Persistence and Sacrifice:
Durham County's African American Community &
Durham's Jeanes Teachers Build Community and Schools, 1900-1930

By
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Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies

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A project submitted in partial fulfillment
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Introduction

The scene on Durham’s Ninth Street was repeated across North Carolina that July of 1900. On a bright afternoon, the community gathered to watch a parade. Sixteen “lovely young ladies” rode on a white float pulled by white horses. On the sides of the float were banners that read “Protect Us with Your Vote.” Following the float, the West Durham White Supremacy Club, 300 strong, marched in formation. The parade ended in a rally in Erwin Park where over a thousand listened to Democratic politicians stir up racial fears and hatred. They campaigned for their ticket and in support of an amendment to the North Carolina Constitution that would effectively disenfranchise black voters, finishing the process that had started in 1898 and ending one of the most successful biracial governments that the United States had ever seen. The new industrialists and old planters, who formed the power base of the Democratic Party, had the goal of stripping power from the Fusion Coalition government made up of Republicans and Populists to insure that no economic alliance between blacks and whites could ever threaten their power again.

Their tactic to replace what they called “Negro Domination” with white supremacy had two main strategies: one was economic, and-- one far more powerful-- was emotional. The first used the Wilmington coup d’état as an example of the economic damage that occurred because of black political participation. As the Durham Sun reported:

At the present the frequent Election Day disturbances due to political race antagonisms are eagerly taken up by a certain class of Northern Press and exaggerated accounts of such disturbances as the Willington Riot are spread broadcast over the whole north. Such reports keep many peaceful, law abiding persons from coming south to find homes. Take the Negro out of politics and these disturbances will cease. The adoption of the suffrage amendment will bring desirable immigrants to the South.²

¹ DDS, 21 July 1900, “West Durham a Winner!” 1.
² DDS, 13 January 1900, “One Amendment Benefit,” 3.
While the threat to economic growth was a real issue for the industrialists, the more powerful strategy was the one that combined the creation of racial and sexual fears with a challenge to white men’s honor and manhood. With the help of the state’s powerful newspapers, the Democrats portrayed black men as vampires and monsters. The headlines screamed of rapes or assaults on white women, which were often fabrications or events in other states. In articles, cartoons, and speeches, white men were told that they had left their women defenseless by voting for the Fusion ticket that empowered black men at the expense of white women of all classes.

One of the most eloquent speakers was Charles Aycock, the Democratic candidate for governor. He crossed the state fanning the flames of racial hatred while enhancing his appeal by promising to improve the public schools and bring about economic development. His party’s platform stated:

We denounce the administration of the Republican Party by which Negroes were placed in high and responsible official positions which ought to have been filled by white people….We heartily commend the Legislature for the passage of the election law of 1899 and we commend the General Assembly for appropriating $100,000 for the public schools and a pledge ourselves to increase the school fund so as to make at least a four-month school term in each year in every school district in the State.

Thus the campaign for white supremacy and the improvement of public schools were linked from the start. In a cold calculating way, the “progressive,” racially “moderate” education reformers of North Carolina viewed the reestablishment of white rule as a necessary step in their campaign for public schools. Furnifold Simmons, head of the Democratic executive committee, wrote in his Appeal to the Voters of North Carolina that blacks had “authority over white schools,” although only a handful of blacks statewide were on local township school committees, and these were usually in black majority school districts.

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3 Cecelski and Tyson, editors, Democracy Betrayed, 132.
4 DDS, 13 April 1900, “The Platform,” 2.
5 Leloudis, Schooling the New South, 135.
The editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, Josephus Daniels wrote that “the only hope for public education in North Carolina is in restoring the state into the hands of the white people.” Aycock’s powerful speeches highlighting his duel campaign pledges of white supremacy and better schools appealed to white men from many economic classes. With a statue on the capital grounds, hundreds of public schools named for him, and a prominent building on the main quad of Duke's East Campus, Governor Charles Aycock is heralded to this day as the Education Governor, and not as one of the primary architects of disenfranchisement and Jim Crow.

Not only politicians, but even the educators believed the only way to improve the sorry state of the public schools of North Carolina was by the return of white-only rule. Charles McIver, a leading proponent of reform in general and women’s higher education in particular, wrote

I expect to support [disfranchisement] for three special reasons… First—As a great incentive to Education for the rising and future generations. Second--Because it will remove a great mass of ignorant negro voters who form a dangerous power in the hands of designing politicians. Third--It will force the white people of this State to spend more money for public education and finally force them to send their children to school.

Men like McIver, Daniels, Simons and Aycock viewed improving the white public school system as an important part of making North Carolina a progressive “New South” state. They wanted graded public schools, certified teachers, professionally run consolidated school systems, longer school terms, and a focus on practical not classical education. While

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6 Ibid., 133.
7 See Appendix 1. How can this one sided view of Governor Aycock be changed when it is carved in stone?
8 Ibid., 135.
many whites continued to resist supporting any form of black education, overwhelming white hostility to black education was mitigated as white schools began to improve. Graded elementary schools and high schools were built across the state for white children in the first ten years of the new century.

White schools always received the major portion of public funds, but some Democratic leaders and Aycock in particular, saw a state interest in more funding for black education. He and others began to make the case to the white public that it was important to educate African Americans. These “moderates” believed that blacks needed--and should receive some limited education. Their paternalism knew no bounds as they wanted to provide the “right” kind of education for the “good colored people” of the state. This could accomplish several things. It could challenge the independent black and Northern-run schools that provided a traditional liberal arts education and promoted black equality. A publicly funded school system, controlled by white southerners, would provide a “proper” education for African Americans: educating them for their limited condition in the world. The state-controlled schools would determine what was taught, which books would be used, and who could teach in the schools. The hope of improving black schools would become a tool of State control for limiting discontent.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, African American citizens of Durham County found their lives profoundly influenced by these events. What follows is an account of how these citizens began to utilize this limited white support and Northern philanthropic funds--mainly the Anna T. Jeanes Fund and Julius Rosenwald Fund--to build a school system for their children. We will see how the African American community, with leadership provided by the Jeanes supervising teachers, dealing with an indifferent or half-hearted
School Board, used its own resources and strengths to create one of the best rural school systems in North Carolina.
Chapter 1

The Aycock Education Reforms

The effects of northern philanthropic funds were not felt in Durham County until 1915. African American parents and teachers worked alone in the beginning years of Jim Crow to improve their schools and teach their children well. The difficulty of this task was seen even in the books that be would used. The *Durham Recorder* reported that “southern school children are no longer compelled to study books that are unfair to the South,” as it announced a new publishing house in Richmond, Virginia.⁹ These new books reflected the Southern view of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Those who came South to teach for little or no money were banded as “carpetbaggers” as well as those who came to seek their fortunes and help to rebuild the South. The many white southerners who supported the Union during the war and worked with the Federal government after the war were called “scalawags.” The war was no longer the Civil War, but the War Between the States.¹⁰ Slavery was no longer the cause of the so Civil War, but states rights. Reconstruction was no longer a time of positive change for most all southerners, excluding the planter class, but a time of “Yankee usurpation and Negro debauchery.”¹¹ The 1898 bloody, destructive coup d’etat in Wilmington, with the forced removal of freely elected city officials and the destruction of the successful black community were either portrayed as a return to good government or omitted altogether from the new text books.¹² Biased text books were just one of the issues that African

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¹¹ Ibid., 295.
¹² See *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*. As late as the 1950’s, I learned in Georgia schools that the Reconstruction was a terrible period of black rule and Northern cruelty.
Americans faced since most of Aycock’s reforms were aimed at improving the white schools.

One of Aycock’s platform promises was a four month school term. As the new century began, The Durham Morning Sun’s headline proclaimed that the county’s funding for public schools was one of the largest in the state. Because of this funding, Durham school terms were longer than the governor’s goal. In the urban Durham Township district, the school term was ten months, while even the most rural districts had terms of at least six months.\(^{13}\)

Another of goal of the Democratic education reformers was the consolidation of schools. The desire for parents to have their children in neighborhood schools is not new, and across the state many parents, black and white resisted consolidation efforts.\(^ {14}\) Durham was no exception. In 1903, C. W. Massey, superintendent of Durham County School Board, wrote in his annual report:

> This notion of multiplying school houses was preached in every community until at least every community had a school house, or rather in many instances, a school cabin...These schools were very convenient and very worthless... Before good schools could be built, these conditions had to be changed.\(^ {15}\)

Massey stated that fourteen consolidations took place by 1901-1902, with seven white and seven black schools being consolidated. The county system now had a total of thirty-two white and seventeen black schools.\(^ {16}\) He said these consolidations were strongly

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\(^{13}\) DDS, 11 January 1900, “School Funds Apportioned: Durham is the Banner County of the State,” 1. A ten month school term was most unusual, and may have been an exaggeration by the paper. The average school term was seven months for county schools.

\(^{14}\) Leloudis, Schooling the New South, 123.

\(^{15}\) Annual Report of the Schools of Durham County, 1902-03, 32.

\(^{16}\) The black schools were rarely consolidated and most of the schools remained the same. There were seventeen black schools in 1902 and nineteen black schools in 1930. Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1902-1903, 25 and DSBM 21 November 1930. See Appendix 2 for a list of the black schools from 1902-1930. See Appendix 3 for a map of the locations of these schools.
opposed but “after a long and hotly contested fight those in favor of larger schools won.” These larger schools often required new school buildings.

“Union” schools made up of several smaller community schools were built across the county. In 1901, two new schools were to be built for the “colored children.” The building of new schools for African American students was the exception, not the rule.

One of these “new” schools was the old white school. The Board decided that

The white school at Rougemont is to be turned over to the colored school and that the lot belonging to the colored school will be sold and the procedures go to the building of a school house of the white school.

A few months later, the School Board decided to “take down” the white Sylvan school and rebuild it as the “new” black school. In 1909, the old graded school building for white children in East Durham was torn down and moved to the site of the East Durham School for black children. It was rebuilt as a one story school and became the first graded black school. The original white school was described as a two story frame building with seven rooms and an assembly hall. The minutes noted that a new brick building “with the superintendent’s office, a library, and ten classrooms” would be built on the site of the old white school. The “new” black graded school was much smaller and less impressive than either white school. Recycling unwanted white schools as black schools became a standard for many southern school systems, including Durham County, for decades to come.

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17 Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County 1902-1903, 33.
18 DSBM, 4 March and 3 June 1901.
19 Ibid, 3 June 1901.
20 Ibid, 31 August 1901.
22 DSBM, 2 June 1909.
In Durham County, both black and white teachers seemed to benefit from one of the education reformers’ goals: that of improving the quality of teachers by providing teacher training. As very few rural teachers had high school diplomas, much less college or Normal School degrees, each county was charged by the State Department of Public Instruction to provide in-service teacher training. C. W. Massey held institutes for both black and white teachers at the beginning of each school year starting in 1901-1902. The first institute for whites was led by a professor from Trinity College. William Gaston Pearson, a graduate of Shaw University and principal of the Whitted School, the black city graded school, led the institute for black teachers.23 Professor Pearson, a community and education leader in Durham City, had a deep commitment to African American education. Two years later, at Superintendent Massey’s urging, Durham County School Board appropriated

Up to $3.00 tuition for each colored teacher, who taught during the last twelve months and expects to teach in the next school year to go to summer school at Shaw University.24

The choice of Shaw, a liberal arts college was parallel to the choice of Trinity College for the white summer school.

In spite of the summer schools and teacher trainings offered, the county teachers were often young, inexperienced, and poorly paid compared to their city counterparts.25 Teacher salaries were based as much on the teacher’s sex and race as on teaching qualifications. The average salary for male white teachers was $57.56, for white female teachers $35.00, for black male teachers $29.28, and for black female teachers $23.57.

23 Ibid., 6 September 1901.
24 Ibid., 6 June 1904.
25 Anderson, Durham County, 283.
Other inequalities existed between the two systems. In 1902, probably due to the
difference in school district taxes, black schools had a somewhat shorter term.\(^{26}\)

The indignities of Jim Crow were present at every turn. While the white teachers
who attended the monthly in-service training were listed by name in the Annual Report,
African American teachers who “also have an association which meets regularly” were
not.\(^ {27}\) In 1903, fifty-eight books were purchased for a professional library to be housed in
the School Board Offices for the teachers of Durham County. In the minutes, someone
inserted the word “white” in a different hand above the word “teachers.”\(^ {28}\) One wonders
if some black teacher tried to make use of this professional library necessitating the
clarification at a later date. While Massey provided some equality in teacher training,
equality did not extend to allowing black teachers to improve themselves by using books
in the professional library.

Superintendent Massey did make it a habit to visit both white and black schools
each month. Along with general oversight, his tasks included holding yearly
examinations of teachers, preparing the budget, and providing yearly reports to the
Superintendent of Public Instruction. But his authority was limited over local schools.
Every school had its own committee made of three men who were responsible for the
day-to-day operation of the schools, including the hiring and firing of teachers. Up to
1903, each African American school had its own committee. While it is difficult to
determine the race of these members, it is possible that some blacks were on the black
school committees. After 1903, black schools were placed under the control of
committee men who also had responsibility for white schools. Was this a way to remove

\(^ {26}\) DSBM 14 June 1902.
\(^ {27}\) Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1903-1904, 32.
\(^ {28}\) DSBM 4 May 1903.
the few black committee men who held seats on their local school committees?\textsuperscript{29} With none of their own representatives, African Americans possessed no formal authority over who would be hired as teachers in their schools.

Nonetheless, black teachers and parents worked to improve their schools. The state of North Carolina provided matching grants to local schools for libraries. The first black school to receive a grant was Markham’s Chapel School. The teacher and parents raised ten dollars to qualify for these funds.\textsuperscript{30} More and more schools across the county would raise funds for libraries over the next few years. In 1907, the African American Rocky Knob School raised ten dollars for their library, while three white schools only raised five dollars each.\textsuperscript{31}

The fact was that black schools and teachers had fewer resources than the white schools and teachers. As the century progressed, black teachers’ salaries began to decline in relationship to whites.\textsuperscript{32} The Durham County Colored Teachers Association protested this fact and sent a petition to the School Board “relating to raising salaries.”\textsuperscript{33} By 1907, the average monthly salary for black teachers had decreased to $21.00 a month. The school board said it would discuss the petition at the January meeting, but there is no mention of any discussion then or in any subsequent school board meetings. Not until the

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 7 June 1903. The School Board in 1937—thirty-four years later—would decide to form “Negro Advisory Committees” for each black school. Their main duty was to “care for the school property and perform such other duties as may be defined by the County Board of Education.” The new committees could also recommend teachers to the county superintendent and the white school committee. See DSBM 7 July 1937.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 2 January 1905.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 7 October 1907.

\textsuperscript{32} Leloudis, \textit{Schooling the New South}, 187.

\textsuperscript{33} DSBM 10 October 1907.
1909-1910 school year did the salaries of African American teachers return to their 1902 levels. The unequal salaries of black teachers would remain an issue for years to come.

The Durham City and County schools systems were also unequal. The conditions for black education were among the best in the state in Durham City. The first graded elementary school for blacks was established in 1893, and after 1896, Whitted School provided students with some high school and vocational courses. By 1903, there were eight white county schools offering high school courses. Mr. Massey bragged, “Less than one hundred white pupils are less than five miles from a high school.” By 1912 county whites had high schools in the northern part of the county at Bahama, in the urban part of the county at East Durham, and in the southern part of the county at Lowes Grove. In the 1913-1914 school years, the county contracted for transportation of white children to a county high school. Years would pass before either transportation or a high school would be provided for black county residents.

The Democratic education reformers had achieved many of their educational reforms by 1913. One of the last reforms to be enacted was a compulsory attendance law. Resistance from factory owners and farmers dependent on child labor--black and white--had delayed this reform. The new law stated that “all children between eight and fourteen should attend four months of school.” Enforcement of this law would be left to the discretion of the individual counties.

34 Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1909-10, 46.
36 Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1903-1904, 37, 41.
37 DSBM 5 June 1911, 6 November 1912.
38 Ibid., 20 August 1913.
While all schools in Durham County met for the mandatory four months, the required school census showed that individual enforcement of the new attendance requirements was going to be difficult. Many children, especially at the upper age limits, did not attend school and worked instead. One way the county sought to improve white attendance was to hire Miss Evelyn Royal as supervisor for the white elementary schools. The issue of black attendance was not addressed by hiring a supervisor for the black schools. Although eighteen North Carolina counties had a Jeanes supervisor for their black schools by 1911, Durham County would not get a supervisor until 1915.

African American educators, while aware of potential funds from Northern philanthropies like the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, organized to improve schools on their own. In 1913, the North Carolina Teachers’ Association (NCTA) met in Durham and formed two committees: the Passenger Commission and the Rural School Commission. The first commission had as one of its goals the ending of the deadly practice of putting the wooden train cars for blacks between steel cars for whites and working for fairer public transportation laws. In 1911, a group from one of Durham’s leading churches, St. Joseph AME Zion was crushed in wooden cars leaving eight dead and dozens injured. This and other incidents one prompted the NCTA to push for safer railroad cars for African American travelers. The second commission was charged to work to improve black rural education.

