

Reidsville, North Carolina -
a struggle for progress
by Rochelle Tucker.

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REIDSVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA - A STRUGGLE FOR PROGRESS

A revolution has taken place in Reidsville, North Carolina-- a revolution so profound that the black citizens have almost been blinded by its impact. During this revolution of the sixties, there was resistance to change. The change began after the Supreme Court decision of 1954, in which the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional.¹ The pickets, sit-ins, and activities of the larger cities-- Greensboro and Charlotte, in particular--set the pattern; for all the smaller cities had to do was get out and make an effort to benefit from what the others were doing.²

The Reidsville Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was the most dominant, active group in Rockingham County.³ There was no action from the Eden and Madison branches.⁴ The Reidsville branch was organized on October 15, 1947.⁵ It was chartered on November 10, 1947 at the Saint Paul Methodist Church, by Dr. Mary Rodger Young, a professor of education at North Carolina University of Durham.⁶ Mr. James Arthur Griggs was elected president in 1958 and served faithfully for 14 years--until October 1972.⁷ When Mr. Griggs took over as president, there was complete segregation in every aspect of the word. There has been no servant in Rockingham County who has worked and sacrificed more of his time unselfishly for the advancement of black people and all people through racial tolerance and understanding by all legal and lawful means to achieve racial relations and peace in the community.⁸

Mr. Willie R. Boyd, succeeding Mr. Griggs as 3rd president of the Reidsville branch of the NAACP in 1972, was also influential in the Reidsville struggle.⁹

Although, Mr. Boyd was not as active in the struggle as he is presently, he was an articulate spokesman in his own right and provided many missing facts for this eventful story.

Another active black leader who provided strong leadership in the struggle for equality is Mrs. K.W. Jones. She pledged parental support in keeping high school students in school and in trying to prevent further disruption which took place in the early 1970's.¹⁰

The Good Neighbor Council provided effective input during this period of unrest in the county by blacks.¹¹ This council was formed in order to sit down at the bargaining table, set goals and aims for striving blacks, and attempt to get political benefits so much deserved by blacks.¹² J.A. Griggs told the members of the Reidsville City Council that the formation of a local Good Neighbor Council was essential if the city was to continue to make progress in the area of race relations.¹³ The Council members expressed feelings that the Good Neighbor Council should be composed of a cross section of the Community; the group should not be too large; and, that membership should be kept to approximately twelve persons.¹⁴ After the proper motions, the Reidsville City Council voted to established a list of recommendations--the ten-point program--to be acted upon by the newly formed council:¹⁶

- 1) Establishment of a racial equality policy on the sale and rental of homes in the city.
- 2) Desegregation of all facilities of businesses not covered by the Civil Rights Law.
- 3) The building of low-cost housing for low income families in large areas where there are presently substandard homes and sell or rent them on a non-segregated basis.
- 4) Establishment of more and better recreational facilities in the county.
- 5) Establishment of a wider circulation of job training programs for low income families and the creation of other needed programs in the county and especially in the black community.

- 6) Establishment of all the schools in the county on a non-segregated basis.
- 7) Establishment of equal employment in banks and other businesses of similar nature, the county courthouse, and city halls in the county.
- 8) Establishment of better jobs in all businesses and industries.
- 9) Establishment of a committee on the Human Relations Council to hear cases with racial overtones and to hear cases of alleged police brutality--whether racial or non-racial.
- 10) Eliminating the necessity for extremist groups through meetings, correspondence, leaflets, and other means of understanding and responding to their problems.¹⁷

The Citizens' Organization was yet another force appearing in the sixties. This political organization, led by Dr. I.K. Perkins, was, and still is concerned with political education.¹⁸ Teaching people how to vote, teaching people the value of the vote, and encouraging the effectiveness of the vote, was the primary function of this group.¹⁹

The church was the focal point when the civil rights activism was initiated.²⁰ All of the neighborhood churches supported financially; they also voluntarily opened their doors for many meetings which were to take place in the 1960's, and even in the early 70's.²¹ Once the struggle moved into the schools, and the churches realized that students were actually going through with their fight for justice at school, they offered their support in every possible way.²² Encouragement to the students was also maintained by way of the ministers. The Ministerial Fellowship--the association of ministers in Reidsville--encouraged the young people to stick with the struggle and to see what they as a group could accomplish.²³ Providing food as well as financial aid to students involved in the unrest in the schools, were necessities of the churches and the Ministerial Fellowship.²⁴

