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Effects of Desegregation on Gadsden County, Florida Public Schools 1968-1972

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION ON

GADSDEN COUNTY, FLORIDA PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1968-1972

By

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ABSTRACT

The present study researches the effects of integration on the public school system in Gadsden County, Florida between 1968 - 1972. During this time period the segregated school system of Gadsden County, Florida was finally dismantled in accordance to the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* Supreme Court decision of 1954 and a number of suits brought against the county by various parties. The researcher seeks to find how students and teachers were affected during the time period.

Gadsden County, which is a rural county located in North Florida, is a majority minority county; Black's make up the majority of the county's population. Gadsden County's economic system is largely agrarian; plant nurseries, tobacco, tomato, cotton and various mines make up a large part of the economic base along with their related fields: refineries, storage and transportation.

During the time period that is being researched, many of the students that were attending the public school system worked on various farms that were owned by several families who owned property in Gadsden County during the Anti Bellum period. These farms not only employed children and their families but also housed and transported the children to and from school; when it was time to plant and harvest the farmer would pull the children out of school. This arrangement had been in effect since Reconstruction. The integration of the public schools was thus the catalyst that significantly changed the dynamics of the county.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Discovery of Problem

While teaching in a newly formed middle school in rural North Florida in the fall of 2004, I was immediately enthralled with the educational climate of the school; it reflected a sense of malaise that blanketed the entire county. This sense of malaise could only partially explain the school system's abnormally low test scores on state standardized tests. While some of the rationale concerning low test scores could have further been explained with findings of various studies using the variables of racial composition and economic background, there seemed to be deeper issues. I was aware of anecdotal evidence that was supported by many of the county's citizens; many suggested that there was an educational collapse amongst Black students that coincided with the integration of the county's public school system. I became intrigued. Could there possibly be evidence that supported their suspicions? Where would I begin? And where would the research lead?

My curiosity was piqued and during February, ironically enough Black History Month, students were asked to complete an informal research assignment. They were to ask older family members what the county was like prior to integration; Gadsden County is a small rural county with close interfamilial bonds. The Black students in the class have family members who have been in the county for generations; when asked were any of the students or their families not from Gadsden County, only a few (all Mexican) answered affirmatively and these students were given an alternate assignment. Those students who participated returned with varied results. Most of the students' family members held negative memories of public life, but thought that their education was better prior to integration. Others had no opinion, or had little to no recollection.

I believe that the latter had simply pushed the negative images and memories into the deep recesses of their minds, since it's hard to imagine that there were life long residents who could not recall any of the twelve or so years spent in public school. One other explanation could be that, like my mother-in-law, some students lived deep in the rural areas of the county and were well insulated from such discussions or experiences. They went to school and home and the

two worlds did not collide. Another and more somber explanation is simply that these members of the Black community chose not to become involved.

Problem Statement

The foci of this study are the effects integration had on the public school system in Gadsden County, which is located in the Florida panhandle 20 miles west of Tallahassee, as well as on the county's students and teachers. Gadsden County is located in a small, rural North Florida region. The legal reversal of social progress that was made by Blacks in the South after the Civil War with the ending of Reconstruction ensured that there two different class structures. An example of the type of legislation that was passed in the wake of Reconstruction in Florida was *Sheat's Law of 1885*, which rigidly enforced segregated school systems in Florida. When the mandate to fully desegregate the public school system was handed down, both students and teachers, previously in self-contained environments, had many hard choices to make. Would they be able to work in an integrated setting? Would their students be able to handle the drastic changes? Would they be taught the same? As students in a segregated community, Blacks were fully aware of their *de facto* status as second class citizens, yet they showed resilience. They served their country in times of war and strived to live the American dream. Through this study the researcher hopes to show how students and educators dealt with this major social change.

As indicated by standardized test results, Gadsden County is currently undergoing an educational crisis and it, like many majority-minority communities, are facing the dual problems of depopulation in the school system and re-segregation. By studying Gadsden County's educational past, answers can be found that are relevant and can address its current problems.

Limitations of Previous Studies

When choosing the dissertation topic: *The effects of Integration of Gadsden County Public Schools from 1968-1972*, the researcher soon realized that there wasn't a plethora of information on the specific topic. In fact, the history of Gadsden County's Black population seemed to be overlooked. The researcher had to expand the research to gather information on the racial attitudes in Florida; these attitudes were not informal views but part of a regimented system. The researcher planned to follow chronological events leading up to the integration of the education system and study the resulting fallout.

Research Questions

The objective of this study is to explore the relationship between integration and Black students' education. The primary research question is this:

1. According to those who were students and teachers in Gadsden County Public Schools in 1968- 1972, what were the effects of desegregation on the Black population?

The study will focus on the years 1968-1972; these were the years affected by mandates to integrate the public school system in Gadsden County. This study will also address the following questions:

- Did the newly integrated school system change the way social issues were addressed in the Black community in Gadsden County?
- How did educators deal with the desegregation of the school system, yet live in segregated communities?
- How did citizen education change in the community?
- What were the immediate positive and negative effects of integration on the Black community?
- What can be learned from this experience when dealing with Gadsden County's current problems in its academic institutions?

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study the terms *desegregation* and *integration* will be used interchangeably. The reasons for this are that the process that is commonly known as *integration* by the public was not a seamless melding of two distinct systems. It was *desegregation* that allowed one formally excluded group access to a good or service.

Civil Rights Movement 1955-1972 – The period in United States history where reform minded citizens worked to overturn the segregated system (Jim Crow) that separated the country along racial lines since the end of reconstruction.

Civil War 1861-1865 - The United States Civil War was fought between the Northern states [the Union] and Southern states [the Confederacy] over the issue of states rights, specifically as the issue related to slavery.

Negro, Black and Colored [those of African descent born in the United States] will be used throughout the study; this is due to the use of dated materials and the fact that research includes interviews with individuals who also use these terms.

Reconstruction 1865-1877 – The period after the Civil War where Blacks enjoyed new freedom and responsibilities, due in large part to the fact that former Confederates lost their citizenship rights in the United States after their defeat. Blacks were able to serve in the legislatures at the local and national levels.

Segregation – A system used to separate or exclude groups due to racial or physical characteristics. In the United States this system was upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1896 *Plessy v Ferguson* Ruling. It in part stated that separate accommodations were permissible as long as they were equal.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historical Background

As we struggle to deal with the pitfalls of education, we tend to forget that only 50 years ago there were legally two separate and unequal educational systems in the United States. Through persistent legal challenges, laws were overturned as a result of the historic *Brown verses the Board of Education* decisions in 1954 and 1955. There was much resistance to change in southern states where actual integration did not take place until the late 1960's and early 1970's. As we would later learn, this was not the first attempt to integrate the public school systems of Florida or the nation. Students and educators often found themselves placed in stressful situations. Informally, all black schools and educators were faced with the prospect of either losing their jobs, or working in an integrated school setting.

Throughout the history of the United States there have been attempts to educate the Black population of this country, since the colonial period, these attempts have been met with mixed results. Blacks in northern states sued for fair and equal education as early as 1790 in Massachusetts (Bell, 2004, p. 88). In 1850 in a case that mirrored *Brown*, *Roberts v. City of Boston* deals with the exclusion of students based on race, sex, birth, origin and condition; even though the case was rejected by the Massachusetts Supreme Court five years later, an all inclusive policy was adopted by Massachusetts legislature (Bell, 2004).

Since I decided to focus on the effects of integration in Northern Florida, a history of Southern culture with respect to the treatment of Blacks and their educational situation was needed. The Ante Bellum South was largely agrarian; there was some industry but the majority of the South's economy relied on slavery; the products, such as cotton and tobacco were produced with slave labor and the sale of slaves supported a minority planter class that controlled much of the economic resources. The education of slaves was illegal and thought to be immoral; a slave that knew how to read would never be happy, and would cause insurrection. There was always an issue with slavery and growing friction between the North and the South, especially as the North became more industrialized and as the need for slaves lessened and the practice of slavery ended in the North. Slavery in the North was not economically feasible with industrialization and increased immigration from Europe.

There were many attempts by both sides to contain or continue slavery. The South's "peculiar institution" was to be protected at all costs. The 1850 Compromise staved off the impending conflict for eleven years. In certain states the Black population, both slave and free were an integral part of the state's economic stability. Negro labor had been used extensively in Virginia's industrial growth for several decades before the conflict of 1861 (Brewer, 1969, p. 5). When the issues involving slavery and its spread to territories could not be solved politically the Southern states decided that they could no longer be apart of the United States of America; thus, the Confederacy was founded in 1861.

The Confederacy was founded, in part, on the belief that a Black person's place was in bondage for perpetuity, as ordained by God and man. The right to own slaves was also part of this plan. This belief under the guise of states rights was one of the main reasons the South seceded. This feeling is spelled out in the Confederate Constitution, a philosophy about the placement of individuals in a society based on skin color. Even as the Confederacy fought to maintain its racial identity it wasn't above using its special population in new ways. When the Emancipation Proclamation was read in 1863, many Northerners thought that the slave population would rally to the Northern cause. According to Professor Eugene Genovese cited in Durden (1972),

To the great satisfaction of the confederates, and the dismay of at least some of the Northerners, no significant slave insurrection occurred. This was certainly not because the slaves were happy in their bondage, as the White Southerner's constantly reassured themselves. The reasons for an absence of insurrections, even after Lincoln's proclamation, are complex. (p. 27)

As the Confederacy situation worsened, the thought of using its slave population as soldiers was something that had been vehemently opposed. According to the *Richmond Enquirer* in November of 1864 also cited in Durden, (1972)

...The South has no reason to believe that the Negro will fight just as bravely in support of the cause of slavery which is the cause of his master, as he will in the cause of liberty, and that his fidelity may just as well be relied on in the one case as in the other.... It suggested that in addition to the duties heretofore performed by the slave, he might be advantageously employed as pioneer and engineer laborer and in that event that number should be augmented to 40,000... Jefferson Davis proposing that slaves be employed to

help the Southern cause trying to circumvent any emancipation of the Southern slaves.
(pp. 87, 102)

After the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865, many former members of the Confederate government were outlaws so they couldn't hold office; although some former military officers were elected to governmental office. A combination of agents from the North and newly freed slaves rose to unprecedented places in state and national government for a 12-year period known as Reconstruction. Good faith attempts were made by the Freedman's Bureau and State Legislatures to educate the newly freed Black population. For instance in 1868, an attempt was made to integrate the Florida school system; of course this action was successfully fought by the White population of Florida and after the end of Reconstruction in 1877, various laws were enacted at both the state and federal levels ensuring there would be no integration of any type for nearly a century.

Plessy v. Ferguson then paved the way for the legitimating of Jim Crow Laws consisting of *de facto* rules governing the relationship between Blacks and White - such as the *Black Codes* - into laws that were backed by the Supreme Court. In all fairness, Justice Harlan in his dissent stated, "In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of those rights."(163 U.S. 537 (1896)). Faulty "Science" and literature were used to prove Black inequality, and through fear and intimidation Whites used Blacks to bolster their argument that separate but equal was necessary and Blacks enjoyed living under this system. (Bell, 2004, p. 12)

I knew that problems faced by Gadsden County in the 1960's were endemic of the situation in the country, the South in particular, but finding books that specifically pertained to the way Gadsden County dealt with integration was difficult, to say the least. The South was still engaged in the *Second Civil War* (the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction) which was an organized attempt to keep the Black population in a subservient role. The White population was determined and succeeded in erasing the gains made by freed slaves during Reconstruction. By doing so, the White population intended to preserve as much of the Ante Bellum social structure as they could, and to a large extent they achieved this goal.

The state of the former confederate economy allowed this to happen due to the huge debt that was accumulated by the Confederacy and the lack of an economic infrastructure in Southern

states which meant that they had to return to the largely agrarian lifestyle that it had known before the Civil War. Former slaves became tenant farmers on the very land that they had once been slaves, and even though the sharecropping system seemed fair in that the former slaves were being paid for their work, the system was set up in such a way that the sharecropper was always indebted to the land owner. This applied to all aspects of the sharecropper's lives. Owners built structures that served as both the church and school, sold supplies or allowed them to have credit so that they would pay them minus the amount that was owed to the land owner.

Because of the importance of farming to the economy and the relative unimportance of Black education, many of the population continued to be undereducated. Most seldom completed basic elementary education. For the large majority of Blacks in the decades following the Civil War, any reading skills that they developed were almost exclusively used for reading the Bible. The school year for Blacks in the South was much shorter than that for White children in Florida. The year consisted of working around planting and harvesting. Many children would miss weeks of school during these periods because their labor was needed on the farms. There was some growth in the formal educational system with the organization of Land Grant Institutions (LGI) throughout the South. Land Grant Institutions were created with the Morrill Act of 1862, the Federal government granted states land to establish institutions of higher learning, these institutions focused on the teaching of agricultural and mechanical disciplines associated with farming. The Morrill Act was amended in 1890 to allow Black (LGIs) to be formed, due to discrimination, by that time Florida had established its own Black (LGIs).

In return for military service, LGI's were set up to teach Blacks skills that they would need to make better farmers, and allow them to return to their communities and teach new farming techniques, as well as training teachers for the Black community. One of these schools, Florida Normal College founded in 1887 in Tallahassee, would later become Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University [FAMU]. Additionally, in the early twentieth century, many northern philanthropists became interested in the education of Blacks in the South. They wanted to make them better members of society and give them skills that would help them become more productive. Four of the more prominent philanthropic organizations were: The Slater, The Jeanes Fund, General Education Board and The Rosenwald Foundation:

1. The Slater Foundation – A million dollar endowment set up by a White Connecticut textile manufacturer in 1882 for the purpose of educating Southern Blacks. The

- foundation built training high schools, extended the school year from 148 to 180 days, and trained teachers who usually had only an elementary education.
2. The Jeanes Fund – The first organization devoted to the education of Blacks in the South. Established by Miss Anna T. Jeanes a Quaker from Philadelphia in 1907; this million dollar fund sought to: (1) aid in funding Black females, (2) to improve schools and homes, (3) repair and purchase equipment for schools, (4) extend the school term and (5) provide summer workshops for teachers
 3. The General Education Board – Created in 1902 by John D. Rockefeller; its objective was “the promotion of Education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed.” It sought to: (1) establish schools, (2) cooperate with associations engaged in educational work, (3) donate property or money to said associations, (4) collect statistics and information, (5) publish and distribute reports, and (6) perform all necessary duties to complete their objectives.
 4. The Rosenwald Foundation – Established in 1917 by Julius Rosenwald who was President of Sears Roebuck. The foundation sought to: (1) build educational structures, (2) assist in providing bus transportation for Blacks, (3) build and provide books for libraries, and (4) improve the home life of Black communities through the teaching of home skills and a cleaner, safer lifestyle. (Henry, 1988).

For all practical purposes, the history of public education for Blacks in Florida didn't begin until after the Civil War. Even though there had been attempts to incorporate an educational system for White males, the education of Blacks, the vast majority in bondage, was illegal. It was commonly thought that educating the Negro would spoil him/her and make him/her unfit for work. Gadsden County was the product of the United States' seizure of west Florida during the War of 1812 (Stanley, 1948). England had owned Florida since the treaty of Paris in 1763. England would subsequently lose the territory to Spain. The United States in 1819 made a treaty with Spain and was thus ceded Florida. Florida then became a haven for runaway slaves and when the fortress that would become Fort Gadsden was erected by the British it became their safe haven. During this time, Indians and slaves harassed Americans and Gov. John Clark of Georgia declared war on the Indians, and soon thereafter Fort Gadsden was named after General Jackson's aid -- James Gadsden (Stanley, 1948).

Gadsden County, Florida was created on June 24, 1823; Gadsden County originally included all the land between the Suwannee and Alapaha Rivers on the east, the Apalachicola River on the west, with Georgia as its northern boundary and the Gulf of Mexico as its Southern boundary. The city of Quincy was then created on May 10, 1825. Georgia planter John Carnochan was credited with introducing cotton to West Florida in 1820, and it would become one of Gadsden County's biggest cash crops.

Slavery was one of the most important elements in the early settlement and economic development of the county, the legal status of the Negro is a pertinent and interesting historical subject, especially in light of the fact following the Civil War it changed abruptly from bondage to freedom, and the Negro became overnight a citizen with civic rights equal to those of his erstwhile master, theoretically. (Stanley, 1948, p.53)

By the time tobacco was introduced to Gadsden County in 1828 by Virginian families and soon became the other cash crop for the county, ceasing production only during the Civil War, Gadsden County's population was evenly divided between White and slave . Due to the economic effects of the war, which included the destruction of the railroad in 1862, tobacco production would not restart until the 1880's. This was known as the "second golden age" (Stanley, 1948, p. 61). The revitalization of the tobacco system that started in the 1880's was augmented by the advent of *shade tobacco* in 1893. Tobacco would continue to be an important part of Gadsden County's economic structure through the 1970's. Many of Gadsden County's companies that were owned by prominent families such as the Mays and Woodards, coincided with the development of shade tobacco. The high point of Gadsden County's existence was the pre-war period, and Stanley's attitude, indicative of many Southerners, felt that this period was akin to the medieval period of Chivalry. (Stanley, 1948)

Plantation life in the ante bellum days was about the most glamorous and romantic in the history of Gadsden County. Each plantation was virtually a little kingdom of it's own with its lord and master exercising the despotic power of life and death over his "vassals", the unchallenged ruler of all he surveyed and whose son was a prince and daughter a princess, literally to the manor born.... The slaves were well cared for in sickness and health, and they seemed well contented with their lot. Col. Harris. (Stanley, 1948, pp. 78-79)

During reconstruction two Blacks - Frederick Hill and William Saunders - along with a White Northerner, were elected to represent Gadsden County at the state constitutional convention. As quoted in Stanley (1948), Hill, who was elected to the State legislature in 1870, went on record saying, "Slaves [Negroes] are not citizens though free" (p. 129).

Post Civil War Education for Blacks

After the Civil War, public and private agencies moved into the South during the reconstruction process which lasted from 1865 to 1877 to attempt the first efforts at securing the education of former slaves in Florida. The Freedmen's Bureau was one of the governmental agencies that was established to help the Black population transition from slave to free citizen. The military educated their Black troops at schools that were set up at various forts including Fort Barrances, where former slaves proved to be very eager learners. Carrie Joycelyn, a teacher and member of the American Missionary Association (AMA) based in St. Augustine, taught pupils who ranged in age from 20 to 75. Many of the students were in not fully clothed. Mrs. Greely stated, "They were the most destitute objects I ever saw, many of them almost naked," (Porter & Neyland, 1977, p. 14) thus this eagerness to learn was heralded as the standard in AMA schools.

Schools were set up across Northern Florida including Tallahassee. There were no more than 15 teachers per year in Florida over the 13 years that the AMA sponsored educational activities in Florida. Teachers had to train Black teachers as well as teach a heavy class load which included literally hundreds of students (Porter & Neyland, 1977). As the population of Black teachers increased, the Black population began to seek out Black teachers; therefore, the need for White teachers decreased. During the 1860's the Florida Constitution was amended on numerous occasions. On January 16, 1866, the legislature passed an act that established a common school system for Freedmen, and appointed a superintendent to run the system. "To establish a school for freedmen when the number of Black children in any county or counties will warrant the same, provided funds shall be sufficient to meet the expenses thereof" (Laws of Florida, 1866). Students had to pay 50 cents a month and adults were taxed one dollar a year (Senate and House Journal, 1866). The monies collected would be put into a fund that would be used to support the common school.

The South's economy was still in ruins from the Civil War and the Black community did not have the fiscal infrastructure to support the fee and taxes mandated by the legislature. The

AMA teachers and students faced the wrath of the White population in the various cities where they operated. During Reconstruction there were many progressive minded individuals who wielded influential power in occupied Florida. These individuals sought to change and improve the lives of Blacks in the state. There was an attempt to create an integrated educational system in Florida in 1868 by Jonathan Gibbs, the first Black man to serve as Secretary of State, on the board of trustees of Florida Agricultural College (University of Florida) and Superintendent of Public Instruction. Gibbs was credited with increasing the number of Black students attending schools, but was fiercely opposed by the Klu Klux Klan and ultra conservative Whites. He served from 1872 when he was appointed by Governor Harrison Reed until his mysterious death in 1874 (Porter & Neyland 1977).

In part due to Gibbs' persistence, the Florida Legislature amended the constitution. Article IX, section I stated, "It is paramount duty of the state to make ample provision for the education of all children residing within its border without distinction or preference" (Florida Constitution, 1868); however, on June 25th of that year, Florida was readmitted to the union. In 1869 the state passed a law that taxed all households; the tax would be used to fund a school system that educated all males between the ages of 6 and 21 (Florida Law, 1869). As expected, the White population vehemently opposed the concept of an integrated school system; they fought this constitutional provision for 16 years. In 1873, the Supreme Court effectively created two classes of citizen due to their rulings in three cases known as the *Slaughter-House Cases*. The U.S. Supreme Court interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment to guarantee the "privileges and immunities" of citizenship nationally as enforced by the federal government, but not locally in the individual states (83 U.S. 36, 71 (1873)).

Sheats Law

In 1885, eight years after the end of Reconstruction, the state constitutional convention reversed all of the earlier provisions. Article XII, section 12 states, "White and Colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provision shall be made for both" (Florida State Constitution, 1885). This reversal was known as *Sheats' Law* which in part prohibited the conduct of any public, private or parochial school wherein Whites and Blacks were instructed or boarded in the same building or taught in the same class; it became unlawful for White persons to teach in Black schools or Blacks to teach in White schools. Violation of this law was punishable by a fine of not less than \$150 or more than \$500 or imprisonment in the county jail

for not less than three months or more than six months (Porter & Neyland, 1977). In 1887, the Florida Legislature segregated colored schools from all other public and private schools within the state.

The legal reversal of all attempts for educational equality for Blacks in Florida was not isolated. After the collapse of Reconstruction in the South, and the rise of a strong feeling of racial superiority among White Southerners, it was a matter of time before the rules enacted by Southern states be legitimated within the larger context of the United States' Legal system. *Sheats' Law* temporarily ended the Northern Philanthropist's attempt to educate Blacks in Florida and forced Blacks to develop avenues to produce their own teachers, thus an emphasis by the philanthropists on normal schools and colleges ((Porter & Neyland, 1977).

The Foundations for Florida's Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's) were laid as a response to *Sheats' Law* and the 1885 Constitution thereby creating Edward Waters College (1891), Florida Memorial University (1892), Bethune – Cookman College (1904), and Florida A&M University (1887). Florida A&M University was created because of the need for a state supported Black institution of higher learning. Thomas V. Gibbs, a Black member of Congress, was instrumental in getting the act passed on October 3, 1887, which established the creation of The State Normal College for colored students. Predictably, with the production of more Black teachers, a segregated teachers' association would have to be formed. The Florida State Teacher Association (FSTA), the Black teachers' association, was founded in 1890 to help improve the level of professionalism among Black teachers in Florida, and merged with Florida Education Association (FEA) in 1966. Other than Northern Philanthropists and Black teachers, there was little interest in the plight of Blacks' education in the South(Porter & Neyland, 1977). According to an educational Survey given in 1929,

In general, one finds little if any real interest in the Black schools on the part of the White people, whether officials or others. The majority are wholly indifferent, some are mildly interested, while quite a large number are hostile to any substantial efforts to provide adequate educational facilities for Blacks (Strayer, 1929, p. 373).

There were attempts to stem the tide of discrimination in all facets of Black life in the United States via numerous civil cases in the United States and the culmination of these court cases was *Plessy v. Ferguson*; in 1892, Homer Plessy was denied entry into a "White's only" railroad car in Louisiana because he was Black . In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court, decision in

the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, provided legitimacy for segregation. Even though *Plessy's* argument that the railroad policy violated the 13th and 14th amendments was sound, the majority opinion of the Supreme Court agreed with Louisiana and ruled that the 30 year old shoemaker, Homer Plessy, would have to sit in the colored section of a railroad car as long as the accommodations were *separate but equal*. Their rationale was that the races had to be separated to uphold the integrity of both races. As would be judged in subsequent cases, by its very nature, the terminology of separate but equal is an oxymoron, in the context of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The only dissenter, Justice Harlan, who stated that “the Constitution is color blind and knows or tolerated classes” Harlan’s argument was finally accepted 62 years later with the Brown decision (*Plessy v. Ferguson* 163 U.S. 537 (1896)).

The *Plessy* decision allowed the de facto segregation, already in place in the South, to become legal and fully enforceable under *color of law* nationally. The separate but equal standard legalized by the *Plessy* case became known as *Jim Crow*. “Jim Crow, a caricature of a Black man created by White minstrel in 1828 to entertain White crowds, had by late in the century come to symbolize a systematic political, legal and social repression of African Americans” (Wormser, 2003, p. xi). A unanimous court in *Cummings v. Richmond County Board of Education* 1899 rejected a challenge to a county’s closing of its Black high school while keeping its White high schools” (*Cummings*, 175 U.S. 528, 544-45 (1899)).