By 1915, having made progress “by agitation and otherwise … to have certain discriminations experienced by Negro passengers removed,” the NCTA transferred all

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40 DSBM 18 October 1913.
41 Circular Letter to Extension and Supervising Teachers and Organizers: 1911, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Negro Rural School Fund Folder, Folder “Jeanes Miscellaneous,” Box 5, DPI.
42 Murray, History of the North Carolina Teachers Associating, 32. see also footnote 42.
43 Brown, Upbuilding Black Durham, 230.
their efforts to improving rural education. To that end, Dr. Aaron Moore, a Durham physician, co-founder of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company (1899), and founder of Lincoln Hospital (1901) and Durham Colored Library (1913), was clear on what was needed.

On April 30, 1915, he wrote a call to arms called “Negro Rural School Problem: Condition-Remedy” to prepare for the next NCTA convention in May.” noting that, while blacks constituted about 33% of the population, less than 15% of the money collected and spent for rural education was spent on them. He didn’t think that this discrepancy was going to change any time soon. As a proposed solution the black community should put a man in the field ourselves, who, while acting in co-operation with the other forces for the improvement of the rural school communities, will feel absolutely free and untrammeled in his judgment and in his activities along this line, as the conditions and his duties in each case may reveal itself to him from time to time.44

Not afraid of the white power structure or the black church, Dr. Moore said that too much money had been spent on churches instead of schools. The black community needed to invest in its children, not in church buildings.

The biggest thing we can do, and this seems to me to be our mission is to empty our lives and character into our children, and thereby making them better and wiser citizens that we are, or had an opportunity to be. There is much which we can and must do for ourselves and we call upon every teacher, preacher, farmer and business man to arouse themselves and “let us reason together.”45

Always strategic, he sent State Superintendent of Public Instruction James Joyner a letter with a copy of his manifesto before its first public reading. In this letter Dr.

45 Ibid.
Moore makes a case for the need to improve rural schools in a way that would appeal to whites:

These people [rural blacks] in the main have not had enough schooling either to fit them for the demands of urban life, or to make them contented in the rural districts. The consequence is that a large percentage of them recruit the criminal class in the towns or remain in the rural districts as a discouraged and non-productive contingent.46

Dr. Moore noted that schools had long been the method civilization used to improve the “backward classes.” However, he warned that “Instead of growing more efficient, our rural schools are growing less able to cope with problems which are arising among colored people.”47 One of the elite of Black Durham who still could vote, he was not afraid to bring up the topic of disfranchisement. He observed that, with no black men on school boards or committees much less attention was being paid to the black schools. He used his county as an example:

In the matter of appropriation, the county-board has final authority. At present, the appropriations by the Durham County board average twice as much for each white child enrolled as for each colored child.48

He informed Mr. Joyner that the State Teacher’s Association was planning a program that would “affect the rural schools of every county in the state,” and asked his support.49 Then Dr. Moore made the case for using the Jeanes Fund, proposing to ask for money from “one hundred spirited colored men” to supplement the Jeanes supervisors’ work. He also reminded Joyner that he and the black community were aware that Mr. Julius Rosenwald was interested in expanding his program of building schools in North

46 A. M. Moore to J.Y. Joyner, 26 April 1915, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder M, Box 48, DPI.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
Carolina. Dr. Moore asked for Joyner to actively pursue the Jeanes and Rosenwald funding sources. He wrote

If given a chance, [the Rosenwald and Jeanes Funds] may be counted on to do much towards the elimination of the faults of our rural schools and introduce a better day for the youth of our state.  

Dr. Moore hoped Superintendent Joyner would attend the NCSTA meeting and asking for his reply in five days. “Yours for racial uplift” was how he signed this letter. Dr. Moore was a race man who assumed that he was Superintendent Joyner’s equal.

Others did not. On May 27, Professor B. C. Branson, professor of Rural Economics and Sociology at the University of North Carolina wrote to Superintendent Joyner on UNC stationary:

Please go over the enclosures. Do you know this darkey? What is he up to? What about him anyway?

On May 29 Joyner’s chief clerk responded.

I have your letter inclosing [sic] the circular entitled “the Negro Rural School Problem.” It seems to be sent out by A. M. Moore of Durham. I do not know what is back of the circular, but it appears to me to be the mere babble of an ignorant negro and with very little attention…. I presume the difference in the figures quoted in the leaflet is due to the fact that very few negro districts have local tax, and that nearly all of them employ a very low grade of teacher. I am sure there is no desire on the part of the department here or any of the county superintendents to discriminate against the negro in the matter of apportionments, provided the same grade of teachers is employed. Super Joyner has ruled a dozen of times that the local tax collected in special tax districts should be apportioned by the local tax committee in each district so that each race would get an equitable share of the special tax… I do not think the figures cited in the leaflet will tend to show that the colored race is discriminated against in the slightest degree.

50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 B. C. Branson to J. Y. Joyner 27 May 1915, Special Subject File, Folder B, Box 16, DNE.
53 J.Y. Joyner’s office to B. C. Branson 29 May 1915, Special Subject File, Folder B, Box 16, DNE.
Regardless of what Joyner’s clerk thought, economic discrimination in school funds remained the rule not the exception for years, even as African Americans fought to change it.

Under Dr. Moore’s leadership, the NCTA had hired Professor Charles H. Moore of Winston Salem as the State Inspector of Negro Schools. Mr. Moore would work with officials of the State Department of Public Instruction but report to NCTA. At the NCTA meeting in June, Dr. Moore with Jasper B. Dudley presented a pamphlet to “To The Negroes of North Carolina.” In it they asked for all those concerned with black education to join the Association, and make an additional contribution of “$1.00, $5.00 or $10.00, as you may be able to…”\(^54\) to fund Mr. Moore’s work. The NCTA would rise to the task and would fund Mr. Moore’s work until 1921.\(^55\)

Dr. Moore’s efforts may be the reason why white education leaders of Durham County began to look at Northern philanthropies as sources for improving black schools. Northern philanthropies had been interested in improving Southern public education systems in the south since Reconstruction, but by 1900, the focus had changed. That year, a conference in Winston Salem led to the creation of the Southern Education Board (SEB). Northern businessmen, including Robert Curtis Ogden, John D. Rockefeller, and George Foster Peabody, met with leading southern leaders, including Governor Aycock, Charles McIver and Josephus Daniels, with the goal of improving public education in the south. While the SEB would be important to the improvement of African American schools in the south, it was clear that it would not offend its white members. As Ogden said

\(^{54}\) “To the Negroes of North Carolina,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder D, Box 45, DPI. See Appendix 6.

\(^{55}\) Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 221-222.
While we were [initially] interested in the South through Negro education, our impulses have risen…to question the entire burden of educational responsibility.\textsuperscript{56}

Many of the northern members of the Southern Education Board were also on the boards of Hampton or Tuskegee Institutes. They believed an industrial education was the best course for most black and many white southerners.\textsuperscript{57} The Northern industrialists wanted the South to reintegrate with the nation for economic more than social reasons. The south was seen as an underutilized source of cheap labor for their expanding industries and also as potential consumers for their goods. Education for all southerners—black and white--was as a way to make southern society more efficient, not more equal. Dr. John Hope Franklin stated the situation clearly:

\begin{quote}
The collusion was complete as Northern financiers and industrialists reaped enormous benefits from economic developments in the South. And, if these Northerners sinned as accessories in stimulating share cropping, peonage, and convict labor, they did penance by offering pittances to educate the former slaves in ways that would not be offensive to Southern mores and predispositions.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

The “pittance” came from several funds. The president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, Julian Rosenwald set up his own foundation that would help African American communities build schools in rural areas. Oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller’s General Education Board would be involved with many different aspects of black education. In 1907, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a Quaker woman, donated $1,000,000, “for the furthering and fostering of rudimentary education” in small rural Negro schools.\textsuperscript{59} The Jeanes Fund was soon managed by men from the General Education Board. All three funds were vital for the building of black school systems in the south, but they all came with strings

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 148.  
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 148.  
\textsuperscript{58} Cecelski and Tyson, Democracy Betrayed, Forward, X.  
\textsuperscript{59} Wright, Negro Rural School Fund, 3.
attached. African Americans now had yet another group of white men to please as they worked to improve their schools.

Durham County asked for its “pittance” in June of 1915 when it agreed to hire a Jeanes supervisor. On that day, the school board entertained a motion to authorize $166.67 for a Jeanes supervisor as long as twice that amount was provided by the Jeanes Fund or the State Department of Public Instruction. The School Board stated its right to hire whom it wanted and emphasized that the person would be under local control. With the hiring of Durham’s first Jeanes supervisor, a new era of black educational progress began.

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60 DSBM 5 July 1915.
Chapter 2
Jeanes Teachers: Going About Doing Good

The Durham County School Board took six years to ask for a Jeanes Supervising teacher. In 1909, the Jeanes Fund began making grants across the South. Fifteen North Carolina counties were among the first to ask for and receive Jeanes supervising teachers for the 1909-1910 school year. The Jeanes Fund was unique in several respects: it was created by a woman, had a racially integrated board, and existed until the 1968. In 1907, Miss Jeanes chose future president William Howard Taft, philanthropists Andrew Carnegie and George Foster Peabody, and educators Hollis Burke Frissell and Dr. Booker T. Washington to its first Board of Trustees. The fund was incorporated as the Negro Rural School Fund, though it was usually referred to as the Jeanes Fund. Dr. James Hardy Dillard was hired as chairman of the board, and B. C. Caldwell of Tuskegee Institute was hired as its Field Director. During the first year, the Fund provided for the salaries of industrial teachers in schools, summer schools for teachers, and teacher conferences.

The board of the Jeanes Fund was part of what Louis R. Harlan called an “interlocking directorate of calculating altruism” that had industrial education as its centerpiece for African American schools. Industrial education was not education aimed at employment in factories, but rather the vocational or manual education that many in the white philanthropic world thought was both needed by and appropriate for blacks. It was chief spokesman was Dr. Booker T. Washington, and was controversial in the black

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61 Counties with Jeanes teachers were: Bladen, Bertie, Craven, Dublin, Guilford, Henderson, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pamlico, Pender, Polk, Sampson, Scotland, and Wilkes. See NASC Interim History Writing Committee, The Jeanes Story, 149-153.
63 Anderson, Dangerous Donations, 5.
community from its inception. Leaders like Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dr. C. Carter Woodson saw it as limiting the potential of African American students. However, the Northern philanthropists of the funds boards thought white Southerners were more likely to support this sort of education for blacks. James Leloudis wrote in *Schooling the New South* that Southern educational reformers like Governor Aycock saw such an education as a way to control the black population. Leloudis wrote that these reformers saw that

> Industrial education promised to cultivate a new sense of self and social place among African American schoolchildren, convincing them to accept their subordination as a normal and inevitable fact of life…while leaving the ‘door of hope and opportunity’ ajar.”

At its best, such training would teach practical skills that could improve the daily lives of African Americans; more often, it was seen as providing the skills that whites thought were appropriate for laborers and servants, and attempted to limit African Americans’ potential to become anything more. From its inception, industrial education would be a part of the Jeanes Fund, but the Jeanes teachers would find ways to use it to both benefit their communities and open those doors of hope.

While the Jeanes Fund was committed to industrial education, there was no one proven program to deliver it to the many African American schools located across the South. The model that the Fund would use came from the example of Mrs. Virginia Estell Randolph. Mrs. Randolph, a teacher in Henrico County Virginia, had come to the attention of that county’s superintendent of schools, Jackson Davis. While Mrs. Randolph was a graduate of a normal school and was an excellent teacher, it was her work in the community that most impressed Superintendent Jackson. Mrs. Randolph had made an impact not just on her school, but also on the community. She succeeded in making both

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64 Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 182.
the school and the community models of what could be done in a rural setting with almost no additional funds. She also was aware of the sensitivity of her school patrons and neighbors. Before introducing the industrial courses such as sewing that her superintendent wanted, she had first visited a white school to see how these courses functioned in the curriculum. She realized that she could use the industrial courses to improve the lives of her students and their parents, and as a supplement to and not a replacement of the traditional curriculum, while pleasing Superintendent Davis.

This is how Superintendent Davis described her:

Here was a teacher who thought of her work in terms of the welfare of the whole community, and of the school as an agency to help the people to live better, to do their work with more skill and intelligence, and to do it in the spirit of neighborliness.

He saw in Mrs. Randolph the qualities that would become the standard for all Jeanes supervisors.

Patience and faith, tact, kindliness, good humour, a humility that shows itself in her willingness to learn from others, and a quiet tenacity of purposes that overcomes all difficulties. But though humble she is independent, and though patient and tenacious she has not been lacking in enthusiasm and vigour.

Superintendent Davis was so impressed with the work of Mrs. Randolph, he wanted to hire her to be the supervisor for all the black rural schools of the county. No longer a classroom teacher, her job would now be to go to all the schools and help other teachers to both improve their skills and expand their impact upon the larger community. Superintendent Davis decided to ask the Jeanes Fund to pay Mrs. Randolph’s salary.

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65 Jones, *The Jeanes Teacher in the United States*, 32. See Appendix 7 for a picture of Mrs. Randolph.
66 Ibid., 16.
67 Ibid., 36.
68 Ibid., 34.
Like many involved with improving Southern education, Superintendent Davis served on the General Educating Board with several of the men who also served on the Jeanes Fund Board of Directors. In May of 1908, he wrote the chairman of the Jeanes Fund, Dr. Dillard, to explain his idea of hiring a supervising teacher to “direct the industrial work, going from school to school, meeting pupils and teachers” and asked Dr. Dillard to support Mrs. Randolph’s work.\(^69\)

Dr. Dillard and his board agreed. At the end of the school year, they were so impressed with the work that Mrs. Randolph had accomplished that they printed a thousand copies of her report and mailed it to county superintendents throughout the South.\(^70\) Soon the Jeanes Fund was receiving requests from other county superintendents who wanted grants to hire their own Jeanes supervising teachers. By the 1909-1910 school year, one hundred and twenty-nine Jeanes teachers were working in one hundred and thirty counties in thirteen Southern states\(^71\) including the 15 in North Carolina.\(^72\)

Dr. Dillard wrote one of his many “circular letters” to these new supervisors of North Carolina:

You are one of a body of workers whose salaries are paid by this Fund for the purpose of enabling you to devote whatever ability and skill you possess, and all your most earnest efforts, to the betterment of the rural schools and communities of your race in our Southern States. You know, in a general way, that our desire is for you to do whatever you can for school and neighborhood improvements in the communities which may be reached by you.\(^73\)

Dr. Dillard went on to note that there were no specific “rules or directions.” This was a new program, to be created by the needs of the communities and the special skills of the

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\(^{69}\) Ibid., 42.
\(^{70}\) Ibid., 45.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., 47.
\(^{72}\) NASC Interim History Writing Committee, *The Jeanes Story*, 149-153.
\(^{73}\) Circular Letter to Extension and Supervising Teachers and Organizers, 1911, State Supervisor of Elementary Education File, Folder Jeanes Miscellaneous, Box 5, DPI.
individual supervisors. He seemed very flexible, and acknowledging that the conditions in each community were very different and would require different approaches and methods. He said he expected that their monthly reports would show “considerable difference in the character of the work” in each location. The guidance he did offer was an acknowledgement that teachers must work within the Jim Crow system of the white county school officials while winning the trust of the African American community.

