ABSTRACT

DAUGHERTY, BRENTELA MAY. An Historical Study of W. S. King School: Its Story, Its Impact, and Its Legacy. (Under the direction of Dr. Lance D. Fusarelli.)

The purpose of this study was to find out how W. S. King School, a school for African American students that operated during segregation, impacted student learning and thereby, influenced the community. Because the former all-black W. S. King School was known to have produced graduates who went on to become successful, productive citizens in society, it warranted taking a look back to find out why the school was successful at meeting the needs of its students.

This was a qualitative case study. In-depth interviews were conducted with 19 former graduates of W. S. King School and West Carteret High School graduates who once attended W. S. King School before schools were integrated. Their interviews were recorded using a digital recording device and were transcribed. Transcriptions were analyzed using open coding to determine emergent themes. A document analysis and review of artifacts such as yearbooks, photographs, report cards, awards, trophies, and other memorabilia also helped to capture the story of W. S. King School. Historical documents related to the school including school board minutes, newspaper articles published in the *Carteret County News Times*, and W. S. King Alumni Association minutes were also examined. Files that were preserved by the Carteret County School System, the Carteret County Historical Society, and the State Archives of North Carolina were studied as well. By using this method, I was able to gain insight into the actual workings of the school.

The themes that emerged encompassed the findings of the study. Findings regarding W. S. King School included: 1) The principal was an excellent leader who stressed education and discipline. 2) Teachers knew their subject matter, were encouragers who
demonstrated care for their students, and were disciplinarians. 3) The new cinderblock building was an improvement over the old wooden school but still lacked amenities. 4) Materials were of poor quality but were utilized anyway. 5) School staff were important in the school setting. 6) The school was the hub of the black community; the community supported the school's efforts. 7) Students remember fondly school events that occurred at the school.

Findings regarding West Carteret High School included: 1) The principal was viewed as distant by some and caring by others. 2) Some of the participants felt that white teachers did not care if black students were successful academically while others reportedly formed relationships with white teachers. 3) Participants benefitted from attending segregated and integrated schools. 4) Remembrances of the school were not endearing for most of the former students. The findings provided several implications for research and practice.
An Historical Study of W. S. King School: Its Story, Its Impact, and Its Legacy

by
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DEDICATION

This manuscript is dedicated to my amazing children, Gary, Christopher, and Lauren. You are my inspiration. I love you dearly and am so proud of you. Continue to pursue your dreams because, "...with God all things are possible." (Matthew 19:26, KJV)

I also want to dedicate this manuscript to my parents, the late Jack and Amy May. The importance of education they instilled in me as a child has always remained a part of who I am. Their sacrifices have helped to make it possible for me to accomplish this task. I am incredibly grateful to have had such wonderful parents. They are still greatly loved and missed.
BIOGRAPHY

Brentela was the last of four children born to her parents, Jack and Amy May, in Morehead City, North Carolina. She and her brother and sisters were raised there. Brentela was educated at St. Egbert's Catholic School for grades one through eight and at West Carteret High School for ninth through twelfth grades. She headed to Howard University in Washington, D.C. for her undergraduate studies. There, Brentela majored in elementary education and minored in early childhood education. Upon graduating from Howard, she began her teaching career as an elementary classroom teacher. After many years of teaching, Brentela was encouraged by her family and peers to apply to graduate school and to the North Carolina Principal Fellows Program to become a school administrator. She was fortunate to become a principal fellow at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where she obtained her master's degree in school administration. Since then, she has worked in several administrative roles. She has served as assistant principal, principal, and director of Responsiveness to Instruction (RtI). She currently mentors beginning teachers. Brentela enjoys reading, relaxing at the beach, listening to smooth jazz, and spending time with her family and friends. She also enjoys travelling and riding roller coasters!
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Thank you, my sisters!

Thank you to three very special people in my life, Mrs. Montrose Scott, my other mother, Angela Richardson, and Sunshine Evans-Salter, my dear friends. Mrs. Scott, thank you for your love and encouragement and for the countless prayers you have sent up on my behalf. You are like a mother to me, and I am so blessed to have you in my life. Angela and Sunshine, you are such special friends. You have stuck with me through the highs and lows and lulls along this entire doctoral journey. Thank you for your support. I am really glad we are friends.

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history of education. You are the reason I wanted to learn more about the history of education of African Americans. Your history class was fascinating and made me want to delve further. Thank you. Dr. Brady, I value your expertise and wisdom. You are so knowledgeable in many areas. I appreciate the way you have treated me with such respect. No question was unimportant to you. Thank you. Dr. Bonnie Fusarelli, although you are last to be acknowledged, you are definitely not least by any means. Actually, you are the one who gave me the confidence to write this dissertation. I once thought it was a daunting task for me, but after you taught my class the structure and content of a manuscript and had us write a mini dissertation, I knew I could do it. Thank you for your guidance.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As the Civil War came to an end, the desire for education increased among black people. Harriet Beecher Stowe is reported as having said of ex-slaves, "They rushed not to the grog [alcoholic beverage]-shop but to the schoolroom--they cried for the spelling-book as bread, and pleaded for teachers as a necessity of life." Booker T. Washington noted, "It was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn" (Anderson, 1988, p. 5).

Former slaves sought universal, state-supported public education. W. E. B. DuBois once said, "Public education for all at public expense was, in the South, a Negro idea" (Anderson, p. 6). In their movement for universal schooling the ex-slaves welcomed and actively pursued the aid of Republican politicians, the Freedmen's Bureau, northern missionary societies, and the Union army.

During and after the Civil War, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen’s Bureau, helped to educate blacks of all ages (Erickson, 1997). General Oliver O. Howard, the first commissioner to lead the Freedmen’s Bureau, worked to provide education for freed blacks. He acknowledged the need of education for the black race. General Howard stated, “Education underlies every hope of success for the freedmen” (Bullock, 1967, p. 24).

The American Missionary Association, whose purpose was to operate Christian missions and educational institutions in the United States and overseas, played an important role in helping to educate Negroes (Bullock, 1967). In fact, the primary goal of the
American Missionary Association was to help educate African Americans (Davis, 1996). Their first day schools were in operation by 1863. In North Carolina, "One year later there were schools at Beaufort, Washington, Plymouth, Morehead, and other places" (Franklin & Moss, 2009, p.225). According to William T. Briggs, a leader of the American Missionary Association in North Carolina, freedmen viewed knowledge as power to improve their future. Reverend Beals, a teacher who was recruited from the North to teach students in Beaufort, North Carolina in 1866, reported:

    The freed people here are keenly alive to the importance of education. (Davis, 1996, p. 14)

    …The schools progress with unabated zeal, and great activity. With the people, education is not now a spasmodic effort, but a settled purpose. (p. 16)

    Blacks strongly desired to be educated to the point that they established and supported their own schools. They even matched donated funds with their limited resources to establish schools (Bullock, 1967).

    The dedication of missionaries combined with the financial support of philanthropists from the North, including the Rosenwald Fund, as well as government resources helped to provide education for African American students in segregated school systems throughout the South. W. S. King School was a benefactor of such efforts. This dissertation tells the story of W. S. King School, an all-black first through twelfth grade school in Morehead City, North Carolina, that educated students from parts of Carteret County from the early 1900s until 1966.
Problem Statement

There seems to be a disconnection between schools and African American students. Many are failing in schools today. According to Green (2008),

By the end of 4th grade, African American, Latino, and low-income students are already two years behind other students; by 8th grade, three years behind; and by 12th grade, four years behind. (p. 392)

These students are not proficient in reading and/or mathematics. Bali and Alvarez (2003) reported that white students' achievement test scores are significantly higher than African American students at all levels of education. According to the Nation's Report Card, in 2009, black eighth graders scored lower than any other racial group in reading and math. Only 14% of eighth grade black students read at grade level (Talbert & Goode, 2011).

Furthermore, Simons, Finlay, and Yang (1991) indicated:

Blacks and Latinos are more likely than whites to be two or more grades behind in school, and males are more likely than females to be behind. Among males ages 16 and 17, approximately one in seven blacks and one in eight Latinos is two or more years behind in school, compared with only one in 16 whites. Among females, approximately one in ten blacks, one in seven Latinas, and one in 27 whites is two or more grades behind. (p. 94)

Jencks and Phillips (1998) emphasized:

...the typical American black still scores below 75 percent of American whites on most standardized tests. On some tests the typical American black scores below more than 85 percent of whites. (p. 1)
According to Patterson (2010):

In 2009, fourth-grade and eighth-grade black students still lagged around three grade levels behind white children on [National Assessment of Educational Progress] tests...
Many of the gaps widen in high school years, and they appear in northern and western as well as southern school districts. (p. 211)

There is definitely an achievement gap that must be addressed.

Many African American students do not graduate from high school. The dropout rate among black students is reported at 15% whereas for white students it is slightly more than half of that at 8.4% (Carpenter & Ramirez, 2007). The Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics reports that black students graduate from high school at a rate of 62% while 81% of white students finish high school (Talbert & Goode, 2011). Lee (2002) reported the black students' dropout rate has been 1.5 to 2.0 times higher than white students' dropout rate over the last three decades.

Today's teenagers are a lot like yesterday's teenagers, but the world around them has changed drastically. Thirty years ago, a teenager who dropped out of school often could find a job that paid a living wage and [could] look forward to earning enough in the future to support a family. Today, a high school dropout has only one chance in three of having a full-time job. A typical male high school dropout between the ages of 18 and 24 earns only about $6,000 a year, and a young female dropout earns even less. (Simons, et. al, 1991, p. 1)

Dropping out of high school has negative consequences. For instance, those who do not have a high school diploma are reported as being in declining health (Pleis & Lethbridge-
Cejku, 2006). They also earn less money if they are fortunate enough to be part of the workforce (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 2002). "Only one of every three black male high school dropouts was able to obtain any type of employment during an average month in 2005" (Wilson, 2009, p. 64). Wilson continued by explaining the average annual earnings of twenty-four year-old black males who were in the bottom quarter (25th percentile of earnings) between the years 2000 and 2004 were only $1,078 while Latino males earned $9,623, and white males earned $9,843 (p. 64). This information shows black males earned nine times less than other men who were also in the bottom percentile. Dropouts' lack of education directly relates to their unemployment, which often relates to their risk of going to prison. Patterson (2010) reported:

A study of African American high school dropouts aged sixteen to twenty-four in 2008 revealed that 69 percent were unemployed and 25 percent were in jail, prison, or juvenile detention. Female dropouts were nine times more likely than girls who had stayed in school and gone to college in 2006 or 2007 to become single mothers. (p. 208)

In fact, dropouts make up a disproportionate number of prison inmates (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 2004).

Perhaps black students who drop out of high school do so because they do not have the reading, writing, and mathematics skills that are necessary to be successful. These basic skills are crucial for competing in the globalized labor market that exists in today's society. The achievement gap between black and white students is quite significant and has been so for decades, despite concerted efforts to eliminate them. Gardner (2007) reported:
The [achievement] gap dates back to the first mass-administered achievement tests given by the United States Army in World War I. Even as crude as those tests were, they measured an achievement gap between black recruits and white recruits which persists today. (p. 543)

Although the achievement gap between African American and white students was cut in half between 1970-1988, progress became stagnant in 1988 and has remained a significant gap since that period (Haycock, 2001).

School suspension rates of African American students are also a major concern. Eitle and Eitle (2004) proclaimed there is an overrepresentation of minority students who are suspended and/or expelled from school. More than thirty years of research has shown that blacks are suspended at much higher rates than white students (Constenbader & Markson, 1998; Skiba & Rausch, 2006). Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson (2000) examined eight studies that were published between 1979 and 2000. They found a consistent pattern of African American students being suspended from school at a higher rate than white students for similar offenses. According to a national study of parent reports, in 2003 one in five (19.6%) of black students were suspended compared to fewer than one in ten (8.8%) of white students (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). Furthermore, a national survey asked 74,000 tenth grade students if they had ever been suspended or expelled from school. Fifty percent of African American students reported having been suspended from school. On the other hand, only 20% of white students said they had been suspended or expelled from school (Wallace, 2008).

Males of all racial and ethnic groups are more likely than females to receive
disciplinary sanctions (Gregory, et al., 2010), but school suspension rates are highest among African American males (Civil Rights Project, 2000; Mendez & Knoff, 2003). African American males, in particular, were suspended more than students from any other racial group. One study showed black males were 16 times more likely to be suspended than white females (Gregory, 1997). According to school discipline data provided by the U. S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights “rates of school suspension for African American students were between two and three times higher than suspension rates for white students at the elementary, middle, and high school levels” (Skiba, et al., 2000, p. 2).

Not only do high suspension rates affect student achievement, Fenning and Rose (2007) claimed there is a direct link between students' suspensions and expulsions to their entrance into prison. They stated this research has been documented and has been given the term "school to prison pipeline" (p. 536). Wald and Losen (2003) found that schoolwide discipline data, juvenile justice data, and prison data are comparable when pertaining to the overrepresentation of students of color.

It is disturbing when state officials in our country plan the number of prisons to build based on the number of third grade students who are not able to read on grade level (Ellis, 2011). School failure often leads to a life of drug abuse and crime for many African American students which is detrimental to their families, communities, and society. As reported by Glazer (2010), "By the early 2000s, more than a third of young black non-college men were incarcerated" (p. 112). He further stated, "For black male dropouts born since the mid-1960s, 60 to 70 percent go to prison" (p. 114). Ellis (2011) stated:
When the state of Arizona projects how many prison beds it will need, it factors in the number of kids who read well in fourth grade. Evidence shows that children who do not read by third grade often fail to catch up and are more likely to drop out of school, take drugs, or go to prison. So many nonreaders wind up in jail that Arizona officials have found they can use the rate of illiteracy to help calculate future prison needs.

(p. 2)

Educators must find ways to reach and teach African American students to help prepare them for life as constructive citizens in the twenty-first century. Proper education is imperative if students are to experience success in today's society. Because the former all-black W. S. King School was known to have produced graduates who went on to become successful, productive citizens in society, it warrants taking a look back to find out why the school was successful at meeting the needs of its students. The problem this study will address is, “How did W. S. King School impact student learning and thereby, the community?”

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to write an historical account of W. S. King School which was located in Morehead City, a small seaport town in Carteret County, North Carolina. I want to study the history of W. S. King, a former Black school that operated there. Students in first through twelfth grade were taught at the school. Although W. S. King was a poor facility with few resources, many graduates went on to become productive citizens in society. They have had or currently have professional careers as attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, authors, illustrators, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers,
and ministers while others had or currently have gainful employment.

I want to discover the impact W. S. King School had upon student learning and thereby, on the community. Additionally, because so many African American students are failing in schools today it is my hope that lessons gleaned from taking a look at how black students were educated in the past will help us to provide ways to reach, teach, and help them to achieve in schools today.

Resegregation is a major topic in education today. There is an ongoing debate about its value. Therefore, I will also obtain opinions regarding voluntary resegregation and its advantages and disadvantages from former W. S. King students. Qualitative methods will be used to discover the perceptions of former students regarding how the school impacted their lives.

**Rationale for this Study**

The reasons for conducting this study include:

- It is important to conduct this study so that the history of W. S. King School can be recorded before its oral history and traditions are lost.

- It is important to find out what teachers, administrators, and the community did that helped students succeed academically, particularly given the present-day challenges faced by educators in effectively educating African American students.

- There is an urgency for the study to be completed before school documents and former students no longer exist.

- It is important to contribute to the history of education in the South. According to Hessling (1993):
Despite repeated calls for more research on the history of education in the South, there remain extensive gaps in the literature. The history of education in the South – especially in the twentieth century – has been unfortunately neglected.

(p. 5)

**Research Questions**

The primary research question of this study is: “How did W. S. King School impact student learning and thereby, the community?” Because it is well-known that W. S. King produced graduates who went on to have professional careers as attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers, and ministers while others had or have gainful employment, a secondary question must be addressed: “What can we learn from examining the past experiences of former students at W. S. King that we may use in educating Black students today?”

**Definition of Terms**

The terms “black,” “Negro,” “colored,” and “African American” are used interchangeably in this study. In general, the term used reflects the designation given to those of African descent during the particular era being discussed (Siddle Walker, 1996).

**Theoretical Framework**

Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) stated:

Historical research is a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a past phenomenon for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of present institutions, practices, trends, and issues in education. (p. 644)
I want to find out about W. S. King School to discover the impact it had on its students and the community. By having the lens of an historian I will be able to record the happenings at W. S. King by taking a look at historical documents related to the school and by talking with former students to better understand what it was like at the school during the time it was in operation. As Thompson (2000) stated, “History, in short, is not just about events, or structures, or patterns of behavior, but also about how these are experienced and remembered in the imagination” (p. 162). As mentioned in Creswell (1998), I would like my research to include rich description - “data pulled from participants that produces for readers the feeling that they experience, or perhaps could experience, the events described” (p. 184).

I will use Critical Race Theory (CRT) to frame my theoretical perspective since W. S. King School operated during the period of segregation. I agree with Creswell (1994) who stated:

In a qualitative study, one does not begin with a theory to test or verify. Instead, consistent with the inductive model of thinking, a theory may emerge during the data collection and analysis phase…or be used relatively late in the research process as a basis for comparison with other theories. (pp. 94-95)

Although I have selected the tenets of racism, interest convergence, and social construction within Critical Race Theory to examine data, other lens within CRT may be used to help identify prominent themes in the data if responses from the participants in my study require me to do so.
Context/Background of the Study

W. S. King School, a segregated school that once operated in Morehead City, North Carolina, provided education for black students in Carteret County. The school which would become W. S. King began in someone's home and was taught by a minister (W. H. Hill, personal communication, July 2, 2011). As interest in education grew, the small home could no longer accommodate the number of students who enrolled.

Fortunately, in 1877, Morehead City started operating public schools which were funded by the state of North Carolina, including a school for coloreds. The school consisted of one room. There were 78 black students enrolled, and school was in session for two months of the year (Morehead City Woman's Club, 1982). Thirty-one years later, a two-room free graded school for black students was opened. A two-story wooden building became part of that school which would eventually be named W. S. King.

The new W. S. King School was located at 1600 Fisher Street in Morehead City and opened on January 3, 1951 (Morehead City Woman's Club, 1998). It was a cinderblock building with eight classrooms, library, bookroom, teachers' lounge, administrative offices, storage rooms, and a gymnasium which also served as an auditorium. Students went home to eat lunch until a cafeteria was added in later years (F. M. July, personal memento, undated).

Black students received a quality education at W. S. King School despite numerous unfair inequities. Many students went on to become productive citizens in society. They have had or currently have professional careers as attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, authors, illustrators, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers, and ministers while others had or currently have gainful employment. W. S. King was the
hub of the black community. Sporting events, plays, and concerts were a regular part of the
school's extra-curricular activities. All events were well attended by families and friends of
the school (W. H. Hill, personal communication, July 2, 2011).

Historians typically report the negative characteristics of black segregated schools.
The poor facilities with a lack of materials and hand-me-down textbooks are well
documented. According to Hessling (1993), “All too often, predominantly black schools
have been ignored, largely because they are seldom seen as good or worth studying by the
larger society” (p. 1). Carter G. Woodson (1933) expounded, "the [Negro] race is studied
only as a problem or dismissed as of little consequence" (p. 7). Vanessa Siddell Walker
(1996), in her study of the Caswell County Training School, a formerly segregated school in
rural North Carolina, wrote:

The history of the public schooling of African Americans during legalized
segregation has focused almost exclusively on the inferior education that African
American children received. Indeed, the meager materials, the inadequate facilities,
the unequal funding of schools and teachers, the lack of bus transportation, and the
failure of school boards to respond to black parents’ request are so commonly named
in most descriptions of segregated education that they have created a national
memory that dominates most thinking about the segregated schooling of African
American children. (p. 1)

She went on to say:

Existing studies of segregated schools were largely quantitative case histories of
excellent schools, as defined by measurable results such as test scores and graduation
rates. ...[H]istorical recollections that recall descriptions of differences in facilities and resources of white and black schools without also providing descriptions of the black schools and communities dogged determination to educate African American children have failed to tell the complete story of segregated schools. Because of this omission, several generations of the schools African American educators and parents created with so little public support have been lost. (p. 5)

As Walker (1996) recorded the perceptions of former students, teachers, and community members, she brought out the notion of the segregated school as a “good educational environment” for black students (pp. 5-6). My goal in researching W. S. King is to gain an understanding of the impact of the schooling received by students who attended the segregated school.

**Significance of the Study**

It is important to conduct this study because there is a lack of research in the study of former black segregated schools. As previously mentioned, Hessling (1993) emphasized that former all-black schools have not been studied because society did not see the value of doing so. Overall, there is little research about the education of students in the South and even less research on the education of African Americans. According to Hessling (1993):

> Despite repeated calls for more research on the history of education in the South, there remain extensive gaps in the literature. The history of education in the South – especially in the twentieth century – has been unfortunately neglected. (p. 5)

It is also important that the history of W. S. King School be recorded while former students are still alive and while artifacts relating to the school are still intact.
Hopefully, by looking back at how teachers and administrators successfully educated black students we can apply strategies learned from the past to help students today and beyond. It is also important to me to contribute to the literature regarding the history of the education of African Americans in Carteret County, North Carolina.

**Overview of Research Approach**

I will approach this research as a qualitative, historical study. Oral history will comprise a major portion of the research. Oral history is defined as “the recording of personal testimony delivered in oral form” (Yow, 2005, p. 3). The purpose of using oral history is to capture how people perceive and describe their memories and personal stories related to experiences they have had (Ritchie, 2003). In-depth interviewing will be the primary vehicle for gathering personal narratives.

As such, I will conduct a review of the literature to find out about segregated schools and the education of blacks. After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board, I will attend and participate in W. S. King reunion events. I will interview former students and teachers and examine historical documents, artifacts, and memorabilia related to W. S. King School. Once interviews have been transcribed I will code the data to look for similar categories that will evolve into major themes and significant points. I will then record and discuss the findings as related to the literature review. Finally, suggestions for current educational practice and for further study will be offered.

I will study the history of education of African Americans with a major focus on how education for blacks progressed in the South, and in particular, North Carolina. The history of education for blacks in Carteret County, North Carolina will focus on the education
students received in Morehead City although the surrounding communities of Beaufort, Newport, Mansfield, Stella, Silver Hill, and Bogue were also parts of the county where black students lived.

I will trace how the education of blacks evolved in Morehead City and how W. S. King School came to exist. I will also find out how many years the schools operated, from where the funds came to build the schools, when the schools opened, who taught there, and who the administrators were. I also will attempt to find out about the subjects taught and grade levels that were part of W. S. King (It did not serve students in eleventh and twelfth grade at first).

A major portion of the research will entail conducting semi-structured interviews with former students of the school. It will be imperative to hear their stories about W. S. King so that I can try to determine how the teachers, administrators, and other school personnel impacted students’ lives.

An examination of historical artifacts will comprise the final part of the research study. I will review school board minutes, attendance rosters, personnel records, report cards, awards, newspaper articles, yearbooks, photographs, and other memorabilia related to the school. It is my hope that these documents will support the information I receive from the interviewees.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I provided an introduction to this study by presenting a very brief overview of the beginning of education for African Americans, particularly in Morehead City, North Carolina. Next, I discussed the achievement gap between black and
white students, school suspension rates, and noted how school failure often leads to a life of
drugs, crime, and time in prison.

The purpose of this study was described as the desire to write an historical account of
W. S. King School, which was located in Morehead City, North Carolina, with the driving
research question focusing on discovering the impact that W. S. King School had upon
student learning and thereby, on the community.

Definition of terms was discussed, and the context and significance of the study were
noted. Not only is it important to conduct this study so that the history of W. S. King School
can be recorded, but it is crucial to find out what teachers, administrators, and the community
did that supported students in their educational endeavors so that we can apply strategies
learned from the past to help students today.

This chapter concluded with an overview of the research approach. The use of
qualitative methods was discussed which included the need to conduct semi-structured
interviews with former graduates as well as review historical documents, such as school
board minutes, newspaper articles, yearbooks, photographs, and other memorabilia related to
the school.

**Organization of the Study**

Chapter Two will provide a review of the literature concerning the education of
African Americans in the South. It will focus on the state of North Carolina, Carteret
County, North Carolina, and Morehead City, North Carolina which will help to frame the
story of the former W. S. King School. The literature will be referenced throughout each part
of the manuscript. Chapter Three will provide an in-depth look at the research methods to be used in the study.
CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

This chapter will examine the history of education of blacks in the South from the 1800s-1960s. It will concentrate on the education of blacks in North Carolina, specifically in Morehead City. It is important to provide an overview of the education blacks received and how they obtained that education. Also, the review of literature offers the background of education in Carteret County to explain how W. S. King School came into existence.

Southern Attitudes

According to W. E. B. DuBois (1994), “the South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro” (p. 20). Perhaps that is one reason why there was great opposition to the education of blacks in the South. In fact, leaders throughout the nation were unsure about what to do regarding blacks not only in education, but also in general. Senator Lot M. Morrill of Maine said:

If there is anything with which the American people are troubled, and if there is anything with which the American statesman is perplexed and vexed, it is to what to do with the Negro, how to define him, what he is in American law, and to what rights he is entitled. We have said that he was nondescript in our statutes; he had no status; he was ubiquitous; he was both man and thing; he was three-fifths of a person for representation and he was a thing for commerce and for use. (Ravitch, 1980, p. 36)

Another reason may have had to do with the beliefs of southern whites. The debate regarding provisions for the education of white children, without the mention of blacks, was addressed by a lawyer from South Carolina named William Harper who was known to be a
pro-slavery advocate (Urban & Wagoner, 2009).

   The Creator did not intend that every individual human being should be highly cultivated.... it is better that a part should be fully and highly cultivated and the rest utterly ignorant. To constitute a society, a variety of offices must be discharged, from those requiring but the lowest degree of intellectual power to those requiring the very highest, and it should seem that endowments ought to be apportioned according to the exigencies [needs] of the situation. (p. 143)

   Such was the attitude of aristocratic whites during the mid 1800s. The South progressed slowly to provide common schooling when compared to western states and those in the northeast. The influence of the upper class definitely affected decisions regarding education at that time. Debow's Review (1865), a well-known magazine published from 1846-1884, reiterated those views. It was noted that some education should be provided for all whites in the South, "beyond that it must educate the wealthy in order to maintain their position as members of the white, privileged class of our society" (Kaestle, 1983, pp. 206-207). Although the aristocrats had their views about who should be educated, Urban and Wagoner (2009) noted that charity supported the education for poor whites in parts of the South well before the Civil War.

   The state of North Carolina eventually progressed from elitist views and instituted common schools (public schools) for white children. The first public school opened in North Carolina on January 20, 1840 in Rockingham County. Calvin H. Wiley, a lawyer and editor of the North Carolina Journal of Education, became the first state superintendent in North Carolina. In his Seventh Report, issued in 1860, for example, Wiley noted:
Nearly 70 percent of all (white) school-age children were enrolled in school, more than 90 percent of the teachers were licensed, schools averaged about 50 pupils and operated for four months per year, and the salaries of teachers in North Carolina were on par with those being paid in northern states. (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 147)

**Slaves in the South**

Cowan and McGuire (1994) reported Spanish explorers brought the first Africans into what is now the United States in 1526. "They were brought to the Carolinas as slaves to build a Spanish fortress. The Africans escaped to Native American communities farther inland." (p. 9) According to Walter Stephan (1980), the first blacks arrived on a Dutch ship in Virginia in 1619. That was the beginning of slavery (Urban & Wagoner, 2009) although Takaki suggested:

Actually, these first twenty Africans might not have been slaves; rather, like most of the white laborers, they were probably indentured servants. The transformation of Africans into slaves is the story of the "hidden" origins of slavery. (p. 7)

Whites regarded slaves as inferior beings because of the biological differences between the two groups. They denied blacks the freedom to partake in their native traditions and held them in subordinate roles. Slaves were not permitted to receive an education and were regarded as ignorant. Each slave was designated as three-fifths of a person so that slave owners would know how much money to pay in taxes. Slaves had no rights. Even the Constitution of the United States condoned slavery and its evil. James Madison is quoted as saying:

In being compelled to labor not for himself, but for a master; in being vendible
[something that can be sold] by one master to another master; and being subject at all times to being restrained in his liberty and chastised in his body, by the capricious will of another, the slave may appear to be degraded from the human rank and classed with those irrational animals, which fall under the legal denomination of property. (Stephan, 1980, p. 4)

The up and coming tobacco industry was dependent upon slaves to plant and harvest the moneymaking crop. "Ship captains... found captive Africans to be profitable cargo" (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 24). In the state of Georgia in 1852, state legislators introduced a bill to allow slaves to be educated as a way to increase the money they could get paid for them (Cowan, 1994). In 1776, there were 2.5 million Americans. African Americans made up approximately 20 percent of the population. "All but about 25,000 were slaves" (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 77). By 1794, legislation in every state was in place to ban importing new slaves (Kluger, 1975).

