Rediscovering Educational Giants: African American Schools in Bulloch County, Georgia 1920-1949

Enola Gay Smith Mosley

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REDISCOVERING EDUCATIONAL GIANTS:
AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS
IN BULLOCK COUNTY, GEORGIA
1920-1949

Enola Gay Smith Mosley
REDISCOVERING EDUCATIONAL GIANTS:
AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS
IN BULLOCH COUNTY, GEORGIA
1920-1949

A Dissertation
Presented to
the College of Graduate Studies of
Georgia Southern University

in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education
in
Curriculum Studies

by
Enola Gay Smith Mosley

March 10, 1999
March 10, 1999

To the Graduate College:

This dissertation entitled "Rediscovering Educational Giants: African American Schools in Bulloch County, Georgia, 1920-1949" and written by Enola Gay Smith Mosley is presented to the College of Graduate Studies of Georgia Southern University. I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education with a major in Curriculum Studies.

Edmund C. Short
Dr. Edmund Short, Chairperson

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G. Lane Van Tassell
Dr. G. Lane Van Tassell
Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs
and Dean of Graduate Studies
DEDICATION

This effort to retrace the history of the African American past in Bulloch County as it related to the educational institutions that educated, loved, and nourished the students who attended them is first and foremost dedicated to those teachers and to those students who had the privilege and the honor to have been a part of this unique educational system. Without knowing it, they have become heroes, ones to be sought out and respected for they ultimately carry within their hearts the stories and the memories that can attest to the true glory of African American schools in Bulloch County whose major purpose was to educate with a caring and dedication that has become rare among many educational institutions today.

In many cases, the initial hunger and the joy that African Americans had once felt in regard to education has been lost to its present generation. The old one-room classrooms, chilly yet warmed by love, have been replaced with more spacious rooms, more student supplies, lower student to teacher ratios, yet the mutual caring and the strong bonds of camaraderie have never been replaced.

To the teachers who had the distinct privilege of teaching in these schools and who gave willingly of their time to reminisce with me, I dedicate this study to you. Without you, there would be no story to tell. Thank you, ladies.

To my mother, Mrs. Lucille Lee Smith, I give much heartfelt credit and dedicate this study directly to you. Thanks for sharing with me your memories of Pope's Academy. I enjoyed them so immensely until I wanted to know all there was to know. Thanks again for planting that seed. And to my brother, Larry Smith, thanks for the constant encouragement.
In addition, I would like to dedicate this study to Dr. Edmund C. Short, my chairperson. Thanks, Dr. Short, for reading "every" draft and for the encouraging words, but most especially, for those stress-relieving smiles. Now how many files does this last one make? You will forever have my deepest, sincerest gratitude. Thanks to you, my "pie in the sky" has become a delicious little muffin!

Last, utmost, foremost, and beyond a shadow of a doubt, I dedicate this study to the most supportive, loving, and most understanding husband in the world, Billy Mosley, Sr. Thank you for taking over my chores, for staying up with me in the wee hours of the morning, for listening to my tantrums, for delivering my manuscripts, but mostly for just being you. Without your support, I would certainly not have been successful. And a big thank-you goes to my children, DeAndrea and Brandon. Because of you three, it's finally finished. I'll never forget our long nights in Room 103.
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I would also like to acknowledge my aunt, Ms. Lillie Ellen Williams, Mrs. Naomi Johnson, Mrs. Priscilla Mainier, Mrs. Julia P. Simmons, and Ms. Constance Jones. Thanks ladies for all of the talks and for the pictures. Special thanks also goes to Mr. Tommie Burroughs, Mr. Hinton Ward, Mr. Frank Sabb, Mr. Colonel Lester Parrish and his wife, Mrs. Mary Lou Parrish, and to Mrs. Ouida Pearson, and all of the other students, too numerous to name, who took time out to share with me their memories. Thanks again, and I encourage you to share the same memories with your own children so that "what was then" will always be around in the memories of future generations.

To the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Edmund C. Short, Dr. Dorothy A. Battle, Dr. Delores D. Liston, and Dr. Peggy G. Hargis, thank you all for agreeing to be on my committee. And to Dr. Christine Shea, thanks for heading me in the right direction.
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ABSTRACT

This study provided indepth knowledge of the forty-three African American schools existing in Bulloch County, Georgia, between the years 1920 and 1949. The three areas studied were their physical appearances, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices. The first area dealt with their external physical appearances and the internal environment of each school. The next area concerned their curricular aspects. Information such as subjects taught, teachers, supervision, length of the school year and school day, and school closing exercises was presented. The last area concerned the funding practices of these schools. This study included Rosenwald, Barrett-Roger, and Smith-Hughes funding as well as state and local funding. It also investigated fund-raising and self-help practices.

These 43 schools were divided into three groups. The first group was the community schools which had three subgroups--church-schools, those African American schools that were taught within a church; those schools which were located near an African American church; and those community schools that had a different location. The other two categories were the four district schools and the one industrial school. Both written documentation and oral narratives were presented to provide historical information about each school.

This study concluded with a comparative analysis among the three school groups to see what similarities they shared and what major differences made each group unique from the other two in regard to the three areas of interest, namely, their physical appearances, their curricular aspects, and, lastly, their funding practices.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In 1871, formal education began in Georgia; however, from the very beginning of public education, separate schools were begun for African Americans (Coleman, 1977). Even though these schools were under the management of local school boards, African Americans were not elected nor were they appointed to serve in any capacity on these boards. Because of this division, schools for African Americans had their own paths of development. Because schools in Bulloch County, Georgia, were also operated under a dual, separatist school system, the African American schools that were established had to form their own management procedures and were, therefore, rather different from their local counterparts. Because of less funding, a shortage of instructional equipment and student supplies, a high teacher-pupil ratio, poor teacher salaries, and the lack of public transportation which hindered consolidation efforts, many of the African American schools in Bulloch County, Georgia, existed mainly on the continued support of the African American community who struggled to help their teachers whose hearts were always with their students as they strived to give them a warm, loving, and caring environment coupled with the academic skills that were needed in order to allow them to survive in a racially segregated town.

This study presents historical data combined with personal narratives from both African American teachers and students in an effort to portray the forty-three African American schools of a by-gone era, dwarfs to the world but giants to the ones whom they educated in order that they might have a greater
chance to live their lives more comfortably and with a greater opportunity to achieve financial stability.

Rationale

The present and the future stand upon the legs of the past. Without a clear understanding of where we have been, we can have no clear understanding of where we are nor have a clear vision of where we may be able to go. Unless the past is investigated and analyzed so that past mistakes can be avoided, obscurity, ambiguity, and confusion can become commonplace or even reign.

In other words, retrospection is a necessary part of progress, especially in the realm of education. Without an occasional glance backward at the yesteryears of education or at least pausing for a lingering thought upon what has already been tried, it will not be known whether the field of education has been marked by progressions, regressions, or side-stepping. The philosophical shape of education is a subject that warrants discussion, mainly since those persons within the realm of education, as well as several without, cannot agree precisely upon its shape. Some view the progress of education as cyclical in form and some spiral while others view education as one would a pendulum, seeing it perpetually swinging back and forth yet never forward. Moreover, it is only by retracing the paths of education that a discernible pattern, debatable as it is, becomes identifiable.

Since education has become a necessary requirement for the growth and development of any society, it should in itself be progressive and not retrogressive in nature. By looking backward and subsequently noting the patterns left by the footprints of education, educators can then rely upon history to guide them by illuminating where education has been and by highlighting the
direction in which it should go. Once a society's educational pathway has been discovered, this path can be modified or reestablished. This confirmation will then allow a society to feel secure as it takes forward strides without the fear of getting lost, backtracking, or side-stepping which in either case will cause a society to lose sight of its sole purpose of education, to aid society by creating life-long thinkers and learners.

Through the use of qualitative and quantitative research, namely historical, descriptive, narrative, and analytical methods, the past can be researched in relation to public education in general as well as its relationship to African Americans. Because African American public schools developed a dual, separatist school system, they are in themselves unique. Studying these schools has much historical as well as educational value. According to E. W. Knight (1940), "a knowledge of the history of schools and other educational agencies is an important part of the professional training of teachers; it serves to present the educational ideals and standards of other times, and it enables different groups to avoid the mistake of the past" (p. 169). In the field of education as in other areas, repeating the mistakes of the past can be rather detrimental, especially when it cripples the growth of a society.

For years I listened to family members talk about their educational experiences as students in African American public schools in Bulloch County, Georgia, before 1949. By listening to these conversations, I became motivated to study these institutions both internally and externally by investigating their physical features and curricular aspects as well as their funding practices. Moreover, this study will allow these schools to be analyzed to discover what educational practices were established during this time period.
Related Educational Context

After public education was begun in Georgia in 1871, African Americans were thrilled at the chance for education. Initially, the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association were very helpful to African Americans, yet they mostly helped education to get started in large Georgia cities like Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, and Savannah where there was a very large African American populace, but in small rural Georgian counties, these agencies were not available. Therefore, African Americans in small rural Georgia towns had to find their own means of building, financing, and establishing their schools. The majority of African American schools existed in rural areas simply because the majority of the African American population lived on farms and these farmers had "the greatest proportion of children of school age" (Progress of the Education of the Negroes, 1870-1950, 1954, p. 4; Caliver, 1933). Anderson (1988) stated that the second crusade for education for African Americans occurred in "the first third of the twentieth century" as "Black southerners . . . had to wage a second crusade to establish common schools for their children" (p. 149). This crusade largely included what has been termed "self-help," the practice of African Americans to pay the bulk of the cost of education for their own children whether it was for building, repairs, or for supplies. As Anderson (1988) put it, "rural black southerners. . . paid from their limited resources a tremendous private cost for their 'public education' " (p. 161).

From the very beginning, Georgia law stipulated that local schools would be controlled by county boards supervised by a state panel headed by the governor. The law provided for separate but equal facilities, and the public school system was to be funded by a property tax that was to have been enough to support Georgia schools for a three-month school term. The initial plan was
for the county school boards to furnish the school buildings and for the state to pay all teacher salaries (Grant, 1993). However, this plan proved to be inadequate, and African Americans suffered because they found themselves receiving only a small percentage of state-allocated funds while encountering local boards of education that were unwilling to help at all.

**Disenfranchisement**

According to Grant (1993), "in 1901, blacks comprised 47 percent of the population but received only 25 percent of the money spent on education in Georgia" (p. 233). In fact, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey himself stated that in "1917 only 3.5 percent of the state's expenditure on education went to blacks" (Grant, 1993, p. 233).

Georgia's dual education system did more to finance education for its White students than it did for its African American counterparts. While African American students were being disenfranchised and robbed by the same state that had robbed them of their freedom, White Boards of Education were using state appropriated funds which were earmarked for African American education to build bigger and better educational facilities, increase White teacher salaries, and equip these schools with the latest equipment and supplies. In its truest sense, this "dual school system gave those in control the opportunity to support one system by robbing the other" (Grant, 1993, p. 233). This covert robbery continued and it was not "until the early 1950s--when Georgia was resisting outside pressure to desegregate schools by trying to make the separate systems more equal--that the dual system [became] more costly than one integrated system would have been" (Grant, 1993, p. 233). Before this time, "whites all over the South seized the school funds belonging to the disfranchised black citizens, gerrymandered school districts so as to exclude blacks from certain
local tax benefits, and expounded a racist ideology to provide a moral justification or unequal treatment" (Anderson, 1988, p. 154). It seemed that "the higher the percentage of blacks in any Georgia county, the smaller their share of the school fund" (Grant, 1993, p. 233).

By the 1920s, the "stringency" of local Boards of Education had become commonplace. In fact, "the pattern had been routinized; Southern school authorities consistently cried financial insolvency when pressed to support the development of common schools for black children and offered blacks no alternative for establishing universal public education except through the practice of double taxation, hard work, and time" (Anderson, 1988, p. 170).

Taxation

Using ploys such as those mentioned above, local boards, significantly reduced the number of state supported African American schools, and "further restricted their development by spreading the popular myth that black public schools were financed largely by money collected from white taxpayers" (Anderson, 1988, p. 154). Since white taxpayers reasoned that African Americans paid little in the way of taxes to support public schools, notwithstanding the rent and corporation taxes paid by African Americans, they, therefore, reasoned that they should receive a small portion of the money expended for education, in many cases receiving only the money that African Americans parents paid into the state treasury for educational purposes (DuBois & Dill, 1911). However, this assertion was proved to be false by Charles L. Coon at the Twelfth Conference for Education in the South who ended his study by saying that African American education had not been proven to be a burden on the white taxpayer (DuBois & Dill, 1911; Anderson, 1988).
Furthermore, Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., also added that "it was probably also true that the Negroes pay possibly a larger percentage of the cost of their schools than any other group of poor people in America," adding that "the Negroes have paid in direct property and poll taxes more than $45,000,000 during the past forty years," and have "contributed at least $15,000,000 to education thru their churches" (DuBois & Dill, 1911, p. 126).

The African American community also found itself being a victim of double taxation. In essence, African American parents had no choice but to pay both direct and indirect taxes for public education. Since Southern public school authorities diverted school taxes, African Americans then "resorted to making private contributions to finance public schools," and "to have their privately financed schools supported by state and local school authorities, black Southerners had to deed to the state their contributions of money, land, and school equipment" (Anderson, 1988, p. 156). In many instances, African Americans had to pay local tax assessments, but the taxes that they paid on their property went to the education of White children only (Anderson, 1988). Even though findings showed that African Americans did, in fact, pay their fair share of taxes for school purposes, pre-existing embedded attitudes held by many whites caused many African American schools to exist only on what was left over from state finances after the white schools had spent what they needed (Gordon, 1937).

Other Short Changes

Because local school boards were not equitably dividing educational funds, the advancement of African American education was hampered due to several short changes. One obvious effect was the poor school facilities of African Americans. On their own, African Americans had
sought to build their own schools, yet the ones that were erected were few and shabbily constructed. As a result,

classes were held in churches, lodge halls, and even in abandoned huts. These buildings were often in ill repair, with leaky roofs and gaping walls. There was little in the way of furniture—few blackboards, but no desks or equipment. If there were benches at all, they failed to fit the children.

. . . Rural children who were lucky walked miles over bad roads to recite lessons in chilly rooms. (Bullock, 1970, p. 123)

In other words, without needed building funds, African American schoolhouses were, for the most part, substandard buildings. Caliver (1933) stated that the majority of African American rural schools were characteristic of the following conditions:

1. were frame buildings with few made of brick,
2. were in need of painting, inside and outside,
3. were in need of repairing, i.e., windows, woodwork, steps,
4. were in need of student desks because church pew-type benches were being used,
5. were heated by wood stoves,
6. had no artificial lighting,
7. had shallow or deep wells for drinking purposes,
8. had outdoor toilets which were not well-protected or private, if they had one at all, yet
9. had adequate washbasins.

Getting adequate African American schoolhouses was a major necessity for the African American community because “in 1910, only half of the classrooms were in school buildings. The rest were in churches, lodges, or
abandoned buildings" (Grant, 1993, p. 235). Unfortunately, some of the churches were also in disrepair. Many of the African American Southern rural churches were neither frequently painted nor whitewashed; their interiors were not suitably decorated; they were poorly lighted; and they were inadequately heated, and, in addition, they maintained no playground (Woodson, 1930).

When the trustees of several African American schools were asked for their opinions concerning African American education as they knew it, the trustees of the schools that were held in churches thought that the most urgent need was a school building, so that the children could have desks instead of benches, and good blackboards. They also remarked that two-teacher schools should have a partition between them, and they felt that these schools ought to have better teachers, but that they had fairly good ones, considering what the teachers were paid. They also suggested that some plan was needed to keep their teachers from "moving to one school to another so often" (Hill, 1915, p. 46).

Orr (1950) stated that many African American students in the early development of African American education attended school in wrecks of log-cabins and bush harbors where rails were used for seats and, because of the lack of chimneys, sometimes the fire was on the outside of the building while the teacher and students were on the inside. Too often the teacher was weak mentally and morally and could scarcely write his name. (p. 314)

Another short change related to the African American teachers themselves. Some African American teachers who taught in the rural schools of
Georgia were not as well prepared academically as they should have been, yet DuBois and Dill (1911) offered this explanation as to why:

Broadly trained Negro teachers are feared by many school authorities because they have 'too much egotism' or 'individuality' and because they can not [sic] be depended upon 'to teach the Negro his place.' The result is that many superintendents and trustees will, therefore, hire a half-trained graduate of an industrial school who can teach a few industries and then complain that the teacher lacks education and culture. (p. 106)

According to Clift, Anderson, and Hullfish (1962), the inequity in funding caused many African American schools, the rural ones especially, to have shorter school terms, overcrowded one-room shacks or church houses and poor teacher salaries. DuBois and Dill (1911) also regarded low teacher salaries as a deterrent to the advancement of African American education. They stated that "the colored graduates of colleges and normal schools of high grade cannot afford to teach in most of the public schools of the South because of the wretched wages paid. Teachers from outside of the community often find it absolutely impossible to live on these wages" (p. 106). Bullock (1970) stated that the salaries of African American teachers "was less than $50 on the average" (p. 123).

African American teachers were forced by low pay into a meager existence. This low pay made the position of teacher unattractive to the more able prospective teachers. However, since African Americans did not have many opportunities for better paying jobs, many dedicated educators did teach and endured the menial salaries and the wall-to-wall students. Even though salaries for African American teachers did gradually increase, "in 1916,
Georgia's appropriation for white teachers' pay was over five times as much as for black teachers" (Grant, 1993, p. 234).

Not only were African American teachers literally getting short changed on their salaries but they were also being overworked and overburdened. During the 1919-20 school year, one African American teacher taught approximately 56 students at the same time; however, by the 1949-50 school year, this number had been reduced to 32 (Progress of the Education of the Negroes, 1870-1950, 1954, p. 21). According to Grant (1993), "Black teachers generally taught larger classes than their counterparts, thus further increasing the discrepancy" (p. 234) between the education of the two races.

Jeanes Supervisors

As shown, African American rural schools suffered under a dual public education system, yet one relief came for rural education when Jeanes Supervisors were hired. Their main purpose was "to stimulate and assist local rural communities to assume their obligation in the education of colored children" (Caliver, 1933, p. 3). Grant (1993) stated that in 1905, thirty-four years after public education had begun in Georgia, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund was founded to improve the education of rural blacks in the South. This fund was unique in its exclusive devotion to black education. Two years later Jeanes added $1 million to the fund, which concentrated on raising the quality of black teachers, for only 30 percent of African American teachers had more than six years of elementary education as late as 1915. The most dedicated and able teachers were selected for this position, and they received support to go out in the field and train their colleagues. Even though the Jeanes program started in 1905, it did not begin in Georgia until 1908, which means that from 1871 to
1905, African Americans basically sought to educate their own using their own, no matter how unqualified.

"To be a Jeanes teacher was an honor and carried considerable prestige in the black community. The job also paid better than regular teaching positions. Many of them actually functioned as county supervisors of black schools. Because the Jeanes program improved black education, many whites opposed it" (Grant, 1993, p. 236). The Jeanes program ended in 1954 after having provided almost fifty years of service to the African American quest for quality education (Grant, 1993).

The jobs of a Jeanes Supervisor were vast and varied. They included teaching and supervising elementary industrial work, the supervision of regular academic instruction, the promotion of school and community clubs, the improvement of health and sanitary conditions in schools and homes, and the raising of money for new schoolhouses, school equipment, and an extension of the school term (Caliver, 1933). To this list Brawley (1930) added to provide home economics instruction and any instruction designed to improve the community.

As community helpers, Jeanes supervisors, sometimes referred to as Jeanes teachers, were African American educational watch dogs. They made sure that state monies were received and spent appropriately since some local systems were using the money that should have gone to Negro schools for the salaries of white teachers and for buildings and equipment for white schools (Brawley, 1930). Even though the Jeanes teachers received high praise, DuBois voiced sentiments that said that these teachers could not be the model of efficiency since they had simply too much to do beyond teaching school, and he pointed out that "we have the word of the district superintendent that the
industrial work was unusually well done. One cannot feel so sure concerning the efficiency of the regular school work" (DuBois & Dill, 1911, p. 106).

However, we must keep in mind that DuBois openly opposed industrial education, and even though what he points out has some merit, we must also remember that it may be stemming from a biased point of view.

Even though the Jeanes teachers were viewed as highly valuable and efficient public school employees, unfortunately, all counties did not employ them. During the 1909-1910 school year, only 15 counties (including Bulloch County) employed a Jeanes supervisor (Brawley, 1930), and of these fifteen, only two counties, Bulloch and Doughtery, in 1912-13, were willing to pay any part of the expenses of the Jeanes work. Bulloch County paid $80 of its Jeanes supervisor's salary while the Jeanes Fund paid $240 for a total salary of $320. However, by 1918, all of the participants were paying half of the expense, and in 1951, "the state assumed total financial responsibility for the Jeanes work" (Brawley, 1930, p. 27).

Even though the effectiveness of Jeanes teachers may be debated, no one can deny the important role that they held. Each Jeanes teacher, working with her school, became the point around which the function of rural schools pivoted. Her task was to incorporate changes in the curriculum while seeking to integrate what children learned in books with what they encountered in their everyday environment. Their other tasks included stimulating interest and encouraging cooperation in building more and better schools. To do this, these teachers organized improvement leagues and mothers' clubs as a means of cultivating a constant flow of school patronage. They also sponsored concerts and entertainment in order to raise funds (Bullock, 1970). In essence, their jobs kept them very busy, yet involved with the African American community.
Industrial Education

Even though Southern African American schools had developed along classical lines in the late 1800s and early 1900s, these schools, mainly due to the influence of General Armstrong and his African American pupil, Booker T. Washington, later became more industrial in nature. According to Franklin and Anderson (1978), "after the War white southerners, who were in favor of permitting blacks to get education, wanted it to be the type of education, which they called industrial education, that would make them better servants and laborers" (p. 17). However, W. E. B. DuBois, a graduate of Fisk and Harvard Universities, "headed the group of black intellectuals who feared that most often the intention, and in any case the result, of industrial education for blacks, would be to keep blacks out of the higher and more general culture of America" (Franklin & Anderson, 1978, p. 18). However, the true success of industrial education for African Americans was hampered by opposing ideas and the "lack of funds to provide for adequate equipment and secure properly trained teachers" (Franklin & Anderson, 1978, p. 19).

Anderson (1988) stated that the most significant expansion of industrial education occurred in the 1880s with the sudden establishment of the John F. Slater Fund which "offered financial aid exclusively for the development of black industrial education" (p. 66). Moreover, "perhaps more than any other factor, the Slater Fund caused several black schools to initiate vocational programs" (p. 66), yet these schools subordinated this branch of education.

In addition, "as with many black schools, the word 'Industrial' or 'Agricultural' was incorporated into the name because doing so facilitated white financial support and supported the impression that the school's goal was training better black workers or farmers, no thinkers" (Grant, 1993, p. 241).
County Training Schools and High Schools

In 1911, the General Education Board, John F. Slater Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund decided to pursue their interest in the development of industrial and manual training in black rural schools through state departments of education in general and particularly through the preparation of teachers in county training schools. Furthermore, "the county training school system was made possible in large part because the General Education Board devised a plan to place its paid agents as official staff of Southern State Departments of Education" (Anderson, 1988, p. 137). The basic idea was "to establish an industrial boarding school, centrally located in the counties of Southern states, with facilities and teachers to operate 7 elementary grades and 3 years of secondary and normal school courses to train industrial teachers for the little county schools" (Anderson, 1988, p. 138). The county schools had a three-fold purpose; they were to give definite instruction in home economics to girls, instruction in agriculture to boys, and instruction in teacher training to both (Anderson, 1988).

To Anderson (1988), "the Georgia State Supervisor, George D. Godard, viewed the county training school movement as an opportunity to spread industrial education in black common schools and to make the Negro a more economical, industrial, and profitable citizen" (p. 141), yet the county training school refused to give up their liberal education that included Latin for a completely industrial curriculum (Anderson, 1988). By 1932, "except for Louisiana, all Southern states had abolished teacher training in the public black secondary schools" where "enrollment was never significant" (Anderson, 1988, p. 145).
Initially, the county training schools had "filled a void in black education that normally would have been filled by public high schools," and for African American students ages 15 to 19, they "were the sole source of public secondary education in 1933" (Anderson, 1988, p. 147). Anderson (1988) further stated that "as Southern states and localities required higher levels of education for entry-level teachers, the roles of small private normal schools and county training schools diminished," and "the county training schools were finally integrated into the public school system of the South" (Anderson, 1988, p. 140). Because county training schools were industrial in nature, as in all African American industrial schools in the South, "their purpose was to adjust black Southerners to a life of subordination" (Anderson, 1988, p. 147), yet African American schools for the most part stayed as close to a liberal arts program as possible without forfeiting their funding. All county training schools had been phased out by 1935 (Anderson, 1988).

Grant (1993) pointed out that "in 1906, the General Assembly established a white agricultural high school in each of the state's eleven congressional districts, but the legislature would not make similar provisions for blacks" (p. 237). Therefore, African Americans had to establish their own high schools. In 1911, five years later, after white agricultural high schools were established, only Athens, Columbus, Milledgeville, and Vienna offered even the ninth grade for blacks, and Athens had Georgia's only four-year public black high school in 1914. Furthermore, by 1928, there were only 47 black high schools in Georgia and less than half were accredited (Grant, 1933).

In 1920, Georgia decided to fund public high schools, which up until this time were private schools which had existed financially through student tuitions and philanthropic funding. Even though Georgia had sought to make
African American schools industrial in nature from the beginning, now that high schools were state supported, there still existed the question of curriculum. According to Herbst (1996), "when by the beginning of the 1920s the battle for vocational education had seen to it that in the country's public high schools commercial and trade-specific instruction had taken the place of manual training" (p. 118). With vocational education established as an integral part of the high school's curriculum, the curricula of the vocational school included a choice "among agricultural, business, clerical, industrial, . . . , and household arts curricula" (Herbst, 1996, p. 150), yet because African American schools still were not getting their fair share of funding, they were unable to offer the vocational courses as outlined by the state.

**Philanthropic and State Funding**

From the very beginnings of public education, rural African Americans had been basically autonomous in providing education for their children, yet as northern interest grew in the plight of the Southern Negro, several organizations sought to aid the cause of African American education.

One organization was the Slater Fund which was begun in Connecticut by John F. Slater in 1882. This fund, which ended in 1937, did much to assist African American education. Its overall purpose was to establish African American county training schools, which were the predecessors of African American high schools. The purpose of these schools was to establish industrial education and train future African American teachers. This fund also provided funds to public and private African American colleges (Brawley, 1930). African American schools had to apply annually to receive these funds and monies were assigned based on an assessed need for industrial improvements.
Another fund that sought to progress African American education was the General Education Board of 1920 that began under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller in 1902. Its purposes included paying the salaries of African American officials and teachers, purchasing school equipment, and building teacher homes and dormitories (Franklin & Anderson, 1930).

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, begun in 1907 in Philadelphia, by Anna T. Jeanes, assisted Southern rural elementary schools by supporting industrial supervisors and teachers, who were more widely known as Jeanes supervisors or Jeanes teachers (Franklin & Anderson, 1930). Related to the Jeanes Fund was the Phelps-Stokes Fund which was started in New York City by Caroline Phelps-Stokes. It established fellowships for the study of African Americans in the United States and also provided additional funds for Jeanes teachers (Brawley, 1930).

The Southern Education Foundation, founded in New York in 1937, was a consolidation of the Slater and the Jeanes Funds. The objective of this newly formed corporation was to cooperate with public and private school officials and others in improving educational and living conditions, with special regard for the needs of the Negro race. The object [sic] may be promoted by grants of money, or through the cooperation of the officers of the Corporation with officials and others, or in such other ways as may, from time to time, be determined by the Board of Directors. (A B C of the S. E. F.)

This fund extended Jeanes supervision, provided scholarships, developed rural high schools and rural vocational schools. It also provided institutes for rural African American ministers, new school buildings, funded high school and
professional libraries, did pamphlet publications, and supervised the employment of house mothers (A B C of the S. E. F.).

One of the most widely known funding organizations was the Rosenwald Fund. This fund was established in 1914 by Julius Rosenwald of New York and was still being used to aid African Americans as late as 1948. Its major purpose was to cooperate with state and local school districts to build schoolhouses and teacher homes. This fund also distributed other financial gifts and fellowships to African Americans (Bullock, 1967). However, even though Georgia did benefit from the Rosenwald fund, in 1929, Georgia occupied the bottom position with "only 7.4 of its schools being Rosenwald schools" (Anderson, 1988, pp. 201-202). In Bulloch County, only six of the forty-three African American public schools were Rosenwald schools.

Along with philanthropic funding, the state of Georgia itself also made legislative decisions that affected African American education, but African American schools were not always in a position to benefit from these decisions, and sometimes these decisions had an adverse effect on the progress of African American education.

In 1906, the Georgia General Assembly enacted the Perry Bill, which authorized the establishment of one agricultural high school in each of the eleven congressional districts of the state, and by 1908 these schools had been established, yet not one of them had been opened for African American students even though these schools were supported by the fertilizer tax that African Americans also paid (DuBois & Dill, 1911).

In addition, in 1911, the General Assembly amended the Georgia constitution so that the state government could establish and fund free public high schools. However, this was still a disadvantage to many local rural African
American communities since this high school was usually located within a city. Since African Americans were denied public transportation until the late 1940s, this act did not progress African American education much since location and funding were still hindrances. In Bulloch County, only one African American high school existed and it, like many others, was located within the city limits which proved to be unaccessible to the majority of the African American populace. Even though a few benefitted, most African American students did not.

In 1911, standards for teaching certification were changed. This new certification required prospective teachers to pass a Georgia History examination and required two years of high school and two years of college education in general and professional education. Because of the scarcity of African American high schools and limited access to the ones that did exist, this new certification added more stress to those African Americans who desired to teach.

In 1920, the Barrett-Rogers Act was established to aid schools if they were to consolidate (Joiner, 1979). However, many African American schools were unable to receive these funds because they could not consolidate due to the fact that African American students were denied public school transportation. To get to the nearest school required students to walk over two miles. Therefore, consolidating and closing community schools created a new hardship for many African American rural schools. The funds were needed, but African American parents were not willing to sacrifice the well-being of their children for state dollars, dollars that in the long run some schools would never receive.

In 1925, the General Assembly, due to the disparity in tax support as it related to the wealth of individual school districts, mainly rural ones, created an equalization tax that was to allot additional funds to equalize poor counties.
These funds were to be allotted on a pro rata basis "with an equal amount per child going to each system" (Joiner, 1979, p. xv). However, even though these monies did reach poorer boards of education, there was no sure way to ensure that African American schools were getting their fair share.

In 1937, three separate school bills were made: a state-supported school term of seven months, a state lay board of education, and free textbooks. Again, since African Americans were not allowed to participate in nor be represented on local boards of education, these boards could not entirely be entrusted to share these state monies fairly with their African American schools. Even though African Americans did participate in the School Lunch program by supplying surplus produce and meals for African American children, this program was short-lived. It began in 1935, but ended in 1943 (Joiner, 1979).

In 1939, the Georgia Education Association began the teacher retirement system (Joiner, 1979). At first, it only provided retirement benefits to a few of the large school systems on a voluntary basis, but because the salaries of African American teachers were so meager, they could not reap many benefits from this decision either since many did not have the extra funds in order to participate.

The Georgia Constitution of 1945 changed the basic philosophy of school administration and financial support (Joiner, 1979). It made education a primary obligation of the state of Georgia and granted counties the authority to establish and maintain public schools within their limits which were to be controlled and managed by a county board of education. Again, local control did not ensure that African Americans would get a seat on these boards (DuBois & Dill, 1911), yet they could and did petition these local boards for assistance, yet in many cases their persistence only angered the board and prolonged the wait (Walker, 1995).
Lastly, in 1949, the Minimum Foundation Program of Education was enacted. This new program increased teacher salaries, funded the twelfth grade, expanded rural library services, provided special classes for exceptional children, expanded vocational rehabilitation, school lunch programs and veteran education. It also increased textbook supply and provided more funds for operating school plants, and it doubled the number of school buses. By this time, African Americans were in a position to reap some of these benefits. The most beneficial was public transportation, yet many rural schools still did not have transportation (Joiner, 1949).

Self Help

Even though there were several funds that were set up to aid African Americans in their quest for education, the substantial contributions made by African Americans themselves cannot be overlooked nor under emphasized. According to Anderson (1988), of the 4,977 African American schools that were built using Rosenwald funds, rural black people contributed 16.64 percent while only 15.36 percent came from Rosenwald funds. These Rosenwald Fund-assisted schoolhouses were labeled such because of the contributions which led to the popular belief that these schools were paid for mainly by this fund. However, in actuality, this fund never gave even one-half the cost of a schoolhouse, and it generally contributed an average of about one-sixth of the total monetary cost of the building, grounds, and equipment. Most of the cash, either through private contributions or public funds, came from rural Black citizens in the form of land, labor, and building materials.

To provide education for their children, African American parents chopped cotton, washed and ironed for white families, sweated at menial jobs, and donated all that they could spare, pennies, nickels, and dimes, so that their
children could be educated. Some mortgaged their farms, some donated trees while others donated land, labor, and food (Anderson, 1988). Even though the Rosenwald Fund deserves recognition, the greatest "beneficent effects of the Julius Rosenwald rural school construction, doubtless the most important of all was that of the development of self help in the Negro" (Woodson, 1930, p. 200).

Focus of the Study

The study that I have conducted involved identifying, comparing, and contrasting the forty-three African American public schools that existed in Bulloch County, Georgia between 1920 and 1949. First, a list was made of all of the African American public schools that were in existence within the determined time period. After this list had been finalized by using state department and local school records as well as oral narratives, close examination of this list showed that these schools could be further divided into three distinctive groups.

One division was related to those public schools that could be tied to an African American school in some way. For this study, these schools were collectively called community schools. However, based upon their locations, there were three types of community schools: those African American schools that were taught within a church itself, those schools which were in close proximity to a church and which usually bore the same name as the church, and those schools which were not near a church at all. These were rural schools which were located within a two- to four-, but rarely five-mile walking distance from the residence of the student. Basically, these schools began with the first grade and ended at the seventh grade. There were thirty-six of these schools.

The next division was the district schools. Bulloch County had four of these African American schools, and each was located in a different militia district. The location of these schools will be related to their militia district since
no discernible African American school districts could be located for Bulloch County. Militia districts were set up for voting purposes and these four schools were located in a district where the African American populace was high. These schools began at the first grade and either ended with the ninth or the tenth grade. Georgia termed these schools junior high schools, yet they did not provide high school education. However, they did provide a higher education than the community schools. These district schools became the first African American schools to receive public transportation.

The last division was the industrial school. This school was located within the city limits of Statesboro, Georgia, the county seat of Bulloch County. It provided African American students with the only education that met high school status. This school had an elementary unit, from first to seventh grade, and an upper level unit that began at the eighth grade and proceeded to the eleventh grade. At this time, the state of Georgia sanctioned the eleventh grade as the last grade for high school. As an industrial school, this study only investigated its high school status which included the eighth through the eleventh grade curriculum.

Each school within one of the three divisions was investigated by examining its physical features, its curricular aspects, and its funding practices. In the area of physical features, I sought to present important features such as approximate size, the number of rooms, including classrooms and other auxiliary rooms; construction materials, the number of doors and windows as evidence of safety concerns, heating, lighting, plumbing, and sanitation facilities. I also wanted to depict basic elements such as whether these schools were painted or not, inside as well as outside, and if students had their own desks or sat on benches at tables.
Under a school's curricular aspects, I sought to find out information such as the academic subjects that were taught in these schools and whether or not these were state-required subjects. Inclusive in this area were also the grading systems used, the daily and yearly schedule, and their school-closing practices. In addition, I researched who supervised these schools, principals, Jeanes supervisors, or both.

Lastly, I investigated the funding of these schools. I endeavored to find out if these schools received local and state funds or if they also received non-tax-based funds such as Rosenwald, Barrett-Rogers, Smith-Hughes, or Jeanes funding. Moreover, I researched if students paid tuition and the amount of community support that these schools received in the way of community fundraising projects. Data for these three interest areas were gathered not only from government documents but also from data provided through oral narratives.

The Research Question

Specifically, the research question was: What similarities and differences existed in regard to African American public schools existing in Bulloch, County, Georgia, between 1920 and 1949 among individual schools within and among the three subgroups, i.e., community schools, districts schools, and the industrial school.

The entire study focused upon the years between 1920 and 1949, including the beginning and the ending years. However, the two dates themselves are very significant in the overall picture of African American education in Bulloch County. In 1870, the state of Georgia adopted a public education system, yet separate schools were established for both races. Complying with the state, in 1871, Bulloch County began its own dual education system. However, in 1969, almost one-hundred years later, Bulloch County
schools were legally desegregated. The year 1920 was chosen because it is almost fifty years after public education was begun in Bulloch County, which should have given African Americans time to establish their own schools. The year 1949 was chosen because it also provided an opportunity to look almost fifty years backward to see how segregated schools operated before they were closed. Due to consolidation and the school improvement plan adopted by Bulloch County in the 1950s, many of the African American public schools were closed and forgotten. Therefore, by investigating the African American schools that existed between these two dates, 1920 and 1949, I hoped to get a clearer depiction of segregated African American public schools. Educationally, much can be learned by looking backward as well as by looking ahead.

Moreover, the 1920 date was significant because it came after the founding of Evans County which was created from a part of Bulloch County in 1914. Depending upon where African American schools were located, this boundary change could have placed some African American schools within Evans County. Educationally, this date was very relevant since many educational landmarks began in the 1920s. For example, common schools became "elementary schools" in terminology; physical education became a requirement, the Compulsory School Attendance Law was enforced, and state-aided four-year high schools developed which meant that the state of Georgia could give high schools financial support when before state aid could only be given to elementary schools (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921). The high schools that existed charged their students tuitions in order to operate.

Because oral narratives were a major part of this study, the 1920 date became very important. Only a few African Americans who could tell about Bulloch County schools before 1920 could be located; however, a greater
number could share memories about their educational careers between 1920 and 1949.

Furthermore, since I was very personally interested in the chosen topic, one purpose became to relate the uniqueness and the character of African American public schools in Bulloch County since the public school system regarded them as separate entities. To depict the characteristics of these schools, I chose three areas to investigate, believing that knowledge obtained within these three areas would reveal the most characteristics concerning these unique rarities. After the schools themselves had been identified, the researcher located information about their physical features, their curricular aspects, and lastly their funding. However, to recreate the soul of these schools, students and teachers of these schools were interviewed and tape recorded. By relating the oral narratives of these individuals, it was hoped that these schools would become real once more if only for an instant in the readers' minds.

The Locale

This study pertains only to Bulloch County, Georgia. Bulloch County is located in Southeast Georgia and is surrounded by seven counties, namely Jenkins, Screven, Effingham, Bryan, Evans, Candler, and Emanuel. The closest major cities are Savannah and Macon.

Historically, Bulloch County was created on February 8, 1796, and was the twenty-first out of the present 161 counties to be created in Georgia. In the 1800s, Bulloch County was the size of Rhode Island and contained over 800 square miles in territory, but by 1920, its size had been reduced to its present 665 square miles ("Bulloch County," Georgia Snapshots, 1994). The last county to be cut from Bulloch County was Evans County in 1914. Bulloch County bears the name of Archibald Bulloch, one of the earliest settlers of Georgia and a
revolutionary hero. Today, Bulloch County is a thriving college-town community. Georgia Southern University is located in Statesboro, Georgia, the county seat.

From the very beginnings of education in Bulloch County, White schools outnumbered the African American ones. In 1921, there were 16 more schools for Whites than there were for African Americans (Fiftieth Annual Report, 1922). However, with the state of Georgia rewarding schools monetarily to consolidate, by 1949, there were only 12 white schools, but there was still a high number of African American schools, thirty-three to be exact (Superintendent's Annual Report, 1948-49). Because the Bulloch County Board of Education did not initially provide any of the African American public schools with transportation, school consolidation was not an option for these schools (BOE minutes, 11/6/1934). Therefore, monies that were given to African American schools had to undergo a thirty-three-way split instead of a twelve-way split. This high number of African American schools existed in Bulloch County until the 1950s when new and larger schools were built and many older ones were consolidated and closed. With the coming of these new schools, all African American schools eventually had public transportation.

