VANISHED LEGACIES AND THE LOST CULTURE OF I.M. TERRELL HIGH SCHOOL IN SEGREGATED FORT WORTH, TEXAS

by

SAMUEL ARTHUR WILSON

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

DECEMBER 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The road to the development of this thesis has been very long and difficult. At the onset of my progress to this point I had no vision of doing a paper on this topic or on any issue of civil rights. But after taking a course by Dr. Marvin Dulaney of The University of Texas at Arlington, and being tasked with an assignment on the history of African Americans in the Civil Rights movement, I became very entrenched in the subject of public schools and integration in North Texas. For this I want to acknowledge Dr. Dulaney for helping me understand this little researched aspect of the Civil Rights Movement.

To Dr. Chris Morris, longtime instructor of many of my classes and my Chair, for the patience and understanding and the guidance in this project as well as taking an active interest in my career as a public school teacher. And to all my other instructors at UTA, past and present, for setting me on the path to become what interests me the most, a historian.

To Ryan Edenfield, Katherine Hogg, Kendall Shirey and Catherine Dougherty for all the encouragement, proofing and corrections of my paper and the consistent faith in my project and to Helen Cranford for transcribing the oral interview into a manageable and written format. And to my colleagues at Southwest High School, for your encouragement and dedication to my research, thank you.

And, most importantly, to my children and to my wife, Clarissa, who has always been there for me when I am discouraged and distressed. Without you, this would never have been completed.

December 12, 2012

ABSTRACT

VANISHED LEGACIES AND THE LOST CULTURE OF I.M. TERRELL HIGH SCHOOL IN SEGREGATED FORT WORTH TX

Samuel Arthur Wilson, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2012

Supervising Professor: Christopher C. Morris

From 1954 until 1973, the Fort Worth Independent School District worked to adhere to the ruling of *Brown v. Board* and entered several years of litigation brought about by the NAACP and attorney Clifford L. Davis. The process of this integration, beginning with the crisis over Fort Worth black students attempting to integrate into the Mansfield School System, and ending with the closing of several all-black schools, most notably the century-old school that was I.M. Terrell High School, was a very difficult process not unlike that of other schools across the nation. However, the Fort Worth School District, after seeing the events at Mansfield, and also at Little Rock, Arkansas, worked with the courts and the NAACP to integrate the district with limited controversy, or so they hoped.

In the end, the unintended closing of I.M. Terrell High School amounted to a very significant and historic loss to the culture and communities of the black alumni and residents of Fort Worth. The Alumni association of I.M. Terrell, one of the largest in the nation, has worked to preserve the history and culture of a school that, although born in segregation and died of integration, and to some a symbol of America's racism during the era of Jim Crow, was in the memory of many of its former students equal to those white schools they integrated into.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

A PRODUCT OF SEGREGATION

"Since they have taken the schools away from us, the least they can do is give us back the memories."

– Bob Ray Sanders[1]

This thesis examines the conflict and controversy over the integration of the schools in the Fort Worth Independent School District in Fort Worth, Texas as well as the heritage and history that was lost when it's most historic all black school, I.M. Terrell closed. In order to understand the impact of the school on its community, we need to look at several issues that led to this decision. Foremost among them was the crisis at Mansfield High School in Mansfield, Texas in 1956.

The crisis at Mansfield was set in motion by students of I.M. Terrell and a local NAACP Lawyer, Clifford Davis, who was later the focus of the eventual closing of Terrell. Davis's actions to help equalize the education of students, first in Mansfield H.S. and then in Tarrant County, led to the eventual integration of all schools in the Tarrant County school zones, as well as the closure of several schools that had developed a broad support of students, faculty and community. The 1956 issue with

1 Sanders, Bob Ray. "Terrell History Proud." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 1976.

Mansfield directly led to the integration of Fort Worth, which was thrust into the national controversy of forced bussing in the 1970s.

The process affected many students when they were forced to leave the schools that their parents and grandparents had attended, and enter a new world of integration. Segregated schools allowed for safety and comfort, whereas the prospect of racism and ostracism made many parents and students wary of sending their children to integrated schools.

Although few blacks denied that integration was necessary and just, yet most feared what integration for Fort Worth students could bring. Many school districts felt the specter of the events in Mansfield, as well as the more contentious and violent events of the integration of Little Rock High School in 1957 (the year after the Mansfield crisis) and the 1962 violence that erupted over integration at the University of Mississippi. Most Americans viewed these events on television and feared that similar violence and disruption would come to their own neighborhoods.

The violent racial conflict over school integration never arose in the Fort Worth school district. However many argue that this relatively peaceful integration was the starting point of reduced academic achievement among black students as they began to lose themselves in a new system of forced equality. While there was a mid-1960s report of academic failure among black students in Fort Worth, the decline in student achievement some argued, occurred after the integration of students and the closing of the all-black schools.

Former students of these black schools would also argue that the segregation of students and the era of Jim Crow forced them to work harder, climb higher and achieve more than their white counterparts. While there may be little evidence to support this idea for segregated schools in general, the records indicate that the students at I.M. Terrell did perform better than black students at other segregated schools, and were on par with many white students in all white schools. This point is argued by many former students because of their drive to overcome segregated inequality.

So the question is, did the integration of schools in Fort Worth cause a specific population of black students, most notably those of I.M. Terrell High School, to lose the high expectations and lofty achievements that these students were accustomed to? What separated the students of I.M. Terrell from those described by Anne Moody[2] and others, and why did Clifford Davis and the local and National offices of the NAACP want to dismantle such a prestigious school system?

Although there is ample evidence that African American children fared much worse in segregated schools prior to the *Brown* decision throughout the United States, it is also clear that I.M. Terrell was not a typical school. While student's test scores at Terrell may not have been up to the expectations of some, they were considerably better than the scores of other segregated schools. The evidence also shows that, not only in Terrell, but also throughout the United States, the integration of African American children into white schools may have in fact done more damage to black achievement

2 Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Bantam Dell, 1968), 14.

scores as these students faced racism, ostracism and psychological violence in their unreceptive new schools.[3]

The argument has been made that high school achievement is measured by college entrance and success; however this is a fundamentally wrong interpretation of success. African American students had fewer opportunities to attend colleges due to slow integration on the collegiate level, and that many students chose to enter vocational studies or go directly into the work force, while white students had the expectation of entering college.

Those few Terrell students who did go on to college did quite well, as evidenced by the drop out rates of those entering college, which were in line with white students from the FWISD schools. In fact, the percentage of I.M. Terrell students who entered academic probation in college was well below that of their white peers.

However few students from Terrell attended college, which showed to some that the school did not meet the recognized standard for success as set forth by white

3 Venessa Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools For African American Children in the South," *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 253-285. Walker argues that Southern black teachers, products of segregation themselves, "implicitly identified with student needs and aspirations and, simultaneously, understood how to negotiate the world beyond the local community". She further argues that these teachers also "tell students how to move beyond the limited life possibilities of a segregated world and how to use education to achieve a middle class life." Maike Philipsen, *Values-Spoken and Values-Lived: Race and the Cultural Consequences of a School Closing* (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1999), 4-5, also argues that the parents and community of students in Centerville, North Carolina parents urged and pushed their students to achieve higher levels than local whites as a way of succeeding and that the closing of Centerville (a pseudonym) segregated schools "changed power relationships in the community, undermined the a sense of control over the upbringing of the young, severed ties among inhabitants, and thus weakened the community as a whole".

schools. Terrell's success resided in the many programs it offered, allowing its students to move directly into the American labor force.

The issue of integration in the 1960s was to give equal opportunity to African American students to ensure that their achievement was equal to whites. To ensure that the equality of education was equal, society chose, and the Supreme Court ordered to integrate rather than equalize the segregated schools. Although not an endorsement of forced segregation, it has become clear in the twenty-first century that the integration of students only highlighted an achievement gap that expected newly integrated African American students to enter into college, where before they had only been expected to enter the work force, and thus increased the drop out rate of African American students in the FWISD system.

Today, teachers and administrators are inadvertently creating a climate of separation and segregation by isolating minority students and focusing on them to decrease the achievement gap and prepare them for college and at the same time encouraging "white flight" as many white students and parents feel that the needs of their students are not being met. Rosyln Mickelson points out in "The Effects of Segregation on African American High School Seniors' Academic Achievement," that the achievement gap "has raised important questions in the minds of many Black

parents, politicians, and educators about the relative costs and benefits of desegregated education."[4]

The success of I.M. Terrell must then be looked at more closely to determine why it did not fit this stereotypical view of the segregated black school. Why did the Fort Worth school district choose to sacrifice a good school with a highly educated faculty rather than integrate whites into Terrell to fulfill the mandate of *Brown*?

Terrell, now an old brick and stone building, sits on top of a hill that has a commanding view of downtown Fort Worth, Texas. Built in the 1930s, I.M. Terrell High School was the only school for African American secondary school students in Tarrant County. Over a century after the first African American school opened in Tarrant County, I.M. Terrell was forced to close after a series of court cases that followed the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that ordered the desegregation of all schools in the United States. Today the building looks lonely and deserted, as its use has been relegated to district storage, offices, and a small elementary school for all races in one wing of the building.

No longer are students running through the halls and sitting in old desks receiving instruction in Math, Science, English, and History. Where once kids ran the halls, laughed and learned, now the rooms are dark and stacked with old boxes, gathering layers of dust, or packed with the school district's adult computer labs. One

4 Rosyln Arlin Mickelson, "The Effects of Segregation on African American High School Senior's Academic Achievement," *Journal of Negro Education* 68, no. 4 (Fall, 1999): 583.

small hall houses what little memorabilia remains of the school and provides a meeting place for the I.M. Terrell Alumni Association.

Nearly all black high school students from not only the Tarrant County area where the city of Fort Worth lies, but also the surrounding counties of Denton, Wise, Parker, Hood, Johnson and parts of Dallas counties attended I.M. Terrell. Established in 1877, Terrell at its height boasted a student population of 1,747 students prior to integration.[5] Terrell gets its name from the long-term principal of the school, who became a very influential educator in Texas and eventually ended his career as the president of the all-black college, Prairie View A & M.

The Fort Worth Colored School began as a small one-room schoolhouse, much like the one described by Ann Moody in her autobiography, however its growth soon brought it into a larger, more modern structure that attracted large groups of students.[6] By the turn of the century, the school was renamed the Ninth Street Colored School. Student population began to outgrow the space available in the Ninth Street School forcing the district to open a new facility in May of 1910 and named it the Fort Worth Colored High School.

Under the leadership of Principal Isaiah M. Terrell, a long time Fort Worth educator and a Straight University graduate, the school blossomed and became a proud

5 Kathi Miller, "Terrell Era Ends," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* May, 1973

6 Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Bantam Dell, 1968), 14-15. Moody describes her first all black school as a "little one-room rotten wood building" that had holes in the wall and the toilet facilities were in the church next door. Furniture was borrowed from the church and they had few books to share among the 15 students that ranged in grade levels.

central point of the city's black community.[7] Terrell, who began teaching in Fort Worth in 1883, guided his school until 1915 before leaving to head Prairie View. In 1921, in honor of his service, the Fort Worth Independent School District renamed the Fort Worth Colored High School as I.M. Terrell High School.[8] Terrell High School then moved into its present site in 1938, on a hilltop looking down on Fort Worth from the east.

From 1938 until its closing in 1973, Terrell served the black community of central north Texas with pride and honor. Like many white schools, I.M. Terrell has its share of alumni who helped shape our world, including several NFL players, a staff reporter for a major market paper, lawyers, politicians, teachers, soldiers, and doctors. Terrell's students looked to overcome the shortcomings of a segregated school system by taking advantage of its position as a close-knit community school with excellent teachers and a rigorous course of academics.

I.M. Terrell became much more than a local public school, but rather a source for community pride and a beacon of hope and inspiration for future students. The 1973 closure of the school in many ways, according to some of the former alumni, did more damage to the community than segregation. Few could argue that segregation was not a despicable act of racism and that society needed to cleanse itself of this nineteenth

7 Straight, an all black university located in New Orleans, closed in 1934 and merged with another black school, New Orleans University, to form the present day school of Dillard University. http://www.dillard.edu.

8 Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TT/fte56.html (accessed January 28, 2010).

century Jim Crow legacy, but community support, heritage, and a school legacy became unintentional victims of correcting a national wrong.

Closed for nearly forty years, the school still draws attention to the once proud student body of black children that lost not only a place of education when it closed, but also a source of culture, community and heritage. Terrell High was a competitive school with highly trained teachers and staff that prepared their students for life after high school in either the business world or further studies in college. The school did not fit the stereotypical picture of the segregation era, of a dilapidated, run down school with outdated and decaying textbooks, like those that are described by Anne Moody in her classic autobiography *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.[9]

Moody describes typical black schools dating from the time of the Freedmen's Bureau in the 1860s until integration in the 1970s as being run down buildings with used and outdated textbooks. Vanessa Walker, in her 1996 work, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South,* argues that the limited funding of these black schools caused the children to "suffer immeasurably," and that at many times their education was of "little value."[10] Although Walker argues correctly that this inequality reflected the inequality that blacks felt in every aspect of

9 Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Bantam Dell, 1968).

10 Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 1.

their lives at the time, she also argues that to "remember segregated schools largely by recalling only their poor resources presents a historically incomplete picture."[11]

When looking at the history of these black schools it is important to also look at any positive aspects available to the schools. Walker indicates that there is "evidence to suggest that the environment of the segregated school had effective traits, institutional policies, and community support that helped black children learn in despite [sic] of the neglect their schools received from white school boards."[12] It was the community support and institutional policies that helped set I.M. Terrell above many other black schools in Texas and the South.

I.M. Terrell may have exceeded schools of the sort that Moody describes, but it was not the only school to do so. Adam Fairclough argues that across the South black teachers, community leaders, church pastors, and parents strove to improve their segregated schools by establishing a sense of excellence in the students. Fairclough states that these leaders "had something to prove: it was up to them to establish beyond question that black people could do as well as whites."[13]

The *Brown* decision has been written about extensively, most notably in Waldo Martin's *Brown v. Board of Education* and Raymond Wolters' *The Burden of Brown*, both of which look at the court cases and how they affected school districts on a

11 Walker, *Their Highest Potential*, 3.

12 Walker, *Their Highest Potential, 3.*

13 Adam Fairclough, *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001).

national or broad scale. However, desegregation and its effects on the individual schools or school district level, especially in Texas, has received much less research.[14]

Glenn Linden's book, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas,* looks at the early development of segregated schools in Dallas and several significant court cases from the early 1950s and into the 1980s, but fails to significantly look at life outside the courts, instead focusing on the broader aspect of how Dallas desegregation followed the *Brown* ruling.[15] Robyn Duff Ladino also evaluates Texas schools in *Desegregating Texas Schools*. However, Ladino looks only at the court cases, most notably the Mansfield case of *Jackson v. Rawdon*, which reflects on all desegregation cases in Texas, but fails to look at the culture and community response to the desegregation of these schools.[16]

Linden and Ladino, as do nearly all those who have written about school desegregation, while focusing on the broader legal case of the desegregation issue, fail to look at the individuals involved and how students and their community were affected by the closing of these schools. And very few have questioned why the integration of the public schools was nearly always black students into white schools and rarely white students into black schools.

---

14 Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984). Waldo E. Martin, *Brown v. Board of Education* (Boston: Bedford and St. Martins, 1998).

15 Glenn M. Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas: Four Decades in the Federal Courts* (Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1995).

16 Robyn Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas School: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crises at Mansfield High* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

However, in the past two decades there has been increasing research done on the reflections and memories of those who were impacted by desegregation on a local or community level. *Values-Spoken and Values-Lived: Race and the Cultural Consequences of a School Closing* by Maike Philipsen looks at the impact that *Brown* had in the closing of the all-black schools in Centerville, (pseudonym) North Carolina. Philipsen argues that, as in the case of I.M. Terrell, the former students and parents believe in retrospect that they lost an "institution that served operational and symbolic functions" valuable to their community.[17]

Educating African American Students is a 2009 research study by Abul Pitre, that looks at the global view of African American experiences following *Brown* and also looks at the impact that school closings had on faculty and administration of all-black schools. Like Terrell, these schools suffered severe job losses when they closed. Pitre's research shows that while principalship and teaching jobs increased in number after *Brown*, by the late 1970s with more and more school closings, black teachers and administrators were being fired in greater numbers as students shifted to integrated schools.[18]

---

17 Maike Philipsen, *Values-Spoken and Values-Lived: Race and the Cultural Consequences of a School Closing* (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press. 1999), 150.

18 Abul Pitre, *Educating African American Students: Foundations, Curriculum, and Experiences* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Education, 2009), 13-14. Pitre's work goes on to further illustrate the problems that African American students had when integration forced them out of the "comfort zone" of a one race school and into a hostile integrated setting. Pitre argues that the post integration curriculum was skewed to hide or diminish the contributions, history and importance of African Americans, especially in the Social Studies courses. Pitre also looks at the increase number of African American males who were enrolled as special education or limited learners due to their apparent learning disabilities.

Although it may be assumed, and most of the time correctly, that the white schools had better educated staff, newer and more advanced textbooks, better equipment and almost always more money per pupil, that was not always the case. In fact, at the time of the Terrell closing, itself a fairly modern building in comparison to its white counterparts, Fort Worth was in the midst of constructing one of the most modern and well-equipped schools in the nation, Morningside, which was designated as an all black school.

Alvis Adair agreed with Pitre as he argues that the desegregation of schools entailed a shift from "quasi-Black control of schools to practically total white control."[19] Pitre and Adair and Walker represent a growing number of authors who argue that previous studies incorrectly inferred that "black schools and black educators were uniformly inferior."[20]

Sonya Ramsey does a better job in her work on the African American teachers of Nashville during their turbulent era of desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s and moves away from the more national, legal viewpoint and looks more closely at the individual schools, staff and students and what impact desegregation had on them. Ramsey's 2008 work, *Reading, Writing and Segregation* is an in-depth look at the Nashville segregated school system, with a focus on African American teachers from Reconstruction onward.

---

19 A Adair, *Desegregation: The Illusion of Black Progress* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America,1984).

20 Pitre, *Educating African American Students*, 4.

Ramsey's focus on the inequities of teacher pay, supplies and textbook resources, as well as educational background, helps us to better understand the treatment of African American educators across the South. Ramsey echoes what Pitre and Adair have found, that after *Brown* and the integration of African American educators into a white school system, most faculty lost any type of control or respect within their schools and in their communities.[21]

Aside from Ramsey, what is missing among the many authors who look at the desegregation of schools in America is how the individual students viewed segregation, and how faculty members worked to overcome tremendous odds and poor pay to teach African American students, and how the closing of many of these schools impacted the community and social connections that many African Americans shared.

Also lost is how the very success of *Brown* and the desegregation of these schools led to the closing of schools that had a rich history and culture, their many awards now piled in dark closets, basements, and boiler rooms collecting dust. The argument has also been made by some of the former students that many African-American students of the segregated era, though wanting to end the inequitable dual school system, felt that the black schools they attended offered them more in academics and vocational training than white schools, in which many experienced major distractions caused by the mixing of the races.[22]

---

21 Sonya Ramsey, *Reading, Writing, and Segregation: A Century of Black Women Teachers in Nashville* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 2008), 115.

22 Andrew Sanders, interview by author, Fort Worth, TX, May 6, 2009.

The *Braxton v. Board of Public Education of Duval County* case indicated that the Supreme Court would not accept "token desegregation," insisting instead that school districts allow "Negro children more than a mere right to consideration to white schools."[23] This led the way to the closing of black schools. A close look at individual reminiscences, school records, newspaper clippings and local court issues indicate that there was a widespread popular reluctance to follow the court's lead.

This progression of closing only black schools instead of true integration of white and black schools led to the loss of primary source material, when it was destroyed or cast away from the schools. In the case of I.M. Terrell, very few records remain outside of the school district's archives and the alumni of the school. However, unlike most school districts, the Fort Worth Independent School District does have a dedicated historical archive.

Unlike the Mansfield school system, which has very little information on its most infamous connection to desegregation, the FWISD has a large amount of printed documentation concerning its thirty-year battle to desegregate its black and white schools, and the monumental task of proportionally integrating its schools. Most school districts do not keep any type of archives or holdings for their massive amount of paperwork, but rather rely on the decisions of the individual schools within the district to determine what material is worth saving and collecting and what is tossed out as

23 Southern Regional Council, *Lawlessness and Disorder: Survey of Integration, 1967*. (Atlanta, 1967), 30. This is a written manuscript for the Southern Regional Council in 1967. An unpublished project to look at integration used by the NAACP and the ACLU in conducting court actions in Texas.

unwanted trash. In Fort Worth's case, the research becomes less complicated because the district, according to district historians, is one of only three in the country to keep a fully functional archive.[24] Named after long-time Fort Worth teacher Billy Sills, this archive houses the material collected by individual schools and the administration as well as yearbooks, newspaper clippings, and correspondence of a district that dates back to 1877. Only the most dedicated researcher should use the archives, as the material available is quite extensive and un-catalogued. However, the ability to find some of the most detailed sources on the daily workings of a school can yield some fascinating insight into the difficult decisions that the Fort Worth School district faced following the 1954 *Brown* decision.

In 1973, pressured by the Texas American Civil Liberties Union (TACLU) and the Fort Worth branch of the NAACP, Fort Worth closed Terrell as well as two other high schools, Kirkpatrick and Como. However, the long history of these schools, especially Terrell, yields some amazing information on the everyday workings of a southern black school and the battles it had with the established administration to gain not only acceptance, but also equality. Floyd Moody offers one example of a student at the center of the Mansfield segregation case, who was reluctant to leave I.M. Terrell for

24 The Billy Sills Archive is kept and funded by the school district and opened year round to catalogue and collect school records, newspaper clippings and other primary and secondary source material. The Archives also focuses on the history of Fort Worth in holding a lecture series by local authors on local topics.

the hostile environment of Mansfield. Moody's example reflects the rich history and achievements of Terrell as documented in the school district archives.

The Billy Sills Archives holds one of the few copies of the *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Fort Worth, Texas,* a 1931 commissioned report by the Teacher's College of Columbia University that takes a complete look at the school district, its buildings, material, staffing and students of the early twentieth century.[25] George Strayer, the Director of the survey, laid out many of the problems and accomplishments of the district and helped charter goals for the future. Strayer gives us a unique look into the black schools of the district and the administrative task of teaching Fort Worth's African American children.

With nearly one-sixth of all students being African-American, the district set up several black campuses. Of the nearly sixty campuses, forty-nine schools were devoted to only white children, and ten to the African American students. Nine of the African American schools were for kindergarten through seventh grade and only one was a high school. In contrast there were twelve high schools for the white children.[26] Nearly 37,000 students from Tarrant County attended these schools; five thousand of them were African American.

---

25 George D. Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Fort Worth Texas,* Made for the Educational Research Division of Field Studies (New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, 1931). George Strayer was commissioned by several schools throughout the nation to evaluate their academic, financial and administrative practices as well as recommend areas of improvement. This survey gives the most in-depth look at a segregated school system during the 1920s. The Strayer commission also looked at the El Paso schools and the Austin schools during this time.

26 Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Fort Worth Texas,* 24-26.

Twenty-three years later on the eve of the *Brown* decision, FWISD boasted 6,980 African American students of which 823 were in the senior high level and nearly half of them at the tenth grade level.[27] As the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* reported, "For more than 78 years Fort Worth Public schools have been operated under a dual system for white and colored. This pattern of procedure has become a fundamental part of the educational process in Fort Worth, and by experience, training, and habit it is a part of the culture of all of the citizens, both white and colored. Both white and colored teachers have been trained in colleges and universities and by their experience in the classroom to serve the needs of the students operating under the Dual System."[28]

Although Fort Worth implied a system of equality, and Strayer reported that the district did not differentiate per pupil expenditures, $86.73 per year for black and white, there were major differences in pay to teachers. While whites earned an average of $156 a month, African-American educators averaged $104.[29] Also by the end of 1965, the number of African American children in white schools rose to 6.1 percent, a modest gain of five percent but still a far cry below what would be expected in a city with a large minority population. An increase in violence towards African-Americans who chose to attend "white" schools helped slow the cause of desegregation.