You should keep in touch with the school officials and show that you desire to work in accord with them. You should exercise tact and discretion in dealing with the teachers of the schools which you visit and show that you have no desire to usurp authority, but wish to be a helper and fellow-worker. You should assist in organizing the people of the community into associations for self-help, for school improvement, for extension of terms, for sanitation or any other good purpose. You should cooperate with the minister or ministers of the community, and thus endeavor to bring the great influence of the churches to bear upon the practical life of the people.74

Dillard’s only hint of criticism is to remind the supervisors that their main job was not teaching in the classroom, but helping the local teachers to improve their teaching methods and outreach. He ends his letter with praise and a challenge:

I wish rather to express gratification at the [paper torn, words illegible] and earnestness and missionary spirit which so many are showing. If you have not this spirit, you should not be in this work. Trusting that you will continue to work with untiring zeal and true earnestness, I remain, yours truly, James H. Dillard.75

The North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction, James Joyner, was pleased with the work of these first Jeanes supervisors. In 1912, he wrote Dr. Dillard, that they were doing “some efficient work”; therefore

I am thinking next year of increasing the number of these supervising teachers….I should like to bring the number up to 20.76

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 J.Y. Joyner to J. H. Dillard 15 January 1912, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder A-F, Box 8, DPI.
Superintendent Joyner may have had a hard time convincing county superintendents to accept a Jeanes teacher, because only eight more teachers were added the next year. He wrote to Dr. Dillard to make sure that the “ultimate appointment should rest with the county superintendent,” so that he could reassure them of their control. His goal was to ensure that the local superintendents would be cooperative and interested.77

The Jeanes program would take a huge leap the next year, General Education Board hired Nathan Carter Newbold as Associate Supervisor of Rural Education in 1913.78 While working with the Department of Public Instruction, Mr. Newbold’s funding came from both the Jeanes Fund and the General Education Board. When Mr. Newbold began his job, the number of Jeanes teachers in North Carolina remained at fifteen. That school year, 1913-1914, the Jeanes supervising teachers would report not only to Dr. Dillard and county school superintendents but also to the new Supervisor of Rural Education.79 N.C. Newbold saw his job

to give special attention and encouragement to the upbuilding of the negro rural schools by helping to introduce into them all kinds of useful and profitable industrial and vocational subjects.80

He felt one of the best ways to do this was to talk individually to local superintendents about the value of hiring Jeanes supervisors in their counties. He did this by touring the state talking about the help that Jeanes teachers could offer for the superintendents as well as the African American schools.81 This approach worked well as Mr. Newbold was successful in getting more counties to accept Jeanes supervisors. Within two years, North

77 Ibid.
78 Gilmore, Gender and Jim Crow, 161. Like the Rosenwald Fund, the GEB did not trust southern administrators to fairly spend their money and wanted a southern man who believed in their goals and would be loyal to them, while working within the Jim Crow administration.
80 Lelouidis, Schooling the New South, 183.
81 Ibid., 186.
Carolina had thirty-six Jeanes supervisors, the most of any state.\(^82\) By 1930, forty-three Jeanes teachers were employed, serving most of the counties that had large black populations. Mr. Newbold institutionalized the Jeanes program into the Department of Public Instruction, and this resulted in North Carolina employing more Jeanes supervisors than any other state except Virginia.\(^83\)

In 1916, Annie Welthy D. Holland, the Jeanes supervisor in Gates County came to the attention of N.C. Newbold for the good work she was doing in her county. He hired her as the State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools. Her funding came from the Jeanes Fund and the North Carolina Teachers’ Association. At a state level, the newly forming bureaucracy for African American education was paid for by the Jeanes Fund, the General Education Board and African Americans themselves.

One of Mrs. Holland’s main duties was to supervise of the Jeanes teachers and training schools, and to help form Homemakers Clubs.\(^84\) Having done the Jeanes work herself, Mrs. Holland could speak with authority on what was needed to run a successful program. In a mimeographed document “The Jeanes Teacher and Her Work,” she described what she believed was required of each supervisor. The first item was “The Jeanes teacher should be a person who is well-adjusted, and can get along with white people,” but Mrs. Holland then stated that the teacher must have a “forceful personality.”\(^85\) The Jeanes teacher would need to have enough tact to not offend or intimidate white people, while at the same time being a strong and successful advocate

\(^82\) N. C. Newbold, Report for September 1916, Special Subject File, 1909-1926, Folder Reports of N.C. Newbold, Box 16, DNE.
\(^83\) Littlefield, “I Am Only One, But I Am One,” 27.
\(^84\) Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 190-191.
\(^85\) A. W. D. Holland, “The Jeanes Teacher and Her Work,” State Supervisor of Elementary Education File, Folder, Mimeographed Documents, Box 5, DNE.
for the black schools. The Jeanes teacher would need both formal training and successful teaching experience in a rural school. Mrs. Holland emphasized the need to be a diplomat: “In most cases the Jeanes Teacher occupies the place of leadership in the county and must work with people of both races.” The female Jeanes supervisor would have to walk a fine line to maintain her authority and not offend her white male supervisor as well as the black leadership (often male) in the community she served. The Jeanes supervising teachers “look after everything pertaining to Negro Schools” because too often the white superintendent and school board were not interested in the African American schools. Mrs. Holland knew that Jeanes teachers must be leaders, yet also of the people, truly caring for the people in the rural schools, the home, and the church. Not only teachers, but the people in the county learn to regard the Jeanes teacher as their friend and bring their problems to her.

As Dr. Dillard predicted, the work of each Jeanes teacher would depend on the needs found in the county. Newbold’s “Combined Jeanes Teacher Report for the School Year 1916-1917,” gives a glimpse of the nature of the work these teachers performed. They taught sanitation, industries, and encouraged better schools by working for the extension of school terms. They helped to erect twenty-five new school buildings and found local monies to repair many others. They saw that one hundred and seventy-five schools were provided with sanitary outhouses and that five hundred children were provided with individual drinking cups. At five hundred and fifty-seven schools, the Jeanes teachers worked with the local community to improve the school grounds. Across the state, four hundred and eighty-three Improvement Leagues were organized for the parents of school children.

Newbold ended his report to Superintendent Joyner by writing:

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86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 N. C. Newbold, “Combined Jeanes Teacher Report for the School Year 1916-1917,” Correspondence of the Director, Folder Negro Rural School Fund/Jeanes Foundation, Box 3, DNE.
These supervising teachers are expected to make an earnest effort to relate the work of the schools as nearly as possible to the actual home life of the people. Consequently they encourage the teaching of the ordinary home life industries in the public schools. Cooking was taught in 123 schools, sewing in 152, gardening in 235, basketry in 539, shuck mat making in 191, chair caning in 150. Besides these rug making, paper cutting, sloyd [woodworking], millinery, crocheting, embroidery, and carpentry were taught in a number of schools.

As will easily be seen, the work outlined above was sufficient to keep the Jeanes teachers busily engaged; still they were not too busy to give some efforts to the cause of reducing the number of illiterates in N.C. Through their efforts 114 Moonlight Schools were organized and conducted in which a goodly number of grown people were enrolled and taught the rudiments of an education. Yet, as valuable as all these tangible things on which reports can be made are, they are in reality only a small part of the good that comes form a devoted service of the Jeanes Supervising teachers. The greatest service they render their people is the hope and encouragement which they bring for better things in life--better schools--better homes--better living conditions--better cooperation with their white neighbors as well as among themselves.\textsuperscript{89}

To find the remarkable people who could perform all these duties and whatever else needed to be done, Mrs. Holland typed a list of suggested requirements for a Jeanes Supervisor. Since she could only advise the county superintendents, this may have been a list for them to consider or notes to herself:

1. Must have good health.
2. Must be a person of unquestionable character who is respected by teachers and the public in general.
3. Must meet requirements for supervisor’s certificate.
4. Must have had, at least 3 years of teaching experience, preferable in the elementary grades.
5. Must have had some experience in community work.
6. Must be able to get along with people.
7. Must have initiative, interest, enthusiasm, imagination, and good judgment.
8. Must have had some training in elementary education.
9. Must be willing to work. \textsuperscript{underline}{twice}
10. Should have a pleasing personality and good personal appearance. \textsuperscript{handwritten addition}.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} A. W. D. Holland, “Suggested Requirements for a Jeanes Supervisor,” State Supervisor of Elementary Education File, Folder Jeanes Miscellaneous, Box 5, DNE.
building. Even basics like desks for teachers and students, blackboards and chalk, and
text books were missing or in short supply. Yet these teachers rose to the challenge. In
1923, Dr. James Dillard wrote

There are no words too strong to express the admiration which anyone
who has known the Jeanes Teachers must feel for the ability and devotion
they have shown in their work. There have been no nobler pioneers and
missionaries than these humble teachers. They have literally gone about
doing good.91

Many of the Jeanes teachers seemed to have felt this missionary calling and felt
proud of their good work. Mrs. Virginia Randolph said, “I met with obstacles from the
beginning, as it was something new, but ‘Nothing is achieved without great labor,’ so I
journey on.” 92 Lucy Saunders Herring, the Jeanes Teacher in Buncombe County, North
Carolina remembered, “We did move mountains!”93 In a 1995 documentary film, The
Jeanes Supervisors: Striving to Educate, Narvie Harris proudly said, “They only gave us
straw, but we made bricks.”94

Another Jeanes teacher, identified only as “Mayme” exemplified the Jeanes
informal motto of doing “the next needed thing.” She gave an account of some of her
more unusual duties. She wrote that she had been asked how to improve soil, build a
privy, and rebuild steps. Others asked for her help in getting to the hospital and in
burying a family member. A mother wanted her help to feed her children. She wrote
letters and read them for those who asked. A man needed help to “to add my account at

91 Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States,56.
92 Ibid., 26.
93 Krause, “We Did Move Mountains!: Lucy Saunders Herring, North Carolina Jeanes Supervisor and
94 V. F. Clark, The Jeanes Supervisors: Striving to Educate  Atlanta, GA: Breaking New Ground
the commissary.” Finally, she said a person asked her to find a minister or Justice of the Peace to “get me married.”

These duties were on top of the core task of providing in-service training, supervising classroom teachers and preparing them to take state certification exams. Jeanes teachers also started PTAs, Homemaker’s Clubs, and community improvement organizations. Some organized cooperatives to buy land so tenant farmers and sharecroppers could become landowners. Another very important function of a successful Jeanes teacher was fundraising: raising money to purchase supplies and equipment, to extend school terms, and to supplement teachers’ salaries. When North Carolina began to acquire Rosenwald funds for building schools, the Jeanes teachers took the lead in raising the communities’ matching portions. W. F. Credle, Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund in the State, said Rosenwald schools across North Carolina “are largely the result of the work of the Jeanes Supervisors.”

To do this work, each Jeanes teacher had to put her teachers, students, and communities first, pushing the white authorities as far as she could. Even when the county superintendent was not actively opposed to African American education, he operated within the culture of Jim Crow. This was also true at the top of the educational bureaucracy. For almost twenty-five years, Mr. Newbold had worked with professional black women as Jeanes teachers and as his black co-workers in the Division of Negro Education. He was viewed nationally as one of the most progressive of Southern educators and frequently spoke to national audiences on the subject of “Negro Education.” He frequently lobbied State Superintendent Joyner and the State Legislature.

95 NASC Interim History Writing Committee, The Jeanes Story, 62.
96 W. F. Credle to S. L. Smith, 3 February 1922, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Rosenwald Fund, 1922-1923, Box 87, DPI.
for more funds for black schools and teachers. In 1961, Hugh Victor Brown, an African American educator wrote, “Newbold was the embodiment of Negro education, for he truly dedicated his life to the promotion of every phase of the education of colored people,” and dedicated his book on African American education to him.97

Yet, for all Newbold did to work to improve African American Education, he was a Southern man of his times and sometimes seemed to have difficulty seeing past Jim Crow stereotypes. In 1934, Miss Marie McIver, a Jeanes teacher in Halifax County, was appointed by Newbold to succeed Mrs. Holland as State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools. Mrs. Holland had died while conducting a teachers’ meeting in Louisburg.98 In 1937, Mrs. McIver wrote to Mr. Newbold, responding to his request for comments on a proposed primary reader for black children. While Mr. Newbold believed that he supported and worked for the good of African American education his entire professional life, it is stunning to read what he found acceptable. Mrs. McIver’s criticism of the proposed book Tobe was full of both tact and quiet outrage:

To be useful in the public schools and to fit into the program of education for Negroes, the material will have to be modified in some instances and changed in others.

1. The material contained in the manuscript “Tobe” tends to make farm tenancy ideal. I cannot agree with this point of view.
2. For some years, definite campaigns have been launched for the improvement and beautification of homes. “We have had simple demonstration homes in rural districts. While this [“Tobe”] is a true story, I do not think the picture on page seven will have a very desirable effect when we think of it as the happy home of ten individuals. Some youngsters will certainly want to know why this family does not have a better place in which to live, since they ‘work, work and work.’ I know that many tenant farmers live in fairly decent houses and I wonder if this one represents the average.
3. …I would like to call attention to the expression on the face of the father on page thirty-eight “Daddy’s Got a Watermelon.”

4. Picture on page 41 “Thanksgiving” is inconsistent with the season of the year. I have never seen any children, even those of tenant farmers, in such attire at that season of the year.

I hope I have not been too critical. Most of my experience has been with rural people, tenant farmers, and landowners. I am extremely anxious that all children in Negro schools may have access to a wide range of easy reading materials. I would like to feel that the material will not only help them to become better readers, but that it will inspire in them a desire to live better lives.99

There seemed to be no correspondence from Mr. Newbold in regard to Mrs. McIver’s letter. While she clearly wanted to see primary readers that reflected the experience of black children, she could not agree with the stereotypes and limited expectations to be delivered in black face. Perhaps Mrs. McIver comments led Mr. Newbold to communicate with those involved with Tobe to change its most offensive parts. When the book was published the next year by the University of North Carolina Press most of Mrs. McIver’s complaints had been changed.100 The author, Stella G. Sharp, makes no mention of Mr. Newbold or Mrs. McIver in the acknowledgments of her book. While subtlety preaching the values of industrial education, and portraying tenant farming as almost delightful for children, Tobe was viewed as one of the better books written for African American children in its day.101 Perhaps this is one of Mrs. McIver’s

99 M. McIver to N. C. Newbold, 26 October 1937, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder M, Box 13, DNE.
100 Sharpe, Tobe, Acknowledgements. Stella Gentry Sharp did thank “Mr. Charles Farrell, whose photographs have caught the spirit of the text so completely and have made possible the carrying out of a long delayed plan.”
101 Bishop, Free Within Ourselves: The Development of African American Children’s Literature, 75. Bishop wrote “Although the language is stilted and ready like a primer, the photographs are remarkable for a book of the time, as is the dignity with which the family and their life are represented. Stilted as the language is, however, it employs Standard English grammar and vocabulary and thereby avoids controversy by eliminating the objectionable plantation dialect that had been commonly used to represent the speech and imply at best, ignorance and at worst, stupidity in Black characters in children’s books.” Dr. Pauletta Bracy, professor at the School of Library and Information Sciences at North Carolina Central University pointed me to Bishop’s landmark book on black children’s literature.
unacknowledged accomplishments. While showing respect for her boss, she was true to
erself and the community she served.

All Jeanes teachers had to push their white bosses as much as they could to
provide the best possible outcome for the African American students in their county,
while not pushing so far as to get themselves fired or rendered ineffectual. Since most of
the Jeanes teachers were women, they were also faced with the historic power dynamic
and risks involved when white men supervised black women. The potential for what
would later be called sexual harassment was always a possible factor. In spite of this
potential danger, teaching was a safer job for black women than domestic work in white
homes: it paid better, and it was viewed as a service to the community.

County supervisors preferred to hire women both as teachers and Jeanes
supervising teachers. Most of them had grown up with black women working in their
homes, and black women were not demonized as black men had been. James Leloudis
makes the case that white school superintendents preferred to hire women as Jeanes
teachers because they were not comfortable giving black men a power base that the
Jeanes position could afford.102 N. C. Newbold said, “…all things considered, we find
that they (women) get better results.”103 Dr. Dillard also was convinced that women
made better Jeanes supervisors. He wrote Newbold “With one or two exceptions, we
have never had a man on the list that measured up to the work which women
accomplish.”104 He seemed to acknowledge that these women, working not only during
the school day, but on Saturdays, Sundays, and many nights, simply worked harder than

102 Leloudis, Schooling the New South, 187.
103 N. C. Newbold to W. Catlett 2 July 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder C, Box 2, DNE.
104 J. H. Dillard to N. C. Newbold 14 August 1914, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder D, Box 1, DNE.
many men. Only one year later, not taking Mr. Newbold or Dr. Dillard’s advice, the
Durham County School Board hired a man, Mr. Frank T. Husband, as Durham’s first
Jeanes supervisor.\footnote{F.T. Husband to N. C. Newbold 16 September 1915, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 2, DNE.}
Chapter 3
Durham’s First Jeanes Teachers

As noted previously, on July 15, 1915, the Durham School Board made a motion to allot $166.67 for a “colored supervisor of schools…provided twice this sum is furnished by the State Department of Instruction from the Jeanes Foundation...” The minutes continued, “The County Board of Education has the appointment and control and direction of said supervisor.”

The county hired an experienced Durham County teacher, Mr. Frank T. Husband. Mr. Husband had taught in the Durham County system since at least 1902.

Mr. Husband wrote a letter to Mr. Newbold in which he thanked Superintendent Massey and Dr. Aaron Moore for hiring him. While the School Board minutes do not mention Dr. Moore, Mr. Husband seemed to believe that Durham County was hiring him as a Jeanes supervising teacher in part because of Dr. Moore’s public actions. Mr. Husband’s work that summer pleased Mr. Newbold, who wrote “It seemed to me that you have made a good start.” While none of Mr. Husband’s Jeanes reports survived, that fall he reported in a letter to Mr. Newbold that he had spent time looking at the schools and seeing their needs…I find many of them in bad condition. I am working to get student desks for three schools instead of the old time

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106 DSBM 15 June 1915.
107 Annual Report of the Public Schools of DC, 1902-03, p. 25
108 F. T. Husband to N. C. Newbold, 16 September 1925, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 2, DNE. See Appendix 8.
109 Brown, Upbuilding Black Durham, 173.
110 N. C. Newbold to F. T. Husband 18 September 1915, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 2, DNE.
benches with no desks. You will see from the report that work is being done in Rougemont for a new building. 111

The African American community in Rougemont, with the leadership of Reverend William D. Smith, had begun working on securing what would become Durham’s first Rosenwald School, although it would take over four years to complete. 112

As African American communities across the South learned about the Julius Rosenwald Fund, they quickly organized to take advantage of it, usually taking the lead before their local school boards became interested. Before the Rosenwald Fund would approve a grant, the local community had to raise a certain amount, and the county school system had to agree to furnish the building with manufactured desks, blackboards, wood stove or other source of heat, and provide sanitary outhouses. The schoolhouse had to be owned by the school board and it had to agree to staff it with teachers. The Rosenwald Fund offices were located at Tuskegee Institute and directed by Clinton J. Calloway head of the Institute’s Extension Department. Mr. Calloway had found that some white school boards would skimp on the black schools and use the money for white schools. To prevent this, the Fund made a final inspection to make sure the building had met the strict requirements of the Fund and was properly equipped. A county would not receive its Rosenwald Funds until the school was up to standards and passed inspection. 113

From the beginning the Fund promoted a progressive educational architecture. One of the most

111 F. T. Husband to N. C. Newbold, 16 September 1915, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 2, DNE
112 N.C. Newbold to H. Holton. 6 August 1919, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 4, DNE.
113 See Appendix 9 for a copy of a Rosenwald School Inspection Report.
important and identifiable features of Rosenwald schools was the massing of windows
into banks to provide needed light and ventilation. 114

Although Mr. Husband had begun working on the Rougemont Colored School
and the community had begun to raise money for the Rosenwald grant, its completion
was delayed due to actions of the School Board. The project would take up much of Mr.
Husband’s time.