Even though only thirty-three African American schools existed in 1949, in 1920, there were forty-three of them. This study researched all forty-three African American schools and made a valiant attempt to locate each on a map (see Appendix A). However, since all of these schools were not identifiable, some could not be placed exactly in its location. If only the Militia District was known, which is not the school district since school districts for African American schools could not be ascertained from surviving data, then these schools were placed on the map within its Militia District with an (*) by them to distinguish them from the ones whose locations could be pinpointed within a Militia District.
Definition of Terms

The following terms were used throughout this study.

1. The term "community school" referred to any public African American school located within walking distance from a student's home whether it was taught in a church, located by a church, or located in another place.

2. The term "district school" referred to any public African American schools that were located in any one of the twelve militia districts that provided first through ninth or tenth grade education.

3. The term "church-school" referred to those schools taught directly within a church.

4. The term "industrial school" referred to the one public African American school that achieved high school status.

5. The phrase "physical features" referred to the physical appearance of any school such as its building materials, windows and doors, size, ground facilities as well as the number of desks, tables, benches, etc.

6. The phrase "curricular aspects" dealt with the subjects taught, the grading system, the school-day and school-year schedule, supervision, and school-closing exercises of each school.

7. The term "funding practices" included state or local monies, non-tax-based funds, student tuitions, and community fund-raisers or any other monies used to financially support the school.

8. The term "public" referred to any school under the direction of the Bulloch County Board of Education which shall be abbreviated BOE throughout this study.

9. The term "areas of interest" referred to the three elements which were
investigated concerning each school, namely, physical features, curricular aspects, and funding practices.

10. The terms "African American," "Negro," and "Colored" are interchangeable, yet the term "African American" was used exclusively by the researcher. The word "Colored" or "Negro" is used only as it appeared in historical data.

Historical Beginnings

African American education in Bulloch County began only a few years after Georgia had adopted its public education system in October of 1870. This Act of the General Assembly of Georgia stated that "each and every county in the State shall compose but one school district for all purposes connected with the general interest of education in the county" (First Annual Report, 1871, p. 5), but even though there was one school district, there were separate public schools set up for African Americans and Whites. The Bulloch County school system was no exception.

Bulloch County schools began in 1871. This date becomes a historical fact due to state documents. According to the First Annual Report of the State School Commissioner of the State of Georgia (1872), Bulloch County did not receive any enumeration for its 1871 debt because even though it had sent in its educational debt, it had failed to send in an enumeration report: "nor can there be any distribution to Bulloch, from which there has been a report of the debt, but no enumeration returns" (p. 24). Enumeration returns were how many children attended school for any one year. Counties received monies based upon this attendance data. No information had been submitted for any African American schools for this year. An (*) marked the place for African American information stating that no information had been submitted. Therefore, it is not
known whether African American schools began in Bulloch County in the year 1871 or not, which was the year that public education began in Georgia.

In the year 1872, public education in Georgia was suspended due to a misappropriation of funds (Coleman, 1977), but education resumed in 1873. No documentation could be found ascertaining that African Americans in Bulloch County opened a school in 1873, yet the year 1874 is a landmark in African American education in Statesboro, Georgia. According to Nkenge Jackson (1988), who is the great-great-great niece of Dan Riggs, a former slave, in 1874, the first African American schools was opened here in Bulloch County. It was called "Willie Hill" and was named after Dan Riggs' son, Willie Riggs, who graduated from Morehouse College in 1874. He even taught at this school; however, this school's first teacher was Georgianna Riggs.

There were African American teachers who taught in Bulloch County in the 1800s. According to the Census Report for Bulloch County 1880 (Register), African American male and female teachers did reside within Bulloch County. One was a twenty-nine year old man called A. W. Bowman. This teacher lived with Mr. W. H. Jones and his wife Jane. They resided in Militia District 47 called Briar Patch which is near Stilson. Three African American schools were located in this area, and it is possible that this person could possibly have taught at one of these African American schools since teachers usually lived within walking distance of the schools where they taught.

Another African American who taught school in the 1800s was James Woodson from Militia District 48 called Hagins. This teacher was a thirty-five year old Virginian who lived with his twenty-two year old wife who had originally been born in Georgia. Still another African American teacher was Charles
Young, a twenty-two-year old. He lived with his eighteen-year-old wife Rachel in Militia District 45 called Club House. His occupation was listed as "Professor" (Register, p. 124).

According to the Report of the State School Commissioner of Georgia to the General Assembly for 1883 and 1884 (1885), six African American schools were operating, and one of these six schools operated for a total of six months. Because most African American schools only had one teacher, for these years it can be stated that Bulloch County had at least six African American teachers who taught in the 1880s. Moreover, some of these schools were probably held in a church. According to Brannen (1992), a native Bulloch County historian, "the Negro school, as a rule, is closely related physically and otherwise to the local church and lodge" (p. 498). It seems that African Americans were establishing schools in the 1880s. According to a Bulloch County land deed found in Deed Book O, dated February 2, 1889, W. W. Olliff sold two acres of land to the board of trustees of New Hope Church. The deed stated that the land was "conveyed to the said board of Trustees [sic] and their successors in office for church cemetery [sic] and school purposes it being the land upon which New Hope Baptist Church now stands" (p. 39). New Hope is located in District 45 which is the same district where Professor Charles Young resided in the 1880s. Professor Young may have taught this school.

By 1900, Bulloch County had at least eight African American teachers. According to the Twelfth Census of the United States, Bulloch County, Georgia (Kelly, 1986), the occupation of these persons was listed as teacher. In addition, Kelly's (1989) Thirteenth Census of the United States, Bulloch County, which was taken in 1910, listed nineteen African American teachers which was an increase of eleven teachers. Since several of these teachers were listed as
boarders, it seems probable that some of the African American teachers who taught during this time may have missed the census due to their returning to their own homes during the time of the census; therefore, this number could possibly have been slightly higher.

In 1914, as reported by Bulloch County's Jeanes teacher, Julia P. Bryant, on the "Summary of Reports from the Jeanes Industrial Workers Scholastic Year 1914-1915" located in the Forty-fourth Annual Report (1916), Bulloch County had 47 African American schools and 42 African American teachers; all held some type of teaching certificate. The fact that there were more schools than teachers implied that some non-certificated persons were probably teaching in these schools at this time. Mrs. Bryant also reported that ten schools were held in churches. In contrast, in 1920, the beginning date of this study, Mrs. Bryant reported that there were 43 Negro schools and 46 teachers, yet only three schools were taught in churches. Each teacher had a teaching certificate and only four were temporary. Out of the forty-six teachers, only seven, however, were college graduates (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921).

Importance of the Study

Because the affairs of African Americans have been grossly neglected in the literature concerning Bulloch County, Georgia, especially in the realm of educational practices, it has become imperative that data concerning African American school be recorded. Unless the data are recorded, the memories of these meager yet noble institutions will inevitably through time coupled with neglect become forever irretrievable. It is hoped that a study such as this one will awaken an interest in local African American history and cause other African Americans, and not just those residing in Bulloch County, Georgia, to value their
educational heritage and, as a result, begin to record information concerning these early pre-segregation institutions for the inquisitive generations to come.

As a youth and later as an adult, I had become awed, delighted, and stressed by the tales of family members as they related their educational experiences as students being educated in African American public schools in Bulloch County, Georgia. These tales were ones of sorrow, of having and of not having, of successes and failures, but mainly of determination and joy as these students became a handful of the hundreds of African American students who can now glance backward and remember what it was like to obtain an education in an African American school in Bulloch County between the years 1920 and 1949. It is hoped that others will enjoy learning about the type of education their own families obtained and inspire them to ask questions of their parents and grandparents who may be influenced to remember and then relate their own perceptions and memories of these schools.

Most importantly, by studying the external and internal workings of African American public schools existing in Bulloch County between 1920 and 1949, much can be added to reduce the void now existing concerning African Americans in Bulloch County as well as adding to the general knowledge of African American educational practices.

Methodology

This study covered thirty years, 1920-1949, which also included the years 1920 and 1949. The participants used for this study were teachers and students who had either taught or had attended any of the forty-three African American public schools that existed within this time frame. Oral narratives were collected from these persons (see Appendix B), yet full transcriptions were not necessary since only certain parts of the interview were needed for the study. As
participants were recorded, the researcher took notes. Tapes were replayed only to obtain quotes or to verify written notes.

When participants could not be interviewed personally, they were contacted by phone and asked the same questions that would have been asked in an oral interview. Those who were great distances away and were not feasible to call were sent a list of more detailed questions to answer which depended upon whether the person was a teacher or a student (see Appendix C).

First, participants were asked specific questions related to the physical aspects of their schools, such as the approximate size of the schools, the number of windows and doors, classrooms, etc., and then specific questions related to the curricular aspects and the funding of the schools were asked. To save time, these specific responses were simultaneously recorded onto preformatted data collection sheets as participants responded (see Appendix D). For specific questions, the same data collection sheets were used for both teachers and for students, yet because of memory and specific roles, some participants were able to provide more information than others, especially in regard to the funding practices. Teachers, because of their roles, could tell more concerning this area. To give each school its own sense of essence and to allow for more specific comparisons and contrasts to be made, especially in the curricular area, the second part of the interview process dealt with broad open-ended questions. Participants were allowed to speak freely as they shared information directly related to the three chosen areas of interest as well as other unique information. This type of questioning allowed the interviewer to record through simultaneous note-taking such information as the time and number of
recesses, the components of home-made lunches, discipline, fondest memories, achievements and rewards as well as any conflicts or disappointments that were remembered.

Through oral narratives, the researcher was also able to obtain a more thorough understanding of such matters as a physical description of the student desks that were in the schools, if they were new or old, and, if the school did have a school closing, specifically what type of activities took place. By using a combination of specific as well as open-ended questions, the researcher felt that a more realistic depiction of these schools could be obtained.

The written documents used to collect data for this research were the annual reports submitted to the State Department of Education, including local superintendent reports; minutes of the Bulloch County Board of Education, past student records, old teacher payroll accounts; other government documents, such as letters, and memorandums; church records, obituaries, census reports, land deeds, local maps, education directories, pictures, brochures, and Duggan's Educational Survey (1915).

To complete this study, several methods of quantitative and qualitative research were employed. First, as a historical study, this research involved an extensive use of primary data. The first objective of the study was to obtain the names of all African American schools that existed in Bulloch County between 1920 and 1949. To formulate a list of these schools, I first examined old student records, both the hard copy and those records on microfilm. The original student records contained more information than the micro-filmed copy. As I reviewed these records, I made a list of every school that was recorded on any student record. I later verified the existence of these schools with the Superintendent's Annual Reports which were tabulated each year for all of
Bulloch County's public schools; however, the earliest available data was for the 1938-39 school year. I also made a list of schools from the oral interviews that I conducted with former students and teachers of these schools. Names of any school that did not appear on the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Reports for the chosen years were initially deleted. However, since this deletion process did not render forty-three schools, I had to include the previously discarded schools. Since I could not make a decision as to which ones were included in the forty-three designated by Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, I discussed each under the category "Other Community Schools." These schools were either mentioned in oral narratives or in Bulloch County Board minutes. As the final list was being formed, old teacher payroll records (which listed teacher names), local maps, and county deed records were also used to locate school names.

The next stage of my study involved collecting as much data on each school as possible. To do this, descriptive as well as narrative research was employed. The three areas of interest that I had decided upon were the physical features, the curricular aspects, and the funding practices of each school. To locate this data, I returned to my primary sources, mainly the annual superintendent reports, old student records, annual state reports, Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), pictures, and oral narratives. Using these sources, I made a list of all of the information that I had on each school and the persons who could relate an oral narrative about each. Since I found the total school population to be too large to deal with adequately as one topic, (there were forty-three schools in all plus the added schools), I decided to look for subcategories. By examining the data collected, I decided that these schools could be subdivided into three other categories, namely community schools, district schools, and one industrial school. After grouping these schools, I found the
data to be more manageable and decided to include each school within each category as a part of my study. Because there existed the same government data concerning each school, I decided to rank them within their own groups according to which schools had the most oral data, i.e., which school had oral narratives from both a teacher and a student, which ones only had one or the other, (preference was given to those schools with a teacher narrative since these were rare), and, if oral narratives existed from several persons, the narrative that seemed to capture the truer essence of the school was chosen. Those schools with no narrative data were put at the bottom of the list.

After each school was under its respective category, i.e., community, district, and industrial, and was ranked in order of available data, I then began to concentrate on these schools by documenting all that was known and what information was missing by making a chart for each school. These individual charts contained data depicting each school's physical features, its curricular aspects, and its funding practices which had been compiled through a combination of written primary data sources and oral narratives from both teacher and student subjects.

First, in reference to the community schools, since three groups existed, I made school data charts for each subgroup, namely those schools which were taught in a church, those which were located near a church, and those which were located elsewhere within a community. I decided not to make these summary charts a part of the study, but chose instead to make three separate tables for each subcategory in the community school group showing the data gathered for each school. These tables allowed the similarities as well as the differences between these three different types of community schools to be
displayed side-by-side and subsequently analyzed and discussed in regard to the differences and the similarities shown for each one.

Next, in reference to the four district schools, four separate tables were made which displayed the distinctive characteristics of each one. Similarities as well as differences among these four schools were noted and discussed again using analytic methodology. Lastly, since only one industrial school existed, a table was also made outlining its unique characteristics.

Using analytic methodology, the three school groups were then analyzed to discover differences as well as similarities that existed among the three school divisions, i.e., community, district, and the one industrial school, in relation to the three areas of interest, namely, their physical features, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices.

Because finding out as much as possible about these schools included their locations, several maps were used in order to try and find out where these schools used to be located. Local maps filed at the Statesboro Regional Library in its Genealogy file drawer labeled "Maps" were used. Since many had been church schools and the churches were still in operation, plotting the church-schools on a map was not too difficult, yet trying to locate the schools which were no longer in operation was rather taxing. This part of the study involved using several maps, those maps that showed the boundaries of Bulloch County and the Militia Districts, those maps that showed the early railroads and the towns that they went through, and those maps that showed the location of major highways. One of the most useful maps was the one purchased from the Statesboro Regional Library called the "1909 Bulloch County Georgia Map." This map listed several of the schools, yet not all, since some of the schools
were not begun until the 1920s. Bulloch County soil conservation maps were also used since they did list some of the churches and had clearer roads.

First, a map outlining the old railroads of Bulloch County was located since many of these schools were located in railroad towns. This map became a part of my Appendix. Next, a map was located that divided Bulloch County into its Militia Districts. The forty-three schools were then plotted onto this one map since no discernible African American school districts could be determined. This map also became a part of Appendix A. Each school was then alphabetized and then given a sequential number. On the map a dot and its number was used to designate each school's location. An (*) and a number was used to place a school within its known militia district if the exact location could not be determined. The names of any schools that could not be placed onto the map appeared along with the rest on the numbered list, yet it was given a (?) by its name indicating its location anonymity.

Basically, my procedures included the following:

1. Identifying all African American schools existing in Bulloch County between 1920 and 1949 using documentation and narratives;

2. Deleting schools from this identification list which could not be verified by state documentation but reincluding them under another heading;

3. Establishing subcategories for these schools;

4. Putting schools under their appropriate category;

5. Recording physical features, curricular aspects, and funding practice data from documentation and oral narratives onto individual school charts;

6. Ranking schools based upon collected data;

7. Making summary charts for community schools district schools;
8. Making community, district, and industrial school tables;
9. Analyzing these three tables for similarities and differences; and
10. Making a map and plotting schools onto it.

As in all research, this study contained limitations. One limitation is the fact that local educational records were kept or not kept at the discretion of White Board of Education members. Some important data have been lost due to neglect or its declared insignificance by those who could have recorded and preserved more African American local history. Therefore, this study was limited to only the existing data.

Furthermore, because of the historical time period being studied, there may also have existed some bias in the perception of what happened as recorded by secretaries or other local school-related officials. As a historical study, this research also had limitations because it dealt with recall and available documentation from the past. In addition, the information provided from the personal narratives came from memory and may have been distorted either due to time or personal emotional biases. Likewise, bias may also have existed in some of the literature due to the historical time period in which it was written since this literature was not written from an African American perspective by African Americans nor contained any African American input.

As a researcher, I may have had some personal biases concerning reporting negative comments relating to these schools. Therefore, I quoted as much as possible from oral narratives and made a concentrated effort to present the positive as well as the negative perceptions of the African American schools that existed here in Bulloch County between 1920 and 1949.
CHAPTER II
THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

When African Americans in Bulloch County, Georgia, began to educate their children in the 1870s, they had three choices for their school buildings: to use churches, to build a separate school on church grounds, or to build a school on other lands, lands which were usually donated by a concerned citizen of a particular community. No matter where these rural schools were located, they were established within an African American community; therefore, these schools can collectively be referred to as "community schools," simply because they were located within walking distance of the attending students' homes. Usually this walking distance was within two miles, yet some students walked approximately five miles in order to receive an education (Interview, Iretha Perkins, 12/15/98). In fact, some concerned African American parents complained to the Bulloch County Board of Education about the fact that their children had to walk a distance of five miles in order to reach their school; therefore, they had wanted to establish a school that was closer to their homes. The Board granted them permission to do so (BOE minutes, March 3, 1937).

Bulloch County was composed of several small towns in the 1940s and some of these towns have survived even today. Presently, there are twenty-three small towns existing in Bulloch County. They are Aaron, Akin, Arcola Blitch, Brooklet, Clito, Colfax, Collegeboro, Denmark, Donegal, Emit, Hopeulikit, Hubert, Ivanhoe, Jimps, Leefield, Nevils, Olney, Portal, Pretoria, Register, Statesboro, and Stilson. African American schools existed within the majority of these small towns. Some of these were railroad towns, or towns with regular
railroad stops. Due to the location of some schools, it was possible that some students may have even walked to school following railroad tracks (see map in Appendix E).

Included in the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921) was a report made by Julia P. Bryant, the Bulloch County Jeanes supervisor, which stated that in 1920 there were forty-three African American schools. These schools were taught by 46 African American teachers with only three of these schools being taught in churches. Since there were at least twenty-four African American churches established in Bulloch County at this time, according to Brannen (1987), African Americans did have the option of housing more schools within these buildings. It would have been expected that more churches would have begun more schools, but it could also have been possible that the African American community in Bulloch County preferred separate schools.

The yearly reports made by Mrs. Julia P. Bryant showed that these early community schools raised their own funds to build and to repair their schools. In her 1916-17 report, she reported that three new schoolhouses had been built for this one year, and $800 was the "Amount Raised for New Buildings and School Improvements" (Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1917, p. 46). Likewise, her 1917-1918 report showed that two other schools had been built at a cost of $600, and her report further stated that twelve schoolhouses had been repaired at a cost of $1,268. Her job also entailed summer employment. During these months she conducted a Home Maker Club. This club canned fruits and vegetables during the summer months and school girls and their mothers participated. These canned goods were not sold to the community; the purpose of this club was to provide a community service. The estimated value of these goods was $3,292.
The General Education Board contributed $100 to this program while the local Board of Education (BOE) contributed $25 (Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1917).

In the Forty-sixth Annual Report (1918), George D. Godard, Supervisor of the Rural Negro Schools, remarked that two model African American school-houses had been built in Bulloch County in the 1918-19 year through the use of Rosenwald funding. The following were outlined as conditions for this funding:

1. Property had to be deeded to a public Board of Education.
2. A model plan of the building had to be agreed upon by the County or City Board of Education and the State Department.
3. The house had to be completed and reasonably well-equipped [which meant that these schools probably did not receive much in this area].
4. The county, city and community had to contribute from one-half to two-thirds of the cost. [Oral narratives seem to indicate that the African American community itself bore the bulk of this cost]. (p. 45)

Those Located in a Church

In reference to the three subgroups of community schools, the schools which were housed directly in an African American church made up the largest group (see Appendix A). Out of the forty-three total schools that comprised this study, fifteen of them were housed in a church. Surprisingly, many African Americans did not receive their education in a traditional school building, but began their Monday mornings in the same building where they had concluded their Sunday church services.
Consequently, these community schools which were taught in churches will now be collectively referred to as "church-schools" in order to distinguish them from the other two groups of community schools, those located near a church and those located in a different location. The founding dates of the churches that occupied these schools can be traced back to only a few years after the Civil War. After the Civil War, African Americans had two major concerns: employment and education, yet "greater emphasis was placed on education as a way of Negroes to better their situation" (Morsbach, 1967, p. 133). Once they were freed, the church took a very active role in the lives of these new citizens. According to Bennett (1964) and Paris (1985), the African American church did much to help promote African American education.

After the Civil War, it took African Americans in Bulloch County only a short time to begin organizing their own churches. According to Brannen (1987), a local Bulloch County historian, many African Americans remained members of local white churches for ten to fifteen years after the Civil War before they gradually began to organize their own churches. Using Brannen's timespan, this meant that some African American churches in Bulloch County began as early as 1875 and some as late as the 1880s.

However, Brannen (1987) further stated that the organization of African American churches in general began in 1868 under the leadership of four newly-ordained African American preachers, namely, Raleigh Bryant, J. S. Scott, I. E. Bryant, and Oscar Grant. These ministers traveled by horse and carriage to organize churches throughout Screven, Bulloch, and Effingham Counties. Because African American churches had been organized in Bulloch County in the 1880s, they were able to assist in providing places where their children
could be educated. Not only did these churches provide educational arenas for students they also provided African American teachers with meeting places. In 1894, African American teachers met in the A.M.E. church (probably Bethel A.M.E. which was organized in 1886) at one o’clock for a special meeting called by James S. Hagins, the Bulloch County School Commissioner for this year ("Notice to Teachers," 1894). In addition, in 1897, this announcement from James S. Hagins appeared in the Bulloch Times:

The annual combined Teachers' Institute will be held at Statesboro, Bulloch County, from Monday, July 5, to Friday, July 12, 1897. All public schools must suspend that week and all teachers and persons holding license to teach are required by law to attend the Institute or render a written excuse for same. The Institute for the whites will be held in the Court House, and the colored in the Brannen Chapel.

("Notice to Teachers," June 3, 1897)

Brannen Chapel is an African American United Methodist church that was begun in 1892. As we can see, African American churches played a very important role in African American education. Attending teacher institutes had been required by Georgia law ever since 1891, and all teachers were to attend even though these institutes were thought to have been too costly for teachers; plus, the instructors were only paid $25 for a full week of instruction (Thirty-seventh Annual Report, 1909). In 1910, these institutes were abolished and teachers had to meet for five Saturdays in a school term (Thirty-ninth Annual Report, 1911).

Only one of the fifteen church-schools could not be identified beyond a name, yet it was important for future reference to include it along with the other fifteen. Hopefully, someone who reads this information later may remember this
school and be able to add more information about it, filling in the present void. What is presently known about each came from Bulloch County land deed records, other church records, annual superintendent reports, and from oral narratives.

By 1938, the Bulloch County Superintendent’s Annual Report (1938-39) listed only 38 African American schools, and by 1949, this number had decreased to only 33 schools, yet fifteen of the original 38 schools were now being taught in African American churches. This change seemed to imply that the African American church in Bulloch County began to take a more active role in the education of their children. Yet, this high number of church-schools could suggest that the churches probably provided sturdier structures since many of the older schools which had probably been started by community members in the early 1880s either had been closed possibly by 1920 due to the deterioration of the buildings or school consolidation. Furthermore, parents may have been hesitant to contribute to the repair of a privately-owned school building, but more likely to contribute to the upkeep of a community-owned church. These data give credence to Brannen’s view (1992) that African American schools as a rule were closely related physically to the local church. In many cases, the schools were churches.

When the list of African American schools listed in Duggan’s Educational Survey (1915) was compared to the ones listed in the 1938 through 1949 Bulloch County Superintendent’s Annual Reports, many of the earlier school names were no longer listed as schools. Some of the African American schools whose names no longer appeared in 1938 were the Love School, Smith and Brannen School, Robert Brannen School, Handshaw School, Bethel School, and the Little Bethel School (See Appendix F for a complete listing of schools).
Several of these schools bore people's name, probably the persons who had donated the land upon which the school was built up, yet neither do they bear religious names which were usually associated with a church. Again, a shift toward the church-school was implied.

It was originally assumed that most African American schools in Bulloch County started in the churches and slowly moved into privately owned buildings since historical data supported this statement (*Forty-ninth Annual Report*, 1921), yet Bulloch County school data implied the opposite. Seemingly, African American schools mainly shifted from the private sector into the church.

According to the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Report (1942-43), the following fifteen alphabetized churches housed African American schools. For reference, Table 1 shows the dates of their organizations as stated by Brannen (1987) and as listed in other church histories.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Free Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Hodges Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Mount Olive (Mount Olliff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>New Hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Newton Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Nevils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Noah's Ark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table continues)
Even though the founding dates of many of these churches are in the late 1800s, it cannot be assumed that all of them began to implement schools at this time. Brannen (1987) explained why this assumption cannot be made when she stated that many of these churches were originally held under a brush arbor until a building could be built which would, as a result, preclude education in the church at that time. In addition, most of the Bulloch County church land deeds mentioned that lands were donated for church purposes while only a few stated that a school was also to be organized at the same time that land was conferred to the church's trustees. This information implied that housing schools became a later function of most African American churches.

Bulloch County land deed records showed that several African American churches deeded their lands to the Bulloch County Board of Education. As stated earlier the guidelines for Rosenwald funds, which were used to build

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Red Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Rehovah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Rose Hill (changed to 2nd St. John)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sandy Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Smith Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Wilson Grove</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The (?) represents dates not found.
African American schools, stated that lands had to be owned by the local Boards of Education. However, by 1921, guidelines read that "all Rosenwald school buildings must be owned by the County Board or other public thorities [sic]" (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 85). Even though Rosenwald buildings were not fancy, their physical appearance included being all modern, well-lighted, sanitary, and painted inside and outside. Desks and blackboards are provided. All of these schools are now built with a small extra room, called the 'industrial room,' so that space could be provided for much needed vocational work. (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 84)

However, not many of the community schools in no way fit the above description, especially since many of them were one-room frame buildings or simply churches, and electricity was not provided. Oral narratives support this statement.

Since building a schoolhouse was relatively an expensive undertaking, using churches for both spiritual and educational purposes was a financially sound practice, yet an inconvenience to both the teachers and the students since benches were used instead of student desks and neither the atmosphere nor the storage area was very conducive to learning. According to Walter B. Hill, Special Supervisor for African American Education, as reported in the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921),

 hundreds of Negro rural schools are taught in churches and in lodge halls. Often there are no desks at all, benches being used. Blackboards, if any, are very meager. The lighting, especially in the case of the lodge halls, is miserable. It would be a good teacher indeed who could get
worth-while educational results under the conditions obtaining [sic] in the average Negro school. (p. 84)

This description is more in line with what oral narratives state. Moreover, since most of the church-schools in this study are not mentioned in Duggan's (1915) *Educational Survey of Bulloch County*, we must conclude that the unmentioned church-schools began after 1915.

Together with data from Brannen (1987, 1992), church land deeds, church histories, school superintendent reports, and oral narratives, a historical sketch has been put together concerning each of the fifteen church-schools. Since the church's trustees were responsible for overseeing the school, their names have also been included as school supervisors. Afterwards, these schools will be discussed collectively in reference to their physical features, curricular aspects, and their funding practices.

**Historical Findings**

By presenting data as presented in the Bulloch County Superintendent's *Annual Report* (1939, 1949), we can see the progress that each school made within a ten-year period. Now these church-schools will be discussed individually with historical information being presented first.

One of the fifteen community church-schools was Hodges Grove. This church was established in 1884 and was first called Outland Grove in honor of Mr. Jessie Outland, the person who donated the church's land. It is located in District 1209 which is the district directly outside of the Statesboro city limits. Even though it is no longer used as a school, it is still holding church services today in a new brick building in the same location. It was not one of the schools mentioned in Duggan's *Educational Survey* (1915); therefore, this school had to begin after 1915.
In 1939, this one-room framed structure with a seating capacity of 100 was valued at $400, but in 1949 the value of the building had increased to $500. In contrast, in 1939, the school grounds consisted of five acres which were valued at $150 while in 1949 this acreage had been reduced to only one acre valued at $50. This school operated for six months or 120 days and went to the sixth grade. Seventy students attended in 1939 compared to only 33 students attending in 1949, yet the school did offer seventh grade in 1949. In 1939, the per pupil cost of instruction was $6.00. At this time, Hodges Grove had one female teacher who brought home a total salary of $150 in 1939. In contrast, in 1949, this school operated 175 days which was standard in this year for all African American schools; it had 33 students with a per student instruction cost of $62.60. One female who possessed a two-year college certificate taught here.

Some of the teachers who taught at this school in the 1940s were Vester B. Stewart and Josie Brooks. No school attendance records for this church-school could be found dated beyond 1956, which is probably the last year of its operation. No public transportation was available. All students who attended walked.

Another church-school was Noah's Ark. It was located in District 45 called Clubhouse which is in the Register area. According to Bulloch County land Deed Book 49, this church's land was deeded to the church's trustees in 1918. The trustees were W. H. McMillen, Jim Collins, and Henry Smith. The seller was E. A. Brannen who sold 1/2 acre for $25. A later deed, dated June 13, 1936, between Jim Collins, the only surviving church trustee, and the Bulloch County Board of Education stated the following:
Two acres of land bounded on the North, East and West by lands of E. A. Brannen Estate and on the South by lands of Joe G. Hodges, and being the property on which is located Noah's Ark Colored School and Noah's Colored Church. This property is deeded to the Board of Education with the understanding that same is to be used for school and church purposes. (p. 618)

Bulloch County Board minutes made reference to this same transaction. The Bulloch County Board of Education agreed to provide roofing for the Noah's Ark Colored School provided that the property would be deeded to the Board of Education by the owners of the property (BOE minutes, June 2, 1936). The purchase price of this land was $1.

According to the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41, 1941-42), for both years Noah's Ark was categorized as a church-school, yet these other records seem to dispute this information. According to the deed records and the BOE minutes, Noah's Ark had a separate school. None could be located to clear up this discrepancy.

In 1939, this church-school was worth $450 and was a one-room wooden frame building that was located on a two-acre plot valued at $150, and had a seating capacity of 200. In 1949, the value of this one-room wooden building had only slightly increased to $500. Standard Rosenwald buildings were usually more expensive and had at least two rooms; therefore, the funding that this school requested for roofing must have been state funds which were appropriated for school operation each year or local tax monies.

In 1939, this school operated for six months or 120 days and only taught up to the sixth grade. Only 36 students attended at a $6.00 per student instruction cost. One female teacher taught here with a county license for a
$150 annual salary. In contrast in 1949, this school was taught for 175 days and was taught by one female teacher who possessed a three-year college certificate. Forty-five students attended first through seventh grade at a $68.20 per student instruction cost.

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Lurushia Ponder, Velma Wooten, Willie B. Edgefield, Rita A. Mincey, Dorothy Lanier, Willie G. Ancrum, and Mable Shaw. The latest student attendance record bears the date 1956, which is probably the last year that this school was operated. Noah's Ark is still in existence today, but it was not listed as one of the African American schools in Duggan's 1915 survey. No public transportation was provided. All students who attended had to walk.

Still another church that provided school services was Red Hill. According to Bulloch County Deed Book 38, December 10, 1889, pp. 177-178, Red Hill was located in Militia District 44 called Sinkhole which is in the Nevils area. In 1889, church officials purchased one acre for $10.

In 1939, this one-room frame school was valued at $125 and stood on two acres valued at $100. It had a seating capacity of 100. Its one female teacher with a county license was paid $150 for the year. For six months or 120 days, this school taught first through fifth grade for 59 students whose per student cost was $4.00. This school also had a primer class which is synonymous to a present-day kindergarten.

In contrast, in 1949, this one-room wooden school was valued at $100 and was now on a one-acre ground plot valued at $50. It was taught by two female teachers, one who had a four-year college degree and one who had a three-year college degree. Eighty-five students attended the first through the seventh grades at a $52.52 per student instruction cost.
Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Sarah O. Greene, C. T. Moore, Clementie Scott, Hazel V. Daniels, E. K. Manning, Earnestine Holloway, L. M. Seabrooks, and Sarah A. Smith. The year 1957 was the last date found on student attendance records which implied that this date was probably the closing date of the school. This church is no longer in existence, yet this school was one of those that was pictured in Duggan's 1915 Educational Survey of the schools located in Bulloch County. This school never had public transportation. All students walked to attend.

In addition, Smith Grove also operated a church-school. According to Deed Book 72, October 27, 1926, one-half acre was deeded to the Smith Grove Church by John P. Smith for $1. This deed also stated that "it is understood and agreed that in the event the church and school is discontinued at this place for a period of one year the land and building is to revert to my [John P. Smith] estate" (p. 263). This school was located in District 1209 which was the area outside of the Statesboro city limits.

In 1939, this one-room wood building with a seating capacity of 80 was worth $300 and was on a three-acre plot worth $200. The school was operated for 120 days or six months and was taught by one female teacher bearing a county license. Fifty-six students attended at a $9.19 per student cost of instruction.

In 1949, this church was a one-room frame building valued at $1000. Even though its value increased, Rosenwald monies were not used to build churches; therefore, it is hardly likely that these improvements were due to Rosenwald funds; community efforts probably provided the funds. It was located on a one-acre lot valued at $300. One female teacher who held a three-year college degree taught 43 students from grades first through seventh; however,
no student was enrolled in the sixth grade. The per student instruction cost was $56.06.

Teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Amanda Smith, Catherine Currie, Dorothy Lanier, H.W.B. Smith, Sr., Beatrice Riggs, and Ruby D. Brock. No student attendance record could be found past 1957, the probable closing date of this school. Smith Grove is still a church today. This school never received any public transportation. All students had to walk.

Another school was the Wilson Grove School that was affiliated with the Wilson Grove Methodist Episcopal Church located in District 1209 lying outside of the city limits of Statesboro. The land for this church was sold for $1 by R. F. Donaldson on July 22, 1911 (Deed Book 41, p. 256). The pastor of the church, W. M. Goode, along with five of the church's trustees, namely W. M. Wilson, P. Harmon, Frank Allen, Johnnie Wilson, and Henry Crawford made the transaction. The deed stipulated that "whenever the Grantees or their successors or assigns fail to use the above deeded property for Church purposes, this deed then becomes void and the title to the property described herein, reverts back to the Grantor or his legal representatives" (p. 256).

In 1939, this one-room wooden frame church-school was worth $300, stood on two acres worth $50, and could seat 75 persons. It was operated for 120 days or for six months by one female teacher with a county license whose yearly pay was $150. Forty-three students attended grades first through fifth at a $5.00 per student cost of instruction.

In 1949, this wooden church still had one room but was now valued at $650 while the one-acre school plot was valued at $75. One female teacher with a two-year college certificate taught 50 students from first through fourth grade at an instruction cost of $30.73.
Uniquely, Sequel Simmons was the only teacher known to have taught here in the 1940s. This school also had a primer grade which would today be equivalent to kindergarten. The year 1955 is the latest date found on any student school record. This church is no longer in existence. However, it is believed that this school was once the Whitesville School since Sequel Simmons was known to have taught in a school by this name. The fact that the trustees were named Wilson also seems to suggest this probability. No public transportation was ever provided. All students had to walk.

Mount Olive (Olliff) also conducted a church-school. It had a seating capacity of 75 and was located in Militia District 48 called Hagan which is near Highway 24. In 1939, this one-room wooden church was worth $400, and its one acre of land was worth $50. This school, taught by one female teacher with a county license and a yearly salary of $150, operated for a total of 120 days or six months, but only offered grades first through fourth for the 38 students who attended. The cost of instruction per student was $5.17. According to Mrs. Iretha Perkins, who attended this church-school in the 1930s, it was located near a railroad. She described it as "a little old church about the size of Free Chapel." She also mentioned that this church stayed chilly during the winter (Interview, 12/15/98).

In 1949, Mount Olive was a one-room wooden structure now valued at $250. Its three-acre school plot was valued at $100. One female teacher with a four-year college degree taught fifty-two students first through sixth grade at a $54.30 per student instruction cost.

Teachers who taught at this school in the 1940s were Mrs. Minnie Stewart Evans, Mamie Stanley, and Audrey L. Jones. Mount Olive, which is sometimes spelled Olliff, is still a church today. No public transportation was provided;
students who attended had to walk. Mrs. Perkins remembered walking close to five miles.

Newton Grove, a church with a seating capacity of 75, was located in District 46 called Lockhart which is at the northern edge of Bulloch County. In 1939, this one-room wooden church was worth $150 and its one acre was worth only $20. This 120-day school provided instruction for 55 students at a $6.00 per student instruction cost. One female teacher holding a county license taught here for $150. This school operated for six months or 120 days and offered instruction in grades first through seventh.

In 1949, this wooden one-room church-school was valued at $800 with its one-acre school plot valued at only $15. One female teacher who held a four-year college degree taught 48 students grades first through seventh, yet no student was enrolled in the sixth grade. The per student instruction cost was $48.72. One teacher who taught here was Mrs. Thelma Jones Heard. Newton Grove is still a church today. No public transportation was ever provided for this school's students. They had to walk.

Another church school was the Jerusalem church-school that had a seating capacity of 150. It was an African Methodist Episcopal church located in District 1523 which is in Brooklet. It was organized in 1883 and was located off the Leefield-Stilson Road. The old church was torn down, and a new one was erected in 1934.

In 1939, this church-school was a one-room wooden frame building worth $200 which was located on a one-acre lot worth $50. One female teacher with a county license and an annual salary of $150 taught grades first through sixth for six months or 120 days. For this year only 32 students attended at a $7.23 per student instruction cost. According to Mr. John Davis Williams this school was
in operation in 1923, the first year that he attended. This church-school also required students to pay tuition. Mr. Williams remembered carrying this money, which was $2 or $3, once a month to his teacher (Interview, 8/6/98).

In contrast, in 1949, this one-room wooden church was only worth $150 and its one-acre school plot was still worth $50. A female teacher bearing a one-year or less degree taught 27 students in grades first through seventh, yet no student was enrolled in sixth grade. The cost per student instruction was $42.18.

One of the teachers who taught here in the 1920s was a Mr. Allan (Interview, Mrs. Beaulah Williams Price, 4/5/98). Since students called teachers by their last names, Mr. Allan's first name was not known. Mr. John Davis Williams remembered Ms. Annie Mae Millen (Interview, 8/6/98). This church still exists today. No public transportation was ever provided; students had to walk in order to attend.

Free Chapel was also a church-school. Today, this church is located in Militia District 1575 which is near the Middleground area. This church still conducts services. It was founded in 1830. Since no deed records were found, not much is known about the origin of this little church. However, church members stated that the lands was donated to this church thirty-five years before slavery ended (Interview, Rev. Griffin, 3/13/99).

In 1939, this one-room wooden frame church was worth $175 and stood on four acres valued at $175 also. It had a seating capacity of 100. It operated six grades for 120 days or six months for a total of 53 students. This school was taught by one female teacher whose county license earned her $150 a year. Based on oral narratives, this church school was in existence as early as 1926, the year that Mr. Tommie Burroughs attended. Mr. Burroughs remembered that
his father, Mr. Stencer Burroughs who was also a school trustee, paid his student tuition, but he did not remember how much it was. Mr. Burroughs also remembered that a chalkboard was on the wall and that students sat on benches. School books had to be bought, and family members shared books. Students did not receive report cards but were told what grade they had passed. This church, according to Mr. Burroughs, is located off Akins Pond Road near Highway 80 in Statesboro, Georgia (Interview, 12/6/98).