Following the Civil War, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed slaves in the Confederate states followed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution being ratified to abolish slavery in all of the states in the Union. This historic event affected over four million African Americans, most of whom lived in the South (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). During this time, poor whites fought social reforms and went along with segregation rather than watch former slaves get ahead (Bell, 1992). They were convinced that blacks were inferior and always would be. They also believed blacks would become a dangerous and degraded class of people (Ravitch, 1980).

Stephan (1980) concluded that Blacks were “free” but were subjected to Black Codes
in southern states that restricted their rights and freedom of movement. Congress interceded on behalf of the newly freed slaves by passing a Civil Rights Act in 1866. Parts of the Act were included in the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment gave full citizenship rights, including due process, to former slaves. It stated:

> No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (p. 6)

The right to an education was not included in the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead, Congress established the Freedmen’s Bureau to build schools to educate blacks. The formal education of blacks was a threat to the system of slavery to the point that the formal education of blacks was illegal in nearly every slave state (Weinberg, 1977). The state of Virginia even enacted a law in 1680 that forbade blacks to gather for any reason. If they did, they would be punished by "twenty lashes on the bare back well laid on" (Irons, 2002, p. 3).

Teaching slaves to read and write was against the law. Criminal charges were brought against those who did so. Slaves who tried to learn to read were subjected to whippings. Even so, they persevered. "Even behind the facade of slavery, a Negro leadership was developing" (Genovese, 1976, p. 566). W. E. B. DuBois estimated that approximately five percent of the slave population in 1860 could read (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). One explanation for this occurrence could be as follows:

However, since slave children were rarely segregated according to the status of their parents, some masters, more mistresses, and even more white children defied the law,
which was unenforceable on the plantations anyway, and instructed slaves for whom they had a special fondness. (p. 156)

Another explanation was reported by Genovese (1976). He noted literate slaves and free blacks took risks to teach others to read and write. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted and proclaimed, "no person could be denied the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 165).

**Education of Free Blacks**

W. E. B. DuBois, a well known African American who was known to speak out about the education of blacks, was quoted as saying:

> There is no doubt but that the thirst of the black man for knowledge - a thirst which has been too persistent and durable to be mere curiosity or whim - gave birth to the public free-school system of the South. (Genovese, 1976, p. 564).

John Chavis, an educated black man, operated a school in Raleigh, North Carolina for whites during the day and blacks at night (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). In 1839, an editor of a Raleigh newspaper wrote:

> On Friday last, we attended an examination of the free children of color, attached to the school of John Chavis, also colored, but a regularly educated Presbyterian Minister, and we have seldom received more gratification from an exhibition of a similar character. To witness a well regulated school, composed of this class of persons - to see them setting an example both in behavior and scholarship, which their white superiors might take pride in imitating, was a cheering spectacle to the philanthropist. The exercises throughout evinced a degree of attention and assiduous
care on the part of the instructor, highly creditable, and of attainment on the part of his scholars almost incredible. (p. 151)

According to the 1850 North Carolina census, 100,591 whites and 217 free blacks were enrolled in schools (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). Free blacks attended schools in twenty-five North Carolina counties.

Although there are no records of any schools for blacks in Gates County, North Carolina, more than half the free black males in that county in 1850 reportedly could read and write. Moreover, of the 12,048 free black adults in the state, the 1850 census listed 5,191 (43 percent) as literate. (p. 152)

**Sabbath Schools**

Sabbath schools, also known as Sunday schools, were schools sponsored by churches. They existed before public schools were established. Teachers taught black children to read and write. They were open at night and on weekends. John Alvord, superintendent for the Freedmen's Bureau in 1866, reported:

Sabbath schools among freedmen have opened throughout the entire South; all of them giving elementary instruction, and reaching thousands who cannot attend the week-day teaching. These are not usually included in the regular returns, but are often spoken of with special interest by the superintendents. Indeed, one of the most thrilling spectacles which he who visits the southern country now witnesses in cities, and often upon the plantations, is the large schools, gathered upon the Sabbath day, sometimes of many hundreds, dressed in clean Sunday garments, with eyes sparkling, intent upon elementary and Christian instruction. The management of some of these
is admirable, after the fashion of the best Sunday schools of white children, with faithful teachers, the majority of whom it will be noticed are colored. (Anderson, 1988, p. 12)

Referring to Sabbath schools in North Carolina in 1868, Alvord commented, “In all the cities of the State, in most of the smaller towns, and in many of the rural districts, Sabbath schools are established and well conducted” (Anderson, 1988, p. 13). The African Methodist Episcopal church reported as having enrolled 40,000 students in Sabbath schools and 200,000 by 1885. The Bible as well as the spelling book was studied during Sunday school (Anderson, 1988).

The Freedmen’s Bureau

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, referred to as the Freedmen’s Bureau, was established in 1865. One of its roles was to help provide “the foundations for education” (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 161) for refugees (former slaves). “When the agents of the Freedmen’s Aid Commission arrived in the South, they found blacks asking: When will you open school?” (Takaki, p. 131).

In one school run by the Freedmen’s Bureau there were “representatives of four generations in a direct line…a child of six years, her mother, grandmother, and great grandmother, the latter being more than 75 years of age. The desire for education was powerful and universal. (Crow, et. al, 1992, p. 81)

The Freedmen’s Bureau oversaw programs and relief efforts of benevolent societies working in the South. They helped to establish industrial schools and provided literacy instruction “by day, night, and on Sundays” (p. 161). The staff was composed of white teachers from
the North. They were not well-received by southern whites. The Freedmen’s Bureau was closed in 1870. By then, approximately 4,329 schools had opened and more than 247,000 students had been taught in those schools.

**American Missionary Association (AMA)**

According to Raffel (2002), the American Missionary Association and other religious organizations provided financial and organizational help in addition to protecting schools and teachers from intimidation and violent attacks from hostile whites. These schools were segregated, set apart from whites, and designated for black students only. The American Missionary Association was founded in 1846 in Albany, New York. Its mission was to abolish slavery, help educate Negroes, promote racial equality, and to teach Christian values. The AMA established many elementary schools. In time, they focused on starting normal schools and colleges. It was the first and largest benevolent group to establish formal schools for blacks in the South (Crow, 1992).

The normal schools served to educate and train blacks in order to eventually incorporate a teaching staff composed of blacks, for the Association "decided that blacks should eventually furnish their own teachers." The belief held that the role of whites served to initially educate and train blacks, but that blacks would, in time, establish and develop their own leaders in an effort to "control" their own futures. (http://northbysouth.kenyon.edu/1998/edu/charleston/ama.htm)

As noted by Horsford (2003):

In 1877, the North Carolina legislature passed legislation appropriating $2,000 to establish a normal school to train Negro teachers in the state. The first Negro normal
school in North Carolina was located in Fayetteville and started with 42 students in September 1877. (p. 243)

Four more normal schools were approved by the North Carolina legislature in 1881 (Noble, 1990).

The American Missionary Association sent teachers to Carteret County, North Carolina. One of the teachers, Reverend H. S. Beals, had this to say about blacks he taught:

The children hurry to school as soon as their work is over. The plowmen hurry from the field at night to get their hour of study. Old men and women strain their dim sight with the book two and a half feet distant from the eye, to catch the shape of the letter. I call this heaven-inspired interest. -- H.S. Beals, Christian Reconstruction

(http://northbysouth.kenyon.edu/1998/edu/charleston/ama.htm)

**Yearning for Learning**

There was a great desire to learn among ex-slaves. They would attempt to teach each other and even formed their own schools (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). The *Gazette*, a Warrenton, North Carolina newspaper, reported in 1882:

"relatively speaking," the Negroes were taking more interest in education and surpassing us [whites] in gaining the rudiments of an education. They go to school every chance they get and shell out their money freely to pay the teachers. (Anderson, 1988, p. 282)

John W. Alvord, superintendent of schools for the Freedmen’s Bureau, traveled through the South to check on the educational progress of blacks. He noted:
Throughout the entire South, an effort is being made by the colored people to educate themselves. In the absence of other teaching they are determined to be self-taught; and everywhere some elementary textbook, or the fragment of one, may be seen in the hands of [N]egroes. (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 163)

Alvord went on to comment about a colored school in Goldsboro, North Carolina: “Two colored young men, who but a little time before commenced to learn themselves, had gathered 150 pupils, all quite orderly and hard at study” (p. 163). Alvord found out there were approximately 500 schools operating as in Goldsboro. Blacks were even willing to pay additional taxes so that funds would be available for their schools. Alvord reported:

I saw one [petition] … at least 30 feet in length, representing 10,000 [N]egroes. It was affecting to examine it and note the names and marks (x) of such a long list of parents, ignorant themselves, but begging that their children might be educated, promising that from beneath their present burdens, and out of their extreme poverty, they would pay for it. (p. 163)

Union soldiers played an important role in educating blacks. Urban and Wagoner (2009) reported:

Commanding officers became involved in recruiting teachers, establishing school districts, outlining curricula, obtaining textbooks, and turning confiscated homes into schools for freedmen. (p. 159)

During 1866 in Georgia, leaders of the Negro race had formed their own education association to raise money and supervise their schools. In fact, they owned 57 buildings and provided some or all of the financial backing for 96 of the 123 schools that operated in the
evening. Despite the many, severe challenges faced by those advocating public education, each southern state included provisions in its state constitution for support of public schools by the year 1870 (Urban & Wagoner, 2009).

**Philanthropy**

Some wealthy whites from the North donated their money to help establish education in the South for blacks. For example, Anna T. Jeanes, from Pennsylvania, set up an endowment of $1 million to help improve rural black schools. Caroline Phelps Stokes also gave a million dollars to help educate blacks in the South and in Africa (Urban & Wagoner, 2009). The most well known philanthropists were George Peabody and Julius Rosenwald.

*The Peabody Fund*

The Peabody Fund was set up by George Peabody of Massachusetts. He was the first philanthropist from the North to help fund education in the South. He set up an endowment of $1 million dollars to be used “for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral or industrial education of young southerners (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 166). He intended for the fund to benefit all children regardless of race. Dr. Barnas Sears, the Peabody Fund's chief administrator, had a different viewpoint. According to Urban and Wagoner (2009):

In 1869 Sears proposed that grants to black schools be scaled to one-third less than for white schools, because "[it] costs less to maintain schools for the colored children than the white." (p. 167)

Furthermore, Sears and the rest of the Peabody Fund board made it a policy to only give money to systems that kept educational facilities for black and white students separate. Carteret County received Peabody Funds to help establish the first free school for whites in
Julius Rosenwald was born in 1862. He was a businessman and philanthropist. Rosenwald has been called "the greatest donor you never heard of" (Deutsch, 2011, p. xi). He gave away much of the money he earned at Sears, Roebuck to aid American society by helping blacks. Rosenwald was Jewish, and because of this, he is said to have identified with how blacks were treated.

Rosenwald met with Booker T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Institute, in May 1911. Washington had traveled to Chicago to meet with Rosenwald to try to gain financial support for Tuskegee. Their meeting forged not only a professional relationship but a personal one as well. They remained friends until Washington died in 1915 at the age of 55. The partnership between Julius Rosenwald and Booker T. Washington produced 4,977 new schools, 217 teachers' homes, and 163 shop buildings that served 663,615 students in 883 counties in fifteen states in the South and Southwest. (www.rosenwaldschools.com).

The Rosenwald Fund was established by Julius Rosenwald to provide matching funds to help build schools for blacks in rural areas of the South. Rosenwald schools were built between 1912-1932. The building initiative started on September 12, 1912 when Booker T. Washington proposed "a plan for helping of colored people in the direction of small country schools" (Deutsch, 2011, p. 116). Washington proposed:

An experiment in the direction of building six school-houses at various points preferably near here [Tuskegee, Alabama], so that we can watch the experiment closely. Each small school building would receive $350.00 from the funds
[Rosenwald] had already donated on the condition that the people in the community or the public school authority raise an equal amount. (Deutsch, 2011, p. 116)

Rosenwald approved the plan and his partnership with Washington began. One of every five African American schools in the South was a Rosenwald school when the Rosenwald school-building program ended in 1932. (Hoffschwelle, 2006, p. 1)

Overall, the costs of the schools, teachers' homes, and industrial workshops amounted to $28,408,520.00 in cash (Anderson, 1988). In other words, this fund contributed 15.36 percent, rural blacks contributed 16.64 percent, whites donated 4.27 percent, and 63.73 percent was delegated from public tax funds, "collected largely, if not wholly, from black taxpayers" (Anderson, 1988, p. 153).

The [Rosenwald] fund never gave even one-half the cost of a schoolhouse, and it generally contributed an average of about one-sixth of the total monetary cost of the building, grounds, and equipment. Most of the cash, either through private contributions or public tax funds, came from rural black citizens. Their additional contributions in the form of land, labor, and building materials were also substantial (Anderson, 1988, p. 154).

The Rosenwald Fund helped to establish 5,357 new schools, workshops, and homes for teachers in the South with 813 of them in North Carolina. Rosenwald schools were classified by the number of teachers who would work there. They had different designs. The smallest design was for a one-teacher school, although it did not contain just one room. "The one-teacher school included a classroom for academic instruction, a smaller industrial classroom, a kitchen, a library, and cloakrooms" (www.rosenwaldschools.com). All schools
provided workrooms, cloakrooms, and, in larger schools, auditoriums and offices as well.

There were no indoor restroom facilities.

Three [Rosenwald] schools were designated as having existed in Carteret County: one in Morehead City budgeted in 1918-1919, one in Newport budgeted in 1924-1925, and one in Beaufort budgeted in 1926-1927. (Hanchett, 1988, p. 430) Information about Rosenwald schools is housed at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

According to the Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card File Database, Beaufort High School, built during 1926-1927 was the only one listed as having received money from the Rosenwald Fund. The cost to build the school was $33,100. Blacks provided $2,500 of the cost, while the public supplied $28,500, and the Rosenwald Fund granted $2,100. (www.rosenwald.fisk.edu)

The building program initiated by Julius Rosenwald:

[was] crucial because it illustrates most clearly the general character and scope of black southerners' second crusade for common schools. It was black southerners' enduring beliefs in universal schooling and their collective social actions to achieve it that made possible and sustained the Rosenwald school building program. (Anderson, 1988, p. 153)

Julius Rosenwald initially gave Tuskegee Institute the job of overseeing the building of rural schools. Because an auditor found Tuskegee’s financial records as a mess, Rosenwald took that job from Tuskegee and oversaw the program himself. He established Rosenwald Fund, “a charitable foundation he had set up to handle his donations and to promote ‘the well-being of mankind’” (Deutsch, 2011, p. 142). Julius Rosenwald's life
ended in 1932, and the building of Rosenwald schools ended that same year as well.

**Education of Blacks in North Carolina**

While northern white philanthropists saw value in helping to provide education for blacks, whites in North Carolina had sharply different viewpoints. Cameron Morrison, governor of North Carolina in 1921 and a leader in white supremacy meetings, told black teachers that Negroes were receiving "as much education as you are ready for. You cannot use the highly organized system that is provided for whites" (Crow, Escott, & Hatley, 1992, p. 134).

In 1868, the General Assembly included in the state constitution provisions for free public schools for children ages six to twenty-one. An amendment to that law sanctioned separate but equal educational systems for black and white students (Crow, et al., 1992). Segregated schools existed for more than eighty years. School funds were not equally distributed which resulted in black schools having poor facilities and supplies, fewer teachers, and shorter school terms.

Public elementary schools for blacks started receiving money from the state by 1910. By the 1930s public secondary schools had been established for blacks. Many of the schools taught primary and secondary students. The Division of Negro Education, an agency created in 1921, was set up to supervise black public schools. Nathan C. Newbold, a white former educator, became the first state agent to oversee Negro schools (Crow, et al., 1992). Newbold compared course offerings of Reynolds High School for white students to Atkins High School for black students. He found that college preparatory courses were the same at both schools, but black women also were taught "maid service" (p. 134). The following chart
points out expectations of school leaders regarding the education of blacks and whites in 1931 (Crow et al., 1992, p. 135)

Table 2.1 Vocational Training for Young Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical drawing</td>
<td>Auto mechanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet metal</td>
<td>Barbering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton mill math</td>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco manufacturing</td>
<td>Carpentry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Chauffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture manufacturing</td>
<td>Janitorial services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such course offerings reiterated what Robert Dabney, a Presbyterian minister, is reported to have said regarding the education of blacks: ...[blacks would develop] "foolish and impossible" ambitions and would become disinterested in their "true calling, manual labor" (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 170).

**Conditions of Black Schools**

Newbold, head of the Division of Negro Education, reported the conditions of black schools as "pathetic" (Crow, et al., p. 135). According to Raffel (2002):

In the South black children were openly short-changed in per capita pupil allocations and in every other educational resource. We knew of no publicly financed segregated
black school that could conceivably be considered the equivalent of its white counterpart. It seemed self-evident that segregation was the malfunction in the system that relegated blacks to inferior educational status. (p. 22)

Blacks put up with poor, frugal semblances of facilities doled out to them in order to educate their children. Because of their efforts, great teachers, ministers, and lawyers became leaders in their communities. One such leader was Booker T. Washington, a former slave. Washington is said to have described his experience at Tuskegee Institute as one where often a student held an umbrella over him while he taught because the building was in such poor condition. Washington (2004) reported:

During the first months that I boarded and taught in the shack, it leaked whenever it rained. More than once, my landlady held an umbrella over me while I ate breakfast. During class, one of the students would leave his lessons and hold an umbrella over me while I heard the other students recite. Our library and reading room were in one corner of the shack. The whole thing occupied a space about five by twelve feet.

(p. 65)

W. E. B. DuBois experienced something similar. DuBois (1994) reported:
The schoolhouse was a log hut, where Colonel Wheeler used to shelter his corn. It sat in a lot behind a rail fence and thorn bushes, near the sweetest of springs. There was an entrance where a door once was, and within a massive rickety fireplace; great chinks between the logs served as windows. Furniture was scarce. A pale blackboard crouched in the corner. My desk was made of three boards, reinforced at critical points, and my chair, borrowed from the landlady, had to be returned every night.
Seats for the children—these puzzled me much. I was haunted by a New England vision of neat little desks and chairs, but alas! The reality was rough plank benches without backs, and at times without legs. (p. 39)

Newbold, a state school official in North Carolina who was appointed to oversee Negro education, reported the conditions of black rural education in 1913. He said:

The average [N]egro rural schoolhouse is really a disgrace to an independent, civilized people. To one who does not know our history, these school-houses, though mute, would tell in unmistakable terms a story of injustice, inhumanity and neglect on the part of our white people. (Anderson, 1988, p. 183)

Even though blacks in the South were treated very unfairly and suffered much, they trudged on in their quest to become educated. According to William Briggs, an American Missionary Association leader in North Carolina, "the freedmen saw knowledge as power to determine their own future" (Davis, 1996, p. 12).

Jonathan Kozol (1991), documented the "savage inequalities" that existed in America thirty-seven years after the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision. His research included urban schools where ninety-five to ninety-nine percent of students were nonwhite. His description of the schools he visited resemble the descriptions above regarding school facilities in the past. Funding inequity was also prevalent as well as blatant racism and classism toward poor black and Hispanic students. Such disregard mirrors events that also occurred in the past.
Opposition to Black Education

The planter class disagreed with providing education for ex-slaves. They needed blacks to work on their plantations and thwarted plans for education to keep blacks submissive to their authority. "Planters, however, generally favored a policy of strict labor control and discouraged the education of freedmen" (Anderson, 1988, p. 21). The majority of southern planters "... did not believe in giving the Negro any education" (Anderson, 1988, p. 22). Anderson (1988) continued:

Virginia planters in 1865 were seeking to prevent Negro parents from sending their children to school by threatening to put them out of their houses. Alabama whites who employed ex-slaves as domestics would terminate the employment of servants whose children attended school. (p. 23)

Planters included people who owned large plantations with more than twenty slaves. They were public officials, doctors, lawyers, and businessmen (www.learnnc.org). Some ex-slaves had labor contracts with planters that included an educational clause. Planters went along with this demand mistakenly figuring the education provided to blacks would be poor. Ex-slaves financed their own schools on plantations.

Many of the freedmen made it a special clause of their contract this year, that they should have the benefit of schools. But the planter was only willing to have colored teachers employed, thinking that such schools would amount to little or nothing. In this they are mistaken, as many of the most prosperous schools in the State [Louisiana] are taught by competent colored teachers. (Anderson, 1988, pp. 21-22)

Although ex-slaves faced obstacles and hardships, their quest for education did not stop.
They continued to pursue education for themselves and their children.

Even though the long-term gains in public education for ex-slaves proved to be small and slow, their organized efforts and ideological imperatives laid the foundation for universal education in the South. (Anderson, 1988, p. 25)

During the 1900s white sentiment for helping to educate blacks waned. Anderson (1988) reported:

Thus historians have revealed only a half-truth in arguing that it was the white South that insisted on a second-class education to prepare blacks for subordinate roles in the southern economy. The northern philanthropists insisted on the same. (p. 92)

An excerpt from the research of Jeffrey J. Crow and others (1992) was quite revealing. They reported:

The clerk of court in Burke County [North Carolina] argued that blacks should not be educated beyond what their tax mon[ies] could provide. In his view, “The white people should not be taxed in order to put money into something that is of no value. Educate a Negro and you ruin a good servant.” The superintendent of schools in Burke agreed. Educating blacks beyond the seventh grade was “a waste of time and money.” “College-educated blacks, he commented. were “more immoral” and had a “bad influence on the other Negroes in the community.” The county doctor in mountainous Mitchell County [North Carolina] stated that blacks were fit only for picking cotton, and they did not need an education for that. Blacks, he asserted, “were much better off a[s] slaves.” The home demonstration agent in
Richmond County called high school education for blacks “useless.” She contended that blacks “should be taught to be better cooks, farmers, and laborers.” (p. 138)

The disdain toward Negroes for wanting to be educated was heartbreaking. A newspaper printed in Windsor, North Carolina, the Ledger (August 28, 1902), was very blunt with prejudice and disregard for Negroes. This statement was published:

> Education has but one tendency: to give higher hopes and aspirations. There can be but one result in educating the [N]egro... We want the [N]egro to remain here, just about as he is - with mighty little change. We want them to become better cooks, better servants, better wash women, better workmen in farm and field and shop. We will cheerfully pay taxes to give him that sort of schooling. But that is not what the [N]egro wants... We pay for a thing we want to get the sort of thing we are willing to pay for... Of course[,] if the [N]egro don't like this he can leave. If he is let alone he will be content. (Harlan, 1968, p. 104)

Just as poignant was the recollection that Pauli Murray, a black woman who overcame discrimination to lead a successful life, had as she described what it was like to grow up black in Durham, North Carolina during the early twentieth century. She said:

> Our seedy run-down school told us that if we had any place at all in the scheme of things, it was a separate place, marked off, proscribed and unwanted by the white people. We were bottled up and labeled and set aside—sent to the Jim Crow car, the back of the bus, the side door of the theater, the side window of a restaurant. We came to know that whatever we had was always inferior. We came to understand that no matter how neat and clean, how law abiding, submissive and polite, how studious
in school, how churchgoing and moral, how scrupulous in paying our bills and taxes
we were, it made no essential difference in our place. (Crow, et. al, 1992, p. 117)

Instead of education, the place relegated to Negroes appeared to be in the area of work. A
farmer from the eastern part of North Carolina was quoted as saying:

I find the best thing for the colored race is work, and keep him at it until he is tired
enough to go home and go to bed. (Harlan, 1968, p. 125)

Despite the prejudice, racism, discrimination, hatred, and hostility toward them, African
Americans persevered in their quest for education and equality.

**Curriculum for Blacks in Post-Civil War Schools**

The question of what subjects blacks should be taught in schools caused much debate.

Ex-slaves desired leadership training. Anderson (1988) reported:

Ex-slave communities pursued their educational objectives by developing various
strata, but the one they stressed the most was leadership training.

They believed that the masses could not achieve political and economic independence
or self-determination without first becoming organized, and organization was
impossible without well-trained intellectuals - teachers, ministers, politicians,
managers, administrators, and businessmen. (p. 28)

Elementary school black students were taught "reading, spelling, writing, grammar,
diction, history, geography, arithmetic, and music." Students in normal schools (teacher
education schools) were taught "this standard English curriculum with additional courses in
orthography, map drawing, physiology, algebra, geometry, as well as the theory and practice
of teaching" (p. 28). Educational opportunities were very limited for Negro students. It was
believed by whites that “Negroes, particularly poor Negroes, were destined for the most menial occupations in society” (Carter, 1980, p. 27). Therefore, blacks were taught rudimentary skills that lacked the rigor found in curriculum for white students.

**The Hampton Model**

Hampton was founded as a normal school to train instructors to teach in the South's common schools. Their teacher training program lasted two or three years.

Hampton was neither a college nor a trade school but a normal school composed of elementary school graduates who were seeking two additional years of schooling and teacher preparation courses so that they might qualify for a common school teaching certificate. (Anderson, 1988, p. 35)

Part of Hampton's curriculum included manual labor. "Prospective teachers of Hampton Institute were compelled to do field work in order to internalize the value of hard work that they were expected to transmit to their students" (Anderson, 1988, p. 48). Manual labor, such as plowing, was part of their industrial teacher training program. The other parts included a strict social discipline routine and elementary academics (Anderson, 1988). The social discipline black students underwent taught them their "true" (p. 49) place in the southern social order. The elementary curriculum included English, mathematics, history, literature, moral science, and political economy. They were not exposed to classical studies because Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a northerner, believed that such training stimulated "vanity" in black students, which propelled them toward high-flown notions of politics and professional life (Anderson, 1988, p. 49). Anderson (1988) proclaimed:

The Hampton faculty taught black students that the position of their race in the South
was not the result of oppression but of the natural process of cultural evolution. In other words, blacks had evolved to a cultural stage that was two thousand years behind that of whites and, therefore, they were naturally the subordinate race. (p. 51)

William H. Baldwin, a philanthropist from the North expressed his beliefs about industrial education for blacks to keep blacks subordinate to whites.

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 heavy labor in the Southern States. The Negro and the mule is the only combination, so far, to grow cotton. The South needs him; but the South needs him educated to be a suitable citizen. Properly directed he is the best possible laborer to meet the climatic conditions of the South. He will willingly fill the more menial positions, and do the heavy work, at less wages, than the American white man or any foreign race which has yet come to our shores. This will permit the southern white laborer to perform the more expert labor, and to leave the fields, the mines, and the simpler trades for the Negro. (Anderson, 1988, p. 82)

**Booker T. Washington**

Booker T. Washington was born a slave. He eventually was educated at Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute where he learned to be a teacher. Washington, like W. E. B. DuBois, taught in harsh conditions. He lived and taught classes in a rundown shack. Washington (2004) reported:

During the first months that I boarded and taught in the shack, it leaked whenever it rained. More than once, my landlady held an umbrella over me while I ate breakfast.
During class, one of the students would leave his lessons and hold an umbrella over me while I heard the other students recite. Our library and reading room were in one corner of the shack. The whole thing occupied a space about five by twelve feet.

(p. 65)

Booker T. Washington was a staunch supporter of industrial education. He sanctioned the type of education for blacks the Hampton Model provided and was an important spokesman for industrial training. He gained national attention when he delivered his speech, referred to as the Atlanta Compromise, to whites attending an exposition in Atlanta, Georgia (DuBois, 1994). There he expounded his beliefs that blacks should concentrate on industrial training and be submissive to the white race to perform manual labor. Washington was referred to as an Uncle Tom, a derogatory label, by blacks because he "catered to his white patrons..." (Irons, 2002, p. 31). The Washington Bee, a black newspaper in 1896, had this to say about Booker T. Washington:

It is a notorious fact, that the utterances of Mr. Washington are nothing more than to make himself rich by assuring the white people of this country that the negroes [sic] place is in the machine shop, at the plow, in the washtub and not in the schools of legal and medical professions; that he [the Negro] has no business to aspire to those places as they are reserved for the proud Caucasian. (Anderson, 1988, p. 65)

Because of Washington's influence with northern and southern whites, Hampton became known for its industrial training. He gained the favor of white philanthropists who supported the Hampton curriculum. Washington eventually became principal of the black normal school located at Tuskegee Institute.
Booker T. Washington traveled to Chicago in May 1911 to meet with Julius Rosenwald, who was president of Sears, Roebuck, to solicit money for his school at Tuskegee Institute. This meeting started a personal relationship between Washington and Rosenwald and provided financial support for educating blacks in the South which would affect many lives (Deutsch, 2011). Washington was criticized by blacks for his beliefs regarding black servitude. He was accused of leading his people back into slavery (Anderson, 1988). Even so, Booker T. Washington contributed to efforts to defend blacks from injustice (Hoffschwelle, 2006).