In the middle of a hot summer, a group robed in white, created a mild disturbance and caused some concern among the citizens of Reidsville. Because of the connotation of the group, known as the Ku Klux Klan, the black citizens

were particularly curious when the Klan held a rally on July 8, 1966, approximately two miles south of Reidsville.²⁵ Law enforcement officers estimated that in excess of five hundred attended the rally, which was held on a dusty field hundred feet off the highway.²⁶ The State Highway Patrol and the Sheriff's Department posted cars several hundred feet north and south of the entrance on the highway. Signs and banners were also erected along the route.²⁷

That particular night was not the last occasion that the citizens of Reidsville beheld the sight of the Ku Klux Klan. A group estimated at 20 (twenty) to 30 (thirty) unmasked and unrobed Klansmen marched silently through downtown Reidsville the following Friday night, July 10, about 8:45p.m.²⁸ Within minutes the streets were filled with people in cars, overcome with curiosity. This march is believed to be the first such activity ever held in the downtown portion of the city.²⁹ The Reidsville Police Department was informed of the march in advance, although city ordinance required no parade permit.³⁰ Unconfirmed reports stated that persons associated with the Klan had been circulating throughout the city during the two weeks prior to the rally attempting to solicit new membership.³¹

Despite the fact that these rallies and marches may have created unrest and tension in the minds of the blacks in the Reidsville area, blacks created some unrest of their own. This unrest was stimulated by the sit-ins and picketing organized by the local NAACP.³² No jailing due to violent protests by the citizens resulted from this activism--the larger cities had already fought that battle. Sit-ins and picketing occurred at Roses, H.L. Green, and other five-and-dime stores, and the Guilford Dairy Bar, which proved to be the most effective sit-in.³³

The initial plans for the sit-ins evolved in June of 1968, at the young people's choir rehearsal being held at the Wesley Chapel United Methodist Church.³⁴ Some of the young people inquired why they could not have a sit-in like the one taking place in Greensboro and Charlotte. Upon hearing this question, they decided to go to the Guildord Dairy Bar, get themselves something to eat, or stay there until.... Thus, after choir rehearsal, the young people reassembled at the Guilford Dairy Bar, sat down inside, and waited to be served. Finally, an authority told them that they would not be served. Since it had already been decreed that blacks should be served in all public places, the group left feeling the need of the local NAACP's forces.³⁵ The NAACP became involved and organized the strategy for the next sit-in at the Dairy Bar. Signs were made, displaying the emotions and feelings of the group. Various persons who felt their tempers could be controlled were assigned to walk in front of the Dairy Bar and not talk to anyone. The demonstration was set for Saturday, June 23, 1968.³⁶ Saturday was chosen because the group felt more attention would be attracted and more people would see them on week-end. No parents or adults were involved in the actual demonstration--only young people were the active participants. Despite the fact that some teen-agers were under age, they had parental consent to participate. Since the Reidsville Bus Terminal was directly across the street from the Dairy Bar, the picketers walked back and forth between the two buildings.³⁷ People passing by would occasionally yell derogatory words. The protest did indeed attract much attention; fortunately, no really violent acts occurred.

One incident involving some white boys had to be suppressed by the chief of police.³⁸ Despite the fact that police officers were on the scene, they took no steps to prevent the boys from annoying and intimidating the demonstrators. The Chief of Police, Ray Roberts, appeared about the time the boys began throwing things. He ejected the boys from the area and the protest proceeded peacefully.³⁹ The owners and managers of the Dairy Bar had decided by that time to begin serving the young people in order to keep down any further disturbances. To test the future serving of blacks by the Dairy Bar and other establishments, the NAACP assigned various adults to visit the places and see if they would be served. All, with the exception of one restaurant, provided them with full service.⁴⁰

In the job market in Reidsville, suits were brought against companies that eventually led to better job opportunities for not only employees in those particular companies, but others as well. The American Tobacco Company, one of the largest cigarette manufacturers in North Carolina, was sued in 1967.⁴¹ The Company was charged by the Operation Bread-Basket group of Durham, with using discriminatory practices in hiring black employees in clerical and Sales positions. The American Tobacco Company spokesman strongly rejected the charge:

American Tobacco Company has for many years practiced equal employment opportunities at its Reidsville operations and throughout the entire company. The Reidsville factory has 2,149 full-time employees and of this number, 552 or 25.7% are black. Since 1963, American Tobacco Company hired 215 new employees at Reidsville; 64.2% are black. Blacks are employed as supervisors and as clerks in the administration.⁴²

One of the most significant events in recent history was the litigation and subsequent decision rendered in the Griggs vs. Duke Power case, which

practice operates to exclude blacks, and the practice cannot be shown to be resulted in the establishment of not only local, but nationwide criteria in the placement of new employees and the promotion of existing employees.⁴³

Thirteen black employees of Duke Power Company at the Draper plant, filed suit in the United States District Court on September 30, 1968, against the company charging that it engaged in discriminatory employment practices.⁴⁴ Willie S. Griggs and twelve other employees sought injunction to prevent the company from continuing practices they contended were discriminatory. All of the blacks who worked in the labor department felt discriminated against due to separate accommodations for blacks and whites (washrooms, showers, and locker rooms were segregated).⁴⁵ The black employees were limited to low-paying, menial jobs, and were paid lower wages than white employees performing the same or similar tasks; they also contended that Duke Power Company refused to pay black overtime rates on the same basis that white employees were paid.⁴⁶

When the Company decided to set a new system for promotions, all of the black employees were working as janitors and wanted to get better paying jobs. The next step up the ladder for them was the position of Operator; since most of the blacks did not have high school diplomas, the only way they could be promoted was to pass a required test, which they felt discriminatory.⁴⁷

The case was appealed to the United States Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, and argued on April 10, 1969. Because of the decision, the case was further appealed to the United States Supreme Court, argued on December 14, 1970, and decided on March 8, 1971. The court decided that if an employment

practice operates to exclude blacks, and the practice cannot be shown to be related to job performance, then that practice is prohibited.⁴⁸ Thus, for the first time in the history of the United States, the administrations of corporations--large and small--were asked to reassess their own hiring practices and promotional policies. The companies were told, in effect, that they could no longer hire or refuse to hire anyone without sound reasons.⁴⁹ Consequently, blacks are able to advance to jobs that were denied them before the suits were filed.

In the area of education, the Reidsville branch of the NAACP once again played a dominant role. In 1962, the local branch filed a petition with the Reidsville Board of Education on behalf of seven black children, under the Pearsall Plan, which allowed black children the privilege of being assigned from an all black school to an all white school.⁵⁰ The Reidsville School Board did not even consider an application for reassignment to white schools until this suit was filed against them in December of 1962.⁵¹

The petition was refused on December 20, 1962, and a suit was filed in the United States District Court in Greensboro, North Carolina. As a result of the court's decision, the first black children in Reidsville were admitted to the white schools in January, 1963: Earl Ray, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Pass, to North End Grade School, and Herbert Ziglar, Jr., the son of Mr. and Mrs Herbert Ziglar, Sr., to South End Grade School.⁵²

The entire school system was affected when schools were forced to integrate as a result of the agreement filed Friday, December 16, 1966, in the United States Middle District Court in Greensboro.⁵³ The Reidsville City Schools were integrated

for the 1967-1968 school year and thereafter--teachers and students included.⁵⁴

The agreement was between the Reidsville Board of Education and a group of blacks who started the suit in November, 1962; it was signed by Judge Edwin M. Stanley and endorsed by the attorney for both sides.⁵⁵ In the orders resulting from the decision, it was stated that the Board of Education shall have its registration period for all students in April of the next year. At that time, each student or his parent or guardian must choose which school the student would attend during the 1967-1968 school year. Thereafter, the student must stay in that school from grade to grade, with one exception: within certain grade levels, a student will have the opportunity to request reassignment to another Reidsville School, provided the request is made within fifteen days of the receipt of the notice of assignment from one grade to another.⁵⁶ Any child entering the school system for the first time beyond the first grade, must make a choice of schools and stay in that school. If some schools became overcrowded, the school board held the power to change the pupil assignments on a non-discriminatory basis.⁵⁷ The desegregation plan covered a number of other aspects:

- 1) All school connected services, facilities, athletics, activities, and programs should be open on a desegregated basis.
- 2) A student attending a school for the first time due to desegregation, would not be subject to any disqualification or waiting period for participation in activities and programs including athletics, which might otherwise apply to transfer students.
- 3) All transportation furnished by the school system would be operated on a desegregated basis.
- 4) Faculties would be desegregated and no staff member lose a position because of race, color, or national origin.⁵⁸

Thus, all schools in the city and the county systems were completely integrated by 1968.

When the schools integrated on a voluntary basis, there were certain very active black students at Reidsville Senior High School. They were members of the football team, were junior class marshals, and were anticipating being members of the cheerleading squad. But, when Booker T. Washington High School, the all black school, and Reidsville Senior High, the predominantly white school, merged in order to achieve equitable and acceptable balance, the number of black participants declined; the positions were given to the white students. Many blacks who thought they would have certain positions and responsibilities due to their scholarship and outstanding ability in particular areas, never had that opportunity. In 1970, assuring black representation in activities was mentioned, but nothing done.⁵⁹ In 1971, when the selection of cheerleaders was made according to black and white student ratio, Reidsville Senior High School was a bedlam when about 60 (sixty) or 70 (seventy) black students were suspended Monday, April 26.⁶⁰ Monday's problems began early, as the black students gathered in the halls of the school refusing to attend their first period classes. The students were ordered from the school grounds after failing to comply with direct requests from Mr. Harry K. Griggs, the black principal of the school, to return to their proper classes or face suspension.⁶¹ The Rockingham County Sheriff's Department, the State Highway Patrol Department, the Reidsville Police Department, the Eden Police Department, the ABC Board, and two State Bureau of Investigation Officers were called to the school. After being ordered from the school grounds, the students

the students milled about just off of school property until officers escorted them further away from the school, where they began to disperse. Local firemen were called to extinguish some burning piles of straw in the street leading into the school. The small fire caused no damage, although, the flames and crowds of milling students blocked traffic for a short time.⁶² No arrests were made; however, officers warned the students several times that arrests would be made unless the students left the area. At noon, conditions in the school were back to normal.

To follow up the walk out, a letter was drawn up by students calling themselves Students for Improved Student Government (SISG), led by outstanding student leaders such as Dianna Harrison, Tom Parker, and Pamela Williamson.⁶³ The letter's proposal on the selection procedure was rejected by school officials, who pointed out the fact that a biracial committee had chosen

The contents of the letter were as follows:

We recognize that our school is being threatened by certain policies concerning the election procedures, due to the fact that the rights of the minority students have not been totally recognized or accepted in all facets of school life. This point is evident in the tense racial atmosphere which arises during certain activities. Specific activities in question are the selection procedures concerning the cheerleaders, student government, class officers, and homecoming. However, the main point of concern at this time is the selection procedures for the Reidsville Senior High School cheering squad. The following is one suggested plan:

- 1) The cheering squad will consist of eleven girls from the RSHS student body.
- 2) The eleven students will be selected solely on the basis of merit by a 10-member selection board.
- 3) The selection board will consist of five (5) blacks and five (5) whites. These members will preferably be experienced cheerleaders from surrounding colleges.

This cheerleading squad selection method will continue until the end of the 1972-1973 school year.

Another question of serious concern to the black population of RSHS is the fate of those students who were reprimanded for alleged infraction of discipline during the emotional flare-up, Monday. It is our opinion that all of the students were victims of tension and emotion which were running high. Moreover, in confusion, it would have been possible for many innocent students to be punished along with the guilty, if any. Therefore, we feel that all students involved in the Monday incident should be granted complete amnesty on the basis of lack of clear evidence. Handling future situations of this nature should be the duty of a properly organized Human Relations Council or a special Student Government. It is only fair that the students be suspended or expelled as a last resort after thorough investigation. It would be preferable that students accused of infractions of school policy be judged by a committee of their peers. The process of integration should be considered a merger of two groups, instead of the absorption of one group by another. It is the responsibility of all students to do their part in making the smooth operation of RSHS a total success.⁶⁴