---

27 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, September 24, 1967. I.M. Terrell School Box, Special Collections, Billy Sills Archive. Fort Worth Texas.

28 Arlene Flax, Etc., et al., Plaintiffs-appellants, v. W.s. Potts, et al., Defendants, Fort Worth Independent School Civ. A. No. 4205, UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, FORT WORTH DIVISION 204 F. Supp. 458; 196 U.S. Dist. Lexis 4907. March 1, 1962.

29 Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Fort Worth Texas,* 172-197.

After the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act there was a "wave of terror unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bed sheets."[30] "In regard to faculty assignments, Dr. Prud'homme, a Fort Worth physician, testified that during the 1969-70 school year two percent of the faculty in predominantly white schools were black and that ninety-three percent of the faculty in predominantly black schools were Negro."[31]

Another major problem arose as "one factor working against the 'balance' situation is the rapid change in the white-black ratio in some schools" due to the phenomenon of "white flight," the migration of white middle class families out of the urban environment to more rural communities, and thus re-segregating communities. The migration phenomenon of white families was primarily caused by white's desire to escape to the "surrounding neighboring communities [that were] free from federal court mandated integration" after the *Brown* decision in 1954.[32] By 1966, one FWISD School had a "white enrollment of 57.2% to 42.8% black and within one year a change

30 Southern Regional Council, 3.

31 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Aug 31, 1970. Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell, reporter for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. Campbell wrote extensively on the Fort Worth ISD bussing issues of the 1970s and 1980s and was instrumental in the research of this paper. Many of these articles can be found from The University of Texas at Arlington's Special Collections as well as Fort Worth ISD's Billy Sills Archives, however most of these articles came directly from the personal clippings of Mrs. Campbell who graciously made copies for me.

32 Tina Nicole Cannon, "Cowtown and the Color Line: Desegregating Fort Worth's Public Schools" (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 2009). Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Susan A. Stegall, "The Development of Semiurban Schools: A Response to Resegregation" (PhD diss., Capella University, 2008). Gerald Steward McCorkle, "Desegregation and Busing in the Dallas Independent School District" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Arlington, 2006).

of 31% white to 69% black occurred."[33] "White flight" became the prevailing issue of integration and a major cause of forced bussing in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s.

This type of inequality in expenditures and unequal demographics resulted in the *Brown* case and led to a series of court cases against the Fort Worth ISD. In *Flax v. Potts* (1962), the Fort Worth NAACP and the TACLU worked to help integrate the district on behalf of ten students. In 1957, Clifford Davis, lawyer for the Fort Worth NAACP initially tried to enroll five students into elementary schools, but was denied based on a Board of Education ruling that "schools would remain segregated for the 1956-57 school year."[34]

Although these case briefs can be found in the legal case section of LexisNexis online, the vast volume of notes and paperwork from the TACLU can be found at the Special Collections of the University of Texas at Arlington. Donated by a Dr. Eck G. Prud'homme of Fort Worth, this collection of material contains the papers of Clifford Davis, the Appellant counsel. Davis, a member of the TACLU and the NAACP, brought forth this case to help integrate Fort Worth eight years after *Brown*.

Although unsuccessful in 1962, and then failing again in its appeal in 1972, the Davis case was successful in the 1972 decision to close down the all-black high schools of Kirkpatrick, Como and Terrell, even though it did allow for the planning of a newer

33 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, September 24, 1967. I.M. Terrell High School, *Star-Telegram* Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

all black School to be named Morningside, but which was never built.[35] At the time there was little argument against closing these schools, for it was argued that it was done in the name of desegregation. Kirkpatrick "was a product of segregated system that should never have been built," said FWISD Superintendent Julius Truelson.[36]

Judge Leo Brewster felt that the "decision [to keep the Negro schools open] was in the best interest of both Negro and white children, but that the senior high schools should begin the process of integration by September of 1967."[37] This decision led to the delay of integration until Davis's appeal was heard in 1972. The case was again argued in 1990, this time overturning the 1972 decision that, although it closed the black schools, ruled in favor of the school district, stating that the district was working successfully to integrate its schools.[38] The 1990 decision ended the gerrymandering of school zones and helped create a more homogenous and integrated district through the use of the magnet school system.[39]

The Billy Sills Archive, as well as The University of Texas at Arlington's Special Collections also houses a treasure trove of clippings from the *Fort Worth Star-*

---

34 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 4, 1956. I.M. Terrell High School, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

35 Arlene Flax, Etc., et al., Plaintiffs-appellants, v. W.s. Potts, et al., Defendants, Fort Worth Independent School District No. 71-2715, UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT, 464 F.2d 865; 1972 U.S. App. LEXIS 8410, July 14, 1972 , Rehearing Denied July 21, 1972.

36 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 28, 1970. Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell.

37 *Fort Worth Press*, Monday September 5, 1966. Box 15, Folder 2, Greater Fort Worth Civil Liberties Union Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas Arlington, Texas.

38 Flax v. Potts, 72.

Telegram. The *Telegram* wrote extensively on the cases and gives a good understanding of the general views of the residents of Fort Worth. Dr. Prud'homme wrote lengthy letters to the editor of the city's largest paper and laid forth a case for the TACLU that is not muddled in legal jargon and court syntax.

Prud'homme argues in a letter to the *Star-Telegram*, "in 1969, two years after the system had become '100% desegregated,' there were three 'Junior Senior high school' complexes and they were all virtually 100% Negro" and that "most of the Negro schools have an inappropriate number of students per school (which is inevitable when schools are designed, as these admittedly were, not to serve a certain number of pupils but rather to serve exclusively the students of one particular race)."[40] Reporters for the *Star-Telegram* echoed Prud'homme's argument, that "only Negroes who have received relief have been those few who had already broken, or did later break, the housing barrier."[41]

FWISD appeared to be in concert with Prud'homme when the superintendent indicated that, "we're looking within desegration [sic] to real integration, not just ethnic balance but achievement levels of all students."[42] Fort Worth Superintendent Julius Truelson felt that desegregation was a problem of sex and violence. "More than

39 Arlene Flax, Etc., et al., Plaintiffs-appellants, v. W.s. Potts, et al., Defendants, Fort Worth Independent School District. No. 89-7006, UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT, 915 F.2d 155; 1990 U.S. App. LEXIS 18531, October 24, 1990 , As Corrected.

40 Personal Letters of Dr. Eck Prud'homme, January 13, 1970. Box 15, Folder 2, Greater Fort Worth Civil Liberties Union Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas Arlington, Texas.

41 *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, April 30, 1969, Box 15, Folder 2, Greater Fort Worth Civil Liberties Union Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas Arlington, Texas.

anything else, those two things stroked the fears of the nation's white community during the years that school desegregation was first being contemplated…everybody was worried that the older kids would fight, and they were worried about sex," he said in a 1982 *Star-Telegram* article.[43]

Truelson's views that the white community was fearful of "black boys being with white girls and white boys with black girls," was a great concern throughout the segregated southern school systems. The Billy Sills Archives also holds clippings from the *Fort Worth Press*, the city's now defunct competitor paper, which also chronicled the ongoing struggle to desegregate the schools. UTA also holds some clippings of the short-lived 1940s African American paper *The Mind.* These clippings give a unique view of the controversy surrounding the segregated schools from the black perspective and uphold the argument that these schools were a focal point for the community and a center for social interaction.

42 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Sept 5, 1982, Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell.

43 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Sept 5, 1982.

CHAPTER 2

THE MARCH FROM MANSFIELD TO FORT WORTH

"Terrell served as a source of pride, a source of development to black people"

- Myra Burnett

After the Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), school districts across the nation scrambled to begin the difficult and sometimes painful task of dismantling dual systems of white and black schools. The desegregation of Fort Worth ISD was closely tied with the events of the attempted transfer of twelve African-American students from Fort Worth's James Guinn and I.M Terrell segregated schools into the Mansfield Independent High School. These parents of the twelve students were represented by the local NAACP who were committed to the idea of community schools, the underlying theme of *Brown*. Until 1956, Fort Worth was a regional center for African American students from over a dozen cities and several counties.

Although there are some notable cases where districts or states refused to adhere to the decision and violence seemed certain, such as in Little Rock, Arkansas (1957), Mansfield, Texas (1956), New Orleans (1960), and of course the numerous schools involved with the *Brown* decision itself, the Fort Worth Independent School District (FWISD) resolved to desegregate its schools, albeit reluctantly and slowly, to avoid the disruptions and violence that marked other schools.

The 1955 decision in *Brown II* indicate that school districts, like Fort Worth, were to abandon their dual systems of white and black campuses in favor of a single non-discriminatory unified system of community schools for all students. However the new trend of "white flight" and the tactic of gerrymandering by districts to create homogenous community schools caused many to abandon the idea of a pure community school, which necessitated forced bussing to relocate students from African American neighborhoods to white neighborhood schools sometimes miles away.[44]

Although cities such as Arlington, Mansfield, and Richardson had their own black elementary schools, few of the surrounding cities had facilities for students over the eighth grade. Any African American who wished to continue to the secondary level was required to either take a public school bus or find his or her own transportation on trips that could reach up to forty miles to attend I.M. Terrell in Fort Worth. As the *Star-Telegram* recalled, "for generations they came, by bus or car or any other means they could manage, young people from Fort Worth and Arlington, Roanoke and Lake Como, Bedford, Burleson, Benbrook, and as far away as Weatherford, 30 miles west. There were students from sixteen North Texas towns and cities in all who attended one black high school in Fort Worth, because during the Jim Crow era, there was no place else."[45]

In the case of Mansfield, African American students had to walk each morning from their homes to catch a Trailways bus to downtown Fort Worth and then walk

44 Southern Regional Council, 31.

45 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 7, 2002. Mansfield High School, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

approximately twenty blocks to either James E. Guinn for ninth grade students or to I.M. Terrell for the high school students, a trip of roughly forty miles round trip.[46] Students often left home before seven a.m. and would not return until well after nine p.m., if they engaged in any type of extracurricular activities.

After the 1954 *Brown* case, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) worked with several families who resided in the Mansfield school zones to enroll into the district. Clifford Davis, attorney for the NAACP and resident of Fort Worth, headed the legal team in the case of *Jackson v. Rawdon* (Mansfield Independent School District) to integrate the Mansfield district. The records of *Jackson*, housed at the Southwest Region National Archives in Fort Worth, document one of the more contentious public school integration events in the long battle for desegregation.

Floyd Moody, a student from I.M. Terrell, but living in the Mansfield school zone, tried to enroll in the all white Mansfield High School. Moody was told that he could not because the board had no approved plan for integration, but that several proposals were being considered. Rather than being disappointed at this denial, Moody

46 *The History Of Mansfield Texas*, (Curtis media Inc. and Mansfield Historical Society, 1996), 11. This rare book was found in the Mansfield Public Library, Mansfield, Texas. This book had one grainy picture of the protest at Mansfield High School, but yielded little information outside of the reporting of the Star-Telegram, most likely their primary source for the chapter on the desegregation of the Mansfield ISD.

was relieved, fearing that he would not make the football team, and would in addition be ostracized by his white classmates.[47]

In the Mansfield case, two of the twelve students listed as plaintiffs, Moody among them, testified that they were happy attending I.M. Terrell High School and that they liked having some vocational classes that were not offered at Mansfield. The two students did complain about the necessity of traveling forty miles round-trip or about the inconvenience of finding their own way back after football practice when a bus was not available.[48]

Unable to register for the Mansfield school, when confronted by a large gathering of angry Mansfield residents, Moody registered at I.M. Terrell High School and was believed to have said to waiting reporters that he did not "wanna [sic] go to school in Mansfield" but would go if the "NAACP makes me."[49] In an August 31, 1956 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* article, Moody, reflecting the fear he had of attending a new school he may have perceived as hostile, said to the reporter, "Mister, I don't want to go to school in Mansfield."[50]

These controversial statements caused one citizen to report to the governor of Texas, Allen Shivers, "When a nigger student states that he would rather go to …I.M. Terrell Nigger School because it is a better school...and would do so unless forced by

47 Robyn Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crisis at Mansfield High*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 77.

48 Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools,* 83.

49 Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools,*106.

the NAACP...it is time for the Attorney General to act."[51] Calls for the jailing of all NAACP officials for inciting a riot and the removal of the NAACP from Texas were also sent into the governor's office.

The *Dallas Express*, an African American newspaper, was reported to have carried Moody's statement of denial and wrote of his commitment to attend Mansfield High School, though no records remain showing this. In the *Jackson* case, brought forth in 1955 by Davis and the NAACP's legal team led by Thurgood Marshall, the district court ruled against the plaintiffs on the grounds that, although the school board had no plans to desegregate, and in fact had voted not to for the 1955-1956 school year, nevertheless they had a "willingness" to integrate as well as to seek the possibility of a school bus for transportation of students to Terrell. The case was overruled on appeal to the Supreme Court in 1956 and the Mansfield school district began to integrate. Following Davis's success on this case, he tried to tackle the much larger Fort Worth school system.[52]

The *Brown* as well as the 1972 *Flax* decisions revealed a major problem with a "nationwide policy on integration – indeed the lack of a nationwide law."[53] In Texas, the number of school districts under court order to desegregate in 1967 was 14 of 1,308,

---

50 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 31, 1956. Mansfield High School, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

51 Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools,* 106.

52 Rawdon, President, Board of Trustees, Mansfield Independent School District, et al., v. Jackson et al., SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, 352 U.S. 925; 77 S. Ct. 221; 1 L. Ed. 2d 160; 1956 U.S. LEXIS 91, Dec. 3, 1956.

53 Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Sept 2, 1970. I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

or 1.1 percent, well below the percentages of other southern states such as Louisiana (67.7 percent), Mississippi (27.5 percent), and Alabama (16.1 percent).[54] "If Fort Worth's desegregation ruling had come in the mid-1950s, the city would have experienced the same problems as other cities," said Jack Butler, a *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* editor, and "to put it bluntly, Fort Worth learned from the tragedies of Little Rock and all the other cities where bombs were thrown and buses blocked."[55] Thus, Fort Worth's path to desegregation prevented much of the forced desegregation seen in other states and the violence and protests they experienced.

One problem with desegregation was that there was no federal money granted to school districts to help implement court and legislative mandates. The proposed Whitten Amendment of 1968 specifically forbade the use of federal money in any type of forced bussing, abolishment of a school, or the forcing of a student to attend another school against his will.[56] The Whitten Amendment crippled the effort to desegregate schools that New York Congressmen Charles Goodall claimed were willing to desegregate but found "themselves in a position that when the school board redistricts, it will not be able to assign pupils unless the parents of all these pupils agree and give their consent" to have an integrated school.[57]

In the case of Fort Worth, as with most districts that struggled to finance schools, the Whitten Amendment prevented them from even appearing to abide by the

54 Southern Regional Council, 55.

55 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Sept 5, 1982, Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell.

56 Southern Regional Council, 19.

Brown decision by closing down black schools and bussing students to predominantly white schools. A 1967 Special Report by the Southern Regional Council on Segregation illustrates that up to 1966 there was considerable reason to be optimistic in the desegregation of schools, but by 1969 reported that there was now almost no hope or reason to feel optimistic, citing the recent riots and repressions that occurred in the previous year.[58]

Until the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, assurance of integration had dramatically diminished in the ten years since the *Brown* case. In fact, only 1.17 percent of African American children attended white schools in the southern states.[59] The Senate applied other amendments and conditions to the Whitten Amendment that would place it in violation of Title IV's clause against any action to overcome racial imbalance inherent in de-facto segregation. However, in a surprise vote by the House, the Whitten Amendment failed and many districts began to look at forced bussing and the abandonment of black only schools such as I.M. Terrell.[60]

57 Southern Regional Council, 21.

58 Southern Regional Council, i – ii.

59 Southern Regional Council, 1.

60 Southern Regional Council, 22.

CHAPTER 3

JACKSON V. RAWDON

"Swaying above the crowd on a flag pole was the effigy of a Negro, draped with a sign stating 'Stay Away'".

- John Mort, *Fort Worth Star Telegram*[61]

The desegregation and closing of the Fort Worth schools began in August of 1956 with the crisis at Mansfield High school, when African American students who attended Fort Worth's I.M. Terrell High School found themselves at the center of an attempt to integrate into the Mansfield school system following the *Brown* decision. L. Clifford Davis served as the lead lawyer on both cases, and in many ways the Mansfield case was just a stepping-stone to the much larger Fort Worth case, a case that would have been very difficult without the national media attention paid to the events in Mansfield.

As the beginning of the 1956-1957 school year approached, several African American students, who were required to attend the only available segregated black school in the western portions of the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex, I.M. Terrell in

61 John Mort, "No Negroes Appear: Second Effigy Found," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, August 30, 1956.

downtown Fort Worth, sought to enroll in the all white Mansfield High School located within walking distance from their homes. For those African American students who

lived in the outlying areas of the metroplex, the task of getting to and from Terrell was difficult. In the case of teenagers Floyd Moody, Nathaniel Jackson and Charles Moody (no relation to Floyd), the trip from Mansfield to I.M. Terrell was nearly forty miles round trip.

The students had to walk several miles to pick up a Trailways bus that took them to downtown Fort Worth, and from there they walked nearly twenty blocks to the Terrell Campus.[62] For many of the students, this meant not only an early morning rise to catch the 7:15 bus, but also a late return for those who, like Floyd Moody, participated in afternoon sports and would not return home until the late hours. After the *Brown* decision, a group of NAACP leaders with the help of attorney L. Clifford Davis, petitioned the Mansfield school district to allow for Moody and others to attend nearby Mansfield High.

The protest began when it was rumored that these African American students were to enroll at the high school on Thursday, August 30, 1955. That morning, a crowd began to gather at the high school, where an effigy was raised above the main entrance of the school. Later another effigy was raised up the flagpole. By mid morning a

62 Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools,* 7.

crowd estimated at well over 300 people gathered to prevent and protest any enrollment of African American students.

In an effort to keep the peace, city officials called in local police officers, as well as several Texas Rangers who had been brought in as token security by the Governor. There were also media representatives from the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, *Dallas Morning News* and local television stations. The coverage over the next week of the daily gatherings made national news, as *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek* and the *New York Times* carried stories. The crowd from August 30th to September 5th, though large, was relatively peaceful, with a few instances of some scuffling when Dallas NAACP workers were turned away and some news reporters were prevented from taking pictures. In the end, Floyd Moody, Charles Moody, Nathaniel Jackson and all other African American students failed to enroll.

Figure 3.1. Students enter Mansfield High School on August 31, 1956 with an effigy over the doorway. *Mansfield News*, September 1, 2006

The teens, represented by Davis, entered a lawsuit against Mansfield on the grounds that the district violated the judgment of *Brown* by not integrating Mansfield ISD. There was some argument over whether the teens really wanted to go to the local high school or wished to continue to attend I.M. Terrell. News reports at the time quoted some of the teens expressing wishes to remain at Terrell. Floyd Moody reportedly told the *Fort Worth Star Telegram* that he preferred to go, "to school among my own people in Fort Worth" and that he did not want to attend the Mansfield school even though this required him to make a long transit to Fort Worth each day.[63] The

63 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Morning-Three Star edition, September 1, 1956.

white press seized upon this, stating that the NAACP was forcing students to attend schools they wished not to attend, and were somehow criminally negligent in doing so. They called for the arrest and jailing of Davis and his legal team and requested the entire issue of integration be discarded.

After five days of consistent crowds at the entrance to the high school, no African American student attempted to register in Mansfield for the remaining enrollment time. This is quite understandable as the crowds were very hostile to any blacks. Local police were sympathetic to the protesters and the state sent too few Texas Rangers to safeguard the situation. In all, only six uniformed officers and three plain-clothes Rangers where dispatched to confront a crowd that exceeded three hundred on most days.[64] The teens all continued their daily trip to attend Terrell, rather than risk the dangers and problems associated with enrolling into the Mansfield school. Davis chose to sue the Mansfield school district to force the board members to acknowledge *Brown* and allow for the integration of the school.

In district court in June of 1955, Davis brought the case of Nathaniel Jackson, a teenage boy who was represented by his father, W. D. Jackson, against O.C. Rawdon, the president of the Board of Trustees for the Mansfield ISD. Davis argued that the Mansfield school board and the superintendent willfully violated the civil rights of the teens in allowing the mob and the administration to prevent the registration of the students. Davis, with the help of Thurgood Marshall, lawyer for the NAACP national

64 *The History Of Mansfield Texas*, 87-88.

office, argued that the teens' Fourteenth Amendment rights were violated as well as the judgment of the Supreme Court in the previous year's *Brown* case.

The defendants argued that although they were in agreement with the eventual integration of the Mansfield school system, under *Brown*, there were no guidelines as to how this was to be done or at what pace it should take place. Under the guise of protecting the welfare of the students, the defendants argued that the immediate integration of the school would cause widespread racial problems and endanger the students, both white and black. They asked for a dismissal of the case, indicating that the problems of desegregation were "under intense study" and that it would be impossible to implement desegregation in as short a time as requested by Davis.

The defendants also contended that they were caught between two conflicting laws since the Supreme Court case of *Brown* did not technically rule on the Texas law, and that the law not only permitted, but required segregation which they viewed as unconstitutional.[65] The defendants therefore asked for a dismissal until they could come up with a desegregation plan that would not violate the laws of Texas and would allow for the safety of the students and faculty.

On November 23, 1955, the case was dismissed after a school board member, Ira Gibson, reported that the Mansfield school board was working on a plan to move from a dual school system to an integrated system in compliance with *Brown*, but that

65 Jackson v. Rawdon, Case File 03152; Civil Case Files, 1938-1985 (E. 48N055D); United States District Courts for the Northern District of Texas, Fort Worth Division,; Records of District Courts of the United States , Record Group 21; National Archives and Records Administration-Southwest Region, Fort Worth Texas.

the district did not have enough time to do so before the start of the 1955 – 1956 school year. Gibson further testified that the school district was distracted from working on its plans due to the high dissatisfaction from the local community and the preceding fall's protests, and that although the school board had no plans for integration in the current school year board members were working on some plan for the future.[66]

Davis's team filed an appeal, arguing that the courts erred in dismissing the case on the assumption that the school board was working in good faith, and that the Supreme Court dictated in *Brown* that the schools must integrate in a "prompt" manner, or "with all deliberate speed." He further argued that the court also erred in dismissing the fact that the plaintiffs "have an absolute right to have their constitutional rights declared." The court ignored this when they considered "merely personal viewpoints of the trustees and of the citizens generally."[67] The NAACP argued that under *Brown* the Supreme Court was very specific in stating that:

> "While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start towards full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date."[68]

Davis argued that Mansfield ISD presented no plans or documentation to support their argument that they were working on the integration of their schools. That

66 Jackson v. Rawdon.

67 Jackson v. Rawdon.

68 Jackson v. Rawdon.

the district court took on "good faith" they were doing so was the basis of the appeal. Using the *Willis* and *Clemons* cases as examples, the plaintiffs argued that District courts had issued decrees for immediate integration.