Some of Mr. Husband’s other activities were noted in Newbold’s monthly report
for December 1915. Mr. Husband had organized two Moonlight Schools for adults and
had raised $103.95 for school improvements. While many of the other Jeanes teachers
had details of their reports quoted in Mr. Newbold’s report, Mr. Husband wrote only that
“Many improvements were made in the schools.”115

One of the improvements Mr. Husband was working on was the forming of
Homemakers’ Clubs. Mr. Newbold wrote Superintendent Massey to explain what this
involved:

The Homemakers’ Club work is practically the same kind of work as the Canning Club
work among the white people. Your supervisor will be expected to begin very soon
organizing these clubs in the various communities in the county where you and he think
is advisable; keep in touch with them through the planning of the gardens, planting,
cultivating, etc; and later in the season conduct the work of canning, etc.116

114 Hoffschwelle, The Rosenwald Schools of the American South, 55. Natural light was often the only
source of illumination for rural schools.
115 N.C. Newbold’s Monthly Progress Letter, December 1915, Special Subject File, Folder 1900-1926,
Box 16, DNE. Moonlight Schools were schools for adults that taught basic literacy and math.
116 N. C. Newbold to C. W. Massey, 10 March 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder M, Box
2, DNE. The next year Mr. Newbold explained the main purpose of the Homemakers’ Clubs. It should
“encourage our people to have better, healthier, cleaner, and happier homes. Your principal work,
therefore, will be to encourage home gardens, home sanitation, cooking, sewing and the like. We suggest
that you urge your club members to do canning, mainly in glass jars since the principal object of the
canning work is that vegetables and fruits may be saved for family use during the winter. Later we may
develop these clubs to such an extend that quantities of canned goods may be sold. For the present,
however, let our motto be “Saving in the summer for use in the winter in the homes of the people”
Besides the Homemakers’ Clubs and community work, Mr. Husband was to encourage teachers to attend summer school. These two activities took up most of the Jeanes supervisor’s time during the summer months. Mr. Husband must have accomplished some of these tasks, for Superintendent Massey wrote to Mr. Newbold “Received and noted your letter in regard to our colored supervisor. I think it would be best to allow him to continue his work as long as the money lasts to pay his salary.”

This was not an enthusiastic endorsement, and the next month, Superintendent Massey wrote Newbold, “We are here within enclosing a blank in regard to our rural supervisor which speaks for itself.” In spite of this, Mr. Husband continued as the Jeanes supervisor for the next term. In the same letter confirming Mr. Husband’s employment, Superintendent Massey asked Mr. Newbold about the possibility of the Rougemont community receiving Rosenwald funds. It is clear the African American community had continued to take the lead in working to improve their school.

The Board of Education has approved $500 from the Building Fund to aid in building a colored school in Rougemont. The colored people of that district have raised about $250 for the same purpose. We wish to apply for all the aid you can give us from the fund which you have in charge to aid in building school houses for the colored people.

Mr. Newbold wrote back that he already had forty-eight requests for Rosenwald Funds,

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see N. C. Newbold to Home-Makers’ Club Agents, 10 May 1917, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder “Negro Rural School Fund,” Box 3, DNE.

117 C. W. Massey to N. C. Newbold 2 June 1919, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder “Jeanes Supervisors, Anson-Johnson County,” Box 2, DNE.

118 C. W. Massey to N. C. Newbold 8 July 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder “M,” Box 2, DNE.

119 Ibid.
but that he would “see what we can do.” A few months later, Mr. Husband wrote to Mr. Newbold:

It is a source of pleasure for me to write you a few lines in regard to our Rougemont work. I would be very glad if you can give us a visit in this district. I think it will aid the work very much. The people are very anxious to have you make them a visit. If so you can come, will you please let me know, time and date? I am doing all I can to get on a good exhibit for the Fairs. I am planning to get my lumber ready for the starting of our building. Prof. Massey thinks plan Number 1 a very good one. So I am presenting it to my people. I trust that you will be able to come soon.

Perhaps Mr. Husband had overstepped what Mr. Newbold thought were the appropriate actions of a Jeanes teacher. Newbold obviously contacted Superintendent Massey before responding to Mr. Husband. After talking with the Superintendent, Mr. Newbold wrote back to Mr. Husband saying that Superintendent Massey thought the visit would be more appropriate when the building was started. He did assure Mr. Husband that he thought he would be able to get Rosenwald Funds for the school. Perhaps Mr. Husband thought if Mr. Newbold met with the Rougemont community, he would impress and encourage the School Board to act. What Mr. Husband did the rest of the school year is not recorded in the North Carolina State Archives nor the Durham County School Board minutes.

Despite the work of the Rougemont community and Mr. Husband’s efforts, no new schools were built for African American children during the 1916-1917 school year. The School Board preferred to recycle old white schools to become “new” black schools. The November 6, 1916 minutes reported “The old building of the Reservoir White School is moved to a proper site and used after necessary repairs for the negroes of that

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120 N. C. Newbold to C. W. Massey, 17 July 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder M, Box 2, DNE.
121 F. T. Husband to N. C. Newbold, 12 September 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder N, Box 3, DNE.
122 N. C. Newbold to F. T. Husband 13 September 1916, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder N, Box 3, DNE.
district.” Any improvement in the black schools was a result of involvement on the part of the African American community, not the public school system. For example, when asked for a third teacher at the East Durham Colored School, the Board said it would provide one “as soon as the necessary partition in the school building be prepared by the patrons.”

Charles H. Moore, the independent State Inspector of Negro Schools, made a report detailing the conditions of the Durham schools at this time. After visiting thirty-five counties, he found Durham County’s African American schools were among the worst in the state. He wrote “In no other county did I find the school houses upon the whole in such an inferior condition as I find them in this county for the colored school children.” Of the twenty-two schools, only one—East Durham—had more than one teacher. He reported that no new school house had been built during the last ten years; only two schoolhouses had ever been painted; and only one-third had desks, “while the rest had only shaky benches cast off from white schools.” The only good thing he had to say about the Durham County School system was that it had a longer term than most of the other counties.

Mr. Husband must have felt he faced a Herculean task in facing such conditions. Perhaps he did not want to work in such difficult conditions and left in the face of such a challenge; perhaps he was pushing too hard for the school in Rougemont and was forced

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123 DSBM, 6 November 1916.
124 Ibid.
125 Anderson, Durham County, 284.
126 Ibid.
out; or perhaps he could not perform some of the duties required of a Jeanes teacher. (What were his canning skills?) Whether he was fired or resigned, his salary was stopped on March 1, 1917.\textsuperscript{127}

The United States entry into World War I in April 1917 led to fears that food shortages could result. Home vegetable gardens and canning were seen as important ways to secure the food supply.\textsuperscript{128} The Homemakers’ Clubs were seen as the vehicle for doing this in the black community. Organizing Homemaker’s Clubs was seen as critical in the war effort, and became a central responsibility of the Jeanes Supervising Teacher.

As part of the war effort, the county wasted no time in hiring someone to continue working with the Homemakers’ Clubs. In May, Miss Mattie N. Day was hired to do this work.\textsuperscript{129} Miss Day made a good impression on the School Board. In June of 1917, Superintendent Massey wrote to Mr. Newbold:

Your letter of May 16 has been received and contents carefully noted. The Board of Education at its meeting yesterday decided to continue the county supervisor for the colored race for the next school year…Mattie Day has made a good start in this county and is making a favorable impression wherever she goes. I think the Board of Education will want her to continue this work next year if it is agreeable with you.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{127} DSBM, 2 April 1917.
\textsuperscript{128} W. H. Wannamaker to J. S. McKimmen, 28 June 1918, Folder 3, Box 1, WHWP. Dr. Wannamaker wrote the white State Home Demonstration Agent expressing his concern with the lack of canning in Durham County. “From what I can see in the county…we shall have to begin to urge the people to can this year. This sort of work needs constant stimulating.”
\textsuperscript{129} DSBM 4 May 1917.
\textsuperscript{130} C. W. Massey to N. C. Newbold, 5 June 1917, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder M, Box 3, DNE.
W. H. Wannamaker, Dean of Trinity College, was the most active member of the school board in supporting Miss Day and would become her ally.\(^\text{131}\) Dean Wannamaker wrote Mr. Newbold:

> You know this work was not very successful here last year … I think after a year the work will be in such good shape under Mattie’s direction that there will be little trouble securing considerable help for it from our progressive and well-to-do colored folks. We all think a lot of Mattie Day here and we do not want to lose her. … I want to thank you for sending this very good woman to us. She is doing well in spite of a handicap…\(^\text{132}\)

Miss Day must have proved that her unnamed handicap was not a problem. She was hired as Durham County’s second Jeanes supervising teacher on August 6, 1917.\(^\text{133}\)

Miss Mattie N. Day would serve six years in this role. Her tenure was during a period of great changes. She would serve under three superintendents: Charles W. Massey, Holland Holton, and John W. Carr. During this time, Dr. Aaron Moore, the tireless advocate for black education would die.\(^\text{134}\) The Rosenwald Fund\(^\text{135}\) would be restructured and Division of Negro Education\(^\text{136}\) would be created in the North Carolina

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\(^\text{131}\) Wright, *Negro Rural School Fund*, page 88. Wannamaker may have been influenced and encouraged by Dr. William P. Few, president of Trinity College. President Few was elected to the Board of Directors of Negro Rural School Fund/Jeanes Fund Board of Directors in 1917.

\(^\text{132}\) W. H. Wannamaker to N. C. Newbold, 5 June 1917, Correspondence of the Director File , Folder W, Box 3, DNE.

\(^\text{133}\) DBSM, 6 August 1917.

\(^\text{134}\) Anderson, *Durham County*, 489 and DMH 30 April 1923, “Prominent Negro Died on Sunday” page 10. Dr. Aaron Moore’s death was covered and included a picture. This was a very unusual action on the *Herald’s* part. On 3 May 1923, the lead editorial was “Good Leader,” and went on to say “not only an asset to his own people but to the community as a whole.”

\(^\text{135}\) Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, 92. The management of the Rosenwald Fund would change in 1921. At the urgings of the state agents including Mr. Newbold, Julius Rosenwald removed the Rosenwald Fund from Tuskegee Institute and ended its black leadership. Up to this time, although the state agents like Newbold managed the grants in their states, the final decisions had rested in African American hands. The Fund was moved to Nashville and placed under the direction of Samuel L. Smith, a “thoroughly competent white Southern man.” Clinton J. Calloway, Director of the Extension Department at Tuskegee and the person who had developed the Rosenwald program of building rural school houses, became the Filed Agent for the Rosenwald Schools, but was no longer in charge of the program. Tuskegee’s Principal Robert R. Morton protested, “The moral effect on the whole Southern situation” of having “this Fund administered through a Negro School” was an important factor. See Anderson, *Dangerous Donations*, 197. Rosenwald’s decision resulted in greater white paternalism and control in the operation of the fund..

\(^\text{136}\) Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 221-222. In the summer of 1921, the Department of Public Instruction created the Division of Negro Education, with N. C. Newbold as its director. No longer paid by
Department of Public Instruction. The greater world would be changed by the Great Migration, the First World War, and the Spanish Influenza pandemic.

As she started her new job, Miss Day would have found a community mobilizing for war. As blacks signed up to serve in the armed forces, additional burdens fell on their families, struggling to feed and educate their children. Miss Day’s job, as all Jeanes teachers’, was to improve both the lives and the schools of her county’s rural black residents.

Miss Day’s Jeanes reports for her first months are unavailable, so it is not known exactly what she accomplished. She probably followed some of the suggestions that Mr. Newbold sent to the Jeanes teachers. Although titled “Suggested Outline of Work for Jeanes Supervising Industrial Teachers,” it was fairly specific.

Plan to visit all the negro schools in the county. Spend about two days in each school the first visit. During these days get some definite work started in sanitation (personal, home and school), sewing, some branches of manual training, cooking, housekeeping, etc. Give the teachers instructions how to keep your work going while you are away, and show her how privately, not before the school. After going over the county this way, then start again at the first school visited, and spend a day or so giving further help in the work already begun. Be sure to undertake something you know you can teach successfully and do your work enthusiastically.

Insist upon some form of sanitation, cleanliness, health, at each visit. Spend as much time as possible in the afternoons and evenings with the teachers you visit discussing your plans and work fully and in detail, encouraging them to undertake all the work they can bear upon the activities of country life.

northern philanthropies, he was now a Deputy Superintendent and could speak to the county superintendents with that authority. Mrs. Holland continued as State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools but her salary no longer came from the independent North Carolina Teachers Association (NCTA) but from the state. She became one of the few professional black women working for the state of North Carolina. Mr. Moore was not so fortunate. Newbold forced him to resign although Mr. Moore’s funds came from the NCTA. His outspokenness and independence had proved a problem for Newbold before and Moore would not be allowed to work in the new department. Instead Newbold hired a white man, William Frontis Credle, to be the supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund. Reporting to him, continuing Moore’s work with the African American communities, Mr. George Edward Davis was hired as Mr. Credle’s assistant in the Rosenwald work. Unlike Moore, Davis bragged that he worked “conciliatory—not trucking, if you please—but an attitude of patient waiting and persistent working.”

Anderson, Durham County, 295. One forth of the North Carolina troops were African American.
Visit the people in the communities in company with the local teacher, encouraging the people to live under the best sanitary conditions, to paint or whitewash their dwellings and outhouses.

Keep in touch with your local teachers as much as you can by correspondence when ever possible. Encourage them to write you about such details as they may desire for help etc. Encourage all teachers by showing them what the most progressive ones are doing, thus giving inspiration to all to emulate the best.

Keep a definite record of the work you do, so you can take it up again at each successive visit, and be able to make your monthly report more definite.\(^{138}\)

Newbold required that each supervisor send a monthly report to him, as well as to the county superintendent, and to the State Health Officer.\(^{139}\) Newbold wanted to give the Jeanes teachers freedom to “do the next needed thing,” but he also insisted that they make all the white officials aware of what they were doing. If Miss Day ever wrote to Mr. Newbold, her letters were not preserved. Perhaps she believed she could be more effective by keeping a low profile. Independent action on the part of the Jeanes teachers probably required a good deal of working around what was reported and what was actually done to meet the needs of the communities served.

Miss Day may have had more flexibility than some Jeanes teachers to provide what the African American communities needed. While the Jeanes Fund did not provide her with an expense account, Dr. Aaron Moore supplied two dollars and fifty cents and the School Board five dollars more.\(^{140}\) Dean Wannamaker received a letter from Mr. Newbold who advised

\[\text{I am sure you have already thought of the wisdom of having all the money contributed for expenses [be] turned in to Superintendent Massey or the Treasurers so that it can be properly}\]

\(^{138}\) N. C. Newbold, 20 June 1917, “Suggested Outline of Work for Jeanes Supervising Industrial Teachers,” Correspondence of the Director File, Folder Miscellaneous Jeanes, Box 2, DNE.

\(^{139}\) Ibid.

\(^{140}\) W. H. Wannamaker to N. C. Newbold, 5 June 1917, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder W, Box 3, DNE.
accounted for and paid out officially to Mattie Day as you think best. This will also save her the embarrassment of accepting it from individuals.  

Would Miss Day really have felt embarrassed accepting money from Dr. Moore? A relationship with one of Durham’s leading citizens who had worked unfailingly to improve black education would seem to be useful for her. Was Mr. Newbold truly worried about Miss Day's embarrassment— or was he concerned that money that came directly from the African American community might give her freedom to use it as the community saw fit and not necessarily as the School Board wished? 

The poor condition of Durham’s black schools was a concern for the African American community. Miss Day would have seen her job to communicate the news about sources of funds to build or improve black school houses. With the War inflating the value of crops, Mr. Newbold asked the Jeanes supervisors to contact their county supervisors and urge school buildings and other improvement projects. I, therefore, advise that you confer with your County Superintendent and map out a plan for building new school houses or improving new ones. 