W. E. B. DuBois

In 1895, W. E. B. DuBois became the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

He rose to national prominence when he very publicly opposed Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Compromise, an agreement that asserted that vocational education for blacks was more valuable to them than social advantages like higher education or political office. (www.biography.com)

DuBois believed in educating blacks to become professionals like lawyers and physicians, those who could help to further the cause of obtaining equal rights for the black race. He referred to those leaders as the "talented tenth" (www.biography.com). Many African Americans agreed with DuBois’ philosophy. They wanted classical education for their children because they believed classical training would pave the way for a better way of life (Anderson, 1988). It was well known that DuBois disagreed with Booker T. Washington about the curriculum black students should be taught. However, DuBois approved of the
work Washington and Rosenwald were doing to build schools for blacks. "He [DuBois] referred to Rosenwald schools as 'the best colored schools in the state' (Hoffschwelle, 2006, p. 124). When asked his opinion about desegregation, DuBois professed, “Negro children needed neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What they need is education” (Bell, 2004, p. 23).

School Facilities

Most Negro children attended school in churches, private homes, stores, farm buildings, or fraternal lodges because many counties would not provide public schools for them (Hoffschewelle, 2006). Schools that were provided were dilapidated, and funds were not provided to repair them. Negro students often had only makeshift desks and benches in their schoolrooms. Historian Louis R. Harlan (1968) related the poor conditions of Negro schools to Negroes' substandard status in the eyes of whites. He wrote:

... in every Southern community the inferiority of Negro schools had a special significance as a symbol of inferior personal status. (p. 20)

He went on to say:

He [Negro child] was a marginal child in school opportunities as his parent was the marginal man in agriculture. But the inferior opportunities were also part of the pattern of Southern racial customs. Education went deeper than dwellings, eating, riding, and spectator amusement in setting the races apart. It wove the tapestry of habit that was draped over the hard walls of caste. ... Inferior education for Negroes seems to have been one of the few things upon which most whites agreed. (pp. 39-40)

Thus, there were great disparities between schools for black children and those for white
Unequal physical facilities clearly existed within the North Carolina public school system. White schools had more abundant space, while black schools tended to be crowded. White schoolchildren enjoyed such advantages as better supervision, greater opportunities for extracurricular activities, better laboratory equipment, better recreational facilities, better buildings, and [white teachers had] lighter teaching loads. (p. 165)

Kluger (1975) described black schools in 1947 in Clarendon, South Carolina as “small, dark, leaking all over, heated by coal stoves that sometimes smoked the children out of the building” (p. 16).

**Expenditures**

Schools for African Americans received strikingly less funding than schools for white children. According to Franklin and Moss (2009), the state of North Carolina spent more money on school buses to transport white students than to provide new schools for black students during the 1929-1930 school year.

Furthermore, Kluger (1975), reported that Clarendon County, South Carolina spent $43 for each black student while $179 was appropriated for each white child during the 1949-1950 school year. Siddle Walker (2001) found similar circumstances. She wrote:

And yet, although the teaching conditions for African American teachers were better than they had been in any previous period because of the efforts of southern states to increase funding to African American schools as a way of avoiding desegregation, African American schools still
lagged behind their White counterparts in state expenditures per child, capital outlays, transportation, library books, and school services. For example, although the average expenditures for African American children increased from $21.54 per child in 1940 to $115.08 per child by 1952, these numbers still compared poorly to the allocation of $50.14 per white child in 1940 and the $164.83 per white child in 1952. In fact, the inequality in distribution of funding persisted despite the fact that the African American school attendance increased twice as fast as the total African American population between 1940 and 1950, while White attendance only increased by 3.1% during the same era. (pp. 755-756)

Bell (2004) reported similar funding practices in Georgia. He stated:
The disparities [of funding Negro schools in Georgia] was shocking. Georgia in 1926 had an average per-pupil expenditure of $36.29 for whites and $4.59 for blacks, and average teachers’ salaries of $97.88 per month for whites and $49.41 for blacks. (p. 15)

It was a known practice of county superintendents in southern states to discriminate and further reinforce segregation in funding schools by counting black children in the school censuses even when those students did not attend school or even if there was no school in existence for them to attend. Hoffschwelle (2006) reported:

When state funds based on the school census arrived in the county, the superintendent and board had complete discretion over their allocation and used the money generated by the black scholastic population to pay for white schools. (p. 16)

Harlan (1968) also proposed that theory many years earlier. Regarding North Carolina funds
he stated, "...they gave the Negro schools a small portion and used the remainder to provide adequate white schools" (p. 123).

**Segregation in Schools**

In the early 1950s, *de jure* segregation was understood to be a state imposed policy of separating children solely on the basis of race. Schools in the South, known as Jim Crow schools, were segregated or set apart from whites and designated for black students only. This sentiment was pervasive throughout the South so that segregation lasted for many years. Some of the most ardent supporters of public education on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line took the position that public education could survive in the southern states only if created and maintained as a dual or racially segregated system. (Urban & Wagoner, p. 166)

Carter's (1980) perception was noted as follows:

In the South black children were openly short-changed in per capita pupil allocations and in every other educational resource. We knew of no publicly financed segregated black school that could conceivably be considered the equivalent of its white counterpart. It seemed self-evident that segregation was the malfunction in the system that relegated blacks to inferior educational status and that integration was the only tool that could accomplish the necessary adjustment. (p. 22) He went on to expound:

…the reality is that hundreds of thousands of Black children are attending all Black or predominantly Black schools in the urban North and South. These schools are woefully inadequate and provide no tools that will enable poor Blacks to become a
Court Decisions Affecting Education

Pre-Brown

Many years before there was Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, the case of Homer Plessy was heard by the Supreme Court. Plessy, a light skinned black man, was put in jail for sitting in the car provided for white train riders in Louisiana. Plessy did not win his case. Instead, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) established "the notion that [w]hite superiority required the separation of the dominant race from inferior races" (Thompson Dorsey, p. 537). She went on to say:

The legal precedence set forth in Plessy successfully created a disproportionate level of social, educational, and economic resources and opportunities for [w]hites for more than half of the 20th century. (p. 537)

Evidently, African American parents became more and more dissatisfied with blatant inequalities regarding their children's school facilities, resources, and course offerings and wanted a change. According to Brown (2005), it was the desire to advance the educational opportunities for black children that led to the fight for desegregation. This fight was taken to the courts for intervention. Juan Williams (2005, pp. 26 – 27) documented the five court cases that became known as the “Brown” case.

**Belton (Bulah) v. Gebhart:**

Two separate cases with the same issues – families frustrated by inequitable conditions in African-American schools – were filed in Delaware in 1951. At the state’s
request, the cases were heard at the Delaware Court of Chancery, a move that backfired when the chancellor ruled that the plaintiffs were being denied equal protection under the law and ordered that the 11 children involved be immediately admitted to the White school. The school board appealed the decision to the United States Supreme Court. Even though the state’s segregation law was not struck down, this was the only case of the five to bring relief to the plaintiffs at the state level.

*Bolling v. Sharpe:*

In 1950, a parent group sued to get 11 young African-American students admitted to John Philip Sousa Junior High School in Washington, D. C. The students were turned away, although the school had several empty classrooms. After the U. S. District Court ruled that segregated schools were constitutional in the District of Columbia, NAACP attorneys appealed. In 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court removed *Bolling v. Sharpe* from its *Brown* decision and rendered a separate opinion on the case because the 14th Amendment was not applicable in the District of Columbia.

*Briggs v. Elliott:*

Named for Harry Briggs, one of 20 parents who sued the Clarendon County, South Carolina school board, the lawsuit was filed in November 1949 by the NAACP’s Thurgood Marshall. Initially, Black parents asked the county to provide school buses for their children, but Judge J. Waties Waring urged the plaintiffs to file a lawsuit to challenge segregation itself. Waring’s 28-page dissent in an unsuccessful district court battle is considered a blueprint for much of the Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown.*
Brown v. Board of Education:

Thirteen parents, working with local lawyers and representatives from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, filed a lawsuit in February 1951 to force children to be admitted to their neighborhood schools. At the time, Black children were required to attend schools that were designated for African-Americans. While the request was denied in the U. S. District Court, the panel of judges agreed with psychological evidence that African-American children were adversely affected by segregation. The U. S. Supreme Court later quoted the findings in its 1954 opinion.

Davis v. Prince Edward County:

After 450 students participated in a two-week student strike to protest deplorable conditions at Robert R. Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia, the NAACP filed a lawsuit in May 1951 seeking the end to segregation in the state’s schools. A three-judge panel at the U. S. District Court unanimously rejected the students’ request, which was appealed to the Supreme Court. After Brown and Brown II, which required districts to desegregate with “all deliberate speed,” were announced in 1954 and 1955, White Virginians launched a massive resistance campaign. In 1959, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors refused to appropriate funds to the school board; the public schools remained closed for five years.

Thurgood Marshall was the lead attorney on the Brown v. Board of Education case. The Supreme Court struck down segregation. The Court wrote (Williams, 2005):

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for
the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of
the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn.
Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the
educational and mental development of Negro children. (p. 25)

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia expressed
similar sentiments. He wrote, "It is the rare Negro child who comes through perfectly normal
and poised under the segregated [school] system (Irons, p. 41).

**Reaction to the Brown Decision**

The ruling in the *Brown* case did not set well with many white citizens in America.
Many southern counties closed their schools to keep black students out. Ten years after the
*Brown* decision many states had not ended segregation. Everett Cataldo and others (1978)
reported how Governor George Wallace stood at the schoolhouse door at the University of
Alabama to keep black students from attending. The Ku Klux Klan revitalized their efforts
to harass and intimidate blacks and those who supported them.

Southern congressmen signed the “Southern Manifesto” declaring the *Brown* decision
as “contrary to the Constitution.” They went out to reverse and prevent desegregation’s
implementation. The only southern senators who did not sign the Manifesto were
Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore of Tennessee and Lyndon Johnson of Texas (Ehrlander,
2002).

On the other hand, John F. Kennedy in 1963 encouraged citizens to give
desegregation a chance. As reported by Cataldo and others (1978) Kennedy spoke and said:

This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people
who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents. …Therefore I’m asking for your help in making it easier…to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talent. As I’ve said before, not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or equal motivation. But they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves.
(p.xiv)

Ehrlander (2005) reported that unlike President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and his administration attacked segregation in schools. He garnered the support of the Justice Department to uphold the Supreme Court’s as well as the District Court’s orders to end desegregation. President Lyndon Johnson got the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed through Congress after the assassination of President Kennedy. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited the disbursement of federal funds to segregated schools, which helped foster compliance although turmoil continued. Orfield and Lee (2006) reported:

The rapid growth of integration in the South began with the passage and enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbade discrimination in all institutions receiving federal funds and ended about the time the Supreme Court began to authorize school districts to return to segregated neighborhood schools in 1991.
(p. 13)

**Desegregation of Schools**

According to Cooper, Cibulka, and Fusarelli (2008), "to desegregate is to abolish racial segregation in schools and other institutions" (p. 405). They declared that most of the time, desegregation mandated the closure of black schools and the reassignment of black
students to predominately white schools where administrators and most of the teachers at these schools were white. Desegregation also meant the elimination of state-imposed racial distinctions as explained by Ravitch (1980). Crow and others (1992) offered this explanation:

...desegregation of public schools in North Carolina was often accomplished in an atmosphere of defiance rather than compliance, and the process was frequently hindered by tactics employed for that purpose....North Carolina's pupil assignment law had prolonged segregation by enabling parents to dictate where their children were to be educated. Under the freedom-of-choice plan, enacted in 1965, school boards opened the doors of previously all-white schools to black children and black schools to white children. The plan permitted a parent or guardian to choose the specific school his or her child would attend. If reassignment to another school was preferred, the school board would either grant or refuse each request on a case-by-case basis. (p. 171)

Freedom of choice plans were used to slow the process of integration.

During the three years in which the freedom-of-choice plan was operative, 85 percent of the state's black schoolchildren continued to attend all-black schools, and not a single white child elected to attend such a facility. Complete desegregation of North Carolina's public schools did not occur until the 1970s. (Crow, et al., 1992, p. 172)

Mississippi was the only state that had no student integration. A total of twelve black students were allowed to attend formally all-white schools in Greensboro, Charlotte, and

Seven southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina still had totally segregated teaching staffs in 1963-1964. Most of North Carolina’s school districts were integrated by the end of 1965 with black students being the ones burdened to integrate. In nearly every instance, black schools were closed to support integration. Sometimes, families had to move, and the once-close black community was not close anymore.

Black students left former all-black schools to attend formerly all-white schools. There students found white principals and white teachers. Black principals and black teachers had been displaced (Fultz, 2004). The absence of black principals, teachers, coaches, and counselors meant students had “no black anchors to hang onto” (Fultz, p. 45) even though students needed them more than ever during the tough times desegregation brought.

Many white parents feared that having a high percentage of black students attend formerly all-white schools would "destroy academic standards, generate discipline problems, and place white children in physical danger" (Bell, 1987, p. 103). Bell (1987) further stated:

But under all the specifics lay the resentment and sense of lost status. Their schools would no longer be mainly white - a racial status whites equated with school quality, even when the schools were far from academically impressive. (p. 103)
Black Teachers

Black teachers were an integral part of educating black students. Early black educators were trained at Normal Schools. Normal schools were created to train adults to become teachers. By 1887, there were normal schools for blacks in Salisbury, Plymouth, Franklinton, Fayetteville, and New Bern, North Carolina" (Crow, et al., 1992, p. 102). Later, colleges and universities provided teacher education programs.

Black teachers encountered many obstacles in their quest to educate black students. Nevertheless, they persevered and endured many hardships.

…African American teachers in the South worked in dismal, unfair, discriminatory positions, but did not allow themselves to become victims of their environments. Rather, they viewed themselves as trained professionals who embraced a series of ideas about how to teach African American children that were consistent with their professional discussions and their understanding of the African American community. (Siddle Walker, 2001, p. 751)

Black teachers were described as being dedicated, whose teaching style was demanding, and as having high expectations for their students (Siddle Walker, 2000).

….these teachers appear to have worked with the assumption that their job was to be certain that children learned the material presented. In this view, teachers assumed the responsibility of interacting with students beyond the confined class periods and interceding when external difficulties could prohibit the objectives they held for a particular child. Teachers held extracurricular tutoring sessions, visited homes and churches in the community where they taught, even when they did not live in the
community, and provided guidance about "life" responsibilities. They talked with students before and after class, carried a student home if it meant that the child would be able to participate in some extracurricular activity he or she could not otherwise participate in, purchased school supplies for their classrooms, and helped to supply clothing for students whose parents had fewer financial resources and scholarship money for those who needed help to go to college. (p. 265)

Indeed, black teachers were highly respected members of the African American community. Black students experienced great success under their leadership. Black teachers were not highly esteemed by the white community once schools were desegregated. As Fultz (2004) reported, “Negro teachers [were] good enough to teach Negro students but not good enough to teach white students” (p. 40). He reported, Charles H. Thompson, editor of the Journal of Negro Education wrote: “even outside the South, African-American teachers were often considered appropriate only as educators for African-American youth” (p. 12). Haney (1978) reported, "In North Carolina, 128 out of 131 white school superintendents believed that it would be 'impracticable to use Negro teachers' in schools under their jurisdiction (p. 90).

Black teachers and principals suffered the brunt of unfair desegregation practices. According to Bell (1987), "black faculty, in all too many cases, became victims of that desegregation" (p. 109). If they were not fired many were assigned to subordinate roles. For example, in Elba City, Alabama a black classroom teacher who had over twenty years of experience was reassigned as a teacher's aide. The same situation occurred for a Montgomery County, North Carolina high school music teacher. Karpinski (2006) reported,
"...almost 500 [b]lack teachers, some tenured and with more than 20 years of experience, lost their jobs in the South because of integration" (p. 246). It was a grim time for African American educators.

Demotions instead of dismissals were more common for black principals. Of the 194 districts visited at least 386 black principals were demoted to a variety of inferior positions. Three of the five black former principals in Iredell County, North Carolina and all three black former principals in Anderson County #4, South Carolina were demoted to classroom teachers (American Friend Service Committee et. al 1970, p. 84).

Salaries of black teachers were less than that of white teachers with similar or less experience. *Southern School News* (1955) reported:

…in Alabama in 1952 Negro teachers’ annual salary was $2,359 in comparison to $2,541 for White teachers. The median income for African Americans statewide, however, was $882 compared with $2,056 for Whites. (p. 2) …in Clarendon, [South Carolina], the average white teacher earned two-thirds more than the average black one. (Kluger, 1975, p. 16)

Black teachers were also affected by tenure laws. North Carolina and South Carolina passed legislation in 1955 to repeal continuing contract laws.

North Carolina formally terminate[d] all teacher contracts and place[d] all future contracts on a one-year basis. The displacement of black educators was part and parcel of the myriad ways southern white hegemony sought to undermine
desegregation and to curtail African-American rights and progress, in order to maintain power and privilege. (Fultz, 2004, p. 42)

*Black Teachers’ Associations*

Black teachers were not allowed to join white teacher associations in southern states (Fultz, 2004), but the National Education Association permitted black state teachers’ groups to obtain membership as separate units. Black teachers formed the Black Teachers’ Association in Georgia in 1878. It was known as Georgia Teachers and Education Association (Siddle Walker, 2001). Black teachers in North Carolina formed their own association in 1881 (Crow, et. al, 1992).

Vanessa Siddle Walker (2001) documented that black teachers in Caswell County, North Carolina were proud of their 100% membership in the state organization. They also published their own local newsletter, held banquets, hosted state and national speakers, and shared what they had learned at professional meetings regarding educational topics.

In Carteret County, North Carolina, black teachers in 1947-1948 were involved in committees that included in-service training, libraries, recreation, and program development (Davis, 1996).

*Black Principals*

Black principals were well respected role models in their school communities. They were direct links between the school and community. They wore many hats, such as counselor, politician, and servant leader. Black principals also helped to raise money for their schools among other obligations. They had teaching duties in addition to administrative
ones, and were often referred to as professor as a term of endearment. Their powerful presence as leaders in schools was lost once segregation was deemed unlawful. Unfortunately, there was a strong relationship between desegregation and the displacement of black principals who were employed by various districts. According to Etheridge (1979), the years between 1954 and 1965 were the most damaging to black principals and teachers. As one commentator wrote in *School and Society* in 1969:

> It is bad enough, many Southerners feel, to have Negro teachers instructing their children, but nearly impossible to countenance Negro principals supervising their teachers. (Fultz, 2004, p. 28)

Karpinski (2006) rightly referred to the dismissal of black principals as the "decimation of [black] principals" (p. 251). She noted the severity of jobs lost by African American principals on page 252. Even these numbers do not include *every* black principal who lost his or her position.
Table 2.2 Totals of Black Principals Whose Positions Were Eliminated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Before Elimination</th>
<th>After Elimination</th>
<th>Time Span</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1967-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1963-1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1965-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1963-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1954-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1968-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1954-1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>1969-1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1965-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1966-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1967-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>1964-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1964-1971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black principals were referred to as “desegregation’s primary prey” (Fultz, 2004, p. 28) and were at risk of becoming non-existent because their jobs as principals were taken from them. Black principals were demoted and reassigned to menial jobs if they were allowed to remain employed. This happened to John Tillery who only served as principal of W. S. King School for two years before he was reassigned to West Carteret High School as a teacher and then as assistant principal. Randolph Johnson, principal of Queen Street High
School for 23 years, was also a victim of this practice. Davis (1996) wrote:

After the high school [Queen Street High School] closed, all of the teachers [four teachers], except Mr. Johnson were assigned to other schools in the county. Mr. Johnson, who had been principal of the school for 23 years, became Director of Migrant Education and Coordinator of Social Services with the County Board of Education. Needless to say, those positions were a demotion for a man who had been a principal of a high school. How sad that his career would end in a demeaning position for a man of his experience. (p. 111)

There were 227 black high school principals in North Carolina in 1963, but only eight remained as principal in 1970. Not only were principals at risk of losing their jobs, the *Journal of Negro Education* reported:

…for a period of approximately two decades, from the mid 1950s through the mid 1970s, African-American school staff at all levels-teachers, principals, coaches, counselors, band directors, even cafeteria workers-were fired, demoted, harassed, and bullied as white communities throughout the South reacted first to the prospect and then to the reality of court-ordered desegregation. No one was exempt.

(Fultz, pp. 13-14)

The removal of black principals from schools almost brought about the demise of black authority in public education. According to Childs (1979), a report published in the December 1969 issue of *School and Society* stated:

The black principal may be a vanishing breed in the South and the surprising cause is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act requires southern school districts to
desegregate their classrooms. Desegregation frequently means closing down formerly Negro schools, and school closings are just the excuse many districts need to fire their Negro personnel rather than move them to ‘white’ (now integrated) schools. Thousands have lost their jobs since desegregation began. The practice called displacement does not always end in firing. Sometimes, for example, principals of Negro schools are reassigned as assistants to white supervisors in central office. (p. 2)

Some black principals were reassigned as coaches, teachers, assistant principals, or as central office staff. Many were not offered employment at all. Karpinski (2006) reported:

In some cases, those dismissed headed special service projects or federal programs - which were terminated when funds ran out or relocated to northern states. Some former [b]lack principals did janitorial work or menial clerical tasks, which perpetuated the erroneous assumption that they were less qualified than were [w]hite educators. Sometimes [black] principals who were demoted were required to teach subjects that were outside their area of expertise, thus making an unsatisfactory teaching evaluation a distinct possibility. In addition, they were often assigned to teach noncore subjects such as health and career education, and some remained "traveling" teachers with no permanent room assignment at integrated schools. (p. 256)

Tillman (2004) reported that 90% of black high school principals in 13 southern and border states lost their positions, and that North Carolina reduced the number of black
principals by 580, from 620 to 40 between 1967 and 1971. Indeed, black principals were decimated.

**Education of Blacks in Carteret County, North Carolina**

Carteret County School Board minutes dated as early as 1872 - present were available for review at the Carteret County Schools' Central Office. Minutes were handwritten at that time. The first mention of colored students appeared in the minutes dated September 8, 1880. The minutes detailed information about white schools and white students first and then provided information about colored schools and colored students. Records show the amount of money allocated for 79 white students as $31.60 and $0.80 for two colored students (Carteret County School Board, March, 1872-January, 1885, p. 12).

County officials regularly conducted a census to determine the number of colored children and white children residing in the area. On January 3, 1883, there were 903 colored children in the county and 2431 white children. Two thousand eleven dollars and thirty-five cents was appropriated for white schools; there was no mention of funding for black children although there were nine schools for blacks in operation (Carteret County School Board, March 1872-1885, p. 24, p. 30). White schools consistently received more than double the amount of money than what was provided for blacks. A ledger entitled School Fund Account - 1879-1884 contained a handwritten account of monies distributed to schools. In January, 1882, it reported the "apportionment for white students was $191.25 while the apportionment for colored students was $88.40."

There were stark differences in the salaries paid to black teachers and white teachers. The average salary per month for white male teachers was $21.48 and $18.98 for white
female teachers. Colored male teachers received $19.48 per month while colored female teachers received $18.85 (Carteret County School Board, 1887, November 30, p. 17). This practice continued as reflected in School Board minutes dated September 3, 1888 (p. 22). Minutes recorded white teachers were paid $2.50 per day while the salary for black teachers was $1.50 per day. Salaries for black males rose to $21.00 in 1890 while they decreased for black and white females. Black females were paid $15.00 per month, and white females were paid $18.30 monthly. However, white males' salaries increased to $23.21 per month (Carteret County School Board, 1890, January 30, p. 38). Salaries for teachers continued to fluctuate through the years. Black teachers were paid less even though their percentage rate for passing teacher certification was higher than that of white teachers. "The Superintendent of Public Instruction for Carteret County, L. C. Howland tested 26 white and 14 colored [teachers] for certification. Twelve colored [teachers] passed [86%]; 21 white [teachers] passed [81%]" (Carteret County School Board, 1882, December 4, p. 21).

There were eleven schools in operation for colored students in 1895 as compared to thirty-four schools for white students. The School Board discussed purchasing books for white students but did not consider buying books for blacks or "Negroes" as noted in School Board minutes (Carteret County School Board, 1897, July 5, p. 85).

School Board Minutes refer to building a "new Negro school for Newport" which would consist of two rooms (Carteret County School Board, 1923, November 5, p. 163), while "The Bogue colored school building was ordered sold for $15.00 (Carteret County School Board, 1926, May 3, p. 295). Minutes also recorded that Carteret County cooperate with Craven County to arrange summer school [staff development] for colored teachers
There must have been decisions made outside of School Board meetings which did not need Board approval because there were no notations found that discussed the facilities or upkeep of black schools. One expenditure record noted the telephone bills paid for white schools whereas there were no records of telephone bills paid for black schools. This revelation led one to believe that black schools did not have telephones (North Carolina State Board of Education, [ca. 1956]).

**W. S. King School**

W. S. King School was established during segregation, years before the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case would take place. Ironically, the outcome of the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Brown* case would lead to the school's demise. This study has focused on the period of transition of W. S. King School from its operation in segregation to the time desegregation was mandated after the *Brown* decision was rendered.

W. S. King School, a segregated school that once operated in Morehead City, North Carolina, provided education for black students in Carteret County who resided in the communities of Bogue, Mansfield, Newport, Silver Hill, and Morehead City. The school which would become W. S. King began in someone's home and was taught by a minister (W. H. Hill, personal communication, July 2, 2011).

Fortunately, in 1877, according to the Morehead City Woman's Club (1982), Morehead City started operating public schools. These schools were funded by the state of North Carolina, including a school for coloreds, which was the way blacks were referred to back then. The school consisted of one room. Its principal was a Methodist minister named
Mr. Whitehead followed by a Baptist minister named Mr. Jackson. There were 78 black students enrolled, and school was in session for two months of the year (Morehead City Woman's Club, 1982). It was located near the corner of 12th and Bridges Street but was later moved to 1300 Bay Street (W. H. Hill, personal communication, July 2, 2011).

Thirty-one years later, in 1908, a two-room free graded school for black students was opened. (This building was given to two African American churches to use as a school. Morehead City was responsible for its school system at this time). Eventually a two-story wooden building became part of that school. It was called the Morehead City Colored School and later, W. S. King School. The two buildings were affectionately called "the big building and the little building" (H. B. Pickett, Jr., personal memento, undated). The big building had six classrooms and an upstairs auditorium. (See APPENDIX H) The little building had two classrooms and a band room. (See APPENDIX I) Restrooms were outdoors in out-houses (H. B. Pickett, Jr., personal communication, March 10, 2013). This school would eventually be renamed W. S. King in honor of Professor William Simpkins King who served the school as teacher and principal for 17 years (Carteret County School Board, 1947, April 14, Book 4, p. 209). Professor King helped to form an organization called the Beaufort-Morehead City Group of Public Teachers in the year, 1924. This group held monthly meetings to discuss education-related topics. Professor King served as treasurer of the group and often shared information he learned at conferences he attended. (Davis, 1996)

Revered Avant held the position of teacher and principal, which was common practice in black schools, from 1908-1913. A. W. Wetherington was leader of the
Morehead City Colored School until December 1919. Professor King served as principal from 1920-1937. J. W. Campbell was in charge from 1937-1941. Mr. Sandy. R. McLendon took the helm at the beginning of the 1941-1942 school year. He remained principal of the school until he resigned in 1964 to accept a position in Greensboro, North Carolina. John Tillery was the last principal of W. S. King School before it was closed. He served from 1964-1966 (Historic Carteret County: 1663-1975, 1975).

The new W. S. King School was located at 1600 Fisher Street in Morehead City. (See APPENDIX J) A groundbreaking ceremony was held in the fall of 1949, and the school opened its doors on January 3, 1951. Dedication services were held on May 13, 1951 (Morehead City Woman's Club, 1982). It was a new cinderblock building with eight classrooms, indoor restrooms, a library, bookroom, teachers' lounge, administrative offices, storage rooms, and a gymnasium which also served as an auditorium (F. M. July, personal communication, July 1, 2011). Students in first through tenth grade attended at that time. Eleventh and twelfth graders still had to attend Queen Street High School (See APPENDIX K) in Beaufort until 1957 when W. S. King began providing instruction in those grades. A cafeteria at the school also opened that year (F. M. July, personal communication, July 1, 2011).

Although the new W. S. King School was a great improvement over the previous school building for black students, it was a far cry from the Wallace School (See APPENDICES L and M) that whites enjoyed. Douglas J. Simpson (2001), a former student of the Wallace School, wrote:

The journey to school was not a problem for Bubba. He walked each day for most of
his schooling, first with his older brother, later alone. Many days he walked down Fisher Street past the W. S. King School, the local school for [blacks], built in 1951. One of his first reactions to the white concrete block structure was admiration for the plain but attractive building. Compared with numerous other structures in the city, it was aesthetically pleasing. But the comparison with the [white] school was less favorable. The Wallace School, built in 1930, was a decidedly better facility even if it was essentially a functional structure. The ideal of separate but equal educational facilities was not something that African Americans experienced in Morehead City. Indeed, the contrast of the Wallace and King schools was so sharp that it is doubtful that any knowledgeable person - or anyone who merely walked Fisher Street - would have made a separate but equal argument. (p. 31)

W. S. King School was in operation until the end of the 1965-1966 school year. Mr. McLendon resigned at the end of the 1963-1964 school term. John W. Tillery was hired as the new principal of W. S. King. Tillery's tenure as principal was short-lived. He served as principal from 1964-1966, when the Board of Education decided to close W. S. King School.