In *Willis v. Walker* (1955) the district court ordered a definite date for the integration of the school. In this case the defendant argued that their schools were overcrowded and they wanted to complete a building program, however the courts ruled that they must begin admitting African American students immediately.[69] In *Clemons v. Board,* the school board of Hillsboro, Ohio, was found to be gerrymandering its school district in order to place all African American students into one school and thus sidestepping the issue of integration. The court ruled that the board abused its authority, violating federal and state law, and ordered the board to end its gerrymandering tactic and begin the immediate integration of the schools.[70]

Davis's reference to these two cases shows that the lower courts had the power to order the integration of schools in accordance with *Brown*. In Mansfield, Davis argued that all the high school aged children were transferred out of their resident school district (Mansfield) and forced to attend the public schools of Fort Worth, which the courts in the *Clemons* case had previously ruled unlawful.

The court's decision to accept Mansfield's promised assertion to work on a plan to integrate the schools was also attacked by Davis, as the defendant's own testimony

69 Willis v. Walker, DC, 136, F. Supp. 181.

70 Clemons v. Board of Education of Hillsboro Ohio, 228 F.2d 853. No. 12494, United States Court of Appeals Sixth Circuit. Jan 5, 1955.

showed that this was not the case. When asked directly by the court if they had worked on any plan for integration, R. L. Huffman, Superintendent, replied, "Officially, it [the board] has done nothing."[71] Huffman replied that at the current time the board was unwilling to work on integration, and that although the board was not officially working on any plans, there were some members who were working on their own. When pressed by the courts, Huffman indicated that if forced, the board would comply with the decisions of the court given sufficient time, but presently there was no program to work on integration. The court's failure to see that Mansfield had no real intention to integrate, or follow the court's judgment provided grounds for the Appeals Court to overturn the circuit court's ruling.

In June of 1956, Davis appealed the lower court's ruling. This three panel court reversed the earlier ruling based on Davis's arguments against the Board's 'plans' to institute integration. The Appeals Court ordered the District Court to "promptly, fully and effectively carry out the orders of the mandate."[72] The court ordered Mansfield to begin integration and ended the enrollment of students based on color.

The Mansfield school district appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but was denied a hearing, and the court order for the immediate integration of the Mansfield ISD remained in place. However, it was another nine years before the first African American high school student walked the halls of Mansfield High School, because the

71 Jackson v. Rawdon, R.64.

African American community was "fearful and apprehensive about furthering their cause for school integration," and crossing the boundaries of segregated Mansfield.[73] It seemed clear that to fully integrate the surrounding all-white schools, the all-black segregated schools of Fort Worth would need to be closed.

Davis's argument in the Mansfield case to integrate the school for those students who lived in the Mansfield area was a basic argument for community schools. His belief that all students, regardless of race, should be allowed to attend the school closest to where they lived was the foundation of the integration cases that were in litigation across the nation.

In 1956, Davis's legal victory in the Mansfield case was actually a defeat, as no African American student would try to enroll into Mansfield for nearly nine years. However Davis and his team, with the help of the national office of the NAACP, led by Thurgood Marshall, set in motion the decade's long battle to desegregate the schools of North Texas, in part by closing the all-black I.M. Terrell High School.

A contributing reason for the failure of the Mansfield case to successfully integrate students into the school system was the limited number of supporting African Americans in Mansfield. Mainly a rural farm community, most African Americans did not attend school consistently, and fewer still wished to challenge lines of white supremacy. Too few African Americans brought little pressure on the town and most of

72 Jackson v. Rawdon, Case File 15927; Case Files, 1891-1983 (E. 5-9); United States Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit; Records of Court of Appeals of the United States, Record Group 276; National Archives and Records Administration-Southwest Region, Fort Worth, Texas.

the black population was isolated from the white majority. The population of Mansfield was growing as more people participated in the beginning stages of "white flight" and moved to areas like Mansfield.

For the next six years Davis and the local NAACP prepared for the long court battle with the filing of *Flax v. Potts* in 1962. Davis was not met by a hostile Fort Worth School District, which seemed to accept integration more than Mansfield had, but the district nevertheless differed with Davis and the courts on the manner of integration.

73 Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools,* 122.

CHAPTER 4

FLAX V. POTTS

"To desegregate kindergarten classes at the beginning,
would make the small children pawns in the hands
of those extremists"

- Judge Leo Brewster, District Court[74]

Within a few years of the 1956 attempt to integrate the Mansfield Independent School District, Clifford Davis began the case against the much larger Fort Worth district to the north. The closing of the black segregated schools in Fort Worth forced the integration of all schools in the surrounding area, but as long as they remained open there was no real pressure for districts like Mansfield to seek serious integration. In 1962, Davis filed a suit against the Fort Worth ISD on behalf of an African American student attending I.M. Terrell.

At the time, there were two other all black high schools in the Fort Worth school district, however Terrell, the largest and most prominent, was the focal point of the suit. Davis charged that FWISD had a "policy of racial segregation, which resulted in the

74 Flax v. Potts, Civ. A. No. 4205. United States District Court For The Northern District of Texas, Fort Worth Division. 218 F. Supp. 254; 1963. U.S. Dist. Lexis 7502. May 3, 1963.

denial of their enrollment at certain schools because of their race."[75] This clear violation of the student's Fourteenth Amendment rights, and in light of the abundant court decisions in support of *Brown,* resulted in a favorable decision for Davis. The single panel court under Judge Leo Brewster ruled that FWISD was in violation of the Constitution and ordered the district to begin the integration of the schools.

Judge Brewster's opinion was a scathing indictment of the way that Fort Worth and other major school districts in the United States had created a culture of acceptance through an educational system that denied the fundamental rights of its students. Brewster argued that for "78 years Fort Worth Public Schools have been operated under a dual system for white and colored," and that "this pattern of procedure has become a fundamental part of the educational process in Fort Worth."[76] This culture, Brewster argued, created a habit of acceptance of both the white and black community and school district that allowed for the continued violation of its citizen's rights.

The district's allegations of an equal dual system was dependent on the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, where the Supreme Court legitimized segregation in 1896. However the *Brown* decision overruled *Plessy* and thus put the FWISD in violation of the Constitution. Fort Worth, like Hillsboro, Ohio in the *Clemons* case also used the process of gerrymandering to create 'white' and 'black' school zones. In Fort Worth's case, their 'white' and 'black' zones overlapped.

---

75 W.S. Potts, President of the Board of Trustees of the Fort Worth Independent School District v. Arlene Flax. Civ. A. No. 4205. United States District Court For The Northern District Of Texas, Fort Worth Division. 204 F. Supp. 458; 1962 U.S. Dis. Lexis 4907. March 1, 1962.

In many cases white and African American school children attended separate schools even if they lived on the same city street or in the same apartment complexes. These zones created instances where children might be required to travel great distances to attend a school for their color when there was a school within their own neighborhood.

Gerrymandering was a response to the new phenomenon of "white flight," as more and more white middle class families, fearing the growing population of African Americans in their communities, fled the urban areas for suburban ones. *Brown,* many whites feared, encouraged African American families to seek out better schools in white school zones, causing whites to flee to distant schools. Fort Worth's gerrymandering created school zones that really had no real boundaries, but those based instead on the race of homeowners.

Brewster argued that this gerrymandering created a system in which the "operation of its [FWISD] school system [was] under a policy of compulsory racial segregation," and that the African American school children of Fort Worth had no choice but to attend segregated schools.[77] Davis asserted that when the school year began in 1959, African American children who tried to enroll in schools that were closest to their homes were denied admission based solely on the grounds that they were black, and thus were forced to attend the segregated schools that were some distance from their homes. But the white children who also tried to enroll in the same

76 Potts v. Flax.

neighborhood schools had no difficulty in doing so. The plaintiffs further argued that the African American children met every requirement for enrollment but the unspoken requirement of skin color.

Brewster ordered that the FWISD officials submit a plan within thirty days "for effectuating a transition to a racially non-discriminatory system beginning with the 1962 [school year]."[78] Fort Worth officials worked endlessly to appeal the case on the grounds that the district was "not required to take any action unless or until an individual black child who sought entrance to a white school was denied entrance."[79] They also argued that the original case was in the matter of a single complainant, a minor by the name of Arlene Flax, and not as a class action lawsuit, and therefore the original ruling lacked authority to compel a wide scale integration process.

The three-judge panel appellate court over-ruled the district when it decided that the lower court's order for integration was necessary, as the district had no intentions of adhering to *Brown*. The Court also agreed that Davis presented enough evidence to fulfill the requirements for a class action lawsuit, and thus the 1962 case covered all African American students and not just Flax.

As in the Mansfield case, Davis showed that the Fort Worth School District's only real defense was a good faith statement of intent to integrate, and that like Mansfield, the district demonstrated a desire to adhere to long-standing segregation

77 Potts v. Flax.

78 Potts v. Flax.

policies. Many of the district's own board members and officials repeatedly testified that it was their intent to continue a segregated dual school system, rather than to begin the process of integration. It was their hope that a good faith policy of intent would satisfy the court until other legal avenues were explored or until, like in Mansfield, the community culture shifted. The opinion of the presiding judges in the case held that Fort Worth's "willingness to modify on an ad hoc basis the universal policy of segregation" was not enough, and that their consistent refusal to do so in actuality showed that the district was in fact not serious at all about the possibility of integration.[80]

The appellant court's ruling in favor of the African American students reinforced the lower court's ruling that Fort Worth must establish a plan of integration within thirty days. However by May, Davis would again file against Fort Worth for failure to come up with a realistic plan that would allow for the complete integration of African American students. In the third case of *Flax v. Potts*., Davis argued that the Fort Worth plan did not meet the requirements for integration, and that the district was only paying lip service to the mandate.

Fort Worth came up with a plan, one that was put forth by other school districts across the South, that amounted to a step program that would integrate only one grade at a time, beginning with children in the first grade. However, Fort Worth chose to keep

79 Flax v. Potts, President of the Board of Trustees of the Fort Worth Independent School District. N. 19639. United States Court of Appeals Fifth Circuit. 313 F.2d 284; 1963 U.S. App. Lexis 6211; 6 Fed. R. Serv. 2d (Callaghan) 458. February 6, 1963.
80 Flax vs. Potts.

its school zone boundaries and still require students to attend their home school, not changing the policy of transfer requirements (an arbitrary requirement that Davis argued the previous year was based solely on race) and that the existing rules of assignment would remain in place for the 1963 – 1964 school year.[81]

The plan did call for the voluntary integration of all first graders allowing parents to transfer their first graders to another school if they followed the guidelines of the transfer policy, if the departing and accepting schools agreed to the transfer, and if it was done in the allotted time and with district approval. This was a series of steps that was difficult if not confusing at best. The district's goal was to do a slow and gradual integration each year for a process that would take up to thirteen years to complete, but not to promote or encourage widespread integration. This step integration program was promoted by school districts that wanted to appear to be following the rule of *Brown,* without actually integrating their schools.[82]

This plan, in Davis's view, did not meet the requirements set forth by the mandate of the District Court's order passed down the previous March, and was only paying lip service to the requirement to come up with a plan. Davis argued that the

81 While Davis underlying argument in *Jackson vs. Rawdon* was for the establishment of community schools, that Mansfield students should attend Mansfield schools, however with the Gerrymandering of school zones by Fort Worth to uphold its dual school system, Davis finds that this argument of community schools is counter to his goal of complete integration and thus argues against the creation of new schools that reinforces a segregated society.

82 Flax v. Potts, Civ. A. No. 4205. United States District Court For The Northern District of Texas, Fort Worth Division. 218 F. Supp. 254; 1963 U.S. Dist. Lexis 7502. May 3, 2963. The proposed "Stair-Step" plan originated with the Dallas Independent School District and ordered by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of *Boson v. Rippy* (1960) in which the courts ordered Dallas to begin integration based on the one school grade a year.

proposed plan did nothing to eliminate the dual system and that by keeping the existing school zones Fort Worth was reinforcing the segregated schools.

In fact, as Davis noted, this plan was completely inadequate since *Brown,* the original court order to establish integration, was already nine years old, and the district plan of full integration in thirteen years did not comply with the order of "with all deliberate speed."[83] The plan also denied all African American students above the first grade their constitutional rights and thus violated the original mandate. In essence, the plan forwarded by Fort Worth did not work to end segregation or racial discrimination, but rather it circumvented the mandate to keep the current program in place.

The vagueness of *Brown*'s instructions, "as soon as practicable" and "with all deliberate speed," allowed the courts to determine the time that schools began and completed integration on an individual basis. The presiding judge in the May 1963 case, Leo Brewster, declared that *Brown* gave the local judges the duty of "adjusting and reconciling" the needs of the community and the school district and determining the "manner of transition and the time needed" to accomplish the integration. Brewster also felt that *Brown* only indicated that the districts must begin the process of integration "as soon as practicable" and "with all deliberate speed," but that it did not dictate the length of time the process should take. The courts had to take into consideration the

83 Flax v. Potts.

administrative issues, physical condition of the schools, transportation issues, personnel, and issues of school zoning, planning and local zoning laws.[84]

These various conditions helped bring about a favorable decision for the district. Brewster's opinion stated that the entire school district of Fort Worth should not be integrated at once and that the plan set forth by the district of the immediate integration of the first grade, beginning with the 1963 school year was adhering to the ruling of *Brown*. However, Brewster did mandate that the district also had to immediately integrate the adult education courses offered as well as the kindergarten classes, which under the district's proposed plan would not take place until year thirteen.

The court also ordered that the desegregation of each class beginning with the second grade in 1964 and one additional grade each year thereafter was appropriate. However a plan should be submitted to speed that process unless a future court order was mandated or the Court saw fit to issue provisions to speed up the process.

One part of the plan that was ruled as discriminatory and therefore rejected was the issue of first graders having to withdraw from their segregated assigned schools and enroll into the closest elementary schools. First grade students could now attend any white or black school that was in their neighborhood, a small victory for Davis, but the rulings on the other parts of the plan overshadowed this victory.

For now, Davis and the African American students of Fort Worth would have to rely on the goodwill and good faith of the school district. To Fort Worth's credit, it did

84 Flax v. Potts.

not delay integration and proceeded with the plan until 1967 when the school board issued an order to integrate all schools and grades in response to the Civil Rights Act of 1966, thus exceeding the approved plan by nine years. However the African American students still represented by Davis felt that the district was creating a modified dual system in which newer schools were being built in areas to accommodate African American students in predominately African American neighborhoods.[85]

Table 4.1. School Ethnic Distribution

School	1962-63		1969-70	
	white	black	white	black
Southwest	--	-	2231	1
Paschal	2683	0	2741	152
Northside	742	0	975	48
Polytechnic	1701	0	1022	790
Carter-Riverside	863	0	922	96
Diamond-Hill	424	0	808	8
Arlington Heights	1933	0	2400	26
Eastern Hills	1163	0	1487	2
Western Hills	--	-	1600	-
Technical	2139	0	2185	422
O.D. Wyatt	--	-	1574	122
I.M.Terrell Jr	0	541	0	675
I.M. Terrell Sr	0	1051	2	990
Kirkpatrick Jr	0	388	6	296
Kirpatrick Sr	0	244	0	204
Dunbar Sr	0	644	0	1578
Como	0	332	0	410

Source: Flax vs. Potts brief for appellant, Clifford Davis

Although the courts felt that the district was operating a unitary school system since 1967, a system devoid of racial discrimination and segregation, Davis called into

85 Flax v. Potts, Civ. A. No. 4205. United States District Court For The Northern District of Texas, Fort Worth Division. 333 F.

question the plans for the building of a new high school, Morningside High School. Morningside was built in a predominantly African American neighborhood to draw students away from the all white high schools of Paschal and O.D Wyatt. (see Table 4.1)

Although, in 1969-70 there were two other schools that drew a mix of white and African American students from the Morningside area, namely Trimble Tech and Poly, the all-black high school of I.M. Terrell was receiving most of the African American students from this area. Davis's complaint was that the building of Morningside would create a second all black school for this neighborhood and add to the already de facto segregated schools of I.M. Terrell, Como and Kirkpatrick High Schools.[86]

Davis argued that the school district's racially motivated plan to build a school in the eastern sections of the city in a predominantly African American neighborhood would undermine the process of integration. Davis's effort to halt the construction of Morningside created a great rift in the African American communities of Morningside, Como, Kirkpatrick and I.M. Terrell.

In 1967 this movement began to erase all vestiges of the old segregated school district and embark on a new system of equality, but the outcome surprised many when three historic schools closed, including I.M. Terrell, and when Fort Worth joined

Supp. 711; 1970 U.S. Dist. Lexis 10430. August 28, 1970.

86 Flax v. Potts, Kirkpatrick and Como were predominately all black with some white students, however I.M. Terrell had a population of 100% black students.

districts across the nation by forcefully bussing students in their attempts to fully comply with the *Brown* decision.

CHAPTER 5

FROM DESEGREGATION TO CLOSINGS

"To say that those of the race which is discriminated against choose to go to the inferior schools in no way relieves the school board of its moral and legal responsibility to provide equal educational opportunities for all children."

-Eck G. Prud'homme, Jr.[87]

Leo Brewster's ruling in the 1970 case of *Flax v. Potts* set in motion a fundamental change in the makeup of the Fort Worth Independent School District as well as caused the closure of an all black high school that many look back on as worth saving and integrating. Initially the case brought forth by L. Clifford Davis was an attempt to force Fort Worth into adhering to the ruling of the 1954 Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board*. Although Davis was successful in 1963 in gaining a somewhat favorable ruling that led to the complete integration of most schools in Fort Worth by

87 Personal Letters of Dr. Eck Prud'homme, January 13, 1970. Box 15, Folder 2, Greater Fort Worth Civil Liberties Union Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas Arlington, Texas.

1967, Davis still fought for further action to limit any resemblance of a dual school system.

Prior to the initial case in 1962, the Fort Worth ISD, through a bond election, began the preparations for a new high school, located in the primarily white neighborhood of Morningside in the east end of Fort Worth. The district hoped to make Morningside a premier high school and would present it to the public as the most modern school in the nation. This plan received very little opposition, especially from the residents of Morningside.

By 1970, when FWISD prepared to open the new school that fall, Morningside had become a mostly African American neighborhood, the result of "white flight". The new African American residents of Morningside, who moved in as whites moved out, looked forward to this new school that their children could attend. Few saw this as an attempt by the district to segregate the area of African American students from the white schools. Some, however, such as Davis, saw this as a move backwards. The other mostly black schools, such as Como and Kirkpatrick, though originally set up as segregated schools, were in predominantly African American neighborhoods, but did have a very small population of whites.[88]

The district's policy since 1967 permitted all schools to be open equally to all children residing in this specific zone regardless of that student's race or color. Each zone was established to offer students the ability to go to a school that was less than ½

to ¾ of a mile from their homes. Making these racially equal zones proved difficult due to the number of different schools that the district operated and to the differences in residential and commercial zoning requirements. Fort Worth in 1967 had 117 schools, 15 of them high schools. As Judge Brewster noted, the district had to take into consideration the location of the school buildings and then had to work out solutions for those areas that had no school within the allotted mileage.[89]

To acquire and then build on land necessary to reach all children would have been cost prohibitive. But in the case of Morningside, this school had already been planned and bonded eight years earlier. To meet the challenge of racially equalizing schools, the school board adopted a much more simplified transfer policy than its 1963 proposed plan. The new plan was based on *U.S. v. Jefferson*, in which the Jefferson County Board of Education in Alabama mandated that any student could transfer to any school in which he or she would have been earlier denied entry due to race or color.[90]

Jefferson also required that new construction be used to erase any type of a dual system. Davis argued that the Morningside School did not meet these criteria and that Morningside was not erasing a system of segregation, but perpetuating it. He argued that in Fort Worth, elementary school children were not able to take advantage of this transfer policy; however, the court sided with the district over issues of safety for the

88 Davis did not argue against the creating of Morningside initially but when it became apparent that it would be predominantly a African American school, and with the district upholding its community school policy, Davis moved to have it closed.

89 Flax v. Potts, Civ. A. No. 4205, United States District Court For The Northern District of Texas, Fort Worth Division. 333 F. Supp. 711; 1970 U.S. Dist. Lexis 10430, August 28, 1970

90 United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, Fifth Circuit Court, 380 F.2d 385 (1967)

children. Ironically, the original argument of Davis in *Jackson* as well as a central argument in the *Brown* case was that children should be able to attend community schools for their safety and not have to travel great distances along busy streets to attend a segregated school.[91]

Table 5.1. Ethnic Population: FWISD 1970

	1970
Caucasian	67%
Negro	26%
Mexican-American	7%

22,650 Total population of students attending FWISD
1649 (28%) of Negro pupils attended schools that were all white prior to desegregation.

Source: Flax vs. Potts brief for appellant, Clifford Davis

Elementary school students had to attend the school closest to their homes in order to safeguard them in their transit from home to school and back. Davis seemed to agree with this policy and only chose to look at the issue of the high school as being a racially motivated move. The statistics at that time supported the district's claim of integration, showing that a substantial move had been made to increase integration as per the 1963 plan (see Table 5.1).[92]

91 Clifford L. Davis, interview by author, Fort Worth, TX, March 12, 2010., Jackson v. Rawdon and Flax v. Potts.

92 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, n.d. 1976. This clipping was found in the Fort Worth ISD's Billy Sills Archive in the I.M. Terrell Box.

But the growth of the district required new schools and new staff, thus the plan to build and open Morningside high school. The real issue at hand was the new school and not the existing system, but Davis's argument that this new school would reverse the trends of the past few years met rising opposition from the African American community of Morningside, who wanted to have the new school built for their students. Brewster noted that there would not have been a controversy if the residents of Morningside had not pressured the Board to build the school, thus raising the argument of a dual system. This brought into question two other schools that were also in predominantly African American neighborhoods, Como and Kirkpatrick High School. (See Table 5.2)

Table 5.2. Percent of schools that black children attend that are predominantly black

Per-cent negro	1963-64	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
100-98	100	90.8	81.6	77.8
97-90	0	0	4.9	0
89-50	0	3.8	4.3	6.4
49-25	0	0.2	1.4	1.2
25-1	0	5.5	7.6	14.5

Source: Flax vs Potts brief for appellant, Clifford Davis

Davis's argument about Morningside applied to these two schools. For the moment, I.M. Terrell high school was absent from the discussion. Brewster's decision bore in mind the desire of the residents to have the new high school built, but considered the other two schools as vestiges of the old system. He than ruled in favor of the school district in allowing Morningside to be built, finding no real evidence of its

being a racially motivated move by the district, but mandated that the other two schools be phased out at the end of the 1970 school year.

The Board met this with approval and construction was completed. Brewster decided that the initial plans for Morningside could not have been racially motivated as the plans were set in place when the neighborhood was predominantly white. In this view, the fact that the area had converted to an African American community due to "white flight" was irrelevant to the matter.

However, Brewster did mandate that students in the Morningside attendance zone could, if they so chose, enroll in any one of the several high schools surrounding the Morningside area, such as Paschal, Wyatt, Trimble Tech, Poly or Terrell high schools.[93]

Interestingly enough, Brewster's opinion argued for the development of Morningside, having given several examples of the advantages of a community school, but he failed to consider what the loss of Como or Kirkpatrick might mean for their residents. "The advantage," said Brewster speaking of Morningside, "of a school in the area of its pupils' homes are well-known. Their pride and the pride of their parents in their school causes them to have pride in their work."[94] These sentiments applied as well to the schools he ordered closed.