The letter's proposal on the selection procedure was rejected by school officials, who pointed out the fact that a biracial committee had chosen cheerleaders the previous year on a strictly merit basis. The method was met with dissatisfaction by black students. The dispute was settled when another black girl was added to the squad.⁶⁵

Because the tension was still high as a result of the Monday walk out, the suspended students assembled to the home of Mrs. K.W. Jones, a strong leader in the Civil Rights struggle. There, they were housed for the rest of the day in the Jones basement; they were provided food, recreation, and protection until the next plan of action was organized. Mr. Griggs had announced to the students that the only way that they could be reinstated was to return to school with their parents. The parents decided to meet together, at which time they drew up a letter to a school board member indicating their intention of returning to the school on Tuesday with the students. This letter requested

certain safeguards to be made available at the school, along with the assured presence of that particular board member.⁶⁶

The parents decided to dramatize the situation on the morning that the students were to be reinstated in school, in the following manner: At 7:30 A.M., they would gather at Saint Paul United Methodist Church. The parents would accompany their children. If parents were unable to be there, they were to write a note; a proxy parent would be provided for those children. The group tied up traffic with about 50 or 60 cars (no car had fewer than 6 persons). Some students had both parents present. Headlights of cars were turned on and a procession began on Scales Street--the main artery for people getting to work in the mornings. The procession continued onto South Park Drive toward the high school. Although, police were not requested, they were stationed all along the route to the school. Upon arrival at the school, the group went inside where officials informed them that roll would be called and then each child treated separately, according to each one's record. The parent group did not agree to that, returned to their cars and proceeded back to the church. At that point, a lawyer was called. Attorney Charles L. Becton from the Chambers, Stein, Ferguson, and Lanning Law Firm of Charlotte, North Carolina, was secured for legal counsel. After informing the group of their mistakes, Attorney Becton invited the school personnel to come to the church for a meeting; however, the school officials refused the invitation. Attorney Becton, accompanied by just the parent group met with school officials at the school, where a 7-point proposal was drawn up. The proposal, approved by Principal Griggs, was as follows:

- 1) To allow the protesting students to return to school "in mass" without their parents, and without a written absence excuse.
- 2) To classify their being absent as "unexcused absences" with no opportunity to make up any work missed.
- 3) To make every possible effort to notify parents when the pupils are suspended and arrange for transportation if necessary.
- 4) To make immediate efforts to organize a committee on student affairs.
- 5) To not put forth any effort to affect adversely any scholarship granted to any senior.
- 6) To not allow the students to make up any class work missed on April 26, 27, and 28. No other punishment will be rendered.
- 7) To meet and talk with any student or group of students if a convenient time and place is arranged. There will be no discussion held in the halls or commons with the students who congregate in violation of school rules.⁶⁷

The students found the plan acceptable; it was practiced for one year; then it slowly faded out.

Thus, the sixties and the early seventies resulted in great strides for equality in the fields of employment, public accomodation, and education. Not all blacks were involved in the struggle. There were a number of blacks who stood by saying that they did not want to get involved. There were a number of blacks who wanted to get involved but their parents would not let them participate. There were a number of blacks who participated, despite parental objection.

Local branch officers conferred with local hospital officials which helped to pave the way for desegregation in the local hospitals. They

FOOTNOTES

protested employment discrimination by government agencies which resulted in hiring blacks in the local Postal Office, the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservative Service, and the Draft Board. The NAACP branch worked with other organizations in getting black policemen, one of which presently holds the rank of sergeant on the force; black deputies in the County Sheriff's Department; and black employees in the local banks. In 1963, the local NAACP and the NAACP Youth Council were able to negotiate through a Bi-racial Committee in getting the public swimming pools; the local restaurants, and the movie theaters desegregated. In the area of voter education, the branch was successful in obtaining a \$2,000 grant from the NAACP Voter Education Project of Atlanta, Georgia--one half of the grant was split between the Eden and Madison branches of the NAACP and the other half was used by Reidsville branch to increase black registration and black voting. Because of this increase black vote power, the first black was elected to the City Council and the first black was employed in the City Hall above the rank of janitor.