There are several brutal accounts of the treatment of Blacks in the South, and of the willingness of the White population to accept the treatment and the results of unrestrained hatred. Even heroes of armed conflict were not immune to inhuman treatment:

Isaac Woodward a Black soldier returning from three years in the army and being discharged from the Army in Georgia asked to use the toilet on his way to North Carolina. Upon returning to the bus the war veteran was cursed out for taking too long. The bus driver summoned the police chief of a small South Carolina town and had Woodward arrested for allegedly being drunk and disorderly. Woodward vehemently denied the charges but the constable took him off anyway and in an alley beat him with a blackjack and drove the end of his nightstick into the Negro’s eyes. Woodward was kept in jail overnight without any medical treatment. In the morning, he could not see. They let him wash up and paraded him before the local judge, who promptly found him guilty and fined him fifty dollars. By the time that Woodward reached the Army Hospital in

Spartanburg, both corneas were found to have been damaged beyond repair. When the blind ex-soldier told his story in the federal court presided over by Judge Waties Waring in Columbia [South Carolina], the police official denied it. Woodward had grabbed his gun he said and threatened to kill him, so he swung his nightstick mightily at the Negro to subdue him. The Jury nodded. The United States Attorney charged with arguing the case against the law-enforcement official had failed to obtain any witnesses to Woodward's conduct or condition on the bus other than the bus driver. The official was found not guilty and the jury cheered. (Kluger, 2004, p. 298)

There were lynchings and unsolved murders, “[b]etween 1880-1930 an estimated 3,220 African Americans were lynched in the South, 7 in the Northeast, 79 in the Midwest and 38 in the Far west” (Franklin & Moss, 2000, p. 275).

The lives of the Black population in Gadsden County were similarly affected; Blacks never were mentioned on the front page of the local newspaper outside of the section titled *Crime. The Gadsden County Times*, published weekly, gave a clear view of the two worlds that existed and in some ways continues to exist in Gadsden County:

During the late 1950's, *The Gadsden County Times* started a Colored section. African Americans were given their own page and not given front press unless the publicity was negative. Graduation, birth, death marriage announcements were all placed on the page, along with news from Florida A&M University. This section ran through the early 1970's. *The Gadsden County Times* was under new management and took a more progressive attitude. (Interview with Alice Dupont October 24, 2005)

The “Colored Section” of the newspaper ran from the 1950's to 1971. As I reviewed archives at *The Times*, the front page headlines and descriptions were telling. A headline from a 1929 lynching stated: “Negro rapist meets death at hands of angry mob Sat. night.” The article went on to state how the rapist was feared by his own race and was known in general as a “bad nigger” (*Gadsden County Times*, 1929). The headline from a second lynching twelve years later, showed the impunity in which Whites were able to terrorize Blacks within the county - “Governor Holland Awaits Reports on Quincy Negro Slaying: Bishop Asks Suspension of Sheriff; Coroners Jury Returns Verdict of Death at the Hands of Persons Unknown: Victim Was Found Dead After Twice Being Abducted: Accused of Molesting Girl; Sheriff Deputy Davis stated that a group of men wanted that blanky blank A.C. Williams and they unlocked the cell and called for Williams

who came out. The Deputy stated that, “they got my gun, my handcuffs and that nigger” (*Gadsden County Times*, 1941).

Educational History

Gadsden County’s school system had its beginnings in 1851, when the Quincy Academy, a school for Whites, was established. After the Civil War, but during reconstruction, what has been called the beginning of the modern education movement in Gadsden County began, according to Miles Womack (1976) in *A Florida County in Word and Picture*, the only text uncovered on the topic. On September 18, 1869, during a meeting held at the sheriff’s office, it was noticed that there were 2500 White and Black students between the ages of 6 and 21 that needed 30 schools between them. A superintendent was thus selected and his salary set at \$300 dollars for three months (Womack, 1976). The school calendar was set around the growing season, since Gadsden County was and still is a rural agrarian county.

After reconstruction, many Blacks who lived in Gadsden County were educated on the large farms where they lived and worked. Landlords supplied them with a building that was used both as a church and school. Each family paid approximately fifteen dollars a year for students to attend the school. The rural schools existed solely supported by landlords until the 1930’s when the Rosenwald Foundation built new schools. In 1938 the Foundation built several schools in Gadsden County (Appendix D); these schools in contrast to community schools that were built for Black students had modern conveniences and were much safer than the older schools. Between the years of 1913 and 1932 the Rosenwald Fund assisted in the construction of more than 5,000 Negro school buildings in 15 Southern states. The number of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU’s) grew from 1 in 1854 to more than 100 by 1973. The period of largest growth was the first thirty years after the Civil war (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

In 1914, the Old Mitchell Hall located in Quincy served as the school for Black students. Around 1920, the school was moved to the Odd Fellows Hall and renamed Dunbar High School, which along with Stevens High were for Blacks in Quincy (Stanley, 1948). Stevens remained in use until the 1970’s; it became a middle school in the fall of 1955, when another high school opened. The new school was named for two Black education pioneers in Gadsden County; Carter-Parramore was named after Jenkins Carter, a prominent Black citizen and Hattie Parramore an educator (Gadsden County Schools).

When the last graduating class of Carter-Parramore left in 1970, it became a middle school and continued to be so until 2003 when students were moved to Shanks. James A. Shanks was one of the schools built to succeed Carter-Parramore and Gadsden High along with Havana North Side High. The integration of Gadsden County's public schools in 1968 and the building of new high schools changed the educational landscape of Gadsden County. The White minority left the public school system in protest, and opened schools such as Tallavana Christian and Robert F. Monroe in the early 1970's. There was also an exodus of Blacks from local communities, due to limited economic opportunities.

The researcher became interested in how integration affected students and teachers in Gadsden County. How Black students were taught with respect to social science education and citizenship; what changes were made and how were students affected? When looking in older textbooks, the history of Blacks in the United States is non-existent, so how were students taught about their history? What was their place in society? How were students acculturated to their place in society, and how did that change after *Brown*? According to Webster's dictionary printed in 1932, "*Blacks were a separate and secondary class of humans that were unable to match Anglo Saxon Whites intellectually due to deficiencies in the evolutionary process.*" Therefore, how did Black students in Gadsden County see themselves?

As the fortieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* came and went, the Black community, in general and in Gadsden County in particular, seem to be suffering a social regression when it comes to social studies awareness among its students. The district is also suffering from a severe case of re-segregation; a majority of the White students do not attend the county's public schools, and few attend the county's two private schools (which are integrated). The remaining students in the county tend to be lower achieving students. Though reading, math and science are stressed, citizenship education, history, physical and cultural geography are not. Clearly, Gadsden County is experiencing a crisis in their education system; as of the 2002 - 2003 school year, there were approximately 6,946 students in the district: 356 White students, 5,717 African American students, 801 Hispanic students and 72 students who fall in a "catch all" category of race, also called "other", in the public schools, private school data unavailable. According to 2002-2003 statistics furnished by Florida DOE, 1,313 students fall into the exceptional student category.

All of the middle schools and the county's remaining two high schools are failing; schools are graded according to the state and federal government's definition of making Adequate Yearly Progress [AYP]. In Florida this is based upon the percentage of students who meet the benchmark on the Florida Comprehension Achievement Test (FCAT), and overall student achievement. There were four failing high schools in the area – Havana Northside, Greensboro, James A. Shanks and Chattahoochee. Due to depopulation, Chattahoochee was closed at the end of the 2004-2005 school year and merged with Greensboro to form West Gadsden High School; likewise, due to budget restraints Shanks and Havana were merged and placed at the newly constructed East Gadsden High School. Prior to their closing, Chattahoochee High was the only high school with a grade of C or higher, and this grade would be questioned by the state amidst rumors of test tampering and fraud. Students have not been able to make the minimum gains necessary on the FCAT to warrant a passing grade, at the time of the study was being completed the county was awaiting the 2004-2005 test results to see if the state will implement its “3 strikes and you are out” rule. This rule states that if a school fails to make AYP, the state can step in to micromanage that school.

Overall, the county has a 48% high school graduation rate, and at a recent graduation, 40% of the students participating in the commencement exercises received a certificate of completion; meaning that they went to school for 13 years, (K-12) but could not meet the basic graduation requirements.

I was surprised to learn that the school system in Gadsden County had almost double the student population as it does presently. At the time of integration, the Gadsden County school system was much bigger than it is now. There were approximately 10,737 students in the district's 16 public schools in the 1965-1966 School Year (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965). Obviously, the fallout from the *Brown II* (decision that followed *Brown*, rendered in 1955) decision could immediately be felt. Even the Supreme Court Justices were not immune from the ire of Southerners. The following is a letter sent to the Supreme Court from a man in Florida and addressed to Chief Justice Earl Warren:

Sir: and the eight other Black robes Death's Heads I refrain from Calling you men. you have outraged the people of America. and her Constitution. You have obeyed the Counsel of the Negro's. the NAACP Why? The Communists are Behind it and you know it. Do you think the American people will allow you to take away Their Rights. No we are a

white Nation we will never lower our selves To the level of the Black Race. They are not made in the Image and Likeness of god. They are the Descendants of Cain. Cain murdered his brother Abel god put a mark on Him and His Seed. for the end of all Time. Nothing Can erase it: they Have Soul That will Become as White as Snow if they live according to gods law: the mark is Black and the Smell is Reppelant. Do not Think you Can Defy or Change gods Decree [sic] (Cottrol, 2003, p. 188).

Even President Dwight D. Eisenhower let his opinions be known, saying “[Southern Whites] ‘are not bad people. All they are concerned about is to see that their sweet little girls are not required to sit in school alongside some big overgrown Negroes’ ” (Patterson, 2001, p. 88). Eisenhower is later quoted as saying, “ ‘It is difficult through law and through force to change a man’s heart’ ”, (in Bass, 1981, p. 117). According to the respondents of this research, such sentiments still be heard in the South in General and Gadsden County in particular.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court issued an opinion “declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional” and added, “All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle” (Kluger, 2004, p. 744). While most of the public can associate the year 1954 with the *Brown* case, there were actually two decisions with the more important decision regarding desegregation being rendered on May 31, 1955. In actuality, the *Brown* Case consisted of five different cases, *Briggs v Elliot* (South Carolina), *Davis v County School Board* (Virginia), *Gebhart v. Belton* (Delaware), *Bulah v Gebhart* (Delaware) and *Brown v. Broad of Education* (Topeka, Kansas), which collectively became known as *Brown II* (Ogletree, 2004, pp. 4-5).

On May 31, 1955, the final Brown decision Brown II was issued. In a compromise position, one that would allow decades to pass before full implementation of the original decree, the Supreme Court remanded the cases to the District courts with directions to implement desegregation with “all deliberate speed.” The justices hoped that the ambiguous timetable would give White Southerners an opportunity to adjust to what would be a drastic change in their customs, under the guidance of federal judges in local communities. (Cottrol, 2003, p. 184)

The quote, *all deliberate speed*, was taken from the 1918 case of *Virginia v. West Virginia* dealing with public debt between the two States and used by Oliver Wendell Holmes in writing the court’s opinion (Kluger, 2004, p 742). However, the Court did not fix a date for the end of

segregation, as future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall had so vigorously requested, and *Brown II* did not direct the courts below to require the defendant school boards to submit a desegregation plan within ninety days as the federal government had recommended (Kluger, 2004). “In the eleven states of the Deep South, the judges had the jobs of forcing compliance on unwilling school boards... if Judges could imagine a legitimate reason to delay he would delay” (Ogletree, 2004, p. 127).

Of all of the cases that made up *Brown II*; the *Briggs* case was the most important from both an educational and psychological perspective. The cornerstone of *Briggs* was the Black and White doll study used by the defense. Identical dolls were placed in front of Black children. The children identified the White doll as better and the Black doll as looking bad; only half identified with the Black doll (Ogletree, 2004). Professor Kenneth Clark’s conclusion in the Clarendon County tests, which were consistent with the results of the same test he had previously given to over three hundred children, was that,

The Negro child accepts as early as six, seven or eight the negative stereotypes about his own group and that a fundamental effect of Segregation is basic confusion in the individual and their concepts about themselves conflicting in their self – images. [The child has] basic feelings of inferiority, conflict, confusion in his self- images, resentment, hostility towards himself, hostility towards Whites, intensification of a desire resolve his basic conflict by withdrawing. (Greenberg, 1994, p. 124)

In 1955, the Supreme Court remanded the case of *Briggs v Elliott et al* (South Carolina school board case) to a three man District Court panel. The decision of this panel and the opinion written by Justice John Parker of South Carolina was used by the South to circumvent the enactment of true desegregation reform. *The Parker Doctrine*, as his decision thus became known as, stated that all the court had decided in *Brown* was that:

A state may not deny to a person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains... but if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools as they attend different churches. Nothing in the Constitution or in the [Brown] decision of the Supreme Court takes from people the right to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such discrimination as

occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation. (Kluger, 2004, p. 752)

Many states used *The Parker Doctrine* to stall any implementation of integration. One of the more famous cases was *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958) in which Arkansas attempted to suspend implementing the *Brown* decision due to public objection to integration. The case led to the integration of Central High in Little Rock [Little Rock Nine] (*Cooper*, 358 U.S. 1, 12-13(1958)).

Southern members of Congress were outraged that their way of life was being threatened and in a manner similar to the response to the outrage over slavery, Congressmen issued a statement known as the *Southern Manifesto*. The *Southern Manifesto* was read into the *Congressional Record* on March 12, 1956. This document contained ninety-seven signatures, nineteen from the Senate and seventy – seven from the House of Representatives. The Manifesto proclaimed, “The Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.” It also alleged that “outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some states.” (Cottrol, 2003, pp. 187-188). The Manifesto concluded with a pledge to “use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of the [Brown] decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation” (Cottrol, 2003, pp. 187-188).

There were several other Civil Rights cases that were influenced by *Brown*. These cases continued the process of dismantling Jim Crow legislation such as *Loving v Virginia* 1967 (interracial marriages), in which the court ruled Virginia could not disallow marriage based solely on race. *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* 1960 (Gerrymandering), in which the court ruled Alabama could not exclude Tuskegee, Alabama’s 400 Negro votes. *Baker v. Carr* 1962 and *Reynolds v. Sims* 1964, in which the courts ruled Tennessee and Alabama respectively reapportionment attempts ignored growth in the state and both violated the Fourteen amendment that led to the Voting Rights Act; *Escobedo v. Illinois* 1964, violated the defendant’s Sixth Amendment right to counsel; *Miranda v. Arizona* 1966, in which the court ruled that a suspect be made aware of his rights; *Gideon v. Wainright* 1963, which guaranteed a defendant’s right to counsel and established the rights of the accused (Kluger, 2004). These latter cases would be used in the Civil Rights movement to guarantee fair treatment of those accused of violating crimes.

Even though there weren't any large outbreaks of violence in Florida, due to the leadership of Governor Leroy Collins who will be discussed later, other areas of the South were not immune to racial violence. Some of the highlighted incidents include the 1955 murder of Emmitt Till in Mississippi, the Alabama Bus Boycott in 1956 and various other demonstrations against the continued use of Jim Crow laws. The Brown decision helped usher in the modern Civil Rights movement. Part of the reasoning behind the lack of violence in Florida was the decline in the Black population. "In 1950, 21.8% of Florida's population was Black but that number fell to 15.3% by 1970" (Harvey, 2000 p. 69). Florida's location and its extensive involvement in the tourist industry also played a part in the lack of racial violence when compared to other Southern states.

Leroy Collins, Florida governor from 1955-1961, supported segregation but believed that the Supreme Court was the law of the land and needed to be followed and accepted. In part due to his leadership, Florida did not react *emotionally* to *Brown* (Kluger, 2004). Collins stated that "Hate is not the answer and that Blacks were entitled to equal rights. Collins and [Ruben] Askew were Florida's only gubernatorial voices of the era to support the easing of racial tension" (Colburn & Scher, 1976). Governor Leroy Collins responded to the Brown decision by setting up a commission - The Commission on Race Relations. The Commission's goal was to set up a system which refocused the relationship between Whites and Blacks, and to ascertain the method to best accomplish this. The Commission was bi-racial and attempted to communicate with other states throughout the United States to find the focus of this relationship. Cody Fowler, Chairman of the commission stated in a May 27, 1960, speech, "Our role is not to segregate or to desegregate but to help each and every local community to face and solve its racial problems with the maximum of understanding" (Governor's Advisory Commission on Race Relations, 1957-1961). In "The Need for Congressional Implementation of the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision" speech on March 8, 1960, Governor Collins stated the following:

That the legislature was there to make a decision to continue segregation in education were permissible, he further stated that the Congress had a three fold purpose: 1) Determine what course of action to follow in review of the *Hawkins* decision [*Hawkins v. Board of Control et al*]; 2) What effective and legally sound action the state may take to assure the continuance of segregation in our schools; 3) What precautions we can take to

prevent further deterioration in our race relations. (Governor's Advisory Commission on Race Relations, 1957-1961).

Virgil Hawkins sued to integrate the University of Florida Law School in 1950 and lost; the case was reviewed in the aftermath of Brown and the verdict overturned in 1955 (*Hawkins v. Board of Control et al* 47so 2d 608, 1950 Fla; *Hawkins v. Board of Control et al* 350 US 413(1958)).

There were some uneasy first steps in the state. The *Report of the Advisory Commission on Race Relations* to Governor Leroy Collins recommended voluntary integration as practiced in North Carolina. It also noted the voluntary integration of schools in Dade County in 1958 and the admittance of two Black law students at UF. In the 1958 *Hawkins* Case, the Supreme Court of Florida stated the following:

The theory of separate but equal facilities under which this state has developed its educational system since *Plessy v. Ferguson*, supra, was decided in 1896, has been abolished by the decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka*, supra, 347 U.S. 483, (Governor's Advisory Commission on Race Relations, 1957-1961 (Folder 1) Series 226 Box 2 Florida Archives).

Florida State University admitted its first Black undergraduate student, Maxwell Courtney in 1962; he was a native of Tallahassee and graduated cum laude in 1965 (FSU Alumni Association, 2004).

North Florida did witness its share of the modern Civil Rights Movement which was instrumental in forcing Southern states to desegregate. In response to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, students from Florida A & M started the Tallahassee Bus boycott. On May 27, 1956, Florida A & M students Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie Patterson were given the same order [as Rosa Parks of Montgomery fame] by a Tallahassee bus driver; that was, stand in the back of the bus so that White people can sit or get off the bus. The two students refused to do either and were arrested for "placing themselves in a position to cause a riot." The charges were eventually dropped and the incident prompted Tallahassee Blacks to start their own boycott. The Tallahassee bus boycott was organized by FAMU students though supported by Black community leaders. C.K. Steele, a former Montgomery pastor and associate of King's, coordinated the Boycott. Blacks had three demands 1) First come First serve seating 2) Hiring Black Drivers 3) Courteous treatment of Blacks. "Blacks accounted for 70% of the city's bus

service customers. The Boycott lasted 18 months and concessions were reached. (*Tallahassee Democrat*, 2005)

According to the *Gadsden County Times*, Quincy was also involved. It reported the following:

Civil Rights Demonstration Staged Here Tuesday - Quincy's first demonstration by civil rights advocates got off to a late and uneventful start here Tuesday morning. The march which originated at Arnett Chapel A.M.E. church at the corner of Duval and Clark Street, was in response to a call by Dr. Martin Luther King for Negroes and other sympathizers to take to the streets and protest since Congress had not passed the voting rights bill by Tuesday August 3 ",.... The march was organized by Rev J.T. Crutcher pastor of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church The march went on without incident. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965).

Integration v. Desegregation

During this time the Gadsden County Sheriffs department was desegregated. E.L Eddie Robinson became the first Black deputy sheriff (*Gadsden County Times*, 1969).

The Gadsden school district reacted as many school systems in the South and held out implementing integration in the public school system as long as possible. There was an uncomfortable status quo in the County until the mid sixties. *The Parker Doctrine* helped Gadsden County's non compliance with *Brown II*. As Gadsden County felt the pressure to integrate from internal and external forces, there were finally steps taken for *voluntary* integration.

91 Negroes Apply to Attend White Schools - A total of 91 Negro students had made the applications to attend formally all White schools in Gadsden County at the end of a week of registration last Friday, according to Max D. Walker, superintendent of schools. The school at Chattahoochee which has grades one through twelve, received the highest number of applications with 55 showing a desire for attendance there. Havana which also has an equal number of grades with Chattahoochee had 18 applicants and George W. Munroe Elementary School at Quincy received 10 applications. Quincy Elementary received 2 applications while Quincy High School received 4. Greensboro also having grades one through twelve received two applications... The Plan for Desegregation as accepted by the Office of Education, and Welfare;[was part of the Department of Health Education and Welfare, also known as HEW], stated that in the event of overcrowding at

a particular school from the choice made, priority of assignment would be made on a proximity basis. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965).

White parents had started to take steps to preserve their culture and private schools began to spring up throughout the area.

Private school opens Sept. 7 in Tallahassee - Tallahassee Christian School opens a non profit non denominational school. The School Principal is Rev. James C. Smith, was a Graduate of Bob Jones University in Greenville S.C. ... Placement test will be used and academic standards will be kept high so that transferring will not be a problem. Teachers will be well qualified and will have certificates and Degrees [sic]. (*Gadsden County Times* 1965).

Chattahoochee High had its first integrated classes during the 1965-66 school year (1966 Chattahoochee year book). “The faculty was also integrated. Teachers were limited to teaching Physical Education no matter what their educational background. Some of the “duties of the Black physical education teachers were to make sure that the White and Black children didn’t touch – there was an incident where the children went home and said they touched” (Interview with Clara M. West, [Teacher] and Mildred Dixie [K. Dixie 1st grader in 1966] 10/27/05). The 65-66 class was the pilot integration program with students from South Side Elementary at Chattahoochee High.

During the period of integration, *The Gadsden County Times* reported the county’s educational budget and the populations of various schools (Appendix B). The schools were more community based and semi autonomous. “School Board Adopts budget- The Gadsden County School Budget For 1965-66 was \$3,540,561” (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965). *The Gadsden County Times* eagerly reported that “School Desegregation In Gadsden County Without incident.” The article states that there were 10,737 students enrolled in 16 schools with a \$250,000 monthly payroll which boosts county’s economy. Public schools in Gadsden have been in session for six weeks and no incidents have been reported since the Washington approved desegregation plan went into effect. Sixty Negroes are enrolled in previously all-White schools. Gadsden County’s school budget for the 1965-66 school year was \$3,833,499. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965).

The headline of *The Gadsden County Times* was misleading at best, even though the students were allowed to request transfers to predominately White schools in the western part of

the county, students still felt the pressure to remain separate from the White community and also their own. Educators in the South were lagging behind other parts of the country and starting in the 1965 -66 school year teachers in Gadsden County were finally getting benefits that other state and county employees took for granted. “*School Board Supplements Insurance For Employees – Agrees to pay \$2 per month on each employee*” two classes of insurance 1&2; 1 for those making more that 2500 a year would carry life insurance \$4000 double indemnity with 12,000 dismemberment. Class 2 was [half of that] (*Gadsden County Times*, 1965). As one of the respondents of this study stated, the school board still did not pay into Social Security and many of the educators employed during this time, though they have retired from the classroom, had to continue working to make up the missing units of their Social Security benefits, not paid by the Florida Teacher Retirement System.

Gadsden County schools did not comply with the orders of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), read the headline from *The Gadsden County Times*.

Gadsden County will offer Best Education Possible-With or Without Federal Funds HEW Claims Freedom of Choice not Working. Proof Shows Great Progress IS Being Made. Following a conference Monday morning between a team representing the Department of Health Education[and Welfare] and Gadsden County officials, Max D. Walker assured the HEW officials that Gadsden County would have a school system that considered all children and offered the best education possible, with or without federal funds. He warned that cutting off federal funds would hurt most the very people HEW was trying to Help....The HEW was in Gadsden County to make a review of the school integration progress.... The HEW stated that Gadsden County turned in an incomplete report [1st grader excluded] and that Gadsden County had not made adequate progress for the second year of integration.... Sup[erintendent] Walker had this to say ‘Actually what you are saying is that you have to have a percent of the Negro students requesting and moving to White schools, 10 or 12 percent, in order to meet the requirements of HEW. What you are saying then, is that Gadsden County should force students to transfer against the wishes of the students and the parent in order to create a racial balance involved in the situation. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1966).

Even though there was a shift in the student population, the older Rosenwald schools were being closed as newer schools were being built to replace them. “New High school Named James A. Shanks – Named after educator who served the county for 42 continuous years. At a cost of 1.25 million dollars new high school will open in the fall” (*Gadsden County Times*, 1968). The student population stayed stable at approximately 11,000 students, and the school board budget increased at a yearly rate. For example the school board budget for 1968-1969 rose to \$6,112,788.63 (*Gadsden County Times*, 1968). A year later the county had an operating budget of \$7,475,046 of which \$5,384,914.24 would come from the state and the balance from county taxes (*Gadsden County Times*, 1969).

For the 1969-1970 school year, the school budget and the student population both fell slightly. After this school year the student population figures were not published and the Gadsden County School Board did not have the records of the student population by schools. The Florida Department of Education in Tallahassee, Florida, stated that the records that were kept went by grade level and did not have the racial make up of the students in the database since this was the responsibility of Gadsden County.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 helps usher in school desegregation in Gadsden County.

County Schools Come Under Court Order - Board Must Submit Plan by July 18. Gadsden County is one of 14 counties in the state of Florida against which suits have been filing charges non-compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A United States Marshall served the papers on the Gadsden County Superintendent Max Walker last Friday. ... At a meeting in Tallahassee, State Board of Education authorize its general counsel to assist, upon requesting school board attorneys in fighting federal suits which have been brought against Gadsden and 13 other counties in Florida. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1970).

The school system that Gadsden County operated under was a community school system; even though the Gadsden County Schools board was ultimately responsible for the operation of the district, each school and the surrounding community had a certain amount of autonomy. That would change during the 1969-1970 school year.