He further reasoned that travel of great distances to schools raised a financial burden and inconvenience, and increased the level of dropouts. Students suffered for

93 Flax v. Potts, 333 F. Supp. 711.

the loss of after-school activities as well as for the diminished participation of their parents in activities such as the PTA. Morningside seemed not only desired but necessary, based on the distances that these students had to travel to other schools. (see Table 5.3)

Table 5.3. Distance of HS from the Morningside area in 1970

Polytechnic HS	2.5 miles
Wyatt HS	2.9 miles
Paschal HS	3.1 miles
Tech HS	3.1 miles
I.M. Terrell HS	3.7 miles

Source: Flax vs. Potts brief for appellant, Clifford Davis

In June of 1971, Davis tried again to prevent the opening of the Morningside High School, which was scheduled to open that fall, and this time in a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals was successful in blocking the opening of the facility. The higher court felt that any school built that would be predominantly African American violated the spirit of *Brown.*

The court ruled on the principles that had been established with the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971), in which the school board of Charlotte, North Carolina was mandated to integrate its schools fully, after failing to create a unified district when the school board's plan of integration still left ten of their schools at eighty-six to one hundred percent African American. The case went before the

94 Flax v. Potts.

Supreme Court, which ruled that the construction of new schools or abandonment of older schools in a district of mixed ethnicity must not perpetuate or re-establish the dual system.[95]

The *Swann* case began the controversy over forced bussing in the United States, and it was the central case in the court's decision to close Morningside, with the result that students would be forcefully bussed to schools well outside their communities. It is unlikely that *Swann* would have been used to close the existing schools of mainly African American students such as Terrell, because the courts felt that a small number of mostly African American or all black schools in districts that were already in existence did not necessarily amount to a segregation policy, but the establishment of new schools could give the appearance of a formal policy of a dual system.

95 Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 1971, 402 U.S. 1 S. Ct 1267, 28 L. Ed 2d 554

CHAPTER 6

A SCHOOL COMMUNITY

"if you were from Terrell, you were somebody."

Ted Sharp Jr.[96]

The effects of a school closing, like that of I.M. Terrell, will always leave a lasting impression on a community. It is hard to justify the closure of a school that has been around for the better part of a century and founded by an educator of such magnitude as Isaiah Terrell. The curious thing about the closing of Terrell High School is that it closed with barely a protest from the community initially, as many felt that it was justified for the cause of integration. Later, however, alumni and the community began to regret their silent acceptance.

It is understandable that the image of Terrell as a segregated school was a symbol of the racist segregation. What is not in question, however, was the history and the quality of education that these students had while attending this school. It seemed hardly possible that the school should be able to close its doors without the protest that some would assume would accompany the end of an era. After the closing, the

96 Bill Celis, "Terrell was a Family," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, Sunday August 22, 1982.

community and alumni went to great lengths to keep the building in place and preserve some of the history. Yet, why did the community seem not to notice the impending end of their school, when it was apparent that Terrell, as a symbol of segregation, could not be allowed to remain?

It is possible that the answer to this question could be the location of the school itself. Although there was a small government-housing complex near the school, its location near downtown Fort Worth was outside the bounds of most communities that fed into the school. While initially Terrell was located in a small community of African Americans that lived on the east side of Fort Worth, by 1960 most of the students lived outside the immediate area of the school and traveled great lengths to attend it, and therefore, there was very little support outside the school population itself for the school.

A more suitable answer is that the late 1960s and early 1970s movement towards integration and a sense of fulfillment of the Civil Rights movement may have led many to believe that the closing of these schools was not only inevitable and justifiable, but also necessary to complete the movement towards equality. Walter Day, former head football coach and principal, echoed this argument when he said, "no one opposed it. We thought our schools were inferior."[97] A decade later, Day, like many of the faculty, staff and alumni, felt that in hindsight this was not exactly the truth.

97 Robert Camuto, "2 Sides of 1 School," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, August 10, 1990.

Fort Worth president of the local chapter of the NAACP, Ray Bell, felt that closing the school was necessary for the purpose of integration, even though "we weren't satisfied with it [Terrell's closing]."[98] Alumnus Drew Sanders attributed the closing of I.M. Terrell to outside "agitators," those who took it upon themselves to intercede on behalf of integration, regardless of the thoughts and wishes of the students, staff and any community support for Terrell. Referring to the NAACP and the Civil Liberties Union, Sanders felt that "if it had to be the regular folks, the alumni, it never would have closed." Sanders argues that the only real protest against closing the school came from the students and staff themselves, as no one else really questioned that Terrell was inferior to its white counterparts.[99]

Clifford Davis argued against the belief that Terrell was not inferior, stating that, "segregation itself was inherently inferior," and that his choice to push forward the case of integration was made on the idea that students should not have to go to a specific school, especially when forced to travel great distances, based on the color of the skin. His belief that the purpose of integration, both at Mansfield and Fort Worth, was to let students "attend the school closest to their home" and not based on any drive to integrate and close all schools.[100]

Davis's argument that closing the school was merely a result of a much larger movement to allow students to attend schools closer to home, seems plausible when

98 Robert Camuto, "2 Sides of 1 School."

99 Andrew Sanders, interview by author, Fort Worth, TX, March 5, 2010.

100 Clifford L. Davis, interview.

considering the situation of Terrell, which had no real surrounding community to help support it. However, in Judge Brewster's decisions in the *Potts* case to close Terrell, he also closed two other schools, Como and Kirkpatrick. These schools had great community support to keep them open, as did Morningside, which was desired and requested by its local community. Yet, these communities, nearly all African American neighborhoods, exhibited very little protest against these schools being closed.

Drew Sanders argues, retrospectively, that the closing of Terrell angered younger students who had been looking forward to attending the school in the future.[101] In 1965, Birdville ISD requested that Sanders and his relative, Bob Ray Sanders attend Birdville High School for their senior year (Birdville was an integrated school), yet the Sanders boys refused, preferring to ride the bus the long distance to Terrell, feeling that the school offered more.[102] This argument echoes the statements made by Floyd Moody during the Mansfield crisis a decade before.

What was life like in Terrell to cause such loyalty and pride in a school that, for most, would seem to be a symbol of hatred and racism? From its early beginnings, when segregation was the rule of the land, and accepted as such by both whites and African Americans, I.M. Terrell exhibited a uniqueness of quality and exceptionalisim that was not seen in most black schools and many white schools.

By the end of its time, I.M. Terrell was, in the opinion of most of its students, far superior to other schools. In the late 1970s, alumni formed an association and routinely

101 Andrew Sanders, interview.

met each month to discuss matters pertaining to their alumni, reunion events and the preservation of their history. Recently, over 400 former alumni and their families met for their annual spring gathering. Alumni from classes as early as the 1930s gathered and mixed and mingled with those of the class of 1973, the final class to walk through the halls of Terrell.

Terrell, like most white schools, offered a wide range of classes from vocational to college prep classes, and the instruction, in the opinion of Drew Sanders, was far superior to that of white schools. Attending Ranger College, after receiving a football scholarship, Sanders, one of only a handful of African American students at the college, remembers sitting in an English class when the teacher asked for someone to diagram sentences. When nobody volunteered, he went up and correctly diagramed several sentences, noting that the white students "just looked at him" and asked how he knew how to do that. Sanders argued that while many of the whites at Ranger entered college not knowing the difference between a verb and a predicated adjective or a direct object, he and the other former members of Terrell were quite good at reading, writing, and English, as well as the other basic subjects.[103]

Sanders' argument that Terrell students were equal to or in some cases much better prepared than white students rings true when looking at a Fort Worth ISD follow up study of its 1967 graduates showing that Terrell, Kirkpatrick and Como students were on average faring in college as well as students from the other schools in. In fact,

102 Andrew Sanders, interview.

these schools fared better than some of the white schools in successful completion of college.

A survey of black students in Northern and Southern colleges by Robert Crain and Rita Mahard in 1978 showed that there was statistically no difference in achievement rates of black students who attended school in the North or the South, although these rates are fifteen to twenty points below their white counterparts.[104] Where the African-American schools performed worse was in their higher college dropout rate, presumably because students were less able to maintain tuition payments. (see Table 6.1)

103 Andrew Sanders, interview, Clifford L. Davis, interview.

104 Robert L Crain, and Rita E Mahard, "School Racial Composition and Black College Attendance and Achievement Test Performance," *Sociology of Education* 51, no. 2 (April 1978): 88.

Table 6.1. 1967 Drop Out Rate In College and Reasons

School	Academic Probations	Failure	Military	Financial	Work	Marriage	Other
Paschal	12%	21	18	12	12	33	3
North Side	9%	0	19	10	33	29	10
Polytechnic	11%	0	22	20	33	20	5
Carter-Riverside	12%	6	12	18	6	59	0
Diamond-Hill Jarvis	19%	12	19	12	19	12	25
Arlington Heights	9%	9	16	3	37	23	11
Eastern Hills	9%	8	21	8	16	33	12
Trimble Tech	23%	16	19	23	16	19	6
I.M. Terrell	7%	3	11	37	32	14	3
Kirkpatrick	4%	0	10	50	30	10	0
Dunbar	11%	7	0	28	28	36	0
Como	18%	0	20	70	10	0	0

Source: 1969 FWISD Follow Up Study of 1967 Graduates in 2 and 4 year Colleges. Fort Worth ISD Internal records.

Sanders and other students from Terrell were brought up knowing that to succeed and transcend the segregation and class structure of whites and that as African Americans, they had to work harder. Students at Terrell attended school all day and then each evening and weekends after chores they would continue schooling. "We didn't just stop at school," said Sanders, "we got it at church, we got it at home, we got it at school, everywhere we went, our folks, back in the day they wanted to make sure that you were prepared and they prepared you." It was not uncommon for students to interact with teachers outside of the classroom to continue their lessons. Many students

called their teachers at night with questions or met with them for tutoring after school and attended church with them.

For most, attending Terrell was not a requirement, but a privilege. Like the Sanders boys and Floyd Moody, Billy Bradley attended Terrell with pride and maintained that attending Terrell meant something. "We walked, we crawled, hitched rides to get to school." said Bradley, "one day there were ten of us in one car." Bradley argued that you attended Terrell no matter what the reason to get that education; "we had rainy days and no money days, but we kept on pushing."[105]

Sanders believes that when Terrell, as well as Como and Kirkpatrick High Schools, the other all black schools in Fort Worth ISD, were built that "they were trying to set a standard." "I think," he says, "they wanted to show people that yeah, they may be segregated but it's gonna [sic] be the best segregated school there is," and continues to argue that that was "the way they looked at it, we had the bathrooms, the indoor showers…and water fountains as well as a nice brick building."

Fort Worth wanted them to feel equal to the white schools and tried to make the students feel that they had equality. "It made us feel good, we knew we were still segregated, but still we had something we could really show off," says Sanders.[106] Although the *Fort Worth Star Telegram* called it a "school of second-hand textbooks

105 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 17th 1989.

106 Andrew Sanders, interview.

and used football Jerseys," most former students do not seem to mind that an I.M. Terrell school existed. They had something special in an all black school.[107]

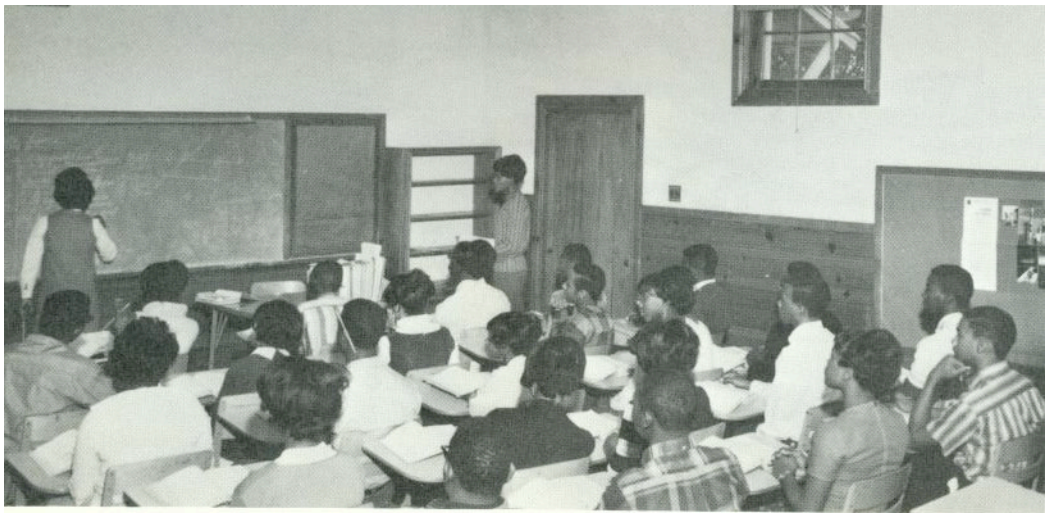

Figure 6.1. Allene Ingram's Geometry Class, I.M. Terrell High School. 1972. Billy Sills Archive

An alumni gathering in 1982, which saw nearly 3,000 attendees, allowed for former students to reminisce about life at Terrell and share the many good times that they all had in common. Uzzie McCoy, a 1950 graduate, remembers "we were like one big happy family" and that "the teachers really had an interest in what they were doing. They were like mothers and fathers to us."[108] McCoy argues, that the school was special, more so than other schools could boast, because, school was one of the few places that they were all together. "Many of them were bussed from across the city and outlying communities," she said "some as far as Weatherford" east of Fort Worth.[109]

107 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 15, 1988

108 Bill Celis, "Terrell was a Family."

109 Celis, "Terrell was a Family."

Ted Sharp, Jr. recalled that Terrell had a great reputation for sports. "I was real proud to be a student there…Terrell had a good reputation for sports, having beat most of the black schools around."[110] In fact, Terrell could boast two state titles in their four trips to the state championships in the thirty-year history of the Prairie View League, the all black conference for Texas athletics.[111]

Although many look back fondly on the history of Terrell, few if any would want to go back to the days of segregation and many look closely at the racial and ethnic make up of our schools today to make sure there is no imbalance. However "new generations of parents now look back and say their children may be missing the sense of community and the foundation that Terrell offered."[112]

Bob Ray Sanders argues that "There was a forced community, we had a common fight, a common struggle and a common hope. That's not there anymore."[113] Sanders, like most, attribute the success of Terrell to the teachers, who, unable to get jobs anywhere else, held "the children to high and rigid standards."[114] However, some like Davis, argued that the education of black students was inferior to their white counterparts, and fought to eliminate the African American schools, seeing them as symptomatic of the so called "achievement gap."

---

110 Celis, "Terrell was a Family."

111 Walter E. Day, *State Championship Football for Blacks in Texas 1940-1969*, 2 vols. (Fort Worth, Texas: Walter E. Day, 1994), 2: 13-24. In 1967, the year that integration came to the Fort Worth Schools athletic programs, Terrell was picked to come in last of its nine team division. Terrell won the district but lost to Dallas's Bryan Adams High School in the Bi-District championship. For this, Walter Day was in the running for the Texas High School Coach of the Year.

112 Robert V. Camuto, "2 sides of 1 school."

113 Robert V. Camuto, "2 sides of 1 school."

The years leading up to the closing of Terrell and the other two schools saw a rash of newspaper articles and investigations into the failing grades of minorities in Fort Worth Schools. Jim Vachule argued in 1967 "the fact is there is a definite academic and cultural gap between white and Negro pupils in Fort Worth schools."[115] Vachule used a study by the school district showing that among all grades during the first semester of college, "32.3 per cent were F" and only "9.2 per cent A."[116] (see Table 6.2)

Table 6.2. Grade Percent of 1st Semester College Freshmen.

A follow-up check on 24 per cent of the 1964 graduates of Fort Worth High schools who went to college showed how the students fared in the critical first semester of college. This table shows grades made in all subjects by white and Negro students.

Grade	Whites Per Cent	Negroes Per Cent
A	17.5	9.2
B	26.9	20.3
C	30.f	22.7
D	12.9	15.5
F	12.2	32.3

Source: Vachule Report, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 2, 1967

This study showed that in the major subjects of Math, English, Science and Social Studies, the failure rate among blacks was even higher than the averages, showing the rate at forty-two percent compared to that of seventeen percent of whites.

114 Robert V. Camuto, "2 sides of 1 school."

115 Jim Vachule, "Negro Pupils Lag in FW Schools," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 2, 1967.

116 Jim Vachule, "Negro Pupils Lag in FW Schools."

Vachule argued in favor of the integration of the schools that was in process in 1967, alluding to the solution of black achievement in the integration of schools and faculty.

Vachule then looked at the matter of black educators versus the white teachers in Fort Worth, stating that "Negro teachers here received lower pay than the whites, and most of them were recruited from the small, segregated Negro colleges in Texas and the Southwest," and that "it did produce an inferior faculty in the city's Negro schools."[117]

Titus Hall, retired Air Force General and Terrell alumnus remembers a different story about the black faculty. "Back in those days in the South, Jim Crow foreclosed profession opportunities for even the most talented black people, so the best and the brightest often became teachers, earning graduate degrees from the finest universities in the North."[118] Hall's observations may explain why Sanders felt he and the other Terrell students at Ranger Community College performed so much better then their white counterparts.

Some Terrell teachers received their degrees from schools like Columbia University, University of Colorado, Ohio University, Iowa University, and Stanford, just to name a few. They were hardly the sub-par schools that Vachule argued produced the black teachers of Fort Worth. In fact, you would be hard pressed to find any former

117 Jim Vachule, "Negro Pupils Lag in FW Schools."

118 Tim Madigan, "Fort Worth Star-Telegram: Separate but Superior," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 7, 2002.

faculty member or student who thought that their teachers were below par compared to the white teachers of the district. In fact quite the opposite may have been.[119]

The argument that Vachule uses does not take into consideration that Fort Worth, in 1964, began to operate three other African American high schools, Como, Kirkpatrick and Dunbar, and that the numbers he was using did not differentiate students based on what school they attended. It should be assumed, that they had not the time to achieve the levels of academic excellence of older schools such as Terrell.

Many former Terrell students would argue that there was no better school than Terrell, and that by the efforts of the Fort Worth ISD, Terrell would stand well above the white schools in the district. With every convenience and technology that the other schools shared, Terrell produced arguably just as qualified a student in academics, vocational and athletics as any student from another school in its area, and in the words

119 A look at the collected records of the Fort Worth ISD payroll and faculty assignments, contained in annual reports, and school yearbooks, shows that most Fort Worth teachers, both black and white, held degrees from Universities. Black educators held their degrees almost exclusively from schools in the North as very few Southern Universities accepted black students. To attest to the high degree that black elementary and high school students held for their teachers at these all-black school, Fort Worth has named many of their current elementary and middle schools in honor of these former educators.

of Tim Madigan of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* I.M. Terrell was "Separate but Superior" in the segregated society.[120]

120 Tim Madigan, "Fort Worth Star-Telegram: Separate but Superior."

CHAPTER 7

REMINISCENCE AND RECOLLECTION

"No matter where they live, former students are periodically drawn together – like survivors of war. And when they gather, they relive an experience they speak of in mythic terms."

- Robert Camuto, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Reporter[121]

"Since they've taken the schools from us, the least they can do is give us back the memories."[122] Bob Ray Sanders, alumnus of Fort Worth's all African American school, I.M. Terrell, expresses the sentiments of many, if not most, of the African Americans who graduated from Terrell, that the school was one of the most renowned African American schools in the nation. The loss of I.M. Terrell and the closing of the segregated schools created a problem for the Fort Worth school district on what to do with the nearly 100 years of trophies, yearbooks, stage sets, band and sports uniforms and other historic memorabilia that reflected such a vibrant and rich history. Unfortunately for the alumni and students of Terrell, the district had no facility to store

121 Robert V. Camuto, "2 sides of 1 school," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 10, 1990.

122 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. 1976. I.M. Terrell School Box, Special Collections, Billy Sills Archive. Fort Worth Texas. Unknown date of article, found in the Fort Worth ISD Billy Sills Archive. This article is among many that were clipped out but not documented with any day other than the year. Unlike most professional or educational archives, the Billy Sills is maintained by volunteers with little funding and knowledge in the keeping of records and archives. However, they do categorize their holdings by school and date.

this material, although many students desired to keep the items. According to Bob Ray Sanders, much of it was dumped in a landfill and destroyed. Still, Sanders and many of his friends were able to rescue some of it by digging it up one dark night.[123]

Today, many of the historic items from Terrell are in the hands of its alumni or a small collection in the central hall of the old school. However, in the 1980s, Fort Worth created a school archive, one of only a handful in the nation for a school district, and it does have some limited newspaper clippings, yearbooks and school records from the segregated school.

The most impressive collections that the Billy Sills Archives holds are the personal correspondence, school records, and yearbooks of the African-American schools. These sources give one a very different view of life in the segregated school system. Coupled with oral and written interviews, the stereotyped view of a dilapidated and an unjust system of low performing and achieving African American students huddled in less than adequate and poorly stocked and staffed schools, gives way to a much more realistic view of students who strove to overcome the many obstacles put in their way by a segregated society.

Sports, music, and vocational activities, paired up with a rigorous academic load are much more impressive when one realizes the overwhelming odds that these students and teachers faced. The I.M. Terrell School compiled a relatively impressive academic

123 Andrew Sanders, interview.

achievement record compared to other segregated schools, dominated state sports, and produced some of the finest and most successful individuals in Fort Worth, and, in many cases, in the nation.

Many former students and faculty remember the pain of integration as they look back. "Athletics played a major role in black communities and integration signaled a tremendous loss rather than a substantial gain for many," said Walter Day, former coach and principal of I.M. Terrell.[124] Bob Ray Sanders, noted African American journalist for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, reflected that "except for a couple of grades, blacks bore the burden of integration as they had bore the burden of segregation…and that short term integration may have been more of a detriment to more black students than it helped."[125]

Sanders, a 1965 graduate of Terrell, like many of his fellow classmates, was "appalled at the closing of Terrell," and felt that "integration wasn't so much as integrating whites into all black schools, but blacks into all white schools, and in this kind of logic, there was no room for black schools, successful or not."[126]

Morris Bogar, a 1974 graduate lamented the closing of Terrell and wished the school had remained open to "preserve our own history," but did feel that integration was "a positive aspect that [would allow] for students to receive the same opportunities

124 Walter E. Day, *State Championship Football for Blacks in Texas 1940-1969*.

125 Bob Ray Sanders, interview by Author, Fort Worth, TX, March 4, 2009. This interview was conducted by E-mail. Sanders, a reporter for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* has written extensively on the Fort Worth ISD and on I.M. Terrell, a school he graduated from in 1965. Transcriptions of all interviews in this document can be found in the appendix section..

126 Bob Ray Sanders, interview.

as white students."[127] Myra Burnett came to "reluctantly accept the school's fate."[128] Burnett argued, "it's a loss to the African American community and to Fort Worth as a whole because of the tradition and the history of Terrell. It's synonymous with Fort Worth and the blacks in Fort Worth."[129] She further argues that the schools were "sort of like a family school, and the tradition of generations of families attending the school" and that "it was a symbol of education, the symbol of achievement."[130]

To Burnett and to many, "Terrell served as a source of pride, a source of development to black people."[131] Burnett believed that "the achievement of the students has sort of proved the value and the merit of that school."[132] Day said "he [had] been a little surprised at the lack of organized protest over the closing, both within and outside of the school" and that "some alumni [found] the closing painful."[133]

127 Morris Bogar, interview by author, Fort Worth, TX, March 15, 2009. This Interview was conducted by questionnaire and in a personal interview. Bogar, a 1974 graduate of I.M. Terrell was a member of the last graduating class before its closure. He continues to have close ties with the I.M. Terrell Alumni Association and works for the Fort Worth Independent School District.

128 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973, Box 15, Folder 2, Greater Fort Worth Civil Liberties Union Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas Arlington, Texas.

129 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973.

130 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973.

131 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973.

132 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973.

133 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973.