In 1927, Mrs. Mamie Jackson attended second grade here, and it was also in operation in 1933, the year that Mrs. Thelma Heard taught here. Mrs. Jackson described it as a small wooden double-doored church. Uniquely, these two separate entrance doors were located side by side in the middle of the church. Her description was substantiated by the picture that Duggan took in 1915 for his survey. She further described it as having seven windows, three on each side and one behind the pulpit. Mrs. Jackson, who is a former member, remembered that the church had been enlarged at a certain point (Interview, 12/15/98). In contrast, in 1949, Free Chapel was no longer listed as a school of any kind. According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1944-45), Free Chapel only operated for two months this year, and it did not appear as a school beyond this date.

Unlike many of the other community church-schools, Free Chapel was included in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915). Therefore, it is one of the oldest church-schools that operated in Bulloch County. Free Chapel is still a church today and is in its same location. Some of the teachers who taught here are Thelma Jones Heard, Fredda Mae Burns, and Lola Scarborough.

No public transportation was provided; students walked to school.
Another church-school located in the 1209 District, which is the area just outside of the Statesboro city limits, was Rose Hill which is today Second St. John. This church with a seating capacity of 150 was organized in 1896 and was located on the "Old Fields Place." Existing here was an African American community referred to as "Page's Quarters" (Interview, Martha Jones, 12/3/98). Today, this church is located about 1 and 1/2 miles south of Statesboro and is called Second Saint John. In Duggan's 1915 survey, a school is listed as the "Fields School." This may have been the same school. According to Johnnie Hall, a seventy-six year old African American male, Rose Hill was a school first, and then it was turned into a church (Interview, 6/23/98); based upon the date of Duggan's survey, Mr. Hall's statement seemed to be valid.

In 1939, Rose Hill was a one-room wooden building worth $550. It was located on a four-acre lot worth $100. One female teacher with a county license and drawing a $150 annual salary taught here and conducted grades first through fifth for 120 days or six months. This school, according to student school records, also conducted a primer class. Sixty students attended here at a $3.64 per pupil instruction cost.

In contrast in 1949, Rose Hill still had one room, yet it was worth $1000, and its one-acre lot was worth $150. One female teacher with a two-year college certificate taught 38 students in grades first through seventh at a $31.93 instruction cost per student. Obviously, some construction took place during this ten-year period. Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Pearle Bellinger, Susie Edwards, Gertrude Everett, M. E. Lane Butler, and Elise Wright. No public transportation was provided for this school. Students had to walk.

Sandy Grove was also listed as a church-school, yet since it is no longer in existence not much data are available. No deed records for this church could
be located in the Bulloch County Court of Clerks. For the 1938-1939 school year, Sandy Grove school was not listed at all on the Bulloch County Superintendent's Report. Its name as a church-school does not appear until the 1940-41 school year where it is designated as a church with the seating capacity for 75 students. It was a one-room wooden frame building worth $400 that was located on a one-half acre lot worth $25 dollars. It had no student desks, but had ten "other classroom seats," which were benches since it was a church. One female teacher who possessed a three-year college teacher certificate taught here. Her yearly salary was $385. Thirty-three students attended first through fifth grade for 140 days or seven months. The per pupil cost of instruction was $11.55. Sandy Grove was not one of the schools mentioned by Duggan in his 1915 survey.

In 1949, Sandy Grove was not listed as a school on the Superintendent's Annual Report. This school did not operate in the 1944-45 school year nor was it listed as a school for the 1943-44 school year. The names of teachers who taught here could not be found. Today, Sandy Grove is no longer a church. No public transportation was provided for this school; students walked.

Nevils was another church-school with a seating capacity of 100. However, it, too, is no longer a church. Therefore, not much historical background is known about this school. This school was located in District 1803 which is in Nevils. In 1939, Nevils was a one-room frame wooden church worth $300 that was situated on a three-acre lot worth $100. It was also taught by one female with a county license earning $150 annually. This school taught grades first through seventh for 120 days or six months to 94 students. The per pupil cost of instruction was $2.50.
In 1949, Neviis had two classrooms and two other rooms valued at $125. Its four-acre lot was valued at $100. Two teachers, one male and one female, taught the Neviis church-school; both had four-year college degrees. Eighty-six students attended Neviis in grades first through seventh at a per student instruction cost of $48. Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Sadie Hinton, Alexander McKay, Mr. Johnson, Mamie Singleton, Minnie Johnson, Ms. Ludelia Ball, Evelyn Campbell, Josie B. Lowery, Ms. Jessie Bell Hendley, Annie Lou McLendon, Amanda Lee, John D. Redwine, Maggie J. Redwine, Mary J. Jones, Jeanette Williams Shatteen, Etheleen Tolbert, Ruby Lee Tolbert, and Crawford Tolbert. No public transportation was provided; all students walked to school.

Scarboro Grove was another church that had a school. On the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Report (1939), it was listed as "Portal" school, and in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), it was also listed as the "Portal School." This church had a seating capacity of 500. According to Deed Book 49, December 17, 1917, p. 530, one acre of land was sold to the church's trustees A. L. Sheffield, George Amos, and Joy Dekle by D. L. Finch. This school was located in the 1716 District which is in Portal. Mrs. Sarah Cone Lee, a teacher who lives in the Portal area, also felt that the Portal School was really the Scarboro Grove School (Interview, 2/21/98).

In 1939, this church was a wooden two-room frame building worth $100 that was located on a one-acre lot worth $40. It was taught by two female teachers with each bearing a county license and receiving a combined annual salary of $300. This school provided instruction for 113 students for 120 days or six months at a per student instruction cost of $3.57. This particular school had
seven grades, yet for the 1938-39 school year, no student was enrolled in the fifth grade.

In 1949, this church-school had two classrooms and was valued at $600. Its 1/2 lot was valued at $50. Two female teachers taught here, one held a four-year degree and one held a two-year degree. Ninety students were enrolled at a $70.30 per student instruction cost. Some of the teachers who taught here were Ruth Hall, Margaret McNeil, Thelma L. Moore, and Talmadge Stewart. Today Scarboro Grove is a thriving church still located in Portal, Georgia. No public transportation was provided for this school. Their students walked.

Another church-school was the New Hope School, yet there is some discrepancy surrounding this school as to whether it was a church-school or whether it maintained its own separate school. According to church history, New Hope was organized in 1874 under a brush arbor, or open tent-site, by Father Styles. A church was later built on land donated by Mr. Olliff. On Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), a New Hope School was listed. The picture in Duggan's survey seemed to show an unfinished building or one in the process of being torn down. A land deed seemed to support its separate building status and why the building looked unfinished or dismantled.

A land deed located in Deed Book 41, p. 672, dated November 8, 1913, stated that trustees of the New Hope Church, namely, M. Williams, W. A. Hodges, T. J. Morris, W. M. Scott, and B. E. Hagan, deeded two acres surrounding the New Hope Church to the Bulloch County Board of Education for $1. These two acres were located southeast "by lands of New Hope Church." This purchase included all "the appurtenances belonging or in anywise appertaining except the building thereon which is now used for public school purposes---which house shall be removed from the above described premises.
before the last day of Dec. 1914. Said house shall be used for school purposes until the first of January 1914” (p. 672).

Furthermore, according to Bulloch County Board minutes, New Hope trustees, D. A. Mathis and Oscar Deloach, approached the Board asking for assistance to build New Hope School. The Board was willing to give financial aid in covering the building only (BOE minutes, May 7, 1935). Again, according to Bulloch County Board minutes, a committee consisting of John Powell, G. A. Dekle, Iverson Anderson, W. J. Akerman, and D. A. Mathis again approached the Bulloch County Board of Education concerning building the New Hope School. At this time the Board told the committee to start the construction and agreed to furnish the roofing and to buy some of the windows and doors (BOE minutes, March 3, 1936). However, in 1939 New Hope is still listed as a church-school on the Superintendent’s Annual Report. Therefore, it can be assumed that the church was being used as a school during this time, yet according to the land deed, New Hope had had a separate school at one time. Interviewees recalled New Hope was a separate school.

In 1939, according to the Bulloch County Superintendent’s Annual Report, New Hope was a six-roomed school valued at $1300 with a seating capacity of 300. It was located on a two-acre lot valued at $150. This was the same amount of acreage purchased in 1913. One male and one female teacher taught here. One possessed a county license and one possessed less than one year of college. They both were paid $150 annual salary. Because of its value and the number of rooms that it contained, this building was probably a Rosenwald building. Under the Rosenwald schedule, "$500.00 can be obtained on a one-teacher building; $800.00 on a two-teacher building; and $1,000.00 on a three-teacher building" (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 80). This school went to
the seventh grade and taught 107 students for 120 days or six months. The average pupil cost of instruction was $5.53.

Mysteriously, in contrast in 1949, New Hope church-school had two classrooms and one other room which were valued at $225. Its two-acre school grounds were valued at $150. Two female teachers taught here and each held a three-year college certificate. Sixty-seven students attended at a $69.28 cost of instruction that was based upon the average daily attendance. Some of the teachers who taught at New Hope were Mrs. J. D. McNeil, Corrie Everett, Maggie J. West, Mattie White Baker, Mr. Crawford W. Tolbert, and Anna L. Graham. No public transportation was provided for this school.

The last school in the church-school group was Harmony. Even though it was not designated as a church-school in the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940), Mrs. Priscilla Mainer who taught school at Harmony said that she taught school directly within the church itself; therefore, it is included under this group of schools. According to church records, Harmony was established in 1895. It was a Methodist church located on the northside of Brooklet near the Leefield Road. It was located in District 1547 called Emit which is near Brooklet. Two men by the names of Roberson and Myers first donated 1/2 acre to this church, and then later Bill Simmons donated another acre (Statesboro Regional Library Genealogy Records, "Black Churches").

In 1939, Harmony could seat 85 persons and was a one-room wooden building valued at $300. Its one acre was valued at $75. The seventy students who attended this 120-day school were taught by two female teachers who earned a combined yearly salary of $150. Both teachers held a county license. The instructional cost per student was $5.39. This school taught grades first through seventh.
In 1949, Harmony was a one-room wooden building worth $150 that contained only eight student desks valued at $25. It was located on two acres worth $100. Its only teacher possessed a three-year college degree. Harmony educated 57 students at a $48 per student cost of instruction. This school also taught a primer class for pre-first graders. The latest date on student school records is 1953, which was probably the last year that this school was operated. No public transportation was provided for either year. All students walked.

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were J. Jacqueline Scott, B. B. Scott, Florene L. Lowery, and Priscilla Coleman Tremble Mainer. Harmony is still a church today.

**Physical Appearance**

Even though each community church-school had its own distinction, many similarities were found, especially in regard to their physical appearances. However, only a few differences could be noted. Because these schools were housed in a church, they all were mainly composed of one big room which was used as the classroom. Three to four windows were found located on each side of the building, and there usually were two doors. However, one unique church was Free Chapel. This ancient church had a total of ten windows, but had only one set of double doors at the front of the church (Visit to Free Chapel by Researcher, 1/13/99).

Moreover, all of these structures were wooden frame buildings, and only a few ever saw paint, inside or out. From Duggan's pictures, the buildings were made of board siding and only a few had a porch. Each building had the same weather-beaten look. In 1939, only two church-schools had more than one room, and they were New Hope with six and Scarboro Grove with two.
Each one of these schools provided instruction on some type of chalkboard. It usually was a standing board or one that hung on a wall to be taken down if necessary. Benches were the standard seats, yet a few schools did have student desks. According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1949) for Bulloch County, Newton Grove listed 4 student desks; New Hope had 6 desks; Nevils had 12; Smith Grove had 6, and Hodges Grove had 10 student desks, yet no church-school had enough for all of its students in any one year. Basically, teachers were provided with a table which was usually the church's collection or communion table.

Only the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41) provided information on the seating capacity for these schools which provided insight into the approximate sizes of these churches. Three of these schools had a seating capacity of 75; one had a seating capacity of 85; five had a seating capacity of 100; three could seat 150 people; one could seat 200 people; one could seat 300 people; but only one could seat 500 people. From these data we can assume that these churches had adequate space for instruction. Yet, it must be remembered that the seating capacity was based upon the number of benches located in a church. Instead of desks, students wrote on tables that had benches on each side, if they were lucky. The other unfortunate ones, even though they sat in benches, had to write in their laps. The Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39) showed no numbers in the columns that asked for the number and types of student desks and neither was there a category asking for the number of benches, yet there was a column labeled "Value of all seating equipment" which in a church would be benches. These prices ranged from a low $10 to a high of $60.
In 1949, the column labeled "Number of classroom desks and seats" was filled in. Because these schools were held in churches, student desks were very rare. In 1938-39, no student desks were listed as being used in these schools. However, in the *Superintendent's Annual Report* (1949), the number of desks that the thirteen remaining church-schools had were listed under the column "Number of standard classroom desks and seats." The following schools had desks while Rosehill and Newton Grove had none. Jerusalem had 5; Mount Olive, New Hope, and Noah'sArk all had 10; Hodges Grove had 11; Wilson Grove had 13; Scarboro Grove had 15; Nevils had 18; Red Hill had 20; Harmony had 8, and Smith Grove had 27. However, these were never enough desks for the total number of students who attended. Only one exception was noted, and this was for Smith Grove. In 1949, it had 27 desks, but only 21 students.

For 1949, under the heading "Does the school have running water for drinking purposes?" the *Superintendent's Annual Report* had a check by each of the schools except Grimshaw, New Hope, Noah's Ark, and Rehovah, yet none of them had indoor toilets. The *Superintendent's Annual Report* (1941-1942) listed wells and pumps under this same heading with only Statesboro High and Industrial getting a "yes." Only Brooklet Junior High, Pretorius, Rehovah, Sandy Grove, Smith Grove, and Willow Hill had pumps. The rest had wells with the exception of Ada Belle, Red Hill, Spring Hill, Summer Hill, and Wilson Grove which had neither. Those schools with an open well drew up water by using a bucket. This task was usually assigned to the older boys. Students drank from a common dipper, or more commonly brought their own drinking cups from home. None of these schools had electrical lighting. Kerosene lamps were used, yet these were usually only used at night when a special program or a P.T.A. meeting was held.
In reference to heating, each church-school had a wooden stove that was located in the middle of the room. Either the teacher arrived early enough to make a fire or the older boys who arrived first were given this task. Many times students would pick up branches or pine cones referred to as "cuccker spurs" on their way to school in order to make a fire. Many remembered being very cold when they arrived. Their hands as they remarked, "felt like ice." Consequently, students were allowed to warm their hands by placing them into a bucket of warm water to thaw them out before class began. Placing their frozen hands directly near the fire caused them to hurt worst.

Sanitation facilities were very minimal. In 1939, nine of the church-schools did not have an outdoor toilet, yet most churches had an outdoor pit by 1949. Only Jerusalem by 1949 did not have one. Usually there were two pits, one for females and one for males, but if only one existed, it was used by females while the males used the wooded area surrounding the church.

In general, these schools were located in rural areas inside of Bulloch County. Even though a few were located directly outside of the city limits of Statesboro, they can still be categorized as rural schools. Some of these schools were relatively easy to locate on a map since the church was still in the same place today. By using the "Bulloch County, Georgia Map, 1909," several soil survey maps that were done on Bulloch County, and the information provided through oral narratives, a map has been provided showing the approximate locations of these schools. (See map in Appendix A).

District boundaries have also been included to show the different districts that contained African American schools. It must be noted that these districts were voting districts, and not school districts. According to the Thirty-sixth Annual Report (1908), the McMichael Law required each Board of Education to
lay off its county into districts approximately sixteen square miles in area; however,

Boards of Education have had greater regard, as was natural, for the white schools in laying off districts than for colored, since it was hardly possible to accommodate equally both races in any division of their counties, and have consistently made the white schools larger, while the colored have become inadvertently rather smaller. (p. 9)

Not much evidence has been discovered to show that African American schools existing between 1920 and 1949 were ever put into school districts even though Bulloch County Board minutes showed that some African American schools were consolidated. The only reference to probable African American school districts can be related to a petition made by citizens from Ingleside, Alexander, and Olliff Bay School districts which are established white school districts to consolidate and build a schoolhouse near an African American church (BOE minutes, April 6, 1926). This implied that district names were the same.

**Curricular Aspects**

Secondly, in reference to the curricular aspects of these schools, the majority of them taught first through seventh grade; however, four schools in 1939 provided less than a sixth grade education. Student attendance by grades showed that at times a grade was skipped over due to the fact that no students were enrolled in a certain grade. In this case, instruction took place in the next highest grade level up to seventh grade.

Overwhelmingly, females dominated as teachers; only two male teachers taught in a church-school in 1939 compared to only one in 1949. At this time, every teacher possessed a county license, but then by 1949, teachers of these schools possessed either a 4-year, 3-year, 2-year, or 1-year college or less
degree. In 1939, all teachers received a yearly income of $150. However, by 1949, payroll records show a diversity in salaries, indicating that salaries were based upon the education of the teacher. In 1920, Walter B. Hill, made these remarks concerning African American teacher salaries:

In some counties, the Negro teachers are not getting fair consideration in this respect. . . . At present the maximum amount that can be paid these teachers, is too small, but it is recommended that some recognition be given the best teachers, by paying them better salaries. . . . The present practice followed in some counties, of paying all Negro teachers about the same salary, is unwise and unfair. (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 85)

However, in the 1940s, teachers did receive payroll increases (Teacher Payroll Records, Bulloch County, 1943-1949).

As a rule, these church-schools did not have a principal. A lead teacher usually acted as principal while the schools' needs were usually supervised by the church's trustees or concerned parents of the students who attended. These persons were the ones who came before the Bulloch County Board of Education and asked for financial assistance or waited for a decision to be made concerning the school when the need arose. However, Julia P. Bryant, who in 1939 requested that the Bulloch County Board of Education retain her as a Jeanes Supervisor (BOE minutes, January 3, 1939), made monthly visits to these schools, teaching and overseeing their needs and consolidation efforts. The Board relied on her to make the right decisions when African American school decisions had to be made.
The instruction in these church-schools was very similar. According to student school records for the years 1942-1949, these schools offered instruction in reading, arithmetic, penmanship, spelling, language, physiology, grammar, health, science, geography, and history, but only Wilson Grove included art. Even though the seventh grade was the highest grade, there was a difference in the courses offered as the grades got higher. For instance, reading, arithmetic, and penmanship were taught in first grade for all schools, yet some schools' first grade curriculums included spelling and language. Only New Hope taught all of the subjects in first through seventh grade, yet health was not a part of its curriculum. Red Hill takes second place with only grammar missing as a subject. Generally, geography, science, history were added in the fourth grade. Every school did not teach health. In fact, health was a part of only the Wilson Grove curriculum and was taught from the second to the sixth grade. If any course was missing from a school's curriculum during any given year, it was grammar and physiology.

Teachers who taught in these schools used one of two grading scales. They either used U's and S's, which when adopted, were used for grades first through seventh, or an A-B-C scale which was only adopted by the Red Hill School for grades second through seventh. The U's and S's were used in primer and first grades for all schools.

Uniformly, these schools, according to data collected during oral narratives, began around 8:00 or 8:30 A.M. Most of those who attended said eight o'clock. However, Mrs. Beaulah Williams Price, whose birthdate is November 3, 1892, remembered getting to school around 9:00 and leaving around 2:30 or 3:00 P.M. (Interview, Mrs. Beaulah Williams Price, 4/5/98). Normally, these schools closed either at 3:00 or at 3:30 P.M., but none went
beyond 4:00 P.M. Recess was a part of each school's curriculum. Those who had a morning break did so around 10:00 A.M.; usually this time was used for bathroom purposes. During recess, students played ring plays, chatted, or played baseball. Girls and boys played together. However, at times, teachers joined the students' games.

Just as in today's schools, the school day was divided among instruction, recess, and lunch with instruction receiving the major time division. The major break came between noon and one o'clock when students had an hour for lunch. Lunches were stored in a central location. At lunch time, these were passed out to the children. All students and teachers brought their lunches from home either in a basket or in a tin pail or a brown bag. These lunches usually consisted of cornbread or biscuits and some sort of meat, mainly pork, fried fatback, ham, or sausage. A special delight was finding a syrup biscuit, a biscuit with a fingerhole filled with homemade syrup. Some students remembered having baked sweet potatoes. A piece of fruit or a dessert was rarely included, but something even better was. According to Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams, her mother used to tell her that if she looked all the way to the bottom of her pail, she would find something special, "love," which made whatever was or was not in her lunch all right with her (Interview, Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams, 2/10/98).

Even though teachers also brought their own lunches, students' parents would frequently send them something to eat by their children. According to Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, she stopped bringing her own lunch altogether because the parents were sending her so many different types of foods each day (Interview, Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, 1/15/99). For drinking purposes, most students brought a cup or a glass from home. If not, they drank water from a tin dipper. Daily water was drawn up from an open well or pumped by hand into a bucket.
Included in the curricular aspects of these schools was the total amount of days that these schools were operated. These days varied and were ultimately set by the Board of Education. According to Bulloch County Board minutes 1925-1949, (BOE Minutes before 1925 were unavailable), the Bulloch County Board of Education itself regulated the length of the school year and dictated when schools were to begin and close. According to Board guidelines, there would be

six months for all the schools that fail to make the term average for sixth months and for all the schools that make the term average for six months the seventh month will be given as long as the required term average is maintained during the seventh. (BOE minutes, August 4, 1925)

The term "average" was based upon required attendance: one-teacher schools needed 20 pupils; two-teacher schools needed 45 pupils; three-teacher schools needed 75 pupils; four-teacher schools needed 100 pupils teacher schools needed 130 pupils; and six-teacher schools needed 160 pupils with a new teacher being added for every additional 30 students until the fourteen-teacher school with a 400 student limit was reached (BOE minutes, August 4, 1925).

Because teacher and pupil requirements were based upon having a certain number of students attending, it must be noted that the majority of African American church-schools were one-teacher schools with only one school, New Hope, having two teachers; therefore, by the above guidelines, all of the church-schools exceeded the maximum pupil attendance based upon the number of teachers at a school. For example, for the school year 1938-39, New Hope educated 107 students; accordingly, this school needed at least four teachers. Even though a one-teacher school was to have at least 20 students, in 1939, these one-teacher African American church-schools ranged from a low of 32...
pupils to a high of 113 students. In essence, all of the church-schools exceeded
the maximum pupil attendance based upon the number of teachers at the
school.

Schools also adhered to grade level requirements: a) A one- or two-
teacher school could teach up to 7 grades, b) a three-teacher school could teach
8 or 9 grades, but there had to be at least four pupils per grade level, and c) a
four-teacher school could teach 9 or 10 grades, but there also had to be at least
four pupils per grade level. (BOE minutes, August 18, 1925)). Since most
African American church-schools had only one or two teachers, but mostly one,
the seventh grade was the highest grade that they could teach.

School beginning dates that were determined by the Board of Education
changed yearly. For example, on August 18, 1925, the Board chose October 5,
Monday, as the date for schools to open, whereas the 1925-26 school year
began on October 1 and was to be held for six months or 120 days. By 1928,
senior and junior high schools were to open on September 17, but no later than
September 24. The exception was Brooklet and Stilson that were to open on
September 30. All other schools were to open October 1, but no later than
October 15 (BOE minutes, September 4, 1928). In 1930, the Board ordered all
of the "colored schools" to close on Friday, March 7, 1930 (BOE minutes,
February 4, 1930).

During the 1931 Depression, the Bulloch County Board of Education sent
a notice to the trustees of all white schools stating that schools were to operate
for only five consecutive months, starting September 30. There was $500 of
Special Aid available to those schools who could operate for seven months, but
they had to operate before receiving the aid. There was $1000 available to high
schools that could operate for seven months. Special Aid applications have to be filled out. Statesboro High and Industrial was the only African American high school; therefore, only it applied for this aid. No record existed of any other African American schools applying for or receiving this aid (BOE minutes, January 6, 1931 & March 3, 1931). It can be assumed that African American schools also operated for five months, if not less, because historically African American schools operated for fewer days than their white counterparts.

Moreover, for the school year 1931, the Bulloch County Board of Education decided that the junior high schools would not open before October 12 and that they would close on December 23 and reopen on January 4 (BOE minutes, September 1, 1931 & December 22, 1931). In 1933, schools began on September 15, with the first month to be paid for by local taxes while the county would begin paying on October 13 (BOE minutes, August 1, 1933). However, in 1934, senior highs were to open on September 3, and junior high on September 14 (BOE minutes, August 7, 1934).

In contrast, in 1937, senior high schools were to operate nine months while junior highs were to operate eight months (BOE minutes, September 7, 1937). During the time of this study, junior highs were those schools that educated beyond the seventh grade, but not up to the eleventh grade. None of the community schools, those located in a church, those located near a church, or those which were located in a different location ever received the rank of junior highs. Even though New Hope did have a few students who were enrolled in the eighth grade, it never reached junior high status.

In 1939, the Bulloch County Board of Education stated that junior high schools would open on September 18, 1939, while senior high schools would
open on September 1, 1939. Christmas break would begin on December 22, and school would resume January 1, 1940 (BOE minutes, December 5, 1939).

Even though Bulloch County Board minutes did not make mention of whether the same openings and closings were to apply to African American schools, Board minutes for the year 1940 make a distinction between the two schools. On March 5, 1940, the Board of Education ordered H. P. Womack to cut off all colored schools at the end of six months and a week, which would be a total of 120 days since one week was usually taken for Christmas break. Furthermore, Board minutes stated that J. A. Metts made a motion that all white schools in Bulloch County, and the four junior colored schools would operate for nine months for the year of 1940-41, and it was further stated that these schools would open on September 6, 1940 (BOE minutes, August 6, 1940). However, according to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39), all African American church-schools were operated for 120 days, whereas in the 1940-41 school year, they were operated for 140 days with the 1941-42 school year having the same amount of days.

Even though 120 days seemed to have been the standard for African American schools, however, according to student school attendance reports beginning with the school-year 1941 and ending with 1949, African American schools in general did not have a standard 120-day school year. The school year varied from year to year.

Table 2 shows the various number of school days for each consecutive year beginning with 1941 and ending with 1949. During this nine-year period, African American schools only had a total of two consecutive years in which the school term stayed consistent.
Table 2
Days African American Schools Operated, 1941-49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School Records</th>
<th>Superintendent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>160 days</td>
<td>160 days</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>140 days</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>120 days</td>
<td>120 days</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>160 days</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>180 days</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>180 days</td>
<td>180 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>175 days</td>
<td>175 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>175 days</td>
<td>175 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The (?) represents data not available.

In regard to community schools, there were yearly differences as well as simultaneous differences within a year. Some schools had between a five to fifteen day difference. For example, for 1947, according to student attendance records, when most schools were operating for 180 days, Rosehill met 160 days, and New Hope met 175 days.

Moreover, according to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1947-48), all church-schools met for 180 days; however, two other community schools met for a different amount of days: Pigford met for 172 days, and Johnson Grove met for 170 days. In addition, in 1941, the church-school Red Hill only met for 35 days. Some discrepancies existed between student records and superintendent
reports for some years, which can be attributed to human error. The variations in Table 2 were included to show that not all African American schools met for the same amount of days each year. The church-schools' yearly calendar may have been linked to teacher availability or funding.

However, no matter how long the school was operated, it inevitably ended with a school closing exercise. According to oral narratives, school closing exercises were held on the very last day of school. Students spent a few days before and the last day preparing and rehearsing for the exercises that began around 12:00 noon. These programs would consist of recitations or speeches, what the teachers and students referred to as "dialogues." There would also be short plays or skits, songs, and marches. According to Mrs. Thelma Jones Heard who taught at Free Chapel, her students would march around to music from the organ. Parents were invited to come, and they always came, both mothers and fathers. The school closing exercises would be held on the school's porch, or if the school did not have a porch, a makeshift one would be made just for this occasion. Church benches would be moved outside to allow parents to have a seat (Interview, Mrs. Thelma Jones Heard, 4/14/1998). Each student participated, if only for a brief period.

When the program was completed, an elaborate lunch would be served. Some students remembered eating the lunches that they had brought while some remembered eating a big fancy meal brought and served by the attending parents after the exercises were over. When the food had been eaten, the benches were replaced, the make-shift porch torn down, and then all of them, parents and children and teachers walked home together joyous over what they had seen, heard, and eaten. These school closings took place in either in March, April, or May, depending upon the length of the school year.


Funding Practices

Lastly, these schools did not receive much funding. As elementary schools, they were not eligible for vocational funds, and the probability of their receiving Rosenwald funds was very rare. The fact that the Bulloch County Board of Education did not build these schools is evident since they were churches and not schools. To receive financial assistance, African American schools had to belong to the Bulloch County Board of Education. According to Board data, when Noah's Ark, one of the fifteen church-schools, asked the Board to furnish roofing, the Board decided to grant this request but only if "the property would be deeded to the Board of Education by the owners of the property," and this was done (BOE minutes, June 2, 1936).

On another occasion, G. A. Dekle, John Powell, Iverson Anderson, W. J. Akerman and D. A. Mathis requested the Board of Education to help build New Hope Colored School. The Board as with Noah's Ark agreed only to furnish roofing along with some windows and doors (BOE minutes, March 3, 1936). Earlier in 1935, almost a year earlier, D. A. Mathis and Oscar Deloach, both African American men, had initially approached the Board concerning this same matter. The Board remarked that the only financial aid that they could provide was "to the extent of covering the building" (BOE minutes, May 7, 1935).

Many wonder if the African Americans in Bulloch County paid any taxes at all for the support of Bulloch County schools. According to Bulloch County Board of Education minutes, there was a five mill county-wide tax and a five mill local tax levied which was to include "the same taxes on colored property for the county" (BOE minutes, September 7, 1942).

Even though it seemed that Bulloch County's Board of Education should have been more willing to aid African American schools financially since African
American parents were providing tax support, this matter may have been out of the hands of the local Board. According to Board minutes, the Board stated that in compliance with the order from the State Department of Education that none of the school funds were to be appropriated for school building purposes (BOE minutes, August 7, 1928).

The only other funds that elementary schools could receive were Barrett-Roger funding which was distributed only if two or more schools were consolidated. Many white schools consolidated and, therefore, received these building funds, yet because African Americans schools were not provided with transportation until 1947 and then only to the junior high and high schools, consolidation was not feasible due to the distances that some of the students would have had to walk.

Yet, according to Bulloch County Board minutes, some of the African American schools were consolidated. Moreover, the fact that the African American schools that were mentioned in the 1925 through 1940 Board of Education minutes are no longer listed as schools on the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-1949) further suggested that consolidations did take place. Therefore, it can be assumed that some African American schools did receive some Barrett-Rogers funding for consolidation and may have been consolidated on less than four acres. However, no Board minutes support this conjecture.

According to Bulloch County Board minutes, the following African American schools were discussed in relation to school consolidation. First, there was a petition from citizens of Ingleside, Alexander, and Olliff Bay school districts to consolidate and to build a schoolhouse at Sand Ridge Church. This decision was tabled. (BOE minutes, April 6, 1926). Furthermore, there was a committee from Mt. Zion, Summer Hill, and Magnolia asking permission to
consolidate into one school at Spring Creek (BOE minutes, May 2, 1933). It seemed that the Magnolia School was consolidated into at least one of these schools since it no longer appeared in 1938. The Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39) only listed Mount Zion and Summer Hill, whereas the 1949 Report only lists Summer Hill. Therefore, data supported that consolidation did take place in relation to these three schools.

Another consolidation effort was mentioned between Pope's Academy, Clito, St. Mary's, and Free Chapel (BOE minutes, June 6, 1933). However, representatives from Free Chapel came before the Board and asked to be left out of this consolidation effort (BOE minutes, June 3, 1933). The Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39) only listed Pope's Academy and Free Chapel while the 1949 report only listed Pope's Academy as a school. In that same year, 1933, a committee consisting of Jim Jackson and Walter Florence requested that the Board agree to a consolidation effort among Miller Grove, Mt. Zion, and Magnolia Schools. The Board responded that further consideration would be made upon the presentation of proper petition to the Board (BOE minutes, June 6, 1933). On the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39), only Mt. Zion School was mentioned, yet Mount Zion was not mentioned as a school on the 1949 report from the superintendent. Surely, consolidation and then subsequent school closings occurred in the 1930's.

Moreover, at a later meeting, the Board decided that the consolidation of Pigford and Iler would be unwise due to the fact that the matter of transportation was top heavy in the county (BOE minutes, November 6, 1934), but for whom? No African American schools had any public transportation at this time.

In addition, a committee from the Brooklet "colored school" requested covering or roofing for the school building. The Board agreed to provide
coverings for the colored school buildings provided that they would consolidate into two- or three-teacher schools (BOE minutes, January 2, 1935).

Also, Julius Johnson wanted Mt. Mariah, a small school near Leefield with about 12 children, to be consolidated with the Brooklet School. The matter was turned over to Julia P. Bryant, the "colored supervisor" (BOE minutes, October 6, 1936). In addition, a committee from New Sandridge requested the Board to allow them to reestablish their school at Mt. Zion since their children had to walk at least five miles to New Sandridge (BOE minutes, March 3, 1937). In another instance, approximately two years after he had made his initial request, Charles Rucker from Mt. Merriah [sic] came to the Board requesting that their old school be reestablished at the Leefield sight. This matter was also left in the hands of Mrs. Julia P. Bryant (BOE minutes, December 6, 1938).

As shown, even though African American schools made efforts to consolidate, sometimes consolidation efforts were not in the best interest of the students especially since African American students did not have any public transportation and would have to walk long distances to attend the new consolidated African American schools.

In relation to funding, it must be noted that these schools did not receive any funds for transportation. Both the teachers and the students had to walk to and from school. Some had to walk as far as five miles to school, which was taxing to the body, especially in winter and rainy weather.

As a whole, these church-schools had to rely upon their own initiatives in order to raise funds for their operations. Student tuition was charged and ranged from five cents to a few dollars, yet all could not pay these amounts so foodstuffs, such as meats and vegetables, were given to the teacher as
payment. The Board of Education seemed only willing or was limited to only supplying roofing for these schools. Therefore, the know-how, the lumber, and the determination all had to come from the African American community itself.

Those Located near a Church

The second group of community schools were those that, even though they were near churches, were housed in a separate building. Out of the forty-three plus schools, ten of these schools were located near a church (See Appendix A). Because these schools were usually built at the time that the church was built, looking at the founding of the church will also shed some light on the age of these schools. Even though these schools were housed in a separate building, they were still very related to the church in some way. According to Brannen (1992), "the Negro school as a rule, is closely related, physically and otherwise to the local church and lodge" (p. 498), and she adds that many of them are very clean since an emphasis had been placed upon sanitation, yet there was a lack of equipment in these schools. Because of the close affinity to the church in which they usually shared acreage, these rural schools usually bore the same name as the church.

Historical Findings

By looking at the founding dates of these churches, much can be inferred about the starting dates of these African American schools. From the earliest founding date of these schools to 1949, over forty years had passed. The schools presented in this section came from two sources: the Superintendent's Annual Report (1949) and from any transaction concerning these schools as recorded in the Bulloch County Board of Education minutes. This information was also combined with other school information that was gathered from oral narratives.
In general, all of these schools had certain elements in common. First, all of these schools were operated for 175 days. In addition, all of these schools were taught by female teachers who had at least one year of college. And lastly, each one of these schools ended at the seventh grade. Other differences are presented as each school is discussed individually.

One of these schools that was located near a church was the Rehovah Missionary Baptist Church School. It was in Militia District 1320 called Laston which was located in the Portal area. In 1909, in reference to Rehovia [sic] Deed Book 39, dated April 17, 1909, stated:

This is to certify that in case a certain tract of one acre of land, deeded to the Board of Education of Bulloch County during the first of this year, should revert back to me as specified in said deed by discontinuing as a school for three years; that I, J. D. Blitch agree to give said acre under the same conditions as specified in said deed to the Board of Education to the Trustees of Rehovah Baptist Church." (p. 33)

Furthermore, according to Deed Book 44, J. D. Blitch deeded one acre to the Bulloch County Board of Education "with the express agreement that the above described lot of land shall be used for school purposes for colored children and when said Board of Education shall fail or refuse to operate a public school for three years in succession the title . . . shall revert to J. D. Blitch and his heirs or assigns" (p. 44). This deed also referred to the location "where a new schoolhouse is now being built" (p. 44). Even though the land now belonged to the Bulloch County Board of Education, because funding was dependent upon ownership of the land, oral narratives showed that this church-school was built by the African American community.
Each church had trustees who conducted the church's official business and since a school was also connected to this church, it is highly probable that the church's trustees would also have been the school's trustees also. The trustees of this church were Willis Davis, George Williams, James Evans, Jerry Bennett, James Byrd, and John Smith. Another deed signed in 1922 showed the acreage to be four and one-third acres which where located from Lake Church to Blitch. The seller, Mrs. J. D. Blitch, was paid $40 for this acreage.

According to the deed,

The said land being conveyed for church, school and cemetery purposes, and being now occupied by the Rehovah church building, school house and cemetery, and includes the land heretofore given to said church by J. D. Blitch in his life time and by Mrs. J. D. Blitch since his death. (Deed Book 65, December 2, 1922, p. 255)

As shown, the Rehovah School was begun around 1909 and was still operating in the year 1922. However, it was not mentioned by name as one of the schools included in Duggan's Educational Survey of Bulloch County Schools (1915), but there was one school which was pictured but not named. This school could possibly have been the Rehovah School.

In 1949, Rehovah was a two-classroom wooden lodge that contained 12 student desks valued at $30. The building itself was valued at $2000 and was located on a two-area lot valued at $100. Rehovah only taught a total of 38 students at a per pupil instruction cost of $50. It was taught by two female teachers, one with a four-year and one with a two-year college certificate. Two of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Ruby Dell Brock and Mary Evans Miller. Rehovah is still functioning as a church today.
Mount Zion, an African Methodist Episcopal church, also operated a school. This school was located in Militia District 48 called Hagan. The founding date of this church was 1869, but in 1872 John W. Karney donated to the trustees of this church, George Wilson, Meyer Eason, and Silas Knight, two acres of land on which to begin this church.

In 1949, Mount Zion was no longer listed on the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Report as a school. However, strange as it may be, student school records were dated to the year 1954, which seemed to be the official closing date of this school. It could be that Mount Zion closed for the year 1949, but reopened at some future date. Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Susie Riggs Edwards, Veronica L. Young, and Zadie L. Douglas. Mount Zion is still a church today.

Another church is Piney Grove which was located in Militia District 1547 called Emit. Piney Grove, which is still a church today, is located off Highway 67 in Denmark, Georgia. Its founding date according to church records is 1885. For this church's grounds, two and three-fourth acres were purchased from Mr. D. A. Brannen for $92.25 in 1918 (Deed Book 59, November 22, 1919, p. 365). This deed contained a drawing that pinpoints the location of both Piney Grove Church and Piney Grove School. Since Piney Grove School was not listed as one of the African American schools in Duggan's 1915 survey, we can assume, therefore, that this school was begun sometime after 1915. The deed listed October 26, 1918 as the date of the transaction, but the recording date was listed as November 22, 1919.

In 1949, Piney Grove was a one-room wooden building worth $150. It was situated on two-acres of land valued at $75. One teacher with a two-year college degree taught at this school. Even though this school taught 48
students, there were no standard student desks available, which implies that benches were used. The per pupil instruction cost was $11.11. Some of the teachers who taught at Piney Grove in the 1940s were Priscilla Coleman Tremble Mainer, Jeanette Williams, Kathryn Gilmore, and Mary J. Jackson, who in a letter dated May 4, 1955, told about her teaching career. She came to Bulloch County as a teacher in 1901, but began her teaching career at Piney Grove in 1918. She described this schoolhouse as being "one small room." According to her letter, she organized the first P.T.A. at Piney Grove and boasted of a treasury of $49 when "we joined other schools in P.T.A. work." This letter established three facts. It showed that Piney Grove's school existed as early as 1918 and that African American teachers were in Bulloch County in the early 1900s as represented in the census reports for Bulloch County. It also showed that P.T.A.'s were very active in these schools and gave these schools much financial assistance (Personal letter, Mary J. Jackson, May 5, 1955).

