys Basketball Team	
Baseball Team	
Track Team	
Soccer Class	
Football Team	



The Tiger 1965 UK

Virginia Beach, Virginia
Yearbook dedicated to John F. Kennedy.

Y earbook dedicated to John F. Kennedy.		
Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation	
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1964 - Marilyn Jean Lewis	
Junior/Senior Prom		
Class Night 1964		
Senior Class Play 1964	Grandma's Best Years	
Awards Day, Spring 1964	Mr. Joe Echols, speaker (coach at Virginia State College, Norfolk Division)	
Presentation from Fisk U.	Presentation made to Mr. Joseph Boykin, Union Kempsville principal	
Baccalaureate 1964	Rev. D.P. Felton, speaker (pastor of St. Mark AME Church, Oceana)	
Graduation 1964	Dr. L.B. Brooks, speaker (Provost of Virginia State College, Norfolk Division)	
Xinos Green & White Ball	Miss Xino selected	
Band		
Choir		
Brush and Palette Club		
Hobby Club		
Xinos		
The Girls' Club		
Lambda Chi	To promote a token of distinction for the high scholarship and character distinctions of our students.	
The Johnson Girls	Actively campaigned for Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1964 presidential election. Welcomed Lady Byrd Johnson to Norfolk during the campaign.	
Le Cercle Français		
Debating Society		
Y-Teens		
Sports Club		
Dramatic Club		
New Farmers of America		
New Homemakers of America		
Industrial Arts Club		
Industrial Cooperative Training	Provides practical job experience and wise job choices.	

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Student Council	
Drill Team	
Science Club	
Baseball Team	
Football Team	
Boys Basketball Team	
Cheering	
Track Team	



The Tiger 1966 Union Kempsville High School/Virginia Beach, Virginia

Yearbook dedicated to the teachers. **Activities/Clubs/Sports Explanation** Homecoming Miss Homecoming Queen 1965 - Marzelia Neal T.C. Smith Stadium Dedication Mr. Victor J. Ashe, attorney and long-time friend of Mr. Smith's, delivered the dedication address. NATO visits Union Kempsville Vice Admiral Reynold O. Higle USN, speaker High School Miss Virginia visits Union Jean Inge, Miss Virginia 1966 Kempsville High School Band Choir Girls Club Future Teachers of America The Bachelors Club assisted UK young men in preparing Xinos (Girls) for a well-rounded manhood. Bachelors (Boys) Lambda Chi National Honor Society Brush and Palette Club Y-Teens **Debating Society** Dramatic Club Spanish Club Sports Club **Student Council** Homemakers of America Industrial Arts Club I.C.T. Baseball Team Football Team Union Kempsville High School defeated Booker T. Josh Darden, coach Washington of Norfolk, Virginia and tied for the 1966 Virginia Interscholastic Association District Champion for the first time, and was second in the state. Boys Basketball Team Name the most improved basketball team in the district. Judge Goss, coach Track Team Tennis Team



The Tiger 1967
Union Kempsville High School
Yearbook dedicated to the Union Kempsville Football Coaching Staff.

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1966 - Pearline Cherry
Class of 1967 Senior Tea	Held on a Sunday for parents during which Senior Class affairs were discussed.
3 rd Annual Student Council	Money used to promote community projects and school-
Talent Show	sponsored activities.
Library Week	Theme: Books, Please
Band	
Choir	
Girls Club	
Future Teachers of America	
Xinos (Girls)/Bachelors (Boys)	
Lambda Chi	
National Honor Society	
Brush and Palette Club	
Art Club	
Y-Teens	
Debating Society	
Dramatic Club	
Spanish Club	
Sports Club	
Student Council	
Future Homemakers of	
America	
Industrial Arts Club	
I.C.T.	
Scholastic Achievement Team	R. Jackson, A. Ivery, C. Foreman, D. Peebles, L. Butts, C.
1966-1967	Smith, E. Foreman, D. Petty
Baseball Team	
Football Team	
Boys Basketball	
Cheerleaders	
Track Team	



The Tiger 1968 Union Kempsville High School/Virginia Beach, Virginia "World's Largest Resort City"

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1967 - Sylvia Brown
J.V.B. Day	To honor Union Kempsville principal, Mr. Boykin.
Faculty Frolics	Sponsored by the Y-Teens, and the proceeds used for
, GI TI 1 GI	scholarships.
Jr. Class Talent Show	
Xinos Green and White Ball	Ervenia Hoggany selected Miss Xino
Dance Recital	Theme: Strangers on the Shore
Band	Annual spring and Christmas concerts
Concert Choir	Annual spring and Christmas concerts
Girls Club	
Future Teachers of America	
Xinos (Girls)	
Bachelors (Boys)	
Y-Teens	
Dramatic Club	
Spanish Club	
Student Council	
Future Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	
The Hi-Lighter Staff	
Tidewater Scholastic Team	D. Peebles, C. Floyd, A. Ivery, E. Foreman, C. Smith, E. Johnson,
1967-1968	L. Butts, J. Joyner, L. Morris
Football Team	
Boys Basketball Team	UK guard, Earl Smith, shot 1000 points and ended his Senior year
	with 1277 points.
Cheerleading	
Track Team	



The Tiger 1969
Union Kempsville High School
Yearbook dedicated to previous students.