After long and careful consideration, the Carteret County Board of Education at its regular meeting on Monday, March 7, 1966 decided to close the Stella Elementary School [black school] and the W. S. King School - grades 9-12, effective at the beginning of the 1966-1967 school year. The erection of 6 new classrooms at the White Oak Elementary School and the addition of the new classroom wing at the West Carteret High School will provide the needed facilities to accommodate
students who have attended these two schools this year. There are 31 children who live in Carteret County presently attending the 3-room frame building school at Stella [black school]. Approximately 65 students have attended the high school department of the W. S. King School this year. The consolidation of these facilities as indicated will provide a greater educational opportunity for these students, as well as effect a much more economical school plant operation. In addition, the U. S. Office of Education expects progress in closing inadequate schools originally established for Negro students or other minority groups as evidence of good faith in the desegregation of the schools. (Carteret County School Board, 1966, March 7, Book 6, p. 260)

W. S. King School was designated a junior high school for seventh and eighth grade students in the fall of 1966. It was renamed Morehead Central School whose principal was A. H. (Sonny) MacDonald, Jr., former assistant principal of West Carteret High School, a white man (Morehead City Woman's Club, 1982). Morehead Central School served black and white students who resided in its zone. The fate of the principal of Stella Elementary School was not mentioned. John Tillery was assigned to West Carteret High School. He was initially listed as a teacher in School Board records, but he became assistant principal and remained so until he retired in 1980.

According to Walter Childs (1979), “The usual pattern was to close or reorganize the black secondary school. This meant, in most instances, a change in the name of the school and a change in the status of the principal” (p. 32). The American Friend Service Committee and others (1970) reported 188 out of 321 [former] black schools which remained opened in
the districts they visited had the names of the schools changed. "This was most common when schools were named after men and women of special significance to the black community" (p. 52). "Just as school names have been changed, black mascots, colors, and songs have disappeared" (p. 54).

This certainly was the case with W. S. King School. School Board records indicate that, "One school, the W. S. King School (the name of which may be changed to further eradicate its identifiability as a former Negro school) will serve all children" (Carteret County School Board, 1966, March 28, Book 6, p. 261). By closing W. S. King School, blacks lost a necessary familiar social meeting place and suffered another "insulting act of racism" (The American Friend Service Committee et. al, 1970, p. 20).

Desegregation of Carteret County Schools

Desegregation in Carteret County Schools occurred slowly over a number of years. It was not until Julius Chambers and Derrick Bell, who would become famous lawyers, represented several black families in a lawsuit against the Carteret County School System, that the school system began to make changes. These families wanted their children to attend integrated schools (Carteret County School Board, 1965, April 13, Book 6, pp. 198-205).

Freedom of Choice permitted parents to send their children to Morehead Elementary School or West Carteret High School instead of W. S. King. W. S. King lost many students to integrated schools. Below is a timeline of the desegregation process in Carteret County schools (Lee, 1971).

1965-1966 Freedom of Choice all areas. 207 [N]egro students transferred to formerly all white schools. [Four] staff members from formerly all
[N]egro schools went to formerly all white schools.
Newport - one second grade (self-contained)
Morehead Elementary - one [N]egro teacher
West Carteret High School - two [N]egro teachers

This action instituted the general practice of staff following students.

W. S. King School closed (re-opened as Morehead Central), integrated student body, grades 7 and 8.
West half of county zoned for attendance. Camp Glenn and Morehead Elementary 1-6 integrated faculties.
White Oak and Newport grades 1-6 integrated faculties.
Atlantic zoned for attendance.
Smyrna zoned for attendance.

The practice of Freedom of Choice prevailed for choosing between Beaufort Elementary [white] and Queen Street Elementary [black] and between Queen Street High School [black] and East Carteret High School [white].

1967-1968 Same as 1966-1967

1968-1969 All schools in county zoned for attendance. Queen Street High School grades 9-12 incorporated into East Carteret High School. Queen Street Elementary grades 1-6 incorporated into Beaufort Elementary School.
Queen Street [High School] closed.
Re-opened and renamed Beaufort Central School serving grades 7 and
8 for students who formerly attended these grades at Beaufort Elementary and Queen Street School. Beaufort Elementary now serves all students grades 1-6 of this zone.

DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM ELIMINATED.

1969-1970 All students assigned to schools serving residence areas.


The Carteret County Board of Education received a letter from the Atlanta Office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on April 2, 1971 requiring the superintendent of schools to assign faculty and staff "so that the ratio of minority to majority group personnel in each school [was] substantially the same as the ratio throughout the school district" (Carteret County School Board, 1971, April 5, Book 6, p. 402).

The building that once was known as W. S. King School evolved into Morehead Central School in 1966. Once Morehead Central closed, it housed the Morehead City Recreation Center that had a senior citizens' wing. Tiller Middle School, an alternative school, also once used the W. S. King building. In 1994, the alumni of W. S. King petitioned the Town of Morehead City to restore the name W. S. King to the building to honor the school's legacy (H. B. Pickett, Jr., personal communication, August 1, 2011). Town officials eventually agreed, and the grand opening of the W. S. King Community Center was held on October 26, 2000 (Photograph of H. B. Pickett, Jr., 2000, October 26). Today the W. S. King building is home of the Morehead City Parks and Recreation Center.
W. S. King Alumni Association

The W. S. King Alumni Association is an active organization that holds regular meetings and organizes class reunions. Class reunions are usually held for three days in the month of July of every other year. Alumni gather at the W. S. King Community Center for some of the reunion activities. Other activities include a business meeting that is held at a local restaurant, a dinner and dance, a boat ride, and church services. The Alumni Association elects officers and maintains various committees. It is governed by a set of Bylaws. Membership is open to any former graduate or attendee of W. S. King School.

The W. S. King Alumni Association was formed to preserve the legacy and rich cultural heritage of the school, to promote camaraderie among its many students, faculty, and staff, and to enhance post secondary educational endeavors by providing scholarships to descendants of the Alumni and other African American students living in the once W. S. King High School attendance area. (W. S. King School Alumni Association, 2009, August 17)

The W. S. King School Alumni Association provides seven scholarships yearly in the amount of $300.00 to qualified students who attend a trade school, college, or university. Alumni are encouraged to support the scholarship fund to help youth throughout the community to further their education (H. B. Pickett, Jr., personal communication, March 10, 2013).

Afrocentric Schools and Their Driving Forces

According to Donnor and Dixson (2013), having access to a quality education is the foundation for improving "one's life chances in the United States" (p. xxv). They further
asserted, "a 'good education,' particularly for children of color, is essential to individual and collective well-being" (p. xxv).

Afrocentric education has been considered as a way to address the academic and social problems black children face in schools throughout America. Rist (1978) stated:

Our educational institutions have been successful in ensuring the continued prosperity and status of the middle and upper classes, but the poor and minorities have been systematically denied invitations to the American Feast. (p. 261)

According to Solórzano and Yosso (2002), educational institutions in the United States marginalize people of color. They also contend that culture is cited as being a cause of educational failure for those students. Marshall (2002), offered another explanation for the lack of academic achievement for students of color. She wrote:

...teacher candidates in my undergraduate multicultural education course were already expressing exasperation with the discussion of racism in schools and declaring that the real issue to blame for the state of schools is student/family values that align with the culture of poverty. (p. 193)

In other words, the teacher candidates in her class already had a preconceived notion about children of color and why they don't achieve academic success on the level as white students.

It is well documented that black students have always lagged behind white students in reading and math on achievement tests, and their suspension rates have been notably higher than those of whites for similar offenses. Black students also have higher dropout rates and placement in exceptional education classes. Black males also have higher imprisonment rates and are often victims of violence and murder.
There has been discussion regarding the benefits of segregated schools. Many parents have chosen to send their children to independent or private schools to avoid problems associated with public schools (DeCuir-Gunby, Martin, & Cooper, 2011). Green (2008) reported:

Polls show that most Americans believe that desegregated schools are worthwhile, [and] that African Americans and whites benefit from them... (p. 396).

An Afrocentric education is an alternative that some parents seek for their children. Molefi Kete Asante, an African-American professor at Temple University and a proponent of Afrocentric education, explained Afrocentric education as an education where "teachers provide students the opportunity to study the world and its people, concepts, and history from an African world view" Asante (1991, p. 171). He further explained the role of teachers in Afrocentric educational settings.

...[T]eachers do not marginalize African American children by causing them to question their own self-worth because their people's story is seldom told. By seeing themselves as the subjects rather than the objects of education - African American students come to see themselves not merely as seekers of knowledge but as integral participants in it. Because all content areas are adaptable to an Afrocentric approach, African American students can be made to see themselves centered in the reality of any discipline. (p. 171)

"Afrocentric educationists offer methods, ideas, and concepts that are best suitable for reaching students of African descent" (Shockley & Frederick, 2010, p. 1213). They regard appropriate cultural experiences as necessary to improve black communities. A study of
Afrocentric schools by Lee (1992) reported schools "when African and African American cultures are used as a means for educating Black children they flourish" (Shockley & Frederick, p. 1222).

The need to change school culture is another driving force behind establishing Afrocentric schools. According to Lisa Delpit (2002), culture in schools must change to embrace students of various cultures to help them succeed in our educational system

**Voluntary Desegregation of Schools**

The Supreme Court began reversing desegregation decisions in the 1990s. They no longer upheld using race as a criteria for student assignment. Today's schools are resegregating at an alarming rate because of those court decisions. How can this trend be stopped or at least slowed down? This question leads to the concept of voluntary desegregation of schools, whereby, instead of being mandatory, desegregation would be voluntary. In other words, school systems **would** use race to populate schools to achieve diversity. According to Derek W. Black, associate professor at Howard University School of Law and director of Howard's Education Rights Center (2009):

> The goal of voluntarily desegregating school districts is to meet their obligation under state constitutions to deliver a quality education and their obligation under the federal constitution to deliver an equal education, not obtain the educational benefits of diversity. In so far as racial isolation creates an educational crisis that undermines these obligations, voluntary desegregation is not a preference, it is an educational necessity. (p. 2)
Black (2011) further explained:

...desegregation is the only policy with a long and consistent track record of improving educational outcomes for disadvantaged students. For decades, social science has confirmed that the level of racial isolation and poverty in schools directly correlates with the academic achievement of the students in those schools. In short, nothing less than the chance to receive a basic and quality education is at risk in voluntary desegregation. (p. 2)

Students from different backgrounds and races benefit from attending schools that are racially and economically diverse (Eaton & Rivkin, 2010). Therefore, voluntary resegregation warrants a closer look. Derek Black (2011) succinctly stated thoughts that should cause researchers and educators to pause and consider their meaning. He said, "Soon, voluntary desegregation will be the only means to maintain whatever integration currently exists and potentially reverse an overall trend of rapid resegregation" (p. 2). The implementation of magnet schools with controlled methods of populating the student body may be a viable consideration for school leaders.

**Post-Brown**

Students in schools today are more racially segregated than they were before the Supreme Court ordered schools to desegregate (Thompson Dorsey, 2013). Dorsey proclaimed:

In 2009-2010, more than 55 years after the *Brown* decision, the country's public schools reflected an overall school segregation with about 74% of Black students and 80% of Latino students attending schools that were 50% to 100% minority, and, more
specifically, more than 40% of Black and Latino students were attending schools that were 90% to 100% minority ([National Center for Education Statistics] NCES, 2012). (p. 534)

According to Jennifer Ayscue, Brian Woodward, John Kucsera, and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley of the Civil Rights Project (2014), there are schools known as apartheid schools which are attended by 99% to 100% minority students. According to Jones (2014), an analysis by ProPublica reported: "the number of apartheid schools nationwide has mushroomed from 2,762 in 1988, the peak of school integration, to 6,727 in 2011." They also examined 24 years of demographic data from the National Center for Education Statistics. The data revealed that school districts became more segregated once their court orders to desegregate ended, thus undoing most of the integration of schools they obtained.

**The Legacy of Brown**

May 17, 1954 was supposed to be a great day for blacks in America. That was the date of the landmark Supreme Court decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case, the day the Supreme Court declared segregated public schools as unconstitutional. They wrote:

> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. (*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954, p. 495)

The *Brown* decision was supposed to pave the way toward equality for black America. African Americans considered the decision as a victory for the black race. As mentioned previously, the ruling in the *Brown* case did not set well with many white citizens
in America. Many southern counties closed their schools to keep black students out. Ten years after the *Brown* decision many states still had not ended segregation.

The *Brown* decision opened the door for America to reexamine its policies regarding equality for all citizens. The Civil Rights Movement to end Jim Crow and dismantle the system of segregation in the United States was an important step toward social justice and was due in part to the *Brown* case. The legacy of *Brown* continues to bring attention to the plight of blacks in America. It has also made an indelible mark on social and political agendas in this nation by shedding light on the fact that we have a long way to go in regard to race relations.

**Chapter Summary**

Chapter Two provided a review of literature that traced the history of education of blacks in the South from slavery through the 1960s. It included the influence of philanthropists, especially Julius Rosenwald, prominent blacks at the time, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, and the persistence of the black race to become educated. The chapter ended with the history of W. S. King School, a former segregated school for blacks in Morehead City, North Carolina. It also addressed reasons behind the push for Afrocentric schools today as well as the legacy of the *Brown* case. Chapter Three will provide a detailed description of the planned methodology for this historical study to explore the perceptions of former students regarding W. S. King School.
CHAPTER 3
Methodology

Introduction to the Methodology

By performing this historical study of W. S. King School I was able to record the stories of students who once attended there. Although W. S. King was a poor facility with few resources, many graduates of the school went on to become productive citizens in society. They have had or currently have professional careers as attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers, and ministers while others had or currently have gainful employment. I used qualitative methods to obtain the perceptions of W. S. King students regarding how the school impacted their lives and thereby, the community.

Justification for Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research focuses on context. It is important to know where, how, and under what circumstances data came into being (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). As an historian for this study, I relied on many possible sources of data and used a variety of methods such as participant observations, interviews, document review, artifact collection, and personal reflection to capture the story of W. S. King School. Qualitative research is quite descriptive as is historical research (Merriam, 1998). Historical researchers attempt to understand and record the world from the perspective of those who lived in it. Historical research involves examining events to uncover accounts of what occurred in the past (Berg, 2004). It contains quotations from participants to describe their perceptions of their lived experiences. It attempts to understand the meaning individuals construct from their experiences in order to
accurately record their stories. The use of oral history or the recorded in-depth interview was an avenue to ensure accuracy and will be discussed in this chapter.

Qualitative research is concerned with process. It is important to find out how participants construct meaning regarding their lived experiences. Historical research seeks to “recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present” (Berg, 2004, p. 234). It was my hope that this historical qualitative research will confirm that “the study of the past [W. S. King] reminds us of traditions that involved a defined moral and social order to which most members of [the] community subscribed” (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985, p. 647). Therefore, an important question addressed was, “why was that memory of W. S. King School important?”

Qualitative research is inductive. It allows the researcher to develop a theory about what is being studied after the researcher has collected data and spent time with participants. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), “The process of data analysis is like a funnel: Things are open at the beginning (or top) and more directed and specific at the bottom” (pp. 6-7).

Case study methods are part of qualitative research. It involves “systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions” (Berg, 2004, p. 251). Berg lists five researcher skills necessary to conduct good case studies. These skills are based on the work of Robert Yin (1998).

1) The first is an inquiring mind and the willingness to ask questions before,
during, and after data are collected, as well as to constantly challenge oneself about why something appears to have happened or be happening.

2) The second is the ability of the investigator to listen, to include observation and sensing in general, and to assimilate large amounts of new information without bias.

3) Third is adaptability and flexibility to handle unanticipated events and to change data-collection strategies if they do not seem to be functioning effectively and to use alternative sources of data that may be more fruitful.

4) Fourth is a thorough understanding of the issues being studied in order not merely to record data but to interpret and react to these data once collected. The researcher must be able to determine, for example, if different sources of data are adequate or if additional sources are required.

5) The fifth quality is unbiased interpretation of the data. Yin suggests that a good test for bias is the degree to which the researcher is open to contradictory findings.

Qualitative research also focuses on how people make sense of their lived experiences. It records the perspectives of participants. Researchers must make sure that they record the perspectives accurately. As a researcher using qualitative methods in the study of W. S. King, I attempted to provide a rich description of the school and recorded its history with accuracy and integrity so that those who read the research can “...slip the bonds of their own time...” (Hamilton, 1993, p. 45) and descend into the past of W. S. King School.

Because this dissertation is an historical study, the lens of an historian must be
Jacques Barzun (1950) defined history in this way:

History is not all strangeness nor all familiarity. It is as novel and as commonplace as life – which it recaptures – but with its pattern clearer and simpler by reason of our need for intelligibility. To learn that historical events can never be dealt with in bunches, that the things we denote by identical names will not stack like coins of a single denomination, yet to recognize that the events of a given period or purport possess a family likeness – this is to be by way of developing a special sort of intelligence, properly called the historical reason. It is a skill akin to that of the practiced mariner who does not forecast the weather merely from a red sunset or a mackerel sky but from all of the signs combined in one intuitive operation.

(pp. 50-51)

My notion of history aligned with that of E. H. Carr, a British historian. He defined history as “…a continuing process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past” (Carr, 1967, p. 35).

According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) historical research is defined as “a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a past phenomenon for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of present institutions, practices, trends, and issues in education” (p. 644). Therefore, my role as researcher was to systematically search for data to answer questions regarding W. S. King School that once operated in Morehead City, North Carolina. I analyzed data from various sources in order to find out what the school was like and how it impacted its students, and thereby, the community.

Gall and others (1996) claimed that “historical reports are not literal accounts of the
past, but rather what the historian Joan Burstyn refers to as "constructed reality" (p. 644). Documents related to W. S. King that were preserved depended on the likes, dislikes, and biases of the people who chose to preserve them. Even the recording of events is reflective of what the recorder chose to emphasize or ignore (Gall, et. al, 1996). Participants who were interviewed had biases, too. Therefore, it was crucial to record the school’s history based on available documents and records, the views of those who recorded the data, i.e., the principal who wrote a message to students in the yearbook, as well as the views of the interviewees. My role as researcher was to use all the data to answer the research questions and tell the story of W. S. King School.

**Oral History**

Oral History is a history developed around people (Thompson, 2000). As such, in order to tell the story of W. S. King School I had to obtain stories from participants. As mentioned by Thompson, “History, in short, is not just about events, or structures, or patterns of behavior, but also about how these are experienced and remembered in the imagination” (p. 162). As a qualitative researcher, I persuaded others to tell their stories and encouraged them to take responsibility for what they were saying. According to Greene (2003), it is important to directly engage participants in qualitative studies to “gather information about their experiences in their own words” (p. 603) which helped others to understand those experiences and perspectives. Their stories were honored as “data that can stand on its own as pure description of experience or be analyzed [as]…. human experience to reveal larger meanings” (Patton, 2002, p. 478). Ethnographer Clifford Geertz (1973) reiterated this implication by stating: “Thick description is the goal [of oral history], not a single view of
the experience, but a larger number of testimonies that give great variety in detail" (p. 5). It was my goal to record the voices and perspectives of the graduates with integrity to give an accurate portrayal of what it was like being a student at W. S. King School.

**Critical Race Theory**

In addition to analyzing the data from an historical viewpoint, I used Critical Race Theory to examine the role race played in the education provided to black students during the time schools were segregated in Carteret County, North Carolina.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a framework which was founded by legal scholar, Derrick Bell, to examine the role of race in society. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (1995) proposed that CRT could also be used to examine the role of race in education. They examined race and property rights to describe inequity in schools. They wrote:

In schooling, the absolute right to exclude was demonstrated initially by denying blacks access to schooling altogether. Later, it was demonstrated by the creation and maintenance of separate schools. More recently it has been demonstrated by white flight and the growing insistence on vouchers, public funding of private schools, and schools of choice. Within schools, absolute right to exclude is demonstrated by resegregation via tracking. (p. 60).

Critical Race Theory upholds several tenets. This research focused on three of them: 1) Racism is ordinary and an everyday occurrence for most people of color in America. 2) Interest convergence, also known as material determinism, advances the interests of whites, and 3) "social construction thesis, holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7).
Racism

Adrienne Dixson and Celia Rousseau (2006) described racism as being a permanent part of American life. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) proclaim:

Racism is a means by which society allocates privilege and status. Racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs, the best schools, and invitations to parties in people's homes. (p. 17)

They also reported prejudice originated with slavery. Before slavery, educated Europeans valued the African civilization because of Africans' libraries and learning centers. Africans were pioneers of astronomy, medicine, and mathematics "long before Europeans had much knowledge of them" (p. 17).

W. E. B. Du Bois (1989, p. 1) described the importance of race in America by stating, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." Carter G. Woodson acknowledged the effects of race concerning blacks. Woodson (1933) wrote:

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. (p. xiii)

Interest Convergence

Interest Convergence is a term that originated with noted intellectual, Derrick Bell. Bell proclaimed, "the majority group tolerates advances for racial justice only when it suits its interest to do so (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 149). Bell argued that "civil rights
advances for blacks always coincided with changing economic conditions and the self-interest of elite whites" (p. 18). He suggested possible forthcoming domestic unrest by African Americans after the noble way they served this country in the Korean War and World War II. Bell also believed the way the world viewed America regarding its treatment of African Americans brought on the sudden change in the views of our judicial system regarding Brown v. Board of Education. Bell (1980) used Brown as a prime example of interest convergence. He wrote:

The interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when that interest converges with the interests of whites in policy-making positions. This convergence is far more important for gaining relief than the degree of harm suffered by blacks or the character of proof offered to prove that harm (p. 69).

Mary Dudziak, a legal historian, complete in-depth research ten years after Bell's accusations to determine if what Bell suggested had merit.

...Mary Dudziak carried out extensive archival research in the files of the U. S. Department of State and the U. S. Department of Justice. She analyzed foreign press reports, as well as letters from U. S. ambassadors abroad, all showing that Bell's intuition was correct. When the Justice Department intervened on the side of the NAACP for the first time in a school desegregation case, it was responding to a flood of secret cables and memos outlining the United States' interest in improving its image in the eyes of the Third World. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, pp. 19-20)

During desegregation, black children were allowed to attend previously all-white schools, but they often had to travel a long way to get there. White school boards also
opened magnet schools to recruit white students to study the arts, for example, while black students were very few in number at these schools. Therefore, an important question remains, "Did the results of Brown v. Board of Education do more harm than good to African Americans across the nation?"

Social Construction

Social construction is defined as the "process of endowing a group or concept with a delineation, name, or reality" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 155).

... the "social construction" thesis, holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7)

Social construction describes the way the majority group manipulates different races at different times to achieve their goals. For example, the superintendent of a school district may speak badly about or complain that a black principal is inept and not capable of performing according to the way the school district "desires" so that a favored white person who may or may not have the qualifications or experience as the black principal can be put into that position without arousing suspicion to his actual motives.

Critical Race Theory, specifically, racism, interest convergence, and social construction helped to identify prominent themes in the data.

Research Questions

The primary research question of this study was: “How did W. S. King School impact student learning and thereby, the community?” Because it is well-known that W. S. King
produced graduates who went on to have professional careers as attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers, and ministers while others had or have gainful employment, a secondary question was addressed: “What can we learn from examining the past experiences of former students at W. S. King that we may use in educating black students today?”

**Site Selection and Sample**

W. S. King School once operated in my birthplace, the small coastal town of Morehead City, North Carolina. Through the years I would hear family and community members talk about what a great school W. S. King was. I often wondered why that was so since I did not attend there. I also noticed the way students of the school gathered regularly for class reunions. The W. S. King School Reunion remains a very important occurrence in the black community of Morehead City.

Once I began my doctoral studies I realized I had a strong interest in the history of education, especially the history of education regarding African Americans. W. S. King School was selected for this study because it is well known that many of its graduates went on to have professional careers while others maintained steady employment as productive citizens in society. Because I know most of the former students, I was able to obtain good participation in the research study. My desire to learn why the school was and still is held in high esteem in the community was also a driving force behind its selection. “The logic of using a sample of subjects is to make inferences about some larger population from a smaller one—the sample” (Berg, 2004, p. 34). Snowball sampling was utilized for this study. Patton (2002) describes snowball or chain sampling as:
an approach for locating information-rich key informants or critical cases. The process begins by asking well-situated people: “Who knows a lot about _____? Whom should I talk to?” By asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases.

Robson (2002) defined snowball sampling in this way:

Here the researcher identifies one or more individuals from the population of interest. After they have been interviewed, they are used as informants to identify other members of the population, who are themselves used as informants, and so on.

Snowball sampling is viewed as a particular type of purposive sampling, whereby researchers use their knowledge about a group to select subjects who represent this population (Berg, 2004). Snowball sampling allows the researcher to get in touch with informants through contact information provided by other informants (Noy, 2008).

According to Morgan (2008), snowball sampling uses a small pool of initial informants to nominate other participants who meet the eligibility criteria for a study. The name reflects an analogy to a snowball increasing in size as it rolls downhill.

This was the case regarding W. S. King School participants. As I received confirmation from former students about participating in this study I asked those who agreed to be interviewed to suggest alumni I should try to include because of the academic and/or job related success they have experienced (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).
According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), “Determining sample size is entirely a matter of judgment” (p. 236). Gall and others inferred that selecting an appropriate sample size involves giving consideration between breadth and depth. They quoted Patton as he made a case for using a small sample size:

With the same fixed resources and limited time, a researcher could study a specific set of experiences for a larger number of people (seeking breadth) or a more open range of experiences for a smaller number of people (seeking depth). In-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information-rich. (p. 236)

Patton (2002) further suggested:

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. (p. 244)

In order to obtain participants for this study I contacted the president of the W. S. King School Alumni Association and explained my research project. I asked him if he would include information about my study in the Association’s newsletter and/or correspondence and also share with me the names and addresses of alumni who were planning to attend the reunion. I sent out letters explaining my research project to people on the list and included a self-addressed stamped envelope for them to mail a reply as to whether or not they were interested in being interviewed for the research study. I also attended the Association’s business meeting during the reunion to introduce myself, talk about my
research project, and obtain contact information from other alumni who were interested in participating in the study. Having given consideration to the views of the theorists mentioned above and from the advice of my faculty advisor, a sample size of 10-20 participants was desired for this study.

**Data Collection**

*Interviewing*

Qualitative data is data recorded through words (Merriam, 1998). It consists of “direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge” (Patton, 1990, p. 10). Interviewing is key to obtaining qualitative data. Berg (2004) referred to interviewing as “a conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information” (p. 75). Patton (2002) stated:

The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit. We interview to find out what is in and on someone else’s mind, to gather their stories. (p. 341)

According to Hatch (2002, pp. 91-92), there are five basic goals or outcomes of interviewing:

1) Here and now constructiveness – participants’ explanations of events, activities, feelings, motivations, and concerns

2) Reconstruction – explanations of past events and experiences

3) Projections – explanations of anticipated experiences

4) Triangulation – verification or extension of information from other sources
5) Member-checking – verification of the entirety and completeness of the findings, which is a measurable tool of the accuracy of the findings.

One type of interview structure is known as semi-structured interviews. Berg (2004) listed the following characteristics of a semi-structured interview (p. 79):

More or less structured

Questions may be reordered during the interview

Wording of questions flexible

Level of language may be adjusted

Interviewer may answer questions and make clarifications

Interviewer may add or delete probes to interview between subsequent subjects

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for this study so that the researcher was able to lead the interview based on the participants’ reactions and responses to questions. It was beneficial for the researcher to be able to clarify or answer questions for participants when necessary, which the researcher would not be able to do if locked into using a structured interview protocol. A structured interview protocol does not allow deviation of question order, answering or clarifying questions, or adjusting the level of language used (Berg, 2004).

Thankfully, by the researcher having flexibility to adapt to the responses of participants during the interview process participants felt more at ease and were able to “open up” and freely respond to questions. It was important for the researcher to connect with interviewees because “the quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer” (Patton, 2002, p. 341). Because participants live in various
parts of North Carolina as well as throughout the United States, telephone interviews as well as face-to-face interviews were conducted. All interviews were recorded using a digital recording device. I searched after the truth and was open to revelations uncovered. Interview questions were spoken using familiar language that was understandable by participants.

Michael Quinn Patton suggests that researchers should “ask genuinely open-ended questions that offer the persons being interviewed the opportunity to respond in their own words and to express their own personal perspectives” (Patton, 2002, p. 348). Open-ended questions may allow participants to relate and interpret their own stories (Ritchie, 1995). Therefore, the goal of each interview was to obtain meaningful data by asking questions that encouraged the participant to recall and expound upon their experiences, memories, and thoughts regarding W. S. King School. I planned to interview two former teachers of W. S. King who are still alive, but they chose not to participate due to their concerns about their ability to accurately recall events.