He then described two sources available for these projects: the Rosenwald fund and the new State Loan fund. He said that State Superintendent Joyner is very anxious that the colored schools of the state shall have a share in the State Loan Fund…I hope you will grasp this opportunity to improve the physical condition of the Negro school property in your county. The Great War makes it all the more necessary that our people shall be educated. 

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141 N. C. Newbold to W. H. Wannamaker, 15 August, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder W, Box 3, DNE. 
142 N. C. Newbold to County Supervising Teachers, 19 November 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, WHWP. How did Mr. Wannamaker get this letter? Did Mr. Newbold send it to him or did Miss Day give it to him? 
143 Ibid.
Mr. Newbold might cite the War as a reason to improve black schools, but was it also white self interest? Blacks had been leaving the South in the Great Migration ever since 1915 to find higher wages and better educational opportunities in the North. The War was an additional labor drain effecting white industrialist and farmers. In 1917, Dr. Moore and Mr. C. C. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, met with the Durham Chamber of Commerce at their request. Dr. Moore said that “between 1,500-2,000 blacks had left Durham and the vicinity in the past 90 days.” He noted that “a car load of Negroes from East Durham were taken North last month.” While asking the Chamber members to increase wages by two dollars a week, he also asked for more support of African American education.\textsuperscript{144}

Dean Wannamaker, Miss Day’s ally on the Board, recognized the importance of educating the black children in the county. He wrote Mr. Newbold that he wanted to do more for Negro education in the county; and the Board agrees with me that we must undertake improvement of school buildings especially. I should be very much obliged to you if you would give me suggestions, as they occur to you … With these suggestions from you, I can work to better advantage in our Board. They want to do the right thing, of course; however you can help me by suggesting what you think ought to be done first.\textsuperscript{145}

Mr. Newbold responded with his offer of help from the Rosenwald Fund and a description of what was involved in getting a grant. He wrote that most of the progress in

\textsuperscript{144} DCC, May 28, 1917. That same year, the Southern University Commission on Race Relations held a series of meetings in Raleigh to discuss ways to stem black migration. They believed “most black southerners would prefer to remain in the land of their birth if guaranteed a living wage…and proper instruction for their children.” Leloudis, Schooling the New South, 213.

\textsuperscript{145} W. H Wannamaker to N. C. Newbold, 5 March 1918, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder W, Box 3, DNE.
Durham was “due almost wholly to your leadership.” He then offered between four and five hundred dollars per school from the Rosenwald Fund if the schools were built according to the fund’s guidelines.

With Dean Wannamaker’s support and following Mr. Newbold’s instructions, Miss Day would have told all the black school patrons in the county of these newly available funds. Dr. Moore, the North Carolina Teachers Association members, Mr. Charles Moore, and the black press were also publicizing the Rosenwald building program.

But in the fall of 1918, all these activities were put on hold. All schools in the city and the county were closed: the Spanish Influenza had come to Durham. The schools would be closed for six weeks. Teachers would continue to be paid if they worked in their communities taking care of those who were ill and “combating the spread” of the flu. Miss Day, as well as Mr. Husband and many other teachers, worked with Mrs. Julia Latta, Durham County Health Department’s first black nurse, to fight the pandemic.

Disease and war made the unity of all Americans very visible—no matter what their color. Some thought that this would be a good time to press for an improvement in

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146 N. C. Newbold to W. H. Wannamaker, 8 March 1918, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder W, Box 3, DNE.
147 DSBM 3 June 1919. Apparently some school boards decided to use the influenza epidemic as an excuse to close the black schools in their counties. In 1920, the State Superintendent of Schools Dr. E. C. Brooks wrote a Circular Letter to the County Superintendents telling them that if they had not opened the black schools that they were violating the law. He also told them it was illegal to use any of the black teachers’ salaries for any other purpose. E. C. Brooks to County Superintendents 3 April 1920, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder A-F, Box 71. Was Dr. Brooks not aware of this before the Spring of 1920? Did some African American schools stay closed over a year? Did he have any way or will to force the county superintendents to open these black schools?
148 DSBM 7 October 1918.
149 DMH, “Partial List of ‘Flu Workers’” 22 November 1918, sec. 2, 1. Former Jeanes teacher F. T. Husband was also listed as helping as well as other teachers.
150 Brown, Upbuilding Black Durham, 161.
the status of African Americans. The fact that black soldiers were serving and dying in the War to “make the world safe for democracy” encouraged this belief. Mr. Charles Moore, the State Inspector of Negro Schools, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Greensboro Daily News* that was published on December 29, 1918 and titled “Negro at the Front and at Home.” He said that two things were obvious: black soldiers were fighting with valor and German propaganda was influencing them.  

He ended by saying:

> My reason for mentioning the above two commendable acts is in the hope that they, as well as other similar deeds and conduct by the colored race in this country, during the late unusual crisis may appeal to and influence our fair-minded white friends in their relationships with and in their treatment of their “brothers in black,” not only in the present, but also in the years to come.  

That same month, Dr. Aaron Moore wrote to Dr. E. C. Brooks, who was formerly a professor of Education at Trinity College. Dr. Brooks was the newly appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of North Carolina. Dr. Moore congratulated him saying,

> I am extremely pleased at your appointment as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, not alone for your eminent fitness for the place, but that you are endowed to so large a degree with the Trinity spirit which means justice to all.

He then encouraged Dr. Brooks to urge the state legislature to appropriate more

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151 See Franklin, John Hope, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 369. Franklin reported on German propaganda circular dropped over trenches filled with black soldiers in September 1918: “What is Democracy? Personal freedom, all citizens enjoying the same rights socially and before the law. Do you enjoy the same rights as the white people do in America, the land of Freedom and Democracy, or are you rather not treated as second-class citizens? Can you go to a restaurant where white people dine? Can you get a seat at the theater where white people sit? Is lynching and the most horrible crimes connected therewith a lawful proceeding in a democratic country?” The Germans ended with an offer to come to Germany’s side when they would be treated as gentlemen. None of the black soldiers deserted.

152 Newspaper Clipping, 29 December 1918, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder September 1918-August 1919, Box 4, DNE.

153 A. Moore to E. C. Brooks, 24 December 1918, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Negro Education File, Folder M, Box 71, DPI.
funds for African American education. The influence of Trinity College on the Durham County School system had been a liberalizing one, and Dr. Moore hoped the same would be true of Dr. Brook’s administration.

As 1919 began, Dr. Moore had other reasons to be hopeful for the state of black education. The Spanish flu pandemic and the War had ended. African American soldiers and citizens had fully supported the war effort and the efforts to contain the flu. The continuing Great Migration had left the African American laborers with some bargaining power. Perhaps, for the first time since the end of the Fusion government, the African American community had a realistic hope for a more just future.

This hope was quickly dashed as racial unrest occurred across the country in what James Weldon Johnston called the Red Summer. Over twenty race riots occurred across the country, with racial unrest in the nearby towns of Greensboro and Winston-Salem.154 Although Durham did not experience any violence, the African American community was aware of these events. Making matters worse, that summer and fall a resurgent KKK was organizing throughout the country, including in Durham.155 With hopes of an improved racial climate dashed, and worry about losing what had been accomplished, black leaders took action.

In October, Mr. C.C. Spaulding organized a meeting with Durham’s white leaders to assure that no racial unrest or violence would happen in Durham.156 Also, along with leading black educators including Dr. Shepard and Mrs. Holland, Mr. Spaulding issued a Declaration of Principles. Was this an attempt to tamp down the rising tide of white violence by showing that responsible African American leaders were

154 Brown, Upholding Black Durham, 70.
155 Anderson, Durham County, 303.
156 Ibid.
telling “their people” to look out for union organizers, northern labor recruiters, and those that pushed overtly for better civil rights? Was it a plea for better funding for the black schools in exchange for peace and cheap labor? Was it an attempt to preserve the gains that had been made? The first section of the Declaration concerning economic conditions may have been written more for the white audience than the black one. It read in part

The Negroes of North Carolina were never in a better state of prosperity…..A large majority have no troubles, and if the agitators will only let them alone, they can secure a fair opportunity to work out their own destinations. The Negroes here fore, should resent any interference from any class of people who seek to stir them to excitement or urge them to deeds of violence. Since prosperity is now surely coming, it is little short of a tragedy for the agitator to come among them and make them suspicious of the white people of the State, or the white people suspicious of the Negro’s aims and purpose. Whenever this is done, the chances of domestic peace and prosperity are destroyed…..

…wholesale migrations are in the interest of the labor agitator and the employers of labor, and not in the interest of the Negroes themselves, and Negroes everywhere should have this fact impressed upon them.157

The second part of the Declaration concerned improving educational conditions, not mentioning the Jeanes or the Rosenwald Funds, but instead focusing on a constitutional amendment that provided more funds for the public schools of the state.158 These black educators were obviously working with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. E. C. Brooks, who wrote the introduction to the Declaration.

I wish to give my endorsement to the Declaration of Principles. This is a serious as well as patriotic attempt of the Negroes to make the social backgrounds of the school safe for the children of both races, in order that progress and well-being be promoted. …Educational progress will be promoted, great economic prosperity will result, and there will be no strife in North Carolina. This platform, therefore, that the Negroes have adopted is an attempt on their part to make right and justice prevail. It should become an educational platform for all teachers in North Carolina. 159

157 Report of N. C. Newbold, State Agent for Negro Rural Schools of North Carolina, September 1919, Folder N, Box 75, DPI. Attached to Newbold’s report was the “Declaration of Principles.”
158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
Dr. Brooks had ten thousand copies of the Declaration sent to black and white leaders throughout the State.\(^{160}\) Some prominent black educators disagreed with its tone, if not its purpose. Dr. A. C. Moore and Mr. Charles Moore did not sign it. How many African Americans believed “prosperity is now surely coming”?\(^{161}\) Few blacks could “secure a fair opportunity to work out their own destinations”\(^{162}\) within the limited educational opportunities of the Jim Crow society and in an climate of racial violence.

In this climate, Miss Day quietly did her job. She continued her various community organizing projects like organizing Parent Teacher Associations, Improvement Associations, and Homemakers’ Clubs. When she needed supplies for the Homemakers’ Clubs, she wrote to Dean Wannamaker. On one occasion she provided him with a list of what she would need for next summer’s canning projects. She ended her letter “Again thanking you for so many favors,” and listed her title as “County Agent for Negro Canning Clubs.”\(^{163}\)

Later that spring, she gave Dean Wannamaker a letter that Mr. Newbold had sent all the North Carolina Jeanes teachers, with information about the first national conference of Jeanes Supervisors to be held at Tuskegee Institute. With the Jeanes Fund paying half of her expenses, Miss Day needed additional financial support from the Board to attend the conference.\(^{164}\) At Dean

\(^{160}\) Ibid.
\(^{161}\) Ibid.
\(^{162}\) Ibid.
\(^{163}\) Mattie N. Day to William Wannamaker, 28 February 1918, Folder 2, Box 1, WHWP. See Appendix 10.
\(^{164}\) W.H. Wannamaker to Mattie N. Day, 5 March 1918, Folder 2, Box 1, WHWP.
Wannamaker’s urging, the board agreed to provide half the cost of a railroad ticket. When he wrote Miss Day back with this news, Dean Wannamaker asked that she

make me a report when you come back as to some of things you find that our county most needs as compared with other counties in our state and section of the country.\textsuperscript{165}

Dean Wannamaker was involved in a strange exchange a few months later.

School Superintendent Massey reported that he had received a letter from the president of the National Training School, Dr. James Shepard. Dr. Shepard offered to provide one hundred dollars towards the salary of a “supervisor of the colored schools of the county” if the Board would match it. He proposed that Professor W. G. Pearson, the principal of the Durham City Colored Graded School, be hired in this position and noted that Professor Pearson would even use his own automobile. Dean Wannamaker requested that Professor Pearson appear the next day for an interview.\textsuperscript{166}

Why did the Board even consider this proposal? Durham County had had a Jeanes supervisor since 1915. In the small community of African American teachers and principals in Durham City and County, it seems unlikely that Dr. Shepard or Professor Pearson would not know Mr. Husband--a long time county teacher-- and at least have met Miss Day. Was Dr. Shepard unhappy with the work that Miss Day was doing? Did he think the job should go to a man? Did he want the county to have two supervisors? Would this job replace Professor Pearson’s city job, or be in addition to it? Pearson was a wealthy man and had the ear of his patron Julian Carr, one of the most powerful men in

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166} DSBM 12 June 1918.
Durham. Perhaps Dr. Shepard believed that Pearson would be more effective in bringing the county schools up to the city standards with his connections. Leslie Brown in *Upbuilding Black Durham* and Mr. André Vann, the archivist at NCCU, both believe that Pearson was the superintendent of both the city and the county’s black schools in everything but name.\(^{167}\) Perhaps Dr. Shepard wanted to acknowledge this relationship by creating a position of authority for Professor Pearson in the county schools. Whatever the reasons, nothing came of this proposal. Superintendent Massey noted at the next meeting that Professor Pearson was out of town and had not been interviewed.\(^{168}\) The idea seemed to have been dropped. Did Miss Day know about this exchange? Did it make her feel that her work was being questioned? She seemed to enjoy the approval of the Board.

Just a few month before Dean Wannamaker had written Mr. Newbold that

> The Board all think well of Mattie, and we are especially desirous of providing for her the opportunity to do the sort of work in the county that she can do.\(^{169}\)

Perhaps Dr. Shepard’s and Professor Pearson’s importance necessitated a courtesy hearing from the Board, but it seemed that the Board had no real interest in replacing Miss Day.

Miss Day continued to work to improve the schools and the teachers who taught in them. A circular letter from Mr. Newbold outlined some of these activities.

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1. Send me a list of the groups which you have formed among your teachers for Reading Circle or study groups, giving me in each case the number of teachers in each group and the name and address of the instructor who is to lead them. State how often these groups meet, how much time is taken in each meeting and what they are studying…are they using the materials prepared by the State Board of Examiners? Also if they are doing

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\(^{167}\) Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham*, 166; interview with Mr. Andre Vann, June 25, 2009.

\(^{168}\) DSBM 2 July 1918.

\(^{169}\) W. H Wannamaker to N. C. Newbold, 5 March 1918, Correspondence of the Director File Folder W, Box 3, DNE.
some definite review work in grammar grade subjects as was discussed in our conference here.

2. What use is actually being made now of the industrial rooms added to new Rosenwald schools in your county? Please do not write me what is planned, but I wish to know what is actually being done at this time. You might name the schools and give the kind of work that is being done together with a statement of the equipment which has been put in these rooms.  

Miss Day would have reported that the School Board had purchased a cooking range for the new Domestic Science room at the Rougemont Colored School. She would have described the sort of work that was happening at that school. She would have written about her involvement in county-wide reading groups meant to qualify teachers for improving their teaching certificates. In 1921, she had forty-nine teachers to supervise.

Writing about both the black and white supervisors, School Superintendent Holton noted of their importance.

They really reach every child in the school by helping the teachers plan a more efficient working schedule by carrying new ideas from school to school, by keeping each school informed of the rate of progress in the other schools, and by giving standard tests that enable pupils and teachers alike to measure their own work and complete a standard amount of work in a reasonable time.

How did Miss Day visit all these schools? The School Board did offer her an allowance of $25 for “traveling expenses provided she was willing to buy a Ford automobile which would increase her efficiency in the schools of the county.”

Traveling alone was not without risk. An innocent man had been lynched in neighboring Pearson County the year before. Miss Day was not only black, but a woman traveling

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170 N.C. Newbold to Jeanes Supervising Teachers, 2 February 1920. Correspondence of the Director File Found on the back of a letter to Miss Susan Fulgum, dated 10 June 1921, Folder F, Box 5, DNE  
171 DSBM, 6 October 1919. Two years later she would make one of her few recorded appearances before the school board to ask for equipment for the new Rosenwald school at Hickstown. DSBM 13 September 1922.  
172 DSBM 1 August 1921  
173 DSBM 5 December 1921  
the lonely roads of rural Durham County visiting the isolated rural schools.

However she traveled, Miss Day would have been a well known and important person in rural Durham County. The role in the community that she played was evidenced in a letter from Mr. Newbold. The letter informed Miss Day that Mr. Newbold’s office could pay for one or two preachers to attend the Ministers’ Conference at the Hampton Institute. Mr. Newbold continued:

If you wish to recommend two or three ministers from your county please do so at once, assuring yourself of two things --first that the ministers recommended did not attend last summer’s conference, and second, that if recommended by us the ministers in questions will be sure to go…You might find it advisable to confer with your county superintendent in connection with the selection of ministers to recommend. I shall be glad if the different denominations can be represented.

Since preachers were leaders of their communities, Miss Day’s authority to select attendees meant that she was at least equally significant.

Miss Day would have known most of the ministers in the county from following the suggestions sent out from the Division of Negro Education.

During past years successful Jeanes Supervisors have spent many Sundays visiting different churches. It is a fine way to become acquainted with parents, and others who will help to carry on the work.