Figure 7.1. Unidentified Black School, Fort Worth. Billy Sills Archive

However, Sanders did "find it ironic to this day that schools which were added to help maintain segregation were closed when it was time to integrate," believing that integration was in the eyes of many, moving African American students into white schools and not vice versa, causing the closing of some quality schools.[134] Sanders, along with most of his classmates, "was appalled at the closing of Terrell which should never have been allowed to happen" and felt that the "truth is that the white community saw integration as black kids going to predominantly white schools; not white kids going to predominantly black schools."[135] "If Terrell had remained opened, some white kids would have to be assigned there," he argues, and thus his main contention with

134 Bob Ray Sanders, interview.

closing down the schools was that "many of the black teachers at Terrell were some of the most qualified in the district" and would be out of jobs.[136]

Another Terrell alumnus, Morris Bogar, recalled some of his "fondest memories are of the football pep rallies, it was so soulful that it seemed like an R & B concert…students that hadn't been to class all week would show up for the pep rally."[137] Bogar did feel that desegregation took the soul out of the black schools, and that "many students were unable to cope with white instruction and the uneven distribution of discipline and classroom instruction."[138]

Many, like Bogar, felt that "so many students who would have graduated in the all black schools, never blended to the point of being able to cope with this change."[139] He argues, "we were offered an all new black high school built in a more central area of the community but they [NAACP] would have no part of it," due to its belief that segregation was inherently unequal.[140]

Another former student felt that "at the time of integration, I thought it was the best thing that ever happened to us, and it was, because our forefathers had fought so hard for our equal rights. But, in my opinion, desegregation in the high school

135 Bob Ray Sanders, interview.

136 Bob Ray Sanders, interview.

137 Moris Bogar, interview.

138 Moris Bogar, interview.

139 Moris Bogar, interview.

140 Moris Bogar, interview.

separated blacks as a race of people…we moved away from each other which deterred our fellowship. Instead of renewing our neighborhoods, we left them to deteriorate."[141]

Sigithia Fordham reinforces this type of thinking, arguing that blacks needed to move out of their homogenous communities, and that "if African Americans are to excel academically, they must be willing to encourage their children to evince behaviors and attitudes that suggest a lack of 'connectedness'" Fordham states that these students must take an identity that is "racelessness" if they are to have a positive outcome in academics.[142]

These views are reflected in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* articles that indicated that there was "a strong desire of much of the Negro community to maintain schools in which their race is in the majority."[143] When contemplating the closing of the black schools, or the opening of a new, more equitable school, Judge Brewster took into account the community's views. "The Residents of the Morningside area want the new high school there. Outside forces oppose it."[144]

The argument for these schools to remain open were community based and "their pride and the pride of their parents in their school cause them to have pride in

141 Bettye Richardson, interview by author, Fort Worth, Texas , May 6, 2009. Interview conducted by E-mail on May 6, 2009. Richardson also graduated from I.M. Terrell in 1966. Richardson is a member of the I.M. Terrell Alumni Association.

142 Sigithia Fordham, "Racelessness as a Factor in Black Student's School Success: Pragmatic Strategy or Pyrrhic Victory?" *Harvard Educational Review* 58, no. 1 (1988): 54-58.

143 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* 1968, I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

144 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, September 2, 1970, I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

their work."[145] J.D. Lee of Fort Worth said that Kirkpatrick H.S. "is the source and rallying point of the community. The people are putting forth their best efforts to give those kids an education" and that "it's a little community, but I think it deserves to live and not be cut off as those kids would be when deprived of their pride in the athletics and other activities."[146]

Figure 7.2. The school band practices. I.M. Terrell H.S. 1972 Billy Sills Archive

The case for all-race schools was based on community association. "School officials say the reason [for all race schools] is because of the neighborhood schools. The schools reflect the community in which they are built, either Negro, Mexican

145 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, September 2, 1970.

146 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 28, 1970, I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

American, white, or integrated."[147] Those in favor of community schools said "a pupil is expected to attend the school in the district in which he resides…Race or color…will not be considered to be valid reasons for a transfer." Writing in a 2002 *Star-Telegram* piece, Tim Madgin argued that Terrell was not "separate but equal" but rather was "separate but superior." [148]

Former Terrell alumnus, Titus Hall, reflects that, Terrell "should be the mother school of Fort Worth…an emblem of what can be, not of yesteryear."[149] And that the professionalism, dedication, and drive of the Terrell faculty to overcome the obstacles placed in front of the students by the laws of a Jim Crow society, should be a "beacon." Titus felt that Terrell produced a better quality student than the all-white schools.[150]

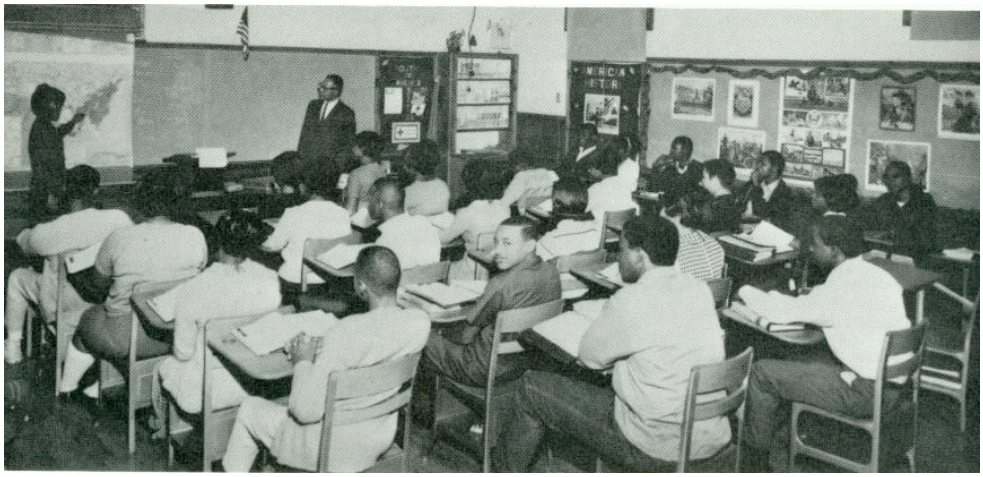

Figure 7.3. Mr. Johnson's History Class. I.M. Terrell H.S. 1972. Billy Sills Archive

147 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 15, 1969, I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

148 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 7, 2002, Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell.

149 Tim Madigan, "Fort Worth Star-Telegram: Separate but Superior," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 7, 2002.

150 Tim Madigan, "Fort Worth Star-Telegram: Separate but Superior."

The personal accounts of many of Sanders' fellow classmates, as well as the reflections of those who wrote to the papers and editorials of the Fort Worth newspapers, argued against the mainstream notion that black schools were inadequate. Although *Brown* argued that segregation was inherently unequal, the community of Terrell appeared to have felt otherwise when it came to their school.

Terrell principal Walter Day felt that although the decision to close Terrell was required under the law, "in the trade off, we lost something."[151] Ray Bell, president of Fort Worth's NAACP said that "we weren't satisfied with it [the closing], but we had to go along with it because we were fighting for integration."[152]

Although the *Brown* decision, as well as *Flax* and *Jackson*, reflected a change in the legal approach to desegregating schools, the NAACP and TACLU failed to see the unintended consequences of integration, or felt that the overall victory was worth the loss of some schools. Dual school systems of white and black campuses placed a heavy burden on administrations and taxpayers.

The success of these legal cases gave these school systems a chance to reduce expenditures by closing schools, and in nearly every case, the African American campuses were shut down as African American students endured forced bussing into predominantly white schools. The district would not only achieve the mandate as set

---

151 Tim Madigan, "Fort Worth Star-Telegram: Separate but Superior."

152 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 10, 1990, Clippings courtesy of Linda Campbell.

forth by *Brown,* but also be able to reduce the economic burden that the dual system had placed on the administration.

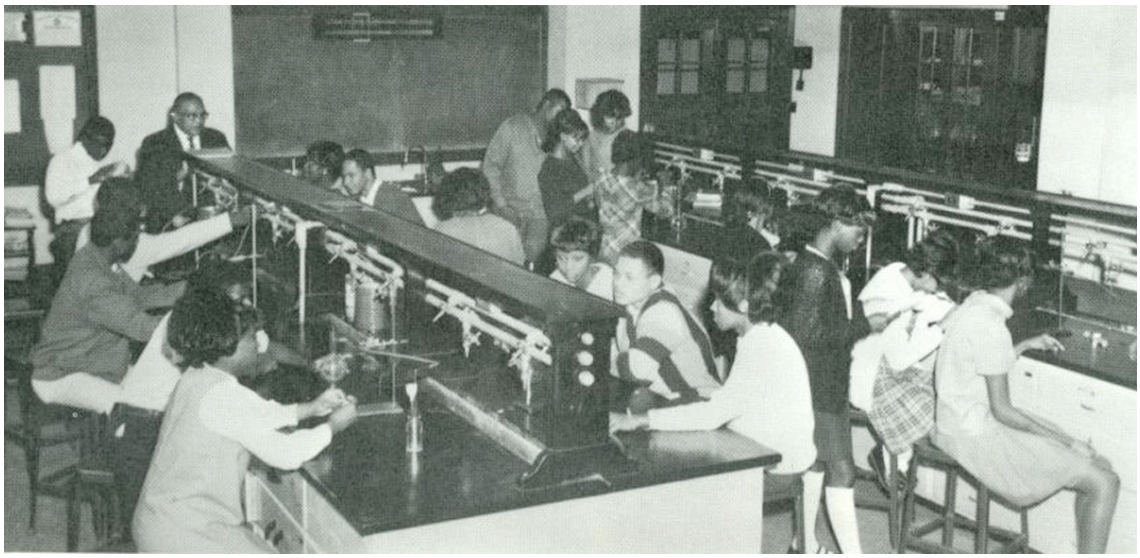

Figure 7.4. Mr. Logan's Chemistry class in 1972. I.M. Terrell H.S. 1972 Billy Sills Archive

Fort Worth's magnet system, though limited, was a success in bringing a few white students and integrating them into one previously all black campus, Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. Of Terrell, the oldest and largest of the black schools, the *Star-Telegram* noted at the school's closing, "gone will be the first – and until the mid-1950s the only – high school in Fort Worth for black students."[153] Terrell was "born segregated and it stayed segregated. Segregation was the only reason for its

153 *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 1973. I.M. Terrell High School, Star-Telegram Clipping File. Special Collections, The University of Texas at Arlington, Texas.

creation." And with the end of segregation, so ended its usefulness as a tool of white supremacy, an argument that many former alumni are reluctant to admit.

CHAPTER 8

THE LEGACY OF BROWN

"We will move forward together with commitment
to the children of Fort Worth and create the very
best system for all the children of Fort Worth."

- Jocelyn Wuester, Fort Worth Trustee, 1983

Like many, if not most, schools around the country, Fort Worth was affected by the *Brown* decision and had pains and triumphs still felt today. Following the closing of the segregated schools, the students of Como, Kirkpatrick and Terrell were distributed among the other schools, many of them being affected by the controversy of forced bussing that plagued the United States during the 1970s and 1980s.

Since the complete integration of the Fort Worth ISD in 1973, and the apparent fulfillment of *Brown*, Fort Worth still struggled with de facto segregation and the problem of "White Flight," as more and more minorities entered the system. The 1967 Jim Vachule and the Fort Worth ISD investigation of student performance based on ethnic status was revisited, as the problem of the achievement gap became a central focus of schools and parents for the next forty years.

Following the integration of all schools in Fort Worth in 1973, FWISD conducted several evaluations of the state of its district and was surprised by some of its findings. This report, requested by the Superintendent, Dr. Julius Truelson, who was

the directing author of the integration plans of the district, found that "white flight," or the migration of white families from the city and suburbs to rural areas, was beginning to affect the demographics of the district.

The report also found that there was a fairly dramatic increase in the numbers of Mexican Americans, a group that was not considered a minority when it came to integration.[154] With the success of the Davis' push for integration, Mexican Americans now began to look towards correcting inequalities that they saw in the district as far as school placements and faculty representation.

The representation of faculty and staff members of black and hispanic races had always been a concern for their respective civil rights groups. However, unlike the Hispanic student population that had always been integrated within the white school system, blacks did not push for equal representation until the closing of the all black schools, which had been staffed by almost entirely black faculty. Following the integration and closings in 1973, the focus shifted to bringing in more black teachers to the schools in proportion with the ethnic make-up of the student body. (see Table 8.1)

Table 8.1. Ethnic distribution of teachers and students

Negro	White	Total	%Negro	
4849	16484	21333	22.7	(Students)
Negro	White	Total	%Negro	
215	841	1056	20.4	(Teachers)

Source: July 30, 1970 letter from Eck G. Prud'homme, Jr. MD. To Clifford Davis regarding changes in statistics of FWISD high school 1970

Davis also looked at the area schools to determine if the law of integration had been met and what effect "white flight" had on its schools. The findings of his evaluations showed that like the Morningside neighborhood, which had been nearly one hundred percent white in 1963, and had now transformed to predominantly black in 1973, helped Judge Brewster reach the decision to cancel the opening of Morningside school. This trend appeared to be happening in nearly all of the schools of the district except for Arlington Heights, Paschal and Southwest High School.[155]

In part, the continued effort of Davis and the NAACP with the help of the district's Superintendent, Truelson, continued to help improve the overall equalization of the schools in the district. However, the failure of the forced bussing program in the

154 Fort Worth Independent School District and Charles Lee Evans, Mexican American Education Study, Fort Worth Independent School District (Fort Worth: Department of Research and Evaluation, 1974).

155 Arlington Heights and Paschal are in the TCU sections of Fort Worth and remained predominantly white for several more decades, Southwest High School, in far south Fort Worth, built in 1968, was the last high school bonded and built by the district and remained predominantly white until 2000, when the trend towards a large Hispanic and African American population arose due to new rounds of white flight. In 2010 the overall population of white students was around 15%, Hispanic 45% and African

1970s placed a heavy financial burden on the district with unsatisfactory results. In the 1980s, an effort was made to eliminate the policy of forced bussing, yet find other mechanisms to achieve integration.

With concerns of integration and the pain of losing three schools just a decade before, many citizen groups began to call for a cessation of the bussing program in order to save their schools. Jon Brumley, a member of one of these groups, called the program "ineffective" but thought that the "program could be greatly improved and still achieve the integration goals" set forth by the courts.[156]

Brumley's group, like many others, felt that the district bussing policy was not achieving the spirit of integration and that the placement of schools themselves should be at issue, an argument that was used in favor of the plans to open Morningside High School a decade earlier. The committee, led by Brumley, suggested that several schools be combined into one campus and that "increasing the number of 'stand-alone' schools…and decreasing the distances students travel to achieve racial integration" would greatly improve the program.[157] This committee also felt that the development of more opportunities for minorities in the magnet school program would allow for greater equality in the district. However, there were many groups opposed to this plan by Brumley as it entailed the possible closing of some schools.

Americans at about 35%. These percentages are rounded from the demographics produced by the Fort Worth Independent School Districts web site.

156 Linda Ponce, "FW Group to suggest busing cut," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, November 10, 1982. Mrs. Ponce in an interview with the author states that Brumley actually said "inefficient," but the publication went out with the error of "ineffective" and the paper was forced to print a correction.

Many parents were very wary of any school closings, especially after the closing of Terrell. The parents of North Side High school vowed to oppose any closing of their school and felt that the bussing of students to enforce integration was directly responsible for the decreased numbers at the school. At several community meetings, parents argued that the forced bussing of students to integrate other portions of the city was detrimental to their school and that students should be allowed to attend the schools in their own neighborhoods.

Davis and the NAACP had used this same argument of community schools when filing the Mansfield and Terrell cases. Davis' argument that students should be able to attend schools "closest to their homes" was now the new argument against the forced integration of their schools.[158] This new trend to go back to community schools and to end forced bussing was met with little opposition from parent groups and from Davis and the NAACP. However, the new trustees of the ongoing civil rights cases against the district were now being pressured by the ever-increasing Hispanic populations of the city which championed community schools.

However, the Mexican American population was less inclined to worry about the demographics of a particular school, but was more interested in the faculty of the school and the racial demographics of its staff. These parents wished for their students to attend schools in their communities and neighborhoods in which they lived, but fought for more Hispanic teachers at the schools (see Table 8.2).

157 Linda Ponce, "FW Group to suggest busing cut."

Table 8.2. Employee Ethnicity of FWISD, 1970

Employees Year	1960	1961	1962	1965	1969	1970
Total	3216	3330	3336	3440	3694	3882
% Negro	3.2	3.2	3.6	7.0	8.5	9.1
% Hispanic					2.5	2.9

Source: Annual Report of the Fort Worth Community Relations Commission to Fort Worth ISD, August 31, 1970.

Roslyn Mickelson argues that this desire could cause diminishing educational quality "as students who attended these schools [schools with high proportion of minority teachers] would most likely learn from nontenured [sic] teachers, teachers who were not fully licensed or new to the profession."[159]

Both African-Americans and Hispanics also began looking at the overall representation in city government as well, and worked hand in hand to increase the number of minority employees to at least match the demographics of the communities. (see Table 8.3) They also looked at increasing the desirability and accountability of the schools through the magnet program that was implemented in FWISD during the 1980s.[160]

158 Linda Ponce, "School Rumors Rile North Side," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, November 18, 1982.

159 Maike Philipsen, *Values-Spoken and Values-Lived*, 577.

Table 8.3. Minority representation in municipal jobs

	White-Anglo	Negro	Mexican	Other
1969 % city employees	88.8	8.5	2.5	0.2
1970 % city employees	87.2	9.1	2.9	0.2
1960 % population (census)	79.6	15.8	4.6	

Source: Annual Report of the Fort Worth Community Relations Commission to Fort Worth ISD, August 31, 1970.

This magnet program, promoted by all racial groups, looked to create specialized schools that would draw students looking to learn the specific skills and traits that that school had to offer. The first magnet school was put in place in the early 1970s at the predominately black school, Paul Laurence Dunbar High School. This math and science school helped attract white students as well as those black students not attending Dunbar to enter the higher quality courses offered. Soon, nearly every high school in Fort Worth had a specific specialization that attracted students to the schools. This program seemed to have the desired effect of integration that nearly all parties agreed to, and with the increased pressure to have school zones for community schools, by 1983, Fort Worth's experiment of forced bussing came to an end.

The legacy of *Brown* on Fort Worth continues today as the Fort Worth school district tackles issues of imbalance in schools, low numbers of Hispanic and African American teachers and the renewed problems of white flight. However, Davis's battle against the segregated schools of the district helped bring about a greater diversity within the district. Regardless of their academic standards, Terrell, Como, and Kirkpatrick schools were symbols of a dual system of segregation and inequality and

160 Clifford L. Davis, interview.

for these reasons they were closed without the tacit consent of even the schools' boosters.

Today, the district's new battles lie within the issue of an achievement gap, or the disproportionately high numbers of failures of Hispanic and black students compared to whites. This problem, many have argued, like Andrew Sanders, may lie in the roots of the closing of segregated schools, where students had the comfort and security of each other and the elevated expectations to exceed the obstacles set in place by a racist society.

Although no one would argue that segregation should be revisited, the argument can be made that there were some benefits to students being segregated from their racialized "other" peers to help reduce the distractions to education. Many school districts today, including Fort Worth, are now looking towards separate schools for boys and girls as a way of increasing the academic performance of students. Some districts, such as Chicago's public school system are even looking at all black schools to help foster and preserve the culture of a race that seems to be falling by the wayside in the name of equality.[161]

The danger to this trend lies in the re-segregation of students, by gender and race, creating the same problem that *Brown* hoped to end. J. Oaks showed in her 1993 analysis of student tracking by race was in fact creating segregation within the schools by isolating or singling out students based on their academic performance. Oakes

argues that this practice of tracking students, "unjustifiably assigns disproportionate numbers of minority students" to low performing classifications and preventing them from enrolling into more accelerated programs thus limiting their overall potential.[162]

161 Recently, Chicago's Urban Prep, a charter school, graduated its first class of all black and all male students. http://www.chicagotribune.com/features/happynews/ct-met-urban-prep-college-20100305,0,3299917.story.

162 Maike Philipsen, *Values-Spoken and Values-Lived,* 570.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

"I Am Terrell, Now And Forever"

- I.M. Terrell School Moto

There can be no real argument against the Supreme Court's determination that the schools of the segregated era were inherently unequal. The *Brown* decision makes that perfectly clear, and the fact that most school districts in the United States transformed into integrated systems with little or no conflict attests to the wisdom and righteousness of the ruling. However, no district integrated without some pains and problems. Some like Little Rock, Arkansas and Mansfield, Texas showed that some communities would resort to extreme measures to prevent the integration of their schools.

As in Arkansas, the integration of Mansfield would also be a moment of political expediency for a Governor, wishing to make a name for himself in the national news. As with Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, the move by the Texas Governor, Shivers, backfired and brought about shame and disgrace on his state. Fortunately, Fort Worth ISD and the people of Fort Worth were able to integrate their schools with very little violent protest, public demonstrations, or national attention.

The reason for the lack of national or even state attention to the integration of schools in Fort Worth, also a likely reason for little protest against the closing of

Terrell, might lie in the aftermath of the more high profile cases. Robyn Ladino states that "Mansfield's African Americans and the integrationists involved in the case and crises, by fighting against racial barriers, shortened the march for all citizens of the United States towards the light of equality."[163] And, unlike cities in other parts of the United States, the white community did little to prevent the integration of its schools, but only differed on the way that integration should happen. While some cities had a very active movement of whites working to prevent court ordered integration, the citizens of Fort Worth made little protest to integration or bussing.[164] In fact the main argument against bussing was by the members of the African American community who argued for community schools.

While there was no real argument to keep Fort Worth's dual school system, there was also no argument against the radical changes for the closing of the schools and the major disruption to the communities that forced bussing brought. Not until the courts looked at the closing of Morningside did the African American community offer protest, and this for a school that had never opened its doors.

The only reasonable explanation for this thought is that at the time of the closing of Terrell, the African American community saw the school as a symbol of segregation and that, as Richard Kluger wrote about the *Brown* decision, "was both thrilled that the signal for the demise of his [the African American] caste status had come from on high

163 Robyn Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas School,* 144.

164 George C. Wright, W. Marvin Dulaney and John Dittmer, *Essays on The American Civil Rights Movement* (College Station, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington by Texas A&M University Press, 1993), 76-77.

and angry that it had taken so long."[165] Many felt that the integration of the schools would bring quick and decisive results to the African American student.

Prior to *Brown*, Kenneth Clark wrote that the integration of schools alone would "raise black children's" academic performance and that they would quickly be equal to that of whites.[166] However, Clark's predictions never came to be, as many studies done after *Brown* echo former *New York Times* columnist, Tom Wicker, who wrote that "there was little evidence" to show improvement after desegregation and that the test scores of minority children have failed to improve.[167] In fact, one study even attempted to demonstrate that segregated classroom students in Lufkin, Texas performed better than those students in desegregated classrooms.[168]

While the Vachule survey indicated that as far back as 1962, the disparity between black and white academic achievement was high, that a so called "achievement gap" did exist, nevertheless as former alumnus Drew Sanders argued, once black students of Fort Worth were integrated into white schools they became lost in the "system" and the attention that the Terrell faculty and parents paid to them was no longer theirs. Sanders and other alumni argued that the gap between black and white academic achievements only widened after desegregation.

---

165 Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 749.

166 Kenneth B Clark, "Prejudice and Your Child," *Boston Beacon Press*, 1955.

167 Victor Miller, "The Emergent Patterns of Integration," *Educational Leadership* 36, no. 5 (February 1979): 309.

168 Hugh D. Prewitt, *The Influence of Racial Integration in the Elementary Schools of Lufkin, Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 1971).

Sanders and other alumni appear to echo studies done prior to desegregation, such as the Crowley study that looked at IQ tests of Cincinnati school children in the 1930s, which tried to show that there were no discernable differences in the achievement rate of blacks and whites. These alumni's view may be tainted by a longing for the past and not taking into consideration modern studies that show that even at the time there was a noticeable difference between the Standard Achievement Test scores of blacks and whites.[169] Although Terrell student scores where much closer to whites at other Fort Worth Schools, they still lagged behind their white counterparts.