Unity School System Being Set For Gadsden All Approved By Dist. Judge Map Showing Boundaries and School Judge David L. Middlebrooks of the United States District for the Northern District of Florida, signed a court order on Friday Aug. 7 in Tallahassee which

commands Gadsden County to completely desegregate the county's schools prior to opening day on Monday Aug 24. (*Gadsden County Times*, 1970).

Against the backdrop of integration there was still simmering resentment in the Black community.

Violence Flares In City Saturday As Result of Negro Being Wounded – Saturday at 7:15 B.W. Roberts shot a Negro Harry Chestnut twice in the legs and in the shoulder The Shooting took place at the Peppermint Club. Quincy City Manager Harbert C. Gregory [stated] “Disturbances started at around 7:30 and continued until 9:30. During this time there was every attempt to get those involved to peacefully disperse and go to their homes. [O]nly after forceful action was taken about 9:30 did the crowd disperse” Curfew was placed on the entire city lasting from 10 p.m Saturday until 7 a.m.” [The Gadsden County Sheriff Robert Martin Suffered a fatal Heart attack during the Riot-Sheriff W.H. Woodham would eventually be appointed and became the longest serving Sheriff in Florida until his retirement in 2004] (*Gadsden County Times*, 1970).

As a result of the violence, a bi-racial committee was formed to look into the issues and grievances that the Black community had (*Gadsden County Times*, 1970). The 1970-71 school year was the first year of total desegregation in Gadsden County; the 1971 graduating high school class was the first integrated class. The County expected there to be problems; the Times reported the events.

Schools Open With Minimum of Difficulties – The Sixteen public Schools of Gadsden County opened Monday Morning on Schedule and after assignment of pupils to Classes and other orientation, students were dismissed at approximately 11a.m. Since all of the public schools were opened this term on an integrated basis it was feared by some trouble would develop. There were no incidents of a major nature reported. M.D. Walker, superintendent of schools, stated Tuesday (*Gadsden County Times*, 1970).

As a response to the integration process some of Gadsden County's White residents decided to set up schools that more reflected their values. The following headlines from *The Gadsden County Times* show the process in which the private schools that are now known as Tallavana Christian and Robert F. Monroe were implemented. The first Christian school was set up in Tallahassee in 1965 with the help of Bob Jones University, a very conservative Christian

college located in South Carolina. The Tallahassee school would be instrumental in the set up of the Christian school in Gadsden County.

Greensboro Site Picked For New Private School Emphasizing a ‘Christian’ atmosphere and ‘high scholastic standards’ a new private school will definitely open in Gadsden County in September, even though only a month ago it was only an idea. Called the Christian Academy of Quincy, the institution is the brainchild of two local ministers. it[sic] will admit students from the 3 to the 12th grade... The school received help from faculty from the Tallahassee Christian school [North Florida Christian]... scheduled to open September 1 (*Gadsden County Times*, 1971).

The school would be known as the Gadsden Christian Academy and would open in the fall 1973. The name would eventually change to Tallavana Christian in 1995. The school that would be known as Robert F. Monroe opened in 1970 in Gadsden County. It was named after R.F. Monroe, a 46 year old civic leader, businessman and farmer who lost a leg in World War II (*Gadsden County Times*, 1968).

With continued help form various religious and community groups these schools were able to upgrade their facilities. For example in 1971 Robert F. Monroe received a state of the art gym of the latest design (*Gadsden County Times*, 1971). As a result of integration, many of the Black teachers were displaced. The old schools were being closed and there was a redundancy problem with the amount of educators versus positions available. Even though both White and Black teachers were displaced, it seemed as though Black teachers felt the brunt of the losses.

In Some Counties in Florida many Black teachers and administrators lost there jobs due to the integration of the schools systems and student depopulation. Many Black teachers had to take different Exams to be reemployed such as the National Teachers Examination; the teachers were not ‘grandfathered’ in. (Porter & Neyland, 1977, p. 124) This final act of integrating teachers effectively ended the old educational system in Gadsden County. Older Black teachers were unable to “keep up” so a core group of teachers were lost. Younger educators who graduated from college during the 1960’s were the new frontline in the integration process. Even though these young teachers were themselves products of a segregated school system, they taught in the new school system.

After positive steps were made by Governor Collins, and continued with the Bryant and Burns administrations, which saw the development of the Central Florida tourism industry with

the decision to build Disney World in the Orlando area. Florida then elected Governor Claude Kirk a staunch Republican in 1966. He was the first Republican Governor in Florida since the end of Reconstruction and he fought integration tooth and nail. He also fought busing and was aligned with the segregationist faction of the South. Kirk sought to put Florida on a mantle of Southern leadership. On April 12, 1967, Governor Kirk was asked to join the governors of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia in a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, to discuss the “recent court decisions involving the future well being of public education in our region” via telegram. On April 13, 1967, Kirk refused and called the meeting divisive and stated that “the sovereign state of Florida needs no regional Confederation to intercede in its federal – state relations” (Governor Claude Kirk Administrative Correspondence, 1967-1970).

Governor Kirk had personally taken over the Manatee County School Board so not to have to desegregate it. “Only after facing personal fines of \$10,000 a day did he relinquish control on April 7, 1970, and allowed the busing of students to create a 80% White 20% Black ratio” (Harvey, 2002, p. 68). Kirk also delayed the opening of the school year to avoid integration by filing a amicus brief before the U.S. Supreme Court to appeal *Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (a 1970, North Carolina desegregation case). He further investigated the legality of withholding state school funds from school districts that used busing as a means of integration, and led Parents Against Forced Busing (PAFB) with the United Citizens, Inc. (Harvey, 2002, pp. 68-69).

In 1970 Florida elected a new governor, Rubin Askew, who was very moderate with regards to social and educational integration. Governor Askew sought to turn the state’s view away from the negative aspects of integration. He wanted to create an educational climate where all students would be served equally. In his attempts to integrate, Askew had the backing of Claude Anderson, Professor of Educational Foundations at Florida A&M University. Anderson believed education had to play a major part in any attempts to fully integrate Florida’s educational system and he believed in community integration (Harvey, 2002). Governor Askew created the Florida Governor’s Citizens Council on Education (CCE) in 1971. With the appointment of the CCE and the increase in teacher salaries, Governor Askew hoped to improve the state’s educational climate. Florida teachers’ salary was first in the South at \$ 8,300 per year, as well as the amount spent per student, \$554 (Florida Department of Education Research Brief, no Date circa 1971, Askew papers).

The issue of busing still divided the state, with lines drawn along party lines. Former Governor Kirk and his association (PAFB) represented conservatives. Governor Askew sought to end the debate with a controversial “Straw Poll” to amend the state Constitution. The Straw Poll asked voters to decide on two questions: 1) Were they against forced Busing and 2) Do they believe that students should have equal access to education (Harvey, 2002 p. 79). The busing question failed to pass in Gadsden County. Blacks there voted 4,639 to 1,727 against busing (*Tallahassee Democrat*, 1972). Contrary to public belief, Blacks in Gadsden County wanted to stay in their own community, and felt pressured by the busing issue. In the meantime the conflict in Gadsden County had attracted national attention, as reflected in the headline, heralding the arrival of national civil rights leaders to the area “Julian Bond, John Lewis to Speak here Aug. 30th” . (*Gadsden County Times*, 1971).

I also read research that dealt with the impact of desegregation of public schools on various schools systems across the South. The articles and dissertations that I read focused on the importance of the faculty in the Black school systems such as Venessa Siddle Walker’s (1996) dissertation; which was a study of the history of the Caswell County Training School which was located in North Carolina. Jodi Petit’s (1997) study focused on the recollections of former students and alumni of a segregated High school in Fayetteville, North Carolina. The respondents of that study touch on the importance of the support of the Black community in the operation of segregated schools. The focus of Eugenia Mills’s (1999) dissertation was the role of rural Black schools in Georgia and how the students sought to overcome the inherent disadvantages of the segregated school systems. Frank Brooks’s (2002) dissertation focused on the policies made during segregation and its effects on higher education in the state of Alabama. These studies were very helpful in the design of this dissertation study.

While these dissertations shed light on the inequalities of the segregated school system they also illustrate, the sense of loss that accompanied the desegregation of the schools in the wake of the *Brown* decisions. Some researchers believe that the benefits of the desegregation process outweigh any negative consequences associated with the loss of the segregated schools. Adam Fairclough states in his 2004 article, *The Costs of Brown: Black Teachers and School Integration*; that many Black Educators feared a loss of power due to the end of the segregated school systems. He further states that Black schools were a haven for unqualified teachers. His assumptions seem to suggest that all Black schools were outmoded and the feelings of former

students and teachers were not as important as the actions taken to desegregate the schools. From his article it seems that Fairclough believes that progress is positive and that anything that is associated with the segregated systems needs to be discarded.

Chapter Summary

The history of education in Gadsden County is a microcosm of the history of the South. From its inception through the events of the 1960's, Gadsden County was a place where two worlds existed in an uneasy truce with each other. The dividing lines of these two communities were easy to see because of the locations of the affected groups of people, and the rural nature of the county further exasperated the situation. The Blacks in Gadsden County were truly an underclass, a holdover from slavery and strengthened by the *Plessy* decision in 1896. Blacks in the county faced institutional obstacles in trying to be treated fairly, a situation that was mirrored throughout the South.

Even though attempts were made to educate the newly freed slaves after the Civil War, many of the gains that were made ended up being lost at the conclusion of the reconstruction period. With the ending of reconstruction in 1877, those who championed progressive methods of integrating the Black population into the South found their services no longer needed. The education of Blacks in Gadsden County fell to the landowners and county. Landowners basically determined when school would be open and for how long. As in other parts of the country, school schedules coincided with the planting and harvesting of various crops and students would be needed for various duties. Needless to say, for a majority of Blacks, education was below any reasonable standards.

Landowners provided most of the structures used as schools; these structures were multipurpose buildings that in some cases served as churches and meeting halls. That changed with the advent of the Rosenwald Foundation; the Northern Philanthropist, who founded this foundation, was responsible for building new school structures for the improvement of education of Blacks in the South. The Foundation ended up building over 5000 structures throughout the South and built several structures in Gadsden County in the 1930's.

There were several unsuccessful challenges to the *Plessy* decision, a court decision that would fundamentally change the landscape of both education and society in the South in that it legally institutionalized segregation, mostly in the South. The turn around to the legal status of

segregation was the 1954/1955 *Brown v Board Education* and decisions, respectively. These decisions effectively overturned the *Plessy* verdict and opened the door for the integration of public facilities and made it illegal to segregate on the basis of race. Even though the decisions stated that it was illegal to segregate, the actual dismantling of the segregation fell to the lower circuit courts. *The Parker Doctrine* allowed states such as Florida to prolong the segregation of schools using the voluntary integration method as a means of satisfying the *Brown* mandate. The federal government eventually stepped in and integration of Gadsden County schools effectively began in 1966. With governmental involvement a more bureaucratic view of education was developed as opposed to the communal view that was previous held. By 1968 the integration process was fully under way with many of the schools starting to be phased out and newer schools such as James A. Shanks being built. Some segments of the county responded by building their own schools and pulling their children out of the public school system. In the end, all of the community was affected. The two school systems merged and many of the older Black educators were forced out of the system.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Role of the Researcher

My role in this study of the public schools of Gadsden County (1968-1972) is to uncover facts regarding the effects of integration for those that were most affected by it: educators and students. Typically, when this historical period is studied, the role and feelings of those involved are often overlooked in favor of the perceived greater good. I wanted to see if the members of the Gadsden County community most effected by the drastic change in the educational system of their county felt as though they were “helped” by the efforts of the federal government in response to a real injustice, or forever harmed. I hope to bring the often hidden side of the integration story to the forefront allowing future researchers a starting point for new research concerning either this time in history, or at least access to research conducted pertaining to the overall effects of integration on the educational system in Gadsden County, Florida.

I had to remember that in the course of gathering data that I must remain objective concerning the events; i.e., that I must be careful not to influence the findings or the interviews with my own prejudices, but to make sure that the study demonstrates as much professionalism as possible (Creswell, 2005). Since this was an historical study I had to make the interviewees feel at ease, and allow them to tell their experiences from their point of view. The use of structured open ended questions allowed the interview to proceed without the interviewee feeling that they were constrained (Creswell, 2005). I found that many of those interviewed felt that they weren’t asked their opinion regarding their willingness to integrate the school system.

Sites

The interviews were conducted at several sites during the week of May 27th through June 4th, 2005. The sites include: James A. Shanks Middle School, Carter-Parramore Academy (presently an alternative school that was a high school during the years studied), and the homes of former educators Clara M. West, my mother in law, and Ora D. Green. Mrs. West and Mrs. Green were kind enough to open up their homes so that many of the respondents in this study accepted the invitations to be interviewed. The reason that the interviews were conducted in the homes of two hosts was twofold; first the other respondents felt comfortable being interviewed in

the these homes because they knew Mrs. West and Mrs. Green, owing to Gadsden County's small size and the familiarity in the Black community, and because of the central location of the homes. I was able to conduct the interviews in an optimal setting; the interviewees were relaxed which aided the interview process. Several of the interviews were also conducted via telephone since there was and remains a mass exodus of Black high school graduates (who left to explore greener pastures); former students relocated to various parts of the country including New York, Chicago, Virginia and Miami. Because many of those that were involved in the interviews had left the area, the use of the telephone or attending major events in the area such the Carter – Parramore Super Reunion were necessitated.

However, many of the interviewees who were either teachers or students at the time of integration were now employed by the Gadsden County School system. The reason for the seemingly skewed sample was that as I attempted to gather potential interviewees the only a few respondents gave agreed to participate; I had asked former students who made up various segments of the Gadsden County's Black Community and who were students during the time period being studied. Of the 50 initial contacts that I made during the Super Reunion and directly after the event, the study was able to secure twenty respondents. Other contacted individuals either did not return my queries or did not want to be included in the research for various reasons including not wanting to relive the past. The fact that a majority of the respondents were now employed by the Gadsden County School district made local school sites the best location for several of the interviews since they provided a more opportune atmosphere for reminiscing and discussion; due to Gadsden County's overwhelming Black presence and that many of those in the school system are related, the respondents had no fear of repercussions from the School Board. Additionally, the homes of both Clara M. West and Ora D. Green located in Gadsden County were also used during the gathering of information for this study. Combined, the pair has taught in the county for nearly 80 years and graduated from the county's segregated schools and Mrs. West graduated from Florida A&M University and Mrs. Green graduated from Florida Memorial. Visits to their homes, whether planned or impromptu, always yielded the opportunity to interview visiting relatives, colleagues, high school classmates, educators and area politicians who were products of the county's segregated public schools. On several occasions, once the news of this study spread, the interviewees would contact one of the two women

through various relatives and friends and indicate that they would be in the area, provide their contact information and then come by for an interview.

Sample

The sample used included approximately 20 interviews with individuals involved in the integration process of Gadsden County. The majority of the interviewees were students at the time; all of the interviewees were Black; 16 were women, 4 were men; 18 were college educated. Eighteen of those interviewed reside in the Gadsden County area. The following is a list of the respondents:

- Doris Black, (DB): Carter-Parramore Class of 1965 Gadsden County teacher. Gadsden teacher of the year 2005-2006.
- Roosevelt Bradwell, (RB): Carter-Parramore Class of 1961, Retired teacher Gadsden County.
- Evonski Bulger (EB), Shanks Class of 1978, Assistant Principal Gadsden Technical Institute.
- Charlie Cook (CC) Shanks Class of 1971, Probation officer.
- Mary Cook (MC) Shanks Class of 1975, State worker
- Jo Ann Carroll (JC) Carter-Parramore of 1968, State Department Employee, Springfield, Va.
- Ora D. Green (OG) Stevens High Class of 1947, Gadsden County Teacher since 1952.
- Challullah Goodman,(CG): Carter-Parramore Class of 1959 Retired Librarian Jackson County Public Schools
- Jeanie Gunn Carter-Parramore Class of 1960, Gadsden County Guidance Counselor.
- Lee Evans (LE) Havana High Class of 1977
- Curtis Fields Carter-Parramore Class of 1964, Youth Football League Coach, New York City
- Ann Moten Hollin (AH) Carter- Parramore Class of 1960 retired Gadsden County teacher.

- Edward McWhite (EM) Chattahoochee High class of 1969 Deputy, Gadsden County Sheriff Department
- Sondra E. Monroe (SM) James H. Shanks High School, Class of 1977. Secretary at James H. Shanks Middle School.
- Carrie Price (CP) Shanks Class of 1976, Gadsden County Teacher.
- Sarette Jackson (SJ) Carter-Parramore Class of 1959, Gadsden County Teacher.
- Caroline Smith (CS) Carter-Parramore Class of 1970 Gadsden County teacher.
- Elizabeth Thompson (ET), Shanks class of 1971, Secretary Gadsden County Schools.
- Clara M. West (CM), Carter-Parramore class of 1958, retired Gadsden County teacher 39 years experience taught 1963- 2001
- Don White (DW), Chattahoochee High class of 1974, Assistant Principal West Gadsden.

I wanted to find how students were affected and if the integration process was as benevolent as the majority of popular opinion would lead one to believe. I met a majority of the interviewees at the Carter-Parramore Super Reunion. This was a gathering of the graduating classes of 1956-1969 of Carter-Parramore High School located in Gadsden County. During integration, Carter-Parramore was the biggest minority high school in Gadsden County. The interviewees were selected through a combination of convenience and snowball sampling; the respondents were available and consented to be interviewed and told me where I could contact other potential interviewees.

Instrumentation and Materials

I used structured interviews and the historical method to find how students were defined by the culture of the time and the radical changes they would endure. According to Dr. Anthony Picciano (2005), professor of education at Hunter College City University of New York (CUNY), “Historical research is descriptive research that involves describing and interpreting events, conditions or situations of the past” (website). This study used available resources to create a more accurate picture of the socio-political climate in Gadsden County during the integration period. I interviewed former educators and students to ascertain how these changes affected them and showed how these policies are still impacting the county.

Due to the scarcity of documents pertaining to the direct impact of integration on the Gadsden County School System, I decided to use the most readily available resources: students and educators. I used the oral histories of the respondents; I intended to use the interviews in conjunction with collected historical data as a basis of the research. Audio tapes were used in conjunction with field notes to maintain the integrity of the research. The interviews do not fall under the category of auto ethnography; even though it studies a specific culture (southern Blacks) and event (integration). During this process, I tried to maintain a professional distance by not immersing myself in the emotional states of the respondents.

According to Krathwohl (1998), researchers are to follow several specific steps when conducting an interview:

1. Making sure that the researcher identifies themselves and the purpose of the research and makes sure that the interviewee is at ease with the process;
2. The researcher has to mask their reaction to the interviewees' responses, since "respondents reaction often mirrors that of the interviewer;"
3. Make sure that you give positive reinforcement to elicit "longer more detailed responses;"
4. Use appropriate feedback expressions such as: "Thanks, this is the sort of information that we are looking for in this research," "It's important to us to get this down," "These details are helpful" - These statements help to motivate the respondent;
5. "Master the Probe:" Repeat questions and give the respondent adequate time to respond to the question. When in doubt ask for clarification from the respondent;
6. "When probing recall use probes that give memory clues" such as specific dates, times, or places;
7. When interviewing make sure that both the interviewer and interviewee are comfortable.

I made sure that the interviewees were allowed to relate their experiences as it related to the integration process. The purpose of a structured interview is to collect information of a subject from those who have knowledge of that area. The interviews aim to gather sufficient research data to further educational research (Garrett, 1972). I made sure that the speech patterns of those interviewed were transcribed so that the integrity of the research was not compromised.

The nature of the interviews makes validity harder to prove; the respondent is giving information based on their specific experiences and how they were directly affected by the event. I made sure that my opinions did not effect the transcription of the interviews, and the speech patterns of the respondents were written down just as they were presented. I used various primary and secondary sources to augment the interviews giving background to the problem and showing that the area being researched was both relevant and necessary in the field of social science education.

The materials that I used included dissertations, newspapers and other secondary resources that corroborated the interviewees' testimony. The interview was made up of eleven structured open ended questions. These questions which follow allowed the interviewees an initial point of reference for their answers.

1. What is your name?
2. When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?
3. What were your experiences like before integration?
4. How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?
5. What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?
6. What were your personal opinions about integration?
7. Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?
8. Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?
9. Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?
10. Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?
11. In your opinion, did the integration process work?

The interview questions were cleared by the Human Subjects Committee at Florida State University (Appendix A) and fell under the classification of Oral History. To supplement the interviews and to place the events brought up in the interviews into context, I went to the Gadsden County School Board, the Florida Archives in Tallahassee, Florida, and to *The Gadsden County Times*, the latter being Gadsden County's weekly published newspaper for approximately 100 years.

The interaction between the county, state and federal government was fully detailed in the *Gadsden County Times* as well as information pertaining to the student population which was broken down by school.

The interviews were conducted in secluded locations, such as classrooms, bedrooms, parlors, etc. I used audio tape and field notes to capture the information the interviewees were willing to share. The purpose of the field notes was to remind me of the more salient points made by each of the interviewees. These notes consisted of roughly twenty pages in total. For example, the notes taken during the interview of Miss Challullah Goodman focused on her lack of negative recollection of the events surrounding the integration process. The notes provided me with a quick summary of the overall reactions of each of the respondents. My impression is that the interviewees were relaxed and were forthcoming, to varying degrees, with their reactions to the events and consequences of the integration process during the late sixties and early seventies.

Data Analysis

Since this was a qualitative study and based substantially on participants' interviews, it would be impossible for me to insure my ability to stamp out time induced bias on the part of the interviewee since their retelling of past events are based on their accounting of those events from several decades ago and time, age and retrospection has colored their memories and judgment. Some of the interviewees still voiced strong, negative sentiment toward those they feel attempted to 'hold them down' and mistreated them within the confines of education; the opinions of the respondents as recorded in this study were not altered. Also, because this is a qualitative study, I deal more with the narrative as told by the respondents. The respondents' (former students and teachers) answers were reviewed and arranged in a linear fashion by me so that continuity was maintained. This is a study on the effects of a public policy on a segment of society that the policy was supposed to help. It is my belief that this research can help to further the study of a pivotal time in the history of the United States where the egregious mistakes of the past were addressed. There are several questions that are raised by this study that will become the nuclei of further studies. Was the integration process well thought out? Was the federal government acting in a patriarchal fashion when it came to the welfare of the Black population? What are the consequences of forced desegregation? Were there times when separate and equal worked?

Methods

As I reviewed the interviews I had to decide how to show the results of the research. I read the transcripts of the individual interviews. I looked for common themes that were repeated

by individuals. I chose the responses that best represented positive or negative responses to certain questions. I placed the answers in the study with an eye towards readability and flow; by this I mean I wanted to convey the individual's feelings and memories on a certain topics. When a majority of the respondents had similar answers I chose the responses that best represented the majority. I also tried to show a variety of responses and memories that existed among the interviewees so that a clearer overall picture of the period could be apparent.

Summary

The first phase of research dealt with the societal background of the South. The only books discovered were *Gadsden County History: In Words and Pictures* by Miles Womack (1976) and the *History of Gadsden County* by Randall Stanley (1948). Gadsden County's written history has been wholly inadequate. The majority of the historical documents that have been written about Gadsden County focus on its agrarian prowess, and the themes of tobacco and cotton appear prominently in these works. Lately there have been more works that focus on relationships between the two dominant races that make up Gadsden County. There was a Master's thesis on the Lynching of A.C. Williams by Temeka Bradley Hobbs (former FAMU history assistant professor) and a book by Patricia Due (FAMU graduate and local activist), *Freedom in the Family*, detailing her experiences during the Civil Rights era. Gadsden County's educational records were not available since they were either displaced or destroyed; I had to make primary use of the *Gadsden County Times*, though I was able to get pictures of the Rosenwald schools and older structures from the Gadsden County School Board.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to report findings of interviews conducted regarding the effects the integration of Gadsden County Public Schools had on education and teaching methods used in Gadsden County Public Schools. Findings from 20 interviews, 18 of which were conducted from May 27th, 2005 to April 4th, 2005, demonstrated the divergence in thought that exists among those impacted most. However, the overwhelming belief was that Blacks were better off separate as long as the educational facilities and amenities were equal. They echoed the sentiment of educational leaders and parents in Omaha, Nebraska, who on April 13, 2006, voted to have three separate school systems: one White, one Black and one Hispanic.

Of the 20 adults interviewed, 13 were presently or formerly teachers, 2 were administrators, and 3 were county employees. Jo Ann Carroll and Curtis Field were employed outside of the area; Jo Ann in Washington D.C. and Curtis in New York City. Four (4) were male, 16 were female. Eighteen (18) had attended and graduated from college. One (1) is a recent returnee to Gadsden County, who like so many are coming back home with a renewed sense of pride and affinity for preserving the race even if they have to tow the line alone. They are initiating a number of local grass-root movements and organizations aimed at helping and giving back to their respective communities. Three of the interviews were partial and spontaneous, and two took place at the Super Reunion in Gadsden County. One was conducted during a school function. Partial interviews contained several of the questions from the eleven question interview format: 1) What is your name 2) When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district? 3) How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally? Due to the constraints placed on the respondents and myself, I attempted to gather as much pertinent information as possible at that moment.