St. Paul's Missionary Baptist Church also ran a school. The founding date of this church is 1896. This church, which still meets today, was first called Union, but in 1900, it changed its name to St. Paul's. This church is located in Register and is in Militia District 45 called Club House. In 1907, one-half acre was purchased by the church for $15, and in 1908, another acre was purchased for $8. The last date on school records was 1957, which was probably the last year that this school was operated.

In 1949, St. Paul's School was a wooden two-classroom masonic lodge worth $600. Its one acre was worth $150. It educated 54 students at a $53 per pupil instruction cost. At this school, there were only ten student desks, and they were worth $30. Two teachers taught here. One held a three-year degree, and the other held a one-year college or less degree.
The teachers who taught here in the 1940s were E. W. Pearce, M. L. Eason, Willie B. Williams, Corrie Everett, Span Everett, Madie Williams Scott, Clara Bell Parrish, Pearle Bellinger, Mamye Jenkins Mincey, Beatrice V. Riggs, and Lola B. Davis.

Johnson Grove Baptist Church also had its own school. It was located in Militia District 46 called Lockhart which was located past Portal. It was founded in 1884. In 1893, the trustees for Johnson Grove, who were Henry Carter, G. M. Cooper, and Peter Mincey, bought one acre for $10 from D. H. Finch, but later bought 6 1/2 acres for $130 (Deed Book 4, September 23, 1893, p. 384). Since this school was listed in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), its beginning date was probably in the early 1900s, if not earlier.

In 1949, Johnson Grove was a wooden frame building with one classroom valued at $200. Its 1/2 acre was valued at $25. This school owned 42 student desks valued at $135 and taught 48 students at a per student cost of instruction of $39.17. Its one teacher held a three-year college degree. According to student school records, the last recorded date of this school was 1956, which was probably the last year that this school was operated.

Mr. Hinton Ward remembered walking 2 and 1/2 miles to Johnson Grove. He also remembered the trustees of the school. They were his father, Issac Ward, Dan Bostic, Willie Hall, Louis Jarnett, Robert Polk, Tom Phillips, Fred Clark, and Dan Bostic, Jr. He remarked that these men "took care of problems." Some of the teachers at this school came from as far away as North Carolina. Another job of the trustees was to find a place for these teachers to stay or board. Mr. Ward's parents boarded several teachers the whole school term. The job of these trustees also entailed keeping wood at the school. Mr. Ward also remembered that this school in the 1940s provided lunches for its students.
when the government provided them with commodities. They received such foodstuffs as grits, rice, pork and beans, and fruits such as apples and bananas. Oatmeal with milk made from dry milk powder and water was served for breakfast. These meals were cooked on the wood stove in the school (Interview, Mr. Hinton Ward, 10/3/98).

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Maxine Theodora Royals, Daisy Hinton, S. C. Mollette, Lue Ella Slater, Mary E. Sellers, Simmie Clutchfield, and Addie Presley who taught the primer class. Today, Johnson Grove is still a church.

Another church that had a school was Ada Belle. It was located in Militia District 44 called Sinkhole which is in the Nevils area. Not much is known about this church since no deed records could be found under this name. However, Ada Belle School was listed in Duggan's 1915 school survey. The last student record was dated 1957 which was probably the last year that this school operated.

In 1949, Ada Belle school was a wooden frame building with two classrooms. The building was valued at $150, and its two-acre plot was valued at $200. One teacher with a four-year college degree taught 30 students at a $58.61 per student cost of instruction. This school owned 15 student desks valued at $15. This school also taught a primer class.

Teachers who taught at Ada Belle in the 1940s were M. M. Wells, Annie McCann, J. F. Bethea, Jonnie Mae Polk Daughtry, Ruby McCann, Elise Wright, Julia Pearle Simmons, Leona McCollum, A. L. Graham, Veronica Young Smith Simmons, and Roberta Carlton Southerland. Today, Ada Belle is still a church.

Another one of the ten schools in this group was the Summer Hill Baptist Church School. This school was located in Militia District 48 called Hagan which
is off Highway 24. Two and a half acres were deeded to the trustees of this church in 1929 for $200 which was to be paid in payments at 8% interest. The church's trustees, Nam Anderson, Horace Jackson, and Chester Prince, purchased this land from Waley Lee. No school by the name of Summer Hill was listed in Duggan's Educational Survey. The last date on student records was 1951, which was probably the last year that the school was opened.

In 1949, Summer Hill was a wooden two-classroom school valued at $300 located on a two-acre lot valued at $50. It was taught by two teachers. One held a four-year and one a two-year college degree. This school educated 61 students at a per student cost of instruction of $79.84. This school only had ten student desks that were valued at $10.

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Gladys Moore, Pearle Bellinger, Susie Rhinelander, Maggie Jones Redwine, Lurushia Nelson, V. Wooten, Velma Wooten, L. M. German Channel, Willa B. Edgefield, A. M. Harris, B. Smith, E. Wright, and M. Martin. This school also provided instruction in a primer class which was taught by Willa B. Edgefield. Summer Hill is still a church today.

The Sand Ridge School had some mystery concerning it. Even though it was pictured in Duggan's 1915 survey, no one could be found who could pinpoint its location. Since there was a New Sandridge School also, only this one was remembered. What is known about this particular school was taken directly from the Superintendent's Annual Report (1949) and from Bulloch County Board minutes.

In 1949, Sand Ridge, now spelled Sandridge, was a two-classroom wooden frame building valued at $50. It was situated on a one-acre lot valued at $100. It had a seating capacity of 75. Two female teachers taught here, and
they both possessed four-year college degrees. Forty-three students attended at a $91.20 per student cost. This school taught grades first through seventh.

Sand Ridge was mentioned only once in the Bulloch County Board of Education minutes. In 1926, citizens from Ingleside, Alexander, and Olliff Bay school districts petitioned the Board to allow them to consolidate and build a schoolhouse at Sand Ridge Church. This decision was tabled (BOE minutes, April 6, 1926), yet no subsequent minutes mentioned this matter. Since schools were segregated, we must assume that the above school districts were African American school districts as well.

In addition, we must also assume that this school was operated as early as 1926. These minutes were also significant because this was the first time that any school districts had been mentioned that could be tied to any African American school (BOE minutes, April 6, 1926). Sand Ridge is no longer a church today. However, some of the teachers who taught here were Dillie M. Lawrence, Elizabeth McGirt, Lester Mae Channel, and Sadie B. Williams.

Another school, the Spring Hill School, was located in Militia District 1547 called Emit which is west of Brooklet. Spring Hill is listed in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915). Spring Hill is a present-day church.

In 1949, Spring Hill was a one-classroom frame building worth $500 which was located on an acre of land worth $200. It contained 25 student desks worth $35. One teacher with a three-year college degree taught 33 students at a per pupil instruction cost of $51.47. Student records do not mention this school beyond 1951, which was probably the last year that this school was operated.

Mr. L. C. Williams remembered that Spring Hill School was located by the church. The school was one big wooden classroom with a small porch on the front. This school had no electrical lights and had a front and a back door.
There were benches in this school, and there was a chalkboard on the wall. Windows were located on each side of the school. He attended this school in the 1930s (Interview, Mr. L. C. Williams, 7/16/98). Another student who attended this school was Mrs. Linda Lee Beasley. She agreed with the description of the school given by Mr. Williams, yet she added that the school, which was located by Lott's Creek, had been torn down (Interview, Mrs. Linda Lee Beasley, 7/16/98).

Some of the teachers who taught at Spring Hill in the 1940s were Gladys Moore, Susie Rhinelander, M. Martin, V. Wooten, Lula Lockwood, Annie McCann Harris, L. M. German, and L. M. Channel (probably the married L. M. German). Spring Hill is still a church today.

The last school in the group was Mount Calvary. This school only appeared in the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39). No deed records or anyone remembering this school could be found. Moreover, neither was it listed as a school on Duggan's 1915 survey. Moreover, no African American church by this name exists today. It was not known in which district this school was located nor could a school attendance record be located bearing this school's name. This was partially due to the fact that many African American school records were discarded after school desegregation in the 1970s which has created a void within many historical areas in relation to African American education. Since this school played a role in the education of African American students in Bulloch County, it also deserved to be listed.

According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39), this school was a one-room wooden frame building worth $400. It was housed on one acre worth $50. Thirty-eight students attended this six-month, 120-day school. This school provided instruction in first, second, third, and fifth grades. As the rest of
the schools at this time, it was taught by one female teacher holding a county license and drawing a yearly salary of $150. The per pupil cost of instruction was $6.

**Physical Appearance**

In discussing the physical characteristics of these schools, oral narratives established that certain similarities as well as differences existed. First, all of these schools were located on church lots. All interviewees agreed that these schools were not taught in churches. In reference to size, there was no consensus. Some called these schools "small" while others described them as being "as big as a four-room house." When asked to give dimensions, interviewees gave the following sizes: 15 x 30/40 for Summer Hill; for Rehovah, 24 x 60, but this was a Masonic Hall.

Even though all of these schools were made of wood, only one was painted. Rehovah, the Masonic Hall, was painted inside and outside (Interview, Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98). Pictures of these schools from Duggan's 1915 survey showed unpainted wooden buildings made out of boards layered upon each other. The picture of Harmony supported the description given of Harmony by Mrs. Pricilla Mainer (Interview, Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, 1/15/99).

The number of windows ranged from two to four on each side. Each school had a front and a back door. Classrooms ranged from one to two.

According to Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, Rehovah did have a pantry or an anteroom. St. Paul's, another Masonic Hall, was a two-story building, but school was held downstairs. This downstairs area contained two rooms; one was larger than the other (Interview, Mr. Lee S. Smith, 3/15/98).

Even though every teacher had a chair and a table that was used as the teacher's desk, every student did not have a desk. According to Mrs. Priscilla
Mainer, at Harmony, her students sat at tables with one bench on each side. Some of the other schools that used benches and tables were Rehovah, Summer Hill, Spring Hill, and Johnson Grove. The number of benches ranged from 4 to 12. Some schools received desks from the white schools. They were older, out-dated desks with ink wells. Although at times two teachers had to share a room, the room was divided in some way, mainly with students sitting in opposite directions. Each teacher had a chalkboard of some sort, however; and sometimes they had more than one (Interview, Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, 1/15/99).

In regard to school facilities, before 1947, none of these schools, except Rehovah, had electrical lights. Kerosene lamps were used, mainly at night when a program was held. Each school was heated by a pot-bellied wood stove which was located in the middle of the room. Two-room schools had one in each room.

None of these schools had indoor plumbing; therefore, there were no drinking fountains. They either had an open shallow well where water was drawn up by using a bucket, or they used a hand pump. Moreover, none of them had indoor toilets. Outdoor pits were used, and these were inspected periodically by the sanitation department. Only a few of these schools had no outdoor privy at all, nor did all of them have two, one for the girls and one for the boys. For example, Summer Hill and Johnson Grove only had an outdoor privy for the girls; as the interviewees stated, the boys had to use the surrounding woods.

Curricular Aspects

The next topic concerning these schools was their curricular aspects. As stated earlier, all of these schools went to the seventh grade. The majority of their teachers were females who held college degrees in 1949.
Oral narratives revealed that at first none of these schools had an official principal, yet lead teachers were thought of as principals of the school. To make sure that teachers had the supplies that they need, the school trustees would come around at least once a month to see to the needs of the teacher, whether it was wood, desks, or something as minor as chalk. A supervisor would also visit these schools at least once a month. The majority of the teachers and students interviewed remembered Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, Miss Theodora Thomas, and Mrs. Manelle Dixon. Both Mrs. Bryant and Ms. Dixon are mentioned in the Bulloch County Board of Education minutes as supervisors (BOE minutes, May 2, 1933).

Again, all of these schools were taught for 175 days in 1949, but the school year varied in prior years as outlined in Table 2. All of these schools taught up to the seventh grade, and before 1949, began as early as September and ended as late as April.

Most agreed that the school day began around 8:00 or 8:30 A.M., yet Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock remembered that at Rehovah the school day began around 9:00 or 10:00 A.M., and in harvest season school got out around 12:00 noon. The regular ending time varied from 2:00 or 2:30 to 3:00 P.M. In contrast, another teacher, Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, said that at Harmony, school ended when the teacher had finished all that was scheduled to be taught which sometimes meant that students stayed as late as 4:00 P.M., if not longer (Interview, Mrs. Priscilla Mainer, 1/15/99).

No matter what time the students arrived, school was always begun with a devotion. The first part of the morning was set aside each day for this purpose. Devotion consisted of a prayer, usually the Lord’s Prayer, or the repeating of Bible verses by all. It also included a song. Mainly these songs were religious ones either led by the teacher or by any student who could sing.
Then the rest would join in. Teachers believed that this exercise got students prepared for the school day.

**Funding Practices**

The funding of the schools that were located near churches was very similar to the funding of the church-school. Because these schools were not vocational schools or industrial schools, there was no funding available to them through the Smith-Hughes fund. Similarly, because they were not located in areas where school consolidation was feasible, they could not receive any Barrett-Roger funding for school consolidation. Therefore, these schools relied heavily upon the support of the community through the schools' trustees and the Jeanes supervisors. As the letter written by Mrs. Mary Jane Jackson on May 5, 1955 illustrated, the P.T.A. was very active in African American schools. This organization surely put on several programs such as boxed suppers, carnivals, or talent shows in order to raise funds to help support the schools that their children attended. As shown through Board minutes, local funds were only given to help some of the schools with their roofing while the rest of the schools' building needs and repairs had to be financed solely through community efforts and meager student tuition, yet these schools were able to keep their doors open well past 1949.

**Those Schools Located in a Different Location**

The last group of community schools consists of the eleven schools which were neither housed in a church nor near a church, but were built in other locations within an African American community (see Appendix A). Even though all of their exact locations are not known, as evidenced by their names, several of these schools were located in the little towns that grew up around railroad
stations. (See Appendix E). Much has been discovered concerning these schools from state documents and oral narratives.

**Historical Findings**

One such community school was Bennett Grove. Bennett Grove was located in the District 1716 which is in the Portal area. Mr. Ben Bennett donated the land and had the school built. It was built by the Portal community. This school building is still standing today and is located only a few miles off Highway 25. Many of the older African Americans in the Portal area attended Bennet Grove. However, it was not listed on Duggan's *Educational Survey* (1915).

In 1939, Bennett Grove was a one-room wooden building valued at $200. In 1941, this same building was valued at $150, but by 1949, it was only worth $60. According to the *Superintendent's Annual Report* (1940-41), this school had a seating capacity of 70. In 1939, Bennett Grove was situated on a two-acre school lot valued at $50, but by 1949 this one acre was valued at only $30. In 1939, Bennett Grove operated for 120 days. In 1941, it operated for 140 days, and for 175 days in 1949. For each of these years, grades first through seventh were taught.

In 1939, Bennett Grove educated 45 students, 60 students in 1941, and 37 students in 1949. In 1939 and in 1941, one female teacher who held a county license taught here compared to one female teacher holding a three-year license teaching in 1949. The per student cost of instruction increased from $4.54 to $5.05, and then to $58.69 in 1949, which was probably due to the increase in the teacher salary due to a college degree being held. Some of the teachers who taught here were Levanna Wilson Lester, Thelma Jones Heard, Mrs. Young, and Darlena Hulsey.
Mrs. LeVanna Lester remarked that Ben Bennett had donated the land and that the patrons or parents had built the school. Only one teacher taught here at a time. School was taught for about five months in 1928, beginning in October and ending in March. She was only nineteen years old when she began to teach here. Even though she had a chalkboard, she did not have any desks. She remembered having three to five benches. At this time, students had to buy their own books. She received no money from the local board for supplies or for books. Money was raised through community parties like cake walks, boxed suppers, donkey parties (pin the tail on the donkey), and Thanksgiving festivals. School began with devotions that included the Lord's Prayer, songs, Bible verses, and a prayer. At school closings, the parents would build a porch as a stage for the children, and every child had a part in the program. Parents attended this event and stayed all day with their children (Interview, Mrs. LeVanna Lester, 6/19/98).

Pretorius was another community school that was not affiliated with a church. It was located in Militia District 1547 which is located in Brooklet. Again, the actual date of the construction of this school remains unknown, yet it was listed on Duggan's Educational Survey (1915). Therefore, it can be said that this school was in existence since 1915. It received its name from the town where it was located. Pretoria is a small town located between Statesboro and Brooklet.

In 1939, Pretorius was a two-room wooden building worth $500 situated on a one-acre lot worth $50. According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41), Pretorius was still worth $500 and had a seating capacity of 80, but was in this school year listed as a wooden building with only one classroom. Both the building and the land were now worth $600. In 1949, Pretorious was a
cement building with two classrooms and was now worth $900 and was situated on an acre of land worth only $30. The difference in the building structures seemed to suggest that the school either changed locations or was rebuilt. The fact that this school building had been around since 1915 may have been the reason rebuilding was necessary.

In 1939, two female teachers taught at this school, and they both held a county license. In 1941, two female teachers taught here with each holding a one-year college degree. In contrast, in 1949 there was one male and one female teacher with one holding a two-year and one holding a one-year certificate. In 1939, Pretorious taught 86 students at a per student cost of instruction of $4.05. In 1941, when the students decreased to 73, the cost of instruction increased to $9.55. In contrast, in 1949, ninety students were taught here at a per student cost of instruction of $70.30, which was a big increase showing that cost of instruction had risen. In 1939, students attended for 120 days; in 1941 they attended 140 days, and in 1949, they attended 175 days. Even though this school was an elementary school and only went to the seventh grade, a student record for the year 1948 showed enrollment in the eighth grade. This school also conducted a primer, or pre-first grade class. Individualized instruction was a big part of this school's curriculum. Those students who were intelligent enough were given advanced studies. Oral narratives also confirmed that it was possible for some students to complete two grades in one year. The last date of this school according to student records was 1953. Some teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Sue Rhinelander, Elise Kent, Eva J. Moore, Gertrude Everett, H.W.B. Smith, and Nettie M. Ward.
Another community school was Gay's Grove. It was located in Militia District 46, yet not much is known about this school. It was located near Portal, but no exact location could be found. According to a Bulloch County land deed, R. L. Gay, of Jenkins County, and L. L. Gay deeded to the Bulloch County Board of Education for the sum of $5 a "lot of land to be used for Educational purposes and said lot of land when used for other than Educational purposes then said lot of land revert back to L. L. Gay and his heirs" (Deed Book 44, March 31, 1911, p. 42). In addition, Bulloch County Board of Education minutes mentioned Gay's Grove receiving 200 feet of lumber if "Mr. C. B. Gay agrees to put it up" (BOE minutes, November 4, 1936). No one could be located to give first-hand knowledge of this school.

As was true of the other community schools, Gay's Grove was a wooden building with two-classrooms worth $400 in 1939, $350 in 1941, but only $200 in 1949. In 1939, Gay's Grove was on two-acres of land worth $100; in 1941, Gay's Grove was on three acres of land worth $175, but by 1949, it was located on an acre worth $100. Two female teachers taught here in 1939, and both held a two-year degree. In 1941, two females still taught here, but one held a one-year college degree while the other held only a county license. In 1949, only one female with a three-year college degree taught here.

In 1939, there were 65 students at Gay's Grove; in 1941, there were 50 students, but only 32 in 1949. However, unlike the other community schools, Gay's Grove taught up to the eighth grade, but only three students were enrolled in the eighth grade in 1939, and only two in 1941. In 1949, no students were enrolled beyond the seventh grade.

According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41), Gay's Grove had a seating capacity of 75. In 1939, the per pupil cost of instruction was $8.36
compared to $11.80 in 1941, but in 1949 this cost had skyrocketed to $43 and only 32 students attended. The latest date that appeared on any student school record was 1956, which was probably the last year of this school's operation.

Some of the teachers who taught at this school in the 1940s were Sarena Cail, W. A. Evans, G. T. Wallace, Rosa Lee Bostic Burroughs, Bessie Plummer, and Jonnie Mae Polk Lane Daughtry. Nothing else could be found out about Gay's Grove. Mrs. Cora Wallace attended this school, yet she could not remember any details.

The Riggs School was another school that can be listed under the heading of community school. This school was located in Militia District 1209 which was located directly outside of the city of Statesboro. Again, the actual founding date of this school was not known, and since it was not included in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), its origination must be after 1915.

A Bulloch County land deed dated 1941 showed a transaction between Beatrice Riggs, Grady I. Riggs, Walter M. Riggs, Harriot May Evans, Sue Rhynelander, Robert T. Riggs, and Pauline Harris and the Bulloch County Board of Education. For the sum of $1, three acres were deeded over to the Board of Education with the understanding that

this property is deeded to party of the second part to be used as school property for colored people and this property is to continue to be used for this purpose and if this property is ever discontinued to be used for negro [sic] school purposes, then this property will revert back to the Estate of Henry Riggs. (Deed Book 145, December 31, 1941, p. 278)

As evidence of this school's existence, a history of the Bethel Primitive Baptist Church stated that "the Riggs School was a worshipping place until the location was secured on Johnson and Butler Street" (Church Pamphlet, July 29-August 1,
The anniversary date of this church was 1924; therefore, it can be stated that this school existed as early as 1924.

In 1939, the Riggs School was a two-room wooden school worth $800, but in 1941, this school had acquired four other rooms which were not classrooms. The seating capacity was 75. Strangely, the value had decreased to only $400 by 1941. The school was on two acres of land in 1939, but on four acres in 1941. In contrast, this school was listed as having only two classrooms, but was worth $700 in 1949, and the acreage had decreased to the original two acres. For each year a female taught here, yet none of them had beyond one-year of college.

In 1939, this school only taught up to the sixth grade but taught 63 students at an instruction cost of $4.59 each. After this date, seven grades were taught. In 1941, there were 46 students who were educated at a per student instruction cost of $5.00, and in 1949, forty-six students were taught here at an instruction cost of $29.25.

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Bessie K. Belle, Sarena Cail, Gertrude Everett, Susie Rhinelander, and Miss Steele. The last date that appeared on student records was 1952, the probable closing date.

Grimshaw was also the name of another African American community school. The school received its name from the town Grimshaw which was a small town located below Statesboro in the Brooklet area which had a railroad running through it. Not very much is known about this school. It was located in Militia District 1523. This school did not appear on the list of schools as presented in Duggan's Educational Survey (1915). The earliest mention of this school came from oral narratives. According to Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish, Grimshaw was located in a little town near Brooklet. It was a train stop where
people would pick up fertilizer (Interview, Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish, 3/7/98).

In addition, Mrs. Barnell Farley, a former teacher, also remembered Grimshaw. She described this school as a one-room, unpainted wooden building that had two rows of benches and a pot-bellied stove in the middle. The windows had shutters, and the front door at one time may have been a "burlap bag," but there was a back door. This school had pit toilets that were raked and burned periodically. As a student who had been taught by her mother at home, she felt that some of the seventh and eighth grade teachers may not have been as well-prepared as they needed to be. She also remembered walking approximately two and a half miles to school. She also related how African American students were harassed by the white children who rode buses. They would shout the N-word to them and even spit on them. Also, buses would run over puddles and water would splash on those students who were walking (Interview, Mrs. Barnell Love Farley, 6/27/98).

The Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39, 1940-41, & 1948-49) presented the following information concerning Grimshaw. In 1939 and 1941, Grimshaw was a one-room wooden school worth $200, but dropped in value to $50 in 1941.

In 1949, Grimshaw was still worth $200. Its acreage changed from two acres valued at $50, to two acres valued at $150 acres in 1941 to a 1949 value of $75 for one acre. In the early years, Grimshaw was taught by one female teacher with a county license, but in 1949, the one female teacher who taught here held a four-year college degree.

In 1939, Grimshaw taught only six grades, but in 1941 and in 1949, Grimshaw taught seven grades. The student population was adequate for a school that had a seating capacity of 50. In 1939, there were 46 students; in
1941, there were 47 students, and in 1949, there were 49 students. The per student cost of instruction based on these three years was $4.54, $6.20, and $59.77, respectively. Some of the teachers who taught at Grimshaw were Letha Mae McArthur, Barnell Love Farley, Elise Kent, and Loutha Ponder.

Another community school was a school called Olney. This is also the name of a town located just above the Bulloch/Bryan County line. This school was located in this town in District 47. This school existed as early as 1938, but since it was not on Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), any earlier date cannot be proposed. No one could be found that knew anything concerning this school. Therefore, all the data presented came from the 1939, 1941, and 1949 Superintendent Annual Reports, plus one student record that existed in the files for past African American schools.

In 1939, Olney was a $230 one-room wooden school located on two acres of land worth $50. It taught 35 students in grades one through seven at a $6.25 per student cost of instruction. One female teacher holding a county license taught here.

In 1941, this school had changed somewhat. Even though it was still a one-room wooden school, its original value had decreased to $150, and it was now located on a one-acre lot worth $75. The seating capacity was 50 which provided enough room for the 32 students who were educated here at a $16.11 per student instructional cost. The female teacher who taught here had one year of college. In this school year, students attended for 140 days, which is twenty more than in 1939.

In contrast, in 1949, Olney had not increased in size, but its value had increased to $300, and its one acre of land was now valued at $125. School
was taught 175 days, but only 27 students attended. The per student rate was $49. The female teacher who taught here held a four-year college degree.

The only student record that could be found showing that Olney was indeed a school was the record of Ollie Pearle Anderson whose record showed attendance in 1955, which may have been the last year that this school operated. Because less than 40 students attended here during any one year, finding more records among those that had been preserved would be rare. According to this student record, for grades first through second, the following subjects were taught: Reading, arithmetic, language, spelling, science, art, and health. The subjects history and geography started in the second grade. However, no grammar or physiology was taught. The student's address listed a Route I address. Only one teacher's name appeared on this record, and it was Pennie Swenson. She taught here from 1949 to 1955.

Another community school was Hubert. Not much data could be located concerning this school beyond Superintendent's Annual Reports, and the few people who even thought that they remembered this school by name could not supply many details concerning it.

This school was not listed in Duggan's Educational Survey; therefore, it must have started sometime after 1915. According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1939), Hubert was a two-room wooden log school worth $400 which was located on two acres of land valued at $75. In this year, 70 students attended first through seventh grade for 120 days at a per student cost of $4.71. Two female teachers, each holding a county license, taught here.

In 1941, Hubert was still operating as a school. Its two rooms with a seating capacity of 75 were now valued at $500. Its one-and-three-fourth acre plot was worth $150. Even though this school had two classrooms, only one
teacher who held a one-year college degree taught here. Forty-three students attended first through fifth grade at an $8.68 per student cost of instruction.

In contrast, in 1949, this school was now a one-room wooden frame school worth $250, sitting on a one acre lot worth $150. One female teacher with a three-year degree taught here. The total number of students who attended this 175-day school was thirty-eight. The per student cost was $45.10. It is not known what teachers taught here.

Under the community school group, there were five schools that were not operating in 1949. These schools were Mount Calvary, which disappeared in 1939; Arcola, which is the name of a small town below Brooklet; Lee's Grove, Porter; and Pigford, which was the name of a small African American community and whose name appeared for the first time on the 1940-41 Superintendent's Annual Report. Other than Pigford or what has been called "Pigeye" and Lee's Grove, none of the others were remembered. Therefore, what is known about these schools mostly came from the 1939 and 1941 Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Reports. Furthermore, no student records could be found listing any of these schools. However, in reference to Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), both Lee's Grove and Arcola were listed.

Two people were located who remembered Lee's Grove. According to Mrs. Idora Sampson, Lee's Grove was the Gilmore School. Mr. Harry Lee gave Mr. Richard Gilmore the land on which to build this school. This school was located in Hubert, Georgia, and taught grades first through fourth. It was built in the 1930s. This building was a school first, and then it became a church (Interview, Mrs. Idora Sampson, 7/23/98).

The other person who remembered Lee's Grove was Mrs. Margarite Hill Joyce. She said that this school was located near the Magnolia Baptist Church.
Today, a new church is built where the old school was. This school was a two-room wooden building that was heated by a pot-bellied stove. About 60 students attended in grades first through seventh. This school had benches and students held their books in their laps. There was a blackboard that was used mainly for arithmetic. She also said that they stood in line for spelling. Uniquely, she related that sometimes students wrote on salespaper for lack of regular sheets. Some of the subjects that were taught here were arithmetic, spelling, reading, English, grammar, geography, and health which included how to brush your teeth with baking soda or salt and how to wash your hands before eating.

Parents had to purchase student books and these were kept and swapped if anyone else needed them. School began around 8:30 A.M. with a devotion that consisted of The Lord's Prayer, the Twenty-third Psalm, and a church song. The school day consisted of instruction, a 10:00 A.M. recess, and then school ended at 3:30 P.M. Fridays were special days since students did not do regular lessons. Instead, they spent the whole day singing songs and reciting recitations that they had learned at home. In arithmetic, they had to learn up to the twelve time tables. There were weekly tests, and little homework. Students stood in line to read, one paragraph at a time.

There were two outhouses. Catalogs such as Sears, National Bell Hess, Spiegel, and Walter Fields served as tissue paper. There was a hand pump for water purposes and the older boys had this task. Water was pumped and then put in a bucket with a dipper. A cup for drinking was brought by everyone. There was also a basin for washing hands.

The school was cleaned every Friday. The yard was also swept. There were so many sandburs until students could not take their shoes off. Grass in the school yard was hoed up as a safeguard against snakes.
This school also boarded its teachers. One teacher, Mrs. Veronica Williams Young, boarded with Mrs. Joyce's family for two weeks. While at her mother's home, Mrs. Young would do some chores around the house to help Mrs. Joyce's mother out; however, she would bring her own food and fix it herself. She would arrive on Mondays and leave on Fridays to spend the weekend with her own parents. In addition, teachers were paid by charging each student tuition. This tuition was paid monthly.

Mrs. Joyce remembered walking approximately two and one-half miles, and so did the teacher. In the winter this proved to be quite taxing. Since they had to walk in the cold through branches the bigger boys could make tracks for the smaller ones to follow or they would carry them on their backs. They had to cross a log in order to get across ditches. When they arrived, she remembered that their hands would be so cold until they had to place them in water in order to warm them up. Placing them next to the heater caused them to hurt. Mr. Archie Lee Byrd also remarked about how his cold hands had to be dipped into water to thaw them out. Unfortunately, he remembered that on some days there was no fire at all (Interview, Mr. Archie Lee Bryd, 6/10/98).

According to Mrs. Joyce, this school also had a school closing. This activity consisted of dialogues with three or four characters and a Tom Tom wedding with bridesmaids and a groom. One unusual drill was a hoop drill where a tub would be decorated and girls would put on crepe paper dresses and march around. There was also a drill for the boys. Mothers as well as fathers both attended these exercises. They built a stage at the front of the school, but no one brought any food.

Discipline was carried out by having disobedient students turn their backs to the class and not look around, by having them sweep the yards, or by
spanking them with a switch. Mrs. Joyce also related with a hearty smile how the girls got into trouble on April Fool’s Day. On the first day of April when school recessed for lunch, all of the teenage girls ran away to the creek and took their classmates’ lunches with them. The girls got into a lot of trouble, and their "parents had to talk for them." In regard to lunches, everyone brought a lunch, including the teacher. Sometimes if there were four or more in the same family, they would bring a joint lunch in an eight-pound bucket, if not, then a four-pound bucket was used. Students brought food such as biscuits, syrup, ham, and sweet potatoes. Lunch was eaten around noon. She also remembered that Ms. Anna Mae Goodman was her first teacher and that Mrs. Nancy Brown would come about every three months and teach the girls how to embroider and how to make baskets. She served in the same capacity as Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, as Jeanes Supervisor.

When asked how she felt about this school, she responded that her teachers were very caring and "tried to help children learn." Some children did repeat a grade. Because there were few people who could relate stories about Lee’s Grove, Mrs. Joyce’s narrative was extra special.

Pigeye was also a remembered school. Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish remembered attending this school. This school was not located near an African American church, but was located near the White Black Creek Church, and was "back in the woods." She remembered that this school began around 8:00 A.M. with a devotion and ended around 3:00 P.M. Only about 15 or less students attended. She remembered that this school taught geography for a long time. This school, she remembered, also had a piano.

From superintendent reports, the following information was presented concerning these almost forgotten schools: First, all of these schools were one-
room wooden buildings. While Arcola, Porter, and Pigford were worth only $50, Lee's Grove was worth $200, and Mount Calvary was worth $400. In reference to acreage, Arcola, Lee's Grove, and Porter only had one acre while the other two schools had two acres. Lee's Grove, Mount Calvary, and Porter's lands were all valued at $25 each. However, Arcola's and Pigford's school plots were worth $100 each. In 1941, each school was taught by one female teacher holding a county license.

All of these schools taught only five grades except Arcola that taught seven grades. These schools taught fifty and less students: Arcola, 50; Lee's Grove, 28; Mount Calvary, 36; Porter, 25; and Pigford 28. The per pupil cost of instruction was $4.41, $2.60, $6.00, none given, and $7.68, respectively.

Only the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41) gave the seating capacity of these schools. However, only Lee's Grove with a seating capacity of 35 students, and Pigford with a seating capacity of 40 students were listed. The names of teachers who taught at Arcola, Mount Calvary, and Porter could not be found.

Other Community Schools

In addition, Bulloch County Board minutes and oral narrative participants mentioned other names of African American schools which were not initially included within this study. Their names appeared as early as 1925. However, due to the unavailability of Bulloch County superintendent records before the 1938-39 school year or Board minutes before 1925, it was difficult to determine which of these schools were county-owned schools. The number of schools that existed in Bulloch County in 1920 was based upon a Jeanes Supervisor Report submitted by Mrs. Julia P. Bryant in the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921) concerning Bulloch County's African American schools. In this report, she
reported that 43 African American schools existed. Yet, this number could have been affected by the consolidation of schools and parents wanting to reopen them due to the distance that their children had to walk.

Up to this point in this study 41 schools have been discussed, which leaves two more, yet more than two other schools were mentioned in the Bulloch County Board minutes between 1920 and 1949. Therefore, instead of trying to decide which of the remaining schools made up the forty-second and the forty-third school, what has been found out about each of them will now be presented. Since no official state records could be found relating back to any of these schools, what is known came from oral narratives and church data. It is believed that the remaining schools were schools that were either located in a church or near a church. However, only two could be so categorized; therefore, these mystery community schools were grouped under the umbrella heading, "Other Community Schools."

One of the first schools in this group was the St. Mary's School, of which there were two: one school was located in Statesboro and was affiliated with a Baptist church, and the other one was located in Brooklet and was affiliated with a Methodist church.

The Statesboro St. Mary's school was a school located near its church, the Saint Mary's Missionary Baptist Church. According to church history, this church was established in 1880 with lands donated by Mrs. Mary Blitch. A land deed located in Deed Book S, dated July 19, 1890, page 318, stated that in this year the trustees of the church, Osbern C. Collins, Adam Coleman, and Alford H. Harris, received one acre of land as a "deed of gift" from Mrs. Blitch. This church was originally located near Nevils Creek, but church history stated that a
flood destroyed this church so it was relocated onto its present location where the school was also located.

Church history also related that Mrs. Emma Brannen Lee was the first teacher who taught in the schoolhouse located near the church. When this church celebrated its centennial, this information was presented concerning Mrs. Lee:

Her life began at St. Mary's in the year 1918 during the time when she became the teacher of St. Mary's school located next to the church. Many of the children were members of the church. (100th Anniversary: St. Mary's Missionary Baptist Church: 1880-1980, p. 15)

Even though Mrs. Lee began teaching at this school in 1918, it had to exist prior to 1915 since it was one of the schools pictured in Duggan's survey. Even though the researcher belongs to this church, no one at the church could remember anything more about this church's school other than the fact that it had one.

The other St. Mary's School was located in Brooklet, Georgia. It was a United Methodist Church. What is known about this church was taken from its church's history. According to church data, this church was founded in 1868. The land for the church was donated by Mrs. Meta O. Smith to the trustees of this church, namely, James E. Williams, Isiah James, and Bill Smith on August 18, 1896. Also this record stated that another interesting fact is that for a time St. Mary's Church conducted a grade school in the Masonic Hall which was located across Highway 80 to the south of the present church building. Mamie Hendley, Thelma Johnson and Pearle Belliger were among the teachers who taught the
elementary grades. This school became part of the public school system in Bulloch County. (Holmes, 1990)

In addition, another land deed from Deed Book 109, dated August 31, 1937, page 577, made reference to this school by referencing its location to land that the Board of Education was buying. The deed stated:

All that certain lot or parcel of land, situate, lying and being in the 1523rd, G.M. District, Bulloch County, Georgia located just South of the Town of Brooklet, being a certain lot of the W. R. Altman Sub-division and described as follows: Beginning at a point where the Negro School property intersects with the paved Federal Highway #80.

Because of this deed, we now know the district and the approximate location of this school.

By returning to this church's history, a reason why this school may not have been operating in the 1930s became evident. According to this same church document, "the migration of Blacks from the rural to metro areas during the period following World War I, and the great depression of the 1930s greatly reduced the population and the membership of St. Mary’s Church. The church declined" (Holmes, 1990, p. 24). Since this school was hosted by the church itself, the decline in church membership probably had the same effect on the church's school. It may have closed due to a lack of students.

Another school mentioned in the Bulloch County Board minutes was Antioch, which was established in 1863 and is the oldest African American church in Bulloch County (Brannen, 1983). According to Deed Book FO, a land deed dated February 10, 1879, pages 78-79, stated that D. R. Groover sold to the church's trustees, Warren Jones, Monday Joice, and John Hanshaw, all
deacons of this church, for the sum of $1, one acre of land to be used for church purposes.

Mrs. Mary Lou Parrish related much about Antioch, her first school. She remembered that it was located in the yard of the Antioch Church and was built by her father. Only about fifteen or sixteen children attended this school. It was a big one-room wooden building that was unpainted. There was no well or pump and parents carried water to the school. More of her details are presented later in this study (Interview, Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish, 3/7/98).

Another community school mentioned was the Scott's Creek School. Deed Book 72, contained a deed dated September 11, 1929, page 591, that stated that a certain parcel of land in G.M. District 44 that contained one and a half acres was sold to Scott's Creek Baptist Church by J. V. Brunson for $30. It further said that

this deed made for the purpose of the said second parties using same for Church and School purposes, and when said second parties cease using said land of Church and School purposes, this deed to be void and the property to revert back to J. V. Brunson or his successors or assigns.

Only one person who remembered Scott's Creek could be located. Ms. Juanita Washington, who was born June 19, 1915, related that this school went to the first through the third grades. It was located in Register by the old Bowden store. It was a one-room wooden building. Scott's Creek was first a church, but after the church disbanded, it then became a school. This building was built by the community on land belonging to an African American. The school began around 8:00 A.M. and students were released at 1:00 P.M. She remarked that "a good bit of students" attended this school. This school was heated by a big wood stove and Rev. Belcher's daughter (no name was given) taught here. This
school began in October and ended in March (Interview, Ms. Juanita Washington, 8/3/98).

The names of other African American schools also appeared in the Bulloch County Board minutes between 1925 and 1949. These were referred to as the Magnolia School, the Clito School, Miller Grove, the Iler "colored" school, located in Militia District 1340 called Bay near Pembroke, and Mt. Mariah.

However, oral narratives seemed to indicate that these were just different names for the same schools. For example, Mrs. Margarite Joyce said that Lee's Grove was located where the Magnolia Church is today (Interview, 3/26/98). Therefore, it is highly probable that these two schools were really the same one. Furthermore, the Clito School seemed to be the Pope's Academy school since it was the only African American school located in this area. Persons from this area agreed that there were no other schools for African American children in this area and that the Clito School probably was, in fact, Pope's Academy.

However, there was evidence that the Mt. Mariah School was located near Leefield. In 1936, Mr. Julius Johnson approached the Board of Education about consolidating the Mt. Mariah School with the Brooklet School. He described this school as being "a small school near Leefield having about 12 children." This matter was left up to Mrs. Julia P. Bryant (BOE minutes, October 6, 1936).

Two persons were located who remembered the Miller Grove School, which was one of the schools pictured in Duggan's 1915 survey. Today, Miller Grove exists as an African American church. The former students were Mr. Clinton Jones and Mr. Frank Sabb.