**Observations**

Observations are a primary source of data in qualitative research. They take place in the natural field setting and may involve informal interviews and conversations. Observations are used along with document analysis and interviewing to help support the findings (Merriam, 1998). Observations for this study required the researcher to serve as a participant observer. Gans (1982) defines a participant observer as someone who “participates in a social situation but is personally only partially involved so that he can function as a researcher” (p. 54). The researcher spent time at W. S. King School reunion...
activities to observe interactions among alumni and to talk informally with them. Detailed field notes were taken while participating in the W. S. King School reunion. “Observer’s comments” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), where the researcher records her own thoughts and feelings, were recorded in response as part of the fieldnotes. Bogdan and Biklen share the following advice:

The idea is to stimulate critical thinking about what you see and become more than a recording machine….force yourself to read over your data and write a one- or two-page summary of what you think is emerging. (p. 164) Make lots of comments in the margins of your fieldnotes and transcripts. Circle key words and phrases that subjects use. Underline what appear to be particularly important sections. (p. 172)

**Documents**

According to Merriam (1998), “Documents, broadly defined, to include public records, personal papers, physical traces, and artifacts are a third major source of data in qualitative research” (p. 133). Riley (1963) suggests that documents are crucial to an historical study, especially when events can no longer be observed, when informants [participants], former students in this case, may not remember, or if participants have passed away. Merriam (1998) notes:

The data found in documents can be used in the same manner as data from interviews or observations. The data can furnish descriptive information, verifying emerging hypotheses, advance new categories and hypotheses, offer historical understanding, track change and development, and so on. (p. 126)

She went on to say:
One of the greatest advantages in using documentary material is its stability. Unlike interviewing and observation, the presence of the investigator does not alter what is being studied. Documentary data are “objective” sources of data compared to other forms. (p. 126)

A document analysis and review of artifacts such as yearbooks, photographs, report cards, awards, trophies, and other memorabilia helped to capture the story of W. S. King School. It was also important to review historical documents related to the school including school board minutes, newspaper articles published in the *Carteret County News Times*, and W. S. King Alumni Association minutes. Files that were preserved by the Carteret County School System, the Carteret County Historical Society, and the State Archives of North Carolina also were studied. By using this method, I was able to gain insight into the actual workings of the school.

**Data Analysis**

Qualitative researchers must develop concepts to organize and interpret data that will be collected (Gall et al., 1996). “Concepts are terms that can be used to group individuals, events, or objects that share a common set of attributes” (p. 662). Inductive analysis was used to discover patterns, themes, and categories in the data. Findings emerged out of the data once it was coded. “Figuring out possible categories, patterns, and themes is called open coding to emphasize the importance of being open to the data” (Patton, 2002, p. 454). Interview transcripts were analyzed to identify core patterns and meanings (Patton, 2002). These patterns emerged into themes.

I followed a three-stage process to analyze data. This was patterned after the
procedure used by Vanessa Siddle Walker (2001) in her study of African American teaching in the South.

First, I utilized open-ended coding to identify [dominant] themes that emerged from [the interviews]. In the second stage, I coded collapsed categories thematically to achieve a broad overview of the findings. In the last stage, I created new thematic categories that seemed to best describe the relationship between the findings. The final thematic categories formed the basis for the discussion of the case. (p. 755)

**Research, Validity, and Reliability**

Merriam (1988) refers to validity and reliability in this manner:

Ensuring validity and reliability in qualitative research involves conducting the investigation in an ethical manner (p. 198).

Validity and reliability are concerns that can be approached through careful attention to a study’s conceptualization and the way in which the data were collected, analyzed, and interpreted, and the way in which the findings are presented (pp. 199-200).

It is necessary to make sure the question of how research findings match reality. “How congruent are the findings with reality? Do the findings capture what is really there?” (p. 201)

Because this was an historical study, documents and artifacts were studied. I determined if the artifacts and documents were genuine, and if so, constructed meaning from them. Berg (2004) described it this way:

First, you must determine whether a document or artifact is authentic, which is sometimes referred to as external criticism or validity. Second, you must determine
the accuracy of meaning in the material, which is called internal criticism and is related to the document's reliability. (pp. 239-240)

Berg (2009) went on to say:

These issues of external and internal criticism are very important for ascertaining the quality of the data and, in turn, the depth of the interpretation or analysis. Rigorous evaluations of the external and internal value of the data ensure valid and reliable information and viable historical analysis. (p. 242)

I conducted this study in an ethical manner so that the stories of the participants were told. Validity and reliability were addressed by reviewing documents to try to confirm whether the themes that emerged from interviews were accurate reflections of participants’ experiences. I also provided participants a copy of his or her interview transcript to make changes or to confirm accuracy.

**Safeguards against Researcher Bias**

I was born and raised in Morehead City, North Carolina, a small seaport town located in Carteret County. I grew up during segregation. I remember having to enter the movie theater in a side door and sitting upstairs with my friends while white patrons were seated on the ground floor. If we wanted to purchase refreshments blacks went to a small window located downstairs. While at the small window waiting to be served I remember seeing whites on the other side of the window going to the restroom and then perusing the counter to select refreshments they wanted to purchase. We were never allowed to use the restrooms.

Going shopping brings another recollection to mind. My family and I used to travel to New Bern, North Carolina to buy clothes. New Bern is located approximately 30 miles
west of Morehead City. We would go there to buy outfits for Easter or to do Christmas shopping. I didn’t get to buy clothes for school because I was required to wear uniforms at the school I attended.

While in New Bern we would stop for a bite to eat at Woolworth’s. There was a food counter in Woolworth’s, but we were not allowed to sit at the counter to eat. We would purchase our food and stand up near the front door to eat it.

Visits to the doctor were puzzling to me. I was a sickly child. I had a lot of trouble with upper respiratory infections and sore throats. Eventually, I had to have my tonsils removed. Before the operation, my mother always took me to the doctor when I became sick. I never understood why that no matter what time we arrived at the doctor’s office, we were always the last to be seen. I finally understood that it was because we were black that we were seen last.

Scary times occurred while traveling to Raleigh. A very prominent memory I have is about seeing a sign located in Smithfield, North Carolina. It said, “Welcome to Ku Klux Klan Territory” with a drawing of a hooded Klansman sitting on a horse on it. Stories about the Klan burning crosses in the yards of black people or lynching blacks just because of the color of their skin terrified me. I hated traveling through Smithfield. I remember how my father purposefully drove five miles an hour under the speed limit when we traveled through Smithfield, which used to be the only way you could get to Raleigh from Morehead, because blacks were known to have been pulled over by police officers for no apparent reason. I often wondered if they were part of the Klan.

Although I grew up in segregated times I did not attend a segregated school. I did not
attend W. S. King School. My parents sent me to St. Egbert’s Catholic School because St. Egbert’s would allow me to start school at age five. I attended St. Egbert’s from first through eighth grade. I was the only black student in my class every year. There were only a few blacks in the whole school, including me. Although I was treated very well by the nuns who were my teachers, I remember not being invited to birthday parties and sleepovers because of my race. It was back then when I decided to be the best student I could be. I applied myself and did very well. I was the salutatorian and gave a speech during my seventh and eighth grade years. I was also the recipient of the American Legion Award, the highest recognition given at St. Egbert’s, at my eighth grade graduation.

By the time I began high school, W. S. King was closed. (there was no Catholic high school in Morehead City.) W. S. King became Morehead Central Jr. High School. I attended West Carteret High School, which had been integrated for a few years when I began there as a freshman. Even though I maintained an A/A- average throughout my high school years, had great conduct, was very involved in extra-curricular activities, was named in Who’s Who Among American High School Students, and was ranked # 23 in my senior class, I was not invited to join the National Honor Society at West Carteret.

Although I did not attend W. S. King, my sisters did. My sister, Evelyn, was a student there during my early years at St. Egbert’s. Because of her connection to the school I was able to attend school plays, talent shows, ballgames, musicals, and graduation ceremonies. I also attended “May Day” festivities and watched students wrap the Maypole and participate in other activities.

W. S. King was also an important facility for community events. I remember going
there with my parents to get vaccinated and to receive the sugar-cube oral polio medication. Because I did not attend W. S. King I have always wondered what it would have been like to have been a student at an all-black school. Perhaps that is why I chose to attend Howard University in Washington, D. C., which is an historically black university.

Although W. S. King School was a poor facility with few resources, many graduates went on to college and have had or currently have noteworthy careers. Former students became attorneys, judges, dentists, doctors, professors, nurses, advertising executives, business owners, teachers, and ministers while others had or have gainful employment. I was very curious to find out how they furthered their education and where their career paths have taken them.

I also was passionate about learning how the education of blacks in the South progressed through the years. Although studying this history was painful and oftentimes infuriating, I believed I had to do so in order to accurately reflect the conditions of education for African Americans during the time period in which the story of W. S. King School unfolded.

My experience as a resident in the community and my participation in school activities at W. S. King did not detract from the trustworthiness of the study. I was careful to accurately report my findings with integrity and did not allow emotions to get in the way of the truth.

Triangulation of the data, with multiple data sources, increased the validity and reliability of my study. The goal was to paint a holistic picture of the experiences of students who attended W. S. King.
**Ethical Issues**

Precautions were undertaken to protect participants' identities. The information in the study records were and continue to be kept confidential to the full extent allowed by law. Interview data was digitally recorded and notes written by hand were taken. The data was stored at my home. Data was stored on my home computer, and notes were filed and kept within my home. All of the data gathered was and will be kept confidential. No reference was made in oral or written reports which could link any participant to the study. Pseudonyms were not used in place of participants' names. Names were not used at all except for the ones found in public records such as school board minutes or published books.

**Limitations of the Study**

Most of the staff including all of the principals of W. S. King School have already passed away. The absence of the "voices" of former school leaders was definitely a limitation to the study. I was told there are two former teachers still living. The teachers who are alive are very aged and may not recollect important issues involving the school. In fact, they both chose not to participate due to concerns about their ability to accurately recall events that occurred at W. S. King. Therefore, this study relied on former students' perceptions of what made W. S. King a successful school.

Researcher bias was also another potential limitation. Being of African American descent and having grown up in the Morehead City community made this researcher want the story of W. S. King School to be a positive one; however, I was careful to accurately tell the participants' stories without interjecting my own thoughts and feelings.

Participants who graduated from W. S. King School did so over 40 years ago.
Relying on their memories of the school was a limitation. A few people became nostalgic about their former school and tended to glamorize events that occurred.

**Chapter Summary**

Chapter Three provided a detailed description of the planned methodology for this historical study to explore the perceptions of former students regarding W. S. King School. Justification for using this type of methodology was presented. The research process was discussed which included data collection methods and data analysis. Validity, reliability, ethical issues, and limitations of the study were also provided. Chapter Four will present data collected to record the story, impact, and legacy of W. S. King School.
CHAPTER 4

Findings

Ways to successfully educate African American students have eluded educators for decades. Black students remain behind their white counterparts in academic achievement in reading and math, the foundation of a solid education. Educators must find ways to reach and teach African American students to help prepare them for life as constructive citizens in the twenty-first century. Proper education is imperative if students are to experience success in today's society. Because the former all-black W. S. King School was known to have produced graduates who went on to become successful, productive citizens in society, it warranted taking a look back to find out why the school was successful at meeting the needs of its students. The problem this study addressed is, “How did W. S. King School impact student learning and thereby, the community?”

This chapter presents findings obtained from conducting in-depth interviews with 19 former graduates of W. S. King School and West Carteret High School graduates who once attended W. S. King School before schools were integrated. Interviews lasted 30-60 minutes and were held face-to-face and/or via telephone. Interviews were recorded on an audio recording device. They were transcribed and open coded. Categories emerged from open coding which developed into themes. These themes incorporate the research findings. Seven major findings were discovered and will be discussed regarding former students' experiences at W. S. King School. Four findings emerged from the experiences of former students of West Carteret High School which will be discussed as well. This chapter will also include discussion regarding participants' perceptions of having attended a segregated school and
integrated school, for some, as well as their different views about resegregation.

**Old Wooden W. S. King School**

W. S. King School was named in honor Professor William Simpkins King who was a teacher and principal of the school located on Bay Street in Morehead City, North Carolina for 17 years. Five of the participants of this study attended school there. They experienced having been in the old two-story wooden school as well as the new cinderblock school building which still stands on Fisher Street. The following are excerpts from them regarding their remembrances of the old wooden building. One participant expressed:

Well, I started out at W. S. King when it was a wooden school, two-story school. Of course it was very cold. There were pot-bellied stoves for heating and so forth. We had a reading room, but we really did not have a library. We had no audio-visual materials and so forth.

Another participant remembered the wooden school in this way:

We had a two-story building on one end and we had two rooms on the other end of the campus which was all downstairs. We had two basketball goals on the outside. We had two bathrooms, the boys' and the girls' bathroom. One on one end and one on the other end, and they were both outside privies... cold in the wintertime! Whew! No heat, and they were separate from the building. And the upstairs is where we had the auditorium where we had plays and things like that and assemblies. We had a pot-bellied stove that we had to feed with coal in order to keep warm.
Although the wooden buildings were meager, students learned. One former student proclaimed:

But anyhow, for an old school, a wooden building, two-story building, and small building...that school turned out some of the greatest students in Carteret County as far as blacks were concerned. Some of them got their background from W. S. King, and some of them became doctors, some of them became lawyers, and one of them, well, became a judge.

Students endured many hardships at the old wooden school building but persevered to get an education. The new W. S. King School building opened on January 3, 1951.

These findings emerged from the research data involving students who once attended the school in the new W. S. King School building:

**W. S. King School Findings**

1. The principal was an excellent leader who stressed education and discipline.

2. Teachers knew their subject matter, were encouragers who demonstrated care for their students, and were disciplinarians.

3. The new cinderblock building was an improvement over the old wooden school but still lacked amenities.

4. Materials were of poor quality but were utilized anyway.

5. School staff were important in the school setting.

6. The school was the hub of the black community; the community supported the school's efforts.

7. Students remember fondly school events that occurred at the school.
West Carteret High School Findings

1. The principal was viewed as distant by some and caring by others.
2. Some of the participants felt that white teachers did not care if black students were successful academically while others reportedly formed relationships with white teachers.
3. Participants benefitted from attending segregated and integrated schools.
4. Remembrances of the school were not endearing for most of the participants.

The following pages contain a discussion of the research findings with supporting data provided which tells the stories of former students of W. S. King School.

Discussion of W. S. King School Findings

1. The principal was an excellent leader who stressed education and discipline.
2. Teachers knew their subject matter, were encouragers who demonstrated care for their students, and were disciplinarians.
3. The new cinderblock building was an improvement over the old wooden school but still lacked amenities.
4. Materials were of poor quality but were utilized anyway.
5. School staff were important in the school setting.
6. The school was the hub of the black community; the community supported the school's efforts.
7. Students remember fondly school events that occurred at the school.
**Finding 1:** The principal was an excellent leader who cared about the students and who stressed education and discipline.

All of the former students of W. S. King expressed high regard for their principal. One student said, "He was about the best principal I've ever known.” Another stated:

He was like a father to us; he really cared about our students. He was strict, but he would go beyond the call of duty to try to acquire things for us that we needed. And he was supportive of the teachers, had a good rapport with the parents, and he was just good. He treated us like we were his children.

One student stated: "He was, in my opinion, an excellent principal. He was very friendly, and clearly his emphasis was on the students in his care getting a good education." She went on to say:

I liked the fact that he was very personable. He was approachable, and I would say if anybody had any kind of a need or a special need, if they went to him he was there to help them with it. He was more like a, I would say, like a father figure. We were his children. We weren't just kids in a classroom. We were like his family.

One stated: "He was very personable. He knew each student. He knew their families and everything about them," while another stated:

He was one of the great principals, black principals, here in Carteret County. He gave me a lot of pride and confidence in myself. I appreciate everything that he had done for me as far as believing in me.

One former student expounded:

He was an excellent administrator for our school. As a matter of fact, he did more for
a school our size than I think anyone in the same position would have done. In a school where we had approximately 100 students in high school we had athletic programs and just about every sport... So, for him to be able to do that, on I'm sure the limited resources our school had, I think was outstanding. I'm sure he did that because he thought so much of the students, and he wanted us to have every advantage that anyone would have at any size school. So, he was an outstanding leader.

Another said:

He was well-respected by everyone else because he was a leader in the community.

He was one of those voices that declared education and leadership were very important.

One student shared, "He always had a smile on his face, and he always had an encouraging word for each student." Another explained:

My principal at W. S. King was a giant. He left an impression upon me which has lasted all of my life. He seemed very professional, humble, and kind. I don't remember his words, but I do remember his presence. He exemplified professionalism, family, and community.

All of the graduates of W. S. King School stated their principal spoke to them about the importance of education. When asked what things the principal stressed as important one former student succinctly stated, "Learning! Learning!" while another said, "Education. Education, and he taught us good morals, too." Another went on to say:

He was very concerned over the children, over education, and he worked real hard.
You see, our school, when we first started only went to the 10th grade, and he worked real hard to get that up to a 12-year school, and he did that in 1957. He stressed learning and being mindful of your surroundings and things, you know, that would be important to you later on in life, that kind of stuff.

One student recalled:

Education always. Education was the key, you know. He thought that was the way you got ahead, the way you improved your standard of living and made a better citizen of yourself was by having a great education. He offered a lot of things for the students who were under his leadership at W. S. King.

Another student expounded, "He stressed that everybody do their best academically." "He knew education, and he had high standards for the achievement of students who attended W. S. King School," stated another student. One student said, "He stressed mostly education, getting a good education so you could go out in life, you know, and make a difference."

Another former student proclaimed:

He mostly stressed cooperation, respect, and learning. That was cooperating with your teachers. Respecting your teachers and your elders and learning what they had to give us as far as our studies, whether it was math, spelling, science, arithmetic. It didn't make any difference. You just needed to learn, because with the higher education you'd be able to get a good job.

One student shared, "He just believed that we should have a well-rounded education, and that we should get the best education we could at a school that size." Said another, "He wanted us to do our best to learn all that we possibly could. He wanted us to go and do all that we
could to make the world a different place." One student explained:

I liked his fairness, his no-nonsense attitude about discipline, his work ethic, his work ethic as far as having his teachers work hard, doing those things in and out of the school that made the school good. At that point in time, you had to do a lot of fundraising, so not only was he a principal and teacher, he was a major fundraiser for the school to make sure we had all of the supplies and everything that we needed. I admired him for working extra hard outside of the walls of education himself to make education work inside the school.

Another student recounted:

Getting an education was stressed. Discipline was stressed, and also it was stressed that you carry yourself as a solid person. We used to have, every morning, devotion when I was in elementary school, and you were taught those Christian values as well as the book knowledge and also the pride in being an African American. Of course, it was being a Negro back then. They wanted you to be proud to be a Negro, never hang your head down for that.

One participant choked up while speaking about the principal. He said:

Mr. ____ was always talking about the importance of the children there making something of themselves so that W. S. King could be proud of its students. I've heard him say W. S. King turned out preachers and teachers... (chokes up) the importance of learning so that we could be proud of our teachers and our school. Amen.

One former student expressed strong feelings about the principal. He said:

Mr. ____, I think, was one of the great principals, black principals, here in
Carteret County. The man believed in me, and he looked up to me, and I looked up to him. He gave me a lot of pride and confidence in myself. Mr. ____, he really confided in me. He trusted me. He knew that I could do the job, and I often think about him right today, the way that he confided in me. He really gave me hope, and he believed in me. Now he has passed. I appreciate everything that he had done for me as far as believing in me.

Most former students acknowledged the principal as having been a strict disciplinarian. He had a "no-nonsense attitude about discipline," explained one participant. Another proclaimed, "Yes, he was stern. He was a very good principal. He loved to give you a good spanking, and he did!" One student recalled this incident:

Well (chuckle), he had a belt that he used, and I tell you one of the experiences I had was in the seventh grade. I made the mistake of striking a match in class, and of course you know (chuckle), that aroma went around, and the teacher sent me to the principal. When the principal finished with me with that strap, I didn't have any more problems with that.

One student remembered:

He was a disciplinarian. He believed in us doing like we were supposed to do, and he stressed to the young men that went there that we would conduct ourselves as gentlemen... If you did not conduct yourself as you should have at that school... One of the things that everybody dreaded was if you had to go to his office (chuckle) because if you went to his office (chuckle) it would be like you going in front of your father. I mean, he... corporal punishment. He did not mind administering to you...
Like I said, he intended for you to do like you were supposed to do no matter who you were.

Another recalled:

There was a strict side. I found him to be strict as well. He showed me that there was a side of discipline because I had to be disciplined once. I struck another student, and I had to stay after school for about three days. So, he did show me that discipline was also high on the list of things he could impart.

One student recollected:

He believed in treating everybody equally. I remember one time in high school in tenth grade... There was a family that had around 19 children, and some of them had died from some disease, but one of the young men was in my class. I remember us being at the bulletin board and you know how students are with one another. He did something, and I regret to this day what I said to him. I called him stupid or something like that I said to him. The principal said, "You apologize to him or go outside and pick up paper..." He was a very fair person, had no respect of persons. It felt that everybody was somebody, and he pushed us to excellence.

She continued by saying, "He was really strict. You know, he was just strict, and I feared him in the sense, you know, like you would fear your elder." "He stressed... you know, doing right and behaving yourself, not getting in trouble," claimed another student. She continued, "He was strict with discipline, but not, how can I put it, he was not the mean sort of kind. I liked him." One student did not like the methods the principal used to discipline students.
She stated:

It seems to me that some of the discipline that he imposed on students who broke different rules was very harsh. See, during that day, it was okay to use the rod, the ruler, whatever else. So, he had a heavy belt that he used to discipline students with, and he'd have you hold out your hand. I thought that that was really harsh because I ended up getting a couple of those lashes along with several other students, and I don't even recall what the circumstances were, but I didn't like that about the principal.

The statements made about the principal refer to the principal who opened the new school in 1951. Although stern and strict, the principal was well-respected and well-liked among students at the school. His impact has endured through the years since former students can still recall their experiences with him.

**Finding 2:** Teachers knew their subject matter, were encouragers who demonstrated care for their students, and were disciplinarians.

All but one of the teachers at W. S. King School were from different parts of the state or country. Many were new college graduates. They were held in high regard by former students. One student proclaimed:

My teacher saw something in me, you know, that I didn't know was there. I didn't realize then, but I have realized practically all of my, I would say, my adult life, I realized she saw that I was quite capable of handling all of my academics. ...It seems what I remember most was that it was a spirit of excellence. The teachers were well-dressed. There were high expectations as far as discipline and behavior. There
was an overall dignity. I wouldn't say so much pride, but it was dignity in attending the school.

Another student recalled: "They paid me a little more attention. They tried to really help me to learn, to pick up on my reading, especially my reading." "What was important to them was making sure we all learned. They spent the time," offered one student. Another student explained:

She was young, but again, I thought a lot of her, she thought a lot of us, and I thoroughly enjoyed her. She was very good. But you know one of the things I remember most about her, she taught us French. She was an excellent teacher. But one of the things she always stressed was for us to be proud of who we were. Proud of our race. She wanted us to never go out and have our heads hung down because, like I said, we were in a segregated society. Wherever we went she wanted to make sure that we took pride in being who we were and what we stood for. ...One of the advantages we had even though we came up in a segregated school system, those teachers took a vested interest in us and in us succeeding. They were like an extension of your family. The ladies were like extensions of your mother, and the men were like extensions of your father.

One student remembered her science and music teachers:

She was the science teacher, and what I liked so much about her was that she was smart. She was concerned about the learning of students, and I really learned a lot, which helped me when I was off to college to study to become a nurse. ...When I was a student at W. S. King I used to do a lot of singing, and he [music teacher]
encouraged me in that regard and worked with me in terms of preparing for concerts and so forth and assisted me in winning state level prizes for vocal music. ...It was a very supportive and comfortable learning environment for students. The facility was not the greatest, but the caring, the respect, and so forth of the teachers and other workers there for the students really made a difference.

Another student recounted:

The teachery was a couple of blocks from here from my house. The teachery, most of the teachers lived in that teachery. They would always have some of the students come up there. They would even tutor the children. They would have the children come up to the teachery, and they would have class after school up there in the teachery. And, like I say, the teachers they was so interested in us getting an education because during that time it was very hard for the blacks as far as getting a job and going to school or going off to college. And they wanted us to succeed in life, you know. They were giving that good education.

One student stated:

I think they were all great teachers. When I went to school and we were in the segregated schools, you had the very best black teachers in the school system. When you went to a black school you had the best of the best. Each one had his or her own style of teaching, but they really knew their content area. I would think that the smallness of the school made it easier for teachers to individualize instruction to help us individually and their personal interest in each of the students to make sure they did the best that they could. I think that’s the mark on me. They were always
really interested in ensuring that we did the best we could and made it. They tried to
make it fun and make it interesting and make it practical. That helped out a whole
lot.

Another student commented:

A lot of it had to do with their personalities and the way they related to their students.
And they made learning fun. Miss ____, for instance, she was just excellent at math.
She made sure you understood it. And Mrs. ____, when she taught English, when it
came to sentence structure and identifying participle phrases, she made it fun, and
learning was easy under them. ...We had good teachers. They were good, so for a
small country school, we got a good education.

One student recalled:

They put so much emphasis on knowing correctly how to do things because we were
thought of as the lower-class citizens. So, we had to know how to stand on our own
two feet when we went out away from school. So, that is one important thing they
stressed, know your English, know your math, know where you came from, and know
how to figure out something that might need to be figured out.

Others recounted:

She just gave us love, unconditional love. She was so friendly and had a beautiful
smile and still does. ...She was also very special and ended up being my neighbor
across the street in front of me. But very caring, very caring, and she also was one of
those who said, "Yes, you can. You can do it," you know.
They all stressed learning and getting an education. Plus, Mrs. ____, she made sure you used proper grammar at all times. Don't let her hear you go wrong, or you know you're in trouble.

She would help everybody. She would never let anybody else help you with a word. She wanted you to sound it out and use your skills, your phonetic skills. She would sound out words, and she really stuck with you to help you.

Mrs. ____ taught me Latin. She was a very dedicated teacher, and she cared a lot about the students. I enjoyed being in her class because she really tried to get us to learn all that we possibly could. And back during those days you had to do a lot of memorizing, but she was very patient and kind and that helped, because my memory wasn't the best in the world (chuckle) even back during those days.

I think what I most liked about W. S. King was the way that it was more like a family, family-type atmosphere. That the teachers and the students and the principal, all of us worked together to make W. S. King. Although we were lacking in terms of materials like books being passed on from other schools and all that, that we still were able to do very well and to be competitive with the other students we would come in contact with when we moved on to higher education.

People knew their kids were gonna be looked after. They didn't really have to worry about them more or less, and then they were really going to learn something. And the kids knew, too, if you don't do the right thing, when you get home it's going to be a different story.

Teachers at W. S. King School were firm disciplinarians. Some administered corporal
punishment to students. One former student reported:

She would tell us to take out one book, and then the next thing you know she would take out another book. I tried to correct her one day, and she got upset. She wanted to... I think it was me and another student. She wanted to spank our hands with a ruler. I came home, and I got my grandma. My grandma went out there to the school and told her if she wanted to hit somebody to hit her.

Another student recounted: "Miss ____, I loved her because she stayed around the block from me. She would give me a spanking and put my legs through the chair." One student stated:

They all pushed and made sure you did the right thing. Of course, they would work with you at school. If you were a problem at school they would take care of the problem there and notify parents, and you were punished at home again. So, all of that made you a better student, a better person at the school.

One student remembered having to write as punishment. He said:

We had one teacher who was really tough on you. If you missed your assignment, I think she was a little tough on us about things like writing, what was that, the Gettysburg Address we had to learn? It was one of two of them we had to learn, and if we didn't get it right we had to write it 50 times!

Another recalled:

...We kind of hoped we didn't get in their classes, the ones we didn't like, because some of them had (chuckle) ... You could spank a child then. One teacher had Route 66. That was her whipping board. You didn't want to go over there. Another
one had a big heavy paddle. I have to say I was kind of leery of Miss ____. You didn't want to get in trouble in her classroom at all. There was one I called Horse-Teeth, but I got in so much trouble behind that, it was unbelievable. (laughs) I think that was my first corporal punishment. (laughs)

One explained:

The teachers did not play. They would spank your hands with the ruler if you got out of line. They kept you in order. You knew you couldn't get out of line. They didn't put up with it. That's the part I liked best. They were really firm.

Another student remembered:

Mr. ____ gave me 90 licks in one hand, and my hand turned purple. My right hand turned purple. I went home and showed it to my mother. My mother came out to the school and said, "Mr. ____, look at my son's hand." She said, "How would you like it if some teacher was to whip your child like this until their hand turned purple?"

One former student wrote a moving tribute saluting the principal and teachers of W. S. King. His poem, "You Met Us There," may be read in APPENDIX R. Teachers at W. S. King "went the extra mile" to make sure students learned. They are still remembered over 50 years later. They also used corporal punishment for students who misbehaved.