Data Analysis

One of the first things I noticed while conducting interviews was the resentment that the interviewees held toward the integration process. Feelings of loss during desegregation - the oneness of the community and control over their educational decision making – was the central theme of many interviews. The respondents were very candid and made it known throughout the

interview process that they felt that integration was in part, responsible for the decline of educational achievement among Blacks in the county.

Interviews

The interviews which took place over a one year period in a variety of locations provide a better perspective of the period. Each interview consisted of eleven questions that asked the respondents their recollections of this historic and volatile period. Initials of the respondents are used in the discussion that follows below: Doris Black, (DB), Roosevelt Bradwell, (RB), Evonski Bulger (EB), Charlie Cook (MC), Jo Ann Carroll (JC), Ora D. Green (OG), Challullah Goodman,(CG), Jeanie Gunn (JG), Lee Evans (LE), Curtis Fields (CF), Ann Moten Hollin (AH), Edward McWhite (EM), Sondra E. Monroe (SM), Carrie Price (CP), Sarette Jackson (SJ), Caroline Smith (CS), Elizabeth Thompson (ET), Clara M. West (CM), Don White (DW).

There were also partial interviews with various members of Carter-Parramore's various graduating classes taken at the Carter-Parramore Super Reunion that took place April 2005. The Super Reunion was a gathering of all the classes of Carter-Parramore High School from 1958 through 1970. Carter-Parramore was Gadsden County's largest Black school.

The rationale for including the partial interviews is to present a more complete picture of the environment that existed during this time. The interviewees now reside in various locations across the county and though they were willing to talk during the reunion activities, I was unable to reestablish contact with them afterwards. However, I decided to include the information gathered at that time. I did find out that the reason most of the reunion attendees no longer reside in North Florida is economic; there were very limited employment opportunities for educated and skilled Black workers in the mid to late 1960's. This led to a migration across the country including South Florida, the Northeast, and the Midwest where there were more progressive attitudes and more abundant employment opportunities.

The first two questions of the interview asked the respondent's name and the year they graduated and/or taught in the Gadsden County Public Schools. The third question of the interview dealt with life experiences in general that the interviewee had before integration. All of the respondents (100%) had positive experiences with the Black faculty in the segregated school settings. The respondents spoke about the uniqueness of the segregated system, and how teachers seemed to make a concerted effort to educate students about life and make them aware of their circumstances. Because there were so many legal limitations placed on the Black community, it

fell to educators to expose students to the larger world but usually with outdated materials and limited resources. Thus, the Black teacher served a dual role because of the severe limitations that were placed on Black students by White society. Educators were the “experts;” parents and guardians looked to the teacher to continually instill a code of behavior that would help them succeed and keep them safe.

Pre Integration Experiences

The third question on the survey asked the respondents, what were your experiences like before integration? Some of the respondents such as; Ora Green and Carolyn Smith had more positive memories, whereas Chalullah Goodman had no negative memories of the segregated system.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

OG: Enjoyable. The children actually used to learn and use the books. The books were older. They were hand me downs from the White schools. Students understood that the only opportunity for advancement lay in education.

LE: All Black teachers and principals. I grew up in Midway [Fl] therefore I went to Midway Elementary. I was bused to Havana Middle School and then bused to Havana High. Integration occurred during my 4th or 5th grade year, it was desegregate with all deliberate speed at that time, [and] I vividly remember it.

CH: Didn't realize the segregation (surroundings); [I] was shielded by [my] Aunt and Uncle; [I] lived in Taylor County during the weekend. On Sunday's we would commute to Gadsden County. [My] Aunt and Uncle taught in the Gadsden County school district. My mother died when I was very young that's why I lived in Gadsden County. Uncle was the Principal of Southside Elementary and Aunt taught at Salem Elementary in Greensboro. Chattahoochee and Carter-Parramore [teachers] had good teaching methods, they inspired me to become a Librarian, because of [positive] educational experience. Teachers wanted you to learn; they knew their subject matter and had good work ethics.

AH: Firm but fair [teachers] took mediocre books and the little material that they had, taught us from there and exposed the students to a lot; helping us to be a well rounded person. There was more respect for teachers when I was going to school at Carter-Parramore. There was also community involvement, not only at the

community on the street in the store. [For example] a Parent may see Mrs. Jones in the store and start up a conversation with her, to see how their child was doing and visa versa. It was like the old African proverb the village [It takes a village to raise a child] that's what it was when I was in school. You worked tobacco from before 6am until after sunset the sun was hot and the fields were long at the end of the week.

EB: All my teachers were Black, limited materials outdated books. Hand me [down] materials, corporal punishment; they paddled. There were more male teachers.

CS: Great, [laughter] I had good experiences. Teachers taught, we did fine I think, I know what other responses you've been getting but that's how I feel. I strained tobacco, primed tobacco, wrapped tobacco; I started working in tobacco when I was 10 or 11 years old. They didn't want me to stay at home.

MC: Playing with other Black kids in school... went to predominantly Black schools. I went to Springfield Elementary which they later changed to Gretna Elementary. Ms [Clara]West, then it was Ms. McCloud, was my first grade teacher... it was her first year teaching in 1963. It was Ms. McCloud then. We didn't have kindergarten and PreK then. I remember even in elementary school we used old books; they had names like Ashley or Tiffany names that you knew didn't belong to anyone like you. We knew that they had been handed down.

ET: Kids behaved better, respected Black teachers more than the White instructors after integration. The educational system spiraled down. The Black student identified more with the Black teacher.

CC: Before integration I attended an all Black high school Carter-Parramore; my entire education process had been Black prior to 1970.

DW: I went to Southside Elementary, everything was all Black. I didn't know anything about Whites. We thought that we had the best education that was offered; we participated in our own sporting activities and rivalries. We didn't realize that White students had better facilities.

Question number three exposed the social duality of segregation; the respondents knew about the Whites in the county but rarely had interactions with them except for supervisor employee relationships. The system of segregation that had been entrenched for such an

extended period resulted in arrested social and educational development. The use of outdated materials was automatically factored in. Segregation had several very visible flaws, just as slavery which preceded it in the Anti Bellum South. Segregation did not count on social progress. When the modern Civil Rights movement began there was a change of thought.

Jim Crow in Gadsden

The respondents also shed light on the ugliness of the Jim Crow system and the importance of tobacco crops to the local economy. Black schools were in the control of landowners; many of the community schools which blacks attended were situated on their land, so they were *trustees* of the Black community schools. The Black school system was run on what can best be described as a harvest time schedule. The school year was significantly shorter than the White school year - 150 days verses 180 on average. Black students began to work in tobacco and cotton at eight or nine years old, which parallels the age when children assumed more adult tasks in slavery. I doubt that this was a coincidence.

JG: One of the biggest changes with the advent of integration was the change in the rules regarding transportation. I had to walk a 1 ½ miles to [the] Friendship school to catch a bus to Carter-Parramore. There was a neighbor of a different race who lived in the same neighborhood that I lived in and the bus would come and pick her up; don't you know how frustrating that is? When I was growing up, we didn't have raincoats or boots just an umbrella. We didn't have book bags. My grandmother made us book bags; we had to carry those books back and forth everyday to school. The books, which were used, had missing pages. In my experience, teachers did a full day of teaching, one teacher taught seven subjects. I had to complete my first year of high school in an elementary school because we didn't have a high school. We couldn't go to Stevens, it was overcrowded, so we attended classes in Friendship; they were in the process of constructing Carter-Parramore. There were certain places that Blacks could not go, or do... didn't know where you stood in the community [Blacks didn't participate in the political process. Blacks stayed in their own section of Quincy and all of the stores in town where located on Adams Street known as Colored Street or Nigger Row].

DB: We would get out of school early in May to work in the tobacco fields; we would work from sunrise to sunset. [I] started working in the tobacco fields when I was

in the 3rd grade. I worked for a man named Cecil Butler in Havana [Fl.] He brought the workers raincoats so that we could work in the rain and took the money out of our paychecks. We were usually out of school by the 20th of May; Mr. Butler would usually throw a big cook out, I remember them [the cookouts] with big black pots [used to cook the food]. We used to ride on big transport trucks that had the back cut out of them; we would be exposed to the elements, we would have to huddle together in the back of the truck. Mr. Butler would come and get us from the school at the beginning of planting season. We would all drink out of the same gourd as we worked in the tobacco field. I remember we were working in the tobacco field and this boy named Elijah was trying to keep dry, he ended up putting a hole in one of the tobacco leaves. The field boss [foreman] slapped him across the face and left the imprint of his hand on the Elijah's face; his family couldn't do anything about it. I made up my mind then and there that I would become someone. We were paid on Fridays in a brown paper bag; I gave the money to my grandmother who raised me. The money was used to buy my school clothes and to help around the house.

CW: Everything was separate; there were White and Black facilities. Most of the county's children would work in tobacco during the summer, that's why they let school out early. [Black] schools were more informal then, if you were a teacher's child you would get promoted or skipped a grade; promotion or retention was more at the teacher's whim. I was retained because the teacher told my mother that I needed to be and my mother took her word for it, teachers were seldom questioned, there were tests, but you were promoted by report card. In my case I moved three times in one year from Pine Grove to Stevens and finally to St. Johns when we got to St. Johns we were behind so the entire class that came from Stevens was retained. Our grades were changed from passing to failing so we would be retained. We crocheted all day it seemed, we all had teachers who would cook on the stove in the classroom. We received hand me down books, we would see their names and would have to read about White families. The White children would either ride the bus or would be taken to school, but we had to walk to school; our schools were in the woods. There were multiple grades in the one

room 1st -3rd, 4th- 6th, 7th – 9th. Pine Grove only had three teachers; one teacher was the principal then by the time we left St. Johns there was one teacher per grade. You didn't hear what happened at the White schools; you knew that they were going to go to FSU or other White colleges and you were going to FAMU.

RB: Before integration my experiences basically consisted of working the tobacco fields and there were certain things that you did not say to Whites. Where we are sitting now [James A. Shanks Middle] you were not allowed to come on this side of town without being harassed; this was the White part of town and you were from the wrong side of the tracks. It wasn't as bad in Florida as say Mississippi and Alabama but it was bad nonetheless. Gadsden County students were recruited by various colleges and Universities.

SJ: Worked on a tobacco farm, left school early [during planting season] one of 14 children, the money earned from tobacco was used to buy school clothes. The courthouse and the town were segregated; the courthouse had the Black and White drinking fountains and restrooms. Blacks were not allowed to sit at the counter in the drug store in town. The Leaf Theater [located in down town Quincy] and ice water were White only [Blacks were allowed to sit in balcony in the theater]. [I]was at Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University when Patricia Due [*Freedom in the Family* written about her activism] who was a neighbor in Gadsden County participated in the sit-ins to integrate various restaurants and public places. The students who attended school in Gadsden County were known to excel academically.

Gadsden County's rural economy relied heavily on tobacco production; tobacco crops helped the region recover from the effects of the Civil War. The landowners had a built-in labor pool. Education of Blacks was in fact counterproductive to the bottom line. If too many of the labor pool became educated then they would be dissatisfied with their predicament. This is similar to the laws governing the literacy of slaves; teaching a slave how to read would make them unhappy being a slave. The White social structure in Gadsden county controlled the majority Black population. This arrangement resulted in an ideal situation for Whites. Whites provided Blacks with just enough support; economics, material, and socialization for them to survive but not enough to thrive. This system was continually threatened with civil cases that were brought

before the Supreme Court and the subsequent rulings of the high court which weakened the *Plessy* decision. The death knell for legal segregation came with the *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.

The *Brown* decision didn't have an immediate effect on Gadsden County due to the Supreme Court's decision to allow circuit courts to handle the integration issue. *The Parker Doctrine*, named after District judge John Parker of South Carolina, allowed desegregation to be put off for years. The doctrine in part stated even though a state could not deny a person the right to attend any state maintained school, they could not stop a student from *voluntarily* attending any school they wished. Voluntary integration was a non-issue. When 91 Black students attempted to integrate Gadsden's school system in 1965, only a handful entered the system. The first phase of integration to affect Gadsden County was the desegregation of shopping and eating establishments; those changes didn't take effect until several years after *Brown II* (the combination of several cases that was decided in 1955).

School Integration

The respondents told me of the reaction of the White minority in Gadsden and Northern Florida at large to the changes in policy regarding the treatment of Black customers; this has a direct correlation with the response to school desegregation that occurred after 1968. Questions four and five asked the respondents how the integration process affected them on a scholastic level as well as in the broader sense of how their lives changed.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

OG: Opened more avenues and advancement opportunity, allowed you to experience and do more.

JC: They [the school board] tried to force the students to leave Carter- Parramore and attend Quincy High; I chose to stay with my friends at Carter-Parramore.

DB: When I went to school there were no Whites in the school after I went to college and completed my internship I ended up being the second Black teacher hired at George Munroe in 1969. It was a good experience, made me a better teacher; I would write my lesson plans at night and practice them in the mirror. I had and still have a speech impediment so it helped me overcome it. I was excited; we had to work harder than Whites. Unlike my experience growing up, we had new textbooks instead of hand-me-downs.

- SJ: Had to change jobs; was sent from Steward Street Elementary to George Munroe in 1970 [George Munroe was a previously an all White school]. The students were grouped and the Black students were placed at the bottom of the order.
- LE: Well, um...as a child living over in Midway there was one White boy that I played with from time to time so it was not so much of a culture shock; we played together when I went over to the general store in Midway, so it didn't impact me to the severity that it would impact me emotionally.
- AH: Personally? My response when I answer your question... remember I came up in an environment where there were Black teachers, male and female. The way that we were taught, the way that we were chastised, see we had devotion every morning and someone had to do a prayer as teacher was always there. This might not seem very important but you never addressed a teacher as Jane or Lee it was always Mr. Daniels or Mrs. Jones. When integration came along we kind of dropped off the titles and you became known by your first names and things became a little bit different then it was when I came up before integration.
- CS: It really didn't affect me personally because our class was graduating when they integrated. When I was in High school I had some classmates go over to Quincy High School but integration didn't start until 1971; I was in 12th grade when the school system was integrated in Gadsden, I had some experiences at college [University of Florida].
- EB: The teachers were now certified by discipline. There was no corporal punish at Quincy Middle. White teachers used discipline plans; these plans had steps. Before integration there were no [disciplinary] steps just paddling [corporal punishment]. There were White students that were friendly; my circle of friends changed.
- CC: Really it shined a lot of light on what was happening in Gadsden County; we had access to facilities that were not built for us and we had the opportunity to see how nicer the classes, how better the equipment and how better the books and materials that were on hand. The schools were just a whole lot better than the schools than we had been used to.

- CW: At the beginning of the 1966 -1967 school year, the Superintendent of Gadsden County Schools, Mr. Bishop asked me to teach at Chattahoochee High which was K-12. I taught P.E. which wasn't what I was certified to teach. It was hard to teach the elementary school children because they didn't want the White and Black students to hold hands; you couldn't play *Ring around the Rosy*, or other games. I was 1 of 3 teachers asked to do that during that year.
- SM: Well number one [you] had to change schools and leave all of your old friends behind. We went to an all White school. Integration was just starting then, it was kind of strange. [HW: what school did you leave and where did you go] I left Stevens and I went to George Munroe. That's when we experienced the N word. [White children would say] I don't want to sit by you because I might get the cooties, I was in 4th grade when I transferred.
- CP: My first experience with a White classmate was when I went to Quincy middle school in the 7th grade; that was the [first] integrated class. What they used to do was place the White students in the advanced classes. That affected me because I was a very good student. I really had no problems; I had to get used to being in school with White students; it wasn't like it was now; you didn't have a lot of skipping classes or behavior problems before integration.
- MC: It was different; it made me shy away from not being used to being with others who were not my own color. I said to myself I'm not supposed to be here; I'm not supposed to be mixing here with them; this was during middle school. I can't remember the year but this was during 7th or 8th grade at Quincy Middle School. I transferred from Gretna; this was my first taste of integration. We had more White teachers and White students. The chorus teacher, who was White, taught me how to read music. [Today], if I look at [sheet] music today I know how the song is supposed to be played. What was his name?... Mr. Burns! That was his name Mr. Burns [chorus].
- DW: I went to Southside Elementary until 8th grade. We were able to go to other schools; my parents allowed me to make my own decision; I decided to attend Chattahoochee High. The environment was different; you had to be twice as good as them [White students] to be an academic success. We were treated like step

children, except for athletics. They loved us when we played sports. I mastered the 'game' [psychological]; I became Captain of both the Basketball and Football team, ROTC commander and was the Senior Class President. All the Black members of the Basketball quit after the White coach made a racially inappropriate remark. They tried to ban all of the Blacks from participating in sports activities, but I was able to run track.

Don White's answer to question four shows how under-prepared Black students were for desegregation. They hadn't experience that type of hostility in the classroom setting and had a steep learning curve. Students faced discrimination from the very educators that were responsible for their education. When speaking to Officer Edward McWhite of the Gadsden County Sheriff department, another Black Chattahoochee Graduate Class of 1970, he expressed similar thoughts. He played sports and as long as he was playing sports the fact that he was black was overlooked but as soon as the season was over he was reminded that he wasn't wanted. A White female mathematics teacher that he had gave the Black students a totally different test than she gave the White students; when she was approached regarding her rationale for doing this she stated, "I just didn't like Niggers." Unlike the other respondents' answers, Don and Edward had a weapon, their athletic ability. In Don's case, when the White basketball coach made inappropriate remarks the Black athletes denied him and thus the school their services. These students were able to exert some influence.

Personal reflections on integration

Question number five asked, "What were some of the biggest changes that affected the respondent, personally?" Respondents' answers showed how pivotal inclusion was. The moment of discovery, for each respondent is very important; desegregation marks a line of demarcation where the fabric of this community starts to fundamentally change. I found that the respondents were struck by the change in very different ways. Roosevelt Bradwell entered the Air Force right after high school; he experienced inclusion in a community, the military, sooner than some of the other respondents. He touches on the subtle differences later in the interview.

RB: When I returned to Florida [from the military] I went to a store in Tallahassee and a White lady came up to me and asked 'may I help you sir' that kind of blew me back because that kind of thing didn't happen- that was in 1965. As I reflect and look back on the time before integration especially with the Black males there

was more respect and obedience to elders; elders were anyone in a position of authority. Now since integration, [prior to integration] we had control of the school. I never saw a police officer while I was in school on campus anyway, now we have school resource officers. Since integration the control has been taken away from the teachers; some believe as I believe that this happened because Whites didn't want Blacks to discipline their children so as a result there was a bunch of disrespect [by students] and teachers lost control in the classroom.

MC: I don't think it made any big difference not at the beginning. They still had the White fountains up in different stores and the colored bathrooms; it took a good little while for them to change. We were still going through that [integration] all through middle school and high school at James A. Shanks. I remember when I would go to Wilson's or Belk's they would wait on the White customers before they would wait on my mom and me. I remember the signs in Belk's; it was a big adjustment and people weren't ready for it. Even now you can still see and feel it.

CS: No, there were still places in Gadsden County that didn't want you to come through the front door like Luden's [restaurant]. Me and a couple of friends went in through the front door, sat down and ordered, we were looked at kind of hard but they didn't do anything; they wanted you to come to the back, order and wait to be called.

JG: Access to public places

DB: We were able to access places that we were unable to before, such as restaurants, etc.

While the first set of responses dealt with social ramifications of desegregation, the foci of the second set of responses were the effects on the educational process for both students and teachers. The respondents touched on the use of grouping by Gadsden County; the grouping system continued to segregate the student population. White students were usually placed in the higher achieving groups, due to their experience with the White education system. Sarette Jackson and Clara West explained how the teachers were chosen to teach these classes, and the other respondents provided their observations from a student perspective. Don White's response shows how the Black students were denied certain cultural defining characteristics (e.g., the wearing of braids). Don also highlights the problems that Black administrators faced. For

example, due to Gadsden County's small size, it was not unusual to have students attending the same schools that their children attended. Don's father, due to his position as an administrator, had to worry about retaliation against his son for carrying out his administrative duties.

SJ: I was given sixth grade section 2 [the lower group] while the White teacher whose husband was a lawyer was given section 1.

DW: There were changes that we went through. We went to Chattahoochee, we were not allowed to wear braids, it took two years for the administration to be convinced that we could wear braids. Because we were at a White school there were still teachers that would have it out for you. I didn't make the Honor Society because of a White math teacher. My father was the Assistant Principal at Chattahoochee High in 1973 [one of the first Black Administrators in the desegregated Gadsden County school system] and since he didn't get along with this teacher she blocked the nomination.

CW: The change in jobs... I really didn't teach many White children and they took corporal punishment out of the schools.

ET: Mixture of races at Shanks; mixed graduating class [1971].

EB: Teachers. White teachers had a lack of knowledge of our culture; they tried to hide it but they were still prejudiced. White students were placed in better classes; we were divided by ability and they we were placed in the better classes, with better materials.

CP: I had to get used to White teachers and classmates. With Black teachers you got spankings; you didn't receive those with White teachers. Since integration they stopped corporal punishment. We didn't have new books, until the 8th or 9th grade. Before integration the motivation to do well was so you didn't end up working in tobacco. When you [the student] went home you had to do your homework and you had to do work at home, I think now children don't have that.

LE: We finally got the books and the materials that we should have been getting all the time. Sometimes when we got books they would have the **N word** written in them. The N word standing for Negro or Nigger [written in the text of the book] it didn't affect me to the point where I had a setback. I looked forward to the experience that would change America.

SM: Transferring from Stevens, some of the teachers [at George Munroe] weren't as loving; the teachers didn't care as much. At the all Black schools everyone seemed to want to put their arms around you; they really cared. After integration the [White] teachers seemed to keep their distance; there were some that really cared and tried to be nice but most of the teachers didn't like integration.

CC: Once you started dealing with integration you had the "I am a man" and "Respect yourself" [movements]. It was a challenge; we were told by the Black professionals that we were somebody. When the opportunity presented itself we had to prove that we were capable as being as good as the next person. Integration gave us that opportunity to show that we were equal.

When interviewing Mr. Cook and listening to his responses, I wondered whether there was a direct link between his views of the attempted integration of James A Shanks and White flight during the 1969 – 1970 school year. Later in his interview he touched on the sense of empowerment that he and other students felt by being in the majority in the school environment. Because of the emasculation of black men in a segregated society, Mr. Cook's comments were well-timed; he was a young man who was being told that he too was a viable human being, and equal to any White. This flew in the face of the survival strategies of Black men in a segregated society. As a Black male in the South, a person was viewed as a threat, as such he had to be as unobtrusive as possible.

Ms. Green explains Gadsden County's reaction to *Brown*; while Ms. Hollin explains that integration was harmful.

OG: After the Brown decision came down they [Gadsden County School Board] paid no attention to the ruling, after additional court orders to integrate schools the county first moved teachers from Black schools to White schools, the teachers were moved for integration purposes. All of the Black teachers were told that they would be Physical Education teachers regardless of their area of Certification. The students were not moved until later, students started moving from Carter-Parramore to Shanks in 1969. Stevens Elementary was changed into an elementary school in 1959 with the opening of Carter-Parramore and eventually closed as a result of integration. The Gadsden School Board did not want to integrate the system. The federal government told the county that they had to

integrate the school system when the members of the school board went to Marianna to ask the Federal Government [Department of Health Education and Welfare] for more time; they threatened not to give the county any money and that's when they integrated.

AH: That affected me? [HW: any type of experiences] I had some very negative experiences on the bus that's why I don't ride the bus today. When integration came about, I guess that's stuck in my mind so [the bus incident] have you ever been, you wouldn't know about this, on the bus and everyone knows if you are Black, were to sit? It's just like the church signs that say welcome **you know** that you are not welcomes there. You get on the bus and you are seated, this [White] person [gets on the bus] and there are no seats for this person; you're not up front you're in the back, you have to get up and let them sit down. I've seen the pain in men's faces, Black men, who didn't want to do this but to keep the peace they did it, for another man, they wouldn't have minded for a woman but not another man. So with those experiences when integration came I didn't want to get on a bus anyway. I didn't want to ride it [the integrated buses]. Anyway we're talking about integration allowing you to go places that you couldn't go before, so what, what about what we had before? Before teachers taught with outdated, obsolete books and they taught us with what they had. Now you have a little bit more, but then how you're treated may be a little different but I don't see better. I just have a problem with putting so much emphasis on what integration did. In some ways our children were better off. I think integration was used as a means to hurt our kids.

Integration Opinions

Even though the respondents' lives were vastly inferior to the White citizens of the county, a majority of them did not believe that the desegregation process was totally beneficial. I found that the county and the respondents had problems with the implementation process. I believe that this is due to the lack of planning that went into desegregation overall.

Question 6 asked - What were the respondents' opinions about integration.

OG: I think that it had its advantages and disadvantages, things that we didn't have access to before we now had access to. Disadvantage we were used to disciplining

our children in a certain way and we were no longer able to do that. We started to become lax with discipline that happened in the school and at home.

DW: I thought it was good. Once in the White settings I saw the differences, we were put on a level playing field. I was exposed to different classes and facilities.

JG: In my opinion, education declined students didn't strive to be the best anymore. We lost something, our population felt that they were equal it never dawned on them that they still needed to do things.

SJ: Integration affected the learning process in Gadsden County; I blame integration for the change in achievement of the students in Gadsden County. The students that are graduating from Quincy are not prepared [for college] like we were. Tobacco made us prepared; we made \$3 dollars a day we worked from 7am to 6 pm.

DB: When we were in our own schools, [we] performed better more value placed of education by the students. [After integration] the students didn't take advantage.