Mr. Clinton Jones stated that this school was a wooden building composed of one big room which was heated by a wood heater. It taught grades
first through seventh. He related that the building today was not the same building that he had attended. He also stated that a church was now in the spot. The students were taught on long wooden tables with benches. This school was located in the woods and there were no outside toilets.

He walked two miles to this school every day. He even had to go when the ground was white with frost, but the teacher had a fire going when he arrived. The school day was begun with a devotion. Then each grade would sit in a group. The teacher would begin with the first grade, and while they were studying, she would go on to the other groups. About twelve or thirteen students were in each grade. According to Mr. Jones, each grade level had different books. During this time, students had to buy their own books. He remembered having homework almost every night, and his mother helped him with his lessons by kerosene light. However, he did not remember having any tests.

Students arrived around 8:00 A.M. and recessed for lunch at 12:00 noon. They went home around 3:00 or 4:00 P.M. For lunch students carried items such as salmon and rice, sweet potatoes, or whatever their parents fixed. This school did have a well.

Mr. Jones also remembered that Mrs. Julia P. Bryant visited about once a month. She had a beautiful voice and he remembered that she used to sing church songs such as "I Want to be Ready." This is how she would begin her devotion. She would also encourage them to stay in school and to be obedient. Her favorite aphorism was, "If you listen, you can hear something."

He remarked that discipline was tough. Disobedient students were sent to get their own switches from a black gum tree. To be whipped, students had to remove their coats and were whipped about the shoulders (Interview, Mr. Clinton Jones, 2/10/98).
Mr. Frank Sabb also attended this school that he said was located about nine-and-a-half miles from Statesboro on Highway 24. This church he stated is still in existence. He, too, remembered walking to school, about one-and-a-half miles, but when it rained he and the rest of the students stayed home. Again, he remembered that the church was made from the school. According to Duggan’s survey, Miller Grove existed as early as 1915. He described this school as "an old wooden raggedy" building which was located by the church. This one-room school had two teachers who both taught in the room. No partitions were used. This school had no indoor plumbing, no electrical lights, and had one outdoor toilet. It was heated by a wood stove that was located in the middle of the room. Kerosene lamps were used and students sat on benches, but he remembered only three student desks.

In reference to the Iller school, Board minutes showed that Mr. Carl Iller in 1934 came before the Bulloch County Board of Education and asked the Board to consider establishing a ”Negro school in the 1340th District called Bay which is located directly above Pembroke.” However, no exact location was given (BOE minutes, January 3, 1933). Moreover, approximately a year later, Mr. Iller came back to the Board of Education asking for transportation for the African American children in this area. Unfortunately, his request was refused (BOE minutes, February 6, 1934). Even though this school was never named, the last reference to African American schools in this area was in 1950 when the "Board agreed to pay negro [sic] children in the Bay District 10c per day for transportation to go to the Pembroke colored school" (BOE, November 7, 1950).

Even though 43 African American schools were designated by Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, the Jeanes Supervisor for Bulloch County, Board minutes showed that others existed, yet these schools may have originated after 1920 or were just
community schools which were not affiliated with the Board of Education. Since the Board of Education had to own all school lands, some may not have wanted to relinquish their lands and continued educating their students on their own. Either way, for future generations, these schools also needed to have been included among the educational giants for they, too, played an important role in the education of African American children in Bulloch County.

Physical Appearance

Collectively, all of the schools in the community group, whether they were located in a church, near a church or were located in different areas, had several easily perceivable similarities. First, in relation to their physical aspects, they all were wooden buildings, either frame or log, with only one exception, Pretorious, which was made out of stone. Next, none of the acreage exceeded three acres, which may have been the reason why some of them were not consolidated since the Board of Education stated that four acres was the least amount of land needed for school consolidation (BOE minutes, May I, 1928).

Moreover, none of these schools were painted. None of them had over eight windows, with four being the average. The number of windows was significant because since windows were the schools' only light source, more than two windows were needed in order to adequately light the classroom. Also, each school had at least two doors, which were usually a front and a back door. Fires at these community schools were not uncommon. The Hodges Grove Church burned four times (Interview, Mr. Sam Baldwin, 1/24/99); therefore, the number of doors was very important in regard to safety measures.

The students who attended these schools agreed that there was a chalkboard in each classroom, and the teachers always had some type of a table for a desk. Even though each school had a few desks, there was rarely enough
for all of the students. In 1949, the number of student desks ranged from 10 to 20, with five schools having only 15. Because the number of student desks was always less than the number of students, it can be assumed that benches and tables were still used to some extent by this time, yet these were used by a majority of all of the schools in the 1920s and 1930s.

In addition, none of these schools had electrical lights or running water which meant no water fountains. Shallow wells and hand pumps were used to obtain water. For sanitation purposes, outdoor pits, either one or two, were used by all of these schools in 1949.

Curricular Aspects

In regard to the curricular aspects of these schools, female teachers dominated, either one or two females taught at any one school. The highest grade at each of these schools was the seventh grade. None of them had formal principals and supervision was done by the Jeanes teacher who visited these schools once a month.

There were no major differences found in the subjects taught or in the grading scales that were different from the other two groups of community schools. As stated earlier, interviewees stated that school began around 8:00 A.M. and dismissed around 3:00 P.M. Only one teacher who taught in the 1940s said 4:00 P.M. (Interview, Mrs. Thelma Jones Heard, 4/14/98). The number of school days attended was the same as the other schools. In 1949, all schools operated for 175 days while in 1939 all community schools operated for 120 days.

Funding Practices

The fund raising practices were also the same. Everyone interviewed remembered having school closing exercises, yet no one remembered student
tuitions. No one was familiar with the term Rosenwald. Therefore, it is strongly believed that these schools were built by the community on donated lands.

Teacher Memories

So that these schools will become more real to the reader, teachers and students have been chosen among the oral interviewees to share their remembrances of these African American community schools. One teacher is Mrs. Priscilla Coleman Tremble Mainer (Interview, 1/15/99). Even though there were other teachers who also possessed knowledge of these schools, Mrs. Mainer's enthusiasm and remembrances were outstanding; therefore, I feel honored to relate the memories that she chose to share about the Harmony School. In an up-beat, cheery voice, Mrs. Mainer made Harmony School come alive. When she had finished talking, I felt as though I had been cheated out of one of the most exciting events of a lifetime, being educated in an African American school.

First, as a teacher she related that she had taught at Harmony in the 1930s. She shared this one-room school that had been built by community members with one other female, Mrs. Florene Bates, and later Mrs. Laura Bell Martin. When asked how they did so, she remarked that they would turn the chairs in opposite directions. She taught grades first through fourth, and Mrs. Bates taught grades fifth through seventh. Not only did they have a chalkboard, they had two, one which was used for the arithmetic exercises that students had to copy and another which was used for other daily exercises. These chalkboards, however, were frame stands that had been made by the community.

At Harmony, Mrs. Mainer acted as principal, but Mrs. Julia P. Bryant and Ms. Maenelle Dixon were her supervisors. She remembered that Mrs. Bryant
got her her first job. She was very good friends with the niece of Mrs. Amanda Smith, another African American teacher in Bulloch County. When both of them graduated from Savannah State College, Savannah, they were hired here in Bulloch County. She even boarded with Mrs. Bryant. On the subject of boarding she remembered that teachers usually stayed one week with a student's family, but would usually ask special permission to stay longer with the parents whom they really enjoyed. Even though she did not pay rent nor was expected to do so, she would buy things for the family that they did not have, such as rice, sugar, fish, or beef stew from a truck that would come around. She received a state salary of $46.50 per month, and this was supplemented not with tuition monies, but with whatever the families of the students could offer, such as meats, i.e., chickens, pork, fish, etc.

Every morning school was begun with a devotion consisting of a prayer, Bible verses, and church songs which sometimes took from 30 minutes to an hour. Even though school would start around 8:30 A.M., or 9:00, if the weather was bad, she and her students stayed until what had been planned for the day was completed; sometimes this was as late as 4:00 P.M., but no one seemed to resent this.

Even though she thoroughly remembered enjoying school when she arrived, getting to school was no picnic. She walked along with her students sometimes as far as four miles. She related that the students had a regular path that they took which involved walking across man-made footlogs in order to cross over a brook or a ditch. She confessed that she never could get the hang of it. While smaller children crossed with ease, she usually wound up getting her shoes and stockings soaked since the bridge was just logs that had been cut and smoothed. This smoothing made them as slippery as ice, especially in cold
or icy weather. She slipped so many times until she finally got into the habit of carrying new stockings and new shoes. In cold weather, they ran and skipped and jumped to keep warm.

When she finally arrived, the older boys would make a fire in the pot-bellied wood stove located in the middle of the room. They deemed this a privilege. Parents would make sure that wood was at the school. They brought wagon loads. The trustees of the school, either those who had children in the school or those interested church members, always catered to the needs of the teacher. When she needed anything, they saw that it was brought to the school.

Students ate around noon. Student lunches were stored on a table in a corner. Lunches were brought in bags or in buckets with lids. At first she would bring her own lunch, but then the parents of the students would begin to send her things to eat every day; therefore, she stopped bringing a lunch. "Mom sent this to you, Miss Coleman" is what she heard daily.

All holidays were celebrated in some way, yet Christmas time was the grandest. The boys would go out and get a tree, and they would spend time decorating it with paper chains. These chains would also be used to decorate each window. The students would also make red and green berries and use these to decorate the tree that had been placed in a bucket and then wrapped in paper to make it especially pretty.

Every student anticipated and participated in the school closing. Parents would always attend these programs that consisted of recitations, plays, or operettas. Since some of the older girls could sew, beautiful costumes were made and worn during the play. School closings were performed on the porch with proud parents looking on and enjoying every minute. One of Mrs. Mainer's fondest memories of school closings was the food. She especially remembers
her favorite, potato pone, which was grated sweet potatoes with dried orange peels cooked on top for flavor. Parents, she remarked, would bring all kinds of food: pies, cakes, biscuits. Her favorite pie was egg custard. She felt that these parents could really cook, and just listening to how she described these foods made my mouth water.

Along with having fun, there were always chores to be done. This church had two outdoor toilets and these were cleaned by the bigger boys. They would clean them and then put lime in them.

After listening to Mrs. Mainer, I was left with the best feeling. This teacher, who played baseball and hopskotch with her children, who ran alongside them in cold weather, who picked them up on Sundays in a horse and buggy to take them to Sunday School, a program that she herself started, and who shared their lunches and their love, I knew was a rarity. When asked how she felt about teaching in an African American school at this time period with no running water, no electricity, no indoor plumbing, I was not surprised when she ended with the word "wonderful!" "The children, she remarked, "loved and respected you." Some were as old as she was when she first began teaching, yet, as she stated, "they listened, were respectful, and learned." The parents were very cooperative and encouraged their children to respect the teacher.

I thoroughly enjoyed interviewing Mrs. Mainer and will for many years to come remember what she had chosen to share, yet one thought will forever stay with me and that is her description of Harmony. "It was a school of entertainment and fellowship," she said. The word "fellowship" makes us feel the close lifetime bonds that were made between teacher, students, and parents at African American schools such as this one.
Another teacher who taught in the community schools was Mrs. Annie Williams, who was born June 1, 1908. She offered much insight into her own educational experiences. She taught at Mt. Zion which she remarked held first through sixth grade; however, in regard to her own education she remarked that she was reading at the age of three. To advance her own education, she attended college for twenty-two summers and attended New York University (NYU) which was paid for by the state of Georgia. She maintained a B average and remembered only one C. She received her Education Specialist degree, and was only ten hours short of receiving her doctorate. Mrs. Williams' testimony reveals the educational capacity of the teachers who taught. Before she retired, she had taught school for 42 years (Interview, Mrs. Annie Williams, 3/13/98).

Mrs. Elise Kent, another community school teacher (Interview, 12/7/98), began teaching at Grimshaw at the age of seventeen; however, she also taught at Pretorius. She received her teaching license after she had completed high school. The Jeanes Supervisor issued teaching licenses at this time. She further remarked that "There were on-going monthly institutes provided by the Jeanes Supervisor. These were held at various schools. We had to attend summer institutes. I attended workshops, institutes and classes at Savannah State (formerly Georgia State), Tuskegee Institute, Columbia University and Georgia Southern [after 1949]. The summer classes were for enrichment and also for advance degrees." Her degree was in elementary education. She was given the teacher certification test by Ms. Maenell Dixon, who was the Jeanes Supervisor who administered and scored the test. It took several hours, but no fee was required. Before retiring, Mrs. Kent held a life-time certificate.
According to Mrs. Thelma Heard (Interview, 4/14/98), the certificate that was conferred, either primary, general elementary, or high school and supervisory, was contingent upon the score that was made. First grade, second grade, and third grade certificates were available. The word "grade" referred to the level of a score and not the grades that could be taught. According to the Forty-eighth Annual Report (1920), scores of 90%, 75%, and 60%, respectively, were required. Separate tests were given for each degree sought.

In reference to curricular aspects such as textbooks used at these schools, Mrs. Kent remarked that "used books that were passed down from the white school were provided when they no longer used them. There were usually not enough books for each student. I do not recall receiving a teacher's guide at that time." Industrial education was provided only for the boys by an industrial education teacher.

Furthermore, according to Mrs. Kent, school supervision was done solely by the Jeanes Supervisor who "was responsible for the teaching, hiring and supervision. The pastor, deacon board and community groups were apparent [sic] and supportive of the school." Furthermore, "the parents also had a positive influence. . . . They were generally supportive as time would permit." In addition, "the parents, trustees, students and some members of the community cleaned the school and the grounds. Both the trustees and students brought in wood."

Not only did Mrs. Kent teach at Pretorious she also taught at Grimshaw. She described Grimshaw as a one-room schoolhouse with one door. This schoolhouse had windows with window panes and had wood floors, wood walls, and a round-bellied wood-burning stove. There were outdoor toilets. Lanterns were used when needed and there were no electrical lights. There were
benches and a small chalkboard. The subjects included reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling which was taught to all students attending. In contrast at Pretorius, the subjects taught were reading, English, which included writing and spelling, arithmetic, health, history, and science. Both schools started at 8:00 A.M. and ended at 3:00 P.M. Both schools had a hectograph that was used to make copies. While Mrs. Kent was teaching one group, another group was working on handouts.

In reference to school supplies, when asked if the Board of Education provided school supplies, she stated, "I don't recall that school supplies were provided. There was always a need for school supplies." A school register was provided and attendance was kept. This register was later turned over to the Jeanes Supervisor.

Girls attended more often than the boys, but she remarked that "children could not attend school when the sharecropper's owners [those white families who owned the land where the African American families stayed and worked] needed them to work on the farm. The boys had to stay out of school often to do the farm work; however, the girls had to work on the farm also." In her closing remarks, Mrs. Kent said in relation to her students that "students enjoyed learning and coming to school. Most did well, and yes, some of the students were exceptionally bright. This included boys and girls."

These shared teacher memories helped to portray the community schools and how they were operated between 1920 and 1949. Even though there was a lack of student and teacher supplies, there always seemed to be an over-abundant supply of love and caring. These teachers were committed and taught not only how to read and write, but how to get along with others as well. They also taught in the three most recognized areas of learning, the cognitive, the
psychomotor, and the affective domains, which contributed to forming a well-rounded child, one who valued learning and enjoyed doing it.

Student Memories

Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish had attended five African American schools in her school career due to her parents moving as a result of share cropping (Interview, 3/7/98). She was born on September 13, 1913, and knew much concerning the schools that she had attended. Her first school was the Antioch School where she attended first grade. This school is mentioned in Bulloch County minutes but does not appear on any Superintendent's Annual Report after 1938. Therefore, it must have been consolidated earlier. Her father Andrew (Jack) Frink, a carpenter, built this school which was located in the church's yard. Only about 15 or 16 children attended this one-room, one-teacher unpainted wooden school. Mrs. Parrish remembered walking about two miles to this school which started around 8:30 with a devotion. Devotion consisted of songs; one was "Blessed Assurance" that was followed by a prayer. This school had a chalkboard and the teacher would have tests and competition between classes. At this school, she remembered getting taught her A,B,C's, spelling, and using a slate for arithmetic that was erased with a cloth and using rough tablet paper. This school was heated by one wood heater, and there was one toilet where corn cobs had been used for toilet paper. Recess was between 11:30 and 1:00 which was also lunchtime. There was no formal P.T.A., but parents would meet at the school to discuss concerns. Her parents had to buy books for their family. There were no report cards, but students went to the next grade each year. The unique aspect of this school related to its discipline. When asked about discipline, she remarked, "Fine, no discipline problems."
After leaving Antioch, she attended a small school in Denmark called "Hymona," which was another name for Harmony. Her next school was the Pig Eye school. This school was located near the Black Creek Church that was attended by Whites. It was "off the road from it, back in the woods." She did not know who started this school, but she remembered Mrs. Elise Johnson and her brother, Mr. Verry Johnson, were the teachers. Mrs. Johnson taught the lower grades, and her brother taught the higher grades. They both taught in the same room. She arrived at 8:00 A.M. and left at 3:00 P.M. She remembered having devotions led by different students which consisted of songs, the pledge, and the Lord's Prayer. There were outside toilets, but no well. Parents had to bring water, and each child drank out of a dipper, but she fondly remembered one girl who had a collapsible or what she called a "pull up cup" that could be folded down after the owner had finished drinking. None of the other parents were able to afford such a convenience.

Moreover, she remarked that lunches were carried in a bucket with a lid. Students carried whatever their parents could afford. She remembered taking cracklin' bread, bacon, especially after hog-killing time, and her favorite food that she liked for her mother to put in her bucket was syrup-sweetened bread. I remarked that I, too, remembered syrup bread, and we both agreed that it was great. Students were taught in one room, yet the grades were separated. She remembered 15 or fewer students. All students sat on wooden benches and wrote in their laps. Students started school in the fall of the year. There was no established dress code, and the girls usually wore dresses with long wool stockings that came up to the knee and heavy brogan shoes. When Mrs. Julia P. Bryant came to visit, they had an assembly program. Mrs. Bryant was the
speaker of the day. Uniquely, this school had a piano, and some students even
took piano lessons, but she never did.

Next, Mrs. Parrish attended Grimshaw, another one-room wooden
community school that went to the seventh grade. To attend this school, she
had to walk about three miles. Mrs. Elise Kent, the teacher, used to board with
her family at this time. At this school, she remarked that she "liked the teacher"
and "liked to go."

The next school that she attended was Spring Hill, a wooden one-room
school that also went to the seventh grade. This school was located in front of
the Spring Hill Church. Here, she had to walk about four miles. Because her
books were so "heavy" and because her mother had not wanted her to lose
them, her mother made her a booksack out of overall material. Some students
she remembered were punished by getting a lick on the hand or by standing
behind the door or by standing on one foot for a while, which she remarked was
"hard to do." She, however, never had to be disciplined.

Books were passed down from one child to another. In addition, she
remembered that she was never taught how to print; she was always taught
cursive writing. At recess baseball was played, and sometimes the teachers
would join the students in a game. If not, the teacher stayed inside and worked
on her school work.

Her husband, Mr. Colonel Lester Parrish, who was born August 22, 1915,
also had attended several community schools (Interview, 3/14/98). His father,
Mr. Colonel Parrish, was a school teacher who taught sixth and seventh grade at
a school by the name of Fish Trap, which is a church today. His first school was
the Mt. Zion School which was located near Mount Zion Church. It was a
wooden one-room building with shutter windows. He remembered that his
teacher would first ring a bell for school to start. Next, a short devotion consisting of a church song, which was sung by all of the children, and the Lord's Prayer took place. Books were given to students, but they had to be returned to the teacher. He, also, remembered doing his lessons with penny pencils on rough paper with blue dim lines, but some of the students had "slick paper," the kind of paper that students use now. Uniquely, he remembered doing arithmetic on a slate and on the ground. He did not remember having any tests at this school.

Water was drawn from an uncovered well by the older boys and then poured into a cedar bucket. The students would then use a gourd dipper, but every student used a separate glass brought from home. This school had a school closing each year that consisted of dialogues and speeches. Parents came and sat on the benches and there were "plenty of benches." Even though he had to stay out many times due to farming which allowed his classmates to get ahead, Mr. Parrish remarked that he felt cared about and that he was "praised a lot." "Prima" was the first grade for all students, but some would not attend because they were ashamed of their sizes. It must be mentioned that students were assigned to grades based upon where they were academically and not according to their ages. Under several circumstances, a ten- or twelve-year old could have been in the first grade.

Mr. Parrish's second school was St. Mary's at Brooklet, a one-room wooden school which was located near a church and was bigger than Mt. Zion. At this school, he remembered that nails were used to hang up clothes, but he still remembered writing on rough paper and doing arithmetic on slates and on the ground. This school was heated by a wood heater, and there was a well. School was also called to order with the teacher ringing a bell.
At Grimshaw, his next school, he completed the third and fourth grades. Around thirty students attended. A family and the teacher had a "falling out" over something that was said to a student, but it was settled. His last school was the Riggs School. The Riggs' family "owned a right smart of land" and donated some for a school. His wife's father, Mr. Jack Frink, a carpenter, was paid to build the school. Two teachers, Mrs. Elise Kent and Mrs. Bernice Riggs McCray, boarded with his wife's family. These teachers did not pay for room and board.

Comparative Analysis

From data collected from written and oral sources, three tables have been formulated to show the three categories of the thirty-six schools comprising the community school group. The three subcategories of the community schools are those located in a church, those located near a church, and those located in a different location. Each of the following tables presents the community schools in the order in which they appeared earlier in the study.

Table 3 presents information dealing specifically with the fifteen community schools that were taught directly in an African American church. Data has been included concerning the three areas of interest chosen for investigation. Likewise, Table 4 depicts data concerning the ten community schools which were located near an African American church. Data concerning each of the three interest areas are also provided. Table 5 concludes the community school group tables and presents specific information comparing the eleven community schools which were located in different locations throughout Bulloch County. Information concerning the three areas of interest, i.e. their physical appearances, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices, has also been provided. A separate table was not made for the "other community schools" since no other data other than what had been presented was available.
Table 3
Comparison of the Fifteen Community Schools Located in a Church

A. Physical Appearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Hodges Grove</th>
<th>Noah Ark</th>
<th>Red Hill</th>
<th>Smith Grove</th>
<th>Wilson Grove</th>
<th>Mount Olive</th>
<th>Newton Grove</th>
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<td>1209</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<td>3/1</td>
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<td>1/3</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>1/1</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>75</td>
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### A. Physical Appearance

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B. Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

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Curricular aspects

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Funding practices

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### Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

#### Schools

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#### Curricular aspects

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#### Funding practices

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**Note:** The slash separates pre-1949 data and 1949 data. The (*) reads: "paid half of school repair costs."
A review of the data presented in Table 3 allows us to make several statements in comparison of these fifteen community schools as they relate to the three chosen areas of interest, i.e., their physical appearance, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices. Findings in each area will be discussed separately.

In regard to their physical appearances, all fifteen of them were unpainted, one-roomed wooden buildings whose values ranged from $100 to $550 with only one school, New Hope, which is believed to have been a Rosenwald school since it cost $1300, exceeding the usual range of cost for an African American community school. At some time before 1949, the New Hope church built a separate school. The New Hope School is included in this church-school community school section because a teacher who presented an oral narrative stated that she had taught in the church New Hope which was not a separate school at this time. However, it is believed that at sometime before 1949, New Hope built a separate school, and this school is the $1300 Rosenwald school that was built. From the onset of public education, Rosenwald funds were the only funds that were available to African Americans for the building of their schools. Self-help was the only other option that African Americans had, and it was self-help that built the other fourteen schools in this community school category.

The seating capacity of these one-roomed schools had much variation. Their seating capacities ranged from a low 30 to a high 200. However, the majority of these church-schools, five of them in all, could seat 100 people.

Four of these schools were located in the 1209 Militia District, which was located just outside of Statesboro. These church-schools were begun within twenty years of the Civil War. Most of them were begun after 1880 with only
two church-schools preceding this date. Free Chapel, the oldest of the church-schools, was begun in 1830, thirty-five years before slavery was abolished. The fact that the 1209 Militia District had the majority of these schools can be explained by one of two reasons: Either the newly-freed African Americans in Bulloch County moved away from the surrounding farms and settled closer to the city, or these schools were founded by the newly-freed slaves who had already been living on farms in this area. Deed records show that these church lands were originally deeded to these African American churches by local white philanthropists for church purposes or both church and school purposes. Their ulterior motive may have been to keep their labor force close at hand. Before 1949, the acreage of these church-schools ranged from five to one acre: Five church-schools had one acre, four had two acres, two had three and four acres, but only one, Hodges Grove, had five acres; yet by 1949, the overwhelming acreage was only one. This reduction in school plot acreage was probably due to acreage being cut out for use as cemeteries. Since many of the deeds stated that if the church was discontinued for any reason, then the lands would revert back to the original owner or their heirs, it is highly improbable that any of these lands were sold. The standard one acre could also be related back to maintenance. One acre was much easier to keep up than acreage over this amount. Oral narratives relate that the grounds were hoed free from grass and were swept weekly by the students at school. At times, sweeping the yards was used as punishment for the rare unruly student.

These one roomed-buildings all had some type of chalkboard, were heated by wood heaters, had outdoor pits for privies, and used kerosene lamps for lighting. Well usage was the standard mode of getting water, yet before 1949 there were two church-schools that did not have a well at all. Initially, wells were
open and uncovered, and water was drawn up using a bucket on a pulley. However, by 1949, the majority of these schools had running water; only two did not have any running water and were still using buckets in order to provide water for the school. Usually the older boys were responsible for drawing the water up and putting it in a bucket for the rest.

Because they were churches, mainly benches and tables were used in these schools, yet some did have a few student desks. Three church schools had no desks at all while the number of desks that these church-schools used ranged from 5 to 27, with eight schools possessing less than 15 desks. However, no matter the number, there were never enough desks to seat the whole student body. The number of other seats, which were probably benches, ranged from 8 to 40.

In regard to their curricular aspects, the majority of these schools were taught by one female teacher who taught grades first through seventh. These schools did not have a principal and were supervised by a county Jeanes supervisor. The students who attended these schools ranged from 32 to 113 before 1949, but 27 to 90 in 1949. While four schools experienced an increase, the majority of them had almost a 20 student reduction which could have been caused by public transportation to the district schools and subsequent school consolidation. Before 1949, these schools operated for 120 days but 175 in 1949. Each of these church schools opened at approximately 8 o'clock and closed around 4 o'clock, began with a daily devotion, and had an end of the year school closing.

Even though these schools were funded by the state, they only received state money for teacher salaries. According to local Board of Education minutes, only $6,000 a year was allocated for over 43 African American teacher
salaries (BOE minutes, November 5, 1928). Local funding consisted of the Bulloch County Board of Education by 1942 only committing to pay half of the repair costs of African American schools, and in random cases, furnishing other building materials for a newly-added room (BOE minutes, December 7, 1948).

Because these schools did not have a formally recognized principal who would have been recognized by the local Board of Education, one task of the schools' trustees was to approach the local board when funding was needed for repairs, building, transportation, etc. Bulloch County Board minutes attest to the fact that several African American school trustees approached the Board for such requests as roofing, teacher salaries, desks, pensions, consolidation, and transportation, yet even though the answers were different, they all had the same message, "denied." These trustees received answers such as "make . . . a loan" (BOE minutes, February 4, 1930), "further consideration of this matter will be made upon the presentation of proper petition to the Board" (BOE minutes, June 6, 1933); "at this time can not aid in constructing a school building" (BOE minutes, October 3, 1933); "the Board of Education refused to grant this request" (BOE minutes, December 5, 1933); "financial help could not be granted at this time" (BOE minutes, June 5, 1934); and lastly, "the Board decided that it could be unwise at this time for the reason of the fact that the matter of transportation is top heavy in this County" (BOE minutes, November 6, 1934). Public transportation did not begin until 1949; until then, all students in this group of schools had to walk to school.

To raise other needed funds, these schools put on fund-raisers such as cake walks, talent shows, and carnivals. Because they were short-changed financially, students paid tuitions in order to offset the meager salaries that the teachers were receiving.
### Table 4

**Comparison of the Ten Community Schools Located Near a Church**

#### A. Physical Appearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Rehovah</th>
<th>Mount Zion</th>
<th>Piney Grove</th>
<th>St. Paul's</th>
<th>Johnson Grove</th>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>1547</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>1/-</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/half</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2/2</td>
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A. Physical Appearance

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<td>-</td>
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### B. Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

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### B. Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

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#### Funding practices

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<td>walk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The slash separates pre-1949 data and 1949 data. The (c) following a date represents an approximation. The (*) reads: "paid half of school repair costs."
Comparing the data in Table 4 shows that the ten community schools in this category, those located near a church have several elements in common. There were no significant patterns found in relation to their founding dates or to their districts, yet their acreage was very similar. None of the acreage exceeded two acres, and only one school, Johnson Grove, had only one-half acre in its school plot.

The seating capacity of these schools did not exceed 125, but six of these schools had a seating capacity of 75 with only one school, Johnson Grove, having a seating capacity of 50, which makes it the smallest of the ten schools. All of these schools, like many of the African American rural schools, consisted of one building which was unpainted and wooden. This one building either consisted of one or two classrooms. There was no significant change in the number of classrooms a school had before 1949 and in 1949. For the most part, those schools that started out with two classrooms kept the same number of classrooms. Only Sandridge went from two classrooms to one classroom.

The value of these one-roomed schools ranged from $150 to $800 before 1949, with five of the ten costing $500. In 1949, they ranged from $50 to $600, with only one school, Rehovah, a lodge, costing a great deal more, $2000 to be exact. Even though Rehovah cost over three times as much as the other most expensive school, it is not believed to have been a Rosenwald school. First, because there was no separate building which was characteristic of the Rosenwald school and, secondly, because lodges were known to have been supported by monthly dues which was paid by the male members. Therefore, it can be surmised that Rehovah came about as a united community effort.

School equipment was meager, but each school had a chalkboard and some student desks. However, these schools did have a large number of desks.
The number of desks ranged from 42 to 10, yet the majority of the schools only had 10, whereas Piney Grove did not have any. To compensate for the lack of student desks, other seating, probably benches and tables, was also provided. These other seating arrangements ranged from a high 48 to a low 7.

The facilities at these schools was also very minimum. They were all lighted with the use of lamps and were heated by a wood stove that was located in the middle of the classroom. All of these schools had outside pit toilets. None of them had indoor plumbing and used well water. Before 1949, three of the ten did not have a well at all, but in 1949, all of them had running water.

The curricular aspects of these schools were also similar. The majority of these schools had one teacher, but four of them did have two teachers at one time. Female teachers were the norm; only Sandridge had a male teacher. All of these schools taught first through seventh grade with only one school teaching a primer, or pre-first grade class. None of these schools had principals and were, therefore, supervised by a Jeanes Supervisor.

Before 1949, these schools operated for a total of 120 days, but by 1949, each was operating for 175 days. For them all, the school day began at 8:00 a.m. and ended around 3:00 p.m. Daily devotions started the school day and a formal school closing ended the school year.

Funding for these schools consisted of state monies which paid the teacher salaries of over 43 African American teachers, and half of the repair costs which were paid by the local board. Tuition was also collected from students. Fund-raisers were also held in order to raise the extra funds needed to keep these school doors open since none of them received any Rosenwald funds. Transportation was also denied these schools. Students from all ten of these schools walked.
Table 5
Comparison of Eleven Community Schools Located in a Different Location

A. Physical Appearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Bennet Grove</th>
<th>Pretorius Grove</th>
<th>Gay’s Grove</th>
<th>Riggs</th>
<th>Grimshaw</th>
<th>Olney</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founding</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>1547</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acreage</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seat Capacity</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painted</td>
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<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
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<td>wood</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Value</td>
<td>200/60</td>
<td>500/900</td>
<td>400/200</td>
<td>800/700</td>
<td>200/200</td>
<td>230/300</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/2</td>
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<td>none</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OthrSeat</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Toilet</td>
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(table continues)
## A. Physical Appearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Hubert</th>
<th>Arcola</th>
<th>Lee's Grove</th>
<th>Pigford</th>
<th>Porter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founding</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
<td>1920c</td>
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<td>1/-</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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(table continues)
B. Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

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(table continues)
B. Curricular Aspects and Funding Practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Hubert</th>
<th>Arcola</th>
<th>Lee's Grove</th>
<th>Pigford</th>
<th>Porter</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

| Funding practices |        |        |             |         |        |
| State           | yes    | yes    | yes         | yes     | yes    |
| Local           | *      | *      | *           | *       | *      |
| Tuition         | -      | -      | -           | -       | -      |
| Rosenwald       | no     | no     | no          | no      | no     |
| F-raisers       | yes    | yes    | yes         | yes     | yes    |
| Transport       | walk   | walk   | walk        | walk    | walk   |

**Note.** The (c) following a date represents an approximation. The slash separates pre-1949 data from 1949 data. The (*) reads: "paid one half of repair costs." The (?) means a possible yes.
Table 5 presents the similarities found in all three interest areas concerning the eleven community schools which were located in a different location. The similarities found in each of the three areas will be presented one at a time.

Because there existed no data that could pinpoint the exact founding of these schools, all of them were presumed to have begun around 1920 since these schools make up the 43 that were reported by the Jeanes Supervisor, Mrs. Julia P. Bryant. The majority of these schools were located in different districts. Only two districts had two schools in them.

These schools consisted of one unpainted wooden building with only one school made out of cement, probably because of the unavailability of the needed lumber. None of these schools had over two classrooms. Seven of them had only one classroom before 1949 while five had one classroom in 1949. These buildings could seat from 30 to 95 students with three schools seating 50 and three schools seating 75. They ranged in value from $50 to $800 before 1949 and from $60 to $900 in 1949. These schools were situated on one to two acres of land.

The school equipment consisted of a chalkboard and student desks. Student desks were few and ranged from 14 to 20 with five schools having 15 desks. Since these desks were less than the student population, benches and tables were also used. These other seating arrangements ranged from 3 to 35.

All of the facilities for these schools were the same. They all had wells before 1949 and running water in 1949. They were lighted by kerosene lamps and heated with wood stoves which were located in the middle of the room. Pit toilets were used by all of the schools.
The curricular aspects of these schools were also very similar. By 1949, four of the eleven schools in this division were closed. In 1949, all of the existing schools only had one female teacher. Yet, before 1949, three of the existing nine schools had had two female teachers. None of them had ever had a male teacher. The student population of these schools ranged from 28 to 86 before 1949, and from 27 to 77 in 1949. Out of all of the seven schools that were still operating in 1949, six of them showed a decrease in student population from approximately 10 to 20 students. The greatest decrease was noticed in the Hubert school whose student population decreased 32 students. This decrease may have been due to the district school, New Sandridge, that had opened up in the same district, Militia District 48.

A Jeanes Supervisor rather than a principal supervised these schools; however, they were directly supervised by trustees. These schools taught grades first through seventh and were operated 120 days before 1949 and 175 days in 1949. They began around 8:00 a.m. and closed around 3:00 p.m. Each day began with a devotion and each year ended with a school closing that was attended by parents.

The funding practices of these schools also showed several similarities. They all received state funds for paying small teacher salaries. Local funding included the local board paying one-half of the repair costs of these schools. Some students also paid a small tuition to teachers in an effort to augment their meager salaries. None of these schools were thought to be Rosenwald schools; however, the Riggs School may have been one due to its $800 value. Even though Pretorius also had a high value, oral narratives attributed its building to community efforts such as fund-raisers which was common among these schools. None of these schools had public transportation.
Discussion and Interpretation

By comparing Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5, those community schools located in a church, those located near a church, and those located in a different location, respectively, similarities and differences appear among them in the three areas of interest, their physical appearances, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices.

In regard to the physical appearances of these schools, the schools located in churches had the earlier founding dates while those located in a different location had the later dates. This difference may have been related to the availability of buildings. African American churches were already established by the time public education began in 1871. The acreage of these schools was also similar. By 1949, every school had at least one acre of land in the school plot: Seventeen schools had one acre, and seven schools had two acres. However, ten of these schools had been closed by 1949. Only 33 of the original 43 schools operating in 1920 were opened in 1949.

A comparison of the seating capacity showed that the church-schools had the largest seating capacities with 200 being the largest. Those schools located in a different location had the smallest seating capacities with the lowest being 30. Even though all of these schools except one were made of wood, none of them were painted. Their values varied, yet the most expensive ones were those located in a church. All of these schools except the Nevils School consisted of one building. Having one classroom was the norm, yet several had two classrooms while New Hope had six classrooms.

Student desks were never adequate for the number of students who attended these schools, and to compensate for the lack of equipment, both
tables and benches were used. Chalkboards were standard, yet oral narratives seem to suggest that they were small.

The facilities for these schools were basically the same. They all initially had wells, but later received running water, but this is true for all of the schools except Noah's Ark, New Hope, and Grimshaw which still did not have running water by 1949. These schools used kerosene lamps, wood stoves, and privies.

The curricular aspects of these schools show that female teachers were in the majority while there were no formal principals, just school trustees. All of these schools were supervised by a Jeanes Supervisor who was also female. These schools generally taught grades first through seventh with a few of the church-schools offering only a fifth or a sixth grade. Each of the three groups of schools had at least one school that taught a primer or pre-first grade class. All of the schools which were still operating in 1949 operated for 175 days but had been operated for at least 120 days before this date. Daily devotions and yearly school closings where parents attended and watched as their children performed plays, dialogues, and marches were standard practices in all of them along with their 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. day schedules.

Funding practices for these schools were very similar. All of them received their teacher salaries from the state and one-half of their schools repair costs, yet some did receive roofing and some building materials. Tuitions were paid to teachers mainly in the church-schools. None of these schools were Rosenwald schools and were, therefore, built by self-help tactics from the community which included fund-raising programs such as cake walks, talent shows, fall carnivals, and box suppers. Because the local board would not grant these schools any buses, all of the students who attended these schools walked from two to four miles to school, with five miles being rare.
When viewing all of the African American community schools in Bulloch County as a whole, we can see the rewarding efforts of the African American community. Even though their schools were mainly one-room buildings, the very number of them show the value that African Americans in this county placed upon education.

Because they had been denied public transportation, schools had been established throughout the county so that their children would not have to walk unbearable distances in order to get to them. When a school was located over five miles from a student's home, parents complained to the Board, and a school that had been closed due to consolidation was reopened or a new one was begun. However, the large number of schools caused instruction costs to be very high but teacher salaries to be very low since in order to operate thirty-six schools at least thirty-six teachers were required. In the 1920s, the Bulloch County Board of Education allotted only $6,000 per year for teacher salaries, yet these teachers taught over-run classes daily and yearly for monetary crumbs which shows the dedication that these teachers had toward their students and the community at large. The African American community could have decided to close more schools, and sacrifice many for the sake of a few, yet parents were not willing to risk the welfare of their children just to get state dollars, probably reasoning that having a little education for all of their children was better than having more for a privileged few.

Since the African American community was using total self-help in order to build their schools, success came with their ability to provide two necessities, building materials and land. Because schoolhouses were expensive to build with the majority of them costing between $200 and $500 dollars, a considerable sum for African Americans within a specific community at this time to have to
finance by themselves, and lands for school plots costing from $25 to $50 an acre, African Americans were forced to use two main options in order to get the school buildings that they needed.

One option was to use churches. Since these structures had already been built, using them saved the cost of a new building, yet as Hill (1915) pointed out, school trustees did not feel that this arrangement was very conducive to education. Therefore, an African American community that decided that a church was not the best environment in which to educate their children built their schools next to their churches. By doing this they were able to avoid the additional cost of purchasing land. For a school plot, at least two acres were desirable, and the majority of the community schools had at least two acre plots. However, four acres was the least amount of acreage that the local Board of Education allotted for a consolidation site. This land requirement can be viewed as another stumbling block in regard to the advancement of education within this county because only a few school sites had four or more acres of land. How could the African American community afford four acres when many of them were sharecroppers and did not even own their own lands? However, many of the school plots that belonged to churches had at least three acres. In several instances, these church lands had been donated to the church by a local benefactor, many times a white one. Because of these local philanthropists, whose motives may have been selfish ones as they sought to keep farm workers close at hand, many African American communities did not have to worry about financing land for school purposes.