It is at this point, argues Sanders, that the achievement became more notable. As Kluger argues "you can have a beautiful lesson without integration…It's just not true that you need whites to have a good school."[170] The Vachule argument is further diminished when looking at the nationwide average of students in 1954 and seeing that they are not much better today.

Raymond Wolters argued, "contrary to expectations of those who favored desegregation, the quality of public education available to blacks is generally no better."[171] He further argued that the policy of the Department of Education, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have directives to show that desegregation has worked well or can be made to do so, when the evidence points elsewhere.[172]

---

169 Nancy St. John, "Desegregation and Minority Group Performance," *Review of Educational Research* 40, no. 1 (February 1970): 116-118.

170 Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice,* 777.

171 Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown,* 284.

172 Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown* 285.

Today, the evidence points out that the achievement is just as much a concern as it was before, and that the students of Terrell, with their great academic drive and success, may have been able to transcend the bounds set upon the school by segregation, as many of its former alumni believe. The former students and faculty of Terrell would most likely defend the school that they had, and many of them who promoted and supported the integration mandated by *Brown* would most likely argue that the closing of Terrell was a much greater tragedy to the community than the benefits and success caused by the integration of its students.

The process of overcoming the many difficulties of integration will continue for the immediate future. Communities all across the nation have the difficulty of dealing with issues such as the achievement gap, the continuing problem of "white flight" as well as an ever-expanding immigrant population. Glenn Linden notes that in order to continue the mandate set by *Brown*, "each generation will have to renew its commitment and strive to end racism or any other obstacle to genuine educational opportunities."[173]

James Coleman's view is that progress towards full integration can only be achieved when society chooses to be fully integrated, when the middle class, blacks and whites, choose to put their students back into urban schools and live as one community.[174] And no argument was more to the point than Nancy St. John's when she stated, "we tend to forget that integration, however important, is only one component of

173 Glenn M. Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas,* 217.

quality education and not necessarily for all children, at all stages, the most important component."[175]

For the Alumni of Terrell, segregation was harsh and difficult and at the time, many felt that the integration of blacks and whites would make for a far better education. Although none will argue to return to the era of a segregated America, some yearn for the days that students still walked the halls of Terrell.

Today, the Alumni of Terrell meet each year for one of the largest gatherings of a high school alumni association in the United States to celebrate and cherish the rich heritage, cultures and memories and to remember those who they have lost each year. To these former students, I.M. Terrell still lives and they honor its memory in their school song.

174 James Colman, "Bussing and White Flight," *The Nation*, July 5, 1975.

175 Nancy St. John, "Desegregation: Voluntary or Mandatory?" *Integrated Education*, (January-February, 1972): 7-16.

Figure 9.1. I.M. Terrell as it appears today

"When we grow too old to dream,
Terrell High we'll remember
When we've drifted far away
Your love will live in our hearts
The old Gold and Blue
To you we'll be true
And through the years that came and go
We'll sing of old Terrell High"

APPENDIX A

EMAIL INTERVIEW BETTYE RICHARDSON

This interview was conducted by e-mail exchange on Wednesday, May 6, 2009 in response to my inquirer. Mrs. Richardson is a member of the I.M. Terrell Alumni Association and represents it as a past officer.

My experiences at IMT were massive and involved a lot of learning and friendships. I'm sure there were some unfriendly situations, but the good outweighed the bad. At the close of the school, we were all saddened and possibly not organized enough to fight the Board's decision, to at least renovate the facility. At the time of integration, I thought it was the best thing that ever happened to us, and it was, because our forefathers had fought so hard for our equal rights. But, in my opinion desegregation in the high school separated blacks as a race of people…we moved away from each other which deterred our fellowship. Instead of renewing our neighborhoods, we left them to deteriorate. Our schools maybe should have stayed separate, but equal in facilities, because it seems that our children were better handled/disciplined by their own race of teachers. But, of course, the worst thing that happened to our schools was the removal of prayer. And, we can still survive if we put God first in the school districts and pledge allegiance to our country, under God. One thing I noticed that might have caused our black students to fall behind academically is the lack of a desire to read books. Other races of children read an at alarming rate, because they are taught that basic concept at home. One of my fondest memory of I.M. Terrell High School was walking the campus after lunch time, just meeting and greeting other students, talking and laughing and making friendships that have lasted a lifetime.

APPENDIX B

ORAL INTERVIEW MORRIS BOGAR

Oral interview conducted with Morris Bogar on March 15, 2009

Q: What are some of your fondest and most memorable memories of your time in high school?

A: My fondest memories are of the football pep rallies. It so [sic] soulful that it seemed like an R & B concert, under the direction of bandleader Mr. Charles Watts. Students that hadn't been to class all week would show up for the pep rally. Principal Walter Day added a juke box to the cafeteria, in anticipation of the school closing and everyday he had to unplug it for students to go to class.

Q: What do you remember about the segregation of your school? What was positive and negative about what you experience?

A: The positive aspect was that the students would receive the same opportunities as white students via curriculum, materials, instruction, etc.. The negative, in my opinion was the souls lost to desegregation. Many students were unable to cope with white instruction and the uneven distribution of discipline and classroom instruction. So many students who would have graduated in the all black schools never blended to the point of being able to cope with this change.

Q: Was your school closed because of the *Brown* decision and desegregation, or due to other issues? What opinion did you have then of your school closing? What do you think now after all these years?

A: Our schools closing, believe it or not, was hastened by the NAACP that argued in court against the continuance of the all black school, citing furtherance of segregation. We were offered an opportunity of having a new all black high school built in a more central area of the community, but they (NAACP) would have no part of it.

Q: What history do you think was lost from the closing of the segregated schools?
A: I.M. Terrell was the first black high school in Fort Worth and should have been preserved to preserve our own history instead through word of mouth story telling from people who become old and die with all that history lost. History stays alive best when the beginning has no end.

Q: Does your school have reunions? When? Do you attend? How close are you to your classmates?
A: We were the last and final class of I.M. Terrell. The class of 1973. We get together now every five years with reunion s and more frequently with the untimely passing of

classmates. And we have an I.M. Terrell alumni association that also gives an all class reunion periodically.

Q: What do you think about the FWISD schools today and the racial makeup of the schools? Do you think they comply with *Brown*?
A: I've just recently become employed with FWISD and have not raised any children through the system, but I see they racial make up has become predominantly minority due to white flight and this disturbs me some what. I think diverse districts have an advantage over non-diverse.

Q: What comments would you like to make in general or specific on the topic of school segregation during the Civil Rights movement?
A: I was a proponent for segregation with the stipulation of pure equalization of the schools which probably was a fantasy but that was my fantasy.

APPENDIX C

E-MAIL INTERVIEW BOB RAY SANDERS

E-mail interview conducted with Bob Ray Sanders, Fort Worth Star Telegram writer and graduate of I.M. Terrell High School. Interview conducted on March 4, 2009

Now to try to answer a few of your questions. As I recall the Brewster decision in 1972 was the final one. Unlike most school district's, including Dallas, the Fort Worth ISD board, which was definitely against the busing order, went into executive session to decide it would not appeal the order. In open session I think it was unanimous that it would not appeal. So while some Dallas board members were attending anti-busing rallies, some members of the Fort Worth school board actually were planning to ride buses with kids on the first day of but was one of the first to be declared a "unitary" district and removed from the court's overview. Dallas remained under court supervision for several more years.

As for Morningside – and Judge Davis can answer this question better – the district had come up with that plan basically to avoid any more desegregation (and especially busing) order to appease the black community. In the agreement for the busing order, I think the NAACP agreed not only that the district would close I. M. Terrell, but would not build the new school in Morningside.

I was appalled at the closing of Terrell which should never have been allowed to happen. It was the most centrally located high school in the district, just east of downtown. The truth is the white community saw integration as black kids going to predominantly white schools; not white kids going to predominantly black schools. If Terrell had remained opened, some white kids would have to be assigned there. Except for a couple of grades (in elementary and middle schools) blacks bore the burden of integration as they had borne the burden of segregation. And, yes, I do feel that certainly in the short term integration may have been more of a detriment to more black students than it helped.

Many of the black teachers at Terrell were some of the most qualified in the district. Yes, many had gone to predominantly black colleges in Texas, but they had received their master's degrees from outside the state: at Howard, Columbia, Colorado State, USC, etc. You see, many of the black colleges didn't have very many graduate programs and, of course, blacks couldn't go to graduate schools in the white universities.

Keep in mind that until the 1950s, Terrell was the only black high school in Fort Worth (and serving at least 17 other cities and towns). It was in 1954 – to get around the impending Brown v. Board of Education decision – that the district began adding grades to three black junior high schools: Dunbar, Kirkpatrick and Como. They added a grade

a year until they were full high schools. I find it ironic to this day that schools which were added to help maintain segregation were closed when it was time to integrate.

Como and Kirkpatrick were small schools (probably too small, in fact) and their student bodies could fairly easily be have been included in larger white schools in their respective areas. Dunbar was kept open at the time because, presumably, it had the newest facility of the four high schools. I think that because of where it was located, school officials knew that it would remain all black. (By the way, I noticed you included Wyatt in your "memory" survey. I'm sure you know that at the time it was a predominantly white school.)

As I mentioned above, the district has provided space for an archive at the Terrell building. They have retrieved some of the trophies, and they have copied many of the old yearbooks and more than 70 school newspapers. Again, Mrs. Washington has access to those.

As for Billy Sills, he remains my hero. The work he did in pulling together the district's archives is tremendous. We owe him our gratitude.

I hope this helps a bit.

Bob Ray

APPENDIX D

ORAL INTERVIEW L CLIFFORD DAVIS

Interview conducted on March 12, 2010 with L. Clifford Davis, NAACP Lawyer

D: I thought that you might read … retired professor's journalism at SMU has written a book about Bedford Loyola in Dallas, published last fall, I can't think of his name but it's the segregation in Texas, you might check with the school over there and find out that professor's name and the title of his book, he called me at my home and I think I've got it at home unless I've lent it …

W: And what was the name of the professor, do you remember?

D: No I don't, but he's retired from SMU School of Journalism, I believe, and he's writing basically the history on Bedford Loyola over there …. Ross' wife a couple of weeks ago, but I can give you Bedford's number in Dallas

W: Bedford?

D: Bedford… do you have the telephone number there listing Bedford over in Dallas?

(Davis calls his secretary at this point: Do me a favor, go back there and look on my index, you know where I keep my thing on my index, and I think you'll find a phone number for him, please ma'am…

W: And he's the professor?

D: Oh no, he's the subject, emphasized … Dallas desegregation, Louis A. Bedford

W: We have a professor at UTA that's writing a little bit on that, Dr. Delaney, Morris Delaney

D: I might have met him, name don't stick in

W: … he focuses on Dallas schools and the Dallas police force there and the desegregation

D: that was a long ways to go, it's a different community it is, night and day

D: I used to preside over there, and you wouldn't believe they read the same books, the procedure they… go ahead and let's get this …

W: let's start off with the Mansfield case and just briefly go through that okay, are you on?

D: Yeah, I'm ready

D: okay, let me tell you the origin of that, Mansfield Board of Education had some black people in the community that considered advisory people that they would talk with from time to time, one of those was GM Moody who was president of the branch of the NAACP down there.

D: the students could go to the 7th highest grade that the black school there, but that was all, if they wanted to go any farther than that they had to get to IM Terrell which was the only high school, black school to attend in Tarrant County, the best way they could which meant that those kids had to come from the best way they could, get there by the time … to catch the Trailway bus to come into Fort Worth and get off the Trailway bus station and go across to Terrell at their own expense, so they wanted the board to provide transportation for them … thing number 1, thing number 2 there was a little minor things around the school that they wanted, their school was right there on the highway going out into the country and they wanted them to build some kind of little barrier because the kids get out there and play at recess and run out there on that road and get hit by a car, that was … design, they wanted a flag pole and one or two other little things that wouldn't have cost much more than a song and a dance and that school board didn't do that, the school board refused and that's what brought this litigation.

D: We filed a lawsuit, it was heard before Judge Estes, the federal judge here and presiding here, he was from Dallas at that time we didn't have a resident … in Fort Worth … Dallas presiding, he said that the action was specific as listed, we went to the 5th Circuit and they had a note from him to follow the law and integrate the school, so he came back and ordered us to integrate.

D: The fall of '56 when school returned, the day school opened, and of course, we all knew about the integration order, so a mob gathered on campus totally unruly, little or no control, no ability to control them really, the sheriff who was Ron Evans at the time, had some of his deputies down there, one or two of them down there for observation, Allan Shivers was governor, he sent one or two state troopers and maybe one or two Texas Rangers, I don't remember the exact number, with instructions to arrest anybody whose presence would perhaps cause a disturbance, which means … gang up … so we just felt it was too risky to go and have those kids go.

D: I wired President Eisenhower to try to get him to give us some protection and he didn't get a response, Herb Fulls, I believe, was a US Attorney here and I got a letter to his office requesting some kind of aid, and of course I got no response, so there was just didn't go. The mob hung somebody in effigy across the main street going through Mansfield, a highway at that time went right down, 287 went right through Mansfield, and they hung in effigy, pulled the flag down and put an effigy on the flag pole and

pulled it up and it appeared on the front page of the NY Times so that there was little or no, there was no protection, the DA's office, one or two fellows from the DA's office went down there and mainly observed us and they felt intimidated themselves because they felt they were … file on them in the garages down there… I'm not sure they may have been from down in that area, I don't know, but he was just observing, he wasn't trying to file on anybody, so nothing ever happened and that was the substance of it, but the big expense that the school district would have incurred was to provide transportation for those kids that were down there, there wouldn't have been that many, but it would have been a big help to them because people lived back out in the country and they've got to get from where they live to downtown in time to catch that Trailways bus because if they didn't catch that Trailways bus unless they could get some of their kinfolks or somebody to bring them, they'd just miss school that day and then of course, you see in the dead of winter when the daytime is short, they'd be leaving home before dark, I mean before day and getting back after dark and those who lived a good distance … because it is a pretty good little jump at that time from where the bus went through at the bus station in "downtown" Mansfield to where they lived in the county, it's about a mile, mile and a half before you get to the first set of houses where blacks were living in those days, but that would have been the big expense, the rest of that stuff, some kind of little barrier could have been as little as a little chain on a post run down this little kid would run out there accidentally, there would be this little barrier, that was of course much more than a song and a dance… there were days that they wouldn't do anything, they wouldn't even do the flag pole and there was something about the water system, I don't remember what it was now, something about the well water system for the school, I don't know whether it was dig a deeper well or improve the water system … and that was it, they just wouldn't budge at all

W: did you get any assistance from the national NAACP

D: NAACP was cooperating with us, as a matter of fact, when we … Mr. … who was in the regional office at that time, we had a regional counsel … in Dallas, assisted in court appearance at the trial level here and the national office assisted in the briefing at the appellate level and argued at the appellate level for us, we had some assistance, yes, I was resident counsel for … back then

W: and, let's leap forward a little bit to Fort Worth now, is there a connection between

D: okay, I had earlier stated that the only high school in Tarrant County that blacks could attend prior to 1954 was IM Terrell, the kids from Arlington, I think they were provided transportation, I don't know how the kids from Grapevine went about it, out in Azle, all that in there, that were in this county, they'd get here the best way they could and the kids from all over Fort Worth had to get to Terrell the best way they could because they were elementary and middle school, up to 6th or 7th grade, I forgot now exactly, but the record … he had Dunbar which had, I believe a junior high, we had

something in Como, something in Kirkpatrick in the north side, so after the 1954 decision came down, Fort Worth decided that they were going to their thing because a part of the petition in the litigation and education in those days were that kids ought to be able to go to school nearest their home or in their neighborhood and their choice. Since the Fort Worth people interpreted it going to school near your home, ah ha, we'll fix that, we'll just establish a school in all these neighborhoods, so in the north side they upgraded … for Kirkpatrick, same thing's true for Como, same thing's true for Dunbar. Dunbar at that time was located over on Willow Street, there's still a Dunbar over on Willow Street, but the whole thing was over there in the high school and junior high. Dunbar at the present location, the high school was built as a result of an election, I believe, in 1965, certain in the mid-60s if I'm wrong in the year … bond election created the money to build the new schools, bonding and expansion program is good, so they started a greater year in about 1956 or 57 in that time frame, after 54 so that they would meet the objection period, they would supply a school near and that was their objective.

D: There was a statute in the actual academic offerings for, instance, Terrell or for instance Arlington Heights which at that time was the big school in Fort Worth, for high school, we didn't have Western Hills at that time or … we had Arlington Heights, you had Diamond Hill and you had a school in Riverside and there may have been something out in the southside but I don't remember what, Paschal, of course you had the technical school there, what is it called? Tech, on Terrell, I believe it is, over near the hospital district.

D: Those schools, of course African kids could not go to any of those schools so the disparity isn't program offerings was visible and neglect for instance, my wife was teaching at Como school and they were issued almost every time you got ready to go get some paper to run off an exam so the kids had to go to the office and check out paper and they'd issue you the number of sheets that you said you needed, that kind of stuff.

D: In the early 70s when we got integration of housing, she was assigned to Western Hills our school out on, I think it was Western Hills, the high school, and out there there were supplies in the teachers lounge, so if you need it then get you what you needed and if she needed stencils run off, then go on in there and get your stencils and run off things, if you needed paper to run it on, then go in there and get you paper to run off as much as you needed, that's the difference in the supplies.

D: I had a white teacher to tell me she was assigned to a school out in the west side and she got assigned to what at that time was called Sunrise School down on … way down on Ridglea St., she said that when she was at the white school, it was an elementary, when she was at the white school she had the problem of opening her file cabinet because there was so much stuff in there, so much stuff it'd fall out at you, you'd have

to be careful, cautious when she opened it, when she went to Sunrise School she could not find a piece of crayon in the classroom to write her name on the board to introduce herself to the student … how on earth could a supervisor for that whatever department that you were in be going around schools, why wouldn't that supervisor know that you don't have any teaching aids, why don't you make a list … teaching aid, he needs so and so, he needs so and so, he needs so and so, you can't be an effective job here because you don't have the equipment, but that was the way it existed.
D: Those type of disparities were rampant, that was one of the reasons we pushed so hard for integration. I can tell you we set it upon ourselves, those little blue eyed blondes were little miracle workers because when they start sending that children there they will see to it that educational supplies and equipment will be at that school, man they will see to it that there are good teachers at that school, that was the name we called them among ourselves, little miracle workers, let's get some of them little blue eyed blondes over there and then we'll see improvement in our whole curriculum in terms of what's being taught and supplies and equipment to do the teaching and that …

W: what was the intent when … v prop first started out?

W: Was the intent integration or the closing of the black schools?

D: No no no no no, we just got to get those kids in Mansfield ought to be able to go to Mansfield HS, why would they have to live in Mansfield, … why would they have to come to Fort Worth? They should have been able to go to the high school in their town, so it wasn't integration to be with white folks, it was integration to be with convenience of … school in our town, that's the problem and it's been misinterpreted.

D: It isn't a matter of mixing with white folks, it's a matter of convenience and disservice and benefits, we clearly convinced then and now that you can learn in any learning environment if there is teaching no matter who sits across from you, white black, purple or gold, it's the quality of the educational output that's going on and in the case of Mansfield we felt that those kids ought to be able to go to school in Mansfield and certainly, originally, if they're not going to let them go to school in Mansfield, they'll provide the transportation for them to come to Fort Worth if that's the issue you're going to push and that's the system you're going to carry on, let's try for transportation for the system that you say you want, the system you say is fair

W: so, in, I guess it was '67, in the Fort Worth cases

D: we filed the Fort Worth case in '59, we got the first hearing in '61 or '62 somewhere along there, but Judge Brewster became the resident federal judge here right and he set down from here and ordered some beginning of integration, he is to the stair step plan, go up a grade here from the beginning down and then I think come in from the top and

down some time, I'd maybe have to review it cause it's been so long and that we fall back for a year or two and then we got the decision, I believe out of Alabama or somewhere over there that made an attack on the stair step plan and we went back in and got an adjustment on that about the mid-60s somewhere along in that time frame, and then in the early 70s we went in for a push for integration of faculty and got to integration of faculty, almost overturned, but we got it started, unfortunately what they did was take some of our best teachers in the black schools and move them into white schools and some of the mediocre teachers were sent into our schools at least with respect to that, but I can tell it now, Truesome became superintendent and Truesome wanted to try to do it right but he was a hired hand and he had to devise a plan that the board would go along with and he's dead now and I can tell it… necessarily need to have it published, but ultimately, I had his telephone number on his desk and see these little adjustments that we need to be improved and I could call him, if he would not beg, I would not have to go through a secretary or anything, nobody knew who called him because it was a direct line and I could find some little things and we could get some little adjustments and they didn't know that we were pushing for those adjustments, we got a lot of little adjustments made through that matter, I couldn't expose him right and it wouldn't have been in my best interest nor his best interest if we raked the letter or fouled some kind of thing appeared before the board, then the hate mongers would have it and he'd be difficult for them to respond to it because they done it to us and them hell raisers were pushing for it but if they didn't know that we had raised the issue and Truesome said to one of his supervisors, check on so and so and so and so, … it's like it came from him… called attention to some kind of discrepancy or deficiency over there and it came from the superintendent and it was accepted and the person would go there with an open mind and come back before the superintendent what they thought, maybe some adjustment was made, it would be made,

W: was Judge Brewster's decision to close Como and Kirkpatrick and even Terrell a surprise?

D: No, Brewster, let me say this to you, Brewster in my opinion was doing his best to try to follow the law and achieve an objective, let me give you one example, Dunbar at that time was over on Willow Street wherever the middle school is located now, the high school, and it was overcrowded and we were complaining about the overcrowding, and Brewster one day we arranged for him to come out there and have lunch so he could see with his own eyes, that's going a bit far for a federal judge, I doubt seriously that any other federal judge in Texas probably anywhere else in the south would take time to go see himself but we worked it out where he could go out there, we'd meet out there for a lunch, one day for lunch, and he could see it was out of that experience that we'd get the Dunbar High School in another location.

D: Things like that, and I say this, there were a lot of mean white folks but there were a lot of decent white folks and there have been all along, I got a very favorable

impression of what Brewster tried to get done knowing the environment in which he was working in and yet he was trying to follow the law and move forward and get something done in a reasonable and peaceful environment, I believe that was his objective, and I would swear to it now that he's dead and gone, no benefit I can get from him nowadays, but to his credit, and I shall always remember that he thought enough about trying to line out what was actually happening that he arranged for a luncheon that he could go, that we were able to arrange to see for himself what I was complaining about, whether or not I was shooting the bull or just hollering wolf, we worked out the Second Amendment District for election of trustees, that was worked out through our talking line, we did have a hearing and we got that order on the integration of faculty from Brewster's adjustment of … that the percentages ought to be sort of consistent with the population that when finally went black superintendent of black students … substantially all the faculty stayed and that's one of those adjustments that he got to make that we felt that we needed to have more black teachers on that staff… and all the teachers were white and most of the teachers were white it wouldn't be the inspiration the kids need … role model is, things like that that make a difference in the aspirations and hope of the kids and it makes a difference in the treatment that the students get whether or not there's disparate treatment in terms of punishment and suspensions and after school, that stuff, it makes a difference, so I have nothing but compliments to say about Brewster's efforts, I believe he made a good faith effort to monitor this thing and to move it as he understood the law to be, as a matter of fact, the day, the morning that I got word that I had been confirmed for my judicial position.

D: I was in his court, it was some adjustment, when the Senate confirmed, a fellow down there called my office and told me that I had been confirmed and somebody called somebody in the US Attorney's office here and one of the black ladies who worked up there came down, she called my office, and my office told her I was in Judge Brewster's court, she came down to the court so I got the word from her in Brewster's court that morning while working.