MC: I don't think it made any big difference not at the beginning. They still had the White fountains up in different store and the Colored bathrooms; it took a good little while from them to change. We were still going through that [integration] all through middle school and high school at James A. Shanks. I remember when I would go to Wilson's, Belk's they would wait on the White customers before they would wait on my mom and I. I remember the signs in Belks; it was a big adjustment and people weren't ready for it. Even now you can still see and feel it.

CG: There was a change in the mindset of the population.

LE: Gadsden County has made some significant progress in the last 100 years, the question is, where do we go from here? With all the technology, mass media. With the education realm before us as it is. We don't know if we will make strides like we ought to. You have kids that are taken it for granted and sometimes you lose values, tradition a sense of pride. You don't see that [pride] in the Black youth we living in a proscriptive society, sometimes it is enough to make you cry.

RB: It affected me [negatively] because when I returned to the classroom teaching in 1994, it was culture shock. It [the educational system] was totally different, that was a result of integration; Not only that there were businesses in the Black part

of town that were doing very well prior to integration that went out of business. Now that we could eat in the Black restaurants we no longer had to eat a the greasy spoon we could go to all of these other places so as a result we lost all of these businesses such as Black owned gas stations and things of that nature.

AH: We lost more than we gained. People may say that we gained so much I not tearing down [the advances] but I don't see where integration is so important. The focus is always on the fact that you could go places that you couldn't go, so what! You could go places, why didn't we do own business we could have done that. There were small businesses that we had, that we really supported. After integration they [Black businesses] went out of business. I just saw the failure of our children today. Before [integration] you had tobacco and cotton as alternatives [to school]. Before you would either be working in the fields or preparing the meals but you would work, now children have?

CP: In some ways it was good, in some ways it wasn't, because of [forced] integration [and as a result of their own prejudice] the White teachers didn't expect much from us [Black students] they taught you like you weren't that smart. I seen this over the years [of teaching]; they [White teachers] act like Black children can't learn. But they [the children] can do anything that they set their mind to. They [White teachers] would talk down to the students; eventually they found out that the students were smarter than they thought.

In the following response to question number six, Ms. Monroe brings up the Quincy Riots that took place in 1970. The riot was sparked by the shooting of a Black man by one of Gadsden County's Sheriff. The riot marked the first violent response to segregation in the county. Sondra Monroe and Ora D. Green both have recollections of the incident. The riot was quelled with the promise of forming a multi racial task force to look into the treatment of Blacks in the county. The task force did make recommendations to improve race relations in the county; these were ultimately not followed.

SM: In what way? [HW: the differences then and now] First of all being young you really couldn't understand it there were a lot of name calling the N word. Now when you look back, you see that a lot of doors were opened and people are working together for Blacks because of integration. [You spoke about the riot,

what do you remember about the riot?] I was in 5th grade and there was a big riot 'up town' [down town Quincy] [October 21, 1970] we went back to school and it was ok [to stand up for yourself] before when you were called the N word you tried to ignore it after the riot you were able to stand up for yourself.

OG: [HW: What do now about the Quincy Riot] I was right there when it happened. We had taken a church group to Live Oak on a Sunday school outing; and as we were returning we kept on seeing the highway patrol going, going heading towards Quincy. We didn't have the cell phones or anything like that so no one told us what had happened. We kept on asking what was going on? [The adults on the trip] didn't want to upset the kids, but we kept wondering what was going on. We knew something was going on, the bus driver stopped somewhere; they told the driver that was a riot in Quincy, the kids heard what was said and they became concerned for their parents who were supposed pick them up, the closer that we got to Quincy the slower that we had to go. We had to take a detour; we couldn't go through town to end up at the church. We finally got to the church and I was able to get home Robert [her husband] was worried but I told him I was safe in Live Oak. That was one time our people stuck together. We boycotted stores and put them out of business, they never came back. The stores were never the same the people started shopping in Tallahassee. The incident happened downtown people came down town and they weren't afraid to come downtown and they tore downtown up it was never the same. It was usual for blacks to talk back to Whites they [the crowd] told the sheriff that they weren't backing up anymore and he had a heart attack right there. The crowd wanted equal rights and there Vietnam veterans that were involved. [W.A.] Woodham was appointed then later elected. Patricia Dew came to Quincy to register people to vote.

The New School System

The loss of an educational system in which the Black community felt as if they had some autonomy was important. The respondents seem to think that students responded more positively to the homogeneous learning environment. The change in the system brought about by integration had unseen negative effects, according to the respondents. The sudden inclusion mandated by the federal government introduced both the teachers and the students to new

educational methodology; one that didn't rely on repetition, rote learning and corporal punishment to motivate the students. The respondents thought that the new methodology was the reason the Black students in Gadsden County began to fail in comparison to the rest of Florida. Question number seven broached this subject; I asked the respondents if they noticed a change in the teaching methods in the public schools after integration. The respondents who were students during this period seemed to react differently than those who were teachers.

SJ: The students did not excel academically as they did in the past. The children aren't as teachable; the children [before integration] were sweet children you were able to teach, discipline was not a problem as it is now. The parents were the reason, now you have younger parents. It [education] was just different [then] you could go to your classroom and the children would let you teach. You [the teacher] could hear a pin drop, the principal could be at the door and the children would not say anything. You ask the children how long has the principal been at the door? You were allowed to teach. Grouping was used for the first time after integration wasn't used before integration. We started taking tests [standardized tests] we didn't take those tests before integration. The CTBS test and such we weren't given those tests before integration.

DB: Yes, Caucasians acted like they didn't know how to teach Black children. If a child had a learning disability; at that time all students were in the same class. [White]Teachers would the students with disabilities in the corner. Before [integration] students would help each other after the students would laugh and make fun of the disabled student. Teachers now can't teach the ESE student, then [before integration] all students learned.

OG: The teaching methods and the level of discipline changed there a fear with dealing with White children. Before integration there was a more rigid level of discipline in the all Black schools the teachers were really your parents when you at school they could punish you and use corporal punishment without fear of law suits and the teachers and parents to raise the student. This was lost after desegregation.

JG: The teachers didn't seem to put forth the same effort with the kids that they had before, I'm not saying that they didn't care but when I was in school teachers did home visits; they were like social workers. We didn't have the communication

devices like we now, teachers had to go to the home and meet with parents; parents didn't act like they do now, coming to the school clowning over their child's behavior. If the teacher came to your house and told your parents something [negative] you get killed from then on, students were afraid. After integration; the students showed no fear and seemed to lose respect of the teachers, there was no methods for discipline. It seemed as if the teachers didn't try as hard to teach. The students started to act like the White children.

LE: Yes, in retrospect, when I started school back in those days a Black teacher would take a genuine interest in the child, the child came to school with their hair uncombed, a little girl that is the teacher would comb that child's hair, when you had integrated that went out with the dish water, you didn't have teachers that would do that anymore, I remember had to back technique [teachers touching students, hitting] in school but that soon vanished away.[before integration] the teacher knew you your parents, grandparents discipline was a must and there was no going back on the teacher [student disrespect] like there is now in the public school currently.

AM: [Before] Teachers took what little they had and taught you. The children were respectful; now you don't have that. In the schools, our children now go into time out; if they want to sleep you let them sleep. You wouldn't have slept in Ms. Jones class, she was teaching and moving around and you knew [better]. But now it's gotten to me take when integration first got on the seen it was easy to say that you stay or play back here as long as you don't bother anybody. But what are you learning? The word teacher had a higher meaning than it does today. The discipline was lost in the classroom. [There is] too much paperwork [and] no time for family. There were more problems after integration. You [the child] can't be spanked but you could tell me [the teacher] off.

CC: Prior to integration the teacher was able to discipline the students, the teachers were nurturing they acted as second set of parents, after integration it was a hands off policy[towards students] Black teachers were not able to discipline White students and visa versa the attitude of discipline changed in the schools system.

- CP: Changes in methods were the end of corporal punishment and the educational methods used by White teachers.
- CW: The students were in control of the class, the White teacher's methods didn't work with Black students. All of the supervisors were White and they weren't much help. When Blacks started to take positions of authority; they tried to use methods that they got from other parts of the state but they didn't work; because the places where they went weren't similar to Gadsden county demographics. We did get better books and materials after integration.
- MC: Yeah I did, the Black teachers were really pushing education on the Black students. After integration it seemed as if the White teachers didn't care. If it seemed like it took longer to comprehend something they didn't take any time with you, they just went on; not all of them you could find one or two that were willing to help Blacks. You lost a lot of good students because the teachers wouldn't take time with the students.
- EB: Totally different, Black teachers were warmer they were totally into teaching Black students and discipline they have total control over the classroom. The White teachers didn't force you Black teachers forced you to do your work they made you succeed. With the White teachers; either you learned or you didn't. They [White teachers] were more creative they did branch out.
- DW: Yes there was a change there were certain things that a Black teacher could say to you to motivate you that a White teacher couldn't say. White teachers basically said either you got it [the lesson] or you didn't they didn't try to motivate you. Some of my classmates didn't get it; they had a I don't care attitude, they suffered for it.

The majority of the respondents thought that the White teachers did not have Black students' interests at heart. According to respondents' answers, this lack of concern was the case with many of the teachers that had worked in the formally segregated system. The Black students in some cases did not have the socialization skills to deal with the desegregated school system. They had developed in a system where it was advantageous for them to be as compliant as possible. Their personal safety was at stake; there were examples of what happened to Blacks that did not behave in a certain manner. Black teachers had to provide services that the state did

not provide; they had to make sure that their students had the tools to survive in a system that was diametrically opposed to them being successful educationally. In Gadsden County, many of the parents worked year round in agriculture meant that the educators had to fill that void created by parental absences.

The strict disciplinary tactics of the Black educators also served a very important purpose. Since the end of reconstruction, there had been a record of lynching in the United States. Gadsden County was no different in that regard; two of the more infamous cases were the mob lynching in 1929 and the lynching of A.C. Williams in 1941. Question number eight attempts to ascertain if the respondents felt like equal members of society during the integration process. Did the feelings that the respondents have translate into a more positive educational experience?

CC: No, not really, we were there but the attitude of the people didn't change. There was really one year of High school integration [at Shanks] what happened after that was the majority of the White students left the system. Out of a graduating class of 314 students there were only 60 Whites in the class of 1971. We were in the majority the only White students left were from a lower economic background, so they couldn't leave. I believe there were hard feelings amongst those who stayed. They couldn't leave with their friends. Since we were in the majority we elected our own the President of the class was Black those who worked on the yearbook were Black and the majority of the athletic teams were Black. We were the majority so we dished out what we had been given. After graduation activities they did their own thing and we did ours; at subsequent class reunions none of the White students have shown up.

CW: Not really, the Whites stayed in their communities and we stayed in ours, the housing was not integrated. We went to the same stores, we went before, there were still some places were only Whites went too.

MC: No I didn't, that goes back to your teaching and your values in the home, I was raised by my grandfather he believed in standing up and looking someone in the eye. He still believed that; those are White folks and you had to stay in your place. Being vocal and telling them how you feel that was being sassy; being sassy could get you whipped by Black or Whites. Now children want to have the last word.

Integration's Effects in Gadsden

The respondents' preceding reactions show that there was still acrimony on both sides. Charlie Cook's feelings toward the White students are just one example. Clara West's statement about the continued segregation in the community is especially poignant; Gadsden still is very much divided along racial lines. Interestingly enough, Mrs. Ora Green had a far more favorable view of the integration process and the feelings of inclusion and citizenship. The fact that she had the most experience in the segregated system may have some bearing on her response. She pointed to the long held belief in the Black community that eventually they would be treated with the respect that they deserved so she made a point to take full advantage of the new opportunity that the integration process afforded her.

OG: I did feel like a more equal member of society. My mother always said we were going to get our civil rights, she may not be there to see it but we were going to get it.

SJ: I felt free, I felt entitled; I was able to go to certain parts of town. I was able to go to the restroom. It should have been like that from the beginning.

CG: Yes!

DW: Yes, I felt that we were getting some of the good things. You were getting what the Whites were getting, so you felt good about the situation.

LE: Yes and no; Yes to the point that we could go places that we hadn't gone. But back in those days teachers instilled the value in you that were someone regardless so, no in that respect.

Roosevelt Bradwell's view on the equality issue was unique due to his military service. His response underscores the importance of the integration of the military in 1948. This was one of the steps that led to the birth of the modern civil rights movement. The returning veterans had the sense that they deserved to be treated with dignity; especially, if they were willing to risk their lives for a county that did not treat them as equals.

RB: Being overseas, in the military things [treatment of Blacks] was different; we all got along and had to watch one another's back. Once you returned stateside you were Black. After integration you could see a difference, I didn't feel as if I was a full member of society, I knew that could vote, go places and do certain things;

you knew that there were certain places that could still couldn't go. In fact there are still places in Gadsden County where you can't go if you're Black.

Integration's Legacy

A number of the respondents also felt that the students were not taking advantage of the new educational opportunities. Their responses show that they think that students are now shirking their responsibility to obtain a decent education. When asked the respondents if they felt like a more equal member of society during that time, a number of those who responded to Question 8, thought that the situation was worse than before; they site the move from overt to covert discrimination.

JG: I think it was worse, before you knew what your rights were, you knew where you stood. After that [integration] it [discrimination] was camouflaged.

DB: Not really, they still treated us unfairly, covert discrimination. Whites still get the better jobs; Blacks are passed over for jobs even if qualified. Blacks might be better teacher but still have problems.

SM: At first no, but now it's ok, but at first no way

CW: No, In Quincy there wasn't much to go to, you could go to the movies but there weren't many things integrate. They did get rid of the Black and White signs. Where was there to go? Many Black still didn't go to certain restaurants; I don't think they cared to go.

New Ideas

One of the more positive results of desegregation was exposure to new ideas and ways of thinking; the Civil rights movement offered a counterpoint to Black students' usual experiences and expectations. Even the riot and its aftermath showed that there was an evolved thought process. The relative lack of violence in Florida, as compared to Mississippi and Alabama, for example, may be the cause of this outcome, but that's not the only factor. In the 1960's the United States was coming to terms with itself. Gadsden County seemed to be following a similar path on the surface. The respondents had differing opinions when addressing Question nine which asked - Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

OG: Yes because I was able to explore different areas, things that you hadn't been accustomed to doing you were now able to do that.

- DW: Yes, I had a closed mind in the Black system. Being place in the White setting opened you up to new ideas.
- JG: You had opportunity to go places that you couldn't before but you still had no more rights than you did before integration; a lot of people just dropped by the wayside.
- SJ: Yes, you were taught that Whites were better than you and you found out that they were no better than you are.
- CG: [Integration opened me up to] Different methods of teaching.
- LE: Yeah we got an opportunity to see more of the world, um being exposed to different cultures and different ideologies to a certain extent yes, I remember riding in the back of the bus going on the Greyhound Bus from Tallahassee to Miami Florida and to North Carolina to visit relatives it was a unique experience, sometimes I feel that we've taking steps backwards because we're not using our minds
- SM: Yes, because you saw because of integration some places that you could not go now you could go, things that you could not do now you could do. Even though it was not accepted at first like it should have been. Before you had to be allowed to do certain things you had to be allowed to go certain places. It was different, I did experience the Colored and the White bathroom, it was nice to go in a clean bathroom. It was nice to able to do that.
- CW: Yes, it helped me to learn different methods of disciplining children; I was able to meet with the White teachers and exchange educational ideas and try to use the ideas. The White teachers were too nice with the students.
- DB: Yes, integration changed my views; [it] made me want to open my own school upon retirement.
- CP: New Ideas? I did like that fact that they started grouping kids by ability.
- MC: Yes, I said to myself if they can make it I can to. I can do it. I was married at eighteen, when I met my husband and I was in college it opened me up to a new world. I found that I could go to college; my mother tried to push into going but growing up in a family where no one went to college it was hard.

CC: It [integration] helped me understand the challenges of life; there were people in place that didn't want you to succeed. Until you mingle with people you don't understand how they really feel about you. The Black/ White water fountains and restrooms had been there so we weren't sheltered from it; but until you realize that there was a school that was built for them and the population moved because they didn't want to deal with you, they moved to Munroe, Talla Vana and Tallahassee.

AH: My teachers and parents opened us up to new ideas. Every summer my parents would make sure that we left Gadsden County and went up North and out West and we were exposed to different things

The respondents' answers focused on the new found basic rights that they now had; the right to assemble, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; the inalienable rights according to the *Declaration of Independence*. The fact that the Black members of the community could now conduct activities anywhere was the principal benefit in respondents' minds. Clara West said that she was able to meet White teachers and exchange ideas; at the same time she disapproved of the discipline methods of those same White teachers. Doris Black has been inspired to open her own school. Carrie Price thought that grouping was a good idea. Mary Cook was inspired to return to college and obtain her degree. Charlie Cook remembers learning that you could not really know how someone feels about you until you interact with them, and then he recalls how the White students proceeded to leave the school system. Anne Hollin credits her teachers and family for exposing her to new ideas by taking her on trips outside of the South.

Black Community Reaction to Desegregation

Question ten asked the respondents did they see any changes in the community as a result of integration. The respondents had a range of responses from the positive to negative. This question represented one of the foundations of the research. It gauges the respondents' overall attitudes toward the entire socioeconomic process and on the Black Community. Don White's answer shows an attempt by the Gadsden County school board to keep the system inclusive. The movement of the schools away from Black Communities was a way of ensuring that Whites had equal access.

- DW: Yes, we moved the Elementary schools and made them more centrally located. In Chattahoochee we move the Elementary School out of the Black community and placed closer to Highway 90. We hoped to attract White students.
- OG: We were included in the community, but it seemed that it was in a small scale. There many people that weren't registered to vote; as more people became registered voters. We held voters registration drives, they became more involved in the community. The supervisor of elections [in Gadsden County] was crooked misplaced votes, this continued until the election of a Black supervisor of elections 2001. The Black community lost the family feeling that it had before integration. The school system was destroyed and the people left the county. Education was not taken as seriously as it had been.
- JG: There was better transportation; schools buses in Black communities, students were able to get lunches. When I was going to school you didn't get free lunches you didn't get free anything. The students didn't work so they didn't develop a sense of responsibility; my grandparents always said that you have to work, they gave me a sense of responsibility, and you learned the value of a dollar. 'You had to work so that you didn't learn how to steal' was my grandmother's motto. After doing that type of work I was determined to do something better than that; there had to be something better. The community wasn't the same; before integration there was no acceptance of charity in the community, after integration the students saw that you didn't have to work they would give you everything for free, no determination. There was a raise in the use Food Stamps and Welfare in Gadsden; after integration of there was a lack of parental involvement in the lives of the children in the community. The tobacco industry died off in the county.
- DB: Negative changes, Whites can [still] live where every they want,[they still] access to better homes vouchers better school better chances. Before integration students had to bring their own lunch after with the lunch systems [free and reduced lunch] the students don't have to do anything.
- SJ: They were more opportunities; a neighbor of mine...Powell became a doctor, another became a teacher. A lot of people became commissioners people could

become what they wanted [unintelligible] we were able to eat out, and got better jobs.

CG: I didn't notice any changes in the interactions between community members.

LE: [There were] more public works for the good of all of the community, not just the White community. I remember going to Quincy from Midway swimming at the Jackson Pool [pool for Blacks] I was forbidden to go to the King Street pool so I seen some radical changes some for the better some for the worse. Tobacco was the king crop in this area, I remember working in tobacco fields and the bean fields that were an economic boost [incentive] for getting you school clothes. It took the burden off your parent's things of that nature.

SM: Now some people... how can I say this... now more doors are open, Blacks have a world of opportunity; I like to see that we have become Doctors, Lawyers, entertainers, the saddest part to me is that we do have some people that refuse to take advantage of these opportunities they just want to stay in that small circle, they don't want to go anywhere then they want to "blame the White man" because they are not advancing. I think if they would look at the person in the mirror and grab hold of the opportunities. They need to leave the past behind and take advantage of those opportunities they would do a whole lot better

RB: Not along [the lines of] changes; roads [were] still unpaved Mr. Jonahs store was still on the other side of the tracks the older people still went about their lives as before. Not a lot in Midway, [you saw a change] a little more in Quincy. You saw more of a change in Tallahassee and surrounding areas.

AH: We lost the village concept after integration. You cannot raise your children by yourself; you need the support of others to help you. Now people don't want to be bothered and some parents not want you to talk to their children

CP: It seems like before integration, we [the Black community] had more morals, parents disciplined their kids, after integration, the White people didn't believe in corporal punishment or disciplining the kids things changed. It seems like it's been down hill in the family because of the lack of moral values. Our kids don't value going to church and their parents don't discipline the kids and that made a big difference.

- CW: Not really the Whites stayed in their communities and we stayed in ours the housing was not integrated. We went to the same stores, we went before, there were still some places were only Whites went too.
- CC: I can't say that integration brought about a lot of change, some doors were opened; people had the opportunity to go into places that they weren't able to go into before. There were doors that were opened forcefully; you felt that you had the law on your side.
- ET: Yes, Negative
- MC: I think so, because we're living here on Woodward Rd [St Hebron community, Rural Gadsden County] when we were trying to buy this land they tried not to sell it to us because we're Black. This was 21 years ago, that was a change that would not have been possible prior to integration.
- CS: [There are] more Blacks in higher positions than then there used to [be].
- EB: They did away with tobacco, the neighborhood didn't change White are still segregated.

Even though a number of the respondents stated that there was some improvement in the use of the municipal facilities, the ability to go into certain areas and the right to purchase land as in the case of Mary Cook, there were still underlying social issues. The same belief in states' rights that led to the Civil War was present. Even though there were laws that opened the doors to Blacks, some Whites refused to bow to what they thought of as government intimidation. The Black community was wary of any change; the respondents mirror that general feeling. They seemed to view the integration process with a certain level of suspicion.

I found the response of Ms. Goodman particularly intriguing; she had no memories that were negative and stated that she did not see any changes in the community. Due to the unique circumstances of her life - she lived in Gadsden only during the school week, several conclusions can be drawn: 1) Gadsden County was the better county in terms of education, and 2) Taylor County was a better place to live in their case. Ms. Goodman's guardians did an excellent job of shielding her from segregation.

Integration's Outcome

The last question asked the respondents if the integration process worked. There were a range of reactions from the respondents. Some of those interviewed based their answers on the availability of goods and services and the social advantages that were gained with integration. Ora Green made a point of showing that even though she thought that the process overall worked, there was a major flaw; the removal of Whites from the county's educational system. Sarette Jackson and Lee Evens mirrored this sentiment. Mary Cook thought Black youths should take advantage of the improved situation.

OG: Yes but Whites took flight, they left because we are predominately Black. Many of the White children are now in public school in Tallahassee. They use fake addresses and go to school over there. The loss of discipline and the loss of tobacco left the children with no guidance and too much time on their hand.

SJ: Yes it did, the children don't understand the past they don't respect the past.

DW: Yes, I think it did. It took time during the 1970's and 1980's the situation stabilized... Now we are in a situation where Whites once again think that they better than us. They [Whites] don't want to participate in a majority Black [run school] system.

LE: [Laughter]... Sometimes I wonder about that, yes and no. I glad we're not were we used to be but when I look back [before integration] I say we were glad to get over it made us want to study and succeed [you had something to prove] yeah

MC: Yes it opened up opportunities for Blacks, but now the children thing that everything just comes to you they don't realize that you have to work hard to get what you want.

SM: I think it has, because I still say that it opened doors, [as] it should. I know that I can now do things. You would not have engineers, doctors or Black

JG: No the process didn't work; we need to go back to way that we had previously. It made better citizens. We tried harder to make it to FSU back then you couldn't cross railroad. I participated in the sit in with Rev. C.K. Steele, I went to his church, and we would get bussed in to the service from school [Florida A&M University]. I remember when a lot of us were arrested and placed at the

fairgrounds during the demonstrations, 1960-1961 when the sit-ins started. I remember the bus boycott n 1962-63.

DB: No it didn't parents became less involved when students were able to join the [integrated] system. [During segregation] student teachers were involved in the community. Teachers were involved in home studies; teachers would visit homes during teacher planning days. Teachers showed interest in the children. Anyone in the community could discipline a child and the parents would be told and there would be no problem, this is not the case now.

SM: I think it has, because I still say that it opened doors, [as] it should. I know that I can now do things. You would not have engineers, doctors or Black astronauts. You would still be "in the kitchen cooking, going in the back door sitting in the back of the bus" doing all those things. Now you don't have to sit in the back of the bus you could own the bus, you could own the restaurants all of these things. I think it works you just have to take a positive attitude, positive mind you just have to leave yesterday in yesterday and you have to keep on going.

RB: In my opinion say in the time frame of 1968 the time when Dr. King got killed you started Black faces on T.V. Blacks started to appear in different areas. You got to see things that you never saw before unfortunately DR. King had to die to open doors. Sitting here now and thinking about it I see a community now that has lost its identity; because we're trying hard to fit into the Eurocentric identity. They stopped celebrating the 20th of May. Integration had a negative effect in that respect.

AH: It was not salvation. You see how a snake slithers in there was a reason why integration was allowed to happen someone else benefited from integration; the children didn't. This country was supposedly built on the concept of freedom, so you [Whites] didn't give us anything.