Out of the thirty-six community schools, eleven of them were located in a different location. However, the majority of these schools cost less than the other two groups and were the ones that had disappeared by 1949. It seems
that community support was not as strong in regard to these schools as with the
other ones. Therefore, the influence of the church can be said to have had
influenced the life of African American schools.

Due to self-help practices, these community schools survived by the
African American community's ability to provide lands and trees for lumber,
which is why many of them were built out of wood, and the labor and the care
that was needed to ensure that their children would be educated.
CHAPTER III
THE DISTRICT SCHOOLS

The next group of schools was called the district schools. There were only four of these schools (See Appendix A). These schools would be the junior high schools of today. The terminology "district" was chosen because these schools were located in different Georgia Militia districts which were those districts that had a large African American populace. Furthermore, these schools were located in different compass point areas in relation to Statesboro, the county seat. For example, Willow Hill, the oldest, was located northwest of Statesboro; New Sandridge and Pope's Academy were located east of Statesboro; and Brooklet Junior High was located south. Information concerning these schools was discovered through the use of superintendent reports, documents from the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia, prior research projects, Bulloch County Board minutes, and oral narratives. Each school will first be discussed individually to provide historical data, and then the physical and curricular aspects along with funding practices will be discussed as they relate to these four district schools in general.

Since these schools were bigger in size, cost more, had more rooms including other rooms beside classrooms, and hired more teachers than the prior two groups of community schools, data showed that all of these schools were probably financed using Rosenwald funding. Data existed proving that Willow Hill was, and a teacher narrative presented data that New Sandridge was, but no data could be found concerning the other two, yet the close similarities of the
other two schools to the Willow Hill model seemed to indicate that all four were built using the same funding.

**Historical Findings**

First, the oldest school among the four district schools was Willow Hill. In fact, Willow Hill was the first school that was organized by African Americans in Bulloch County after the Civil War. Extensive research has been done on Willow Hill by a distant relative of the founder. Her name is Nkenge Jackson, the great, great, great niece of the founder, Dan Riggs. According to Jackson (1983), in 1874, Dan and Audelia Parrish Riggs began this school in a turpentine shanty. Historical evidence supports the fact that many African American schools were first begun in like buildings (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921). At this point, the school was called "Willie Hill" in honor of Dan Riggs' eldest son, Willie Riggs, who was attending Morehouse College at the time. Willie Riggs graduated from Morehouse in 1894 and was later a teacher at Willow Hill.

Willow Hill has a history of several rebuildings. The first school named Willie Hill was located on a hill amidst briars and poke weeds. The first school was crudely made and contained only one room, one door, one window, and an outside privy. The books used here were the Blue Back Spellers, a dictionary, and a Bible. The school year due to farming needs was not long, maybe as short as three months.

The first teacher was Georgianna Riggs, the daughter of Issac Riggs who was Dan's brother. The Bulloch County census report for 1880 listed Issac Riggs as a farmer living in Bulloch County at this time (Register, United States Census of Bulloch County, GA, 1880). Georgianna Riggs, who was born a slave in 1859, was only fifteen years old when she began to teach at Willow Hill.
In 1890, the Willie Hill School was moved to Handy and Agnes Parrish Donaldson's place for five years. This building in physical appearance was very close to the first school. Five years later, in 1895, Willie Hill School moved to its present site, a few miles off Highway 80 West. By this time the name had been changed to Willow Hill School probably because willow trees grew at this site. The Riggs, the Parrishes, and the Donaldson families, who were now related due to intermarriages, had banded together to build this new school from logs harvested from the area.

In 1905, because of the growth of the school's student population, an addition was made to the school. In 1920, the Willow Hill School and its property were sold to the Bulloch County Board of Education for $18. This building served as the school building until 1942 when the Rosenwald school was built. For a time it was referred to as "The Rosenwald Building" in honor of Julius Rosenwald whose funds made it possible for this school to be built.

Jackson (1983) further stated that the parents of the community were very involved. They held many fund raisers to provide additional funding for the school. This school also had a teachers' dormitory that boarded teachers who taught at Willow Hill. Not only was this school used to educate children but it was also used for community functions. For example, in 1946, parents met here to discuss voting in the 1946 Bulloch County elections. A school bearing the name of Willow Hill is still in existence in Portal, Georgia; however, it now teaches both races.

According to Duggan's Educational Survey (1915), a school by the name of Willow Hill was not listed. A picture of a Portal School was listed; however, since this school was held in a church, it was not the Willow Hill School. It is not known why this school was omitted from Duggan's survey. Since Willow Hill was
a Rosenwald School in the 1940s, facts concerning this school will be presented for the year 1938, before it was a Rosenwald School, and for the two years, 1940 and 1949, after it had been established for a seven-year period.

The Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39) showed that Willow Hill taught up to the ninth grade. It was a four-classroom wooden building valued at $400 situated on five acres of land valued at $50. Four female teachers taught here at this time. Three taught the elementary grades and one taught the higher grades, eighth and ninth. The majority of these teachers possessed college degrees. One teacher had a four-year college degree, one had a two-year degree, one had a one-year, but only one held a county license. The combined salary for these four teachers was only $435, which comes out to be less than $150 per teacher which was the usual salary paid to one teacher holding a county license.

Willow Hill taught a total of 131 students at a per student cost of elementary instruction of $5.18, but a $95.41 cost of high school instruction. Of these 131 students, only seventeen received education beyond the seventh grade, what was then regarded as a junior high school education. According to this 1938-39 report, Willow Hill had no outside toilets, no inside plumbing, and no electrical lights.

In contrast, in 1940, according to the Bulloch County Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41), Willow Hill was now worth $8000. This data slightly contradicted Jackson (1983) who put the Rosenwald School date at 1942, two years later. Even though it was still wooden, the size of the school had increased to six classrooms plus one other room which was in keeping with Rosenwald building structures (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921). The seating capacity was 150 students, and 138 students attended with 34 students enrolled.
beyond seventh grade. Ninth grade was the highest grade taught. The per student cost of elementary instruction was $19.39, but was $155 for high school instruction. A total of six teachers taught here. For grades one through seven, one male and two female teachers taught; the higher grades had the same gender breakdown. Five of these teachers had a four-year college degree while the other one had a three-year degree. This school’s appearance must have attracted the more highly educated teachers.

There were now 26 acres in the school plot which was valued at $1040. The school contained running water for drinking purposes; however, it still had outdoor toilets. In reference to heating, wood heaters were no longer used.

In 1949, according to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1948-49), Willow Hill consisted of two wooden frame buildings and had only seven classrooms. The value of these buildings was $5500. The school plot had been reduced to three acres valued at $150. Two-hundred and forty students were educated with 30 students in grades eighth through tenth, the highest grade that had been added. The per student cost of elementary instruction was $36.40, but it was $224.78 for the advanced students.

Physically, Willow Hill was still wooden but had progressed from a one-room shanty to a seven-room Rosenwald building. Reverend Purvis Royal, who attended here and who is a distant relative of Moses Parrish, one of the founding families, remembered attending the older one-room school and was there when a one-room addition was later added. He also remembered having to go to the woods to pick up logs to burn for heat for the school (Interview, Reverend Purvis Royal, 4/19/98).

Mrs. Carrie Mae Byrd Mosley, the researcher’s mother-in-law, remembered attending in the 1930s. According to her, the school building that
she attended was painted white. She started in the second grade and completed the fifth grade. She remembered studying arithmetic, English, spelling, and geography. However, she did not remember having a physical education (P.E.) class. She remembered having a recess around 10:00 A.M. that lasted for about 15 minutes. The 12:00 noon lunch break had the longest recess with another 15 minute break occurring before 3:00 P.M. when the students went home. In addition, she remembered that her school had four classrooms connected by a hall and each classroom contained a blackboard (Interview, Mrs. Carrie Mae Byrd Mosley, 2/8/98).

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Queen Ester Heard, G. Ziegler, L. S. Chatman, M. K. Skerrett, F. E. Williams, N. A. Best, Beatrice L. Dominis, R. C. Bennett, Bessie Mae Cone, M. L. Biggins, Patricia Malsby, S. Rambeau, J. W. Carter, R. W. Ogden, T. M. Royal, Jansena C. Groton, Ruth Hall, Ann B. Harris, A Jordan, D. H. Jones, A. A. Williams, T. E. Heard, V. C. Campbell, and Sarah Cone Lee. A school by the name of Willow Hill still exists today, yet it now educates both races.

Another district school was New Sandridge. This school was located in Militia District 48 called Hagan. According to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39), in 1938, New Sandridge was a wooden school with four classrooms worth $800. It was situated on a three-acre lot worth $275. One-hundred and thirty-two students were educated here. This school ended with the ninth grade, but only six students were enrolled in eighth and ninth grade. Four teachers taught here; one male taught elementary grades and one male taught the higher grades while two females taught the elementary grades. Three held four-year degrees, and one held a two-year degree. The per student cost was $2.50 for the elementary students, but $93.42 for the six eighth and ninth
grade students. The school year consisted of 140 days which was 20 days more than the community schools.

In 1940, according to the superintendent's report for this year, New Sandridge was now called New Sandridge Junior High and had five classrooms and one other room. This wooden building was now worth $1000. Because the structure fit the Rosenwald building plan, this school was probably a Rosenwald school, too; In fact, Mrs. Barnell Love Farley, a former teacher, also said that it was (Interview, Mrs. Barnell Love Farley, 6/27/98). This school was situated on a three-acre lot worth $300. The seating capacity was 200 students. Six teachers taught here. Four females taught in the elementary division while two males taught in the advanced division. New Sandridge Junior High taught 155 students with 17 students being enrolled in the higher grades, eighth and ninth. The per student cost of elementary education was $10.50 while advanced instruction cost $44.39. The school year consisted of 150 days, the same number as the other district schools.

By 1949, as per the superintendent report for this year, some new construction had taken place; New Sandridge Junior High School now consisted of two separate buildings with a total of six classrooms plus one other room. The total cost was $1,200. It was situated on five acres of land worth $500. A total of six teachers taught here, four female elementary teachers and one male and one female advanced subject teacher. Five of these teachers held a four-year college degree, and the other held a two-year college degree.

For this year 174 students were taught with 23 attending the higher grades. The elementary cost of instruction was $55.22 per student while the high school cost was $156. This school, along with all the rest, was taught for 175 days.

The third district school was Brooklet Junior High. This school was located in Militia District 1523 which is the Brooklet area. Again, what will be presented concerning this school came from the Superintendent's Annual Report for the school years 1938-39, 1940-41, and 1948-49, Bulloch County Board minutes, and oral narratives.

In 1939, Brooklet was a wooden four-room school worth $1000. It was situated on four acres of land valued at $350. Four teachers taught at this school, one male in the elementary and one in the higher school division, and two females in the elementary division. Educationally, one teacher held a four-year degree, two held two-year degrees, and one held a one-year college degree. One-hundred and seventy-six students were educated here with only three enrolled in the high school division. The per student elementary cost was $6.11 while the high school cost was $3.88. The highest grade that this school taught was the eighth grade.

In 1940, Brooklet Junior High consisted of four classrooms and one other room worth $2100 which implies that this school received extra funds for building purposes. Again, because of the number of rooms, this school is also believed to be a Rosenwald School. The school plot now consisted of four acres worth $400. The seating capacity was 150 students.
Six teachers taught here, three male and three female. There were two male advanced teachers and one male elementary teacher. No females taught advanced subjects. All the teachers at this school held college degrees: Two teachers held four-year degrees, two held three-year degrees, one held a two-year degree, and one held a one-year degree.

For this one year, 131 students were taught with only four in the eighth grade, which at this time was considered junior high school. The per student elementary cost was $13.04 while the junior high school cost was $523.95 [sic]. This school was taught for 150 days.

For comparison, in 1949, according to the Superintendent's Annual Report (1948-1949), Brooklet Junior High now had two wooden buildings with a total of seven classrooms and one other room valued at $4,500. It was located on a three-acre lot worth $320. Four females taught the elementary division while two males taught in the high school division. Five held four-year degrees and one held a three-year college degree. One-hundred and eighty-five students were educated at this time with twenty now in high school, which now consisted of both eighth and ninth grade. The ninth grade had been added since 1940. The per student cost of elementary instruction was $49.09 compared to a high school cost of $251.35 [sic]. Again, all schools at this time were taught for 175 days.

Some of the teachers who taught here in the 1940s were Roberta Carlton, W. B. Williams, Willie Evans, and R. Sutherland. This school no longer exists.

The last school in the district division was Pope's Academy later called Pope's Junior High in 1940. This school was located in Militia District 1575. Unlike the other district schools, a person was found who could shed some light on the beginning of this school. According to Mrs. Beola Brown Hayward, who
professed to have known and went to school with the children of Professor Aaron Pope before he began the school, this school began around 1908 (Interview, Mrs. Beola Brown Hayward, 2/28/97). Using the narrative of Mrs. Hayward, superintendent reports for the years 1938-39, 1940-41, and 1948-49, along with Bulloch County Board minutes, much has been found out concerning this school.

In 1938, this four-room wooden school was worth $5000 and was situated on a three-acre plot worth $200. Four teachers taught here. One male taught elementary and one male taught advanced subjects while the other two female teachers taught the elementary division. One held a four-year license, one had a less than one year license, and two had county licenses. One-hundred and forty-nine students were taught and only three were in high school. This school went to the ninth grade and was taught 140 days. The per student elementary cost was $4.87 while the higher grade cost was $1.52.

In comparison, in 1940, Pope’s Junior High had undergone some changes. The wooden building now consisted of four classrooms and three other rooms. The total value of the building was $1500, a decrease of $350 in two years. The school plot included three acres at a value of $300, a $100 increase in two years. The seating capacity of this school was 300 students. One-hundred and seventy-four students including eight junior high students attended at a per elementary cost of $9.87 and a high school cost of $6.83. This school was taught by five teachers: one male elementary and one male junior high teacher, two female elementary teachers and one female junior high teacher. Three of these teachers held a four-year college degree, one held a three-year degree, and one held a two-year degree. This school was taught for 150 days.
Lastly, in 1949, Pope's Junior High had also undergone some changes. This school now had two separate frame buildings with a total of five classrooms and three other rooms. Its was worth only $800. It was still located on a three-acre lot, but its value was only $150. Five teachers taught here. Three females taught the elementary division, but the higher division was taught by one female and one male. In regard to their education, three held four-year college degrees, and two held three-year college degrees. The total student population was 189 with 16 students enrolled in the higher division. For this one year, the per student cost of elementary instruction was $46.73 and the junior high cost was $133.03. As stated, in 1949, all schools were taught for 175 days.

Some of the teachers who taught at Pope's Junior High in the 1940s were M. L. Littles, Annie E. Brown, Eugene G. Smith, H. W. Black, Gladys Moore, N. E. McCalope, Pearle Bellinger, Sara Smith, Rosa Lee Simmons, Ella C. Heard, Alberta Walker, Mattie Sue Lee, Julia P. Bryant, Frances Brown, Elise Wright, Professor Aaron Pope, Zadie L. Douglas, G. M. Campbell, V. Oliver, V. S. Butler, and Vestible B. Stewart. This school no longer exists.

Physical Features

All four of these schools were very similar in many ways. First, in regard to their physical aspects, each one of them was wooden and started out with one big room but later had at least four classrooms. Every school also had additional rooms. Furthermore, in 1949, each school had two separate buildings. As oral narratives substantiate, one was used for regular instruction and the other building housed vocational education classrooms, agriculture for the boys and home economics for the girls (Interview, Mr. Hinton Ward, 10/3/98).

In relation to windows, there was at least one in each room, and there were at least three doors, a front door, a side door, and a rear door. According
to the persons interviewed, all of these schools were painted white. Mr. Hinton Ward remembered that Willow Hill was painted inside and outside (Interview, Mr. Hinton Ward, 10/3/98). New Sandridge, according to Mrs. Zadie Douglas, a former teacher, and Mrs. Barnell Love Farley, another former teacher, was also painted inside and outside.

Because so many students attended these schools, teachers at times had to share classrooms so there was a chalkboard at both ends of a room. Mrs. Lucille Lee Smith who attended Pope’s Academy in the 1930s and 1940s remembered changing classrooms. She also remembered that she was the valedictorian of her graduating ninth grade class. The nine of them, all girls, went downtown Statesboro to take pictures. They all wore white gowns. Some stood while some sat in a chair; Mrs. Smith sat in a chair. She still has this picture today (Interview, Mrs. Lucille Lee Smith, 3/15/98).

All Rosenwald schools had an “other room.” The purpose as outlined by Rosenwald guidelines was to provide room for industrial instruction (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921). These schools also had other smaller rooms. At New Sandridge there was a principal’s office. At Willow Hill, there was a cloakroom where coats and the water bucket was kept. Pope’s Academy had a closet for coats and the water bucket. All interviewees, and especially the teachers, agreed that there was a teacher’s desk that was usually at the front of the classroom.

In regard to student desks, all agreed that student desks were used but they were older desks. Some students, elementary ones, had to sit two or three to the same desk. Tables and chairs were still used since all students did not have separate desks. In 1949, the four district schools had the following number
of desks: Willow Hill had 130 desks; New Sandridge had 55 desks; Pope's Junior High had 31 desks; and Brooklet had 135 desks, but had 185 students.

In 1939, these four district schools had no running water, outdoor toilets, and kerosene lamps. All of them also heated with wood using a pot-bellied stove that was located in the middle of each room. In 1949, these schools had made some improvements. All of these district schools had indoor water fountains. Willow Hill and New Sandridge had electrical lights, but all still had outdoor privies, one for both sexes, and wooden heaters (Interview, Sarah Cone Lee, 2/21/98).

Curricular Aspects

These schools were very similar to the community schools in reference to curricular features. All of these schools taught basically the same elementary subjects, but a difference in subjects was found beyond the seventh grade. After seventh grade subjects like citizenship, algebra, chemistry, biology, music, Georgia History, agriculture, and home economics were found in the curriculum of these schools. The grading scale for these schools were also similar, yet these schools at times gave A-B-C grades in grades first through third. They all began with devotions and had school closings. As a group, the school year for this group of schools always exceeded the community schools by at least twenty days.

What made these schools unique was their system of classification. According to the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921), because of the Barrett-Roger funding that was to be given to high schools, a classification of high schools became necessary. High schools were then divided into three categories: four-year high schools (only these were eligible for Barrett-Roger funds), three-year
high schools, and two-year high schools. The number of grade levels that a school offered beyond seventh grade became the determining factor. The senior high school was the school that offered four courses beyond seventh grade, i.e., eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade, and the rest of the schools that offered any classes beyond the seventh grade were called junior high schools. This classification also gave schools alphabets. A school offering four years of instruction beyond seventh grade, or an eleventh grade curriculum, was deemed an "A class" school. A school offering three years, or the tenth grade, was deemed a "B class" school. And any school offering two classes beyond the seventh grade, or ninth grade, became a "C class" school. Based on this classification, in 1949, Brooklet Junior High, New Sandridge, and Pope's Junior High were all Class C junior high schools while Willow Hill since it offered a tenth grade curriculum was a Class B junior high. The data in the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921) further made it clear

that there should be located in different parts of the county high schools offering two and three year high school courses embracing the 8th and 9th grades or the 8th, 9th, and 10th, on the 7-2 or 7-3 plans... transportation being furnished in case of pupils living too far to walk... The number of these schools should be determined by the high school population, by the accessibility of the school, and also by the ability of the community to support and equip. (p. 101)

This information can be used to explain why these four district schools were not located near each other and why community support was necessary.

Funding Practices

The Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921) listed no Rosenwald schools in Bulloch County. However, in a pamphlet entitled Rosenwald School Day
Program: Negro School Improvement Day (1931), it stated that there were "five Rosenwald schools in Bulloch" (p. 18). Because of the information on the Superintendent's Annual Report (1938-39), it can be stated that the five Rosenwald schools were the four district schools, or junior highs, and the one high school. As Rosenwald schools, they had to meet guidelines that said that under this schedule $500 could be obtained on a one-teacher building; $800 on a two-teacher building; and $1000 on a three-teacher building. Other features of a Rosenwald school included being modern, well-lighted, sanitary, and painted inside and outside. Desks and blackboards are provided. All of these schools are now built with a small extra room, called the industrial room, so that space is provided for much-needed vocational work. In most cases, Negro patrons have been found ready and willing to donate money, labor, and land to secure such schools. All Rosenwald school buildings must be owned by the County Board or other public authorities [sic]. (Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 85)

Having such a fund made it possible for better rural schoolhouses to be built; yet the African American community also had a part to play in the building of these schools since the Rosenwald fund had to be paid in thirds, with one-third being paid by the Rosenwald fund, one-third paid by the Board, and one-third paid by the African American community itself. The purpose of this sharing of expenses was to foster cooperation among all community members of both races. Even though these four district schools received Rosenwald funding, they also were supported by community fund-raisers sponsored by the school's P.T.A. These fund raisers included box suppers, cake walks, and harvest festivals.
From the historical data presented concerning each school, several similarities can be noted. For one, the majority of the teachers of these schools were females while the males dominated in high school education even though the number was few. Even though the community schools did not have a principal, each of the district schools did. According to the Georgia Educational Directory (1947-48, 1948-49, 1949-50), for these three years the principals for these four accredited schools, respectively, were: Brooklet's principal was Benjamin J. Dobbins, Johnnie J. Jones, and no one listed. At New Sandridge the principals were William McGill, Benjamin F. Crawford, and Benjamin F. Crawford again, but oral narratives included other names such as Florene Bates, R. W. Campbell, and Levi Butler. At Pope's Junior High, the principal was Julia P. Bryant for all three years. According to oral narratives Professor Aaron Pope had been principal prior to Mrs. Bryant. Willow Hill's principals for these three years were Mrs. Beatrice L. Dominis for the first two years, and then James B. Hughes was principal for the third year. Other names gathered from oral narratives were Rev. Kemp, R. W. Campbell, and a Mr. Hughes.

Unlike the community schools, these four schools did provide transportation as early as 1947 for their students. According to Superintendent's Annual Report (1947-48), African American bus drivers had joint ownership and transported students to the following schools: Mr. Garfield Hall transported 62 students to Willow Hill; Mr. Rufus Lester transported 80 students to Pope's; Mr. Peter Keel transported 55 students to New Sandridge, and Mr. Earl Monroe transported 66 students to Brooklet Junior High.

Teacher Memories

Pope's Junior High had several outstanding teachers, yet only two were living at the time of this study. One of them is Mrs. Zadie L. Douglas, who taught second
and third grade at this school in 1947. At the time she was twenty-nine; she taught at Pope's for two years. She remembered that this wooden school was rather large and was painted white on the outside. She remembered having her own desk and a chalkboard. She, too, was hired by Mrs. Julia P. Bryant. This school had a P.T.A. that would come to check on the school, especially to see if it had wood. Two trustees of the school were Mr. R. L. Lee and Mr. Will Smith, the grandfather of the researcher. I was very pleased to know this. Other data had shown that my grandfather had been active in the school community. This school had a piano, and Mrs. Douglas played songs at school closings which consisted of plays, singing, and pantomines, the children were accompanied with music. Parents came to these school closings. She also remembered having May Day celebrations where the students gathered under the May pole and plaited it. There was singing and food.

The subjects taught were reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, science, and music. The five or six teachers had their own rooms. The school had a pump, a pot-bellied stove, and two outdoor toilets. School began around 8:30 A.M. and students were released at 3:00 P.M. The P.T.A. at this school was very active, and the community raised extra money by having box suppers. This activity included having the girls with their parents help cook a "whole meal" and pack it into a box. This box was then very prettily decorated. At the school, boys and men would bid on the box in an auction. The box went to the highest bidder. Most boyfriends thought that it was their duty to get their girlfriend's box. In the Statesboro community, Mrs. Douglas is still a well-known pianist. In 1994, Harmony Baptist Church honored her for her dedication in teaching music and for her community and church service (Interview, Mrs. Zadie Douglas, 10/5/98).
Another teacher who taught at the Willow Hill School was Mrs. Sarah Cone Lee. She taught second grade at this school when it was a first through seventh grade school. It was located between one-eighth to one-fourth mile from its present site. This school was unpainted, and there was a wood heater in every room. Two to three students had to sit at the same desk. Parents had to buy books for their children, and these books were passed down from one sibling to another. She had a blackboard that had been made by the parents. The eraser was a small pillow stuffed with cotton. She also related that there was an assembly program every Friday. Students would recite a poem or sing a church song; each child was required to participate.

At this school there was an auditorium, a stage was added later, inside of the school. This auditorium had folding doors that could be folded back to make one big room. During assembly programs, students started out with a march to the song "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah." Music was made with a wash pan that was beaten upon by student hands.

The Rosenwald School gave Willow Hill junior high status. It started out with first grade and ended with the ninth grade. It had two outside toilets, and newspaper was used for tissue. There was also a cloak room at this school where a big bucket of water with a dipper was kept. Students always brought a jar from home. Students would put their names on these jars. The students brought lunches from home. These lunches consisted of biscuits, sausage, bacon, teacakes, and fried sweet potatoes, but no fruit.

Uniquely, she said that there was a sand table in the room where students drew pictures in the sand. Teachers would also allow students to cut out pictures and stand these up in the sand.
She further added that the agriculture shop and the home economics class had its own building. The girls learned how to cook, sew, fix hair (cosmetology), and how to dress properly and observe personal hygiene. The agriculture class was taught by Mr. John Lawton, who would take his students out and let them wire houses and barns. They would also visit farms and build mailboxes. The P.T.A. (of which Mrs. Naomi Crum Johnson gave me a picture) had a banquet each year in the spring. The children would put on a program and all of the parents came. The P.T.A. met once a month and was well attended by parents. When asked how students felt about their teachers, she remarked that they showed their love by bringing her pieces of cake and pecans (Interview, Mrs. Sarah Agnes Cone Lee, 2/21/98).

Student Memories

One student who attended the Pope's Junior High was Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams who attended Pope's Academy when she was fifteen years old. Mrs. Williams remarked that when she first arrived, Mrs. Julia P. Bryant was her homeroom teacher and "we all loved her. Mrs. Bryant was so special and cared about the girls becoming respectable young ladies. Personal hygiene was her thing. She would say, 'Your body can say more in 10 minutes than your mouth can. It tells when it's clean or sick. If you are a loud mouth, that's not ladylike. People tend to notice the quiet ones, so girls, let us watch ourselves.'"

According to Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Bryant taught the girls how to cook. "We got school commodities, oatmeal, fruit, milk, butter and canned meat. No more lunch bags. We all loved it." At Pope's and unlike her other schools, each classroom was separate and there was a large table to work on projects or just to get your homework done. She remembered that there was no library and books were taken home daily. With admiration and pride, she said that they
wrapped their books in brown paper bags or newspaper. Books were wrapped at school by each individual student, and prizes were given to the students if their books were neat. If not, a student would have to work on it until it was finished. The prizes were usually a stick of candy or gum, a cookie, or even a pencil and a few sheets of paper.

She fondly remembered Christmas at her school. The boys would go to the woods to get a tree that would be decorated. Mrs. Bryant was very crafty. According to Mrs. Williams, she was the first teacher to show them how to use old phonograph records which were black to make trinket boxes by heating them up by a fire and then bending them. After they were done, the trinket boxes were shined with liquid furniture polish. Mrs. Bryant also showed them how to make decorative jars for flowers by putting two or three drops of paint in a bucket of water and then swirling the paint. Bottles, or jars, or even gourds were then put into the water and the swirled paint adhered to the surface and made them very beautiful.

She chuckled and frowned when she said that there used to be mice in the school so students kept their lunches underneath their desks. For sanitation purposes, Mrs. Davis, another teacher, would stay after school to make sure that the water dipper and bucket were in a sack. She would also heat water on the stove and wash everyone's glasses (Interview, Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams, 3/8/98).

Another student who went to Pope's Academy, was the researcher's mother, Mrs. Lucille Lee Smith. She attended this school until the seventh grade. At first, it was one big room, but later additions were made. When the additions were made, each teacher taught two classes within one room. She also remembered that a kitchenette was put in. She began school when she was five years old and remembered having to walk at least ten miles from Hubert
Marsh Quarters to Pope’s Academy in 1934. Classes moved from one classroom to another for different subjects. School was begun with a devotion consisting of the Lord’s Prayer, a church song, or “God Bless America.” Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, who had an excellent singing voice would usually lead these songs. She remembered that when anyone asked Mrs. Bryant her age, Mrs. Bryant would always respond with "35," no matter the year she was asked.

At first Mrs. Smith took a lunch bucket or a brown bag, but when the school started serving hot lunches she did not. In 1946, Congress approved the National School Lunch Act and schools received surplus foods from the government, and these were the food stuffs that Mrs. Bryant used. Two of the cooks at the school were the older girls, Alberta White and Ada Lue Westley. She fondly remembered one of Mrs. Bryant's meals: pork and beans with tomatoes and milk and some kind of fried light pancakes that were fluffy bread. They were also given grapefruits, oranges, apples, and oranges. Every child got a piece of fruit and there were over 100 students attending in all.

When Mr. Aaron Pope retired, Mrs. Julia P. Bryant took over as principal. Here, spelling bees were held all of the time along with tournaments between Pope’s Academy and New Sandridge or Willow Hill. Both the girls and the boys had great basketball teams. There were cheerleaders to cheer these teams on.

One cheer she remembered was "Pope’s Academy is red hot." She remembered having student desks, but some were new and some were old. There were enough so that each child could have one. At least ten were in each class. Over the years, the school slowly made progress, from well water drawn up in a bucket and drunk from one’s own cup to a hand pump. When she left, she said that the school had installed drinking fountains.
Hearing my mother relate what she and the rest of her classmates did on April Fool's Day is one of my favorite memories that she shared with me. This memory is special because it shows that school children in her time were just like school children during my time. In other words, children are basically the same when it comes to finding things outside of school-related instruction to liven up a school day. According to my mother, whose story has been validated by others of my family who also participated in this yearly student-centered and student-initiated escapade, it seemed that on every April Fool's Day, the very first day of April, the students would play a trick on their teachers.

When students took their lunch and recess break, which was taken together around noon each day, the students would run away. They went everywhere, everywhere, that is, except back to school. Because they did not have any transportation, they walked. They traveled up and down the road, roamed through the surrounding woods, frolicking and playing like little woodland imps. They went many places, but never back to school. According to my mother, they all laughed at the thought of their teacher discovering their little prank. It was so much fun for them to know that when the teacher called them back in after recess that there would be no students left at the school. Telling this tale from her past always cracked her up with laughter, and all who listened found themselves laughing along with her. Yet, they all finally came back when school was over to get their books, and to ensue the wrath of the teacher whose good-nature never interfered with their little yearly prank.

Another memory concerned the day that she received a lick from what Professor Pope called "ole slu foot Pete," his discipline strap. It seems that he had to leave the classroom briefly and told all of his students to be quiet while he was gone. Well, my mother, always obedient, never talked while he was away,
but unfortunately several did. This infraction by a few resulted in the whole
class's receiving a lick from "ole slu foot." It makes her angry to this very day
when she remembers that she got punished for not talking. According to her,
"Next time I'm going to talk, too." It is through my mother's sharing memories
such as these that makes me know that even though African American schools
were not buildings of beauty, yet they were filled with caring, fun, and the usual
unjust discipline, as seen from the eyes of a child (Interview, Mrs. Lucille Lee
Smith, 3/15/98).

One of the oldest students that could be located was Mrs. Beola Hayward.
She remembered when Professor Pope first came to town. She related that
Professor Pope had built this school himself near the Clito area back in the
woods. This school was unpainted when she attended. It consisted of one big
room and two outdoor toilets. There was also a well near the school. The
unique remark that Mrs. Hayward made about this school is that she was never
taught to print; she was taught how to do cursive writing only. Before the school
was built Professor Pope used to teach his own two children, Touissant and
Cleo, a daughter, in a little storehouse across from the house where he lived.
After Professor Pope came to Bulloch County from Burke County, he married
Ms. Molly Lee, a widow. Professor Pope's stepdaughter, Ms. Mattie Sue Lee,
was also a teacher at Pope's Academy, and she never married. At Pope's
Academy, Mrs. Hayward had to walk to school both in the cold and in the rain.
She remembered sitting at her own wooden desk and writing work, mainly
arithmetic, from a chalkboard.

Mrs. Hayward also related that she had attended two other African
American schools that had existed before 1920. One was the Bethel Church
School, which was pictured in Duggan's 1915 survey. According to her, it was
located on Lakeview Road near where the Davis Ranch is now. Another school was the Brown Chapel School, which was not a church. Approximately 35 students attended (Interview, Mrs. Beola Hayward, 2/28/97).

One student whose attendance at one of the district schools, New Sandridge, was very significant to both the school and to the African American community was Mr. Frank Sabb, the fourteen-year-old student who electrically wired this school and several other homes in the community. According to Mr. Sabb, Mr. M. M. Martin, the County Agent for African American schools, took himself and a few other boys to a two- or three-day workshop at Swainsboro Tech. He made the highest mark in his class and when he came home, Mr. Martin allowed him along with the assistance of two other boys to wire New Sandridge. After Mr. Martin bought the supplies from Akins Hardware, it took him about two days to wire the entire school. He laughed when he remembered the Georgia Power serviceman asking who had wired the school and then giving him the honor of flipping the switch. When he did, all of the lights came on and everything worked perfectly.

Mr. Sabb remarked that he had always been good with his hands, and he had a pretty sharp mind. If he saw it one time he "could pretty much remember how it go." After this, he only charged families $7 to wire their homes if they bought the supplies. He also remembered that the trustees of this school were his father, George Sabb, Nelson Sabb, Nathan Tremble, and Ed Walker (Interview, Mr. Frank Sabb, 10/3/98).

Comparative Analysis

Table 6 presents data collected from both written documentation and oral narratives concerning the four African American schools that have been categorized as district schools.
Table 6

A. Comparison of the Four District Schools

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(table continues)
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<td>176/185</td>
<td>149/189</td>
<td>132/174</td>
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Note. The (+) means: "after this date." The slash (/) separates pre-1949 data from 1949 data.

The (*) reads: "paid half of school repair costs."
These four district schools had similarities as well as differences in the three interest areas investigated. Each area will be presented separately as it relates to these four schools with both the similarities and the differences being discussed together.

Since only Willow Hill had an exact founding date, the rest of the schools' dates were set after 1915 since they were not included on Duggan's Educational Survey that was done in Bulloch County in 1915. Each one of these schools was located in a different Militia District, yet two were located at opposite ends of the Statesboro area while one was located in the Brooklet area and the other located in the Portal area.

All of these district schools were painted and wooden. Their seating capacities ranged from 150 to 300 with both Willow Hill and Brooklet Junior seating 150. These were obviously the smaller schools. Pope's Junior High with a seating capacity of 500 was the largest of the four. Each school consisted of two buildings. The second building was used for industrial education: home economics, agriculture, and summer canning. Each school started out with four classrooms, but by 1949, all of them except Pope's Junior High had seven classrooms. Even though they all had five to seven classrooms, all of them except Willow Hill had additional rooms. Brooklet Junior High had one additional room, Pope's Junior High had three additional rooms, and Brooklet Junior High had two additional rooms beyond those used for classrooms. Their values were varied. Willow Hill's value was originally $500 but by 1949, it had increased to $5,500. Brooklet Junior High, on the other hand, cost $1,000, but in 1949 its value had increased to $4,500. Likewise, New Sandridge was $800, but had increased to $1,200 in 1949. The only school that showed a decrease
was Pope's Junior High. Its original value was $5,000, but by 1949, its value had drastically dropped to only $800 within a ten-year period.

The acreage for these schools ranged from three to five acres before 1949, but all except New Sandridge had three acres in 1949. New Sandridge had five acres. The school equipment included a chalkboard and student desks. These desks ranged from a low 31 and 55 at Pope's Junior and New Sandridge respectively, and 135 and 130 at Brooklet Junior and Willow Hill. It seems strange that the two schools with the largest capacities had the smallest number of student desks; however, these schools also had other seating which was probably benches and tables. Willow Hill had the largest number of other seats and New Sandridge had the least. Only Pope's Junior High had a larger number of other seats than it had student desks.

All of these schools showed advancements in their school facilities between 1938 and 1949. Two of these schools started out with water pumps and then received running water in 1949 while the other two had only open wells first and then received running water in 1949. In addition, by 1949, all of them had exchanged their kerosene lamps for electrical lighting although they still were heated with wood heaters and used pit toilets.

Their curricular aspects showed similarities and differences as well. One similarity that they shared in this area included their use of principals. They all had a board recognized principal and trustees, yet they were all still supervised monthly by a Jeanes Supervisor. They all were held for 140, but for 175 days in 1949. Their school day began at 8:00 a.m. and ended around 3:00 p.m. The day began with devotions and ended with school closings.

Another similarity related to the number of students who attended these schools. Prior to 1949, all of these schools had over 130 students who attended
them, but by 1949, all of these schools showed an increase in their student populations. These increases varied from school to school. Willow Hill showed an increase of 109 students. Brooklet Junior High showed an increase of only nine students. Pope's Junior High showed a 40 student increase, and New Sandridge showed a 42 student increase. These increases were probably due to school consolidations and public transportation.

Their differences in this area involved their teachers and grade levels. Prior to 1949, two schools had three teachers, and two schools had two teachers. However, in 1949, two of these schools had four teachers, one school had five teachers, and one school had a total of six teachers. When comparing the number of classrooms to the number of teachers who were hired to teach at these schools, the number of classrooms was greater for each of these schools. For example, even though three of these schools had seven classrooms, the teachers hired ranged from 4 to 6. Both male and female teachers were hired at these district schools, but male teachers were always in the minority. In 1949, three of these schools had only one male teacher while Brooklet Junior had two male teachers. Even though each of these district schools taught grades beyond seventh grade, three of them, Brooklet Junior, Pope's Junior, and New Sandridge, taught up to the ninth grade, but only Willow Hill taught up to the tenth grade.

The funding practices of these schools were very similar. Their state funds paid teacher salaries while local funds paid for one-half of their repair cost. All of these schools were Rosenwald schools, and none of them required tuition. Because these schools received a limited amount of local funds, they also conducted fund-raisers to raise the additional funds needed. In 1947, these schools received transportation.
Discussion and Interpretation

Even though this group of African American schools located in Bulloch County were different from their white counterparts, they showed close similarities to other African American schools in the rural South. Since 1890, when Booker T. Washington first sought to popularize the idea of industrial education, this conception has formed the "basis of the curriculum at many black schools. Such programs encouraged students to take sewing, housekeeping, carpentry, blacksmithing, and above all, agriculture" (Coleman, 1991, p. 326). Even though industrial education was stressed in both African American and in white schools, "in black schools it received more emphasis" (Coleman, 1991, p. 326). Even though it was stressed in African American schools in Bulloch County, the lack of industrial equipment curbed its steady growth.

In 1920, state-supported high schools began, yet these high schools were divided among three levels: Level A, Level B, and Level C. The four African American district schools in Bulloch County can be divided up into three Level C schools, which taught two classes beyond the seventh grade, and one Level B school, which taught up to the tenth grade. Collectively, the Georgia State Department of Education referred to these schools as junior high schools, and the reason why only four of these schools existed in Bulloch County can be linked back to the established guidelines which had a direct correlation to the African American populace in Bulloch County.

According to Georgia's criteria, the number of these schools in any one county was to be "determined by the high school population, by the accessibility of the school, and also by the ability of the community to support and equip" ( Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 101). Since it has been established that local boards relied on Jeanes Supervisors to manage rural African American
schools, it is highly probable that Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, the Jeanes Supervisor in Bulloch County at this time, selected the location of these schools. Her job tasks and title would have better acquainted her with the areas in the African American community that could support high schools of this nature. Census reports show that the areas that she chose did have high African American content. A large number of African Americans near any one of these schools would inevitably ensure its growth since self-help was a major part of the African American school system. Even though Rosenwald funds were used to build these schools, it still must be remembered that the bulk of the cost had to come from the African American community itself. In 1930, 10,081 African Americans lived in Bulloch County, compared to 16,427 whites, and the majority of these persons were found in the four areas that were selected for schools sites.