D: Estes was from East Texas, he had that East Texas culture, but I don't know, we worked on a lot of areas around here to try to fix some things, we got some adjustments, there was some people of good will, there were some hate mongers there always are there was some hate mongers but there were some people of goodwill trying to move things along and I am happy that such progress as made was made without the rancor that was then going on in other parts of the country.

D: I was talking to some kids during black history month and I said one of the big allies that we had in this protest movement was television, as long as nobody knew about it, about all of this discrimination and what have you, it was one thing, cause the media didn't cover it, but when people saw the police beating up people like they did … bridge in Selma, Alabama or sicking the dogs and turning the water hose on people like they did in Birmingham, when that was shown on television worldwide a lot of people

began to think well we shouldn't be doing this, a lot of people who had been on the sidelines felt that they should become active, white people and black people, so media helped us a lot more than we give it credit for, then it was given credit for, maybe more than I don't know, I guess they were just trying to cover the news, but it was a tremendous impact on the nation because this thing was shown worldwide.

W: And the Mansfield case, earlier, made worldwide news too, and so
D: yes, and of course, you know Little Rock in '57 and I'm from Arkansas, and I can tell you if there is any town that could accomplish that without rancor I think Little Rock was the place, I was born in Gantry, 25 miles out of Texarkana in the Arkansas side and of course we had 8th grade in my little town and there was in the county seat there was so called … training which you did go to for about 3 years but they didn't provide any transportation for us to get there, they did provide transportation for the white kids, but they didn't provide transportation for us, so my parents believed in education and ultimately rented a house in Little Rock so we could go up there and go to the … and state of blacks at that time, still is as far as that is concerned.

D: I guess, no it's not, because it's close to the high school, it's a junior high, but at any rate, my address … 117 16th Street one half block off of main street on 16th Street, when I sat on my porch directly across the street in a middle class working white … one block west of main street, I lived a block off main street, one block west of main street was … Methodist Church, one of the largest Methodist church at that time in Little Rock and in that quadrant is called … quarters and the … I walked through that neighborhood on the way to Dunbar High School, we later bought a … on mission street further on the west side and it turned I graduated from high school I was as close to Central High School as I was to Dunbar so that you could go two blocks and be in a white neighborhood and two blocks and be in a black neighborhood and we didn't have a lot of strictest [?] at home as a matter of fact, we never had any … from the people who lived directly across the street from us, no problem going through there by … going on over to the … neighborhood… no ugly words ever said to me, nothing, back in.

D: I don't know if you'd remember this, back in '49 there were two basic newspapers in Little Rock, the Arkansas Democrat which was an African paper … and I've forgotten which one it was, I think it was the Democrat that referred to a black couple as Mr. and Mrs. John Jones, and … wow unheard of because it's always been John and Mable, but they referred to them as Mr. and Mrs. John Jones, that year or the next year, the Arkansas Democrat hired a black reporter and put out on the Sunday edition, they put a section in there on the black community, a whole section, 3 pages, reporters … what was happening in social circles or what have you, weddings and things like that, '49-'50 so that it was ahead of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana makes the events at the high school seem more surprising

D: well I can tell you the analysis we have of that, before this was brought out of the woods, small town boy, oh I can't think of the girl's name, who had come back in 1946 after the war and got elected District Attorney in Hot Springs, Arkansas, …. Got elected governor and brought the forest out of the woods, his administration, what's his name, the governor was so called liberal in those days …. For the first time these other boys … what have you, it's unheard of… Ed McMahon was the guy's name, McMahon is … brought him into politics and put him in a position … and he ran for governor and was elected governor, the Senator from Arkansas was going to retire, was going to run for reelection and … wanted that position and somehow or another convinced himself that this was a sure shot to get him elected and they believed that was his motivation for he had told Rockefeller who had come to Arkansas who had been recruited to be chair of the Arkansas Industrial Commission trying to industrialize train … development to Arkansas had told … to persuade him not to … bad image… but ambition, ambition, ambition, and then a day or two before the school opening time one of those old segregation white citizen counsel meetings from Georgia came, went to Arkansas, on a speaking engagement and of course got the rabble rousers stirred up and so that happened.

D: I knew Mrs. Bates, as a matter of fact, I was in on the initial conference when we planned the strategy because what we said we had found integration … in Arkansas in 1950, the case started out in South Carolina and Virginia, the … case, everybody knows Brown v. Board of Education started out in Arkansas, using that thing time and the segregation laws. … and we got improvements as a matter of fact in the case of … and Helena with a lawyer friend of mine, we got a whole new school in a new location … over in Helena, Arkansas, … High School. We could have moved but the ambition in that governor, of course, he had strong support and … resistence and noisemaking all across the south about it and about integration and we had in '46 we had Clinton, Tennessee; Mansfield, Texas; and oh, somewhere in northern Arkansas, a little old town in northern Arkansas.

D: What happened there is that they had to fight to get a black school, the '54 decision came out, they, as I understand it, was still going 7 months in the winter time and 2 months in the summer, 9 months because Arkansas is in central zone so they only had 9 months of school, so as when they started the summer session or the fall session of '54 after the '54 decision, they integrated and closed down the black school to save money and when the neighbors resisted it … there's always been good white people and some people… I can tell you that Arkansas was the only southern state, as far as I know, that integrated …. Schools before litigation.

D: I can vouch for that because I was … but there were some good people in Fort Worth that wanted to do the right thing, I can say now, I think Brewster had decided to follow the law before he understood what the law required and yet he wanted to accomplish it without disasters resulting, I think Truesome wanted to do right but of

course he was a hired hand and he could only go as far as he could graciously persuade his board to go along with him and we worked some good around here, we worked some good, we did prevent them from building a high school in Morningside, they wanted to build a high school in Morningside, it would be … because that was an attempt for segregation instead of a plan to try to integrate … but we got pretty good in Fort Worth, pretty good, kids … one of the concerns we had was whether or not our kids were getting too many of them shuffled into special ed, never could develop … never managed to prove that.

D: and then I went on the bench in '83, so I was not in a position to keep up with it, and so finally about '92 or '93 or so we got … but it was a good ride and the thing you always have to keep in mind, school integration was just one of the things we were working on and it wasn't integration just to be, white folks be with white folks, integration would be a complete … education was being conducted, that was the thing, cause our experience has always been always separate but never equal, that was a whole… separate but never equal and we wanted our people to have an equal chance at the best education that the community could afford, and that was the whole across the board and we can't get, and let me say it to you, and I said it publicly in a meeting I spoke to with a group in the labor department in Dallas doing black history month this year, we have not been able to sell the notion that although we might be advocating for black people.

D: the truth of the matter is that we are advocating to try to make a more perfect union … founding fathers … and we haven't been able to complete the process of founding a more perfect union, you see when we form that more perfect union … and the people who sign all that stuff has an opinion … so we are making society progress and good deal of trying to make a more perfect union out of this thing and we cannot get poor white people to understand that the days when … you take right now the health deal that's before … a lot of that opposition is going under the name of economics of it, but the underlying root is it's gonna … poor negroes, welfare recipients and all that kind of stuff, on a percentage basis, than there are poor whites, but in terms of numbers there are more poor whites than there are poor blacks, then you start talking about the 30-40 million people who don't have healthcare coverage, you got more whites without health coverage than you got blacks because there are greater numbers, if the same wise, we might be … up front, but in numbers we're way behind and we can't get them to understand that this helps you too … yeah, we have to advocate for black folks, but if we can correctly … them to get health care for everybody you gonna get health care, if you can't get it if it's available, you're suffering too in a greater number, that's the thing that we've got to get people to understand that we are actually all in this boat together, and while you might be at the front of the boat, if the boat doesn't make it to the destination, you're gonna sink too, so we all got to be pushing to get this boat to it's proper destination.

D: Another thing I said to those people, and you think about this, in every other area of the … black is a premium, choice color, … human beings, how many years did we have black cars before we started seeing all these other cars you see out there, the black shoes, nothing, almost nothing… than a shining black shoe and I … the black dog won the dog show … and when you get to high society, the high society is a black tie event, well when it comes to human beings, there's something wrong with that, you ever think about that that's strange, but that's true the high dress for a man in the most formal location is black tie event, but when it comes to a black human being they can't go to the black tie event there's got to be something wrong with that … but when it come down to the car, shoes, black dog, black … , tie up to the top, come down to human beings … now we need to get white people to understand that … I get on the elevator … I get on the elevator with some of those people and … another human being, but that they're suffering… they don't know whether I'm a bum or … millionaire, street gutter, well you can tell by my clothes that I'm not exactly a street person, but they don't know who I am, can't tell who I am by the color of the skin, … impression, why does that happen… and of course I did point out in my lecture that there have been periods when other national groups have suffered discrimination, the Irish in New York, the Italians in New York, the Germans in certain places, and of course, out on the west coast you've got the Mexican community and you've got the Japanese community and the Chinese in Chinatown … but except for the eye, you can't tell … because they've got varying shades too … once they get to where they can speak English, you can't tell a person from Sweden, a person from Denmark, a person from Italy once they get to where they can speak English, so what's better … Ireland, or Sweden, or Denmark, or Australia, but us, we're black …

W: in looking through the rolls of students in FWISD that Hispanics went to the white schools

D: yes, well let me tell you about that, when we were out here trying to … so called civil rights movement in the early '50s … the Spanish people were accorded some privileges of the white but they were discriminated against a little bit too, but then when we get the civil rights cases and we get the emphasis on minorities and civil rights and equal rights and what have you, '64 '65, the Lyndon Johnson administration as a result of the civil rights movement … but prior to that time they were … but when the so called civil rights act passed against discrimination, affirmative action, all those … I laughed the other day when a friend of mine as to the elections last week when in this area as well as state wide any of the Mexican surname people lost in the election, Carrillo lost the railroad commission, … the sitting judge here lost, Santiago is running for … and then you saw Monday's paper, the comments that they had … somehow we have got to send a message and the truth of the matter is we'd better stop talking about the differences and start talking about how much we have in common, everybody wants … everybody wants to have decent clothes to wear, everybody wants to have peaceful quiet neighborhood in a safe environment, everybody wants an education for their

children, everybody wants the chance for a job … everybody is the same when you look at it, when you look at it, the only difference you can find is the color of your skin, every other thing in the environment is environmental, social in nature, we're in conflict … you get hungry, you get sick, you gonna die, the moment you're born, you keep living, you're gonna get old, every one, that's the cycle for everybody… want a job, you want to make a living, you want the convenience, you want from your children for them to learn, a good education, a chance for employment, a chance for them to employ their skills, that's common for everybody regardless of your color … and we've got to somehow get the public to appreciate that notion, I've been preaching that all my life … helped me to know that attitude, I went to a small … and everybody in the … and part of that curriculum in that study was preparing … where you make a comparison between … in the catholic, protestant, muslim, and when you put those things right beside, you find some commonalities in all of them, 7th day Adventists, … what they believe in… they believe in the sanctity of marriage, they believe in … every one of them, this one right here … but all of them will have some common … about drinking, if you're gonna drink … all of them want people to work and want for safety for folks, all of them want education for folks … develop a philosophy of … and we need to all … it takes all of us to make this a more perfect union and we can't sit around and wait for the government and the regulatory … to do it, it's an individual thing, you as an individual make up your mind that you're going to respect other individuals, there are plenty of people I know that … but the fact that … does not mean that I will not do anything …

D: [he is speaking too low for me to make out his words]

W: that's all right with me … I know what they're saying…

W: well I sure appreciate your time

D: … I can sit here and talk for a long long time cause I like to talk about it and this is a thing that I have said …

APPENDIX E

ORAL INTERVIEW ANDREW SANDERS

March 5, 2010

W: Okay really I'm looking for the years of 68 – 73 and what culture was like

S: Oh, I'm sorry

W: Your earlier, I know but you know what it was like as a segregated school

S: Oh I sure do

W: And what the culture was like, the community was like and you graduated about 65 and so the initial court case of Flax v. Potts was going on at that time

S: Absolutely

W: So any information on how you and other students may have viewed what was going on

S: Well believe it or not, we did not really get into that, my mother and father really didn't talk about it, if you wanted to learn about it, it was from your teachers or your parents, and we just didn't discuss it, when I got to IM Terrell back in 1959 I was a 7th grader and they had a junior high and a high school

W: In the same campus?

S: In the same campus, but it was before segregation, the only whites we saw was the people we interacted with. There was my mother's and grandmother's house, we brought clothes by to be ironed or who had apartments that was adjacent to ours, third generation employees of TXI and they got their start on my g-g-grandfather's property… my sister and my cousin who graduated from Haltom High School… a predominately white school, they graduated from there in 67, they were the first blacks to graduate from that local high school. But they started at IM Terrell, the year of 65, the fall of 65, the spring of 65, the fall of 65 they started the Haltom High

W: Ok so they integrated in 65?

S: They integrated in 65 yes. In 64-65, my senior year, the principal and superintendent of the Burleson ISD came down to my mother's house and grandmother's house, they lived right next to each other, the principal at that time had grown up with my father, they were from Birdville, they wanted us to be the first blacks, me and Bob Ray, who is the vice president at the Star Telegram, they wanted us to be the first blacks at Haltom, and we refused to go because that was our last year at IM Terrell and there was no way that we were going to miss that opportunity not to go to IM Terrell

W: I don't know any kid that would want to miss their senior year

S: Because there it was a, ah man, it was a…its something that you can't hardly describe, if somebody went to IM Terrell, it was the school of all schools because at one time it was the only school for blacks in 13 counties, I'm sorry, 17 counties, and you had buses coming in from Weatherford, Mineral Wells, Euless, all over Grapevine but when they got to IM Terrell it was a learning experience, the teachers there believed in teaching you, when I left there I had a scholarship to a junior college and from the junior college I went to New Mexico, but when we got to that junior college along with those white kids, people that we had never really interacted with before, but we got on that campus, but we were just as smart as they were, but they looked at us like how could you guys do that? How did ya'll learn so much? You were at a black school, and we told them, we had the pleasure of telling them that we had teachers that cared, we had teachers that told us we had to twice as good, they didn't teach us to hate anybody, they taught us to love everybody, they taught us to have respect and show respect, show love, and that's what we did, and it took us a long way, it got us further in life, when I got to campus out of IM Terrell, at Ranger Junior College there were only 9 blacks on campus and I think that most of them were on scholarship, football or basketball,

W: Your scholarship was in football?

S: Football, absolutely, but as far as, is this what you want?

W: This is perfect

S: In high school, in junior high, you learn the basics, I went to an all black elementary school, all black middle school, junior high, all black high school, and you learn the basics, you learn, my dad called them the 3 Rs, reading, writing, arithmetic, and you got those 3 you had something to build on, you could add, you could read, you could write, you had something going on, and the teachers believed in teaching you, your mother and father believed in driving it home once you got home, there's no rest for the weary, when you left after school, you got home, you got more lessons, not only did you get lessons at home but you had a job, you had a chores or whatever, sometimes I wish we had some of those values that we had back then now, because kids are going astray. Sam, I don't know what's going to happen, segregation is good, I mean integration is good, segregation I believe is, for us at that time, was even better,

W: Um, and did you live near the school or did you…

S: I was bused

W: How far?

S: I lived in Birdville, the Haltom City area

W: Not too far

S: And um, before we got on the bus, me and Bob Ray would herd cattle to a pasture early in the morning and then we would come back home, dress, catch the bus, and go to school, when we got back from school we would go back to the pasture, herd the cows back home so my mother and grandmother could milk them or whatever

W: Hard to imagine pastures in Birdville right now.

S: At one time, three families, the three families that I am part of owned 1000 acres, they walked from Tennessee and Kentucky because they heard they were giving land away in Tarrant County, in NE Tarrant County, because they were trying to populate the state, and if you could prove that you were a freed slave, if prove that you were married, if you were married and free you would get like 640 acres, if you were single you would get 320 acres

W: So between the 3 families

S: They had about 1000 acres, I guess

D: That's Amazing

W: Absolutely

S: One other interesting thing that, I know I'm rambling, but, just here recently, back in 2009, I think it was in November, they renamed a school in south Birdville, they renamed it after my g-g-grandfather, Major Chaney, it is now Major Chaney at South Birdville, and he was my g-g-grandfather. Even though they weren't educated, they made sure that their kids were educated, he donated property so a school could be built back in the 1890's, on his property, and his friends and in-laws and cousins, they were the trustees, and they insured that the teachers came in there and taught, and the teachers that did come in there were certified. They didn't make that much, only about 35 or 40 dollars a month, but we had a school.

W: I notice that the faculty at IM Terrell was very prestigious. I looked at where they went to school at and it was just amazing. How prestigious they were and how much dedication have been put through lots of yearbooks, it seems like it was an amazing school, and I have yet to come across an alumni that was happy that it closed, they were happy that integration occurred, but they felt the loss of the school so much

S: Absolutely, this was a… when you saw IM Terrell on someone's sweater or jacket or someone told you they were from IM Terrell, it just sent messages all through you, it made you just cringe almost because it was the school of all schools, my father went to IM Terrell High School and graduated in 1941, played on the football team that won the state championship, and he was very proud of that, I played football, his brothers played football, but those teachers that you were talking about, some of them started teaching in 1922 or before that and they were still there when I got there in the 60s, early 60s, they were still there, but the main reason they had to go to other schools and get an education, they weren't allowed to go to the white schools in the area, in Texas. So they had to go to New York and Columbia, Colorado, California, to get their education, a higher education, their masters or whatever, and they did well, and that's why we knew we were taught by the best because they knew what they were talking about. I was at Ranger

W: Ranger, in Ranger, Texas

D: Ranger College and we were taking an English course and one of the teachers asked anybody to diagram a sentence and we could, the black students could, and I don't know if there were any white students that could or not, but we were the only ones that went to the board and diagramed sentences and when the whites looked at us, they were saying "you guys know how to do that?" yeah, we know the difference between a subject and a verb and predicate adjective, a direct object, we knew that, they taught us that, when it came to math we learned the basic fundamentals of math, when it came to English, when it came to reading, when it came to writing, we knew it, and it was passed down, we didn't stop just at school, we got it at church, we got it at home, we got it at school, everywhere we went, our folks, back in the day they wanted to make sure that you were prepared and they prepared you.

W: I began looking at the subject, I read Moody's book *Up From Mississippi*, and she graduated from a small school in Mississippi, an African American school, and it's the stereotype of an African American school in the south, very dilapidated, and I wanted to investigate the schools around here and that's how I got hooked on Terrell and I'm just struck at how Terrell and not just Terrell but Como and Kirkpatrick don't fit that stereotype.

S: No, I think when those schools, when IM Terrell was built for us, I think they were trying to set a standard, I think they wanted to show people that yeah, they may be segregated but it's gonna be the best segregated school there is, and that's the way we looked at it, we had the bathrooms, the indoor showers and what have you, even back when my dad was going to school, everybody looked at and wanted to be like, even elementary school, we started out in a shack but when I was in third grade they were building a brick building that had the modern conveniences of everything, so by the third grade we went in and had water fountains and beautiful desks and not blackboards

but green boards and what have you, they really tried to make us feel like we were equal to not maybe not better than but equal to and that made us feel good, we knew we were still segregated but still we had something we to really show off

W: In 1956, Clifford Davis ran a case against a Mansfield school and the 9 students there, three from IM Terrell HS, I'm not saying they were resistant to attending Mansfield but they certainly didn't seem like they wanted to and so now I'm starting to get an idea that Tarrant County, FWISD was not necessarily….

S: The worst of times?

W: Yeah, the worst of times

S: It wasn't, it wasn't, even when my sisters and brothers and cousins started going to the white schools, they had very little resistance, there weren't many race riots, as you call it, race riots, if you could call it that, they did have a little problem in the classrooms, they did have a little problem in the sports maybe but they got over it quickly, I think once you show people that you can compete on every level you get instant respect, and these folks that went to Birdville and other white schools they could play ball just as good as anybody, they could learn to read just as good as anybody and I think that shows people that we're dealing with learned people here, we're going to show them some respect or who knows what we'll have and after that happened I think things that could have been a lot worse then got a lot better because people were talking, they were talking, they were discussing things, I know teachers from Haltom would come down to my mother's house and my grandmother's house and they would talk and you just didn't see that all over the country and I know you had the race riots in Arkansas and Alabama and you didn't see much of that in Texas, you saw a little bit of uprising, I can remember seeing some uprising in the south but it didn't last for maybe an hour, it was squashed right then, I think that the pictures that were here had a lot to do with it, the parents, teachers, coaches, they had a lot to do with us merging with the other races and getting along and learning how to do this and do that. I never had much of a problem any where I went, when I got into New Mexico I felt right at home because I was taught well. I was taught how to treat folks, you treat them like you want to be treated

W: You think that's the advantage that Terrell had, was that it was the only high school in Tarrant County

S: For a long time it was the only high school and I think they were getting the best and they were teaching them that, I think they set a standard, absolutely, but in 1856 I think, when Como high school started, Kirkpatrick Started, Dunbar started, they became four high schools in Fort Worth, still black, played ball against each other, and they competed against each other, went to Prairie View A&M to do all our competitions

even in band or sports wise and whatever, it was a great experience, a great experience, I don't know if you've seen any of the records that were made in Prairie View in any of the sporting activities that were done down there but there were some athletes…

W: I have the book that Coach Day did… on football, I think it's all football

S: I think it is

Q: For Terrell and Como. It's actually for the Prairie View sporting records

S: The PVL I think it is, I can't think of the name of it, anyway it was the all black conference

W: He did that book not too long ago, probably a decade ago. If I was in a white school with a white coach, I would be wanting to include that. There was some amazing figures

S: Oh man

W: Great games

S: There was a time when we wanted to play those highs schools, to show them that we were just as good as they were, and then when I was a junior, I believe, we had a chance to play against Paschal, the Paschal football team was going to come over to our school and play a little scrimmage game, and right before the game was to be played we got a call from the head coaches that it was off, and we think what happened was that they came over and looked at us, saw how rough we practiced

W: Got scared?

S: I forgot, but I believe that was what happened, before you knew it, the game was called off, another incident just to show you how proud it was to be a Terrellite, or to come from IM Terrell, when I was at Ranger junior college, a freshman, Coach Hughes, who I've known since 1959, he coached in football, he brought his basketball team to Ranger, and the year before that we had won the state championship, beat Prairie View, but he brought his high school squad down to play Ranger Junior College, and we beat them, beat them bad, it was a massacre, and this college team was the makeup of kids from everywhere, New York, New Jersey, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and all that, we had one of the best teams in that district, in that league, and we got beat by a high school team. I only played football but I was right there, I knew what was going to happen

W: So, Como and Kirkpatrick started in the late 50s

S: I would say in 1856 is when they started,

W: You think that's when the writing came on the wall about closing these schools because they are expanding

S: I think they needed more schools besides IM Terrell because there was only one and the population was getting larger and larger and segregation was here to stay, so 56 brought it about, even though, segregation, I mean integration, it originally started in other places there was still segregation here and integration really didn't get started until 1964, but the black high schools like Lake Como, Kirkpatrick, IM Terrell, and Dunbar, I mean they were just like IM Terrell, they got the same kind of teachers, same kind of coaching, what we got at home, they got at home, most of us were kin to each other anyway, I got more kin folks on the north side, south side, Lake Como, Stop Six, than I've got anywhere

W: Why do you think Como and Kirkpatrick and Terrell were closed and not Dunbar?

S: I think Dunbar was

W: It was built in like 64 wasn't it?

S: Dunbar was first built, the high school, it was about 1956 also, but Dunbar it had a community that was really together and they weren't about to let the last black school, of any recognition, to close, we tried to do it at IM Terrell, there was just no way.

W: Is it the region that you're in out there in the city?

W: Yeah, obviously that had a lot to do with it, where Dunbar is right now, where it's always been, Stop Six, they had a following of people that were behind them, and to this day their not going to let Paul Lawrence Dunbar, who it was named after, they weren't going to let it close.