**Finding 3:** The new cinderblock building was an improvement over the old wooden school but still lacked amenities.

The new cinderblock school building provided a better facility although it lacked amenities provided for students at the white school. One participant claimed:

Moving to the new building was like Heaven! And that is where the red floors came
in. We had inside bathrooms, plenty of hot and cold water. It was just a great improvement over what we had. But we still did not have... I felt they could have done a lot better. We should have had wooden floors instead of cement floors that were painted red. And a gym, at one end of the gym was a stage. There was very little seating room in the gymatorium, not the gym, gymatorium which was the auditorium and the gym. The basketball goals had to be moved out of the way during assembly and put back out whenever we had basketball practice.

Other former students recalled:

We really didn't have a big campus. The only thing we had was a gym. Whenever we had a basketball game the parents that came could sit along the wall. They had chairs set along the wall. Most of the students had to stand on the stage because it was the auditorium and gym altogether. We had to stand on the stage. And we couldn't have our football games there because we didn't have any lights. But I can remember there was a football field somewhere up the road where Food Lion is now because it's been so long, but when we played a game at night, we played it there.

The school itself was a cinderblock building. The acoustics were not great in the gymatorium I was told. When we used to have to say our speeches for graduation, I remember we had to project our voices in order to be heard. I do remember in talking about the stage and it having to be converted to handle the other basketball goal. We also had to use it for a classroom. But basically, it was just a cinderblock building, which later after it was converted to a middle school during integration, they put tiles, floor tiles, vinyl tiles on the floor. Our heat was by coal, a coal furnace next to the
Another student expressed:

We had a big field behind there [the school] that we used to practice football. By the time we got to be seniors we even used that field to have day games. We didn't have any lights or anything. If we couldn't get the field from Morehead High School we'd have the games during the day. And for gosh, I don't remember how many years, we had to take our lunches because we didn't have a cafeteria. Finally, I don't remember what year, probably when I was in maybe the sixth grade, they opened a cafeteria, and we had a cafeteria there. We played our basketball in the auditorium. We had a portable basket that you would roll out. You could attach it to the stage, and that's what we used. We didn't have any stands. They took the seats out of the auditorium and put them around on the edge of the court. That's what people used for stands. We had no stands. It wasn't big enough. I don't know what it was; we had a concrete floor, and they put red. I don't know if it was paint or what, but you had to be careful. That red stuff would get on your shoes. It would get on your clothes if you got down on the floor.

Another recounted:

Well, the school that I attended was called a Union School. That means we went grades 1-12. We had the high school on one wing and the elementary school on the other wing. In the back we had a large area where we played athletic events there. We had a hut because the school was not large enough to accommodate all of us. So, they built a supplementary hut. We had two classes out in the back. We had a boys' bathroom.
basketball court, of course, one end looked like a basketball court, but it was a gymtorium. The other end had a stage and a goal on it, so they used to play basketball on one end.

Shared one student:

We had to project our voices [on the stage] in order to be heard [They did not have microphones.]. I remember Mr. ____, who was our janitor who kept our concrete floor that was painted red, cleaned the best he could. Later, after it [W. S. King] was converted to a middle school during integration they put tiles, floor tiles, vinyl tiles on the floor. We had showers in the girls' bathroom. I remember we never used them (chuckle) because they weren't set up.

The new facility provided amenities that were not available at the old wooden school. Even so, the building was still lacking.

**Finding 4: Materials were of poor quality but were utilized anyway.**

Most, if not all, of the books and materials available to students at W. S. King were previously used by white students at other schools. One participant described the books and materials in this way:

Nothing new. Always everything hand-me-down. Maybe one microscope for about 30 kids or 20 kids in the class. Those kinds of things. We were not allocated the same kind of money, I understand, that other schools were allocated per student which made it very difficult for the teachers and administration at the school to do what they needed to do to provide the things that we needed in the classroom.

This participant explained:
The books and materials, the books were used books. I'm sure they were hand-me-downs from the white school. We didn't have new books. We had limited materials like the labs for science, you, know, we didn't have a lot of equipment for doing that. We made the most of what we had. Most of it was hand-me-downs, even the athletic equipment for the football team. Actually, Duke University, from what I understood, gave us all the pads and helmets and shoes. We got all those from, you know, they were used stuff that Duke, I guess, wasn't using anymore, and they sent them down to us. That's how we got our equipment. So, we got a lot of used equipment. We didn't get the funding the white schools got.

Another recalled the books provided for students:

Ugh! They were raggedy. They were written in. We got all the books from the white school that they did not use. Once they got new books we got their discarded books. The books had all the names written... They had run out of spaces where the teacher assigns you books. In fourth grade, my social studies book was torn to pieces! The teachers taped them up, and we used those.

Other former students of W. S. King had similar thoughts. They expounded:

We had books and materials related to most of the course offerings, but they were hand-me-downs. And, as I spoke to earlier, books were written up, the backs hardly on them, pages torn out so that you really did not have a complete text in terms of trying to learn the material that was being covered in a particular course. We did not have the equipment that we needed in the science labs to actually conduct the scientific experiments that the teacher told us about and wanted us to do. We didn't
have money for an activity bus so that a lot of events that we could have participated in, since there was no transportation, we couldn't.

Like I said, our books... We'd have to cover them. The books we had, of course back then, were passed down from the white school. Sometimes we'd take a brown paper bag, a newspaper, or something to make our book covers to cover them to make them look more decent, and I guess to help keep them in place. We weren't the only black school that happened to, but we could have had more supplies. We were missing a lot.

One former student recalled:

    We always got hand-me-downs. I don't ever recall getting a new book while I was there. They were always hand-me-downs that came from another school.

Another student shared:

    We had limitations. Say for instance, the gymnasium that we had, it was a gymnatorium, I think they called it. When we had a basketball game there were not enough seats to seat people. You'd have to put a portable goal up on the stage. We just didn't have enough. The books we had, of course back then, were passed down from the white school. We could have had more supplies. We were missing a lot.

And then we'd have to raise money. I think the curtains and things behind the stage. The drapes or stage curtains, we had to go out. I remember going downtown and asking people to buy an ad to go on this 'ad curtain' for whenever we had a function there at night like a play or something to raise money to pay for the curtain. We just didn't have enough.
One student vividly recalled:

The books that we had were handed down from Charles Wallace High School [white school]. Every now and then as they were not using that type book, they got new books, we got what they had. Sometimes they had their students’ names in them. And, if you were one of the lucky ones you might find a good book. Of course, we had to take care of our books so we wrapped them up with paper to keep the ends from being bad. Other materials, in our lab we had two microscopes. We didn't have an awful lot to work within our science labs. We just didn't have a lot of the things that the other schools had in order to get well-educated in any field almost.

One student shared:

We had to do a lot of things, and we did not have the resources to do them. By the time we got textbooks and those kinds of things they were always six and seven years old. We had a little equipment, but teachers improvised pretty well. They made sure we understood the content.

One male student shared:

When I took Home Ec. I was sewing and making pillow cases and vests and those type things, but when I looked over at the high school, the white high school, they were over there building a boat. And so I really felt they were on a different level than we were as far as materials and things that were provided. And, of course, at the beginning, we didn't have a gym. We had to play basketball outside.

Another student recalled:

We had the worst books at that school! Everything that we got was donated from a
white school. What made it so bad when we got them you know how you could write your name in the front of the book? There would be so many names in there you wouldn't have anywhere to write your name in the book. We used brown paper bags to wrap the books. They were already in bad condition, and then at the end of the year you'd have to turn them back in in the same condition. And if they weren't in the same condition you'd have to pay a fee, which I thought was so unfair. Like in the band, our band uniforms were donated from, somebody told me, they came from Duke University. They were all old, but it was all we had. Everybody didn't get a uniform so they'd have to dress sort of like they were in the band.

She continued:

The only thing we had was a gym. Whenever we had a basketball game the parents that came could sit along the wall. They had chairs set along the wall. Most of the students had to stand on the stage because it was the auditorium and gym altogether. We had to stand on the stage. And, we couldn't have our football games there because we didn't have any lights. The ones we played we had to play in the daytime because we didn't have any lights.

One remembered:

My daddy was a janitor. He worked in a school. I rode to school with my daddy sometimes, and I'd look at the books that were being received by the other [white] students, and then looked at the books we were receiving and realized that we learned from what we got, but we didn't have the same thing they did.
Said another:

Back during those times, you know, we had to learn out of second-handed books which were passed down from the white schools. And we had to learn from those old books. Maybe every so often after whites got new books and they got worn, torn, then they decided to give us those old books. Those are the books that we got our education, out of those old used books which wasn't up-to-date.

Even though books and materials were raggedy and out-dated, teachers and students made the most of the resources provided for them.

**Finding 5: School staff were important in the school setting.**

Several former students paid tribute to the custodial staff and cafeteria workers for helping to make W. S. King School a caring place. One student recalled:

W. S. King was a very important part of the community, not only for us to learn, but ____ ____ was our custodian, and Mrs. ____ ____ was our cook, and she fed us. She took money out of her pocket occasionally so that we all could eat.

Another made a special point of mentioning the custodian. He said:

I want to mention a fella named ____ ____, you probably have heard of him. He was our custodian. He was very special because he tried to make sure that we stayed on the right track. ...I think he was very instrumental in helping some of the students, especially the boys, to stay straight as far as not being truant and doing the best they could and learn all they possibly could. So, I wanted to at least inject his name.

One student recalled the custodian helping during rehearsal for graduation. She recalled:

When we used to have to say our speeches for graduation, I remember Mr. ____ , who
was our janitor. I remember him standing in the back of the room answering
Mrs. _____. She asked, "Mr. ____, can you hear her?" He told her, "Yes,
Mrs. _____, I can hear her." We had to project our voices in order to be heard.

One reported:

We had a nice cafeteria. We had nice cafeteria staff people that fed us real nice. The
school was always very, very clean. It was very, very clean. We didn't have any
trash or litter anywhere on the campus or in the building. The students were
reminded to help the janitor by picking up everything. That made the janitor's job a
lot easier, but you couldn't find dust or anything like that. It was a very clean
building.

Two students spoke of the importance of the cafeteria workers. One said:

Back during the time in which we started school they didn't have a cafeteria, and so,
unless you brought your lunch to school you'd have to go home to get it. Once we got
the cafeteria, boy that was some kind of special because we could always depend on
Mrs. ____ and other members of the staff to make sure that we were able to have a
nutritious meal.

The other student stated:

We couldn't have our football games there [W. S. King] because we didn't have any
lights. The ones we played we had to play in the daytime because we didn't have any
lights. But I can remember there was a football field somewhere up the road where
Food Lion is now because it's been so long, but when we played a game at night, we
played it there. And then we'd come back to the cafeteria, and they always fed the
team and other students who were there pork and beans and hot dogs.

The staff at W. S. King helped to make a difference in the lives of its students. Comments made by former students reflected the admiration they had for those school workers.

**Finding 6:** The school was the hub of the black community; the community supported the school's efforts.

W. S. King School was pivotal for the black community in Carteret County, North Carolina. It was the only public school available for blacks to attend, and therefore, was the hub of various educational and cultural activities. Many former students shared their heartfelt thoughts. When asked if W. S. King was an important part of the community one student shared:

Yes, it was. It was like a beacon lighthouse. It was not only a place of learning, but you had a place of safety. When I say that, if you got in trouble or strayed away or anything, there was always someone there. If you even cut up in school there was always someone there who would look out for you and take care of you. If you were hungry, you got fed. If you needed some clothes, they would buy them for you. If you needed some shoes, they got you some shoes. They would help one another. It was a place of security, and the parents felt comfortable leaving their children there. ...It was a school, but it was more like a second home because you had so many people that cared about you and wanted to see you succeed.

Another student shared:

It was a very important part of the community, I would say. Most definitely. I can look at the students I know who graduated from there, and I would say at least 90%,
if not more than that, became solid citizens. They didn't grow up to be adults that stayed in trouble or you know, stayed in prison. They became solid citizens.

Explained another:

It was the educational arm for those of us who lived in Morehead City. We weren't allowed to attend any of the other schools in the county, so you either went to W. S. King or you didn't go to school. Also, it was a good source of employment for teachers and for others, people who worked in the cafeteria, maintenance people, and so forth, because that gave them state jobs with state benefits like health insurance and whatever else. It really was a very important entity in the community.

One expressed:

It was such a big part of the community. It was the only school for black children.

So, the school played a big part because back then, of course, everything was completely segregated, so that was the only source for being educated that we had.

The community was actively involved in activities at W. S. King and supported the school's efforts.

One student recalled:

My parents very definitely visited the school. My mother was frequently there talking with the teachers in terms of what was going on and in reference to my learning and being disciplined for different problems. They attended the events that were sponsored, the dramatic events and so forth that I participated in like the sports events and any kinds of social events that required adult supervision. They took their turn in terms of participating in that regard.
Another recounted:

It was nice to see the families out there at the football games along the side watching the band. The streets would be full. It was amazing seeing the drum major coming down that side street at W. S. King! That was amazing! (chuckle) It was amazing!

One student shared:

My parents visited the school. They'd come out for PTA meetings and any kind of events that they had. They used to have talent shows. They would have plays. They attended any activity that we were in and whether we were involved or not but just wanted to go. They would always take part in anything at the school.

Explained another:

Every summer we would plant a garden out there on the school grounds, and that garden it would be in the shape of a V, a v-shaped garden. We called that garden the Victory Garden. We'd plant pole beans, green beans, May peas, corn, tomatoes, squash, cucumbers. And we put that garden there for the black families here in Morehead City. During the summer, they would go there and get vegetables from that garden. One thing about back then during that era, in this community the blacks, they were together. They cooperated together. They worked together, and they looked out for each other, and they looked out for each other's kids.

Another student said, "That's where everybody came to after school to play basketball and football, baseball, softball, volleyball, tennis. We had the tennis court out there." One remembered:

My grandmother would come to my plays. She would, when we would have plays or
something that was a night affair, she and the lady who used to live here, Miss _____, on the same lot I'm living on now, the two of them would bring flowers. There was no florist to bring artificial flowers or live flowers. My grandmother and Miss _____ were the ones who decorated the stage and all and things like that. Very, very supportive.

Another recalled:

Parents cared about their children about them getting an education, and they always attended at that time what we called PTA meetings. Parents Teachers Association, and the parents would always turn out to those meetings and if the kids, the students got report cards, which was every six weeks, I think. If that report card wasn't satisfactory, the parents would go to the school and have conferences with the teachers to find out what was the problem and what was going on with the students. Well anyhow, the parents, they were on top of it, and they were very much interested in the children getting their education.

One shared:

It was the focal point. That was the social part of the community. They did fundraising activities and things. They worked together to make sure that they provided as many things as they could. So, not only as they worked and raised money, it was a time that they fellowshipped and socialized with each other.

Shared another:

Our cafeteria, when we did get one in 1957, I believe, '56/'57. I remember there was a Ladies Home Extension Club that would use that cafeteria every year to use that
room for their annual banquet. I remember that Mr. ____, who was a chef here, would be the cook. And some of us were blessed to be selected to assist to be like the assistants and the waitresses and all like that. I remember that was one of the ways the community participated in using the building.

Another stated:

It was a very important part. We had teachers that taught from the community. The school stood out because that's where we had to learn. That's the only school that we had that we could attend. Yes, ma'am, it stood out in the community with all black teachers, and those teachers really put themselves in what they did. (chokes up)

One recounted:

It was the hub for the black folks. We had meetings, community meetings that were held there. And it was just the place... If there were activities going on that we needed to know about, it was taking place out at W. S. King School. We had no other place. The churches didn't have dining rooms or meeting rooms, so the school ended up being the community spot for the neighborhood.

Another explained:

It was all we had, really. We only had one school, and everybody went there. That's why the reunions are so nice because we know everybody because all of us were in the same building even though some people are ten years younger than the others. I feel like the community turned out, especially for the things we had at the school, which was good. Back then our parents supported us.
W. S. King School was a focal point in the community. It was a place that brought members of the black community together.

**Finding 7:** Students remember fondly school events that occurred at the school.

All of the former W. S. King students recalled memorable pastimes at the school. Several students mentioned daily devotion held in the gymatorium every morning while others spoke about the school plays that were performed and assemblies held. One student recounted:

> Of course, we had in the morning, devotion. We would have reading of the Bible, scriptures from the Bible, and then we'd have prayer. It was each morning before the classes would begin. We would have that devotion. That made it so special.

Another remembered: "On Thursdays, we would assemble in the auditorium. We would always say the 23rd Psalm." One student said:

> I remember the lyceum chapel program. We had a program every Wednesday in the auditorium. Each class was responsible for one week for doing the program. I thought those programs were very interesting.

Shared one student:

> I also enjoyed Black History Week. I think it was a week at first, and then it changed to a month. But, we had speakers coming in to talk to us about our history and how important it was to remember our history because that would be our basis for trying to build upon the legacy that those people had left for us.
Another recalled performing in a school play. She said:

I remember being in a play. I played two parts in the play. I remember that very well. Our costumes were not made as they are now. Back then they were made out of paper. Some remembered football and basketball games, the marching band, and the Glee Club while others spoke fondly about preparing the gym for the prom and the prom itself.

One student expressed:

To be perfectly honest, the one thing I liked the most was the Glee Club. I thought Miss _____ and Mr. _____... He was over the band, and she was over the chorus. I thought they were sent from Heaven as little angels because they could make it sound like the chairs were singing while they were singing. It was just beautiful... the Glee Club and the band. It was awesome! Some great singers came out of there as well.

Another remembered: "My brother was on the football team, and I remember going to some of the football games. I remember we had concerts. The band played; the Glee Club sang."

One student reminisced:

The band, it would start right on the side street there right by the house on 16th Street. And it was just glorious. It was just glorious. Then I learned later we were wearing the uniforms from Duke University. They just took the D off and put an M on there.

It was wonderful, just wonderful!

Another said:

Now the band was really, really something I enjoyed. I learned to play the clarinet.
Our band was small, but we got out there and participated with the other large bands.

We just stretched out (chuckle) to make ourselves look larger.

A student spoke about preparing for the prom. She shared:

In high school there was the Junior and Senior Prom, and for us, those events were held at school in the gym. So, there was always the excitement and fun of getting the gym decorated for the big night.

Another stated:

One of the memorable things was when we were juniors. The juniors had to sponsor the prom, and back then we had to buy everything. We had to do everything. We used part of school hours to decorate. We went down after school. I believe we went down on Saturdays. It was something you never would forget because it was a part of you.

Many students talked about the various extra-curricular activities available at the school such as the Glee Club, the Drama Club, the School Patrol, and the Student Government Association among others. One club, in particular, the Crown and Scepter Club, was noted several times. The Crown and Scepter Club was an honor society.

One student recalled:

First and foremost, I adored the Crown and Scepter Club. I just looked forward to being able to get those ribbons tied into my hair. So, when we made the transition from W. S. King to Morehead Central what they would do to recognize academic excellence just dimmed in comparison to what I was looking forward to.

Another student explained:
To me, especially in my class, we were in competition to see who was the smartest, or who could do this the best, or whatever. Whoever got the best grades, we were always trying to outdo one another, which I think helped us. We had the Crown and Scepter Club back then. They had initiation service, and it was an honor to be picked to join that club, but you had to be smart.

One shared:

There was the choir and all kinds of clubs like Crown and Scepter and other kinds of scholarly types of clubs. We had specialty clubs, like you know, the ones focusing on music, those focusing on science, those focusing on sports, and literary clubs, book clubs, and so forth.

Another remembered:

We had football, the Charm Club, Drama Club, oh my gracious, the Glee Club, the band, and the Home Economics Club. The Home Economics Club was beyond just the regular home economics. The boys went in there, too, and took it because we didn't have woodworking and those type things that guys would take up because we didn't have that in our curriculum and facility to handle it.

The event mentioned by every participant was May Day. May Day was an annual event held to celebrate spring. Classes were canceled that day so that students could participate in various outdoor activities. The following are excerpts from some of the former students about their May Day experiences:

Another thing I just loved was May Day, the May Day Festival. The flagpole was wrapped. Pastels were used to decorate. Pastel colors in the crepe paper. I think that
the Queen's court, the Homecoming Queen's Court was made up of the students with the highest averages, I think, in each grade because I believe I was in the Queen's Court. I will never forget that mint green dress that my mother had me wear, you know.

Well, May Day is (chuckle) very special to me because we would end up wrapping the Maypole, and we would have music. We would dress up in our costumes, and you know money was tight, but still our parents did all they could to make sure we were prepared for that special occasion.

Oh, what I enjoyed the most were May Day celebrations. May Day! The school had a big celebration! We had activities on the lawn...wrapping the Maypole. That was something real big to us at that time.

May Day. I know I was there, but I recall my sister always wrapped the Maypole. I can remember that. We had games out there in the back of W. S. King. Everything was decorated. I remember each class had to wear certain colors of shorts and dress shirts, and the dress shirts were buttoned in the front. I think we had to wear white socks and some color of tennis shoes. I do remember that was the fun part about it. I loved the May Days. It was a big event for the school. Each class had to perform an activity or a little dance. One class, the 9th grade or 12th grade, I can't remember exactly, they would be the ones to wrap the Maypole. Our classes, whatever play we had done that year, we would perform one of the dances from that play. Everybody took a part in it. That was one of their fundraisers, too. Girls would run for
May Queen, and whoever raised the most money was the one who was crowned the May Day Queen.

We had the annual May Day activities that occurred every spring. There would always be a May Queen. We would drape the Maypole, and there was lots of food and fun!

May Day! Oh my, that was the thing. We really enjoyed May Day. Every year we looked forward to doing that... Bunny Hop and all the other things and games and wrapping the Maypole. Like I said, we were small, so we got to participate in a lot of things. I was May Queen once and a runner-up, and that part was not the most exciting. The most exciting was being out there with everybody else.

One of the things that I remember is every year we had May Day in May. It was always a memorable occasion because you got to be out of school that day. All the classes got to do something on that day to be part of May Day.

We always had a May Day. That was one of the highlights of attending the black school that I missed when we integrated. At the end of the school year we had May Day. Each grade level had a theme to, I guess, have a part in the festivities. It opened up with a speech or something like that. I only remember the 4th grade one. That was my last one, I guess that's why. I remember the principal standing on the tennis court, that little paved section, talking to us before we all started.

Each year we had the wrapping of the Maypole, and that was during our homecoming celebration. We had May Day, and each class had to participate. We had the
crowning of the queen. Oh my goodness, we had beautiful floats! We had a parade downtown. I loved May Day! That was my favorite time of the year. I looked forward to that.

Most of the extra-curricular activities were an extension of the curriculum at W. S. King School. Students reported being actively involved in many of them.

The following section details the research findings from the perceived experiences of participants who attended W. S. King School during a few of their elementary years, but because of integration, continued their elementary education at Morehead Elementary School, continued on to Morehead Central Jr. High School, and graduated from West Carteret High School. Only one of the students remembered her elementary school principal. She recalled:

During that first year of integration in fifth grade we had a very elderly white principal. She was afraid of us, and she put all of us in the same classroom. (chuckle)

All blacks were in the same classroom except for maybe one or two.

Students had this to say about their junior high school principal:

The principal was a big old dude, tall. He would come in the hallway and have a paddle in the back of his pants, and when you would be bad he would hit you on your butt or your hand. Yes, he would. He sure would, but I didn't see any prejudice out of him.

The only thing we knew about him before we even got to middle school was that he was a big man, but he was decent. He was a decent guy. He'd just nod his head
because he was a big man. He'd just look at you so you didn't say anything to him out of the way.

The principal there then was Mr. ____. He was a good man. He was a nice big man, scare you to death. He was a big man but a friendly, gentle giant.

The memories of those former students reflected a time when integration had just begun.

These are the research findings pertaining to West Carteret High School:

**Discussion of West Carteret High School Findings**

**Finding 1:** *The principal was viewed as distant by some and caring by others.*

The students interviewed remained at W. S. King School until the Board of Education required its schools to be integrated. Their parents decided to keep them at W. S. King during the Freedom of Choice years even though they could have enrolled them into the former all-white schools. They transitioned into a dramatically different school environment.

When asked to talk about their high school principal each responded differently. One former student recalled:

> I didn't hardly pay him no mind. I never got expelled or suspended or anything from school. I just went to learn and was hoping for a better life and a good life after I got out of high school, and I did finish. (laughs)

Another stated:

> I didn't know him. I just knew of him. I knew he was the principal, so I had to accept that and go on. I think he loved some of the black students, not all, especially if they were participating in sports. He seemed to care more about them than anyone else. It also felt like he was always harder on the black students.
One student explained:

Well, the principals at the integrated schools... It was hard to get a close relationship. I would say they were distant. There wasn't that relationship where they would come to your house and eat. Mr. ____ and the teachers [at W. S. King] would do that. When we went to the integrated schools it all was so distant. All I could do as a student was kind of observe him from afar. There wasn't a close relationship, you know?

Another responded:

Ugh! Mr. ____. I didn't like him. He wasn't a very warm principal. You could tell or sense, everybody knew. He didn't make no qualms. He didn't make it a secret that he didn't like us being there. He kind of did what he had to do, you know, to save face. He was always harder on all of us, the black students. He was not welcoming at all.

One student was negative about the principal but then said her opinion of him changed over time. She stated:

Mr. ____. I didn't really like that man. (laughs) He would suspend you quick. He was stern, strict, hardcore, but fair. He grew to like us. It was a learning process for him as well because you could tell he was an Ivy League person, you know. He didn't have time for any black snotty-nose children with two or three dresses and a pair of pants with penny loafers that were wore out. He had to get adjusted because that was the way it was. Over the years I have seen Mr. ____ and have grown very fond of him.
Another student recalled a softer side of the principal. She shared:

_____ was my classmate. In those days she suffered with epilepsy. Well, because of her seizures she had a different relationship with the principal at the high school. When she would get sick like that it was like, "Get her help right away." She had such a relationship with him until I could even... Say for instance, we had to take a test in the library one time, African Americans. I don't know what the name of the test was, but we had a test. Well, ____ didn't want to, so she fell out on the floor and all this kind of stuff. So, I went to the office. I said, "Mr. ____. ____ is sick. Can I take her home?" And do you know what he did? He gave me his car keys. I did not know that type of relationship existed until that day. He trusted me to take her home and bring his car back. (chuckle) It was times like that that were eye-openers. You know, maybe this man is for real. I've heard of other incidents where he showed a compassionate, a very compassionate side.

One student remembered the principal as being friendly. She said, "In the hallway he would always talk to you. I can see him walking down the hallway talking to you."

Students were still adjusting to being in integrated schools. Students' perceptions of their high school experiences with the principal indicated their apprehension.

Finding 2: Some of the participants felt that white teachers did not care if black students were successful academically while the rest reportedly formed relationships with white teachers.

Students who previously attended W. S. King School commented on how teachers nurtured them and offered extra help to make sure they understood the content being taught.
(See W. S. King School Finding 2). This was not the case when schools integrated as reported by some of those interviewed for this study. One student recounted:

I had Mr. ____. He was sort of a prejudice guy, you know. He'd hit you with his hand on the buttocks and tell you to go this way and grab you like that because he had seen us outside when we weren't supposed to be outside or something like that.

Another shared:

I feel like I could have gone farther in my education if I could have continued to go to an all-black school, because at the school I did attend it was like you were there but you wasn't... You didn't get the push of education like some of the other white students in your classroom.

Shared another:

I believe if I had stayed in an all black school I probably would have made good grades to get into college. The white teachers didn't care if you learned. They put it out there, but if you didn't get it that was too bad for you. They didn't give you personal attention or a little more help to make sure you learned. They didn't care.

One student mentioned:

I took algebra and I didn't do well with the teacher the first year; I flunked it. His thing was you either get it or you don't, and I didn't get it. So, that next year I had to take it again.

Stated another:

I didn't want to leave to go into integration. I didn't want to go, but we didn't have a choice. I realize the importance of being there [W. S. King] because when we were
integrated I felt we didn't get as much attention as we did when we were segregated. The teachers didn't really care that much whether you learned or not, you were on your own, you know. You could go in there and horseplay if you wanted to, if you failed, you failed. No one cared. We lost that sense of belonging we had at W. S. King once we were integrated.

Other participants spoke fondly of their teachers in the integrated schools. One student remembered:

Mrs. ____ helped me with English. She made it fun. Miss ____, she worked with me after school and gave me strategies to help me understand algebra. And another thing, Miss ____, she taught mythology, Greek mythology. So, those were three teachers I had in high school that I thoroughly enjoyed. Just being in their classrooms... because of their enthusiasm and their willingness to help those that didn't really get it. They kind of would hold back and teach you and let the other kids do something else. They made sure we got the basics as much as we could and try to get us caught up and understand it. [The first two teachers mentioned in this excerpt are black.]

Another student shared:

Miss _____. she was my fifth grade teacher. During integration time she was my favorite one that I can recall right now. She stayed down there by Camp Glenn. That's where they had the Little League softball and baseball teams and football. She lived next door, and she invited us in to have dinner with her one time. She always remembered me, you know.
Reported another:

I think my favorite teacher at the integrated school, especially high school, was Miss ____. She was the physical ed. teacher and the cheering sponsor, and I guess by being a cheerleader you get to spend time. I think that is probably the key to any relationship with anybody or any organization. You're going to have to spend time with them. So, that is why I would say she is my favorite because she taught me the importance of punctuality and consistency. There was a biology teacher named Miss ____. I found her to be genuine because she kept in contact with me until she died.