Historically, Willow Hill, one of the four district schools, had been around since 1874, and oral narratives place Pope's Academy around the early 1900s, but through an interpretation of the data concerning when these schools were sanctioned by the state, it seems highly probable that the other two were built around this time. Since five Rosenwald schools existed in Bulloch County in 1930, these schools had to predate this time.

At junior high schools, industrial education was a major part of the curriculum. These schools taught both home economics and agriculture. Separate buildings were provided for all of the schools and these buildings were used to can produce in the summertime for the African American community. The Industrial teachers were hired from outside of the county since no local schools at this time were qualified to graduate such teachers. The fact that industrial teachers were hired to work at these schools can be supported by Bulloch County Board minutes. In 1939, two industrial teachers were
terminated, one at Pope's Academy and one at New Sandridge (BOE minutes, July 3, 1939). Since no reason was given, finances could have played a major role in this decision since the local boards had to pay a share of the industrial teachers' salaries.

To keep the doors of these schools open other means of financing other than community support were needed. The Bulloch County's Jeanes teacher tried to consolidate some of the schools that were near these junior high schools in order to create a steady cash flow. The rationale for such a move seemed to be a question of finance: Why try to finance six schools in one community when the junior high school could accommodate more students since these schools were larger than the community schools? However, even though Bulloch County Board minutes (1925-1949) show that some school consolidations did take place after these schools were established, some of these efforts made by the Jeanes Supervisor were futile since the lack of transportation would not allow some community schools to be closed. Even though these schools did not initially have public transportation, these four district schools were the first ones in Bulloch County to get buses, yet these buses were originally jointly-owned by the local Board of Education and the African American community. Joint-ownership for public transportation again assured the system that African Americans would not be guilty of having a free ride on tax dollars that they also had to pay.

Because these schools taught higher grade levels, the teachers who taught beyond the sixth grade at these schools were usually more educated than those who taught the lower grades. Only a few of these teachers were natives of Bulloch County. Oral narratives show that Mrs. Julia P. Bryant did a lot of
teacher recruiting from South Carolina, North Carolina, Savannah, and Fort Valley. Unlike the community teachers who were boarded around by the African American community, these teachers seemed to be more financially capable. Several of them drove their own cars and lived within the city of Statesboro in their own homes. It would seem probable that African American teachers who came to Bulloch County before 1935 even stayed in the teachers' dormitory near the Statesboro High and Industrial School. Bulloch County Superintendent reports show that the teachers who taught in the district schools held higher educational degrees than the teachers who taught in the community schools, yet their salaries did not reflect this difference for a long time.

Even though these junior high schools did offer the rural students in Bulloch County a higher level of education, industrial education was always at the forefront of the curriculum. All of the girls took home economic classes which taught them how to sew, do embroidery, cook, and how to do other domestic services such as maintaining and decorating a home. The boys were also involved in agriculture classes that taught them how to grow crops, raise livestock, and how to be successful at farming, making these children better farm and domestic laborers, which was what the South was looking for.

Even though African Americans in Bulloch County were getting a slightly better education in these junior high schools, they were still overcrowded, understaffed, and heated by wood stoves. In essence, they became stepping stones in the pathway of education, either being the end of the road for those who could not get to the one African American high school located in town or a bridge to those who could.
CHAPTER IV
THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

The very last school group, the industrial school group, consisted of only one school, the Statesboro High and Industrial School (H & I), the only high school for African Americans (see Appendix A). This school was located in the city of Statesboro, Georgia, on what is now Blitch Street and Church Street. Out of all of the African American schools, this school has the vastest and most researchable history due to the wide recognition that this school received, which was mainly due to its principal, the legendary Professor William James. The school and the man were so intertwined that it is hard to talk about one without talking about the other. What was discovered about this school was pieced together from newspaper clippings, other local historical writings, superintendent reports, student attendance records, but mostly from the teachers and the students who taught and attended this great school.

Historical Findings

Historically, the Statesboro High and Industrial School was begun in 1907, but it became an industrial school in 1910 when an industrial department was added after an instructor was hired from the Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama. This teacher was paid through the use of the Jeanes Fund. However, the planning process had begun as early as 1902 when concerned African American citizens met to discuss establishing an industrial
school or a high school. In essence, both were established within the same building (Coleman & Coleman, 1969).

According to A Century of Progress, 1866-1966 (Coleman & Coleman, 1969), the principal of this school was the legendary Professor William James who came to Statesboro at the age of 35 in 1907. The 1910 Bulloch County Census contains a listing for a William M. James, a mulatto male age 37 and head of household. His twenty-nine year old wife of 13 years was named Julia, and his children were listed as Warther or Warthen, age 8; Ruby, age 9; Serena, age 6; and Elnora, age 3. Even though four children were living, five had been born to the James family. His occupation was listed as high school principal. The Thirteenth Census of the United States, Bulloch County, Georgia (Kelly, 1989) for the year 1910 had no listing for a William James; therefore, Professor James had to have come to Bulloch County after 1900. This 1910 census report also showed that a 30-year-old single, mulatto female, Ethel Gondu, whose occupation was listed as a teacher, boarded with the James family.

Some of the most fascinating historical facts surrounding this school dealt with how Professor James acquired the monies that he needed in order to build this school and to keep it operating. Since his fund-raising exploits were a major part of the rich heritage of this school as well as a part of the character of the man himself, Professor James' fund-raising practices are included under the historical section of this study. However, this area of funding will be broached again briefly in order to highlight the many different types of funding that this one school received.

Professor James was a highly dedicated principal. In 1911, due to his leadership, the school had enrolled 230 students. In this same year, Professor James decided to raise funds to build a dormitory next to the school whose
estimated cost was $1000. This dormitory was completed in 1915. In 1912, this school graduated three students with diplomas. In addition, in 1921, fifteen students graduated from high school, which was the largest graduating class in the history of the school. Furthermore, the Statesboro H & I School's doors did not close during the summer months. In the summer of 1915, Professor James operated a successful normal school for teachers that was aided by the Washington School at Tuskegee, Alabama. In 1922, a teacher institute was conducted here by Mrs. Lydia Thornton, State School Supervisor (Coleman & Coleman, 1969).

Also Coleman & Coleman (1969) stated that Professor James had many connections outside of Statesboro, Georgia. He had friends in Washington, D.C., New York State, and New Jersey. These persons usually donated their time, expertise, and monies to James' school. In 1922, Professor James received a donation of $500 from the late Thos. R. Proctor, and the Carter's Club donated a chandelier that was to be hung in the school chapel. Having a chapel shows the role that religion played in the education process for African Americans. It was during this year that he made one of the grandest announcements ever concerning this school. According to Professor James, the school was to get a new building which was to be constructed by the city of Statesboro and with the help of the Rosenwald fund. Obviously, the community had to share a third of the cost since these were the directives of the fund itself.

Tragedy also came along with success. In 1924, the old Statesboro High and Industrial building along with the new building, only a few months old, were destroyed by fire. Only the dormitory was left standing. However, James did not allow defeat to win. He immediately began plans to build a new building which was opened on February 2, 1926, and along with it was a new auditorium that
could seat between 600 and 700 people. Its cost was approximately $3,500. In 1925, African American citizens had begun a fund to build an auditorium to go with the new school building. This auditorium was built due to overwhelming community support and substantial donations made by Professor James' friends in the North.

In 1930, this school became incorporated and was run by a board of trustees with the city mayor and five members of the city Board of Education as ex-officio members of the Board of Trustees which included William James as secretary and Hinton Booth as president. Having such a status allowed the school's board of directors to accept bequests and contributions given to the school. Soon afterwards, a $2000 check was received from Miss Emily Howland of New York City. The dormitory had been named Howland Hall in her honor since she had been a longtime supporter of Professor James and his educational efforts at this school. In addition, another $2,400 was received from James' northern friends and another $1,350 was received from the Rosenwald fund.

Tragedy again struck in 1933 when Professor James' wife Julia died. Unfortunately, Professor James only lived two years beyond her death. He passed in 1935. He was reported as to have said earlier in regard to the Stateboro High and Industrial School that "it is the thing nearest and dearest to by [sic] heart" (Coleman & Coleman, 1969, p. 271). After his death, Mr. L. S. Wingfield succeeded him as principal. Under his leadership, this school added a New Farmers of America chapter, and the Teachers Association of Bulloch County was organized. In 1943, J. Griffin Greene became principal. Under his leadership, the school set up a program on Education for Victory which was run by faculty members and the school's P.T.A., a school chorus, a Boy
Scout troop, and a Victory Corp was organized to assist in the war effort, (Coleman & Coleman, 1969).

In memory of Professor James, in 1948, thirteen years after his death, the name of this school was fondly changed to "The William James High School." A new high school was built in 1954 on Williams Road, but in 1958, disaster struck again. The old building which was being used as an elementary school burned. This burning destroyed the last building that Professor James had seen built.

Over the years, the Statesboro H & I school had become more than just a school; it had become a cultural center. Obviously, Professor James felt that his students deserved to be exposed to the arts. In 1927, Joseph H. Douglass, a noted colored violinist and the son of the Frederick Douglass, performed in the newly built auditorium. Moreover, oratorical contests were held as Professor James' students competed among themselves for prizes (Coleman & Coleman, 1969).

As the only high school for African Americans, this school also obtained different titles due to the significant roles that it played in the education process and due to the different funding that it received in order to keep its doors open. The term "industrial" was chosen because it represented this school's major role which began in the 1920s, the starting date of this study. Providing industrial education was the first and primary role of this school.

First, providing teachers was its highest call as an industrial school. Operating in this capacity earned it the title of a county training school. A county training school was an African American school whose major purpose was to offer courses to train future African American teachers. According to Mrs. Ouida Pearson, after the students who were to become teachers graduated from the Statesboro High and Industrial School, they were then hired to teach at schools
here in Bulloch County (Mrs. Ouida Pearson, Black History Program, 1/14/99). When these students graduated from this school, they were eligible to teach elementary schools. These schools also had a teacher's dormitory where future teachers boarded while they received their education. These future teachers were still teenagers themselves, many below the age of seventeen. Even though Statesboro High and Industrial was a high school, its purpose exceeded just instruction, for its other purpose was to help the African American community by providing it with future teachers from its own county.

A document obtained from the Georgia Department of Archives and History headed "Slater Fund: County Training Schools" showed that the Statesboro High and Industrial School (Statesboro H & I) was established as a County Training School in the school year 1918-19, but was discontinued in the school year 1929-30, the same year that it became incorporated. While other counties continued to be training schools as late as 1934, Statesboro H & I did not re-establish its status. For eleven years, this school functioned in this capacity. In the Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921), Walter B. Hill, the Supervisor over African American education, reported under the heading "Improvements at Training Schools" that "funds were secured for shop buildings and equipment at Statesboro and Sylvania" (p. 78).

As state records show, the County Training School was financed by the Slater Fund. An "Application for Slater Fund Aid for County Training School" for 1936 showed that a County Training school had to be legally owned by a Board of Education, had to report the number of students per grade, the distance of any other African American schools that taught high school subjects, the school's highest grade, the vocational or the industrial subjects that would be taught, the area of greatest need, and lastly the principal had to include a
perception of the condition of the school in relation to its general workings, the condition of the building itself, and the equipment used. One school system received as much as $450.

As shown, Statesboro H & I did receive and hold status as a County Training School, yet it was also regarded as an accredited high school. Even though Statesboro H & I has been shown to have been an outstanding school, it did not receive high school accreditation until the 1947-48 school year. As recorded in the *Georgia Educational Directory* (1947-48), under the heading "Accredited Negro High Schools, 1947-48" Statesboro H & I is listed with J. Griffen Greene as principal. This school was also accredited in the 1948-49 school year, but in the 1949-50 school year even though it was still accredited, it was cited for having oversized classes. It still employed eight teachers, but its principal at this time was Lucius Gibson.

The year 1920 was a very significant year in the realm of education. Many new laws and funds were first implemented during this year. For example,

one of the outstanding features of the year 1920 educationally was the development, under the stimulus of state-aid of 63 Four-year high schools in as many counties. State aid was authorized under the Barrett-Rogers Act. Under this act a bonus of $100,000 was made possible to the counties that would effect consolidation of elementary schools or to those that would develop a four-year standard high school, provided, they met the requirements of the state in reference to standardization, provision for rural pupils, free tuition, number and quality of teachers, etc. . . . $1,000 the amount offered for the development of four year high schools. *(Forty-ninth Annual Report, 1921, p. 91-92)*
According to Bulloch County Board Minutes, Statesboro H & I did receive Barrett-Roger funding. Board Minutes mention that applications had been filed for the years 1928, 1929, and in 1931. These minutes also showed that this school did receive $1,000 in Special Aid under the Barrett-Roger Act.

Not only was Statesboro H & I receiving Barrett-Roger funds but, because it was an industrial school, it was also receiving Smith-Hughes vocational education funding, which provided a teacher of agriculture and the necessary equipment. Retrieved from the files of the Georgia Department of Archives and History were several letters and memos directly referring to the status of vocational education at Statesboro H & I.

In a memo entitled "Georgia State Board for Vocational Education: Smith-Hughes as Negro Teachers of Agriculture, 1928-1929," Mr. A. M. Fields is listed as the Smith-Hughes teacher for Statesboro H & I for this year. The courses that Fields taught were Farm Crops, Animal Husbandry, Pre-vocational, Horticulture, and Farm Shop which totaled six hours per day, but no canning was done.

Even though Professor James supported this branch of his school, it was only working at a 40% proficiency rate in the early 1930s. In a letter dated March 29, 1935, written by Alva Tabor, Supervisor of Agricultural Education for Negro Schools, the subject concerned Mr. Morris M. Martin and his Agricultural Program at James' school. This letter stated that the education situation was fair, even though 115 students were being taught within four different classes. It also stated that

the principal of the school has constantly expressed interest in the agricultural education program but it has made slow progress over a period of several years. The factors hindering more satisfactory progress were: (1) The lack of a vocational building for teaching shop and canning
work, (2) The lack of sufficient tools to effectively teach wood and iron work, and (3) The proper administration of the department by the local school officials.

This letter concluded by remarking that Mr. Martin had plans to proceed with enthusiasm and was hoping to "secure needed canning equipment by funds raised through the local board of education or the people in the community."

In subsequent correspondence approved by Alva Tabor, Mr. Martin seems to have gotten the materials that he requested. In a document entitled, "Request for Farm Shop and Laboratory Equipment" submitted by Mr. Morris M. Martin, equipment requested were small items such as bits, augers, hammers, pliers, hand saws, screwdrivers, but more expensive equipment was also requested such as a vice-stationary base, and a forge, which was one of the most expensive requests at a cost of $22.50. However, the most expensive item was a steel canning retort priced at $46.20 and a companion automatic can sealer priced at $13. The total invoice price was $264.06. Even though these items were granted, a separate building came later. The male students interviewed remembered attending a separate building for agriculture classes.

Furthermore, this school had the full backing of the African American community, and the Board of Education also seemed to have been willing to respond to its needs. According to Board minutes (November 3, 1925), Professor William James came before the Board to request another teacher for six months to assist in the education of the rural children at a cost of $32.50 per month. This request was granted; however, several requests of other African American schools had been denied. This was the only time, according to Board minutes between 1925 and 1949, that Professor William James approached the Board for financial assistance.
According to oral narratives, the Statesboro High and Industrial School also raised funds to help support itself. One endeavor was a canteen that was run between the time that school let out until 8:00 or 9:00 P.M. This canteen which was located in the school's basement sold various items such as Cokes, hotdogs, potato chips, and peanuts. This money was used to help support school activities. Two teachers rotated the shifts, but they received no money for their services. At the beginning of each school term, there would be a big fund drive. The school had been known to raise over $1000 in three to four weeks of fundraising by putting on operettas, talent shows, and plays. These were developed through the P.T.A. and were well-supported by the community (Interview, Mrs. Sarah A. Smith, 4/3/98). During the day, this school also was able to accumulate funds by selling items to students during their lunch periods. Even though hot lunches were available, students during their lunchbreak could dance to music and could buy items such as ice cream or candy bars. Lunch was also a time for socializing while under adult supervision (Interview, Ellen Williams, 3/8/98).

Even though Statesboro High and Industrial had a history of receiving financial support from the friends of Professor William James, Rosenwald funds, Barrett-Roger funds, Smith-Hughes funds, and the local Board of Education, after his demise, the school was able to carry on through the leadership of its subsequent principals and with the continued support of the African American community itself.

Physical Features

In reference to its physical features, these changed due to the burning of the school in 1924 and its rebuilding in 1926 along with its additional auditorium. In the 1930s, the Statesboro High and Industrial School consisted of two
buildings, the brick school building and a frame dormitory called Howland Hall where Mrs. Amanda Smith was matron of the girl's dormitory (Bonds et al., 1987).

For the 1938-39 school year, Statesboro High was not listed on the Superintendent's Annual Report. However, the Superintendent's Annual Report (1940-41) listed this school as only a brick building with 10 classrooms valued at $4000 and a 700-seat auditorium. Its eight-acre lot was worth $2000. It had 340 student desks and 100 other classroom seats. Twelve teachers were hired, but three males and three females taught the high school division. Ten of these teachers held a four-year college degree while one had a three-year and one had a two-year degree. Four-hundred and eighty-four students attended with 112 students in high school. The per pupil cost of high school instruction was $51.14. The total days taught was 178 days.

In 1949, Statesboro High and Industrial consisted of two brick buildings and one frame building. There was a total of 13 classrooms and 3 other rooms. This building was valued at $52,500. It was located on an eight-acre lot valued at $2,500. The seating capacity of the auditorium was 700 seats. This school had running water for drinking purposes and flushing toilets. It also had a total of 467 desks for 442 students, 119 of which were in high school, grades eighth through eleventh. This school hired 15 teachers, eight elementary females; five teachers, one male and four females, who taught the high school; one special education teacher, and one principal. The per student cost of instruction for the high school was $224.78. School was taught for 175 days.

Because this school was a Rosenwald School, it had several windows, but no air conditioning. There were electrical lighting and heating, and inside
toilets were standard. Even though all students had desks, these were seldom new. It also had a separate building for agriculture and a student and a teacher's dormitory. Even though the Statesboro High and Industrial School suffered a major loss as did the African American community when it was burned, the Rosenwald school that was rebuilt had its own advantages. This school also had a basement that became a social gathering hall for the teenagers of the community.

As years passed, the building that was built by Rosenwald funds was later renamed in the 1980s in honor of another African American who strived to make life better for African Americans here in Bulloch County. Her name was Mrs. Louella Moore. Today, this remodeled school is now a recreation building that bears Mrs. Moore's name. It is located on Blitch Street and can be seen along with the agriculture building. The majestic persona of these two buildings has not been diminished by their new coats of paint, for they still stand as precious reminders of what used to be.

Curricular Aspects

A review of the curricular aspects showed that female teachers predominately taught at this school although it had several male principals. After Professor William James died, Mr. L. S. Wingfield became principal (Mabry & Anderson, 1996), and then there were two other males, two other Principal Greenes. First, there was P. Irving Greene, who went to serve in the war, and then J. Griffin Greene succeeded him as principal until 1950. In 1943, a full-time librarian was hired (Coleman & Coleman, 1969).

A Jeanes teacher was also employed by the county to help with the overseeing of all African American schools, including this one. Bulloch County had a Jeanes teacher as early as 1910. From 1910-1912, Miss Katie Maud
Tyson was the Jeanes teacher. For one year, 1912-13, Miss Ethel Ganders was supervisor, and from 1912-1917, Miss Julia P. Armstrong assumed this position. When Miss Armstrong married and became Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, she was the Jeanes supervisor for the years 1917-22, and for the years 1925-39. Miss Nancy Brown served as supervisor in between the service of Mrs. Bryant. The Jeanes supervisor for 1939-43 was Miss Maenelle Dixon, and she was succeeded by Mrs. Theodora Thomas who was Jeanes supervisor until 1958.

Since this school was a high school, an A-B-C grading scale was used. Before 1949, the year when all African American schools were taught for 175 days, this school was always taught for more days, from 20 to 40 days beyond the community and the district schools. As with the other two groups, it began around 8:00 or 9:00 A.M. at the latest and ended around 2:30 or 3:00 P.M.

The Forty-ninth Annual Report (1921) listed the state-adopted high school subjects. According to this list, the high school subjects taught at Statesboro H & I met with state approval. Students were to be instructed in seven areas: English, history and civics, mathematics, science, languages, vocational, and avocational. According to student attendance records, all of these areas were taught at this school. Under the English area, students were instructed in composition, grammar, spelling, rhetoric, and public speaking. This school also taught under History and Civics, community civics, along with European, Modern and American History. Mathematics included arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry, and trigonometry. The science subjects taught included geography, general science, biology, physiology and hygiene, and chemistry and physics. Under languages, Latin was taught. The vocational area included agriculture for the boys and home economics for the girls. The last area, avocational, included physical education and music. Statesboro High and Industrial was noted county-
wide for their chorus and musically talented students. As mentioned earlier, when the new auditorium was built, students participated in oratorical contests as early as 1926 which proves that public speaking was a part of this school's curriculum.

According to old student school records for this school, some of the teachers who taught at this school were: in eighth grade, Mrs. Floyd, Professor William James, Julia P. Bryant, H.W.B. Smith, Sr., J. H. Smith, A. Henry, E. James, C. French, A. Livingston, J. Allen, R. R. Richards, J. W. Hill, M. M. Martin, J. C. Alman, L. B. Walters, B. L. Glass, E. H. Ballard, A. M. Stephens, Thomas Hardy, and J. K. Glenn; in ninth grade, Phobe Floyd, Professor William James, Miss Woodal, Julia P. Bryant, H.W.B. Smith, Sr., Phobe Floyd, Mrs. Smith, J. Allen, C. M. Richardson, E. James, C. French, J. W. Hill, L. B. Walters, M. M. Martin, R. L. Gibson, J. K. Glenn, E. H. Ballard, C. Taylor, and B. L. Glass; in tenth grade, I. H. Smith, Professor James, Julia P. Bryant, H.W.B. Smith, Sr., Professor Burch, Miss J. K. Glenn, Miss Henry, E. H. Ballard, E. James, J. W. Hill, V. Coleman, L. S. Wingfield, Logan, D. Hicks, L. B. Walters, A. M. Stephens, Thomas M. Hardy, C. Taylor, and R. L. Gibson; and in the eleventh, J. K. Glenn, D. Hicks, J. K. Glenn, Miss Henry, Thomas Hardy, Burch, J. W. Hill, L. B. Bates, C. Taylor, M. M. Martin, D. Logan, R. L. Gibson, A. M. Stephens, V. Coleman, L. B. Walters, M. Saxton, L. S. Wingfield, and B. L. Glass. In addition, for the years 1937-39, the elementary part, grades first through seventh, were taught by Palma L. Preston, A. R. Henry, Odessa Gross, Mrs. M. L. Wingfield, and Mary Ricks taught the primer class that was comparable to a present-day kindergarten.
Funding Practices

As was reported when discussing its history of serving various kinds of educational purposes, this school received funds through many sources. First, money for this school was obtained through private donations from the white acquaintances of Professor William James himself. There were also Barrett-Rogers funds and Smith-Hughes funds. The largest amount of funding came from the Rosenwald fund, yet the most continuous flow of monies came through the continued community support that this school received before and after the death of Professor William James himself.

Teacher Memories

One teacher who taught at this school was Mrs. Sara Mildred Ayers Smith, who originally came from South Carolina. She vividly remembered her days as a teacher here. She remarked that Statesboro High and Industrial prepared students academically, but there were also several social activities. For example, there were weekly assembly programs. These programs were important since they gave the students who did not excel as well academically a chance to get recognition. The school’s auditorium was located in the elementary part of the high school.

When asked about textbooks, she remarked that there were no textbooks; "The county did not furnish textbooks." She taught chemistry but had only one book, hers. Students were taught by putting notes on the board which they copied into notebooks and by listening. When her students finally did receive textbooks, they were outdated and used. Keeping up with new data was paramount in her field of science. She also remembered that when Professor James would request books from the Board of Education only about ten books would be sent, but students would see other white students in town with newer
editions. Only the older editions would be sent. These she said were books that had been used and used and were "ready for the garbage can." And never did she receive a teacher's guide. Unfortunately, there was no place for students to buy their own books. In a regretful tone, she remarked that not all of the students were taught correctly due to the limited supplies and teacher resources, yet students were taught the best that they could be with what the teachers had.

According to Mrs. Smith, however, despite all, Statesboro High and Industrial "produced some exceptional students." Some students that she named were Constance Jones, Betty Hall, Julia P. Simmons, Lonnie Simmons, Nathaniel Shatteen, and James Willie Wilbur, "who was so intelligent that he could have earned a scholarship but decided instead not to continue his education."

When Mrs. Smith taught at Statesboro High and Industrial, there were no duplicating machines. Getting paper was a problem and teachers were given one ream per six-weeks. Some teachers even charged their students two or three cents per copy for exams. Due to this paper situation, students were not tested as often and many tests were put on the board. There was a library at this school, but it had a very limited number of books and was more like a room with books. Students were allowed to check out what was there.

She remarked with a very grave tone coupled with a very serious look that during this time a teacher's attendance register "was your Bible." Auditors came from the state to do spot checks, and if any discrepancy was found, "teachers were fired on the spot."

Discipline was not a serious problem she thought. There was no smoking or drugs or skipping class. In fact, she said that the "key to discipline is a good lesson plan." Teaching, she added, should be done so that a child stays
interested. Teachers were allowed to paddle, but only a few ever were suspended. When school started in September, attendance was usually low due, mainly because the boys whose families sharecropped stayed out and entered later.

According to Mrs. Smith, the social activities of this school included proms, programs planned by the P.T.A., May Day Programs, or what we call field day today, which were usually attended by other schools and by parents, and graduation exercises. The graduation committee, which usually consisted of just herself, planned a baccalaurette program, which was always a "spiritual and religious" program where dynamic speakers spoke; senior commencement, which was held two days after the baccalaurette program; a senior trip, ordered class rings and caps and gowns, and made sure that all of her graduating seniors looked alike. She would always assist in the buying of whatever was needed. Uniformity was very important. When remembering this part, she spoke with pride. She also added that the entire faculty wore their caps and gowns along with the students.

She remembered that in 1946-47 she was receiving about $90 a month salary. She remarked that she had a thirst for knowledge and had wanted to become a doctor but decided to fulfill her role as a mother instead. Yet her insatiable appetite for knowledge led her to take courses paid by the State Department of Georgia at such prestigious colleges as Ohio State and the University of North Carolina where she was recognized as a National Science Foundation Scholar. Today, Mrs. Smith, fondly referred to as "little Mrs. Smith" due to her size and the fact that there exists another teacher called "Mrs. Smith," is a highly respected former teacher. She is the wife of Mr. H.W.B. Smith, Jr.,
whose father and mother were both well-respected educators of Bulloch County (Interview, Mrs. Sara A. Smith, 1/7/99).

Another teacher who taught at the one African American high school was Mrs. Ruby D. Brock. She remembered that the trustee board for this school was mixed. Both Whites and African Americans served as trustees. This fact is also supported by Coleman and Coleman (1969). She remembered that this school had extracurricular activities such as a basketball team. These players, who were very good, traveled to rival schools on buses that were originally provided by the two African American mortuaries in Statesboro, Payton's Mortuary and the Riggs Funeral Home. There was both a boys' and a girls' team. Mrs. Brock had the pleasure of coaching the girls' teams. She remarked that the girls and the boys reigned as undefeated teams when she taught here in the 1940s. These teams were allowed to practice in rented warehouses downtown.

She remembered that the school held carnivals as fund raisers. Because of her artistic talents, she often was chosen to chair these events (Interview, Mrs. Ruby D. Brock, 10/3/98).

Student Memories

Ms. Constance Jones was a student at this school in the 1940s. In fact, she was the valedictorian of her 1948 graduating class that had a total of 22 students. Ms. Jones remembered fondly her high school experiences. The school day, as she related, started off with a daily class devotion and then instruction that entailed changing classes. When asked about her memories, she stated that she remembered being around "good children" at a school with "qualified teachers" that served "good lunches." Even though she admitted that the facilities and equipment were not good, (there was only one test tube in her
lab class), she added that we "really learned" and "we were happy." She described her teachers as being "caring and concerned and wanted to make sure that each student developed to his full potential."

Some of the school activities that she remembered were her Junior/Senior prom, graduation where she wore a grey rented robe, (the color was not her favorite), her school closing activities, which included operettas, field day when the Maypole was plaited, and basketball games. She and the other students were given an opportunity to socialize during school in the basement which was called "The Canteen." Here students were allowed to dance to music from a juke box, buy food stuffs, and socialize with the opposite sex, all under the watchful eye of teachers.

She remembered taking subjects such as chemistry, English, algebra, science, geometry, and home economics where she was taught to sew and to cook, but probably not as good as the two cooks at Statesboro High and Industrial, Mrs. Amanda Smith and Mrs. Irene Fulton. Her last memory was the January 1, Emancipation Proclamation Program that was held in the school each year by community men such as Dr. Van Buren and other members of the NAACP (Interview, Mrs. Constance Jones, 1/7/99).

Another student who attended Statesboro High and Industrial was Mrs. Julia Pearl Simmons. She remembered that this school was painted white and had an outdoor water fountain. She remembered that the classes were smaller, but the desks were older ones and two students had to sit at one desk. Sadly, since this school was the only high school in Bulloch County, some students walked "from Portal, Brooklet, and Register" just to attend because there was no public transportation for African American students at this time. She related that
the white students on the bus would throw food at them from an open window as they walked along the road. She lived within a mile of the school and had to walk too, but was carried to school in her father's car when it rained.

When asked about the books that she received, she said that the old books from the white schools were brought in a dump truck and dumped at the school. The teachers then went through them to find what they could use. At times there was only one book per class, and this book was passed around so that each child could get a chance to read it. Many pages were missing.

She remembered her school lunches of pork and beans and rice and blackeyed peas and bacon. Lunch cost ten cents, but those who could not afford this price brought lunches from home. For recreation she remarked that there was no band or football, but this school did have a basketball team that played other schools but they had to play "on a court with rocks." She remembered going to "The Canteen" where she danced and ate ice cream, but she had to be home before dark. She remembered two clubs: N.F.A. (New Farmers of America), which was for the boys, and F.H.A. (Future Homemakers of America), which was for the girls.

Mrs. Simmons memories also included the teachers' dormitory that stood where the Blitch Street Recreation Center now stands. Teachers who lived out of town would stay here for a fee until the school year was over and then they would return home. Not only was there a teachers' dormitory, there was also a student dormitory for those students who could afford to board. This dormitory was located where the Simmons' Apartments are now located. Her father bought the girls' dormitory in the 1920s. He rented it out, and the Riggs Funeral Home had its first office here.
In the summer months, she remembered that Mr. R. W. Campbell would operate a canning business in the agricultural building that is standing today across the road from the Blitch Street Center. Parents would bring their vegetables in to get them canned free of charge. This service she said was supported through government monies. None of the canned foods were sold as far as she could remember. This was a function that was given to the community. Also, the government would give away free cotton; this cotton was made into mattresses that were given away free. This activity that took place in a warehouse was not school-related, however (Mrs. Julia Pearl Simmons, 1/7/99).

Another student, Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams, the researcher's aunt, also made mention of these mattresses during our interview. Yet, she added that the government provided the cotton and the ticking but parents had to sew them themselves with long needles measuring from seven to eight inches. These mattresses she responded were "hard as a board." This occurred around 1937 (Interview, Mrs. Lillie Ellen Williams, 2/10/98).

The interview with Mrs. Julia Pearl Simmons ended on a very bleak note concerning African American rural schools. She remarked that cottages at one time had been built in the woods around African American rural schools and that these cottages housed white men with tuberculosis (Interview, 17/99).

Data Summary

The Statesboro High and Industrial school was a very highly respected school. It stood as a symbol of integrity and high educational standards for years among the African American community as well the white. This school since it was the only African American high school had its own unique characteristics. Table 7 shows its physical features, its curricular aspects, and its funding practices.
Table 7

Data Summary for the Statesboro High and Industrial School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical appearance</th>
<th>Curricular aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founding</td>
<td>Teachers 12/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Male 3/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acreage</td>
<td>Students 484/440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SeatCapa</td>
<td>Grades P-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painted</td>
<td>Principal yes (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Jeanes yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Value</td>
<td>Trustees yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Days 140/160/175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom</td>
<td>Held 8-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add'l Room</td>
<td>Devotion yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk(Stu)</td>
<td>Closing yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Seat</td>
<td>Funding practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben/Table</td>
<td>Philanthropist yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalkboard</td>
<td>State yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Local yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lights</td>
<td>Rosenwald yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heat</td>
<td>Barret-Roger yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilets</td>
<td>Smith-Hughes yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk(Stu)</td>
<td>Slater yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Seat</td>
<td>F-raiser yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>walk/bus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The slash (/) designates a date prior to 1949. The last data entry is for 1949.
Discussion and Interpretation

As shown, the Statesboro High and Industrial School was unique in itself because it was the only African American school in Bulloch County to obtain high school status. However, historically, it functioned not only as a high school but also as a county training school, an industrial school, a teacher meeting hall, a teenage hang-out, and as a community cultural center. It boasts of having helped over 600 students become teachers. Its school "Bulletin of Information, 1934-35" stated that the school's central objective was "the training of young men and women for service and usefulness." It also attributes its success to the Slater and Jeanes and Smith-Hughes funding. However, tuition and fund-raising were also played a major role in this school's funding.

Because it was the only high school, it was overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded, yet it maintained a high level of success, educating not only the city students but rural students as well. It was the first school to receive public transportation since rural students had to have access to this one school.

Even though all schools had to be owned by the local school board, this school became incorporated and was thereby governed by a board of trustees which was composed of both White and African American members. The presence of African Americans on this board either showed the persistence of African Americans to have some say in the running of their most prized school or the benevolence of the local Whites toward Professor William James and his endeavors to educate his race.

The Statesboro High and Industrial School became an accredited high school and was known for its highly qualified teachers, who even though they lacked adequate textbooks, lab equipment, duplicating machines, and a reasonable salary, educated thousands who later pursued higher education.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

By exploring the educational system that existed for African Americans in Bulloch County, Georgia, between the years 1920 and 1949, much was discovered. Locally, it was discovered that these schools could be categorized into three basic groups, i.e., community schools, district schools, and one industrial school. However, no matter the category or where these African American schools were located within Bulloch County, they shared several similarities with the general nature of other African American schools located in the rural South in regard to their unpainted weathered appearances; their schoolhouse choices, churches and lodges; their industrial curriculums, home economics and agriculture; and the funding or the lack of funding that they received (Bullock, 1970; Grant, 1993; Anderson, 1988).

Because these Southern schools educated African Americans, they began with a strike already against them, but due to strong community support or what Anderson (1988) and Grant (1993) referred to as self-help, these three groups of schools, community, district, and industrial, just as many other Southern ones just like them, were able to keep their doors open. However, not all forty-three of Bulloch County's African American schools were able to survive. In 1920, there were forty-three of these schools, yet by 1949, there were only thirty-three schools. Yet, the reduced number of these schools does not represent a failure, but a triumph. Whether these schools were closed as a result of successful consolidation efforts or were forced to close due to the inability of a community to finance the continual upkeep of the school itself is
irrelevant. Whatever the reason, the reduced number of African American schools was advantageous since the African American community could now concentrate their efforts on how to fund thirty-three schools and not forty-three.

In view of the times, African Americans in Bulloch County were fortunate because there were three different types of schools available to them, purely elementary schools, junior high schools, and one high school. Even though more high schools were needed, only a few rural Georgia cities could boast of this educational feat (Grant, 1988). To keep its school functioning, this one industrial high school received Smith-Hughes funds as well as Slater and Jeanes funds. It also received tuitions that ran from fifty cents to two dollars and fifty cents, and boarding students paid $10 (Bulletin of Information, Statesboro High Industrial School, 1934-35).

Summary of Findings for School Categories

Even though there were three major categories of public schools in Bulloch County, i.e., the community schools, the district schools, and the one industrial school, the community schools made up the largest group with thirty-six schools belonging to this group. The community school group could be subdivided into three other groups, i.e., those located in a church, those located near a church, and those located elsewhere in the county. Each subgroup of the community schools shared many similarities. This statement also applied to the district school group. The district school group contained four schools while only one school was in the industrial school group.

The Community Schools

In regard to their physical features, we now know that these thirty-six African American public schools which were operated between 1920 and 1949, were made of wood, with only one exception, Pretorious, which was built of
cement. As a rule, these buildings were rarely painted and were situated on at least an acre of land.

Furthermore, these schools usually had one classroom and one teacher, yet less than five had two classrooms. In the one classroom where two teachers were employed, the teachers either used some type of divider or turned their seats in the opposite direction. Each teacher had a chalkboard of some sort on which to write, yet according to Mrs. Julia P. Simmons, she had "a very small board" which could hold only about half of the math problems that she wanted to put on it (Interview, Mrs. Julia Pearl Simmons, 2/8/99). Basically, these chalkboards were used for arithmetic.

Moreover, they all were heated by wood heaters which were located in the center of the classroom. None of them had indoor plumbing; therefore, outdoor pit toilets were used. When only one pit toilet was built, this facility was used by the girls only. And for smaller schools like Ada Belle that had no outdoor toilets at all, the nearby woods were used. No drinking fountains were available and students, usually the older boys, drew up water in a bucket from an open well. Only a few schools had pumps, yet the trend was to go from a well to a hand pump. Rarely did these schools have no water source at all, yet when there was none, the school would rely upon either the parents to bring water to the school, or go without, as was the case at Ada Belle (Mrs. Julia P. Simmons, Interview, 2/8/99). For sanitation purposes, students were required to bring their own drinking containers. Sometimes these glasses were stored at school and washed periodically. The care given to sanitation at these schools was admirable (Duggan, 1915; Brannen, 1992). In addition, none of these schools had any electrical lights. Kerosene lamps were used when the need arose.
Benches and tables were the standard seating equipment, and none of these schools had enough student desks to seat all of its students. However, only one exception was found for one church-school, Smith Grove, that had 27 desks and only 21 students for the school year 1948-49. When a school did possess desks, these were old, outdated ones. According to Board minutes, when Professor Aaron Pope and Rhonie Scott asked the Bulloch County Board for "material for seating purposes," the Board instructed the superintendent to "investigate and see if he could locate some second-hand material that would satisfy their demands" (BOE minutes, July 3, 1934). This statement showed that African American schools very often were given second-hand school supplies and equipment.

The winter months at these schools were the most taxing on the students. They had to walk from an average of two miles to around five miles, yet five miles was rare, in weather so cold their hands and feet were usually extremely cold by the time they reached their destination. If they were lucky, some of the older boys or the teacher herself had arrived early and had already begun the fire. Parents also brought wood to these schools during the winter months, yet wood was also gathered by students on their way to school or from the surrounding wooded area of the school.

Similarities also existed in connection with the curricular aspects of these schools. For example, the majority of the teachers who taught at these schools were females, and if a male did teach at a two-teacher school, he usually taught the higher grades. This fact seemed to show that some gender bias may have existed in the hiring practices of these schools. The number of students who were educated at these schools varied and ranged from the low thirties to the high nineties.
The elementary school subjects taught were the basic reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, which usually culminated into a spelling bee, and language. The higher grades, fourth through seventh, usually added geography, physiology, and history, yet grammar and health were the rarer courses taught. Home economics and agriculture were not taught at the community schools. Yet, these students also had social activities like field day and May Day celebrations when African American schools would congregate at one school for competitive fun.

Even though these community schools at first did not have individual school principals and were supervised by trustees and concerned parents, they gradually began to use lead teachers as principals whose job included communication to the trustees the needs of the schools. Since discipline problems were rare and were handled by the individual teachers, principals were not needed for this aspect of education. Another element of supervision came through the visitations of the Jeanes supervisor, who were all women. These supervisors visited the schools at least once a month. Their roles consisted of finding and hiring teachers, making consolidation choices, making repair lists, and teaching industrial arts such as household crafts.