Activities/Clubs/Sports	Explanation
Homecoming	Miss Homecoming Queen 1968 - Shirley Olds
The Xino Royal Party	Miss Xino 1968 - Linda V. Butts
Concert Band	
Drill Team	The Marching Tigerettes
Mixed Chorus	
Girls Club	
Future Teachers of America	
Xinos (Girls)	
Bachelors (Boys)	
Brush and Palette Club	
Y-Teens	
Drama Club	
Spanish Club	
Student Council	
Future Homemakers of America	
Industrial Arts Club	
I.C.T.	
Hi-Lighter Staff	
Tidewater Scholastic Team 1968	Evonne Foreman, Carolyn Jones, Christine Holley, Mary
- 1969	Ambrose, Larry Brinkley, Michael Lee, Deborah Peebles, and
	Ernest Jackson
Baseball Team	
Football Team	
Boys Basketball Team	
Track Team	
Tennis Team	
Pep Squad	

Appendix KK

PACTS/UKHS Newspaper

The Hi=Lighter

VOL.XVI

Union Kempsville High School, Virginia Beach, Virginia, May, 1968

NUMBER 4

Students of the Issue



Jay Phillips, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Johnnie Phillips of Virginia Beach, is a senior in Mrs. E.W. Smith's homeroom.

Jay is a member of the Union Kempsville Hi-Lighter Staff, a member of the Spanish Club, a former member of the Landa Chi and Debating Clubs.

His ambition is to excel in anything he does. His philosophy of life is, "Do and find out all that is possible today because tomorrow is promised

Jay's hobbies include those of reading, preferably science ters, writing, shopping, and fiction and drama, playing listening to records. Spivia is a member of Union His favorite subjects are mathematics, science, and health and physical education. He is a member of the Mount Olive Bap-



Sylvia Ann Brown, the daughter of Mrs. Gladys Brown of Virginia Beach, is our lovely reigning "Miss Homecoming

Sylvia, a senior, is a member of the Xinos Club, co-chairman of the Social Committee and School Choir. She is also an active member of the school's

cheering squad. Her hobbies are listening to various types of records, col-lecting stuffed animals, and teading. She spends most of her leisure time reading let-

Sylvia is a member of Union Kempaville Baptist Church, where she is a member of the Junior Usher Board. Her favorite subjects in school are English, French, and Choir,

HONOR ROLL FOR Fifth Grading Period

Demetria Carrington Barry Davis Helen Ferebee Christine Holly Michael Lee Lorenzo Lindsey David McCoy Grade 9: Mary Ambrose Larry Brinkley

Dona Cason Frances Dillard Shelia Haynes Peggy Ricks Arthur Riddick Grade 10:

Isaac Porbes Sylvia Griffia Ernest Jackson Carolyn Jones Venessa Mosley Brenda Olds Norma Owens Vendelis:Sarderso

Grade 11:5 Terry Gilchrist Barbara Harris Deborah Peebles

Carolyn Smith

Annie Broadnax Joyce Cason

INDUSTRIALLY SPEAKING



was highly honored to have our Instructor, Mr. A.H. Woodhouse attend the National Conference of the AIAA that was held in Minnespolis, Minnesota from April 30 to May 3. The theme was "New Concepts of Indus-trial Arts",

wealth of material that will up-grade the Industrial Arts Department here at this school as well as upgrade the entire In-dustrial Arts program for the city of Virginia Beach.

During the conference it was stated several times that teachers should take the initialive to upgrade the various shops and to make certain that all students are exposed to the same educational experiences and that no student be given an in-ferior education in this day and

JOHNNY UNITAS BRENDA RIDDICK



On May 2, 1968, a meeting of the Tidewater High School Student Editors was held at 4 p.m. in the Sears, Roebuck and Com-

Norfolk, Virginia.