One student expounded:

I had Mr. ____ at the middle school. He was awesome! There was Mr. _____. He was nice. Mr. ____, he was cool. Miss ____, she was all right. She was a home ec [economics] teacher, and she is probably the one who helped started me cooking as well, other than my mom and my aunt. At West Carteret, I really loved Miss ____. She was my PE teacher, and I thought the world of her. As well as Miss _____. Miss ____ from Beaufort. She was wonderful. I had Miss ____ for English, and I had Miss _____. She taught English. Now that was an English teacher. And Mr. ____. I cannot forget him or Mr. ____. You would learn in there, now. You might cut up and joke, but you would learn. He would teach you some math. [Five of the nine teachers mentioned in this excerpt are black.]

Students had to adjust to different ways of being educated. Some formed bonds with white teachers while others did not.
Finding 3: Participants benefitted from attending segregated and integrated schools.

Before public schools in Carteret County, North Carolina were integrated black students were only allowed to attend segregated schools. Morehead Colored School for Blacks (See APPENDICES H and I.) and then W. S. King School (See APPENDIX J.) educated black children in Morehead City and surrounding communities. Many participants in this study attended grades 1 - 12 at W. S. King. There was no Kindergarten back then. As one participant succinctly said, "Back then, of course, everything was completely segregated, so that was the only source for being educated that we had."

All of the participants who graduated from W. S. King School touted the benefits of having attended a segregated school as evidenced by their comments about their principal, teachers, and other school experiences. On the other hand, all of the participants who started school at W. S. King and went on to graduate from West Carteret High School expressed similar beliefs. One student commented:

That's where I first got my beginning. I think by being there it taught me responsibility and respect... a lot of respect because nowadays, "Yes, ma'am" is considered out of the question. You respected your elders.

When asked if it was beneficial that he attended a segregated school one former student replied:

Yes. I say that because of the attention we received in the school. Although we didn't get the books, they were all second-handed, but when we got them we were appreciative. The teachers showed more love for us.
Shared one: "At the segregated school I felt closer to the teachers because they knew me as a person, and they knew my family and my family situation." Another student emphatically shared:

It was beneficial in that it was either attend the segregated school or not get an education. And, while the school was segregated, the teachers worked well with us. They gave us their best.

Recalled another:

We learned respect, and that to me the education was awesome. The other part was just as important if not more so. It taught us how to be responsible, caring people, and the relationships continue.

Explained one:

The teachers, they invested in you. They gave me a feeling of confidence. I probably would not have gone to college had not they been there to influence me and encourage me.

The following are thoughts shared by former students about having attended integrated schools. One student commented:

Attending an integrated school helped me to realize that this world is made of all kinds of people, and we can all get along, because when we cut ourselves, we all bleed red. We just have a different outer body.

Another said, "I'm sure the access to the same curriculum and the same resources that the other students had made a difference." One recalled:

I probably have benefitted from going to an integrated school because this world
revolves around integrated people, all types of races. So, you do benefit from it because you know how to work around them.

Another shared:

Well, times were changing, so I had to roll with the punches. I had to obey. My parents said I had to go, so I had to go. Helpful? Some ways it was; some ways it wasn't. It was helpful because we had more classes we could attend, and we had a big library. It wasn't helpful because extra help wasn't given to students who needed it.

One commented:

During high school during integration and all everybody got to meet each other and see each other. At the same time at the end of the day they 're on their side of town and we're on our side of town. We intertwined with each other just during school time.

Shared another:

All of it, all of it! I think the integrated and the segregated. The mixture of it was exactly what I needed to catapult me to my next level because in my retirement I don't foresee any rocking chair experiences!

One student commented:

I think it may have been beneficial to have attended an integrated school because once you get out into the world you have to be able to deal with people of all races and nationalities.

One student shared his thoughts about his segregated and integrated school experiences:

I think there were benefits to having attended a segregated school. Yes, I do. I think
there were benefits. When I look back on it I think there were some disadvantages in some areas, but I do think it was a benefit because those teachers were not only teachers that just saw you at school. They lived in the communities that the students lived in. They got to know the parents. They got to know you as a person, and they took a vested interest in you being successful, and that, I believe, is one of the biggest advantages that we had being in a segregated school. The teachers wanted us to succeed. They did anything that they could or anything that you would ask them to make sure you were prepared to be successful in life; wherein, in the integrated school, one of the biggest disadvantages is that the schools were so large. You didn't have that personal relationship with the teachers, and the teachers didn't have that personal relationship with the parents. Everybody was scattered around, and you've lost that. It was like a family environment in the segregated school. We were like family members. We have that tie back to that school for the rest of our lives. Like I said, it was a part of us. That school was like an institution that was part of the family. I think we're missing that, I know for my kids. They don't have that kind of relationship with the school that we had back then.

Students valued the education they received at W. S. King School as well as at West Carteret High School.

**Finding 4: Remembrances of the school were not endearing for most of the interviewees.**

As mentioned previously, all of the participants shared fond memories of their school experiences at W. S. King School. When asked to share fond memories about
West Carteret High School their responses were quite different. Some students responded, "None." When asked why, one student shared, "It was not a friendly place. We were not treated fairly at the school. I didn't feel like I belonged." She went on to say:

It seemed to be an air of punishment. It was an air of negativity. It seemed that the African American children were expected to act in a certain way. Back in those days you didn't talk about celebrating diversity. That wasn't a part of anybody's curriculum. So, when you were trying to be yourself it was like it came with a price, came with a price. If you acted out even with a raised fist it was met with some type of misunderstanding or punishment instead of, "Yeah, you know, that's neat how you do it like that. Come on, maybe we can talk about why that is so important to you."

There was never ever that type of inclusiveness. That didn't happen during those days.

Another replied, "I just went to school and stayed out of trouble so I could graduate." The other responded: "I was there because I had to be. It really was not a fun time to me. I just wanted to get out of there." Another student shared: "I really don't recall anything special, but I'll always remember the proms and especially, graduation." Replied another, "Playing sports! I was a key player on the football team. I played until I got hurt in my senior year."

One student resounded, "Graduation Day! I made it through and got my diploma! I could finally experience life outside of Morehead City. I was headed to college!"

Students' memories about their experiences at West Carteret High School were not as impressive as those they recounted about W. S. King School.
Resegregation

W. S. King School operated during the time when everything was segregated including neighborhoods, cemeteries, restaurants, movie theaters, beaches, transportation, water fountains, and schools. In fact, W. S. King School was the only school that African American students in Morehead City and surrounding communities could attend until the local Catholic school started admitting black students.

All of the participants in this study regarded their education at W. S. King School as valuable although they learned from textbooks that were passed down and were outdated by years. As mentioned previously, students also lacked many other resources, for example, having two microscopes to use in science for a class of thirty students.

Many of the former students still gather at the W. S. King School reunions held every other year and reminisce about the good times they shared at the school and the benefits of having attended W. S. King. One would think the participants would love to see schools segregated again based on their responses about their experiences in a segregated school. When asked about returning to voluntarily resegregated schools such as African American schools for boys, their opinions varied greatly. One student shared: "I think that's a bad idea. I think we've come too far, and the education is much better in an integrated school than a segregated school." Another responded:

I don't support this trend. I think that we need to continue to try to work together, to learn together, to live together, and one way to strengthen these bonds is through the academic environment and experience because we start school at a young age and we continue to grow. So, I'm not a strong supporter of that. I think that not only should
the student enrollment be mixed, we need to have a good mixture of people who are teaching and supervising the students in the schools.

One person expressed a similar concern about the staff. She said:

I think that that trend will have its ups and downs, but I believe the choosing of those leaders is going to be the biggest difference in the outcome. The staffing is going to be instrumental in whether a transition like that will bring a positive outcome or negative.

Another shared:

I can see some advantages to it. One of the biggest things that's missing today is the fact that our young African American boys don't have the positive male role models that I had when I grew up. They're just not exposed to them. Many of them are from single parent homes. The fathers are not in the home. So, they don't have that, and they have a strong influence from the streets, so to speak. Having that type of school would give them adult African American male role models that they may be missing now; however, we live in an integrated society, and when you leave school and you leave home you're gonna be working in an integrated workplace more than likely, and you have to deal with an integrated society and an integrated workplace. So, I'm not sure if we totally segregate a segment of our African American children that that would be totally good for them.

Responded another:

I don't think it's a good trend as far as resegregating ourselves, but I do like the idea of perhaps, at part of the journey from K-12, to maybe have the boys separated from the
girls. I wouldn't do that with all the schools, I'd do that with special schools. Like we have a school over in Raleigh now that is set up that way where all the boys are together. I think that is middle school. I think that is a good time to do it, but I would bring them back together when they got into the high school era.

One student replied:

I really don't think it's good, and I know there are probably a lot of people that might say different. The world is mixed now, and we need to have a total mixture of all races because the world is getting smaller. You might find people from different races around you all the time. I think it's best that they grow and they learn how to respect one another's customs and courtesies. That way we don't make the big mistakes by stereotyping any particular race or person.

Another explained: "To tell you the honest truth, unless I know what their curriculum is and what kind of teaching they're doing, I've got mixed feelings about it." One participant shared:

I don't know. I've heard of those studies and that format. You would have to find very talented blacks that would want to go back into the profession, and then you would have to pay these blacks to go back.

One student shared similar thoughts:

It all depends on what they are teaching them. Are you teaching those African American men about there is life and there is a God? What are you teaching them? So, it could be good, yeah, but what are you teaching them? You should have a guideline that says this is what you are to teach these boys.
Another explained:

Actually, I'm not sure it would work so good now in the United States. The reason I say that is because when we were segregated we mostly were with people of our own race, and now there's a mixture. Young people, they're mixed. It would be so hard to pull that apart. The times that we're living in now, I think it wouldn't work too good. That's my opinion. Actually, when I look at some of the children, the way things are now in this area... I have nephews and nieces who have black fathers and white mothers. Which school would they go to? (chuckle) It's different now. I'm not sure that here in this area that that would be embraced too well. I think it would be setting them back and making them feel inferior. It would be a great big question mark, why? In some larger cities it might work where people are still in their own communities so to speak, because here in this block, on my block, I have Mexicans, whites, blacks. We're all intermingled now.

Three participants expressed that resegregated schools may be beneficial. One former student emphatically shared, "I think it's a great idea!" When asked why, she replied:

Well, like I said, they'll probably get more attention with their work. It seems like the good black teachers have a heart for the students, and they really want to help them learn. So, I figure that the young fellas would do a lot better if they had black teachers.

Another commented:

That's a hard one. Well, I will say it can be beneficial to the extent that there are not quite as many kids in one classroom as there are in the public schools, but by the
same token too, in a sense it's like it's taking away from the regular public schools. I guess in a sense it might be a good thing because some kids have behavioral problems. For some kids, a school with a little more academic status would be better for them.

One student expressed opposing ideas:

That's a good question. For the men it may be good because they can teach them not to sag their pants and pull them up and be gentlemen. That might would work, but I don't see why it wouldn't work in integration. I mean, if they want to go back to segregation that's fine, but I think we've come further along in life than that. We don't need to be separate again. I think we need to stay as we are.

Participants' views about resegregation varied greatly concerning key aspects resegregation would require.

**Chapter Summary**

Chapter Four provided the findings of the study based on interview questions asked of participants. Seven findings were discovered regarding the perceptions of former W. S. King School students, and four findings were discovered from the perceptions of former West Carteret High School graduates.

Findings regarding W. S. King School included: 1) The principal was an excellent leader who stressed education and discipline. 2) Teachers knew their subject matter, were encouragers who demonstrated care for their students, and were disciplinarians. 3) The new cinderblock building was an improvement over the old wooden school but still lacked amenities. 4) Materials were of poor quality but were utilized anyway. 5) School staff were
important in the school setting. 6) The school was the hub of the black community; the community supported the school's efforts. 7) Students remember fondly school events that occurred at the school.

Findings regarding West Carteret High School included: 1) The principal was viewed as distant by some and caring by others. 2) Some of the participants felt that white teachers did not care if black students were successful academically while others reportedly formed relationships with white teachers. 3) Participants benefitted from attending segregated and integrated schools. 4) Remembrances of the school were not endearing for most of the former students.

Chapter Five will analyze and interpret the findings using Critical Race Theory with an emphasis on these three tenets: racism, interest convergence, and social construction. It will also offer implications for research and implications for practice.
CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to find out how W. S. King School impacted student learning and thereby, influenced the community. Chapter Four recorded the thoughts and memories of former W. S. King students from questions posed through in-depth interviews which provided a solid foundation for this chapter. Interviews were transcribed and open coded. Categories emerged from open coding which developed into themes. These themes encompassed the research findings. Seven findings were discovered regarding the perceptions of former W. S. King School graduates, and four findings were discovered from the perceptions of former W. S. King students who, because of integration, graduated from West Carteret High School.

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Findings regarding West Carteret High School included: 1) The principal was viewed as distant by some and caring by others. 2) Some of the participants felt that white teachers did not care if black students were successful academically while others reportedly formed
relationships with white teachers. 3) Participants benefitted from attending segregated and integrated schools. 4) Remembrances of the school were not endearing for most of the former students.

Findings in this study were very similar to research covered in the literature review. The poignant descriptions provided by former students of the school, the staff, and of the school's resources combined with information gained from examining various artifacts appeared to directly relate to several tenets found in the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory is a framework which was founded by legal scholar, Derrick Bell, to examine the role of race in society. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (1995) proposed that CRT could also be used to examine the role of race in education. They examined race and property rights to describe inequity in schools. Three tenets of Critical Race Theory, racism, interest convergence, and social construction were identified and will be analyzed and discussed in Chapter Five in regard to W. S. King School, its students, and the community.

Racism

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (Merriam-Webster Online, 1-20-2015), racism is defined as: 1) a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race and 2) racial prejudice or discrimination. Adrienne Dixson and Celia Rousseau (2006)
described racism as being a permanent part of American life while Delgado and Stefancic (2001) proclaimed:

Racism is a means by which society allocates privilege and status. Racial hierarchies determine who gets tangible benefits, including the best jobs, the best schools, and invitations to parties in people's homes. (p. 17)

W. S. King School operated during segregation. It was the only public school available for black students who lived in Morehead City and the surrounding communities of Bogue, Newport, Mansfield, and Silver Hill. Times were very hard for African Americans at that time. They were treated very unfairly in every aspect of life, including education. It was clear that providing an equal education for African American students was not on the agenda of those with decision-making power.

Racism definitely existed while W. S. King School was in operation. Although the North Carolina General Assembly sanctioned separate but equal educational systems for black and white students in 1868 (Crow, et al., 1992) things were separate but very unequal for students at W. S. King. It seemed that society in Carteret County decided that white students were the ones to have the best schools and that black students were to take their places as second-rate citizens and accept whatever was provided for them.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Nathan Newbold, a state school official in North Carolina who oversaw Negro education, reported the conditions of black rural education in 1913. He said:

The average [N]egro rural schoolhouse is really a disgrace to an independent, civilized people. To one who does not know our history, these schoolhouses, though
mute, would tell in unmistakable terms a story of injustice, inhumanity, and neglect on the part of our white people. (Anderson, 1988, p. 183)

Examples of schoolhouses similar to those mentioned by Newbold that once existed in Carteret County can be viewed in APPENDICES N-Q.

One eye-opening example of inequity was the new facility built to house W. S. King School (See APPENDIX J). The new W. S. King School, built of cinderblocks which opened in 1951, is a far cry from the brick school built 22 years earlier in 1929 for white students (See APPENDICES L and M). According to a building survey by the state of North Carolina, (See APPENDIX L), the Morehead City Graded School for Whites had an auditorium that would seat 1000, a lunchroom, and a gymnasium. W. S. King School did not open with a cafeteria included. It was added several years later. It also did not have a separate auditorium or gymnasium. Its gymnasium, which was built too small for students and guests to comfortably watch basketball games played or for players to have access to two goals on the court, had to also serve as an auditorium by moving a portable basketball goal on and off the stage depending on how the space was being utilized.

Furthermore, the Board of Education at that time saw it fit not to finish the shower stalls in the girls' bathroom. Shared one participant, "We had showers in the girls' bathroom. I remember we never used them (chuckle) because they weren't set up." They also decided not to install tile or wood floors at W. S. King School. Instead, W. S. King had concrete floors which were painted red. Students' shoes and clothing got damaged because of that decision. "Oh, those cement floors with that red paint. That red would get all over your clothes," recounted one former student. The graded school for whites had hardwood floors.
Such discrepancies were common regarding Negro schools. School funds were not equally distributed which resulted in black schools having poor facilities.

Curriculum for black and white students also differed. In 1931, Nathan Newbold, supervisor of black public schools, gave a speech to compare curriculum at two Winston Salem high schools, Reynolds High School for white students and Atkins High School for black students (See Table 2.1). The table showed the differences between course offerings for black and white students at the two high schools. Newbold reported that college preparatory courses were the same at both schools, but black women were also taught "maid service" (Crow, Escott, & Hatley, 1992, p. 134), once again alluding to the notion of training blacks to work in servant roles in society, or "...their true calling, manual labor," according to Robert Dabney, a Presbyterian minister (Urban & Wagoner, 2009, p. 170). Such actions appeared to promote the superiority of whites by offering them classes that would help them obtain better-paying jobs.

Similar contrasts were observed involving the curriculum and educational services provided to students attending W. S. King School and those who attended Morehead City Graded School for Whites. In the North Carolina School Building Survey dated 1949, the graded school offered courses in business education, industrial arts, art, home economics, physics, biology, music, and physical education. It also provided audio-visual education, a central library for high school students, health clinics, and a guidance program. The curriculum for W. S. King was different. According to the North Carolina School Building Survey dated 1949 (See APPENDIX H), W. S. King School for Blacks offered art, home economics, biology, music, and physical education. It also offered audio-visual education
and health clinics. They were not afforded opportunities to learn business education, industrial arts, or physics. They did not have a library nor was a guidance program available.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, one former W. S. King graduate said that he knew it was unfair that he had to make aprons in home economics class while students at the white school were learning how to build a boat, thus learning a skill that could be utilized to earn a living because boating and fishing were a large part of the Morehead City economy. The opportunity to learn boatbuilding was definitely not afforded to students at W. S. King. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Raffel (2002) proclaimed:

In the South black children were openly short-changed in per capita pupil allocations and in every other educational resource. We know of no publicly financed segregated black school that could conceivably be considered the equivalent of its white counterpart. It seemed self-evident that segregation was the malfunction in the system that relegated blacks to inferior educational status. (p. 22)

This statement does appear to be true regarding W. S. King and its white counterpart. The Board of Education's actions regarding curriculum and educational services for schools operated in a fashion that appears to have perpetuated racism in its school system.

Another example of racism in the education of students at W. S. King School dealt with resources provided for teachers and students at W. S. King. Crow and others (1992) reported comments made by Cameron Morrison, governor of North Carolina in 1921 and a leader in white supremacy meetings. He once told black teachers that Negroes were receiving "as much education as you are ready for. You cannot use the highly organized system that is provided for whites" (p. 134). It appears that part of that highly organized
system referred to by Governor Morrison included books and materials. As one participant succinctly stated when asked about the books used at W. S. King, he replied, "Nothing new. Always everything hand-me-down." Resources such as microscopes that were needed for science experiments were very scarce. "Maybe one microscope for about 30 kids or 20 kids in the class," he explained. Other participants reported the books as being raggedy and out-of-date as well as having missing pages. One student mentioned, "If you were one of the lucky ones you might find a good book."

It seems that money could have been appropriated for new books for students at W. S. King since students who were enrolled at the school were counted in the census when requesting money from the state. Superintendents, though, had the power to use the money allocated as they saw fit. Hoffschwelle (2006) reported:

When state funds based on the school census arrived in the county, the superintendent and board had complete discretion over their allocation and used the money generated by the black scholastic population to pay for white schools. (p. 16)

That appears to be the case regarding W. S. King School.

Another blatant account of racism was found when the School Board decided to not just close W. S. King, but to "eradicate its identifiability as a former Negro school" (Carteret County School Board, 1966, March 28, Book 6, p. 261). The American Friend Service Committee and others (1970) reported 188 out of 321 former black schools which remained opened in the districts they visited had the names of the schools changed. They wrote, "This was most common when schools were named after men and women of special significance to the black community" (p. 52). "Just as school names have been changed, black mascots,
colors, and songs have disappeared" (p. 54). The American Friend Service Committee and others (1970) summed up the closing of W. S. King in this way: "By closing W. S. King School, blacks lost a necessary familiar social meeting place and suffered another 'insulting act of racism'" (p. 20).

One former student stated, "...when they took that name W. S. King away from the school, it took something out of me. It really did." Another mentioned, "For me, it was like losing a family member because it had played a very important role in my life, especially in my youth, because I attended W. S. King from age six through age seventeen." Closing W. S. King School and stripping its name from the building appeared to have been a gut-wrenching experience for many members of the black community. It definitely was an insult to African Americans in Carteret County because it was a huge cultural loss and slap in the face.

**Interest Convergence**

Interest convergence is a term that originated with noted intellectual, Derrick Bell. Bell proclaimed, "the majority group tolerates advances for racial justice only when it suits its interest to do so (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 149). Bell argued that "civil rights advances for blacks always coincided with changing economic conditions and the self-interest of elite whites" (p. 18).

The notion of offering freedom of choice to parents in Carteret County appeared to be self-serving. It seemed to be, on one hand, a strategy used by school systems to delay or deter desegregation while on the other hand, it was used to appease the federal government concerning mandates to integrate schools. According to Crow and others (1992):
The desegregation of public schools in North Carolina was often accomplished in an atmosphere of defiance rather than compliance, and the process was frequently hindered by tactics employed for that purpose. North Carolina's pupil assignment law had prolonged segregation by enabling parents to dictate where their children were to be educated. Under the freedom-of-choice plan, enacted in 1965, school boards opened the doors of previously all-white schools to black children and black schools to white children. The plan permitted a parent or guardian to choose the specific school his or her child would attend. If reassignment to another school was preferred, the school board would either grant or refuse each request on a case-by-case basis. (p. 171)

Freedom of choice allowed parents to send their children to Morehead Elementary School or to West Carteret High School instead of to W. S. King. Some black parents sent their children to formerly all-white schools. No white parents transferred their children to formerly all-black schools. Freedom of choice appeared to have placated the privileged white citizens by allowing their teachers and students to remain in the schools they had already been assigned while enticing black parents to allow their children to attend formerly all-white schools just to be able to say they made the offer, it seemed. One former student recounted:

We had heard something the year that I was graduating that integration was coming. We really didn't want to go to school with the white kids. So, the year after I graduated in 1966, they had the choice to finish the year at W. S. King or go to West Carteret. Only two people out of that class decided to do that. And that was
And they were two of the smartest kids in the school, too. **They were two smart kids.** They left W. S. King and went to West Carteret. If they had stayed at W. S. King I'm sure they would have been valedictorian or salutatorian, but they decided to go to West Carteret that last year.

Black students appeared to be the ones who had to make concessions in many areas.

Once the name of W. S. King had been stripped from the school, members of the community, although hurt and disheartened, accepted the school board's decision to do so. Later, when the school board sold the former W. S. King School building to the Town of Morehead, the Town of Morehead decided to utilize the building as a community center. After the community center was established, members of the African American community rallied together to petition the Town of Morehead to put the name, W. S. King, back on the building. The county commissioners denied their request for many years, but then finally agreed to rename the building. The grand opening of the W. S. King Community Center was held on October 26, 2000. One former student declared:

> We fought this thing that the W. S. King building would remain W. S. King Building. We went to the county and we won that fight! They let the school remain W. S. King Building, so at least, we, the blacks, do have something to look to here in Morehead City because that's the only thing that we got to look towards is W. S. King School.

Another shared:

> I was happy when they made the decision to put the name, W. S. King, back on the building because they had taken away everything, and I felt like that was our
heritage!

It appeared that when it would benefit the commissioners in some way that they agreed to the change. Was it possibly an election year?

*Social Construction*

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), social construction is defined as the "process of endowing a group or concept with a delineation, name, or reality" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 155). They continue:

... the "social construction" thesis, holds that race and races are products of social thought and relations. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient. (p. 7)

It appeared that John Tillery, former principal of W. S. King School, and Randolph Johnson, former principal of Queen Street High School in Beaufort, North Carolina, along with some of their teachers, were victims of social construction. Social construction describes the way the majority group manipulates different races at different times to achieve their goals. For example, the superintendent of a school district may speak badly about or complain that a black principal is inept and not capable of performing according to the way the school district "desires" so that a favored white person who may or may not have the qualifications or experience as the black principal can be put into that position without arousing suspicion to his actual motives.

It seems that this happened to John Tillery who only served as principal of W. S. King School for two years before he was reassigned to West Carteret High School as a
teacher and then as assistant principal. Randolph Johnson, principal of Queen Street High School for 23 years, was also a victim of this practice. Davis (1996) wrote:

After the high school [Queen Street High School] closed, all of the teachers [four teachers], except Mr. Johnson were assigned to other schools in the county.

Mr. Johnson, who had been principal of the school for 23 years, became Director of Migrant Education and Coordinator of Social Services with the County Board of Education. Needless to say, those positions were a demotion for a man who had been a principal of a high school. How sad that his career would end in a demeaning position for a man of his experience. (p. 111)

Research documented how black principals were referred to as "desegregation's primary prey" (Fultz, 2004, p. 28). Walter Childs (1979) expressed similar sentiments. He stated:

The black principal may be a vanishing breed in the South and the surprising cause is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act requires southern school districts to desegregate their classrooms. Desegregation frequently means closing down formerly Negro schools, and school closings are just the excuse many districts need to fire their Negro personnel rather than move them to ‘white’ (now integrated) schools. Thousands have lost their jobs since desegregation began. The practice called displacement does not always end in firing. Sometimes, for example, principals of Negro schools are reassigned as assistants to white supervisors in central office. (p. 2)

A lot of African American teachers also lost their jobs or were demoted to teacher
assistant positions when schools were no longer segregated. Black teachers were not highly esteemed by the white community once schools were desegregated. As Fultz (2004) reported, “Negro teachers [were] good enough to teach Negro students, but not good enough to teach white students” (p. 40). He reported, Charles H. Thompson, editor of the Journal of Negro Education wrote, “Even outside the South, African-American teachers were often considered appropriate only as educators for African-American youth” (p. 12). Many of the teachers at W. S. King School were not appointed teaching positions in the integrated schools. They had to leave town to seek employment elsewhere. It seemed like social construction took its toll on them as well.

**Segregation Again?**

It is no secret that schools in North Carolina, as well as those across the nation, are resegregating at an alarming rate. According to the research of Ayscue, Woodward, and others with the Civil Rights Project (2014), there are four racially identifiable types of schools operating today. There are:

- **multiracial schools** - schools in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups
- **majority minority schools** - schools in which 50% to 100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students
- **intensely segregated schools** - [schools in which] 90% to 100% [of the student enrollment is comprised of] minority [students]
- **apartheid schools** - [schools] in which 99% to 100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students (p. 43)
The number of schools that were classified as majority minority has increased 81% since 1989. This means that half of all of the schools in North Carolina have student enrollments reflecting 50% to 100% of minority students attending there. Seventy-four percent of black students in the United States attend majority minority or non-white schools, whereas 38% of black students in the United States attend intensely segregated schools where less than 10% of their classmates are white (Tilgham, 2013). One in ten schools in North Carolina was considered an intensely segregated school where 90% to 100% of minority students were enrolled. "The share of apartheid schools has remained fairly stable and low at around 1%, far lower than in many Northern states" (Ayscue, Woodward, et. al, p. 33). Fifteen percent of black students in America attend apartheid schools. Gary Orfield, founder and co-director of the Civil Rights Project at UCLA, explained the harshness of an apartheid school. He said:

If you are in a school that's between 99 and 100% non-white, your school is essentially detached from the rest of the society, and you're within 1% of what that school would be like if there was a law that required absolute segregation.

(Tilghman, 2013)

Is this good news for North Carolina or America? I believe it definitely is not. Never has separate been equal, and the same applies today. Even though former students of W. S. King School shared how wonderful their school was, the question remains, "was it really?" Often in historical research, participants reminisce, which can affect their perceptions and views. I do believe students were happy and satisfied with their principal, teachers, and the education they received at W. S. King because that was all they had, and
that was all they knew.

On the other hand, while students may have been content, their parents were not. They were well aware of the lack that was present at W. S. King School. That is why a group of parents along with the principal constantly appeared before the School Board to request services the school needed. Several African American parents in the community banded together to sue the Carteret County School Board because they wanted their children to attend integrated schools. Finally, once the School Board made the decision to comply with the Supreme Court mandate to desegregate schools, they offered freedom of choice so that parents could decide where they wanted their children to attend school. More and more black parents decided to enroll their children in formerly all-white schools which caused the enrollment at W. S. King to steadily decline and resulted in the decision to close the school.