In his same letter, Mr. Newbold reminded Jeanes teachers that funds were available for teachers in Rosenwald schools who held state certificates to attend summer

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1 Crime Says His Employer,” 1 Edward Roach had come to Durham for work and found it on a construction crew working in Roxboro. On his way back to Durham, he was caught by a mob and lynched for an alleged assault of a white woman. A few days after his murder, Durham business man Nello Teer wrote the Durham Herald that he knew Roach was innocent and that the lynching was a “ghastly mistake.” Roach worked for Teer and was ill at home the day of the alleged assault. Teer said he wrote to the Herald to prevent future lynchings from occurring. Although a $400.00 reward was offered for the capture of anyone in the lynch mob, not one person came forward with any information. While the newspapers decried these events, they show the power that unlawful violence gave to the racists. The threat of violence always lingered in the Jim Crow society. These events probably gave Durham's black leaders further justification for their attempts to work with the white power structure. Interestingly, the road between Roxboro and Durham, Highway 501, is named the Nello Teer Highway.

175 N. C. Newbold to Jeanes Supervising Teachers, 2 June 1920, “Ministers Conference to be Held at Hampton Institute, June 22-25, 1920.” Found on back of a letter to S.L. Smith from Newbold dated 14 June 1921, Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.

176 Undated mimeographed document, “Suggestions for Jeanes Teachers,” Correspondence of the Director File, Folder Jeanes Miscellaneous, Box 5, DNE.
school at the Hampton Institute. Miss Day, attended the summer school with assistance from the Jeanes Fund. To be a Jeanes teacher, Miss Day had to have at least a two year normal school degree. The summer schools she attended may have been to complete her college degree, or she may have enjoyed taking additional courses to improve her skills and knowledge.

Black teachers had various levels of education. Some teachers had only completed elementary school, some had high school diplomas, some had a normal school education, and very few had college degrees. Durham County, the Division of Negro Education, and Miss Day all worked to improve the county teaching force by providing yearly summer school. Most years the School Board organized two summer schools. The white one was held at Trinity College and the black one was held at the National Training School. A surviving example of one such summer school displayed the planning and courses offered. Superintendent Carr asked Mr. Ferguson of the Division of Negro Education to meet with him and Dr. Dock J. Jordan of the National Training School. Carr wanted both men to come to his teachers’ meeting to discuss how summer school would lead to certification credit. Mr. Ferguson wrote Dr. Jordan and emphasized that the work should be “done on the college level.”

The subjects to be taught included: Primary Methods, Drawing and Writing, Physical Education, Arithmetic, Grammar, History, Civics, and Composition. A new course, Child Psychology, was approved that

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177 Ibid.
178 Holland Holton to N.C. Newbold, 27 July 1920, Correspondence of the Director, Folder Summer Schools for Negro Teachers, Box 14, DNE.
180 John Carr to G. H. Ferguson, 10 October 1922, Correspondence of the Director, Folder C, Box 6 DNE.
181 G. H. Ferguson to D. J. Jordan, 17 October 1922, Correspondence of the Director, Folder J, Box 6, DNE.
year. The funding for the summer school came from the tuition, the General Education Board, the State of North Carolina, and Durham County. Mr. Ferguson wrote to Dr. Jordan informing him that nine teachers were “anxious to take this work.”

Besides improving teachers’ certification by Reading Circles and summer school, a primary responsibility of all Jeanes teachers was to work for schoolhouse improvements. While Miss Day’s role in schoolhouse projects is hard to discern in the archival records, the poor condition of the schoolhouses is not. In 1921, retiring School Superintendent Holton wrote that a “crying need” for Durham County Schools was to have adequate buildings. He thought Durham needed to vote for school bonds. He pointed out that the total value of all the schools in the county was less than that of the county courthouse. He said there had been county-wide bonds for roads but not for schools. He made an impassioned plea for better funding for the public schools. For a school system always short of funds, trying to operate two school systems was expensive, even with the short shrift given to the black schools. Jean Anderson in her book *Durham County* recounts a story in which a white man told his black employee “John, it is going to take a lot of money to build better schools for Negro children—it is going to be expensive business.” The black man replied, “Cap’n, intolerance is always expensive.”

Even though intolerance made it difficult for black schools to get their fair share of the money from the county during Miss Day’s tenure as Jeanes supervisor, four new Rosenwald Schools were built. She would have had to work with a School Board whose

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182 Financial Statement of Summer School, 1923, Negro Race, Special Subject File, Folder 1919-1926, Box 14, DNE.
183 G. H. Ferguson to D. J. Jordan, 17 October 1922, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder J, Box 6, DNE.
184 Holland Holton to County Board of Education & Board of County Commissioners, 31 August 1921, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder Durham-Lenoir (1921-1924), Box 3, DPI.
185 Anderson, *Durham County*, 306.
first instinct was to continue to recycle old white schools into black ones and wait until African American school patrons asked for improvements. After requests from the communities, the “new” Bragtown Colored School and the “new” Reservoir School were the recycled old white schools of the same name. The large African American community on Fayetteville Road had had no school. Their children had walked to Cemetery School or East Durham Colored Schools, a distance of over five miles. The Pearsontown community had waited eleven months for a recycled school as the old white Fayetteville Road School became the “new” Pearsontown School.

The Rocky Knoll School patrons did not wait for a recycled school and took it upon themselves to build their own school. They presented bills for labor and materials to the Board and expressed their readiness to settle for half of the full account. With some intervention from Dean Wannamaker and Mr. Newbold, the county received some funds from the state and agreed to accept this school, paying the parents.

Not as bold as the Rocky Knoll parents, Russell Colored School patrons made a visit to the School Board meeting asking for an additional room for their school, which the Board rejected. They returned to the next meeting offering labor and materials, and

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186 See Appendix 11 for a list of the few African American community members who were mentioned by name in the School Board minutes. They represent the hundreds of unnamed African Americans who petitioned the board. This list is to honor all of them, named and unnamed.
187 DSBM 9 March 1918.
188 DSBM 21 May 1918.
189 DSBM 1 December 1919
190 DSBM 3 May 1920.
191 DSBM 3 January 1921.
192 DSBM, November 5, 1917.
193 W. H. Wannamaker to N.C. Newbold, 10 November, 1917, Folder 1, Box 1, WHWP.
194 DSBM 6 June 1921.
this time the request was accepted. 195 Perhaps learning from the Russell patrons, delegations from the Lillian, 196 Bahama, 197 Union, 198 Page, 199 Barbee’s Chapel, 200 and Pearsontown School 201 appeared before the Board asking for new schools or additional rooms. They came with pledges of money, materials, and labor. Was Miss Day behind the scenes working with these parents as they appeared before the School Board asking for new or larger schools? Did she help them as they organized to make their case before the board?

In a rare occurrence, the School Board acted on the request of patrons from the Lebanon Church community, approving their request for a new school. 202 Occasionally the Board would form a building committee to look into providing a new schoolhouse. These committees were made up of one board member and the superintendent—no African Americans. Such committees investigated possibilities for the Cemetery, Bragtown and Union Colored Schools with little result. 203

Some school buildings were not even owned by the School Board. When parents from the Stagville Colored School requested an addition to their building, they were told to talk to the owner, State Senator Benneham Cameron. 204

The local school district committeemen had a great deal of power in how the local tax funds were spent in their district. Some local school committeemen

195 DSBM 8 July 1921.
196 Ibid.
197 DSBM 28 August 1920.
198 DSBM 2 October & 16 October 1922.
199 DSBM 16 October & 6 November 1922.
200 DSBM 6 November 1922.
201 DSBM 7 May 1923.
203 DSBM 6 June 1921.
204 DSBM 4 August 1919.
came to the Board with proposals to build or improve the black schools in their districts: the Peaksville and Russell committees for example. This request was two years after the patrons of the Russell School had asked for a new schoolhouse for their children.205

The Chandler district had no school for its black residents during Miss Day’s tenure. While the local school committeemen made half-hearted efforts and were under pressure from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, they continued to ignore state law by not providing a school for the African American children in their district.206 Superintendent Holton's attitude toward the black community of Chandler did not help. While he seemed interested in at least following the letter of the law and pushed the school committeemen to provide some sort of educational opportunities for the black children of the district, he also blamed their parents whom he called “somewhat shiftless renters.”207 Unlike some of the more urban school districts where the parents may have worked in the factories, many of these families were tenant farmers or sharecroppers who may have moved around looking for better or fairer situations. In Durham County, only twenty-five percent of black farmers owned their own farms.208

Did Miss Day try to organize these tenant farmers? Did she hope the law would be enforced and left the matter to the school board? Maybe she felt her time was better spent working in the communities where school already existed.

205 DSBM 3 February 1919.
207 Holland Holton to E. C. Brooks, 8 April 1920, General Correspondence of the Superintendent, Folder H, Box 75, DPI.
While Miss Day worked with existing schools, encouraging the building of new Rosenwald Schools would have been a major focus of her efforts. Lace Jones in *The Jeanes Teacher in the United States, 1908-1933* wrote.

Most of the work fell on the shoulders of the Jeanes Supervisors. It was they who called attention to the urgency of the need, and it was they who aroused the local community to play its part, and kept interest and enthusiasm alive until each school building project had been carried to a successful issue.\(^{209}\)

The only documentary evidence available that Miss Day was working to have Rosenwald schools built in Durham comes indirectly. She requested “some printed material about the Rosenwald School Fund, and pamphlets of two and three teacher buildings” from Mr. Davis at the Division of Negro Education in 1922.\(^{210}\)

Miss Day inherited the complicated progress of Durham’s first Rosenwald school at Rougemont after Mr. Husband left. Reverend W. D. Smith had become the spokesman for the school. A few months after Miss Day was hired, Reverend Smith went before the Board to ask about the delay in construction.\(^{211}\) The Board continued to delay action for four more months, and then formed a committee to see that a two room school was built “according to plans prepared by state board of education” in Rougemont.\(^{212}\)

A new school was constructed by the board, but it did not meet the Rosenwald standards. Reverend Smith went to the Board almost a year later to ask to build an industrial room. The Board refused his request.\(^{213}\) During an inspection two months later, Mr. Newbold noted the lack of a required industrial room. Also, he found that the construction was poor and not acceptable. His report states

\(^{210}\) G. E. Davis to G. H. Ferguson, 18 May 1922, Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.
\(^{211}\) DSBM 1 October 1917.
\(^{212}\) DSBM 4 February 1918
\(^{213}\) DSBM 11 March 1919
Instead of unilateral lighting, the superintendent had allowed the contractor to put in three small windows on the end and one window on the front. The windows were about 2/3 the size they ought to have been and there were only 4 instead of 5, as called for in the plan, and there was no industrial room at this place. A responsible negro preacher in the county has undertaken to make the necessary changes. I could go more into detail in each one of these cause, but I think I have indicated the conditions sufficiently to serve our purposes.

Superintendent Massey was faulted for allowing cheap windows and the missing room.

Smith appears to have gotten Newbold’s approval to make the necessary changes. After their completion, Reverend Smith presented the School Board with the bills. He expected that the county and the community would divide the expenses after deducting the funds obtained from the Rosenwald Fund. To assure Board action, he had a white man come to the meeting to attest that the building was completed and that the bills were correct. Even that was not good enough, and the Board did not pay him.\textsuperscript{215} In frustration, Reverend Smith wrote to Mr. Newbold. The Reverend’s letter is not preserved in the archives.

However the new county Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Holland Holton wrote

\begin{quote}
It seems that W. D. Smith, the colored Baptist minister at Rougemont, is very anxious for you and me to visit Rougemont together at some early date in order to inspect a new building erected at the colored school there for domestic science purposes. He is also anxious for us to make the visited at some time when he can make a rally occasion of the affair in order to create an interest in the Rosenwald fund and its purposes among certain patrons of districts in this and Person Counties in which he happens to be interested\textsuperscript{216}
\end{quote}

Superintendent Holton, who replaced the retiring Massey in July of 1919, may not have known the history of the Rougemont School and Reverend Smith’s involvement. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
Smith seems to think that in some way he must pay off all bills in full before you will accept the building, and that he will then receive from you a refund of part of what has been advanced on the three rooms. Since he has personally advanced all he apparently can, he is quite anxious to get the matter adjusted as soon as possible, but more especially
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{214} N. C. Newbold to A. Flexner 17 May 1919, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder F, Box 4, DNE.
\textsuperscript{215} DSBM 15 July 1919.
\textsuperscript{216} H. Holton to N. C. Newbold, 5 August 1919, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 4, DNE.
because he realizes that certain members of our Board may not be friendly to his proposition. 217

Reverend Smith was well aware of how most members of the School Board regarded him.

Superintendent Holton seemed more interested in the Rosenwald program than Superintendent Massey. He wanted to know how it was involved with the Rougemont School. Mr. Newbold replied to Holton

The Rosenwald committee promised some two years ago, $200 to aid in the construction and furnishing of the Rougemont School. The main building was partially completed some months ago. Mr. Massey and I went out to inspect the building and we found that it had not been properly constructed. As to lighting, Rev. W. D. Smith undertook to change the windows and to add a room for Industrial work. I understand that this work has now been completed. In that event the $200 will be paid over. 218

Mr. Newbold did go with Superintendent Holton to inspect the Rougemont Colored School again. Reverend Smith and the community had raised over $700.00 for their school. Newbold was able provide an additional $250.00 as well. 219 The African American citizens of Rougemont had the first new school, the first Rosenwald school, in Durham County in 1919 after four years of work.

The Walltown Colored School became the second school to be accepted into the Rosenwald program. While it took as long as the Rougemont School to be built, the patrons seem to have had an easier time. In one of her rare recorded appearances, Miss Day presented the school Board with two maps of proposed locations for new schools at Walltown and Brookstown at the May 7, 1918 meeting. Typically, the Board took no

217 Ibid.
218 N. C. Newbold to H. Holton, 6 August 1919, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 4, DNE.
219 Report of N. C. Newbold, State Agent for Negro Rural Schools of North Carolina, August 1919, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder N, Box 75, DPI.
action. Over a year later, although no one from Walltown community was recorded coming to a Board meeting, the Board applied to the State Loan Fund and to the Rosenwald Fund for a school. The community raised an astonishing $3,000.00. What had occurred to generate this support and action? Did they have some friend on the Board that championed their school behind the scenes? Had Miss Day spent time fundraising for this school? Did some of Durham’s black businesses provide capital for this school and if so, why this one? Although this school had unusual Board support, the community had to continue to use their old school for almost four years. The Walltown Rosenwald School would not open until 1922 as a three teacher school.

Two other Rosenwald Schools--Hickstown School and Cemetery Schools--opened the same year achieving success through different methods. Members of Hickstown, a West Durham African American community had actively had petitioned for a new school in a better location as early as 1919. They had received verbal support from the board and their white committeemen. Money was appropriated in January 1920, and the black community was told to raise the Rosenwald matching grant of $200. But nothing happened for two years. Next, the Hickstown School community employed powerful white friends. In May of 1922, a delegation of unnamed black patrons presented the Board with a petition signed by leading white citizens of the district.

We the citizens of the West Durham School district desire better schools for the colored people in the Hickstown section…[they asked the Board to] give all the aid possible for

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220 DSBM 7 May 1918.
221 DSBM 8 August 1919.
223 W.F. Credle to S. L. Smith, 18 May 1923, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1922-1923, Box 86, DPI.
224 DSBM 1 September 1919
225 DSBM 5 January 1920.
the colored people in the section. The colored people have raised $400 for this purpose. We the undersigned earnestly desire that this matter receive your special attention.\textsuperscript{226}

The petition was signed by eleven men including E. K Powe and F. S. Thompson, who were West Durham School committee members, as well as prominent citizens W. A. Erwin and J. R. Blacknall. The delegation explained that $200 of the money which they had raised had been used to buy a site, and that they had an additional $200 in cash.\textsuperscript{227}

The Board immediately passed a motion to

1. Apply to the Rosenwald Fund for the Hickstown School
2. [Demand] the black community raise an additional $300 in cash.
3. Approve $2,000 when the colored community raised the extra $300.
4. That funds from these sources be used to build a new school for the Hickstown\textsuperscript{228}

The Hickstown patrons were so successful that it is surprising that more communities did not adopt this tactic. Hickstown School was completed in less than in two years, opening as a four teacher school in the Fall of 1923.\textsuperscript{229}

What would become the Lyon Park School began as the Cemetery Colored School. Just before it would opened, the parents from the Cemetery School presented a petition requesting that the name of the school be changed to Lyon’s Park School, the name of their community. The Board agreed to the name change.\textsuperscript{230} A delegation of parents told the Board that they had already raised $400. They pledged a total of $51 dollars worth of labor at the next meeting. The Board said the community would have to

\textsuperscript{226}DSBM 18 May 1922.
\textsuperscript{227}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{228}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229}W.F. Credle to S. L. Smith, 18 May 1923, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1922-1923, Box 86, DPI.
\textsuperscript{230}DSBM 22 January 1923. The school was located near the white Maplewood Cemetery. When the when school opened in the new building it was called the Lyon’s Park Colored School, although the board occasionally referred to it as the Lakewood Colored School in the minutes, as did the Rosenwald Fund. There was a white Lakewood Park School. Lakewood Park was a white amusement park located where Lakewood Shopping Center is today. When the area was incorporated into the city, Lyon’s Park School was rebuilt in 1929, as a brick schoolhouse that is used as a community center today.
wait for their school “due to the fact that the Hickstown Colored School had consumed all the funds available for this work.”