CP: No, because after integration you started to see less White kids coming to the public schools. Most of the [White] kids went to Robert F[Munroe] or Talla Vana [then known as Quincy Christian] one of the reasons were that the young White girls started dating the young Black guys and they wanted to keep them separate. So it didn't work in this area

- CW: No, not in Gadsden County, the county got worse you couldn't do anything with the students. Teachers before integration were able to meet the needs of [Black] students. The White colleges of education didn't seem to prepare the teachers for Gadsden County. The County remained segregated. The Whites still remained segregated. You hardly see Whites in the grocery store. We try to copy everything that they do and it doesn't work.
- CC: I really don't think that it worked there was a mass exodus, still to this date you can feel it. You can't change a man's heart. There is a generational thing there are kids now who don't deal with someone of the opposite race until they go to college or university. We're still struggling today.
- ET: No it didn't our children regressed after integration; the kids didn't respect education anymore. If we would have stayed segregated it would have been better.
- CS: I will answer it this way...Before integration Gadsden County graduates attended Florida A&M University, Florida State University; you would hear oh, those are some good students from Gadsden County. Now when you mention Gadsden County you hear oh they are the lowest in the state. I don't see were integration actually helped, you look at the students that are still graduating from Gadsden County, their doctors, lawyers, all types of professionals, it's not because these are the lowest schools. They accomplish this because they are resilient, they have drive. Integration might be working but it seems like its Gadsden County under an umbrella [microscope?] "Gadsden County has slow kids", every time you hear a report they state that Gadsden County is the lowest in the state but still Gadsden County is producing productive citizens.
- EB: Somewhat, we're doing much better with education than we were. We have better buildings, teacher accreditation it's more competitive. We have better materials, better buses more student activity clubs.

The respondents' replies to the last question show the impact of desegregation in Gadsden County. The lifting of the legal sanctions that had restricted Black achievement and social progress came at a price. The very institutions that Blacks had fought to gain access to in

the County became essentially re-segregated. Blacks gained the access, but the socialization and the multicultural aspects of integration never materialized.

The problems concerning the educational process were even more significant. White families found various ways of insuring that their children would not have to be educated with Blacks. Those Whites who had the financial means started and supported alternate educational outlets, which included private schools in several surrounding counties and even surrounding states. There was a stigma associated with being White and attending Gadsden County Schools. The exception to this seemed to be Greensboro High and to some extent Chattahoochee High which continued to have a higher White student representation than the rest of the county.

Gadsden County did not benefit from the integration process; the community's chance to grow was wasted. The social growth of the county continued to be arrested. Blacks filled the vacuum left by the departing Whites from the county and the number of white teachers continued to decrease. The highest number of White teachers continued to be found at the elementary level; coincidentally the highest numbers of white students are found there as well.

Desegregation's Net Result

Overall, the respondents' answers show that the county seemed to continue to resist the dismantling of their social system. Whites, who felt powerless, demonstrated their frustrations by spending their money in businesses outside the county. Blacks could still buy goods from businesses; there would be no social interactions either in the formal school settings or outside the school setting. Carrie Price stated that she thinks that Whites were fearful of interracial dating, and that was one reason for the opening of the White private schools.

This general characterization contains the central theme found in the research; i.e., the apparent fear of the unknown. When the President of the United States makes comments as did President Eisenhower after the *Brown* decision that Whites did not want their female children sitting next to Black males, only reflects the dominate cultural bias of that time.

Respondent Don White's assertion that Whites think that they are better than Blacks is telling. When researchers look at a county and see that there are problems, they tend to look at the entire population. Whites are hurting themselves by not participating fully in the public education system in their county; the end result is a county that is not as efficient as it could be. Whites represent 37 percent of the population of Gadsden but only three percent of the student population.

Research Question Interpretation

There were eleven (11) open ended research questions. I used these questions to gauge the respondent's opinions regarding the effects of integration on each of them personally and his/her overall estimation of the consequences of it in Gadsden County. I found that the respondent's views were very strong. I was able to arrange the responses so that they could be collated and studied to form a finding.

Summary

I interviewed twenty (20) respondents that were involved in the integration of the Gadsden County Public School system. The respondents represented an, albeit not random, sample of the Black community during the designated time period. Most of the respondents were in some way involved in the educational system in Gadsden County. Thirteen of the twenty adults interviewed were present or former teachers, two were administrators, and three were county employees. Two of the respondents, Jo Ann Carroll and Curtis Field were employed outside of the area - Jo Ann in Washington D.C. and Curtis in New York City. Four respondents were male, sixteen were female. Eighteen had completed college. One had recently returned to Gadsden County. These twenty respondents enabled me to construct a clearer picture of the environment that existed during the era immediately before, during, and after the implementation of desegregation measures in Gadsden County. The responses show how each of the individuals was affected by the changes in the social system within the county.

The responses showed that all of the changes, that integration wrought, were all interconnected. From the segregated school system being dismantled (thus causing the loss of employment for many Black teachers), to the dramatic changes in the Black community with the loss of the segregated school system. Respondents illuminated the living conditions of Gadsden County as separate and unequal; the only interaction between Whites and Blacks was in the employer/employee relationship. The exposure of the respondents to new venues as a result of desegregation, such as access to public works, stores and the educational system, was also recalled. The interviewees were able to express themselves and travel more freely and had access to materials and facilities that had long been denied them in the segregated educational system.

According to the majority of the interviewees, this freedom came at a price - the loss of a close knit community where children were reared in a communal setting. The success of the children was totally in the community's interest. The fact that children lived in a rigid system

where a misstep could end in violence, made the stark reality of survival norms and behaviors apparent among the county's Black population. With integration the community was disrupted and many of those that could leave the community did. The Whites who felt forced into this situation abandoned the education system in large numbers during the first year of full integration in the county. The respondents felt that the net loss was greater than gains brought about by integration.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to find what affect the integration process had on the Gadsden Public County School system during the period of 1968-1972. I thought that the answers to the questions would follow a logical pattern. The research questions were chosen to help answer the fundamental problem facing me; what was the relationship between integration and Black education?

In the course of the research, there was a rediscovery of a segment of Gadsden County's past that is seldom talked about in the community; life before integration. The interviews gave me insight into the system that urged Blacks to excel, despite the inequality of the educational system. Black students were given tools through their education so that they could escape the harsh reality that was Gadsden County during segregation. The Black school system was a microcosm of the Black community in Gadsden County; all of the members of the community helped to raise the children of the community. Black teachers served as both the expert (as the most learned members of the community) and surrogate parent; they had to expose the student to the world outside of Gadsden County and also make sure that the students' needs- physical and social- were being met. During segregation this was especially important. Black students had to be mindful of the social restraints that were placed upon them by Whites. Teachers had to instill in students that they had value but at the same time they had to teach them how to live in a dual society, which was separated on the basis of race. The segregated system denied basic social services to the Black community; teachers were left to provide many of these services to the students. Anne Hollin mentioned the village concept in her interview; this view that the community's health is based on the well being of all members. The village theme was mentioned in one form or another by all of the respondents, during the course of the interview. Jeanie Gunn also supports this assertion as well; during the interview, she makes a point to say that teachers were social workers; they made home visits to students' homes. Due to Gadsden County's small population, most communities knew all of its members in some cases, neighbors were related; this fact adds an important facet to the relationship.

Research questions: Another look

After I completed the interviews and transcribed the results, the responses to the research question began forming a picture of the culture and climate that existed of the Gadsden County

Public schools during the integration period. The respondents were able to show that the segregated system had positive and negative aspects and that the integration process caused many unanticipated changes. I decided that a discussion of the findings based on the responses would be the best way to explain the findings of the research. The following six questions were answered based on the results of the research.

- How did the educational process change for Black students?

After the federal government mandated that schools had to desegregate, the schools in Gadsden County were not immediately affected, this was not an isolated incident. The impact of the *Brown* (1954) and *Brown II* (1955) cases wouldn't be felt because the Supreme Court allowed the district courts to oversee integration. To try to forestall the process as long as possible, Judge John Parker wrote an opinion that would stop the full desegregation of schools across the nation. *The Parker Doctrine* stated in part that even though the state could not bar any student of any race from attending any school, students had the right to attend a school of their chose voluntarily (Kluger p752). This voluntary integration meant that students could choose to attend a school in which they felt comfortable. Across the South Black students were made to feel more *comfortable* and *safe* in their own schools. During Ora Green's interview she reaffirmed this when she stated that Gadsden County did nothing after the Brown decision.

In 1965, when Gadsden County finally began to desegregate; the first members to really be desegregated in the education process were the teachers. Black teachers were told that they were going to teach Physical Education in an integrated school setting and certain teachers were asked if they would do this, Clara West being one of those teachers. The students were in the same room but the old rules still applied - no physical contact and in essence no social growth. Of the 91 Black students in Gadsden County that had applied for transfers to White schools in July 1965, less than half attended the White schools. However, many were made to feel that it was better to stay in their own schools. Those that did go to the White schools were reminded that they were not wanted and did not belong.

The integration process continued and there was resistance to the process. The Federal Government threatened to withhold money while the Gadsden County School Board delayed and asked for more time to implement the approved integration program. The Black students were being put in a situation where they had little control. Black teachers were not able to shield them from the negative comments of the White students and teachers, and the student/teacher bond

was lost. Many of the respondents touched on the fact that Black teachers were no longer able to say or do certain things because of the integrated setting and they also lamented that corporal punishment was taken out of the classroom. The familiar relationship was gone with respect to the Black student and teacher.

Many of the respondents felt that the White teachers didn't care about them and they didn't take time to make sure that they learned. White teachers didn't have the same vested interest in the success of the students, while there were cases of blatant discrimination on the part of some of the White teachers in the County; I believed that the White teachers were simply performing their job "by the book" as opposed to the Black teachers who also felt charged to help raise students.

In a segregated society every success is a blow to the oppressive philosophy of that system. Black teachers taught the students that they had to succeed despite being told that they were dumb, slow, or a Nigger. The Black teacher also helped to shield the students from the pressure of being a member of the underclass. Many of the respondents such as Don White, Carrie Price and others, stated that everything that they knew was Black: teachers, schools and communities. The teachers and the schools themselves were responsible for building the self esteem of the students to a point where they could be given the tools necessary to deal with what they have to face as an adult in Gadsden County. This was lost with integration.

- According to those living at the time; what were the effects of the integration process on the education in the Black Community?

According to the respondents, the effects of the integration process were twofold: 1) Black students did gain access to new and updated materials, and 2) were the recipients of new facilities; James A. Shanks High School, for example. This allowed Black students to be taught with the same materials that the White students had been using: books, maps, science supplies, etc. Black students were given equal access to modern facilities (schools) to help with the educational process. One of the negative aspects (as perceived by the respondents) of the integration process was the realization by many of the respondents just how educationally disadvantaged they were; the respondents all mentioned the strong work ethic that was instilled in them by their family and community.

The treatment of the Black students by some White students was the first real discrimination experienced by some of the younger respondents; these experiences produced

certain opinions about integrated education in their minds. The themes of not being wanted by White teachers and students and the differences that they felt were repeated by the majority of the students. In the case of Don White, he and his teammates were able to use their talents to in effect punish Whites, who they felt had slighted them, others did not have access to such recourses. Most of the respondents just endured the insults and abuse silently. The respondents also felt a sense of loss; they no longer had the all-Black network of educators to depend on.

The Black community was not ready to deal with the changes that integration brought about. Even though there was an extended period between the Supreme Court rulings and the implementation of integration, there were no accommodations in place. Both the Black and White community had to deal with a steep learning curve; the integration process paralleled reconstruction in this way. Blacks were expected to blend in with the White culture with minimal effort. The Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW), and others in the Federal Government were more concerned with numbers and ratios. The questions that should have been asked were how can we make sure that Blacks have access to educational materials and schools and maintain their Constitutional rights; not what steps should we take to make sure that this process is what is needed and will it work.

With the new access to White businesses, many Black businesses suffered and eventually closed. Many Blacks who left the community for better economic opportunities, assisted in restructuring the county from within. The free market factor played a part in the decline of the self sustaining Black community. Blacks felt that they should enjoy their new freedoms. Black students were also introduced to new learning styles and philosophies concerning education and child rearing. According to the respondents, many Blacks adopted all aspects of Whites' attitudes concerning education in essence thinking that if it came from the segregated system then it must be wrong. So many of the younger students suffered when they had no one to push them and save them from themselves. The way many issues concerning students were addressed changed after integration. The Black teacher within the new system lost much of their autonomy according to those that were interviewed. Formally they could make decisions that affected the student's progress and use any testing methods that they found useful; they now had to follow the state mandates. This meant that many students were left behind because of the pace that now had to be kept in the integrated setting. Students who formally would be prodded by Black teachers were now left to their own devices if they did not want to learn and had an "I don't care

attitude” as Don White stated. Therefore, students were left to suffer the consequences which usually meant failure.

The dismantling of the old segregated school system meant that many Black teachers were jobless because their positions became redundant. Administrators were either asked to retire or were demoted and asked to be assistants to White principals even if they had more seniority in the system. Black administrators also had to face being placed under a microscope, and had to tolerate the attitudes of some teachers who felt that a Black Man should not be in a position of authority over Whites led to an even more strained work environment.

- How did educators deal with the desegregation of the school system, yet live in segregated communities?

The educational system and the public facilities may have been desegregated but the living arrangements continued to be the same throughout the county. Whites and Blacks lived in separate communities until the late 1980’s (there still is no large scale integrated communities in Gadsden County, this may change with the influx of middle class Hispanics and new housing developments in the county). Segregated communities were the norm. For example, Black students may have been bussed to James A. Shanks, in the morning, but they were bussed right back in the afternoon (James A. Shanks is located in the Historic part of Quincy on King Street, there are now Black families living there). This arrangement did not improve the socialization between races. In the smaller communities in the county, such as Greensboro and Chattahoochee, there were more social exchanges and even interracial dating and marriages although looked down upon by older members of both communities. Overall there was no real change in the social attitudes. Teachers rarely brought up the continued segregation of the students by neighborhoods; it was just a fact.

- How did citizen education change in the community?

Participation in Black celebrations such as May 20, *Emancipation Day*, (the date that the slaves in Gadsden County heard the Civil War was over and they were free), dwindled as younger Blacks participated in more mainstream celebrations, such as the 4th of July and even Cinco de Mayo celebrations. In the segregated school system, Black teachers had instilled in their students that they were a vital part of America and that their rights were being denied; as time passed and the deaths of various civil rights leaders faded, citizenship was relegated to the generic history lessons. During Black History Month, Black leadership was addressed, but the

history of Gadsden County usually wasn't. This is appalling considering the wealth of information that is possessed by those who lived through the Civil Rights struggle and would be able to give first hand accounts of the changes that have occurred in the county over the last forty years.

- What were the immediate positive and negative effects of integration on the Black community?

As stated earlier, the positive effects of integration were the availability of resources that were previously denied to the Black community. Others include the ability of Blacks to go anywhere without fear of retaliation and the recognition of rights that were long denied. Negative effects include the loss of the Black community as a self sustaining community. The Black economic structure that was supported exclusively by Blacks was destroyed.

The integration of the public schools had both positive and negative consequences. The adoption of White "teaching styles" as mentioned by some of the respondents meant that in general the teacher had less time to actually teach due to the increase in the amount of administrative responsibilities the teacher had led to less active learning on the part of the student. The trade-off seemed to be better materials but less time to use them.

While from an outsider's point of view, there may seem to be no negative effects; the loss of Tobacco plantations can be seen as both a positive and negative effect in the Black community. Working in the tobacco field taught many of the respondents that they did not want this to be their life's work but also allowed them to help their families by providing for themselves. Gadsden County has always had one of the lowest median incomes in the state. The respondents stated that what is missing today with many of the younger generation is that they lack a strong work ethic (which tobacco provided). The fact that current child labor laws are more rigidly enforced is a good thing. Students are now afforded the opportunity to complete a full school year if they wish to do so.

- What can be learned from this experience when dealing with Gadsden County's current problems in its academic institutions?

This study shows that making fundamental changes to a community will always have undesired effects. The desegregation of educational facilities throughout the south was difficult and Gadsden County was no different. Whenever two different cultures are thrust into the same environment there are bound to be problems. The White and Black students were not prepared to

deal with those differences because the adults involved were not prepared. The issues that divided the communities - race and the belief in racial superiority - continued as did the mutual distrust of each group. If this situation was occurring now, the groups involved would go through tolerance training. Educators are now taught to appreciate the differences in the student populations that they serve. Forty years after the desegregation of the public schools the nation still cannot find the middle ground needed to have a colorblind society.

Lastly, involvement in the voting process increased. Blacks participated in the voting process and eventually elected those who were more representative of their community. This has its drawbacks given the county's small size and the familiarity of all involved.

Issues for further thought

Despite all of the changes that were brought about by integration, the respondents' statements, and the historical evidence led me to the conclusion that there was little change in the way social issues were addressed in Gadsden County. The opening of the system to all members of the community meant that those who had benefited the most from the old segregated system would have to share with those whom they felt were inferior to them. In the case of the White students, their families decided against that. White flight (followed by Black flight) has left the county in a precarious situation. Gadsden County is dealing with student depopulation in a state, Florida, where the population is literally growing by the minute. How does a county go from having over 11,000 students in the mid 1960's, with a population of 42,000 (according to the census) to a student population of 6,500 students in 2005, with a population of 46,000, and 6,300 students in 2006? What can be done? The fact that there is still no real and meaningful dialogue between both communities concerning public education and the increased Hispanic population, (many migrant workers have decided to stay in the Gadsden County area and have bought homes and stores), means that the health of the public school system needs to be addressed. Ironically, if the Gadsden County Public School system had been able to maintain its White students after integration it would have become more diverse student population with the incentives to arrive at policies that would have represented the interests of the several ethnic groups of the county.

Results

After the federal government became involved in the integration process, the White Community quietly rebelled. In 1965 North Florida Christian, then known as Tallahassee Christian, opened promising highly qualified teachers and placement tests (*Gadsden County*

Times, 1965). The announcement of the formation of the private school in Tallahassee, Tallahassee Christian (the school will be known later as North Florida Christian) was met with the establishment of both Robert F. Munroe and Talla Vana Schools (Talla Vana was started by the same group that started North Florida Christian) in Gadsden County. The White students found a refuge in these schools (it should be stated that both of these schools now have minority students). After many false starts and newspaper headlines touting the integration of the public schools, the district was under extreme pressure from the federal government to integrate.

The Gadsden County School district had to become a Unified District in 1970 (no more semi autonomous community schools), and the district had to be completely integrated by the start on the 1970 school year. The 1970 school year, would prove to be the last year where there was a large White student population in the Gadsden County Public Schools. The White student population diminished and many of the Blacks who could leave the county followed suit. In effect integration robbed Gadsden County of a large mental resource, and the results of this loss were shown in the standardized test results that were given to Gadsden County students.

All of these factors and competition from outside sources proved to be too much for one of Gadsden County's historic employers. The death knell for the old tobacco system was the official end of school segregation with the end of segregation and the need for centrally located schools, in accordance to the Unified school district plan. Tobacco companies lost a valuable source of cheap labor, Black students and they eventually went out of business in the area. The loss of this large economic contributor caused more of the county's population to leave. The net result was that the only students that were left came from families that couldn't afford to leave the system, so there was a small group of teachers' children and others who still attended Gadsden County schools.

Overall the educational base in Gadsden County was limited and there was an influx of Black students who were experiencing "difficulties," such as racial tension and adjusting educationally, in various parts of the county. They moved to Gadsden County but did have a positive impact in the county. The irony of integration in Gadsden County is that the Black community did not want to be forced either, "In 1972 the state of Florida had a Straw Poll to amend the Florida Constitution anti busing resolution. Governor Askew had the voters vote on two questions: 1) Were they against forced busing and 2) do they believe that students should have equal access to education" (Harvey, 2002, p. 79). "Busing questions failed to pass in

Gadsden County; blacks voted 4,639 to 1,727 against busing” (*Tallahassee Democrat*, 1972). Thus, proving that all Blacks wanted was equal access.

Recommendations

Due to the limitations of this study, such as the unavailability of records from the researched period, I was forced to use newspaper accounts to supplement the interviews as primary sources. The newspaper, *The Gadsden County Times*, was an excellent source but their primary focus was the news covering the entire county, so their coverage of educational issues over the time period was abbreviated. The Gadsden County School Board and the Florida Department of Education (DOE) were both unable to furnish reports detailing the population shifts in the Gadsden County Public school system during the time period I used as a basis for this study. The respondents were all Black and I wanted to understand the integration process from their perspective. Even though I was able to answer the questions that surfaced throughout the study, there are several other issues that emerged during the research that could be used as the foci of other studies covering similar issues.

- A study of the respondents lives in terms of why they responded as they did; and the consequences in terms of their lives, from their perspectives.
- A study of the White students’ in Gadsden County attitudes towards integration during the same time period.

We know how the overall community felt, but what were the individual views of the other students who were a part of this process? What were the views of those who stayed in the Gadsden County Public School system?

- Achievement of members of the first integrated class in Gadsden County

What were the accomplishments of the first fully integrated class of Gadsden County? Were their accomplishments affected by the changes in the educational climate in the county? Did they feel any pressure to excel because of the position that they were placed in as the first fully integrated class?

- Attitudes of current Black students towards integration.

Given the current situation in the Gadsden County Schools - low test scores, student depopulation and the stigma that is attached to being a student in the system - what are current students’ attitudes concerning integration? How do current students interpret the legacy of

desegregation? Do the students feel as if anything has changed in the educational process as a result of integration?

The answers to these questions could be used to improve the educational process by building a database that contains a better portrait of the community that is being served in Gadsden County. Students could be introduced to historical events that happened in their own community. Research results could be used to diminish the likelihood of a repeat of the mistakes associated with integration.

Summary

The aim of this study was to examine the effects of integration of Gadsden County's Public School system. The study could not have been completed without an overview of the entire system of segregation that was used to oppress an entire section of the United States' population based on the physical characteristics that they possessed. What made the discrimination more insidious was that it was legal, and considered morally correct by some and even upheld by the United States Supreme Court, in the *Plessy v Ferguson* (1896). The *Plessy* decision effectively created a dual society of first and second class citizens in the United States. This society would remain in effect until 1954 when *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Brown II* effectively ended federal segregation. This didn't immediately end segregation on the state level; *The Parker Doctrine*, named after District Judge John Parker, allowed voluntary integration of public schools, which in effect stalled the complete desegregation of public schools for fourteen years.

In Gadsden County the desegregation process was met with quiet resistance from the White segment of the population. The School Board tried to forestall integration by using the voluntary integration concept, but with limited success. The respondents that were interviewed were able to show that the two communities in Gadsden County were neither ready nor able to fully integrate the school system. The response given by those who were interviewed showed that the education of Blacks in Gadsden County was counterproductive to the agrarian environment that was pervasive in the county. The Black school year was shorter, and the materials were outdated and incomplete. Yet there were Blacks who continually achieved in the educational system in Gadsden County. Respondents overwhelmingly praise the Black educator who was able to teach in restrictive and under equipped environments.

When the Black students started to fully integrate the system, Whites left. They either opened their own schools in the county or migrated to surrounding counties to complete their education. The Black community was similarly effected with the lost of many experienced teachers and an educational teaching style that was not permitted in the integrated school system. The end result of the integration process was a school system that was dealing with student depopulation, and lower student achievement. The Black students that could leave followed the White student's example. By 1972, Gadsden was a majority Black system with access to modern materials but no true integration, just desegregation.

Hopefully the results of the research will help others find a way to continue educational improvements in Gadsden County.

APPENDIX A

Human Subjects Committee Letter



Office of the Vice President for Research
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2763
(850) 644-7900 • FAX (850) 644-4392

April 2, 2005

Headley J. White
2959 Apalachee Pkwy Apt #G-4
Tallahassee FL 32301

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for the submission of your project entitled: Affects of Integration in Gadsden County Public Schools between 1968-1972. Upon preliminary review by IRB staff, it has been determined that your project does not require FSU Human Subject Committee review and approval, consistent with the advisory published by OHRP regarding oral history activities.

Therefore, no further action on your project/application is required by this Committee. You may proceed with your project accordingly.

We appreciate your submission and the opportunity to review your study.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Thomas Jacobson".

Thomas Jacobson
Chair, Human Subjects Committee
Florida State University

TJ/jh

Cc: Dr. Robert Gutierrez

APPENDIX B
Student enrollment

Table 1: Gadsden County Enrollment, 1964-65 and 1965-66

Enrollment	1964-65	1965-66
<i>Carter-Parramore*</i>	1393	1254
Chattahoochee	651	686
Greensboro	359	362
Havana	517	517
George Monroe	457	446
Quincy	1239	1283
<i>Friendship</i>	349	277
<i>Midway</i>	231	225
<i>Northside High</i>	663	611
<i>Pine Park</i>	918	1013
<i>Southside</i>	316	312
<i>Stevens</i>	1131	831
Steward Street	NEW	636
St. John Elementary	792	787
<i>Salem Elementary</i>	620	663
<i>Springfield</i>	837	834
 (Gadsden County Times, 1965)		
 *Italics represent historically black schools.		