S: I read something just recently, I think Last Sunday, I think it was about Trimble Tech

W: Trimble Tech?

S: That wanted to change their name to IM Terrell, in honor, and this was in the late 70s, I think Trimble Tech had that moniker, OD Wyatt, they talked about changing to IM Terrell, Morningside, talked about changing to IM Terrell, but there was a and I don't know how to say this, don't quote me, but there was a movement to get IM Terrell closed and not only by whites but by blacks who wanted it closed, they thought that if

they closed that black school down and send black to white schools, they would become better, we knew that wasn't the case, and a lot of us didn't want that to happen, we signed petitions, and everything else and there is an elementary school there now

W: I've been over there but I haven't been in the school

S: You need to go in the school, talk to the principal there, it's only from PK to 5th grade, it's only part of the school, half of the school is the elementary school, but take a look around, it's a grandeur, the architecture, the structure, and just to be in that building, you could just see what we were in everyday, we were proud to be a part of that school and a part of that tradition. We played homecoming games at IM Terrell, and I played a bunch of them, Dunbar was our rival and we always played on Thanksgiving Day, you dressed in the best you had and the stadium was always crowded, Dunbar was our rival, and you talking about playing some football, we played some football, one year we'd win, one year they'd win, one year we'd win, it was always…

W: In the Mansfield case, Moody and the 3 boys from Terrell, they made the comment that the only reason they were looking at going to Mansfield was the NAACP that the only reason that Moody, and I can't think of the other kids names, but they were saying that the only reason that they were on the case that they were going to Mansfield HS was that the NAACP was pushing them that way, and that it was outside sources, do you think that it was in the case of Terrell it was a case of outside sources and not a lot of people that were directly involved with the school that looked to close it?

S: As far as closing it, there was a lot of outside agitators if you would say that, out to close IM Terrell, if it had to be the regular folks, the alumni, it never would have closed, why would you want to close the school, so you had that outside interference and you had people that were involved with IM Terrell every day struggling, beating their heads against the wall, trying to keep it open but there was no way

W: I know you probably told me the numbers, but Saturday at your luncheon

S: There was more than 400

W: 400?

S: More than 400 people

W: And I don't think you would ever find that at any school any where

S: You probably wouldn't, and the reason there was so many, IM Terrell, I believe, it got its name in 1821 after Dr. Ishmael Terrell, he was the principal there and then went

on to become the president of Prairie View, but IM Terrell, when I was in 1st grade we knew about IM Terrell, when we were practicing running track in 6th grade we were running over here to IM Terrell just to see how they were running track, playing football, it was the school to be at, as far as Mansfield and that situation, I heard about it, we were told not to ever be caught in Mansfield but we drove through Mansfield, Kennedale, Forest Hill, and those areas, it was always a problem with the pooice and whatever, when we drove through Poly section of Fort Worth where P9oly high school there was always a problem there with whites blocking the buses, there was always some problems there, but we were always taught that when it comes to protecting yourself, protect yourself, don't provoke things, but protect yourselves, I can remember getting on the bus one day with my mother and when you got on the bus in those days you had to sit in the back seazts, that was the way it was I don't know if it was the law but it was the city ordinance, but me and my mother got on the bus and I sat down in the front section, she jerked me up, … I couldn't have been more than 8 or 9, she told me that when we got home I'll tell you all about it, … she said that bus stop I didn't want those hands on you, I didn't want him putting his hands on you because he had a right too, he could have done whatever he wanted if you had of sat on that front row, oh, okay, it was the same way when you went out of town… well we thought the white fountains had the coldest water, so we drank out of the white as much as we could, but um, even the worst of times we thought we had were the best of times for us because we didn't lose much, my folks weren't the richest folks in town but they do have … everything they had to do, they knew how to … animals, we always had food to eat, they knew how to farm, can, all of that, they were always sin church and always had us in church, always learning and teaching, always, sometimes you got tired, you really got tired of it, I got so tired of getting up herding cows in the morning that I had to play sports, I had to get in the band, … away from all that, but I'm glad I did that because it made you a better person and now on that same land we grew up on we are teaching … my young brothers and my nephews, and nieces, and we're teaching them how to plant, how to can, how to get along with folks,

W: we're teaching them how to be better people, how to stay in school, now it's not working with some of them, but most of them, you get the picture

S: It started at IM Terrell, my brothers, they were younger than I was but they used to watch me play football at IM Terrell and that was their dream to be an athelete at IM Terrell, to be a student at IM Terrell, they never got that chance, and they were mad when they had to go to a larger school and they stayed mad for a little while, but they got over it

W: And, … he's your uncle?

S: He's my uncle

W: Same age, I'm 9 days older

S: And you tell him that?

W: He always wanted me to call him uncle and

S: He seems to have a passion for Terrell and writes about it a lot and sometime's he's the only voice out there

S: I wish there were more, absolutely

W: Is there a movement to make the school, at least part of the school, a museum

S: When you go in the school, we still have a trophy case, and we lost a lot of the trophies, a lot of the trophies, the teachers, the students … and a lot of the trophies were thrown under Farrington Field, a lot of the band clothes and the instruments, they were thrown away, my class, the class of '65, we took it upon ourselves to go and find everything we could about Terrell in regards to the instruments and the trophies and things, we found most of the trophies and most of them were under Farrington Field in the mud, broken, we were heartbroken, but we put them in our trucks, in our station wagon, and took them to our garages and we cleaned them up and … they redid them, so now when go to IM Terrell and see some of the old trophies they have little antiquing there where you can see annuals and … back in the 30s, go there, they'll give you a tour, the principal will give you a tour, … there were three floors to that school, two gymnasiums, we had our own tennis courts, the only thing we didn't have in sports was golf, that was the only thing we didn't have and that was about it, but we thought we could defeat anybody

W: Bet you could, well great, this gives me a lot to go on

S: Well I hope I didn't go to fast but when you start talking about something… you don't want to miss… I'm so glad, I talk to him about it all the time, open up my books and show him when I was 13, 14, because my folks they had some big shoes to fill and I knew I had to try to fill them,and when you get to Terrell if you don't study, you're not gonna make it, anywhere, you're not gonna make it

W: Was there a drop out rate at Terrell?

S: Not very much, they brought you along

S: They could count on two hands the drop out rate in 7th grade until the time I finished, most of the folks …

W: Is it, does it disappoint you today, well I'm sure it does, the African Americans in our school district are struggling and so far behind

S: Yes

W: Outside of Fort Worth I would not attribute that to not having that segregated school, but here, from what I've seen of Terrell and Como and Kirkpatrick, I think closing those was part of the problem

S: Part of the problem, absolutely… when you stop teaching … a lot of these kids are not learning and I blame the kid also, but it starts at home, these folks are not getting the right training at home, these folks have got parents that don't care, and then when they do come to school to check on a situation they're taking the side of the student and most of the time it's not that way, you know, they need to look at what needs to be done, if that kid, that teacher says that kid says… what he does, I'll tell you most of the time that teacher is right, years ago it probably wasn't that way, but now, I would take the side of the teacher, I really would, these children don't want to learn… I interact with a lot of the kids … I go up and down halls just like I came in here today, I was noticing students and I was noticing class and classes, they look like they get along pretty well, but today's … and Southwest has had some problems but it seems like it's getting better here but the schools where you see blacks, Hispanics, dropping out and not learning, … it's logical, mostly at home, my mother was so bent on us learning that we had to show her our lesson before we took it to school the next day and she was right there with us, she didn't know it, my dad, schoolteachers in our family, we were taught well

W: I think back in segregation, you had to work to overcome, and nothing to overcome today

S: Nothing to overcome, seems like the older children it's not that way, you know you need to try to get as much as you can while you can because the world is going by pretty fast and if you're just on it just to be for the ride, you're not gonna get anything out of it, you're gonna be left holding the bags

S: My fellow, my grandson, I ask him everytime, I picked him up today and everytime I pick him up I ask him, did you learn, and today he told me he didn't learn, well why, well because I already knew it

W: That's a good answer

S: Now he thinks he's smart, I'm trying to help him and his mother get him into a private school because he is pretty sharp, now I don't want to say this today… but he's sharp in every subject he takes, but he needs to be challenged for better learning, he's

only what, 4th grade and I told him when he becomes a 6th grader we're going to try to have him in a private school … what's going on

W: Yeah, I have a 14 year old that we home school,

S: You're doing your best

W: Yeah we live on a farm too so he knows how to can, in fact I forgot to tell him this morning that I needed him on the tractor before

S: We had tractors and all that too, we're getting ready to plant, we've already ditched the fields, we're getting ready to plant

W: Yeah, I don't know if we're gonna make it in time

S: Even if we plant later and the crops don't make it, we don't do it to make money, we do it for tradition, the history and all that, yeah we're gonna plant the gardens, we've got a wet winter, the ground's good, we should have a pretty good crop this year

W: Hope we do too

S: Absolutely

W: Well I appreciate the time and do you have an email that I can follow up? Let me write that down, and I'm gonna take you up on that, I'm gonna go to Terrell on Thursday and look around, I have an interview with Christopher Davis on Thursday downtown

S: I wish you could talk to my brother,

W: I've emailed him, last year when I first started this, and I have quite a bit from him and I have some follow up I need to send him, and then I talked to Ms. Walker several times

S: She's over the black genealogical society here in Fort Worth

W: Right, I went up there on Sunday and got a lot of stuff that none of the other archives had but it was really nice

S: … I knew her parents and knew her folks and then that's the way it was too, there was a closeness, in the segregated society, say I was somebody that knew … doing something that I wasn't supposed to do, I got it from them, and then I got it when I got home, and people can't do that today, I really wish they could, but there's no way, they

can't do it, I was chastised all over … town, shot a hooky from school, and I knew folks, fishing buddies, and that was the only time I it was a ½ a day, … downtown… IM Terrell was so close to downtown you could walk downtown and that's what we did one day, snuck off from school and went to the pool bar, I could even shoot pool, and as soon as I got down there, one of my mother's friends saw me, hey boy what are you doing out of school, … the hairdresser now I'm going back to school, I'm telling your mama, before I ever get home

W: My brothers and I were always in trouble because of that, we lived in a real small town in Colorado in the mountains and we couldn't do anything without getting in trouble

S: What part of Colorado?

W: I lived everywhere but… I lived in Cripple Creek

S: Never heard of Cripple Creek

W: It's on the western side of Pikes Peak from Colorado Springs, but I was born in Denver, lived in Greeley, and I graduated HS in Breckenridge

S: I know all about those places, the school I went to in New Mexico, Eastern New Mexico, we used to play Greeley every other year and one night we played up there and it was snowing cold and muddy but I'll never forget it, we beat them, we weren't supposed to beat them, but around 87 a touchdown that night, unbelievable, but my dad, I'll tell you this and then I'll leave, my dad worked for the company that I work for for 47 years and his dad worked for … when he retired he never had been out of tExas, he always wanted to go to Yellowstone, so we drop right through
Colorado to get to Yellowstone, he said can we stop and see Pikes Peak, so we drove up Pikes Peak, through Royal Gorge, Colorado … Greyhound… we had one of the … driving through Texas to Yellowstone and that … through Salt Lake City, Utah, we had a ball, and he never forgot that until his dying day, he never forgot that, … don't drive..

W: Thinking about moving back, but I can't get my wife, she was born and bred in Texas

S: Is she? You know … Colorado?

W: So, you said you work for TXI?

S: Texas Industries, we are cement manufacturers

W: Now do you work there or do you work somewhere else?

S: I have worked down there but this is my 38th year and I'm gonna be retiring in May but they got their start, they were, it was called Fort Worth Sand and Gravel when they first started and they got their start from my g-g-grandparents property mining sand and gravel back in 1921 I think, so that's where it started and we've been a part of that ever since it started, the company

W: Today, are they Japanese? Or is that Chaparral?

S: Chaparral, we used to own Chaparral,

W: I have lots of relatives that work at Chaparral, none at TXI, some of my good friends work at TXI, but … downwind of them but never complained but all the outsiders complained

S: Absolutely, I have been to a lot of meetings that have devoted to this

W: Well I so appreciate this

S: I hope I was some help to you, I hope I didn't talk too fast

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Oral Interviews

The following interviews were conducted by Samuel Wilson and are transcribed in the Appendix of this document.

Bogar, Morris B, March 15, 2009. Fort Worth Texas.
Davis, L. Clifford, March 12, 2010. Fort Worth Texas.
Richardson, Bettye, March 6, 2009. Fort Worth Texas.
Sanders, Andrew, March 5, 2010. Fort Worth Texas.
Sanders, Bob Ray, March 4, 2009. Fort Worth Texas.

Archival Documents

U. Simpson Tate Papers. Records from the Library Of Congress.

Noel Thomas Church Papers. Mansfield Historical Society, Mansfield Texas.

Eck G. Prud'homme, Jr. M.D. Papers of the Texas ACLU. Special Collections, 6th Floor. The University of Texas At Arlington.

Southern Regional Council. Lawlessness and Disorder: Survey of Integration, 1967. (A survey by the NAACP and ACLU). Atlanta: 1967. The University of Texas at Arlington, Special Collections.

Fort Worth Independent School District and Charles Lee Evans, *Mexican American Education Study*. Fort Worth Independent School District (Fort Worth: Department of Research and Evaluation, 1974). Billy Sills Archive, Fort Worth Texas.

Published Autobiographies

Moody, Anne. *Coming of Age In Mississippi*. New York: Bantam Dell, 1968.

Newspapers

Autrey, Jennifer. "Blacks Fill in Historical Gap in Mansfield." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* June 17, 1996.

Ayala, Eva-Marie. "A Time of Hate." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 30, 2000.

Ayala, Eva-Marie. "Remembering Integration." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 1, 2006.

Camuto, Robert V. "2 Sides to 1 School." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 10, 1990.

Camuto, Robert V. "Fort Worth Schools Fail ABCs of Teaching Minorities." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram.* September 3, 1989.

Camuto, Robert. V. "Schools not teaching blacks, educators told." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram.* April 23, 1990.

Celis, Bill. "Terrell was A Family." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 22, 1982.

"Circuit Court Gets Appeal Of Mansfield Negro Students." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* June 9, 1956.

"City School Suit Starts Saturday." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* July 23, 1970.

Coleman, James. "Busing and White Flight." *The Nation*, July 5, 1975.

Clark, Kenneth B. "Prejudice and Your Child." *Boston Beacon Press,* 1955.

"Decade-Long NAACP Suit Against FW Schools is Appealed." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 31, 1970.

Fort Worth ISD Scrapbook. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* clippings, Billy Sills Archive, September 24, 1967.

Havard, Bronson. "Integration: A look at FW Schools." *Fort Worth Press,* May 15, 1969.

Havard, Bronson. "Racial Bias in Schools Charged." *Fort Worth Press,* April 30, 1969.

Irwin, Frank. "'Keeping Peace' Sole Aim Of Mansfield Constable" *Mansfield News, August 1956.*

"Indignation High In Mansfield." *Mansfield News,* August 30, 1956.

Madigan, Tim. "Separate but Equal." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* October 7, 2002.

"Mansfield Asks Stay Of Order." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 1956.

"Mansfield Desegregation Studied." *Mansfield News*, August 29, 1956.

"Mansfield Gets Rebuke In Integration Handling." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 9, 1959.

"Mansfield May Appeal Federal Court Decree." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 27, 1956.

McConal, Jon. "To Them, Terrell High is a Close Friend." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* n.d.

Miller, Kathi. "Halls to Echo With Memories." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* 1973.

Miller, Kathi. "Judge Refuses to Reorient Desegregation." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* Sept 2, 1970.

Morehead, Richard. "Segregation Ban May Affect 6 School Districts in Texas." *The Dallas Morning News,* February 7, 1954.

Mort, John. "Mansfield Mob Routs Minister." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 4, 1956.

Mort, John. "No Negroes Appear; Second Effigy Found." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 20, 1956.

Mort, John. "TV New Camera is Smashed During Melee." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 31, 1956.

"NAACP Files Suit." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* October 1, 1959.

"Negroes Requested Schools." *Fort Worth Press,* December 3, 1964.

"Next NAACP Moves At Mansfield Watched." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 1956.

"Officials Without Citation." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* October 8, 1956.

Ponce, Linda. "Blacks Split Over New Integration Plan." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* April 4, 1983.

Ponce, Linda. "Como Residents Rebel Against Proposal." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* March 1, 1983.

Ponce, Linda. "Fort Worth Schools Changing Their Focus." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 5, 1982.

Ponce, Linda. "Fort Worth Schools to Open Doors to Eight Minority Schools." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 25, 1983.

Ponce, Linda. "FW Group to Suggest Busing Cut." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, November 10, 1982.

Ponce, Linda. "Integration Plan Revised By School." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* April 21, 1983.

Ponce, Linda. "Magnet Schools Gets High Marks." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* May 30, 1982.

Ponce, Linda. "Parents Protest Proposal." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* March 9, 1983.

Ponce, Linda. "School Rumors Rile North Side." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram, November* 18, 1982.

"Problems of Desegregation." *New York Herald Tribune,* September 3, 1956.

Price, Rem. "Mansfield Case Is 'Hush-Hush' In Washington." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* September 14, 1956.

"Rights Commission Report on Mansfield Case Blasted." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* n.d.

Sanders, Bob Ray. "Decades After A Racist Act, Aging Man Offers Apology." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* October 28, 2001.

Sanders, Bob Ray. "Terrell History Proud." *Fort Worth Star Telegram,* 1976.

"The Halting And Fitful Battle For Integration." *Life Magazine,* September 17, 1956.

"The South: Behind the Glaring Headlines." *Newsweek,* September 10, 1956.

"The South: Fury & Progress." *Time Magazine*, September 17, 1956.

Taylor, Shelia. "Jim Crow Revisited." *The Texas Observer,* June 9, 1978.

Teague, Raymond. "Board OKs First Step in Integration Change." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* February 27, 1975.

Thompson, Connie. "Kirkpatrick is Given Reprieve," *Fort Worth The Press,* August 28, 1969.

Vachule, Jim. "Negro Pupils Lag in FW Schools." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* July 2, 1967.

Williams, Don. "Town That's Tired of Making News." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* August 17, 1956.

Supreme Court Cases

Boson v. Rippy, 285 F.2d. 43
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 349 U.S. 294
Clemons v. Board of Education of Hillsboro Ohio, 228 F.2d 853.
Flax v. Potts, 204 F. Supp 458
Flax v. Potts, 218 F. Supp 254
Flax v. Potts, 333 F. Supp 711
Flax v. Potts, 450 F.2d 1118
Flax v. Potts, 464 F.2d 865
Flax v. Potts, 567 F. Supp 859
Flax v. Potts, 680 F. Supp 820
Flax v. Potts, 864 F. 2d 1157
Flax v. Potts , 725 F. Supp 322
Flax v. Potts, 915 F.2d 155
Jackson v. Rawdon, 235 F.2d 93
Jackson v. Rawdon, 135 F. Supp 936
Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537
Potts v. Flax, 313 F.2d 284
Potts v. Flax, 409 U.S. 1007
Rawdon v. Jackson, 352 U.S. 925
Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1
United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education. 380 F.2d 385
Willis v. Walker, DC, 136, F. Supp. 181

Secondary Sources

Books, Articles and Essays.

Adair, A. Desegregation: The Illusion of Black Progress. Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1984.

Cannon, Tina Nicole. "Cowtown and the Color Line: Desegregating Fort Worth's Public Schools." Ph.D Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 2009.

Crain, Robert L. and Mahard, Rita E. "School Racial Composition and Black College Attendance and Achievement Test Performance." *Sociology of Education* 51. No. 2 (April 1978): 81-101.

Crain, Robert L. "School Integration and the Academic Achievement of Negroes." *Sociology of Education* 44 (Winter 1971): 1-26.

Day, Walter E. *State Championship Football For Blacks in Texas: 1940-1969.* 2 Vols. Fort Worth: Walter E. Day. 1994.

Fairclough, Adam. Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Fordham, Sigithia. "Racelessness as a Factor in Black Student's School Success: Pragmatic Strategy or Pyrrhic Victory?" *Harvard Educational Review* 58 no. 1 (1988): 54-58.

Henry, Kaylois. "Invisible Mansfield." *The Dallas Observer.* May 22, 1997.
Kruse, Kevin M. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Ladino, Robyn Duff. *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crises of Mansfield High.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Linden, Glenn M. *Desegregating Schools in Dallas: Four Decades in the Federal Courts.* Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1995.

Mansfield Historical Society. *The History of Mansfield, Texas, Mid 1800-1965*. Curtis Media, Inc. 1996.

Martinez, Peter. "Educating the "Other" White Child: Mexican American Struggles In the FWISD." Master Thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington. April 16, 2009.

McCorkle, Gerald Steward. "Desegregation and Busing in the Dallas Independent School District." Ph.D Dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington, 2006.

Mickelson, Rosyln Arlin. "The Effects of Segregation on African American High School Senior's Academic Achievement." *Journal of Negro Education* 68. no. 4 (Fall 1999):1513-1562.

Miller, Victor. R. "The Emergent Patterns of Integration." *Educational Leadership* 36. no. 5 (Feb 1979): 308-212.

Morgan, Harry. Historical Perspectives on the Education of Black Children. Westport Connecticut: Praeger, 1995.

Pitre, Abul. Educating African American Students: Foundations, Curriculum, and Experiences." Lanham, Md: and Littlefield Education, 2009.

Philipsen, Maike. Values-Spoken and Values-Lived: Race and the Cultural Consequences of a School Closing. Hampton Press: 1999.

Prewitt, Hugh D. *The Influence of Racial Integration in the Elementary Schools of Lufkin Texas.* College Station: Texas A&M University, 1971.

Ramsey, Sonya. Reading, Writing and Segregation: A Century of Black Women Teachers in Nashville. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Ramsey, Sonya. "We Will Be Ready Whenever They Are: African American Teachers' Responses to the Brown Decision and Public School Integration." *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. ½ (Winter 2005): 29-51.

Schofield, Janet, AND Hausmann, Leslie. "The Conundrum of School Desegregation: Positive Student Outcomes and Waning Support." *University of Pittsburgh Law Review* [Online], Volume 66 Number 1 (23 September 2011)

St. John, Nancy H. "Desegregation of Minority Group Performance." *Review of Educational Research* 40, no. 1 (Feb 1970): 111-133.

St. John, Nancy H. "Desegregation: Voluntary or Mandatory?" *Equity & Excellence in Education* 10, no. 1 (January-February, 1972): 7-16.

Stegall, Susan A. "The Development of Semi urban Schools: A Response to Resegregation." PhD Dissertation, Capella University, 2008.

Strayer, George. *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Fort Worth Texas.* New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, 1931.

Tyson, Karolyn. Integration Interrupted: Tracking, Black Students, and Acting White After Brown. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011.

Walker, Vanessa Siddle. "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South." *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 253-285.

Walker, Vanessa Siddle. *Their Highest Potential: An American School Community in the Segregated South.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Wolters, Raymond. *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984.

Wright, George C., Dulaney, W. Marvin, Dittmer, John. Essays on the American Civil Rights Movement. College Station, Texas: The University of Texas at Arlington, by Texas A&M University Press, 1993.

Online Reference Work.

Handbook of Texas Online.
http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/tt/fte56.html.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Samuel Wilson, a United States Navy Veteran and public school teacher in the Fort Worth Independent School District, received his Bachelors degree in History from The University of Texas at Arlington in 2002. While working at Southwest High School for FWISD since 2002, Samuel has worked on completing his Masters in History from UTA and plans to continue his work in the field of History and Film in a PhD program. Samuel has been married since 1991 to Clarissa Wilson and has three children, Brequita, Signa and Charles.