So, was W. S. King really a wonderful school? I believe it was a school with an outstanding principal, caring, dedicated teachers, and a school staff that was willing to step in and offer help wherever help was needed. I believe it was a school that made the most of what it was given and provided the best education it could. I believe it was a school that nurtured its students. I believe it was a very good school considering being segregated and all that entailed. I believe it provided memorable experiences for its students and was wonderful in their eyes.

W. S. King School certainly did a lot of things right in order to have had former students and graduates go forth and do great things in life. One former student painted this picture of W. S. King as did many other participants:

We got education, but also we had a lot of extra-curricular things that were so
memorable. ...You know, it was really, really a wonderful schooling. We loved our school so much. I'm glad it was later when schools became integrated that I didn't have to leave W. S. King. ...We just had good standards, ...there was good rapport, like I said, between teachers and the parents, and the students among ourselves. We learned respect, and that to me, the education was awesome. ...It taught us how to be responsible, caring people, and the relationships continue. ...We had limitations. The books we had back then were passed down from the white school. We just didn't have enough. We were missing a lot. We'd have to raise money. We just didn't have enough.

So, yes, I believe W. S. King was a very good school. Could it have been better? Of course!

Instead of asking, "was W. S. King really a wonderful school?" one should ask, "how great could W. S. King School have become if it was given the resources it should have received?" "What would the teachers have been able to accomplish given up-to-date books and materials and enough science equipment to correctly teach science lessons?" "What else could W. S. King students have done if they had been allocated an activity bus so they could attend various seminars and competitions across the state?" "How else could W. S. King have impacted the community as well as society in Carteret County if it had received equal funds to educate its students?" Sadly, those are questions that will always remain unanswered. We will never know what W. S. King School may have become or what else W. S. King might have done to positively impact its students and the community.

I am thankful students who attended W. S. King School became productive citizens in society. I am glad that their memories of their school remain positive and endearing, but they
deserved better. Back then, W. S. King operated in a time when extreme racism, segregation, and segregated schools were a way of life. Although racism continues to permeate throughout North Carolina and the United States, segregation in schools does not have to be a way of life today. **I do not advocate resegregating schools.**

Regrettably, the resegregation of schools is directly related to racism and classism in our nation. One avenue that has been quite successful at resegregating schools in North Carolina has been the charter school movement. The legislature removed the cap of 100 charter schools allowed to operate in North Carolina so that there will be 153 charter schools operating in the state by the end of this year ("Segregation in Charter Schools," 2015). Duke University researchers Helen Ladd, Charles Clotfelter, and John Holbein (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2015) recently published a working paper entitled: "The Growing Segregation of the Charter School Sector in North Carolina." Ladd was heard stating in an interview, "all of the studies show that parents often care about the mix of students in the school as well as the offerings." Jon Camp, the news reporter who gave this story, reiterated:

... when parents pick schools for their kids, among the things they look at is the makeup of the school itself, what the kids in it look like; with white parents looking for white schools sometimes; black parents sometimes looking for black schools; Hispanic parents looking for Hispanic schools. (Segregation in Charter Schools, 2015).

It greatly concerns me regarding the way schools are resegregating and that it appears to be just fine with legislators, school leaders, and with the majority of citizens in our state.
Thirty percent of students in North Carolina attend highly segregated traditional public schools as opposed to 60% of students attending highly segregated charter schools in North Carolina, and it continues to worsen. Fewer than 10% of charter schools were overly white in 1998, whereas in 2014, the number has doubled to 20% (Segregation in Charter Schools, 2015).

I firmly believe we must work together to help improve our traditional public schools so that all students benefit from receiving a quality education. Knowingly opening more charter schools that will be segregated based on its location (most poor, black kids do not have transportation to get to the upscale white charter school located across town or 20 miles away, nor do they have food to bring their lunch or money to purchase school lunch as is required by charter schools.) or its population is not in the best interest of our citizens.

When interviewed on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), Gary Orfield had this to say about segregation in schools today:

Many places have become more segregated in terms of the schools, most by race and by poverty, and the inequality is profound, and really no one seems to care.

(Tilghman, 2013)

Segregated schools definitely affect their students and hamper students' prospects of obtaining the kind of education they need to be productive in the twenty-first century. Ayscue, Woodward, and others (2014) expounded:

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that
limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These factors include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups, and inadequate facilities and learning materials. (pp. 25-26)

The suggestions I have made in the Implications for Practice section of this dissertation are ones in which I strongly believe. The adage, "it takes a village to raise a child," is more than an adage. It is a truth. It takes all of us working together - from university leaders preparing future teachers to school systems hiring the best teachers and providing those teachers with the support they need to be successful to those working in the trenches - principals, teachers, and staff. We must all work together if we want our students to succeed. As Gary Orfield said, "Schools are the only kind of universal instrument that we have that's in the public sector that can make a significant difference" [in society], (Tilghman, 2013), and he is right.

It is also vitally important to use those suggestions to help improve our schools so there will be fewer white and black middle class parents taking their children out of our schools. We need those parents’ economic and societal influence to help make our schools better, to keep them integrated, and to allow our children to learn together and learn how to get along with each other to successfully coexist in our nation as productive citizens.

**Implications for Research**

The findings of the study regarding W. S. King School touched on many issues and have led to several implications for research. First of all, the fate of W. S. King School was determined once the mandate from the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* decision by the Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of schools. For a while, school
systems made efforts to comply, but schools today are resegregating at an alarming rate. Therefore, implications regarding how schools are becoming segregated again, as well as the quality of education students are receiving in those schools, bear serious consideration for researchers.

Further studies could also be conducted regarding the achievement of African American students attending voluntarily segregated schools to compare their experiences to those of students who were required to attend segregated schools, such as today's neighborhood schools, to discover academic achievement rates, graduation rates, dropout rates, students' perceptions about their relationships with principals, teachers, and other school staff, and their perceptions about the quality of education they are receiving. African American culture, Afrocentric education, integration, the achievement gap, school choice, and charter schools are viable research topics, too. Examining charter schools in North Carolina would be very fitting considering the April 2015 report by Duke University researchers.

An examination of education policy would lead to insight regarding whether school leaders are aligning the policies they promote to the practices they perform. For example, Paul Green (2008) suggested that school leaders support the idea of desegregation yet little or nothing is done about it. He commented:

In other words, while we support the idea of desegregation in principle, we do not support it in practice, which is the only way that true desegregation or integration can be achieved. It is not surprising, therefore, that entire school districts have retreated from traditional desegregation efforts and now opt for voluntary desegregation or
transfer plans. (p. 396)

Researching what became of former principals and teachers who lost their jobs or who were demoted when schools were integrated is recommended to help shed light on the plight of African Americans and their pursuit to remain in the profession of education. The politics regarding school boards, superintendents, and their decision-making are also worthwhile research topics.

It was obvious that W. S. King School did not receive the funding that the school built for whites received 22 years earlier. Issues concerning equity are still prevalent today and warrant further study. Additionally, even though they did not have up-to-date books or materials, students at W. S. King School were successful academically. Many went to college, and some attended graduate school. Studies of school reform, effective teachers, teacher care, and building trusting relationships with students are also matters that are important for schools and should be explored.

The principal of W. S. King was an instructional leader who was well respected at the school and in the community. Research on instructional leadership, small schools, parent involvement, and community involvement in schools are valid studies. Extra-curricular activities played an important role in the lives of students at W. S. King. A look into the effects of extra-curricular activities on academic achievement today would also be worthwhile.

Finally, the findings of this study add credibility to research already completed by scholars regarding the education of African Americans during the time of segregation in the South. The findings concerning W. S. King School were very similar to those of other
former all-black schools in North Carolina like Queen Street High School in Beaufort (Davis, 1996), Caswell County Training School in Yanceyville (Siddle Walker, 1996), and Second Ward High School in Charlotte (Davis, & Frye, 2002). This study also helps to document the history of the education of African Americans in Carteret County, North Carolina.

Implications for Practice

Practices of the principal, teachers, and other school workers at W. S. King School made a positive impact in the lives of its students. Educators should apply similar principles to help improve student involvement, student achievement, and to help ensure the overall success of African American students today. These principles include:

**Principals**

Principals not only need to know how to effectively manage school operations and keep students and staff safe, they should be instructional leaders who stress the importance of education.

- Principals should make sure the curriculum is being taught and that student progress is regularly monitored.
- Principals should be firm, fair, consistent disciplinarians who demonstrate a caring side by getting to know their students and their students' families and who provide help to them when possible.
- Principals should ensure that the school's environment is a positive one where parents feel welcomed at school and where parents are encouraged to participate in school activities.
Teachers

- Teachers should know their subject matter well to provide quality instruction.
- Teachers should know how to get subject matter across to students to make learning meaningful, fun when possible, and connect their lessons to real life.
- Teachers should hold students accountable for learning the material being taught.
- Expectations regarding student behavior should be made clear to students and their parents.
- Teachers should be firm disciplinarians by being fair and consistent in making sure students adhere to those rules.
- Teachers must demonstrate care and concern toward their students by getting to know them and communicating with their students each day.
- Teachers should be willing to make sure that each child feels welcomed and a part of the class.
- Teachers should be willing to go above and beyond the call of duty to help ensure that each child masters the content taught in his or her classroom by offering tutoring or other classroom support.
- Teachers should support their students by attending games or other activities in the community where their students are a part of when possible. This is a good for teachers to show students, parents, and community members that they care about their students, and perhaps gain more of their support.
- Teachers should keep in close contact with parents, return their phone calls or e-mails, and inform them of things that are of concern as well as things to celebrate.
• Teachers should be mindful of the way they dress; they are considered role models.

• *This researcher does not condone corporal punishment.

Staff

Teacher assistants, custodians, cafeteria workers, office staff, and other school workers should kindly assist students. Often, a smile and a, "Good morning, how are you today?" can make a difference in a child's day at school. School is often the best part of the day for a lot of students.

The School

• The principal, teachers, and other school staff should help create positive, memorable experiences and events for students to give them something to look forward to enjoying.

• Everyone at the school should work together to ensure the school is a place where students want to come every day to learn and achieve.

• The entire school staff should do whatever it takes to make sure students are successful academically, emotionally, and socially.

School Systems

• School systems should provide cultural sensitivity training to new teachers as part of their new teacher induction procedures.

• They should offer refresher courses each year as part of professional development for all teachers.

• School systems should offer classroom management professional development for new teachers and to other teachers who desire it.
Colleges and Universities

- Colleges and universities should offer courses about the culture of African American students and other students of color.

- Colleges and universities should also offer courses in understanding children living in poverty and ways to deal with them. Those courses could help future teachers gain insight into the lives of students they may teach some day as well as help them to better relate to the parents of those students.

- Colleges and universities should offer courses in instructional leadership for educators who desire to become principals.

It is imperative that educators know how to reach and teach African American students as well as other students of color if they are ever going to make gains toward closing the achievement gap that exists today. Part of that knowing requires teachers to put away preconceived notions about African American students and really get to know them for themselves.
CONCLUSION

This study set out to determine how W. S. King School impacted student learning and the Morehead City community. The study revealed that W. S. King operated during a time of extreme racism and that racism impacted decisions made regarding the school, its leaders, teachers, students, and the community. The study also revealed that former students of W. S. King School perceived their school leaders as being excellent and who always stressed the importance of education and learning. It revealed former students also perceived their teachers as being excellent as well and were positive role models. It appeared that teachers knew their subject matter and knew how to get it across to students. It seemed that failure was not an option for anyone at the school. The principal fought for improvements the school needed. Teachers tutored students after school and provided extra help within the classroom to make sure students understood the content being taught. School staff pitched in to help to make sure students who needed support received it.

There were high expectations regarding academics, citizenship, and discipline. Students were expected to listen and learn from their teachers and conduct themselves as proper young men and young women. The principal and teachers provided extracurricular activities for students to participate in and enhance their talents and leadership skills. A lot went on at W. S. King School, so much so, that former students vividly recalled their lived experiences there.

One important point to remember is that all of this occurred during the terrible times of segregation in a cinderblock building with cement floors painted red. It occurred where things were supposed to be separate but equal yet never were. It occurred where the
gymnasium was not built large enough to accommodate two basketball goals, its basketball players, and fans. It occurred where it took years to be able to eat a meal in a cafeteria while its white counterpart had an upscale facility with many amenities that W. S. King School lacked.

Nevertheless, the principal and teachers rose to the occasion and taught the best they could with the shoddy, hand-me-down books and materials provided to them. They rose to the occasion even though the curriculum provided for their students was not as rigorous as the curriculum provided for its counterpart. Neither were their educational services. They rose to the occasion to make do without microphones for performances, programs, or plays. They rose to the occasion when they made sure their football players played their games in the daylight hours because they had no lights for the field. A few blocks away their counterpart enjoyed a 1000-seat auditorium, a separate gymnasium, and a field with lights.

The students rose to the occasion as well by excelling as students, and upon graduation, set out to make their mark upon the world. Many went to college. Of those who did, some went on to graduate school. They became teachers, principals (one became the first black principal of an integrated school in Carteret County. this did not occur until 1981.), librarians, guidance counselors, social workers (one became the first black social worker in Carteret County.), doctors, nurses, lawyers, judges, law enforcement officers, dentists, university professors, university chancellors, university deans, marketing executives, federal government workers, accountants, aviation managers, writers, poets, postal workers, and preachers.

Others worked in the community at the local garment factory, supermarkets (a few
worked as deli managers or assistant managers.), hotels (one became the first black executive housekeeper of a well-known hotel on the beach.), restaurants, banks, the mobile home manufacturing plant, deliverymen, or as daycare workers, fishermen, or at other jobs in the community. Others started their own businesses. One as a caterer. Some joined the military while others worked at Cherry Point Naval Air Station in managerial roles. The career paths of many former graduates carried them to destinations in many states across America and even abroad for a few. Most of the students who ever attended W. S. King became productive citizens in society.

Although W. S. King School has been closed since 1966, it beckons to those who once graced its halls and classrooms to come back and spend a while. Many listen and return every other year to pay tribute to their alma mater, a place where they received their educational foundation, a place where they shared some good times and bad times and happy times and sad times. Many alumni contribute to the W. S. King Scholarship Fund to continue the legacy of the importance of education that was imparted to them while students at W. S. King.

Once the hub of the black community, W. S. King Building is now used by the Parks and Recreation Department in the Town of Morehead City. It remains, for some, a beacon in the community, and for others, a sad remembrance of what used to be. Hopefully, the lessons learned by studying how W. S. King School impacted student learning and the community will be utilized by those desiring to provide African American children a solid educational foundation so they, too, may graduate, continue their education if they desire, and go on to make their mark upon the world as productive citizens in society. Fortunately,
W. S. King School's story, its impact, and its legacy will not only live on in the minds and hearts of its former students, it will now live on in history as well.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Sample Letter to W. S. King Alumni Association President

Dear _____:

I am a doctoral student at North Carolina State University and am at the point in my studies where I am ready to conduct research for my dissertation. My interest is in studying the history of W. S. King School. It is well-known that many graduates of W. S. King have gone on to have illustrious careers. Although I did not attend the school, I have always been curious as to what it was like to have been a student there.

It is my understanding that the W. S. King School Reunion will be held on July 1-3, 2011. I plan to attend so that I can network with former students and participate in the planned reunion activities as part of my research.

I am writing to ask you if you would share the names and addresses of graduates who will be attending the reunion so that I can make contact with them. Part of my dissertation will be based upon information I receive from former students about their experiences at W. S. King. Also, would it be possible to mention my research project in your newsletter to help bring attention to my study? I will be available to speak to alumni to introduce my research project at the business meeting on July 1 if necessary. I am in need of 10-14 participants to be part of my research. I will interview those who agree to participate. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes to complete. I have enclosed an Informed Consent Form that provides additional information about my study.

Please call me at [redacted] or send an e-mail to me at [redacted] if you have questions. Thanks so much for your help, and I look forward to seeing you at the reunion!

Sincerely,

Brentela May Daugherty
Dear Former W. S. King School Student:

You may remember my parents, Jack & Amy May, who owned and operated Amy’s Grill on Bridges Street in Morehead City for over 30 years. You probably knew my brother, Jack, and know my sisters, Fannie and Evelyn. I am Brentela (Brent), the youngest sibling in our family. I am a doctoral student at North Carolina State University and am at the point in my studies where I am ready to conduct research for my dissertation.

My interest is in studying the history of W. S. King School. It is well-known that many graduates of W. S. King have gone on to have illustrious careers and successful lives. Although I did not attend the school, I have always been curious about what it was like to have been a student there.

I received your name and address from Rev. Henry Pickett as one of the graduates of W. S. King or one of the former students who attended there. I am writing to ask if you would be interested in being part of my research. I need to interview 10-20 graduates to find out about their experiences at W. S. King and at West Carteret High School for those who graduated from there. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes to complete. If you agree to participate, I will contact you to set up a face-to-face or telephone interview. I have enclosed an Informed Consent Form that provides additional information about my study.

It is my understanding that the W. S. King School Reunion will be held on July 1-3, 2011. I plan to attend so that I can participate in the planned reunion activities and mingle with attendees.

I am passionate about writing the history of W. S. King and hope you will be able to contribute to my study. Call me at [redacted] or send an e-mail to me at [redacted] if you have questions. Please complete the attached form and return it to me at your earliest convenience in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided.

Thank you for your help. I look forward to seeing you at the reunion.

Sincerely,

Brentela May Daugherty
APPENDIX C

W. S. King School Research Study Response Form

Name: ____________________________________

Telephone #: ______________________________

E-mail Address: ____________________________

☐ Yes, contact me. I would like to participate in your research study.

☐ No, I am unable to participate in your research study.

__________________________________________
Signature 

___________________________
Date
APPENDIX D

Interview Protocol (Graduates of W. S. King School)

Date: 

Tell me about your principal. What did he stress as being important at the school?

Were there things that you liked about your principal? Describe them.

Were there things that you disliked about your principal? Describe them.

Tell me about your favorite teachers. Why they were your favorites?

Were there teachers you did not like? What made you dislike them?

What events occurred at W. S. King that are still memorable to you? Were there annual or special events that were held?

What did you like most about W. S. King?

What did you like least about W. S. King?

Describe the books and materials that were available to you at school.

Describe the school campus while you were a student there.

Describe the tone of the school. What was stressed as being important?

What extracurricular activities were available at W. S. King?

What issues affected W. S. King while you were there?

Was W. S. King an important part of the community? If yes, how?

How was the closing of W. S. King handled?

How did you feel about the closing of the school?

What year did you graduate?
Did you go on to college?
If yes, where did you attend? If no, what did you do after you finished high school?
What degree(s) did you earn?
What jobs have you held since graduating from college?
To what do you attribute your success?
Do you believe it was beneficial to you to have attended a segregated school?
Some African Americans want to return to voluntarily resegregated schools such as African American schools for boys. What do you think of this trend?
Who else should I attempt to interview?

Thank you very much for your participation.
APPENDIX E

Interview Protocol (Graduates of West Carteret High School)

Date: 

Name 

What years did you attend W. S. King? What grades were you in?

Tell me about your principal. What did he or she stress as being important at the school?

Were there things that you liked about your principal? Describe them.

Were there things that you disliked about your principal? Describe them.

Who were your favorite teachers?

Tell me about why they were your favorites.

Were there teachers you did not like?

What made you dislike them?

What events occurred at W. S. King that are still memorable to you? Were there annual or special events that were held?

What did you like most about W. S. King?

What did you like least about W. S. King?

Describe the books and materials that were available to you at school.

Describe the school campus while you were a student there.

Describe the tone of the school. What was stressed as being important?

What extracurricular activities were available at W. S. King?

What issues affected W. S. King while you were there?

Was W. S. King an important part of the community? If yes, how? If no, why not?
How was the closing of W. S. King handled?

How did you feel about the closing of the school?

***************************

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your experiences while attending integrated schools.

What years did you attend integrated schools? What grades were you in?

Describe the principals of the integrated schools you attended. What was stressed as being important?

Were there things you liked about these principals? Describe them.

Were there things you did not like about these principals? Describe them.

Did you have favorite teachers? If so, describe them. If no, why not?

Why were they your favorites?

Were there extracurricular activities available at West Carteret? If yes, describe them.

Did you participate in extracurricular activities? If yes, which ones? If no, why not?

Are there any activities or events that happened at West Carteret that are still memorable to you? If yes, describe them. If no, why not?

What year did you graduate?

What did you do after you finished high school?

If student went on to college ask, which college did you attend? What degree(s) did you earn?

What jobs have you held since graduating from high school/college?

Why do you think you have been successful in life as an adult?
Do you believe it was beneficial to you to have attended a segregated school? Why or why not?

Some African Americans want to return to voluntarily resegregated schools such as African American schools for boys. What do you think of this trend?

Who else should I attempt to interview?

Thank you very much for your participation.
APPENDIX F

Interview Protocol (Former Teachers)

Name: 
Date: 

How long were you a teacher at W. S. King School? What years? 

What grade(s) or subject(s) did you teach? 

How did you get to teach at W. S. King? Were you recruited? If so, by whom? 

Did you live in the teachery? (The teachery was a house where teachers from out-of-town stayed.) If not, where did you live? 

Did you attend college? If so, which college? What type of degree did you earn? 

What teacher certification did you have? 

Describe a typical day at W. S. King. 

What was it like being a teacher at W. S. King? 

What events occurred at W. S. King that are still memorable to you? Were there annual or special events that were held? 

What were the students like? 

Tell me about your principal. What were your principal's expectations of teachers? Of students? 

Describe the tone of the school. What was stressed as being important? 

Did you belong to a teachers’ association? If so, which one(s)? 

Describe your interaction with parents. 

How were you involved in the community 

Was W. S. King an important part of the community? If yes, how?
What resources were available to help you instruct students? Were there textbooks? If so, where did the school obtain textbooks? Describe their condition.

Was there an ample supply of materials (paper, pencils, chalk)? If not, how did you make up for the shortage?

Were science laboratory experiences available for students? If so, describe.

What extracurricular activities were available for students? What was your involvement with these activities?

Were you teaching at W. S. King when the decision was made to close the school?

How was the closing of the school handled?

How did you feel about the school’s closing?

Did you continue to teach after W. S. King closed? If so, where? For how long? Where did you teach? If not, what did you do?

What is the fondest memory you have about W. S. King School?

What is the worst memory you have about the school?

It is well known that W. S. King School produced many successful graduates who went on to become productive citizens in society. To what do you attribute their success?

Do you believe it was beneficial for your students to have attended a segregated school?

Some African Americans want to return to voluntarily resegregated schools such as African American schools for boys. What do you think of this trend?

Thank you very much for your participation.
APPENDIX G

Sample Letter to Participant about Transcribed Interview

Hello,

Thanks again for participating in my research study about W. S. King School. Your interview was so rich and powerful. Thank you for your great insight and honesty. I have enclosed a transcript of your interview. Please review it for accuracy and let me know if there are any changes I need to make.

Thanks again,

Brentela Daugherty

[Redacted]
APPENDIX H

Morehead Colored School/W. S. King School (1916) and

North Carolina School Building Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Unit</th>
<th>Carteret County</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>August 29, 1949</th>
</tr>
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</table>

ATTACH PHOTOGRAPH OF SCHOOL BUILDING

1. School: W. S. King School
2. Race: Colored
3. Date constructed: 1916
4. Dates of major renovation or additions:
5. Valuation $: 29,250.00
6. Acreage in site: 11 City Lots
7. Total number of teachers: 7
8. Number of classrooms: 8
9. Gymnasium:app. size:
10. Lunchroom: feeding capacity:

Auditorium: seating capacity 150

Does the school have facilities for the following:

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Central library (elem.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central library (H. S.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Health clinics</td>
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<td>Guidance program</td>
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<td>Business Education</td>
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<td>l. Chemistry</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Biology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Enrollment and Average Daily Attendance

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</table>
APPENDIX I

Morehead Colored School/W. S. King School (1916)

Little Building

---

Morehead City (Colo.)

Classroom Building
APPENDIX J

W. S. King School (1951)
APPENDIX K

Queen Street High School (1938)

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<td>Industrial Arts</td>
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3. Enrollment and Average Daily Attendance

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APPENDIX L

Morehead City Graded School for Whites (1929) and

North Carolina School Building Survey

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<tr>
<th>NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL BUILDING SURVEY</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Use separate form for each school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL DATA</td>
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Live Unit: Carteret County

Date: August 29th, 1919

1. School: Morehead City Graded School

2. Race: White

3. Date constructed: 1929

4. Dates of major renovation or additions: 223, 190, 190

5. Valuation $: 223

6. Acreage in site: 5

7. Total number of teachers: 27

8. Number of classrooms: 50

9. Gymnasium: approx. size in: 50 x 60

The school has facilities for the following:

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<td>Library (H.S.)</td>
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</tr>
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Activity and Average Daily Attendance

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<th>Grades</th>
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APPENDIX M

Morehead City Graded School for Whites (1929) Aerial View
APPENDIX N

Stella School (Unable to determine)

DESCRIPTION: This is a one story frame building having an ordinary wood joisted roof covered with metal. The building is supported by brick piers. The interior is of ordinary wood joist floor with wooden sheathing and ceiling.

Lighted with kerosene oil lamps and heated by a brick hung chimney.

In a fair state of repair and the estimated in value is approximately $750. after making allowance for its use.

OCCUPANCY: Occupied for educational purposes and co class room.

PROTECTION: Outside of any recognized public protec

FIRE PREVENTION RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. It would be our suggestion that the present hung chimney be entirely removed from the building and that it be supplemented with one of standard construction built from ground. At the time of our inspection the wooden sheathing above the stove was bad blistered and the frame work around the chimney charred.

2. We suggest that the broken clapboard be be or replaced as soon as possible.
APPENDIX O

Bogue School (Unable to determine)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
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<td>Central library (elem.)</td>
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<td>Central library (H. S.)</td>
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<td>Health clinics</td>
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<td>Guidance program</td>
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<td>Art</td>
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<td>j. Agriculture</td>
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### Enrollment and Average Daily Attendance

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**APPENDIX P**

**Merrimon School (Unable to determine)**

![Diagram of school building]

**INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL DATA**

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1. School: Merrimon

2. Race: Colored

3. Date constructed:

4. Dates of major renovation or additions: 

5. Valuation $:

6. Acresage in site:

7. Total number of teachers:

8. Number of classrooms:

9. Auditorium: seating capacity:

10. Gymnasium: app. size:

11. Lunchroom: feeding capacity:

12. Does the school have facilities for the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<td>i. Home Economics</td>
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</tr>
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**13. Enrollment and Average Daily Attendance**

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APPENDIX Q

North River School (Unable to determine)

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Enrollment and Average Daily Attendance

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APPENDIX R

Poem: You Met Us There

Saluting the teachers, Samuel R. McLendon, Sylvia Bryant, Elva R. Hill, Isadora Haynie, Ethel Williams, Margaret McLendon, Rachel Dudley Becton, John R. Thompson, Helen Mason, Dorothy Caraway McFalls, Buster Tootle, and Willie McNeal

At W.S. King High School, we took our place in a class room seat and our eyes took a peak, Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There and sowed the seeds of learning - week after week. From September to May, when school was in session, we desired to master our lesson: Math, History, English, Sociology, and such as the like - while our dreams and fantasies had to take a hike. "Listen Up!" You did cry. "You'd better get it right now or you'll regret it by and by." Pay attention we did and followed the advice and plan, but couldn't wait for the bell to ring for recess and we would romp, play in the sand. On the merry go round and the swing; the monkey bars and everything.

Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There even to be on duty, when Edna, Lillian, Delores, Hannah, Mary Lee, Evelyn, Mollie, Inez, Beulah, Jennie, Eleanor, Dot, and Martha - did display their beauty. Teenage girls but ladies of renown who giggled whenever the boys were around.

There was Calvin Hester, Calvin Finner, Larry, Billy Ray, Curlie, G. W., Joseph, James Stocks, Owen, Hubert, Jimmie Gaines, Melvin, Burgess, Sam Sutton, Freddie, and Jake Harkley - fellows that were cool and neat; yet when a little cutie held their hand they couldn't be beat.

Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There when our joys did abound whenever we danced and danced to the Rock and Roll Sound - of Elvis', Don't Be Cruel, the Five Satins, In the Still of The Night, and Fats Domino's, I found my Thrill on Blue Berry Hill.

Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There and dared to stay, when we were heckled and labeled as a "ne'er to do well nor amount to anything" - instead showed by word and example of how to pray.

Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There and the journey has been swell. We had to leave 50 years ago yet with you always in mind, Years later we were convinced that you were one of a kind. Tall as an oak tree, solid as a stone, you were awesome - down to the bare bone.

Because Jesus Christ lives in us and grants us the grace to recall - Teacher, guardian, and friend, You Met Us There, you're the best after all. We will spiritually hold the blue and white banner high and as our alma mater is sung and we sigh, for it echoes the pursuit of happiness, championing justice and love. Praising God-in-Christ who rules from within and above.

Frederick (Freddie) Jones

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