Table 2: Gadsden County Enrollment, 1967-1968

Chattahoochee 1-12-	719
Greensboro 1-12-	524
Havana 1-12	565
G.W. Monroe 1-6	455
Carter-Parramore 8-12	1,430
Midway 1-6	214
Northside High 7-12	705
Pine Park elementary 1-7	902
Southside 1-8	279
Stevens 1-6	815
Steward Street 1-8	921
St. John Elementary 1-8	864
Salem Elementary 1-8	625
Quincy Public Schools 1-6	461
Quincy Public School 7-12	719
Springfield Elementary 1-8	853

(Gadsden County Times, 1967)

Table 3: Gadsden County Enrollment, 1968-69

Chattahoochee 1-12-	755
Greensboro 1-12-	419
Havana 1-12	565
G.W. Monroe 1-6	508
Quincy Junior High -1-9	912
James A. Shanks 10-12	481
Carter-Parramore 8-12	1,609
Midway 1-6	212
Northside High	779
Pine Park 1-7	912
Southside 1-8	248
Stevens 1-3	611
Steward Street 4-7	897
St. John Elementary 1-8	829
Salem Elementary 1-8	621
Springfield Elementary 1-8	892

(Gadsden County Times, 1968)

Table 4: Gadsden County Enrollment, 1969-70

Chattahoochee 1-12-	771
Greensboro 1-12-	481
Havana 1-12	655
G.W. Monroe 1-6	722
Quincy Junior High -1-9	1153
James A. Shanks 10-12	506
Carter-Parramore 9-12	1,204
Midway 1-6	227
Northside High	721
Pine Park 1-7	864
Southside 1-8	210
Stevens Elementary 1-4	722
Steward Street 5-8	813
St. John Elementary 1-8	829
Salem Elementary 1-8	605
Springfield 1-7	831

(Gadsden County Times, 1969)

APPENDIX C

Interviews

Ora Greene

HW: What is your name?

OG: Ora D. Greene

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

OG: Graduate of Stevens High School class of 1947. Started teaching started teaching in 1952 at Pine Park Elementary in Havana.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

OG: Enjoyable the children actually used to learn actually used the books. The books were older they were hand me downs from the White schools Students understood that the only opportunity for advancement lay in education.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

OG: Opened more avenues and advancement opportunity, allowed you to experience and do more.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

OG: After the Brown decision came down they [Gadsden County School Board] paid no attention to the ruling, after additional court orders to integrate schools the county first to move teachers from Black schools to White schools, the teachers were moved for integration purposes. All of

the Black teachers were told that they would be Physical Education teachers regardless of their area of Certification. The students were not moved until later, students started moving from Carter Parramore to Shanks in 1969. Stevens Elementary was changed into an elementary school in 1959 with the opening of Carter Parramore and eventually closed as a result of integration. The Gadsden school board did not want to integrate the system. The federal government told the county that they had to integrate the school system when they members of the school board went to Marianna to ask the Federal Government [Department of Health Education and Welfare] for more time, they threatened not to give the county any money that's when they integrated.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

OB: I think that it had its advantages and disadvantages, things that we didn't have access to before we now had access to. Disadvantage we were used to disciplining our children in a certain way and we were no longer able to do that. We started to become lax with discipline that happened in the school and at home.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

OB: The teaching methods and the level of discipline changed. There was a fear of with dealing with White children. Before integration there was a more rigid level of discipline in the all Black schools. The teachers were really your parents when you were at school; they could punish you and use corporal punishment without fear of law suits. The teachers and parents were left to raise the student. This was lost after desegregation.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

OB: I did feel like a more equal member of society. My mother always said we were going to get our civil rights, she may not be there to see it but we were going to get it.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

OB: Yes because I was able to explore different areas, things that you hadn't been accustomed to doing you were now able to do that. [What do you know about the Quincy Riot] I was right there when it happened, we had taken a church group to Live Oak on a Sunday school outing and as we were returning we kept on seeing the highway patrol going, going heading towards Quincy. We didn't have the cell phones or anything like that so no one told us what had happened. We kept on asking what was going on? [The adults on the trip] didn't want to upset the kids, but we kept wondering what was going on. We knew something was going on, the bus driver stopped somewhere; they told the driver that was a riot in Quincy, the kids heard what was said and they became concerned for their parents who were supposed to pick them up, the closer that we got to Quincy the slower that we had to go. We had to take a detour; we couldn't go through town to end up at the church. We finally got to the church and I was able to get home Robert [her husband] was worried but I told him I was safe in Live Oak. That was one time our people stuck together. We boycotted stores and put them out of business, they never came back. The stores were never the same the people started shopping in Tallahassee. The incident happened downtown people came downtown and they weren't afraid to come downtown and they tore downtown up it was never the same. It was usual for blacks to talk back to Whites they [the crowd] told the sheriff that they

weren't backing up anymore and he had a heart attack right there. The crowd wanted equal rights and there Vietnam veterans that were involved. [W.A.] Woodham was appointed then later elected. Patricia Dew came to Quincy to register people to vote.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

OB: We were included in the community, but it seemed that it was in a small scale. There many people that weren't registered to vote; as more people became registered voters. We held voters registration drives, they became more involved in the community. The supervisor of elections [in Gadsden County] was crooked misplaced votes, this continued until the election of a Black supervisor of elections 2001. The Black community lost the family feeling that it had before integration. The school system was destroyed and the people left the county. Education was not taken as seriously as it had been.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

OB: Yes but Whites took flight, they left because we are predominately Black. Many of the White children are now in public school in Tallahassee. They use fake addresses and go to school over there. The loss of discipline and the loss of Tobacco left the children with no guidance and too much time on their hand.

Jeanie Gunn

HW: What is your name?

JG: Jeanie Gunn

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

JG: Graduated from Carter- Parramore on April 18, 1960, Worked for the state before becoming a teacher in the early 1980's

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

JG: One of the biggest changes with the advent of integration was the change in the rules regarding transportation. I had to walk a 1/2 mile to [the]Friendship to catch a bus to Carter Parramore, there was a neighbor of a different race who lived in the same neighborhood that I lived in the bus would come and pick her up; don't you know how frustrating that is? When I was growing up we didn't have raincoats or boots just an umbrella. We didn't have book bags my grandmother made us book bags; we had to carry those books back and forth everyday to school. The books, which were used, had missing pages. In my experience, teachers did a full day of teaching, one teacher taught seven subjects. I had to complete my first year of high school in an elementary school because we didn't have a high school. We couldn't go to Stevens, it was overcrowded, so we attended classes in Friendship; they were in the process of constructing Carter Parramore. There were certain places that Black could not go, we didn't know where you stood in the community [Blacks didn't participate in the political process. Blacks stayed in their own section of Quincy and all of the stores in town were located on Adams Street known as Colored Street or Nigger Row.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

JG: I was a college student during the integration of the Gadsden County Public Schools.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

JG: Access to public places

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

JG: In my opinion, education declined students didn't strive to be the best anymore. We lost something, our population felt that they were equal it never dawned on them that they still needed to do things.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

JG: The teachers didn't seem to put forth the same effort with the kids that they had before, I'm not saying that they didn't care but when I was in school teachers did home visits; they were like social workers. We didn't have the communication devices like we now, teachers had to go to the home and meet with parents; parents didn't act like they do now, coming to the school clowning over their child's behavior. If the teacher came to your house and told your parents something [negative] you get killed from then on, students were afraid. After integration; the students showed no fear and seemed to lose respect of the teachers, there was no methods for discipline. It seemed as if the teachers didn't try as hard to teach. The students started to act like the White children

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

JG: I think it was worse, before you knew what your rights were, you knew were you stood. After that [integration] it[discrimination] was camouflaged.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

JG: You had opportunity to go places that you couldn't before but you still had no more rights than you did before integration; a lot of people just dropped by the wayside.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

JG: There was better transportation; schools buses in Black communities, students were able to get lunches. When I was going to school you didn't get free lunches you didn't get free anything. The students didn't work so they didn't develop a sense of responsibility; my grandparents always said that you have to work, they gave me a sense of responsibility, and you learned the value of a dollar. 'You had to work so that you didn't learn how to steal' was my grandmother's motto. After doing that type of work I was determined to do something better than that; there had to be something better. The community wasn't the same; before integration there was no acceptance of charity in the community, after integration the students saw that you didn't have to work they would give you everything for free, no determination. There was a raise in the use Food Stamps and Welfare in Gadsden; after integration of there was a lack of parental involvement in the lives of the children in the community. The tobacco industry died off in the county.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

JG: No the process didn't work; we need to go back to way that we had previously. It made better citizens. We tried harder to make it to FSU back then you couldn't

cross railroad. I participated in the sit in with Rev. C.K. Steele, I went to his church, we would get bussed in to the service from school [Florida A&M University] . I remember when a lot of us were arrested and placed at the fairgrounds during the demonstrations,1960-1961 when the sit ins started. I remember the bus boycott n 1962-63.

Doris Black

HW: What is your name?

DB: Doris Black

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

DB: Carter Parramore Class of 1965. Started teaching in the Gadsden County public schools in 1969

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

DB: We would get of school early in May to work in the Tobacco fields; we would work from Sunrise to Sunset. [I] stated working in the tobacco fields when I was in the 3rd grade, I worked for a man named Cecil Butler in Havana [Fl.] He brought the workers raincoats so that we could work in the rain and took the money out of our pay checks. We were usually out of school by the 20th of May; Mr. Butler would usually throw a big cook out, I remember them with big black pots. We used to ride on big transport trucks that had the back cut out of them, we would be exposed to the elements we would have to huddle together in the back of the truck. Mr. Butler would come and get from the school at the beginning of planting season. We would all drink out of the same gourd as we worked in the tobacco field. I remember we were working in the tobacco field and this boy named Elijah was trying to keep dry, he ended up putting a hole in one of the Tobacco leaves. The field boss[foreman] slapped him across the face and left the imprint of his hand on the Elijah's face; his family couldn't do anything about it. I made up my mind then and there that I would become someone. We were paid on

Fridays in a brown paper bag; I gave to money to my grandmother who raised me.
The money was used to buy my school clothes and to help around the house.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

DB: When I went to school there were no Whites in the school after I went to college and completed my internship I ended up being the second Black teacher hired at George Munroe in 1969. It was a good experience, made me a better teacher; I would write my lesson plans at night and practice them in the mirror. I had and still have a speech impediment so it helped me overcome it. I was excited we had to work harder than Whites. Unlike my experience growing up we had new textbooks instead of hand –me-downs

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

DB: We were able to access places that we were unable to before restaurants etc.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

DB: When we were in our own schools, [we] performed better more value placed of education by the students. [After integration] the students didn't take advantage.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

DB: Yes, Caucasians acted like they didn't know how to teach Black children. If a child had a learning disability; at that time all students were in the same class. [White]Teachers would the students with disabilities in the corner. Before [integration] students would help each other after the students would laugh and make fun of the disabled student. Teachers now can't teach the ESE student, then[before integration] all students learned.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

DB: Not really, they still treated us unfairly, covert discrimination. Whites still get the better jobs; Blacks are passed over for jobs even if qualified. Blacks might be better teacher but still have problems.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

DB: Yes, integration changed my views; [it] made me want to open my own school upon retirement.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

DB: Negative changes, Whites can [still] live where every they want,[they still] access to better homes vouchers better school better chances. Before integration students had to bring their own lunch after with the lunch systems [free and reduced lunch] the students don't have to do anything.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

DB: No it didn't parents became less involved when students were able to join the [integrated] system. [During segregation] student teachers were involved in the community. Teachers were involved in home studies; teachers would visit homes during teacher planning days. Teachers showed interest in the children. Anyone in the community could discipline a child and the parents would be told and there would be no problem, this is not the case now.

Sarette Jackson

HW: What is your name?

SJ: Sarette Jackson

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

SJ: I graduate in 1959 from Carter- Parramore High; started teaching at Steward Street Elementary from 1965 – 1969, when the 1st integrated class entered Stevens Elementary closed went George Munroe Elementary.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

SJ: Worked on a tobacco farm, left school early [during planting season] one of 14 children, the money earned from Tobacco was used to buy school clothes. The court house and the town were segregated; the Court house had the Black and White drinking fountains and restrooms. Blacks were not allowed to sit at the counter in the drug store in town. The Leaf Theater [located in down town Quincy] and ice water were White only [Blacks allowed to sit in balcony in the theater. [I]was at Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University when Patricia Due [Freedom in the Family written about her activism] who was a neighbor in Gadsden County participated in the sit ins to integrate various restaurants and public places. The students who attended school in Gadsden County were known to excel academically.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

SJ: Had to change jobs was sent from Steward Street Elementary to George Munroe in 1970,[George Munroe was a previously all White school. The students were grouped, with the Black students being placed at the bottom of the order.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

SJ: I was given sixth grade section 2[lower group] while the White teacher whose husband was a lawyer was given section1 .

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

SJ: Integration affected the learning process in Gadsden County; I blame integration for the change in achievement of the students in Gadsden County. The students that are graduating from Quincy are not prepared [for college] like we were. Tobacco made us prepared, we made \$3 dollars a day we worked fro 7am to 6 pm, ok

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

SJ: The students did not excel academically as they did in the past. The children aren't as teachable; the children [before integration] were sweet children you were able to teach, discipline was not a problem as it is now. The parents were the reason, now you have younger parents.It [education] was just different [then] you could go to your classroom and the children would let you teach. You[the teacher] could hear a pin drop, the principal could be at the door and the children would not say anything. You ask the children how long has the principal been at the door? You were allowed to teach. Grouping was used for the first time after integration wasn't used before integration. We started taking tests [standardized tests] we didn't take those tests before integration. The CTBS test and such we weren't given those tests before integration.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

SJ: I felt free, I felt entitled; I was able to go to certain parts of town. I was able to go to the restroom. It should have been like that from the beginning.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

SJ: Yes, you were taught that Whites were better than you and you found out that they were no better than you are.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

SJ: There were more opportunities; a neighbor of mine...Powell became a doctor, another became a teacher. A lot of people became commissioners people could become what they wanted [unintelligible] we were able to eat out, and got better jobs.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

SJ: Yes it did, the children don't understand the past they don't respect the past.

Challullah Goodman

HW: What is your name?

CG: Chalallah Goodman

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district? CG:

Attended school Cater Parramore Class of 1962

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CG: Didn't realize the segregation (surroundings); [I] was shielded by [my] Aunt and Uncle; [I] lived in Taylor County during the weekend. On Sunday's we would commute to Gadsden County.[My] Aunt and Uncle taught in the Gadsden County school district. My mother died when I was very young that's why I lived in Gadsden County. Uncle was the Principal of Southside Elementary and Aunt taught at Salem Elementary in Greensboro. Chattahoochee and Carter Parramore[teachers] had good teaching methods, they inspired me to become a Librarian, because of [positive] educational experience. Teachers wanted you to learn; they knew their subject matter and had good work ethics.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

CG: Didn't affect me

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

CG: N/A

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

CG: There was a change in the mindset of the population.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

CG: Worked Jackson County from 1969 – 2004 the schools were already integrated

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

Yes!

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

[Integration opened me up to] different methods of teaching.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

CG: I didn't notice any changes in the interactions between community members.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

CG: Yes !

Lee Evans

HW: What is your name?

LE: Lee Evans

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

LE: 1977 Graduate of Havana High

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

LE: All Black teachers, principals, I grew up in Midway [Fl] therefore I went to Midway Elementary I was bused to Havana Middle School and then bused to Havana High. Integration occurred during my 4th or 5th grade year, it was desegregate with all deliberate speed at that time, I vividly remember it.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

LE: Well, um as a child living over in Midway there was one White boy that I played with from time to time so it was not so much of a culture shock we played together when I went over to the general store in Midway, so it didn't impact me to the severity that it would impact me emotionally.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

LE: We finally got the books and the materials that we should have been getting all the time. Sometimes when we got books they would have the **N word** written them N word standing for Negro or Nigger [written in the text of the book] it didn't affect me to the point where I had a set back. I looked forward to the experience that would change America.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

LE: Gadsden County has made some significant progress in the last 100 years; the question is where do we go from here? With all the technology, mass media. With the education realm before us as it is. We don't know if we will make strides like we ought to. You have kids that are taken it for granted and sometimes you lose values, tradition a sense of pride. You don't see that [pride] in the Black youth we living in a proscriptive society, sometimes it is enough to make you cry

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

LE: Yeah, as I take a retrospect of it, when I started school back in those days a Black teacher would take a genuine interest in the child, the child came to school with their hair uncombed, a little girl that is the teacher would comb that child's hair, when you had integrated that went out with the dish water, you didn't have teachers that would do that anymore, I remember had to back technique [teachers touching students, hitting] in school but that soon vanished away.[before integration] the teacher knew you your parents, grandparents discipline was a must and there was no going back on the teacher [student disrespect] like there is now in the public school currently.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

LE: Yes and no; Yes to the point that we could go places that we hadn't gone. But back in those days teachers instilled the value in you that were someone regardless so, no in that respect.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

LE: Yeah we got an opportunity to see more of the world. um being exposed to different cultures and different ideologies to a certain extent yes, I remember

riding in the back of the bus going on the Greyhound Bus from Tallahassee to Miami Florida and to North Carolina to visit relatives it was a unique experience, sometimes I feel that we've taking steps backwards because we're not using our minds

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

LE: [There were] more public works for the good of all of the community, not just the White community. I remember going to Quincy from Midway swimming at the Jackson Pool[pool for Blacks] I was forbidden to go to the King Street pool so I seen some radical changes some for the better some for the worse. Tobacco was the king crop in this area, I remember working in Tobacco fields and the bean fields that were an economic boost [incentive] for getting you school clothes. It took the burden off your parent's things of that nature.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

LE: [Laughter]... Sometimes I wonder about that, yes and no. I glad we're not were we used to be but when I look back [before integration] I say we were glad to get over it made us want to study and succeed [you had something to prove]yeah

Sondra Monroe

HW: What is your name?

SM: Sondra Eugenia Monroe

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

SM: Shanks class of 1977

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

SM: It seemed like we all played together in the Black community

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

SM: Well number one I had to change schools, and leave all of your old friends behind we went to an all White school integration was just starting then, it was kind of strange [what school did you leave and where did you go] I left Stevens and I went to George Munroe. That's when we experience the N word[White children would say] I don't want to sit by you because I might get the cooties, I was in 4th grade when I transferred.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

SM: Transferring form Stevens, Some of the teachers [at George Munroe] weren't as loving, the teachers didn't care as much. At the all Black schools everyone seemed to want to put there arms around you, they really cared after integration the[White] teachers seemed to keep their distance there were some that really cared and tried to be nice but most of the teachers didn't like integration

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

SM: In what way? [the differences then and now] first of all being young you really couldn't understand it there were a lot of name calling the N word. Now when

you look back, you see that a lot of doors were opened and people are working together for Blacks because of integration. [You spoke about the riot, what do you remember about the riot?] I was in 5th grade and there was a big riot ‘up town’ [down town Quincy] [October 21, 1970] we went back to school and it was ok [to stand up for yourself] before when you were called the N word you tried to ignore it after the riot you were able to stand up for yourself.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

SM: Basically they [White teachers] taught what needed to be taught

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

SM: At first no, but now it’s ok, but at first no way

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

SM: Yes, because you saw because of integration some places that you could not go now you could go, things that you could not do now you could do. Even though it was not accepted at first like it should have been. Before you had to be allowed to do certain things you had to be allowed to go certain places. It was different, I did experience the Colored and the White bathroom, it was nice to go in a clean bathroom. It was nice to be able to do that.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

SM: Now some people... how can I say this... now more doors are open, Blacks have a world of opportunity; I like to see that we have become Doctors, Lawyers, entertainers, the saddest part to me is that we do have some people that refuse to take advantage of these opportunities they just want to stay in that small circle, they don’t want to go anywhere then they want to “ blame the White man”

because they are not advancing. I think if they would look at the person in the mirror and grab hold of the opportunities. They need to leave the past behind and take advantage of those opportunities they would do a whole lot better.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

SM: I think it has, because I still say that it opened doors, [as] it should. I know that I can now do things. You would not have engineers, doctors or Black astronauts. You would still be “in the kitchen cooking, going in the back door sitting in the back of the bus” doing all those things. Now you don’t have to sit in the back of the bus you could own the bus, you could own the restaurants all of these things. I think it works you just have to take a positive attitude, positive mind you just have to leave yesterday in yesterday and you have to keep on going.

Roosevelt Bradwell

HW: What is your name?

RB: Roosevelt Bradwell

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

RB: Carter Parramore class of 1961,

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

RB: Before integration my experiences basically consisted of working the Tobacco fields and there were certain things that you did not say to Whites. Where we are sitting now [James A. Shanks Middle] you were not allowed to come on this side of town without being harassed this was the White part of town and you were from the wrong side of the tracks. It wasn't as bad in Florida as say Mississippi and Alabama but it was bad none the less Gadsden County students were recruited by various colleges and Universities

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

RB: [Mr. Bradwell had graduated from the district prior to the desegregation of the public schools]By the time integration occurred in Gadsden County I was in Europe in the military, I joined the Air force right out of high school. I missed the demonstrations

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

RB: When I returned to Florida [from the military]I went to a store in Tallahassee and a White lady came up to me and asked 'may I help you sir' that kind of blew me back because that kind of thing didn't happen that was in 1965. As I reflect and look back on the time before integration especially with the Black males there

was more respect and obedience to elders; elders was anyone in a position of authority. Now since integration,[prior to integration] we had control of the school. I never saw a police officer while I was in school on campus anyway, now we have school resource officers. Since integration the control has been taken away from the teachers some believe as I believe that this happened because Whites didn't want Blacks to discipline their children so as a result there was a bunch of disrespect [by students] and teachers lost control in the classroom .

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

RB: It affected me [negatively] because when I returned to the classroom teaching in 1994, it was culture shock. It [the educational and social system] was totally different, that was a result of integration; Not only that there were businesses in the Black part of town that were doing very well prior to integration that went out of business. Now that we could eat in the Black restaurants we no longer had to eat at the greasy spoon we could go to all of these other places so as a result we lost all of these businesses such as Black owned gas stations and things of that nature.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

RB: Teachers lost control of there classroom, 1994 teachers had to contact all of these people[administration] if a student is acting up, you have to fill out classroom management forms; before a classroom management form was a belt in the desk. Whenever you en tot the teachers desk you didn't want to happen because you know that something was going to happen. [now]There was no fear of punitive damages so students run the classroom.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

RB: Being over seas in the military things were different we all got along and had to watch one another's back. Once you returned stateside you were Black. After integration you could see a difference, I didn't feel as if I was a full member of society, I knew that could vote, go places and do certain things; you knew that there were certain places that could still couldn't go. In fact there are still places in Gadsden County were you can't go if you're Black.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

RB: Not really

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

RB: Not along[the lines of] changes; roads[were] still unpaved Mr. Jonahs store was still on the other side of the tracks the older people still went about their lives as before. Not a lot in Midway, [you saw a change]a little more in Quincy. you saw more of a change in Tallahassee and surrounding areas.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

RB: In my opinion say in the time frame of 1968 the time when Dr. King got killed you started Black faces on T.V. Blacks started to appear in different areas. You got to see things that you never saw before unfortunately DR. King had to die to open doors. Sitting here now and thinking about it I see a community now that has lost its identity; because we're trying hard to fit into the Eurocentric identity. They stopped celebrating the 20th of May. Integration had a negative effect in that respect.

Anne Hollin

HW: What is your name?

AH: Annie Molton Hollin

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

AH: Carter Parramore class of [unintelligible] started teaching in 1972 at Carter Parramore Junior High, it was fully integrated at that time. It became a middle school later.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

AH: Firm but fair[teachers] took mediocre books and the little material that they had, taught us from there and exposed the students to a lot; helping us to be a well rounded person. There was more respect for teachers when I was going to school at Carter Parramore. There was also community involvement, not only at the community on the street in the store. [For example] a Parent may see Mrs. Jones in the store and start up a conversation with her, to see how there child was doing and visa versa. It was like the old African proverb the village[It takes a village to raise a child] that's what it was when I was in school. You worked Tobacco from before 6am until after sunset the sun was hot and the fields were long at the end of the week

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

AH: Personally? My response when I answer your question; remember I came up in an environment where there Black teachers male and female, the way that we were taught the way that we were chastised, see we had devotion every morning and someone had to do a prayer as teacher was always there. This might not seem

very important but you never addressed a teacher as Jane or Lee it was always Mr. Daniels or Mrs. Jones. When integration came along we kind of dropped off the titles and you became known by your first names things became a little bit different. Than it was when I came up before integration.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

AH: That affected me? [any type of experiences] I had some very negative experiences on the bus that's why I don't ride the bus today. When integration came about, I guess that's stuck in my mind so [the bus incident] have you ever been, you wouldn't know about this, on the bus and everyone knows, if you are Black, were to sit. It's just like the church signs that say welcome **you know** that you are not welcomes there. You get on the bus and you are seated, this [White] person [gets on the bus] and there are no seats for this person you're not up front you're in the back, you have to get up and let them sit down. I 've seen the pain in men's faces, Black men, who didn't want to do this but to keep the piece they did it, for another man , they wouldn't have minded for a woman but not another man. So with those experiences when integration came I didn't want to get on a bus anyway. I didn't to ride it [the integrated buses]. Anyway we're talking about integration allowing you to go places that you couldn't go before, so what, what about what we had before? Before teachers taught with outdated, obsolete books and they taught us with what they had. Now you have a little bit more, but then how you're treated may be a little different but I don't see better. I just have a problem with putting so much emphasis on what integration did. In some ways

our children were better off. I think integration was used as a means to hurt our kids.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

AH: We lost more than we gained. People may say that we gained so much I not tearing down [the advances] but I don't see where integration is so important. The focus is always on the fact that you could go places that you couldn't go, so what! You could go places, why didn't we do own business we could have done that. There were small businesses that we had, that we really supported. After integration they [Black businesses] went out of business. I just saw the failure of our children today. Before [integration] you had tobacco and cotton as alternatives [to school]. Before you would either be working in the fields or preparing the meals but you would work, now children have?

very little income coming into the house hold but are always going shopping.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

AH: [Before] Teachers took what little they had and taught you. The children were respectful; now you don't have that. In the schools, our children now go into time out; if they want to sleep you let them sleep. You wouldn't have slept in Ms. Jones class, she was teaching and moving around and you knew [better]. But now it's gotten to me take when integration first got on the seen it was easy to say that you stay or play back here as long as you don't bother anybody. But what are you learning? The word teacher had a higher meaning than it does today. The discipline was lost in the classroom. [There is] too much paperwork [and] no time

for family. There were more problems after integration. You [the child] can't be spanked but you could tell me[the teacher] off.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

AH: No

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

AH: My teachers and parents opened us up to new ideas. Every summer my parents would make sure that we left Gadsden County and went up North and out West and we were exposed to different things

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

AH: We lost the village concept after integration. You cannot raise your children by yourself ; you need the support of others to help you. Now people don't want to be bothered and some parents not want you to talk to their children

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

AH: It was not salvation. You see how a snake slithers in there was a reason why integration was allowed to happen someone else benefited from integration; The children didn't. This country was supposedly built on the concept of freedom, so you[Whites] didn't give us anything.