School Board member, Mr. Mason, a banker, offered the board a $900 loan from the Citizen National Bank for the school at Lakewood. With this offer, the Board then approved the new school.

When school opened, the Lyon’s Park School district had an enrollment of one hundred and seventeen. This caused Mr. Carr to write Mr. Credle to say that they now needed a four-teacher school. He noted that if a “good building is erected” there could be an even larger enrollment.

In December, Mr. Credle wrote the Rosenwald Fund officials to let them know the Lyon’s Park School was finished and that he had inspected it. He called it “one of our best projects.” Credle also noted that he “prevailed upon the County Superintendent that a four teacher school would be required to take care of his needs.” In February, Mr. Davis made the last inspection of the Lyon’s Park School. He found

The building is up to standard; some of the overhead ceiling is buckled a little, but can be put back with a bit of work and made good. It is not a serious problem.

Lyon’s Park would open as the second four teacher school in Durham County in September 1923.

With three new Rosenwald schools as examples, one black community pressed boldly for a large, new school of their own. The summer before these new schools

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231 DSBM 4 September 1922.
232 Ibid.
233 John Carr to W. F. Credle, 21 September 1922, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.
234 W. F. Credle to Bessie Carney, 21 December 1922. General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder 1922-1923 Requisitions, Box 87, DPI.
235 Ibid.
236 George E. Davis to W. F. Credle, 2 February 1923, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.
237 W.F. Credle to S. L. Smith, 18 May 1923, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1922-1923, Box 86, DPI.
opened, Pearsonsontown School sent a committee asking for a seven-room school, by far the largest school ever requested by the African American community. The Board’s response to this request was not recorded.

At this same meeting, Superintendent Carr recommended “Mattie N. Day be reelected to her position as supervisor for the colored schools” and “be given a yearly salary of $800.” Only a month later, she had a new job. In June of 1923, Mr. Carr proposed that the county hire a supervisor of home economics for the black schools. The State Department of Vocational Education would contribute $750 toward her salary. Mr. Carr recommended that Mattie N. Day be selected for this position at a salary of $1,310 a year.

The *Durham Morning Herald* reported that “Special emphasis would be placed on cooking in six of the colored schools in the county, five of which have equipment for teaching cooking.” The paper noted that “Mattie Day will spend some time at each school each day.” Then the *Herald* stressed that this was “a progressive step in negro education in Durham County. Each year Durham will be supplied with better trained cooks, servants, and housekeepers.” It is doubtful Mrs. Day saw her goals the same as the *Herald*.

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238 DSBM 4 June 1923.
239 DSBM 2 July 1923.
240 DMH 3 July 1923, “Home Economics for Negro Girls,” 9. This idea that the function of black education was to provide whites with better servants had staying power and African Americans educators tried to use it to their advantage. In 1931 this letter was sent to the white people of Roxboro by the Pearson County Training School faculty: “There go into your homes Negro girls and women whose economic conditions are such that these girls can not take advantage of our splendid school opportunities that have been made possible by our good white friends of the town and county. The girls and young Negro women without adequate training are the ones we are hoping to reach through your cooperation. We are hoping to start an evening school for these girls, but we fear that they will feel reluctant to come. We are therefore, asking you to be kind enough to say a word of encouragement to them and to point out the necessity of their qualifying themselves to render a better grade of service than they are now rendering.” The letter ended with a survey asking questions like: “Does she know how to feed the baby? Does she know how to cook healthy food? How well does she clean the house?” See “Principal and Teachers of the Pearson County
At the next meeting, the Board decided to select Mrs. Carrie T. Jordan as the new Jeanes supervisor for the coming school year. She was hired with a salary of $100.00 per month for twelve months. She also would receive travel expenses of no more than two hundred dollars. Mrs. Jordan was the wife of Dr. D. J. Jordan who often led the summer school for Durham’s black teachers.

During Miss Day’s years as Durham’s Jeanes supervising teacher four Rosenwald schools were built. The average school term for black students was again equal to that of white students. In 1922, for the first time, two black county schools taught high school subjects to African American students and nineteen black children had completed the 7th grade. (There were three white high schools in the county and many other white schools that taught some high school subjects.) Now, every teacher had post-secondary degrees: fourteen teachers had college degrees, while seventeen held normal school degrees. (Forty-nine white teachers had college degrees and only five had normal school degrees.) Miss Day had many reasons to be proud.

But even with these improvements that Miss Day had encouraged or enabled, Mrs. Jordan still faced many obstacles as she took this position. The majority of the schools were still one or two-teacher schools in various states of disrepair. Teacher qualifications still needed to be improved. The state of the school libraries offered an

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Training School to The White Families Employing Colored Servants,” 12 November 1931, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder D, Box 11, DNE.

241 See Gender and Jim Crow by Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, 160-161. “While paying lip service to the ideal of producing servants for white people, black women quietly turned the philosophy into a self-help endeavor and the public schools into institutions resembling social settlement houses. Cooking courses became not only vocational classes but nutrition courses where students could eat hot meals. Sewing classes …had the advantage of clothing poor pupils so that they could attend school more regularly.”

242 DSBM 9 July 1923.
243 DSBM 3 July 1922.
244 DSBM 2 July 1923.
easy way to gauge the omnipresence of Jim Crow. All 4,500\textsuperscript{246} white children attended schools with libraries. Only fifteen of the twenty-three black schools had libraries for the 1,226\textsuperscript{247} black students. The total number of books in the black libraries was 952, while the total number of books in the white schools was 9,111.\textsuperscript{248}

The Durham County School Board gave qualified support for black education as along as it never impacted on their real concern—the education of the white children of the county. Providing the legal minimum and occasionally skirting the law, the white School Board seemed to support the education of African Americans only to create satisfactory workers and peaceful citizens and only if pushed by the African American community. Without their efforts, the School Board would have done even less. While Durham would experience much change in the few years, this would change little as Mrs. Jordan took her new position.

\textsuperscript{246} DMH 15 January 1923, “Enrolment in Durham County Schools Approximately 6,500.” 6.
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{248} DSBM 2 July 1923.
Chapter 4
Adding Life and Interest to School

Mrs. Carrie T. Jordan, Durham’s new Jeanes teacher, was from a family with deep commitments to African American education. Her father was Reverend Lawrence Thomas, pastor of Big Bethel AME Church, the oldest African American church in Atlanta and a founder of Morris Brown College. She met her husband, Dr. Dock Jackson Jordan, while he was a professor there. Dr. Jordan was a lawyer but did not practice law, instead devoting his life to black higher education. He was the president of two black colleges before taking a position at the National Training School. While Mrs. Jordan’s own educational background is unknown, she was a college graduate and an experienced educator. Before accepting the Jeanes position, the fifty-three year old Jordan had taught at Hillside Park School. Living in Durham’s Hayti community, she

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249 Jennifer Jordan, “The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Artishia, and Fredrick Jordan Scholarship Fund,” Christian Recorder Online English Edition, 9 November 2006, 29 July 2009 <http://www.the-christian-recorder.org/tcr-online/2006/11/christian-recorder-online-english_08.html> Her father gave his library to the college when he died. His church, Big Bethel was called “Sweet Auburn’s City Hall” because it had the largest public meeting space in that community.” In 1879, the Gate City Colored School, the first public school for African Americans in the city opened in the basement of Big Bethel. See <http://www.bigbethelame.org/newAbout.htm> Growing up in Atlanta in the 1960’s the blue “Jesus Saves” on the steeple of Big Bethel was a part of the skyline.

250 Ibid. Dr. Dock. J. Jordan was the past president of Edward Waters and Kittrell, two AME colleges. Before coming to the National Training School, he taught at Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. He taught history, social studies, and psychology at The National Training School/The Durham State Normal School/ North Carolina College for Negroes until his retirement in 1939. He was also head of the Department of Education there and often taught at the summer schools for local teachers. Dr Jordan and Mrs. Carrie Jordan had two children a daughter and a son. Her son was Bishop Frederick D. Jordan the 72nd Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was on the national board of CORE and was noted “as a fervent and militant advocate for civil rights.” Her daughter was Alice Julia Jordan, who worked for forty years in St. Louis for the Division of children’s Services and retired as the supervisor of that unit. She is buried near her mother and father in Beachwood Cemetery in Durham. see <http://jordanscholarship.org/AliceJordanBiolhtm> . See Appendix 12 for a picture of Mrs. Jordan, Bishop Jordan and his wife Artishia Jordan.

251 Jacqueline Jordan Irvin, e-mail message to author, 14 September 2009. Dr. Irvine, a great niece of Bishop Dock Jordan, is a Candler Professor Emeritus in Education from Emory University. She wrote that Mrs. Jordan was an elementary school principal in Atlanta and later taught at Morris Brown College. Mrs. Jordan also taught in the 1924 summer school at Durham Normal School. See Dr. J.E. Shepard to N. C. Newbold, 18 February 1924, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder S, Box 7, DNE.
and her husband, along with others of Durham’s educated elite, may have met with Dr. Carter G. Woodson and others from the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History while at the National Training School in 1925. The goals of the Association were to encourage the study of black life and history in schools, something Mrs. Jordan would do in her first year as the Jeanes supervisor. She was a member of the “Talented Tenth” and took seriously her duty to uplift her race.

During Carrie T. Jordan’s three years as Jeanes Supervising Teacher for Durham County, the educational environment was changing. Like Miss Mattie Day, she would work with three superintendents of schools: John Carr, Frank M. Martin, and Luther H. Barbour. During Mrs. Jordan’s first year, Durham City would annex East and West Durham and other suburban parts of town, doubling its size. This annexation would eventually find the majority of Durham’s blacks living within the city and attending city schools. Higher education in Durham was also transformed. The National Training School became the Durham State Normal School for Negroes, with Dr. Shepard remaining as president, but no longer heading an independent institution. James B. Duke announced plans to transform Trinity College into a “great new university.”

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252 *Durham City Directory* 1923, 329.
253 DMH 1 April 1925 “Negro Conference Begins Here Wednesday,” 5. The *Herald* noted that the association “promotes study of negro life and history in clubs and schools.”
254 Anderson, *Durham County*, 89. John Carr took a leave of absence from September 1, 1924-August 3, 1925. Luther H. Barbour would assume the job from 1925 to 1943. The county and city were operated as separate systems under the city superintendent Frank M. Martin for one year. See DSBM 17 March, 1924. Carr left to attend Columbia University. See DMN 31 August 1924.”Large Enrollment Expected in Durham Schools,” 11. Although city and county educators hoped this might lead to the consolidation of both systems, it did not. See Rice “The Consolidation of the Durham Schools,” 72.
255 Anderson, *Durham County*, 331. This would greatly reduce the county’s tax base and may have been a factor in the Durham County School Board finally deciding to use Rosenwald funds to improve its black schools.
Jean Anderson’s words, Durham, now North Carolina’s fourth biggest city, “had joined
the world at last.”

If white Durham was finally making its mark, so was black Durham. By the
1920’s *The New Negro* said it was part of the “Black Renaissance,” and called Durham
the “Capital of the Black Middle Class.” African American leaders from Dr. Booker
T. Washington to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois praised the economic and racial climate in
Durham. But even though Hayti was a center of black empowerment and pride, Durham
blacks were not protected from the racial insults of the Jim Crow society. In September of
1923, Durham’s mayor introduced the Emperor of the Ku Klux Klan who was speaking
at a “big rally” at the Academy of Music, white Durham’s social center.

Mrs. Jordan started work in this mix of progress and oppression that was Durham.
As school opened, Superintendent Carr described the work he expected her to do. “In our
colored schools this year we are going to emphasize spelling, geography, and nature
study.” She followed his instructions completely, adding her own touches. In her
yearly report to N. C. Newbold, the only full report of any Durham Jeanes teacher found,
she told of the progress made by the county schools.

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258 Ibid., 331.
Durham who were not part of the middle class.
260 Anderson, *Durham County*, 235-236. These favorable views may have been influenced by Dr.
Washington’s’ first visit to Durham in 1896. He was invited to Trinity College to speak, one of the first, if
not the first time, he spoke to a southern white college. On his 1918 visit he was impressed with the black
owned bank and textile mill. See page 257.
261 Ibid., 222. After DuBois visit in 1912, he wrote” I consider the greatest factor in Durham’s
development to have been the disposition of [white] Durham to say “Hands off—give them a chance—
don’t interfere.” He was also part of fact-finding conferences in 1927 and 1928. By then he had a more
critical view, but still saw Durham as a good place for black business. See pages 336-367
262 DMH 18 September 1923. “Emperor of KKK to visit Durham: Big Rally at the Academy of Music: The
Mayor, Dr. J. M. Manning Will Introduce the Speaker,” 1.
263 John Carr to G.H. Ferguson, 14 September 1923, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder C, Box 7,
DNE.
The subjects selected for special study and improvements in methods this year were Spelling, Geography and Nature Study in Grammar Grades. The emphasis placed on Arithmetic, Language, and Reading last year was continued, and made correlating of this year’s work with them quite easy. The work in Spelling in both Primary and Grammar Grades was based upon suggestions for teaching Spelling found in the State Course of Study. Instead of memorizing lists of meaningless words the child was given for study words of everyday use, which he not only learned to spell and write, but to use in composition, thus making the work his own. An effort was made to develop in each child a “spelling conscience” -- the ability to know when a word is spelled correctly or incorrectly; to teach the use of the dictionary and the need of looking up words when uncertain of the spelling or meaning of a word. Games and spelling devices were used to motivate the drill and put life and interest into the spelling class. By correlating Language with Spelling much oral and written composition was done. Special attention was paid to the quality of the writing, with a desire to arouse in the pupils pride in decent penmanship.\textsuperscript{264}

Mr. Carr wanted her to emphasize geography. Her approach was one of engaging the students in their own world.

Ridgley’s “Home Geography,” a text studied by the Primary teachers, was made the base of instruction in Geography in the Primary Grades. The teachers worked out many interesting projects for their own class work representing big topics relating to the needs of mankind, and how these are supplied. These projects were reproduced in the school room by the children as the topics were studied during the year. This work led to considerable outside reading and research on the part of both teachers and pupils. The State Course of Study and the Teachers’ Manual used with the Essentials of Geography were the basis of work in Geography. Since Geography is not a popular subject with teachers or pupils, and is for the most part, poorly taught, an effort was made to vitalize it and show that it is one of the most interesting subjects in our school curriculum. Interest the child in the conditions which influence his own life and community, its habits and customs, and he can be led to take the same interest in the people of other countries.\textsuperscript{265}

While she used the state textbooks, she emphasized that additional “outside reading and research” was expected for both teachers and students. Mrs. Jordan indicated another reason she chose this approach of teaching geography.

\textsuperscript{264} Carrie T. Jordan, “Annual Report of Rural Supervisor of Durham County Negro Schools, 1923-1924,” 30 June 1924, Special Subject File, Folder JEANES Fund, Miscellaneous, Box 2, DNE. The original intent of this paper was to tell the story of the development of the black school system through the reports of its JEANES teachers. However, this was the only full report from Durham that was found. Black history, and black women’s history has largely been erased from historical documents that would be of use. See Appendix 13 for Mrs. Jordan’s report.

\textsuperscript{265} Ibid.
Our schools were not as well equipped for the successful teaching of Geography as was desired, but maps were placed in nearly all the schools, and some were provided with globes. Teachers and children contributed some money for “Current Events” and geographical magazines. Teachers were permitted to take books from the Durham Colored Library and use them for one month.266

Using these resources, Mrs. Jordan turned the geography lesson into a project of empowerment.

The teachers worked out in class a very interesting project on “Durham and Durham County” which led to a higher appreciation of the worth and achievements of the people in our own community.267

Did the students study about Dr. Aaron Moore, Richard Fitzgerald, John Merrick, C.C. Spaulding and Dr. J.E. Shepard? Did they learn that much of Durham was built with Fitzgerald’s bricks? Did they learn about North Carolina Mutual, the largest black insurance company in the United States? Did Bess Whitted, Viola Turner and other black businesswomen from Iota Phi Lambda come to the schools to discuss their jobs at Mutual?268 Did they learn about the history of Lincoln Hospital and its School of Nursing? Did some black doctors or nurses come to talk to the students? Did Mrs. Nell Hunter tell of her travels and concerts?269 Did Mrs. Jordan have some of her professor friends from the Durham Normal School visit to inspire the children with the goal of going to college? Did she include this history of the growth of the black community with its fine homes, shops, library, and schools? The state textbooks were probably full of racist assumptions. Mrs. Jordan’s projects may have corrected some of these views.

266 Ibid.
267 Ibid.
268 Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham*, page 134. Brown wrote that these women “brought programs of banking, investment, education and employment to young women at the [Harriet Tubman] YWCA.” It would seem they would also talk to students, if asked.
269 See Anderson, *Durham County*, 377 and footnote number 331.
The last area of Mr. Carr’s emphasis was Nature Study. Following what is still considered good educational practice, Mrs. Jordan integrated it into the other subjects that were being taught.