The school year varied from a September or October opening to a March or April closing. These schools gradually moved from a 120-day, or a six-month term, to a standard 175 days for all schools by 1949. No matter how big or how small, each school began with a spiritual devotion and provided its own school closing exercises which were well-attended by parents who usually brought food for this event. These exercises usually consisted of recitations or what the teachers and students referred to as "dialogues." There were plays or "operettas," speeches, singing, and a march, which if a piano was present, was
set to music. Some of the schools made costumes for the girls for this event from colorful crepe paper (Interview, Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98; Ms. Gussie Ward Hall, 4/19/98). Both boys and girls eagerly and proudly participated in this event.

In regard to funding, oral narratives revealed that these schools received a high measure of community support. The buildings were built from concentrated community efforts. However, state funds paid low teacher salaries while any local funds that were received were used primarily for roofing and slight repairs. In 1941, the Board of Education decided to work toward paying one half of the cost of repairs at colored schools (BOE minutes, December 2, 1941). The labor and the other supplies came from the African American community even though they too paid a percentage of the five-mills tax that was levied "on all property of Bulloch County outside of the city of Statesboro for the year 1925 for the support and maintenance of the public schools of this county" (BOE minutes, August 18, 1925). However, the African community usually did not receive an equal share; therefore, these schools hosted box suppers, cake walks, and other festivals in order to raise money for their schools. The most unique fund-raiser was having girls stand behind a curtain with only their shoes visible. The boys paid to pick a pair that was sticking out beyond the curtain. The girl that he picked provided a meal, and they ate together. The young man's objective, of course, was to choose the girl whom he liked. A similar activity involved allowing girls to stand behind a curtain with only her shoes pointing out and allowing someone to pick a pair. The person chosen received a cake. Mrs. Mamie Jackson, who attended the Free Chapel School, very proudly remembered being chosen and getting her cake (Interview, Mrs. Mamie Jackson,
The uniqueness of these fund-raising activities showed the fun coupled with socializing that also went along with raising needed funds.

The only noticeable differences found among the community schools were minor ones, such as a difference in the size of the school itself and their seating capacities. Basically, whether the school was located in a church, near a church, or located elsewhere, other than the two stated differences, each school was a wooden, wood-heated building, unpainted and unlighted, but one that glowed with love, caring, and compassion. Each person interviewed agreed that the schools were not much to look at, but that they provided them with some of the best times and the best memories ever. Moreover, each person showed a high and warm regard for their teachers which can be summed up in one word, "love."

In essence, African American students and teachers at these community schools walked together, especially since there was no public transportation for them, ate together, played together, and entered the academic world side-by-side, since in many cases the teacher was only a few years older than the oldest student. In one instance, Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, who rode a bicycle to school and confessed that the country atmosphere made her fearful most of the time, was only fourteen years old when she began to teach. However, upon witnessing her excellent teaching abilities, Mrs. Julia P. Bryant, the Jeanes supervisor, immediately gave her a position at the one African American high school that was located in the city limits of Statesboro, Georgia. (Interview, Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98). Along with the three R's, African American students also received at these schools the three C's for continuous caring, countless chances to contribute either through their talents or actions, and a committed
counselor-teacher who unselfishly taught them the skills that they needed to survive in a world that valued education.

The District Schools

Next, the four district schools were also very similar to each other. Physically, they were all painted wooden structures and had from four to seven classrooms, plus another room called the "industrial room," which was typical of all Rosenwald buildings. In the 1940s, each school had two buildings; one was a separate agricultural building complete with an additional classroom. In the summer months, these schools under the direction of their agricultural teacher canned vegetables for the African American community. African American parents would bring their summer vegetables to these agricultural buildings during the summer months to get them canned in either jars or sealed in a can. No money was required (Interview, Mr. Julius Tremble, 2/8/99). Agricultural teachers were employed at these schools. However, according to Bulloch County Board minutes, the Board decided to drop two of their Negro agriculture teachers. This was done at Pope's Academy and New Sandridge. No reason was given (BOE minutes, July 3, 1939). It could have been related to teacher salaries since the local board had to supplement the salaries of these teachers even though the Slater Fund paid the majority of their salaries.

These schools were valued in the thousand of dollars and were situated on school plots that ranged from three to five acres. Their seating capacities were also high. They could seat from 150 to 300 persons. Student desks were provided but there was never enough desks to seat all of the students; therefore, benches and tables were used. Each room had its own chalkboard, and teachers did not have to share classrooms. These schools had daily devotions
and end-of-the-year-school closing exercises which were well-supported by the parents of the students.

By 1949, all of these schools had made improvements in their facilities. They all had running water and water fountains, and they all had electrical lighting. However, they were still using wood stoves that burned either wood or coal, and outdoor privies were still the norm.

In relation to their curricular aspects, these schools were operated for 140 days and then 175 days in 1949. Overall, they were operated at least twenty more days than the community schools. They taught grades first through ninth with Willow Hill teaching the tenth grade. In one year these schools educated over one-hundred students. Data showed a marked increase in students in 1949 which can probably be attributed to area school consolidations and public transportation. Advanced subjects such as algebra and history were taught in the ninth and tenth grades. Home economics was also a part of the curriculum for girls. The majority of the teachers who taught at these schools were females, and they held advanced degrees, from three years of college and up.

Unlike the community schools, these four schools had principals, trustees, and a Jeanes Supervisor who visited the schools regularly and made sure that they received funds from the Rosenwald fund in order to keep their industrial departments efficient.

These schools also held several fund-raising activities. These included the usual box suppers, cake walks, Halloween carnivals, and penny throws (Interview, Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98). There were also shows on a Friday night like "The Singing Sam Show" where the entertainer sang and played the banjo. Those who attended were usually charged a dime or fifteen cents (Interview, Lee Swenton Smith, 3/15/98).
Because the district schools were Rosenwald schools, they received equipment monies from this fund and were provided with the first transportation opportunities. The African American community as early as 1934 had approached the Bulloch County Board of Education about transportation for their children; however, their request was refused (BOE minutes, February 6, 1934). However, in the late 1940s, transportation was provided for the students from these schools who wanted to continue their education at the Statesboro High and Industrial School in Statesboro. Transportation was also provided to and from the individual schools. One district school, Willow Hill, ran a privately owned bus and students had to pay six or seven cents per day to ride. The bus driver was Mr. Mann Hall (Interview, Mr. Hinton Ward, 10/3/98). At Pope's Academy, their bus had two routes. It picked up the ones who lived across the highway and then went back to get the other ones. Mr. Artis Lee was instrumental in procuring this bus (Interview, Mr. Lee Swenton Smith, 3/15/98).

The Industrial School

The last school, the Statesboro High and Industrial School, was the only African American high school in Statesboro. This school consisted of three buildings, two brick and one wood. It was situated on eight acres of land and had thirteen classrooms in 1949. It was painted and could seat 700 persons. Before 1949, its value was only $4,000 but in 1949 its value had increased to $52,000. This school was unique because it had an auditorium and was used very frequently by the students as well as the community for talent shows and community meetings. The number of desks that it had exceeded the number of students who attended. In 1949, it had 467 desks but only 440 students. It also used benches and tables. Each class had its own chalkboard, but oral
narratives related that this school was very short on other teaching supplies such as student books, paper for duplicating, teacher guides, and lab materials.

This was a Rosenwald school; therefore, it had electrical lights, indoor plumbing complete with flushing toilets and running water, but it still used wood and coal for heat.

As the only high school, it went to the eleventh grade and offered more advanced subjects than the community schools and the district schools. In 1949, it had fifteen teachers, two held five-year college degrees and ten held four-year college degrees. This school operated for 140 days and then for 160 and later for 175 days in 1949. It had its own male principal and trustee board who took over the management of the school after it had become incorporated. Both African Americans and Whites were trustees at this school. Daily devotions and schools closings were also a major part of these schools just as graduation exercises and proms were. From its founding in 1907 up to 1949, it boasted of having graduated over 600 pupils who went on to teach.

Funding practices for this school included local and Northern philanthropists, state monies which paid teacher salaries, local funds which helped to repair the school, and Rosenwald funds. This school also received Barrett-Roger funds, Smith-Hughes funds, and Slater funds, yet the community also did its share by contributing money at fund-raisers conducted by the school. This school received public transporation as early as 1947. It was the first African American school in Bulloch County to do so.

Comparisons among School Categories

When comparing all three school groups, differences can be seen. When comparing the one industrial school with the others in relation to their physical appearances, only the industrial school had an auditorium. It also had electrical
lights and indoor toilets while the other two groups did not. However, water fountains were also provided in both the district schools and the industrial school but not in the community schools. Even though the community and the district schools were made of wood, the industrial school had two brick structures.

Another difference dealt with the lodging of teachers. At the community and the district schools, teachers were boarded around with different families so that the teachers were available to teach. Because they lacked their own modes of daily transportation, boarding was the next feasible option. Plus, it kept teachers from having to pay money for weekly lodging. However, at the industrial school, a teachers' dormitory was provided for the teachers who taught at this school. However, these teachers did have to pay a fee to lodge here. There was also a girls' dormitory for the students who came from either the rural area or from nearby towns like Brooklet, Portal, or Register to attend high school.

Only the district schools and the one high school had over two rooms. The majority of the community schools had one classroom with two classrooms being rare. Moreover, the majority of the community schools were taught by one teacher, usually female, who taught the entire curriculum, mainly grades first through seventh. In contrast, the district schools usually had at least four teachers with at least one who could teach beyond the seventh grade curriculum while the high school had fifteen teachers.

The students in the community and the district schools remained in their classrooms while the high school students at the industrial school changed classes. Female teachers dominated at each school with more males having been employed at the industrial school. Only the industrial school had a principal, and he was male. Even though there were some desks at the
community and the district schools, there were never enough individual desks. The industrial school, on the other hand, did have enough desks to seat its student body, yet at each school in the three categories, the desks were old ones. At some of the community and district schools, students had to sit two per desks. Benches and tables were used at each school at some time, yet the industrial school had more individual chairs and tables. For some of the students who attended a community school, they did not have a table and had to use their laps as a writing surface.

With the exception of the industrial high school, all of these schools started out with a pot-bellied stove for heat, a well or a pump for water, and kerosene lamps for light. With the exception of Statesboro H & I, outdoor privies were the standard. All of the schools provided their teacher with a desk and at least one chalkboard for instructional purposes.

In regard to their curricular aspects, each school began around 8:00 a.m. and released students around 3:00 p.m. or 4:00 p.m. at the latest. Some students in all three school groups had to go home around 12:00 noon due to planting or harvest season (Interview, Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98). As a rule, the boys received less education than the girls, mainly due to sharecropping and farming in general.

There was a noticeable difference in the number of school days that these three groups of schools operated. The thirty-six community schools operated on an average of 120 days per year. The four district schools operated for 140 days per year while the industrial school always operated 20 days more than the district schools. Its pattern was 140 days, 160 days, and then all of the three groups operated for 175 days beginning in 1949.
All of the schools taught the basic required subjects, yet grammar, health, and physiology were the classes that were neglected among the community schools. More advanced subjects such as Latin, American Government, typing, and geometry were taught at the industrial school. The community schools went to the seventh grade while the district schools went to either the ninth or the tenth grade. The only industrial high school went to the eleventh grade.

At all schools, home-made lunches were brought by the students, yet in the late 1940s the government supplied surplus food stuffs, and some community and district schools began to serve some type of hot lunch for the students. These lunches were free to the children. At the high school, students had to pay around ten cents for lunch; those who could not pay continued to bring their lunches from home.

At first, students had to buy their school books (Interview, Naomi Crum Johnson, 3/26/98; Ruby Dell Brock, 10/3/98; Mr. David Burns, 10/3/98), yet when the county started receiving free books, the African American schools in all three groups started receiving used books from the White schools. Some of them, especially the high school books, were in a state of disrepair and tragically outdated, especially in the area of science. It seems that there were never enough books to give to each child. Oral narratives revealed that books had to be shared among the students and that extensive notes were placed on the chalkboard by the teacher. No African American teacher ever remembered receiving a teacher's guide.

Funding was different for the three school divisions. The community schools relied more heavily on community fund-raisers while the four district
schools received Rosenwald funding and the industrial school received Rosenwald funding plus other funds from other philanthropic organizations and friends.

Each school had trustees. The Jeanes supervisor visited and supervised the rural community and district schools while the principal and a state employee checked upon the teachers at the industrial school.

By looking at the data for each of the three school categories, i.e. community schools, district schools, and the one industrial school, similarities and differences were shown. Location data showed that all three schools were never found within the same militia district. This characteristic was advantageous since sharing the same district would have pitted the support of the district schools against the one high school. They inevitably would have been vying for community dollars since the upkeep of these schools was more demanding since they were larger and had a larger student attendance. Some of the smaller community schools were located in the same militia district as the other two school groups, yet their existence did not take away from the community finances given to these schools. The district schools were receiving additional funds from the Rosenwald Fund for support as industrial schools. In rank, the community schools were the lowest on the totem pole. Even though they filled an educational need, they did not receive as much regard as the district and the industrial school, yet those teachers who taught in these community schools should have been regarded with greater respect since the conditions at these schools were much less than at the district or the industrial school. Forty-two of the African American schools were located either on the outskirts of the Statesboro city limit or were located in the rural communities of the county while only one was located in the city.
Supervision was another element that showed a difference. While the forty-two community and district schools shared one Jeanes Supervisor, the one high school was supervised by one principal whose total commitment to the school allowed it to grow in stature, both literally and figuratively. In contrast, the community schools all had trustees and no appointed principal while the district schools had both an in-school principal who also served as a teacher and school trustees. In contrast, the one high school had its own board-recognized principal who took care of the immediate needs of the school as well as a trustee board composed of local white community members, members of the Board of Education, and respected African Americans as well.

In regard to education, the teachers who taught at the district schools and the industrial school needed more education than those who taught in the community schools. Overall, the educational level of the African American teachers who taught at these schools matched or in some cases was above the level of other southern rural cities with African American schools. According to the Superintendent Annual Reports for Bulloch County, many of the African American teachers held two- to four- year college degrees and in its own "Bulletin of Information, 1934-35" the Statesboro High and Industrial School stated that its faculty came "from leading colleges and universities of the country. Some of the schools represented are: Morehouse, Spelman, Georgia State and Florida State Colleges, Tuskegee Institute, Johnson C. Smith and Illinois University." Like many other African American industrial schools (Anderson, 1993), the Statesboro High and Industrial School subordinated the industrial part of its curriculum and taught around a more liberal arts schedule. Latin was being taught at this school as late as 1935. This school boasted that it
had "turned out at least six hundred teachers," but nothing was mentioned of the carpenters or farmers or seamstress.

Findings also showed that the one industrial high school offered its students several advantages that were not to be found in the district nor the community schools. For example, only the industrial school had an auditorium. It also had electrical lighting whereas the others used lamp light until 1947 when a fourteen year old African American boy who received a two-day training session wired the first district school (Interview, Frank Sabb, 10/3/98). Therefore, in one instance the industrial education that these students received at the district schools was very helpful to the African American community since many of the rural farms received their first experiences of electrical lighting at the hands of this one African American student who received courses in industrial education.

Discussion and Interpretation

Bulloch County, as in all of the other rural counties in Georgia, established a dual education system that in some ways disenfranchised African American schools by using state funds that had been set aside specifically for the growth and progress of African American schools for the building and equipping of their own schools (Anderson, 1988; Grant, 1993). Many Southern Boards of Education denied African Americans their fair share of the educational pie.

According to Bulloch County Board of Education minutes for the years 1925-1949, African American schools in Bulloch County received similar disenfranchisement in relation to public school funds. When the trustees of African American schools approached the local Board requesting financial assistance for building repairs or for transportation, their requests were many
times denied due to the inavailability of funds or incorrect petition formats or the tabling of the matter at hand, which is very similar to what was happening to other rural African American schools (Walker, 1998). However, the persistence of these local African American trustees finally resulted in their receiving one half of the repair cost of their schools. When it is considered that local African Americans were not only paying state and local taxes to support public schools but were also having to pay out-of-pocket monies to help finance their own schools as well, receiving only half does not seem to be too equitable. As a result, African Americans in Bulloch County, just as in many other Southern rural counties, were victims of double taxation (Anderson, 1988; Grant, 1993).

Research into the three interest areas, the physical appearance of these schools, their curricular aspects, and their funding practices, revealed stark similarities among the schools in these three categories as well as between them and other rural African American schools.

As with most African American schools, all of the schools in each of the three categories showed a need for larger and better built structures. Even though there was one brick and one cement school while the others were wooden frame structures, constant repair was a major problem for all of them. Painting, roof repair, and the general upkeep of these schools was far from what it should have been. By 1949, some where still shacks, yet there had been some changes made. For one, in 1939, the district schools, all except New Sandridge, had received electrical lighting from EMC, a company out of Metter (Interview, Sarah Cone Lee, 2/21/98). Willow Hill and Statesboro High and Industrial were heating with coal while the community schools were still using wood heat and kerosene lamps. The industrial school and the district schools had water fountains while the community schools still pumped water from
shallow wells drawn up with buckets. Indoor plumbing was a luxury to be found only in the industrial school; the rest still had outdoor pit privies. These meager advances attest to the determination of the African American community to keep schools for their children operating, even though at a substandard level. Even though these advances may have been viewed by many as only small progressions, they were giant steps for these schools.

Over the thirty years of this study, the school curriculums of these schools had not made many changes. Any changes that were made in this domain were due to the educational knowledge of the teachers who were hired. The more advanced the teacher; the more subjects that could be taught. Teacher salaries did increase after teacher certifications were changed. By the 1930s, college degrees had become mandatory and many teachers went to summer school for years in order to complete their degrees while they taught (Interview, Sarah Cone Lee, 2/21/98). With forty-three schools to supervise, the Jeanes Supervisor probably allowed these schools a lot of autonomy in deciding upon what was needed in the curriculum. Depending upon the age of the children who attended the community schools surely adjustments had to be made in regard to what knowledge was most needed. For all of these schools, oral narratives seem to indicate a strong bond between the teacher, the students, and the community, for it took all three working together to ensure success.

Even though self-help tactics dominated the aid given to African American communities (Anderson, 1988), some did receive outside funding, yet only the district and the industrial school in Bulloch County received funds such as Rosenwald and Slater. The community schools were basically self-sufficient schools. Each small community built its own schools, supplemented its teacher salaries with their own funds, and provided community functions like cake walks
to raise money for student and teacher supplies. Each, however, managed to put together a school closing that allowed parents to be proud of the education that their children had received, no matter how meager. A person who could read, write, spell, and do arithmetic was highly valued among the African American community.

As we can see, the African American community of Bulloch County for over thirty years had tolerated inequality in their schools, yet in 1949, they demanded changes. After drafting a petition, they demanded better schoolhouses, transportation, and higher teacher salaries. In other words, they demanded that they receive a greater and fairer piece of the education pizza. In the 1950s, new African American schools were built in Bulloch County and mass consolidations did take place, yet according to Anderson (1993), these actions were not done out of remorse for the inequitable treatment of African Americans in the past, but as a method of appeasement so that schools would not be desegregated.

For many years, these forty-three African American schools stayed buried in the minds of those who either taught in them or were educated by them. However, this study has dared to locate their skeletal remains, fossilized yet recognizable, and have raised them once again. Behold, the awesome dinosaurs! History has retrieved them, and now they have been reborn and placed in the Jurassic Park of new minds. Rediscovery has shown the value of their skeletal remains.

While they were actively educating African American students, these one-roomed wooden schools of the past may have been viewed as unimportant dwarfs to others, but the fact that they survived inequitable funding, leaking roofs, cold, unlighted rooms, and disrepair, show their true worth. Successfully
educating thousands of willing students under years of educational duress attest to their high level of survival. This feat definitely shows them, as well as those who taught them, to have been past giants.

In summation, the African American schools in Bulloch County, as they struggled to survive under a dual, separatist educational system, developed unique characteristics of their own. Yet the teachers who taught in them unselfishly persevered and were willing and able to teach under many trying conditions. They had to put up with meager salaries as low as $15 per month. Mrs. Minnie Evans remembers bringing home only $100 a month in 1947 (Interview, Mrs. Minnie Evans, 3/16/98). However, to add to teacher salaries some schools paid tuition. According to Mr. David Burns, who attended Summer Hill, his parent paid his teacher around fifteen cents per month (Interview, Mr. David Burns, 10/3/98), yet these teachers were not always paid in money. Sometimes foods were given as teacher payment since all parents could not afford to pay the teacher in money. In addition, they had to be boarded with the families of the students which was not always a pleasant experience since some families could not afford as much as others. Mrs. Minnie Evans, who taught at Mount Olive, a church school, remembered being boarded by one of the deacons of the church. She bought her own food and gave the family money, yet they always returned part of it (Interview, Mrs. Minnie Evans, 3/16/98).

From 1920 to 1949, these schools experienced a lack of funding, a shortage in teacher and student supplies and equipment, cold classrooms, hand-me-down desks and books, and to a large extent a total disregard by the Bulloch County Board of Education. No teacher or student interviewed remembered any white Board member ever visiting the schools themselves. The only white persons who were remembered in connection to these schools were the Board
members who passed out student diplomas at the Statesboro High and Industrial School during graduation exercises.

However, the African American community did not sit passively by and allow their students to lag behind. In 1949, a letter of grievances was sent to the Bulloch County Board of Education stating the concerns of the African American populace and the changes that they were requesting to be made. Attached to this letter was a petition signed by many of the leaders of Bulloch County, including the trustees of the schools and some teachers. This petition was signed by sixty-eight African Americans. The letter addressed to Mr. W. C. Cromley, who was then president of the Bulloch County Board of Education, basically outlined six discriminations. First, the letter made reference to thirty-three unconsolidated African American schools compared to only twelve white schools. Next, it mentioned the fact that the majority of African American schools were made out of wood while the majority of their counterparts schools were made of brick and had far better equipment in them. In addition, the transportation issue was made known. The white schools were operating 41 public and 2 jointly owned buses while the African American community only had five buses. Furthermore, it was made known that the lack of transportation was hindering African American students from obtaining a high school education since there were not adequate buses running to this school. And lastly, this letter pointed out that it was "evident that the Board of Education of Bullock [sic] County is discriminating against the Negro children of Bulloch County because of race in violation of the Fourteenth [sic] Amendment to the United States Constitution." This letter ended with the following demands: a high school equal to the one the white children had, school consolidation and adequate transportation to this schools, and lastly a reduction in the teacher-pupil ratio.
The contact person for this petition was Mr. James Carroll (Letter to BOE, dated October 21, 1949).

As we can see, the African American community for over thirty years had tolerated inequality in their schools, yet by 1949, they were demanding changes. In the middle 1950s new African American schools were built and mass consolidations did take place. However, much is still owed to the African American teachers and the schools in which they taught. Historically, they stand to show how much can be accomplished if the heart, soul, and mind are intertwined with an obvious need.

According to Dittmer (1977), the African American schools that were able to survive an unfair dual system deserve recognition. He states that looking backward on black education in Georgia, one is impressed not so much by its shortcomings as by its achievements against overwhelming odds. . . . schools were inadequate, teachers were overworked and underpaid, and many children were denied even basic elementary education. . . . Their success is tribute to their determination, to sacrifices by their parents, and to the dedication of their teachers. One can but speculate as to how the face of Georgia and America would look today had black children enjoyed anything resembling equal educational opportunity a century, or even a half-century ago.

(p. 162)

By looking back to the year 1920 and then forward to the year 1949, much has been uncovered and rediscovered in relation to the educational giants of the past, the African American schools that existed in Bulloch County, Georgia, 1920-1949.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A

Location of African American Schools
Note. Numbers with (?) represent unknown locations. Numbers with (*) represent only the known districts, not the location. Map used was the "Map of Statesboro & Bulloch County, Georgia," printed as a public service by Kenan, Inc., for the Sea Island Bank.
LOCATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS*

1. ADA BELLE
2. ARCOLA
3. BENNETT GROVE
4. BROOKLET JUNIOR
5. FREE CHAPEL
6. GAY'S GROVE
7. GRIMSHAW
8. HARMONY
9. HODGES GROVE
10. HUBERT
11. JERUSALEM
12. JOHNSON GROVE
13. LEE'S GROVE
14. MOUNT CALVARY
15. MOUNT OLIVE (OLLIFF)
16. MOUNT ZION
17. NEVILS
18. NEW HOPE
19. NEW SANDRIDGE
20. NEWTON GROVE
21. NOAH'S ARK
22. OLNEY
23. PIGFORD
24. PINEY GROVE
25. PORTER

26. POPE'S JUNIOR
27. PRETORIOUS
28. RED HILL
29. REHOVAH
30. RIGGS SCHOOL
31. ROSE HILL
32. SANDY GROVE
33. SANDRIDGE
34. SCARBORO GROVE
35. SMITH GROVE
36. STATESBORO H & I
37. ST. PAUL'S
38. SPRING HILL
39. SUMMER HILL
40. WILLOW HILL
41. WILSON GROVE

OTHER COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

42. ANTIOCH
43. MAGNOLIA SCHOOL
44. MILLER GROVE
45. MOUNT MARIAH
46. SCOTTS CREEK
47. ST. MARY'S METHODIST
48. ST. MARY'S BAPTIST

Note. The above alphabetized schools are all of the schools presented in this study. Each one has been assigned a number. This number was used on the map to represent the approximate location of the school.
### A. The Community Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those Located in a Church</th>
<th>Other Community Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Free Chapel</td>
<td>42. Antioch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Harmony</td>
<td>43. Magnolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Hodges Grove</td>
<td>44. Miller Grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Jerusalem</td>
<td>45. Mount Mariah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mount Olive (Olliff)</td>
<td>46. Scott's Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Nevils</td>
<td>47. St. Mary's Methodist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. New Hope</td>
<td>48. St. Mary's Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Newton Grove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Noah's Ark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Red Hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Rose Hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Sandy Grove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Scarboro Grove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Smith Grove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Wilson Grove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. The District Schools**

| 30. Riggs School           | 40. Willow Hill          |

**C. The Industrial School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>36. Statesboro High &amp; Industrial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Those Located near a Church

| 1. Adabelle                        |
| 12. Johnson Grove                  |
| 14. Mount Calvary                  |
| 16. Mount Zion                     |
| 24. Piney Grove                    |
| 29. Rehovah                        |
| 33. Sandridge                      |
| 37. St. Paul's                     |
| 38. Spring Hill                    |
| 39. Summer Hill                    |

### Located in a Different Location

| 2. Arcola                          |
| 3. Bennett Grove                   |
| 6. Gay's Grove                     |
| 7. Grimshaw                        |
| 10. Hubert                         |
| 23. Pigford                        |
| 25. Porter                         |
| 27. Pretorious                     |
| 30. Riggs School                   |

**Note:** For quick reference to the map these schools have been alphabetized and put under their respective categories as outlined in the study.
Appendix B

List of Interviewees
List of Interviewees*

1. Mr. Sam Baldwin 1/24/99
2. Ms. Linda Beasley 7/16/98
3. Mrs. Ruby Dell Brock 10/3/98
4. Mr. David Burns 10/3/98
5. Mr. Tommie Burroughs 12/6/98
7. Mrs. Minnie Stewart Evans 3/16/98
10. Mr. Johnnie Hall 6/23/98
11. Ms. Beola Hayward 2/28/97
12. Mrs. Thelma Jones Heard 4/14/98
13. Mr. Freddie Hill 3/10/98
14. Mrs. Gracie Hill 3/10/98
15. Ms. Mamie Jackson 12/15/98
17. Mr. Clinton Jones 2/10/98
18. Ms. Constance Jones 1/7/99
21. Mrs. Elise Kent 12/7/98
22. Ms. Sarah Cone Lee 2/21/98
23. Ms. Levanna Wilson Lester 7/19/98
24. Mrs. Priscilla C. T. Mainier 1/15/99
26. Mr. Colonel Lester Parrish 3/14/98
27. Mrs. Mary Lou Frink Parrish 3/7/98
29. Ms. Iretha Lee Perkins 12/15/98
31. Reverend Purvis Royal 4/19/99
32. Mr. Frank Sabb 10/3/98
33. Ms. Idora Sampson 7/23/98
34. Ms. Julia Pearl Simmons 2/8/99
35. Mr. Lee Swenton Smith 3/15/98
36. Mrs. Lucille Lee Smith 3/15/98
37. Mrs. Sara Ayers Smith 4/3/98
38. Mr. Julius Tremble, Sr. 2/8/99
40. Mrs. Annie Williams 3/13/98
41. Mr. John Davis Williams 8/6/98
42. Mr. L. C. Williams 7/16/98
43. Ms. Lillie Ellen Williams 2/10/98
44. Mrs. Alma Griffin 3/19/99
45. Rev. Griffin 3/19/99

* Tapes and fieldnotes are currently in the possession of Enola G. Mosley, the researcher.
Appendix C

Teacher and Student Interview Questions
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS

1. PERSONAL INFORMATION: Please state the following:
   - full name  spouse's name  children names
   - mother's name,  her mother's name,  her father's name
   - father's name,  his mother's name,  his father's name
   - your birthdate  your present age
   - your current address  childhood address
   - any other?  phone number

2. Where were you first employed? Who hired you? Name the county of the school system.

3. Name the school. Did this school have a principal?

4. In what year did you start? How old were you? How old was the school?

5. Where was this school located? (was a church/located near a church/regular school) On private land? state land?
   Describe it physically (doors, windows, window panes, floor, walls, heating system, closet space, kitchen, extra rooms, etc.)
   Was there a well/pump/toilets--indoor outdoor/electrical lights?
   Were there benches? desks? chalkboards?---Describe these.

6. Who were the other teachers who taught at this school? What did they teach? List all the subjects taught by you and others.
   Explain which students were taught what?

7. What were the grade levels of this school? Was there a kindergarten?

8. Were all grades taught in one room? Explain how this was done.

9. At what time of the school year did this school start? end?

10. Explain how you started off the school day. (Devotion?)

11. Approximately how many students attended this school? Did more girls or boys attend school? What part did sharecropping play in the attendance of your students? Was there a distinct difference in the attendance of girls and boys?

12. Explain what happened during recess.

13. How was lunch handled? What did you and the kids bring? Where were these lunches stored? Did all bring a lunch?
    Brothers/sisters shared? What did you do for lunch?

14. How did you get to school?

15. When you arrived, what were your duties? With which duties did the students help? Who cleaned the school? The school grounds? Brought in wood?


17. If you taught seventh grade, were these students required to take a state test?

18. How did you test students and how often?

19. How did you promote students to another grade?

20. Where there any kinds of special recognitions for outstanding students?

21. Explain what happened on the last school day. Was there a school closing program? Describe what happened.
22. How involved were the parents in the school/the community? Did a PTA exist? Did a Jeannes teacher ever visit your school? Discuss the purpose of this visit? Did any other official from the state ever come to inspect this school?
23. Give me an example of one day's lesson. Did it include recitations or spelling bees, math competitions, writing exercises, etc? Time schedules?

CERTIFICATION
24. How did you receive your teaching license? Do you have a copy of it?
25. Were you required to complete a certain number of grades or years of school first?
26. How often did you have to renew your license? Do you have a lifetime certificate?
27. Did you have to attend any summer institutes? Is so, where were these held? Explain.
28. What grade certificate did you acquire? 1st, 2nd, 3rd. What were the requirements for each?
29. What type of questions were on your exam? How did you prepare for this exam?
30. Who gave the test? Where did you have to go to take the test? How long did it take? Who scored it? How did you get your results? Was there a fee to take it?
31. How was a certificate revoked? Were provisional certificates given? Length of effectiveness?
32. About how many teachers took this test along with you? males? females?
33. Was there a separate test for high school teachers and common/elementary school teachers?
34. Did you earn any advanced degrees? Which? How were you able to pay? What part did the state play in funding your education? What college(s) did you attend? Do you hold a life-time certificate?

CURRICULUM
35. How did you decide what to teach? Was each grade taught something different? How did you test for understanding of the material taught? Was any type of industrial education taught? for boys? for girls? If you did not teach this, how did students get this education?
36. How did you get books? Did you have a teacher's guide? Did each student have a book?
37. If the books were purchased, approximately how much did they cost? Who bought them?
38. How did you get your school supplies? What did you not have that you needed?
39. Did you keep a register for student attendance? Did you have to turn this record in to anyone?

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
40. Did anyone come to inspect your school? If so, explain. How often? Results?
41. Was a principal, pastor, deacon board or community group responsible for your teaching and hiring, and supervision?
42. Did you have to report to any person? Was there a dress code?
43. How much influence did the parents of your students have?
44. Explain how discipline was handled? Were you solely responsible for discipline? Did you have to get permission from an administrator or Board or parents to discipline? What types were used?

SALARY
45. How often were you paid? What agency paid you? state? ----how much tuition?-----how much in community?-----how much?
46. How much did you receive? first paycheck? last paycheck? Were you paid during the summer months? If not, how did you support yourself at this time?
47. Where did you go to pick up your check? Do you have an old paystub?
48. Who determined your pay?
49. Was there a time when you were not paid? Explain: why? how long did you wait? Did you receive all of your backpay? How was your pay determined?

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS
50. Did you board with a family? If so, explain how this was done. Did you pay rent?
51. Were you married at this time? Did you have children? Where did your spouse and children stay? Did your children accompany you to school?
52. How did you get to school if you boarded with different families during the school year?

STUDENTS
53. Did they enjoy learning? Did they do well?
54. Were some exceptionally bright? girls? boys?
55. Was discipline a problem? meals? attendance?
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS

1. **PERSONAL INFORMATION:** Please state the following:
   - full name
   - spouse's name
   - children name(s)
   - mother's name, her mother's name, her father's name
   - father's name, his mother's name, his father's name
   - your birthdate
   - present age
   - your current address
   - childhood address
   - any other address
   - phone number

2. At what age did you attend school? What was the year you started?

3. What was the name of your school? first school? second school? third school?
   - Did you go to high school? Name? Grades? Location? Principal?
   - Subjects taken? Names of teachers and subjects taught.

4. Describe your school: What type of building materials were used?
   - How many rooms? Were there electrical lights? Was the floor wooden? How many windows? doors?

5. In what month did your school year begin? In what month did it end?

6. What were the grade levels of your school?

7. Approximately how many students attended school along with you?

8. Who was the principal of your school? Describe him/her.

9. Name the teacher(s) who taught at your school. Describe him/her/them. What grades did she/he teach?

10. If there was only one teacher, describe how students were separated into different grade levels.

11. If there were two or more teachers, describe how each taught class: grade level, amount of students, position in classroom.


13. How was the school heated? If heater, who brought wood? Who made the fire?

14. Was there a chalkboard/blackboard?

15. How did you get to school? If walked, how many miles? Were you alone? Bus?
   - What did you do when it rained? Severe weather?

16. How did your teacher get to school? If walked, how many miles?

17. At what time did your school begin? At what time did it end?

18. How did students know when school began?

19. If there was a devotion, explain the procedure. What part did the students play? teacher?

20. What type of writing utensils were used? paper? slates? other?

   - What did you do with your books at the end of the year?

22. What subjects were you taught?

23. How were you promoted to another grade? Did you receive a report card? A copy?

24. Did you have a lunch break? Time? Recess? How many? What time?
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25. How did students get their lunches? If brought, what did it contain?
26. Where there more boys or girls? Same?
27. Did some students stay out due to sharecropping? Was your family sharecropping? If students stayed out, more girls or boys?
28. Did you have a school closing? Explain what happened.
29. Did your school have fund-raisers? If so, what kind? What time held: month? of the day?
30. Under what circumstances did your parents come to school?
32. Did your school have craft classes? Industrial classes? What things were taught?
33. Did another teacher ever visit your school? Was her name Julia P. Bryant? What did she do when she came? How often did she come? What was the regular teacher doing at this time?
34. Do you know where your teacher stayed while she taught? Did your parents house a teacher during the week? If so, did the teacher give your parents any money?
35. What games did you all play at recess? Did boys and girls play together?
36. Was there organized sports between your school and another one? What sport? Did you play? What schools were involved?
37. Describe how your teachers disciplined the students? Did the students deserve it?
38. Describe how you felt about your teachers.
39. What were your most memorable moments at your school.
40. Did anything tragic happen at your school: fire? diseases? teacher fired?
41. From a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 as the highest, rate your school.
42. Please tell me anything else that you would like to tell me about your school experiences?
Appendix D

Preformatted Questionnaire
Preformatted Questionnaire

NAME OF SCHOOL: ......................................................

THE YEARS YOU TAUGHT HERE: (include dates) ...................................

LOCATION: ........................................................................

GRADES TAUGHT AT THIS SCHOOL: -- NUMBER OF STUDENTS --

PRINCIPAL(S): .........................................................SUPERVISOR--

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE:

---DOORS  ---HOW MANY  LOCATION: --------------------------

---WINDOWS  ---HOW MANY  LOCATION: --------------------------

---WOOD  ---STONE  ---LOG  ---BRICK

---PAINTED  ---UNPAINTED  ---INSIDE  ---OUTSIDE

---NUMBER OF CLASSROOMS  ---HALLWAY  ---CLOSETS

---NUMBER OF OTHER ROOMS  ──TYPE

---DESKS  HOW MANY?  -------NEW  ---OLD

---TEACHER'S DESK  LOCATION: ----------------------------------

---BENCHES  HOW MANY? ----------------------------------------

---TABLES  HOW MANY? -----------------------------------------

APPROXIMATE SIZE?  -------------------------------------------

OR IT WAS AS BIG AS (other building)  ----------------------------------

---WELL  ---PUMP  LOCATION: -----------------------------

---TOILETS  ---INSIDE  ---OUTSIDE  ---GIRLS  ---BOYS

DESCRIPTION: .......................................................................---

---INDOOR PLUMBING IN KITCHEN  ---WATER FOUNTAIN

---ELECTRICAL LIGHTS  ---LANTERNS  HOW MANY?  -------

---HEATING  WHAT TYPE:  --------------------------

---LOCATION OF HEATER:.................................

---GLOBES  ---PICTURES ON WALL  ---DICTIONARIES

---XEROXING  HOW DONE?:  --------------------------

---LIBRARY  ---PIANO  ---CHALKBOARD  ---PLAYGROUND

INSTRUCTIONAL ASPECTS

---TRUSTEES  NAME THEM: ........................................

---HOW WERE THESE PERSONS CHOSEN? (use back)  ---------------

---TEXTBOOKS  ---OLD  ---NEW  HOW RECEIVED:  

---DID YOU HAVE A TEACHER'S MANUAL?:  

WHAT SUBJECTS WERE TAUGHT:  

---GRADING:  ---ABC  ---U & S  ---NUMBERS

MONTH SCHOOL BEGAN:--------  MONTH ENDED-------------------

TIME SCHOOL TOOK IN--------  END OF DAY

---RECESS  ---HOW MANY?  ---LUNCH BREAK  ---LENGTH

---SCHOOL CLOSING  DESCRIBE WHAT WAS DONE: (USE BACK)

FUNDING

---ROSENWALD  ---BARRETT-ROGERS  ---SMITH-HUGHES  ---LOCAL  ---STATE

---COMMUNITY FUNDRAISERS

---BOX SUPPERS  EXPLAIN? (USE BACK IF NEEDED)
Appendix E

Railroad Map
Appendix F

List of Schools from Duggan's Survey
List of Schools from Duggan's Survey (1915)

1. Aaron School
2. Ada Belle School
3. Arcola School
4. Bethel School
5. Clito School (Pope's Academy)
6. Eureka School
7. Fields School (Rose Hill)
8. Free Chapel
9. Handshaw
10. Johnson Grove
11. Lane's Grove School
12. Lee's Grove School
13. Little Bethel
14. Love School
15. Miller Grove
16. Mount Zion
17. New Arcola
18. New Hope School
19. Portal School (Scarboro Grove)
20. Pretoria School
21. Red Hill
22. Register School
23. Robert Brannen School
24. St. Mary's School
25. Sand Ridge
26. Smith and Brannen
27. Spring Hill
28. Statesboro High and Industrial
29. Watersville School
30. Whitesville School (Wilson Grove)