Carrie Price

HW: What is your name?

CP: Carrie Price

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

CP: James A Shanks Class of 1976,

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CP: Went to Springfield elementary the name changed Gretna elementary after integration. I remember the colored and White signs at the doctors' offices and the water fountain. Everything was separate.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

CP: My first experience with a White classmate was when I went to Quincy middle school in the 7th grade that was the integrated class. What they used to do was place the White students in the advanced classes. That affected me because I was a very good student. I really had no problems , I had to get to used to being in school with White students it wasn't like it was now you didn't have a lot of skipping classes or behavior problems before integration.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

CP: I had to get used to White teachers and classmates. With Black teachers you got spankings you didn't receive those with White teachers. Since integration they stopped corporal punishment. We didn't have new books, until the 8th or 9th grade that's when we started to get new books. Before integration the motivation to well was so that you didn't end up working in tobacco. When you [the student] went

home you had to do you homework and you had to do work at home, I think now children don't have that.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

CP: In some ways it was good, in some ways it wasn't, because of [forced] integration [and as a result of their own prejudice] the White teachers didn't expect much from us [Black students] they taught you like you weren't that smart. I seem this over the years [of teaching]; they [White teachers] act like Black children can't learn. But they [the children] can do anything that they set their mind to. They [White teachers] would talk down to the students; eventually they found out that the students were smarter than they thought.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

CP: Changes in methods were the end of corporal punishment and the educational methods used by White teachers.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

CP: In some ways, everything was separate the doctor's office and so forth. It was the late [19]70's before everything started to be really integrated.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

CP: New Ideas? I did like that fact that they started grouping kids by ability.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

CP: It seems like before integration, we [the Black community] had more morals, parents disciplined their kids, after integration, the White people didn't believe in corporal punishment or disciplining the kids things changed. It seems like it's been down hill in the family because of the lack of moral values. Our kids don't

value going to church and their parents don't discipline the kids and that made a big difference.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

CP: No, because after integration you started to see less White kids coming to the public schools. Most of the [White] kids went to Robert F[Munroe] or Talla Vana [then known as Quincy Christian] one of the reasons were that the young White girls started dating the young Black guys and they wanted to keep them separate. So it didn't work in this area

Clara West

HW: What is your name?

CW: Clara M. West

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

CW: Carter Parramore Class of 1958. Started teaching in 1963.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CW: Everything was separate; there were White and Black facilities. Most of the counties children would work in Tobacco during the summer, that's why they let school out early. [Black] schools were more informal then, If you were a teachers child you would get promoted or skipped a grade, promotion or retention was more at the teachers whim. I was retained because the teacher told my mother that I needed to be and my mother took her word for it, teachers usually questioned, there were tests, but you promoted by report card. In my case I moved three times in one year from Pine Grove to Stevens and finally to St. Johns when we got to St. Johns we were behind so the entire class that came from Stevens were retained our grades were changed from passing to failing so we would be retained. We crocheted all day it seemed, we all had teachers who would cook on the stove in the classroom. We received hand me down books, we would see their names and would have to read about White families. The White children would either ride the bus or would be taken to school we had to walk to school our schools were in the woods walk to school. There multiple grades in the one room 1st -3rd, 4th - 6th, 7th - 9th; Pine Grove only had three teachers one teacher was the principal then by the time we left in St. Johns there was one teacher per grade. You didn't hear

what happened at the White schools You knew that they were going to go to FSU or other White colleges and you were going to FAMU

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

CW: At the beginning of the 1966 -67 school the Superintendent of Gadsden County Schools Mr. Bishop asked me to teacher at Chattahoochee High which was K-12, I taught P.E. which wasn't what I was certified to teach. It was hard to teach the elementary school children because they didn't want the White and Black students to hold hands; you couldn't play Ring around the Rosey, or other games I was 1 of 3 teachers asked to do that during that year.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

CW: The change in jobs I really didn't teach many White children and they took corporal punishment out of the schools.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

CW: I think if the Whites didn't take their children out of the school system it would have worked. You ended up with a lot of White teachers who didn't have their heart in it. They couldn't control the students. We didn't have the White community's support. The School was still completely White and they didn't understand how to educate Blacks.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

CW: The students were in control of the class, the White teacher's methods didn't work with Black students. All of the supervisors were White and they weren't much help. When Blacks started to take positions of authority; they tired to use methods that they got from other parts of the state but they didn't work; because the

places were they went weren't similar to Gadsden county demographics. We did get better books and materials after integration.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

CW: No, In Quincy there wasn't much to go to, you could go to the movies but there weren't many things integrate. They did get rid of the Black and White signs. Where was there to go? Many Black still didn't go to certain restaurants; I don't think they cared to go.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

CW: Yes, it helped me to learn different methods of disciplining children; I was able to meet with the White teachers and exchange educational ideas and try to use the ideas, the White teachers were too nice with the students.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

CW: Not really the Whites stayed in their communities and we stayed in ours the housing was not integrated. We went to the same stores, we went before, there were still some places were only Whites went too.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

CW: No, not in Gadsden County, the county got worse you couldn't do anything with the students. Teachers before integration were able to meet the needs of [Black] students. The White colleges of education didn't seem to prepare the teachers for Gadsden County. The County remained segregated. The Whites still remained segregated. You hardly see Whites in the grocery store. We try to copy everything that they do and it doesn't work .

Charlie Cook

HW: What is your name?

CC: Charlie Cook

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

CC: James A Shanks Class of 1971 first integrated class at Shanks.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CC: Before integration I attended an all Black high school Carter Parramore; my entire education process had been Black prior to 1970.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

CC: Really it shined a lot of light on what was happening in Gadsden County, we had access to facilities that were not built for us and we had the opportunity to see how nicer the classes were the better equipment and the better books and materials that were on hand. The schools were just a whole lot better than the schools that we had been used to.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

CC: Once you started dealing with integration you had the “ I am a man” and respect yourself[movements]. It was a challenge; we were told by the Black professionals that we were somebody. When the opportunity presented itself we had to prove that we were capable as being as good as the next person. Integration gave us that opportunity to show that we were equal.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

CC: To me integration was a good thing but there people that weren't ready we were ready but others were not. There were people in this area who were not really to give acceptance to integration.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

CC: Prior to integration the teacher was able to discipline the students, the teachers were nurturing they acted as second set of parents, after integration it was a hands off policy[towards students] Black teachers were not able to discipline White students and visa versa the attitude of discipline changed in the schools system.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

CC: No, not really, we were there but the attitude of the people didn't change. There was really one year of High school integration [at Shanks] what happened after that was the majority of the White students left the system. Out of a graduating class of 314 students there were only 60 Whites in the class of 1971. We were in the majority the only White students left were from a lower economic background, so they couldn't leave. I believe there were hard feelings amongst those who stayed. They couldn't leave with their friends. Since we were in the majority we elected our own the President of the class was Black those who worked on the yearbook were Black and the majority of the athletic teams were Black. We were the majority so we dished out what we had been given. After graduation activities they did their own thing and we did ours; at subsequent class reunions none of the White students have shown up.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

CC: It [integration] helped me understand the challenges of life; there were people in place that didn't want you to succeed. Until you mingle with people you don't understand how they really feel about you. The Black/ White water fountains and restrooms had been there so we weren't sheltered from it; but until you realize that there was a school that was built for them and the population moved because they didn't want to deal with you, they moved to Munroe, Talla Vana and Tallahassee.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

CC: I can't say that integration brought about a lot of change, some doors were opened; people had the opportunity to go into places that they weren't able to go into before. There were doors that were opened forcefully; you felt that you had the law on your side.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

CC: I really don't think that it worked there was a mass exodus, still to this date you can feel it. You can't change a man's heart. There is a generational thing there are kids now who don't deal with someone of the opposite race until they go to college or university. We're still struggling today.

Elizabeth Thompson

HW: What is your name?

ET: Elizabeth Williams Thompson

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

ET: James A Shanks Class of 1971

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

ET: Kids behaved better, respected Black teachers more than the White instructors after integration. The educational system spiraled down. The Black student identified more with the Black teacher.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

ET: I was able to mix with other race the Shanks class of 1971 was the first integrated

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

ET: Mixture of races at Shanks mixed graduating class.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

ET: Wasn't good for Black kids, integration had its pros and cons; the positive thing was that exposed Caucasians to different cultures, the bad the kids didn't respect some of the cultures.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

ET: White instructors more lenient, Black teacher more strict

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

ET: Yes we were received by the White students.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

ET: No

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

ET: Yes, Negative

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

ET: No it didn't our children regressed after integration; The kids didn't respect education anymore. If we would have stayed segregated it would have been better.

Mary Cook

HW: What is your name?

MC: Mary Cook (Jackson)

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

MC: James A. Shanks class of 1975.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

MC: Playing with other Black kids in school went to predominately Black schools. I went to Springfield Elementary which they later changed to Gretna Elementary. Ms [Clara] West was my first grade teacher it was her first year teaching in 1963. It was Ms. McCloud then. We didn't have kindergarten and PreK then. I remember even in elementary school we used old books; they had names like Ashley or Tiffany names that you knew didn't belong to anyone like you. We knew that they had been handed down.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

MC: It was different; it made me shy away from not being used to being with others who were not my own color. I said to myself I'm not supposed to be here I'm not supposed to be mixing here with them; this was during middle school. I can't remember the year but this was during 7th or 8th grade at Quincy Middle School. I transferred from Gretna; this was my first taste of integration. We had more White teachers and White students. The chorus teacher, who was White, taught me how to read music.[Today], if I look at [sheet] music today I know how the song is supposed to played. What was his name?... Mr. Burns! that was his name Mr. Burns [chorus].

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

MC: I don't think it made any big difference not at the beginning. They still had the White fountains up in different store and the colored bathrooms; it took a good little while from them to change. We were still going through that [integration] all through middle school and high school at James A. Shanks. I remember when I would go to Wilson's, Belk's they would wait on the White customers before they would wait on my mom and I. I remember the signs in Belks; it was a big adjustment and people weren't ready for it. Even now you can still see and feel it.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

MC: I think it's good, you can bring in other peoples cultures. I think that it can work it is up to the individual, you have to forget about the past and move foreword. You have to live the best that you can in the environment that you live in. If you show kindness to a person even the worst person you can find some good in that person, I truly believe that.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

MC: Yeah I did, the Black teachers were really pushing education on the Black students. After integration it seemed as if the White teachers didn't care. If it seemed like it took longer to comprehend something they didn't take any time with you, they just went on; not all of them you could find one or two that were willing to help Blacks. You lost a lot of good students because the teachers wouldn't take time with the students.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

MC: No I didn't, that goes back to your teaching and your values in the home, I was raised by my grandfather he believed in standing up and looking someone in the eye. He still believed that; those are White folks and you had to stay in your place. Being vocal and telling them how you feel that was being sassy; being sassy could get you whipped by Black or Whites. Now children want to have the last word.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

MC: Yes, I said to myself if they can make it I can to. I can do it. I was married at eighteen, when I met my husband and I was in college it opened me up to a new world. I found that I could go to college; my mother tried to push into going but growing up in a family where no one went to college it was hard.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

MC: I think so, because we're living here on Woodward Rd [St Hebron community, Rural Gadsden County] when we were trying to buy this land they tried not to sell it to us because we're Black. This was 21 years ago, that was a change that would not have been possible prior to integration.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

MC: Yes it opened up opportunities for Blacks, but now the children thing that everything just comes to you they don't realize that you have to work hard to get what you want.

Caroline Smith

HW: What is your name?

CS: Caroline B. Smith

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

CS: Carter Parramore class of 1970 went to Stevens Elementary. Started teaching in 1974

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CS: Great, [laughter] I had good experiences. Teachers taught, we did fine I think, I know what other responses you've been getting but that's how I feel. I strained tobacco primed tobacco wrapped tobacco; I started working in Tobacco when I was 10 or 11 years old. They didn't want me to stay at home

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

CS: It really didn't affect me personally because our class was graduating when they integrated. When I was in High school I had some classmates go over to Quincy High School but integration didn't start until 1971, I was in 12th grade when the School system was integrated in Gadsden, I had some experiences at college[University of Florida]

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

CS: No, there still places in Gadsden County that didn't want you to come through the front door like Luden's[restaurant]. Me and a couple of friends went in through the front door sat down and ordered we were looked at kind of hard but they didn't do anything; they wanted you to come to the back order and wait to be called.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

CS: I have mixed feelings about integration in some instances I feel that it was good in other instances I feel that it hurt. I feel like its good because it gives everyone a chance to get the same type of materials to deal with, at other times, at other times I feel that some teachers don't put much into it they feel like they're[the students] not going to do it [their work]anyway. The teachers don't give it their al, they don't give it 100% . .

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

CS: I noticed that when they started integration they took spanking out of the classroom. When it wasn't integrated I think that Black children understood, I'm not for killing a person but I think that a little spanking is a good thing. Spear the rod and spoil the child.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

CS: No, not really. Living in Quincy I feel that it is still a racist town, you can go through town now and certain people still look at you a certain way. Even in Tallahassee even though it is more metropolitan, it's still there.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

CS: Yes, it did it made me feel that I could go into any department store and buy anything that I wanted, but I still feel, for example when I go into Dillard's and they call out a certain number I feel that telling them to watch me. Even though places were integrated I still didn't feel comfortable.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

CS: [There are]more Blacks in higher positions than then there used to[be].

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

CS: I will answer it this way...Before integration Gadsden County graduates attended Florida A&M University, Florida State University; you would hear oh, those are some good students from Gadsden County . Now when you mention Gadsden County you hear oh they are the lowest in the state. I don't see were integration actually helped, you look at the students that are still graduating from Gadsden County, their doctors, lawyers, all types of professionals, it's not because these are the lowest schools. They accomplish this because they are resilient, they have drive. Integration might be working but it seems like its Gadsden County under an umbrella [microscope] "Gadsden County has slow kids", every time you hear a report they state that Gadsden County is the lowest in the state but still Gadsden County is producing productive citizens.

Evonski Bulger

HW: What is your name?

EB: Evonski (Hawkins) Bulger

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

EB: James A Shanks Class of 1978;

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

EB: All my teachers were Black, limited materials outdated books. Hand me materials corporal punishment; they paddled. There were more male teachers,

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

EB: The teachers were now certified by discipline. There was no corporal punish at Quincy Middle. White teachers used discipline plans; these plans had steps. Before integration there were no steps just paddling. There were White students that were friendly, my circle friends changed.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

EB: Teachers; White teachers had a lack of knowledge of culture, they tried to hide it but they were still prejudiced. White students were placed in better classes; we were divided by ability and they we were placed in the better classes, with better materials.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

EB: Pros- some changes in the community. Cons community, forced to learn White culture; Whites didn't have to learn our culture. They were still treated better than us. Whites left the public school system, every year and went to private schools, less White students in the school system.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

EB: Totally different, Black teachers were warmer they were totally into teaching Black students and discipline they have total control over the classroom. The White teachers didn't force you Black teachers forced you to do your work they made you succeed. With the White teachers; either you learned or you didn't. They [White teachers] were more creative they did branch out.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

EB: No, still don't Whites still get better jobs access to everything. Even in sports they got the better uniforms and equipment.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

EB: Yes, made me take other cultures into consideration, made me aware of other cultures. I had to learn about other cultures to be a successful teacher.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

EB: They did away with tobacco, the neighborhood didn't change White are still segregated.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

EB: Somewhat, we're doing much better with education than we were. We have better buildings, teacher accreditation it's more competitive. We have better materials, better buses more student activity clubs.

Don White

HW: What is your name?

DW: Don White

HW: When did you attend school/ teach in the Gadsden County school district?

DW: Chattahoochee High class of 1974. Started teaching in 1979.

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

DW: I went to Southside Elementary, everything was all Black. I didn't know anything about Whites. We thought that we had the best education that was offered; we participated in our own sporting activities and rivalries. We didn't realize that White students had better facilities.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

DW: I went to Southside Elementary until 8th grade. We were able to go to other schools, my parents allowed me to make my own decision; I decided to attend Chattahoochee High. The environment was different you had to be twice as good as them [White students] to be an academic success. We were treated like step children, except for athletics. They loved us when we played sports. I mastered the 'game' [psychological]; I became Captain of both the Basketball and Football team, ROTC commander and was the Senior Class President. All the Black members of the Basketball quit after the White coach made a racially inappropriate remark. They tried to ban all of the Blacks from participating in sports activities, but I was able to run track.

HW: What are some of the biggest changes that affected you personally?

DW: There changes that we went through. We went to Chattahoochee we were not allowed to wear braids, it took two years for the administration to be convinced that we could wear braids. Even though we were at a White school there were still teachers that would have it out for you. I didn't make the Honor Society because of White math teacher. My father was the Assistant Principal at Chattahoochee High [one of the first Black Administrators in the desegregated Gadsden County school system, Became assistant principal in 1973] didn't get along with this teacher so she blocked the nomination.

HW: What were your personal opinions about integration?

DW: I thought it was good. Once in the White settings I saw the differences, we were put on a level playing field. I was exposed to different classes and facilities.

HW: Did you notice a change in the teaching methods in the public schools?

DW: Yes there was a change there were certain things that a Black teacher could say to you to motivate you that a White teacher couldn't say. White teachers basically said either you got it [the lesson] or you didn't they didn't try to motivate you. Some of my classmates didn't get it; they had an I don't care attitude, they suffered for it.

HW: Did you feel like a more equal member of society during the integration process?

DW: Yes, I felt that we were getting some of the good things. You were getting what the Whites were getting, so you felt good about the situation.

HW: Did the integration experience open you up to new ideas?

DW: Yes, I had a closed mind in the Black system. Being place in the White setting opened you up to new ideas.

HW: Did you see any changes in the community overall as a result of integration?

DW: Yes, we moved the Elementary schools and made them more centrally located. In Chattahoochee we move the Elementary School out of the Black community and placed closer to Highway 90. We hoped to attract White students.

HW: In your opinion, did the integration process work?

DW: Yes, I think it did. It took time during the 1970's and 1980's the situation stabilized... Now we are in a situation were Whites once again think that they better than us. They [Whites] don't want to participate in a majority Black [run school] system.

Partial Interviews with Curtis Fields, Jo Ann Fields and Edward Mc White

HW: What were your experiences like before integration?

CF: The Black schools had pride, students made sure that they represented themselves. The Class of 1964 was the largest graduating class of Carter-Parramore.

HW: How did the integration of the public schools affect you personally?

JC: They [the school board] tried to force the students to leave Carter- Parramore and attend Quincy High; I chose to stay with my friends at Carter-Parramore.

EM: I played sports and as long as I playing sports as long as I played it was fine but as soon as the season was over I was reminded that I wasn't wanted. A White female mathematics teacher that I had gave the Black students a totally different test than she gave the White students; when she was approached on her rationale for doing this she stated the "she just didn't like Niggers"

APPENDIX D

Photos of Gadsden County's First Schools





Pine Top ↑



Gadsden County

Mayflower ↑

Rich Bay ↓

Palace School ↓





St. Hebrew School ↑



Alsace ↑

GADSDEN County

GEE CUT ↓

Robertsville ↓



CAULDEN COUNTY



GREEN SHADE



MT. ZION ↑



MT. PLEASANT ↑

Gadsden County

ST. MARY'S ↓



ST. MARY'S ↓





LONE FARM ↑



SPRINGFIELD ↑

GADSDEN COUNTY

SPRINGFIELD ↓



SPRINGFIELD ↓





SOLEM School ↓



CAMPBELL ↑

Caddeau County

BETHEL School ↓





Benny Hill ↑



Bloomington ↑

GADSDEN COUNTY

Mt. Marys ↓

SALODUST ↓





Jerusalem School ↑

Gadsden County

Concord School ↑

St. James Negro School ↓

Gibson school ↓





SHILOH ELEW. ↑

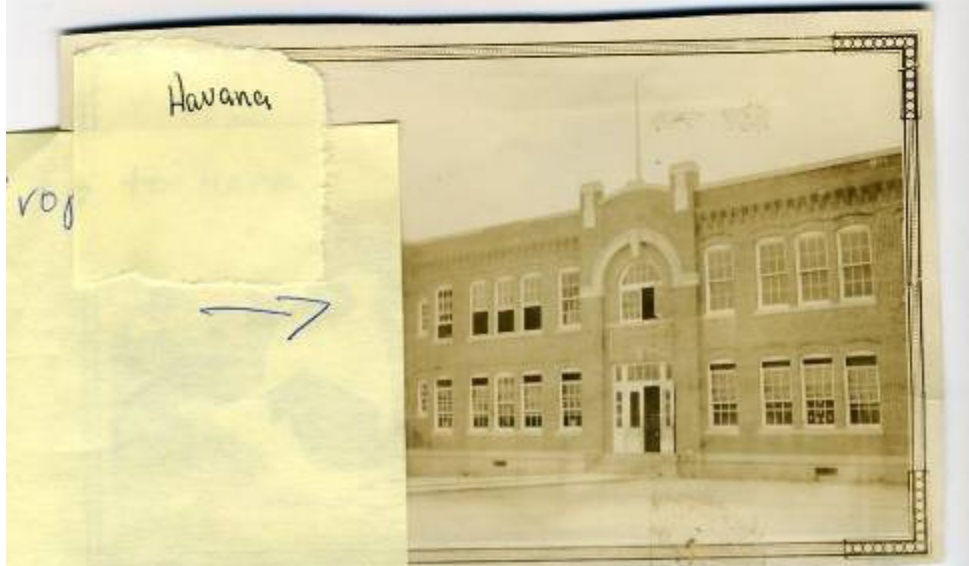
Gadsden County

East Quincy ↓

*

Mt. Pilgrim's ↓





APPENDIX F

List of the respondents:

- Doris Black, (DB): Carter-Parramore Class of 1965 Gadsden County teacher. Gadsden teacher of the year 2005-2006.
- Roosevelt Bradwell, (RB): Carter-Parramore Class of 1961, Retired teacher Gadsden County.
- Evonski Bulger (EB), Shanks Class of 1978, Assistant Principal Gadsden Technical Institute.
- Charlie Cook (CC) Shanks Class of 1971, Probation officer.
- Mary Cook (MC) Shanks Class of 1975, State worker
- Jo Ann Carroll (JC) Carter-Parramore of 1968, State Department Employee, Springfield, Va.
- Ora D. Green (OG) Stevens High Class of 1947, Gadsden County Teacher since 1952.
- Challullah Goodman,(CG): Carter-Parramore Class of 1959 Retired Librarian Jackson County Public Schools
- Jeanie Gunn Carter-Parramore Class of 1960, Gadsden County Guidance Counselor.
- Lee Evans (LE) Havana High Class of 1977, Gadsden County Teacher
- Curtis Fields Carter-Parramore Class of 1964, Youth Football League Coach, New York City
- Ann Moten Hollin (AH) Carter- Parramore Class of 1960 retired Gadsden County teacher.

- Edward McWhite (EM) Chattahoochee High class of 1969 Deputy, Gadsden County Sheriff Department
- Sondra E. Monroe (SM) James A. Shanks , Class of 1977 , Secretary Gadsden County Schools
- Carrie Price (CP) Shanks Class of 1976, Gadsden County Teacher.
- Sarette Jackson (SJ) Carter-Parramore Class of 1959, Gadsden County Teacher.
- Caroline Smith (CS) Carter-Parramore Class of 1970 Gadsden County teacher.
- Elizabeth Thompson (ET), Shanks class of 1971, Secretary Gadsden County Schools.
- Clara M. West (CM), Carter-Parramore class of 1958, retired Gadsden County teacher 39 years experience taught 1963- 2001
- Don White (DW), Chattahoochee High class of 1974, Assistant Principal West Gadsden.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Headley John White was born in London, England on May 11, 1970, the youngest son of Jamaican immigrants. His family left England and returned to Jamaica where they remained until he was four; the family then immigrated to the United States settling in Bronx, New York.

He received the majority of his education in the public schools of New York City and Miami, Florida. He attended Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University where he received his undergraduate and graduate degrees in Criminal Justice and Public Administration.

He married Clarissa West on August 10, 1996 and became the proud father of one son, Henson Jonathan White, on December 28, 2005. The couple also has a Pug name Cocoa Mocha and will soon settle in Midway, Florida, in Gadsden County. Headley is currently a Social Science teacher in Broward County, Florida at Pines Middle School, where he teaches 6th grade World History.