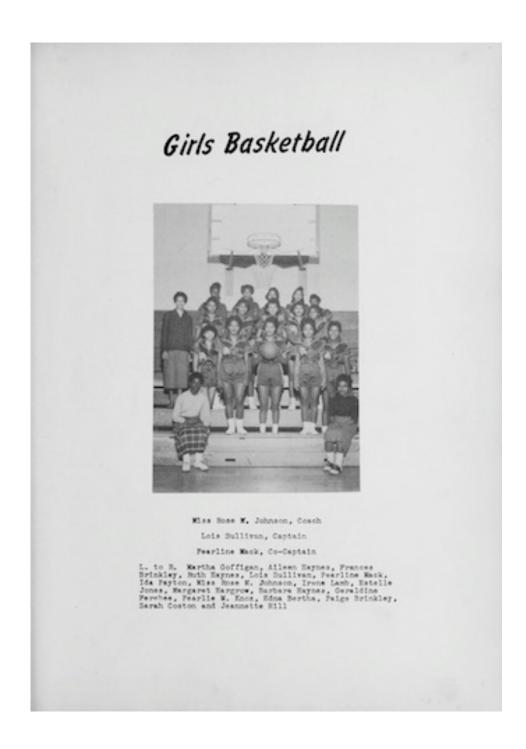
Brenda Riddick represented the Hi-Lighter Staff. The guest speaker was Johnny Unitas, a star quarterback for the Baltimore Colts. Mr. Unitas has ob-served teens everywhere from North to South and, in so doing, he had one definite comment concerning how today's young men are dressing. His comment: "They wear the wrong things in the sight places and the right things in wrong places. As for their hair styles, if they are going to wear it long, why not wear a dress and pocketbook

In closing he advised us to "stay in school-and, by all

Appendix LL Yearbook Page - 1946



Appendix MM Yearbook Page - 1955



Appendix NN Yearbook Page - 1958



Appendix OO Yearbook Page - 1965



Appendix PP Yearbook Page - 1966



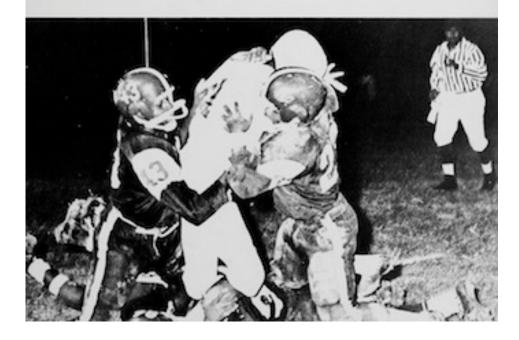




Football - 1965

The Mighty Tigers held their own throughout a season which turned out to be the best in the record of UK football history.

On the rainy night in October when the Tigers slaughtered the "mighty" Bookers of Norfolk, one spectator was heard to comment: "And even the Heavens Cried." We did too -- for joy!



Appendix QQ Yearbook Page - 1968 (a)



Appendix RR

Yearbook Page - 1968 (b)

J.V.B. DAY



"In Appreciation of . . ."

Mrs. E. Smith and Mr. R. L. Gordon commend Mr. Joseph V. Boykin, Principal, on the occasion of "J.V.B. Day."

Pictured below are Mr. E. E. Brickell, newly appointed Superintendent, Rev. H. C. Benjamin, Mrs. Boykin, Mr. Boykin, Joseph, Jr., Mr. M. P. Strickler, Assistant Superintendent, and Mr. R. L. Gordon, Master of Ceremonies.



Appendix SS

Yearbook Page - 1969

DEDICATION

We, the last graduating class of Union Kempsville High School wish to dedicate
this, our last Senior Class Annual, to all of those who have gone before us and who,
by their accomplishments here, have made our academic growth a little less crowded
with "growing pains," and a little more endowed with the imagery of years well spent
in the pursuit of an education,

Many of us have been inspired by the pace set for us and are eager to reach for the torch which has been passed to us so that we might find our way to the pinnacle of success. We hope to prove worthy of the legacy left to us by some of those who have made their marks in the areas of education, the arts, medicine, athletics, the business world and in all the areas where good people serve, satisfy and succeed,

We were given a challenge by our faithful administration and a devoted faculty who have been true standard bearers of truth and enlightment,

We were given encouragement by those faithful patrons of the community who dreamed of greater opportunities in education at Union Kempsville and WORKED toward that end.

We were given hope by those who achieved scholastic honors and recognition in the physical form of plaques, certificates, ribbons, and medals in the areas of art, music and athletics—as these honors served as daily reminders that success could and did begin HERE.

Our debt to ALL who have worked for us, with us, and before us, is great.

So this Class of Nineteen hundred and sixty-nine takes this opportunity to thank ALL of them by dedicating this annual, THE 1969 TIGER, to all our teachers, our friends and all the graduating classes of yesteryear.