Realistically, this struggle for progress was not an easy struggle. Despite criticisms, despite complacency, and despite obstacles, the black citizens of Reidsville continued to make progress toward a society of fatherhood and brotherhood, and toward a society where men could be free from the stigma of race and color. J.A. Griggs sums it up so well, "...hasten the day when men will look upon other men not by their race, creed, color, or national origin; but, as an individual who can make some worthy contribution in making his community a better place to live. If the non-white is to really advance equally, he must be given equal responsibility in his community; he can do no less than try".⁶⁸

FOOTNOTES

¹Interview with J. A. Griggs, Past President, Reidsville Branch of the NAACP, March 3, 1979.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"NAACP Will Meet Sunday", Reidsville Review, September 7, 1962, p. 7, col. 4.

⁶"J. A. Griggs, Reidsville NAACP Branch History", an unpublished paper.

⁷"Griggs Honored", Reidsville Review, August 23, 1973, p. 8, col. 2.

⁸Ibid., p. 8.

⁹Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰Information in a letter to Mrs. K. W. Jones, from the Parents of the Suspended Children, May 5, 1971.

¹¹Griggs Interview.

¹²Ibid.

¹³David McDonald, "Local Good Neighbor Council Is Essential, Griggs Believes", Reidsville Review, July 10, 1968, p. 1, sect. B.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Griggs Interview.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Interview with Mrs. K. W. Jones, Civic Leader, March 6, 1979.
- 21 Griggs Interview.
- 22 Jones Interview.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 "Klan Holds Rally on US 29", Reidsville Review, July 7, 1966, p.1, col. 2.
- 26 Ibid.
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- 28 "Klan Conducts Demonstration Friday Night", Reidsville Review, July 13, 1966, p. 1, col. 1.
- 29 "Klan Marches In Reidsville", Greensboro Daily News, July 11, 1966, p. 1, sect. B., col. 2.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 "Klan Conducts Demonstration Friday Night", p. 1.
- 32 Griggs Interview.
- 33 Ibid.

³⁴Jones Interview.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid

³⁸Griggs Interview.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Jones Interview.

⁴¹:Leaf Firm Challenges Job Charge," Reidsville Review, March 16, 1968, p. 3, col. 6.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Jerome V. Green, "Seminar in American Institutions and Values: Public Administration Reform." Griggs vs. Duke Power Co., 30 (1972), BPS-972 (Governors State University), p. 2.

⁴⁴"Duke Power Job Tests Questioned," Greensboro Daily News, October 1, 1968, p. 1, sect. B, col. 2.

⁴⁵Green, p. 16.

⁴⁶"Duke Power Job Tests Questioned," p. 1.

⁴⁷Green, p. 16

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

- ⁵⁰Griggs, p. 3.
- ⁵¹Griggs Interview.
- ⁵²Griggs, p. 1.
- ⁵³"Integration Announced," Leaksville News, December 21, 1966, p. 3 col. 5.
- ⁵⁴C.A. Paul, "Reidsville's Schools Agree to Integrate," Greensboro Daily News, December 17, 1966, p. 5., sect. B. col. 7.
- ⁵⁵"Integration Announced," p. 3.
- ⁵⁶Ibid.
- ⁵⁷Paul, p. 5
- ⁵⁸"Reidsville Schools File Desegregation Plan," Reidsville Review, February 18, 1967, p. 10, col. 3.
- ⁵⁹Jones Interview.
- ⁶⁰June Milby, "Law Enforcement Officers at Scene of RSH Protest," Reidsville Review, April 26, 1971, p. 1., cols. 1-3.
- ⁶¹Joe McNulty, "Blacks Suspended After Class Boycott at Reidsville High," Greensboro Daily News, April 27, 1971, p. 5, sect. 5, col. 4.
- ⁶²Ibid.
- ⁶³Jones Interview.
- ⁶⁴Information in a letter to a school board member from the students for Improved Student Government of Reidsville Senior High School, April 26, 1971.

⁶⁵McNulty, p. 5.

⁶⁶Information in a letter to the school board members from the parents of suspended students of Reidsville Senior High School, April 26, 1971.

⁶⁷Information in a letter to Mrs. K.W. Jones from H.K. Griggs, May 5, 1971.

⁶⁸Griggs Interview.

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