Linked up with our work in Language, Drawing, and Geography, was Nature Study, based upon the State Course of Study and “Common Trees of North Carolina.” While the projects in Drawing were many and well done, and stimulated interest in the above subjects, something finer and more lasting was our reward: children were led to a greater interest in, and appreciation of, the beauty of living things about them, in plant and animal life and our relation to them and to our Creator. It gave an incentive for doing school tasks which they had not had heretofore.270

A Methodist preacher’s daughter, she tied a greater appreciation of the beauties of the natural world to a closer relationship with God, while teaching the children to identify the trees of North Carolina. By including drawing trees as part of the Nature Study, she encouraged her teachers to use art to help those having difficult with traditional school work.

Mrs. Jordan was a supervising teacher, and her report shows that teacher instruction and improvement were high on her agenda. She conducted Reading Circles, providing continuing education for teachers on a regular basis.271 Mrs. Jordan met with Mrs. Holland, Dr. Shepard, and her husband, Dr. Jordan, to discuss “teacher training work.”272 She was involved in planning the county’s summer school, which provided opportunities for the county teachers to improve their qualifications and skills. She was one of instructors at the summer school attended by Durham and Orange County teachers in the summer of 1924. Other instructors were recruited from Washington, Bloomington,

271 Report of Annie W. Holland. January 1925, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder H, Box 94, DPI.
272 Report of Annie W. Holland. 4 March 1924, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder H, Box 91, DPI.
Louisville, as well as the National Training School. Teachers who passed the summer school courses could earn credit to improve their certificates. By the school year 1925-1926, through the work of Miss Day and Mrs. Jordan, all the African American teachers of the county had state certification and the majority of them had two or three years of college credit.

Improving classroom instruction was one way Mrs. Jordan hoped to improve the attendance in the schools. But she understood that no matter how well trained her teachers were, or how interesting their lessons, it was often difficult for rural children to attend regularly. She wrote:

Realizing that one of the most serious handicaps of rural schools is irregular attendance, a campaign was put on at the beginning of the year, with the slogan “Every child in school every day in the year.” Letters were sent to all the schools on the subject of regular attendance. In some communities great interest was manifested, resulting in improved attendance in a large number of schools.

Mrs. Jordan was tackling a problem that many Jeanes teachers faced. Mrs. Holland, the State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools, sent a report to Mr. Newbold on the problems of school attendance faced by the Jeanes teachers. She listed some of the reasons for non-enrollment:

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273 Dr. J.E. Shepard to N. C. Newbold, 18 February 1924, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder S, Box 7, DNE.
274 “Summer School for Negro Teachers, 1919-1926,” Correspondence of the Director File, Folder Financial Statement of Summer School, 1924, Box 14, DNE. The subjects taught were Reading, Arithmetic, Language, Geography, Domestic Sciences Agriculture, History, Grammar, Writing, English, Health, Reading, and Spelling.
275 “Approved Summer Schools, 1924,” General Correspondence or the Superintendent File, Folder, Division of Negro Education, Box 92, DPI. While there is no break down by counties, fifty two students enrolled and thirty-one passed the course.
276 DMH 6 September 1925 “Good Record for County Teachers,” 17. In many rural counties, black teachers would teach under a 2nd grade certificate given by the superintendent of schools based on his observation and the experience of the teacher. While no white teachers had held a 2nd grade certificate for the past three years, this is the first year for the county teachers to achieve this.
1. People are usually renters or tenants and must keep the whole force out of school to work.
2. Demand for child labor
3. Poverty
4. Sickness
5. Indifference on part of parent
6. Lack of interest in school on the part of the children
7. Inefficient teachers

Then she listed the reasons for poor attendance:

1. Superintendent of Public Welfare handicapped. It is hard to look out for both white and colored children [Usually there was only one Superintendent of Public Welfare per county]
2. Inadequate school buildings: if laws were enforced, there would be no place to put the children.
3. Tenancy

Lastly she looked at the reason that children dropped out of school:

1. Parents
2. Migration
3. Demand for child labor
4. Needed at home
5. Older children drop out to work, especially boys. In many cases small children drop out because their big brothers and sisters drop out.
6. Poverty
7. Habit

The most important remedy she discussed was the enforcement of the compulsory education laws. She noted they “did not function for Negroes.”

If Mrs. Jordan wanted help from the School Board in enforcing these laws, she would have found their statements conflicted at best. The School Board admitted that the laws had not been enforced in the past, but would be in the future.

Through the indifference of the public the said law has not been enforced and many parents forgetful of the future usefulness of their own off-springs are willing to evade the intent of the law.

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278 Annie W. Holland, “Report of School Attendance September 1926-1927,” Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 8, DNE.
279 Ibid. The County Welfare Officer was the truant officer during this period of time.
280 Ibid.
281 Ibid.
282 DSBM 27 July 1922.
A few months later, the Board allowed an excuse, “When farmers are in danger of a loss of money unless perishable crops are gathered” but not if the “farmers are not going to lose crops or when children are being exploited by parents indifferent to their education.”

The Board wanted teachers to investigate each absence and report to the attendance officer and then to the School Board if the children should be excused. How well were these attendance laws enforced if a white farmer wanted his tenants’ children in his fields? Could this ruling actually limit a parent’s wish to keep their children in school?

Although teachers and principals had been empowered by the board to report truants to the Welfare Officer of Durham County, the county welfare officer was white. It was unclear how seriously he took his duties in the black community. With or

283 DSBM 3 January 1923. Mrs. Jordan, as the Jeanes teacher, would visit in the homes of her students, but both she and all teachers had very full job descriptions to add truant officer to them. The school board seemed comfortable giving them the additional responsibility.

284 DMH 6 September 1925 “Colored Pupils Not To Miss School: Barbour Tells About Crops and Says Colored Pupils Should Attend Regularly,” 6. In the fall on 1925 the Herald reported that the new superintendent L.H. Barbour explicitly told the black teachers in the meeting at the first of the school year that “they would be expected to do all in their power to make attendance at their schools as large as possible. Superintendent Barbour told the teachers that there would be no excuse for children missing school for at least five weeks after the opening.” He told them that most of the tobacco crop had all ready been picked and the cotton crop would not be ready to be picked for at least five weeks. “Therefore the colored school children should not miss any school days for the crop conditions until the cotton crop was ripe and ready to be picked.” Then the farmer’s economic interests took precedence over the students, and Mr. Barbour suggested that the black teachers “arrange ways and means so school attendance would be hurt as little as possible.” He then suggested that the teachers could start class as early as eight and end school early. Superintendent Barbour was praised by Mr. Credle as having one of “the best remedy for poor attendance. He requires all schools to open at 7:30 A.M. during the busy season. School is dismissed about 12:30 P.M. This gives the children time to get in a good half day’s work. It is a requirement that all teachers visit the patrons and tell them about the new schedules, and the success that they have had in keeping attendance determines whether or not they will be reemployed in the County.” Credle then noted that this policy is applied to both white and black rural schools. See F.W. Crede to N.C. Newbold 24 June 1925. Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder N, Box 2, DNE. Black parents seemed to have a greater commitment that some white parents to keep their children in school. See DMH 29 August 1927 “School Law Will be Enforced Soon: White People Gave Attendance Officer More Trouble Last Year Than Colored,” p 10.

285 Ibid. As early as 1920, a group of African American school patrons led by former Jeanes teacher F. T. Husband had approached the board asking for “juvenile officer to help enforce the State’s compulsory education law.” The school board told Mr. Husband they supported the idea but that was responsibility of County Superintendent of Welfare. See DSBM 7 June 1920.

286 DMH 26 April 1926 “Negro Fined for Failure to Send Children to School,” 3. This may have been noteworthy because it was a rare occurrence and other factors may have been involved. In either case, it might have had the effect of improving attendance.
without his support, Mrs. Jordon worked to improve attendance. She was hopeful that the new system of grading and promotion would encourage parents to make their children attend school. She wrote

An important improvement relating to our schools this year was the inauguration of a new system of grading and promoting the pupils upon a basis of an eight month session divided into two terms of four months each. The work was definitely outlined for each term, thus enabling the teacher to note the work of the pupils and determine whether or not they are coming up to the requirements. Making effective this promotion scheme will show parents the necessity for keeping children in school, and thus place the responsibility for non-promotion where, in large measure, it belongs.\[287\]

The conditions of the schoolhouses could discourage some parents from sending their children to school. Mrs. Holland had written that one reason parents did not enroll their children in school were the unattractive school buildings and grounds.\[288\] Superintendent Carr noted that, if a “good building is erected,” enrollment and attendance would increase.\[289\] Unfortunately, many of Durham’s schools were far below standards.

Mrs. Jordan wrote

We found many of the school houses in such poor condition that they were really unfit for use, and efforts were made to replace some of the worst ones with new buildings.

Next, Mrs. Jordan’s described her activities to encourage African American parents to organize and work to build Rosenwald schoolhouses for their children.

By explaining to the patrons in these communities the splendid offer of Mr. Rosenwald to assist them in obtaining new buildings, much interest was aroused and people willingly pledged as they were able, funds for the work. Of course it has meant hard work, many community meetings on weekdays and evenings, with quite a few educational rallies held on Sundays. At one such rally the people

\[287\] Carrie T. Jordan, “Annual Report of Rural Supervisor of Durham County Negro Schools, 1923-1924,” 30 June 1924. Special Subject File, Folder Jeanes Fund, Miscellaneous, Box 2, DNE. All of the black schools had an eight month term but two. See Report of Annie W. Holland. 18 April 1924, Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder H, Box 91, DPI. However the next year, that number was up to three. See Report of Annie W. Holland. 13 October 1924, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Division of Negro Education, Box 92, DPI
\[288\] Annie W. Holland, Report of School Attendance, September 1926-1927. Correspondence of the Director File, Folder H, Box 8, DNE.
\[289\] John Carr to W. F. Credle 21 September 1922, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.
laid on the table $163.00. As a result of theses efforts, at least four new
Rosenwald Schools with home economics departments will be built for use next
year, two such schools having been put in operation this year.²⁹⁰

Mrs. Jordan was optimistic that the four new Rosenwald schools would be
completed during 1924-1925 school year. Despite her work, the needs of the
black schools, and the support of African American patrons, only three
Rosenwald schools were completed that year.

W. F. Credle visited all four of Durham’s Rosenwald schools, including
the two new ones—Hickstown and Lyon’s Park— that would open in the fall of
1924. He inspected the site of the proposed Pearsontown School, which would be
Durham’s fifth Rosenwald school and the second four-teacher school built for the
black community.²⁹¹ The sixth Rosenwald school would be the Union School.
After coming to three Board meetings²⁹² and raising $200.00,²⁹³ the patrons of
this school would have a one-room Rosenwald School erected for their
children.²⁹⁴ The last school approved and the seventh Rosenwald school in the
county, was the Hampton School. No patrons from this school were ever recorded
as petitioning the School Board. However, the Hampton community raised
$500.00 for their new two-teacher school, more than the required amount.²⁹⁵ The

30 June 1924. Special Subject File, Folder Jeanes Fund Miscellaneous, Box 2, DNE.
²⁹¹ DMH 17 May 1923, “Rosenwald Fund Officer Here,” 12.
²⁹² DSBM 2 October, 8 October, and 16 October 1922.
²⁹³ F. W. Credle to S. L. Smith, 20 November 1923, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File,
Folder Julius Rosenwald Fund, Box 86, DPI.
²⁹⁴ DSBM 5 November 1923. Interestingly, the minutes stated if the community could not come up with the
money, the board would still build a school
²⁹⁵ DSBM 5 May 1924. And “Report of the North Carolina 1923-1925 Budget of the Julius Rosenwald
Fund, July 21 1924,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder C, Box 91 DPI
Pearsontown, Union, and Hampton Schools would be completed over the summer. 296

Other African American school patrons continued to ask for new Rosenwald schools: Stagville, 297 Page, 298 Mill Grove, 299 and Bragtown. 300 Even though the Bragtown Colored School was meeting in a church, 301 only Mill Grove 302 and Lillian 303 would get new buildings during the next year, making them the eighth and ninth Rosenwald Schools.

Durham County’s biggest black school was not a Rosenwald School. The East Durham Colored School had an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-six students and was frequently overcrowded. 304 A delegation of parents met with the School Board asking for a new building. East Durham’s principal stated that “a five-room building with domestic science equipment was needed at the school and the old building should be converted into an auditorium.” 305 With the support of the East Durham committee, Superintendent Carr recommended that a

296 Report of the North Carolina 1923-1925, Budget of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 21 July 1924, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder C, Box 91 DPI.
297 John Carr, November, 1923, Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Durham 1921-1924, Box 3, DPI The Stagville School was owned by Bereham Cameron and the Rosenwald Fund required that the school board own the land before it would grant money. The board began a long negotiation to obtain this land with the Cameron estate during Mrs. Jordan’s first year. DSBM 3 March 1924, 5 May 1924. The Stagville School was not rebuilt as a Rosenwald School. In 1930, the school was still in the log cabin furnished by the Cameron family. See DSBM 16 January 1930. See Appendix 14 for a picture of the Stagville School, the last log cabin school in Durham County.
298 DSBM 3 March 1924.
299 DSBM 5 May 1924.
301 Ibid.
302 DSBM 21 June 1924 The board opened bids for three teacher school for Mill Grove.
303 DSBM 8 July 1921. Patrons from the Lillian School had petitioned the board in 8 July 1921.
305 DSBM 4 February 1924.
Rosenwald be built and instructed the patrons to raise $500.00.\textsuperscript{306} This school was not built by the county. The Rosenwald Fund may have felt it was too urban to be considered, and might have known of the upcoming annexation by the city schools.

While the majority of the non-Rosenwald schoolhouses were, in Mrs. Jordan’s words, “really unfit for use,” even the new Rosenwald schools quickly became overcrowded. The enrollment for the black schools for the school year 1923-1924 was 1,776 students, making up 37\% of the total county enrolment.\textsuperscript{307} Durham was growing rapidly. The Rosenwald schools at Hickstown and Walltown needed additional classrooms even though they were new.\textsuperscript{308}

During Mrs. Jordan’s next year as Jeanes supervisor, the county continued to grow. The \textit{Durham Morning Herald} reported “Large enrollment expected in Durham Schools… all schools have crowded conditions.”\textsuperscript{309} The white schools usually opened a week before the black schools. The paper reported the Hampton School was not opening because the desks had not arrived and that the South Lowell Colored School was not opening due to lack of a teacher.\textsuperscript{310} In a separate article, the paper boasted about the nine Rosenwald schools saying they were “all … standard colored schools.”\textsuperscript{311}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{306}] Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{307}] DMH 15 January 1923 “Enrolment in Durham County Schools Approximately 6,500,” 6.
\item[\textsuperscript{308}] DSBM 23 July 1924. The board said they didn’t have money to add a new room, but the West Durham committee offered to pay for one room at Hickstown if the Rosenwald Fund would not. The Rosenwald Fund did pay for new classrooms at Hickstown and Walltown in the 1924-1925 budgets. See \textit{Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card Database}., Fisk University, 2001, 1 September 2009. http://rosenwald.fisk.edu/?module=search.
\item[\textsuperscript{309}] DMN 31 August 1924.”Large Enrollment Expected in Durham Schools,” 11. The problem was “this school is a long way in the county making it hard to secure a good teacher.”
\item[\textsuperscript{310}] DSBM 1 August 1927. The county decided to build a teacherage for Mangum Township High School when the teachers could not find suitable housing, earlier teacherages at been built for the white Farm Live Schools.
\item[\textsuperscript{311}] DMH 7 September 1924. “Big Increase In Enrollment Expected in County,” 6.
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\end{footnotesize}
The Department of Negro Education agreed that Durham’s black schools were improving. Writing about the three new schools and the additions to Hickstown and Walltown, Mr. Credle wrote:

The five Durham County schools are most excellent. The Hickstown and Walltown projects are additions to Rosenwald Schools. These are quite well placed in accordance with suggestions made by you when you were in the County a year or so ago. Incidentally, Mr. Carr is away on a year’s leave of absence but his successor [Mr. Frank Martin] is fully as interested in the colored schools. Durham County spent all of its Rosenwald appropriations for equipment and all of the buildings are well supplied with industrial equipment and very fine school furniture. 312

Mrs. Jordan and the black community continued to work for new schools and two more Rosenwald schools, Rocky Knoll, 313 and Sylvan 314 would be completed as the tenth and eleventh Rosenwald schools. During her last spring as Jeanes supervisor, Mrs. Jordan worked on for four more Rosenwald schools in Bahama, 315 Peaksville, 316 Russell, 317 and

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312 W. F. Credle to S. L. Smith 20 September 1924. Correspondence of the Director File. Folder Inspections Report, Box 15. DNE. During this time, Frank M. Martin the city superintendent of schools was also the acting superintendent of the county schools as John Carr was on leave of absence to attend Columbia University. While this arrangement did not last, perhaps one benefit of it was Mr. Martin’s willing to give the county schools the city’s surplus. The Durham Morning Herald reported. “Cooking utensils that have long occupied positions on the shelves in the city elementary schools, some of which have rusted from disuse, have been resurrected from their hiding places and will again be pressed into service. This time the colored school children in the 8 Rosenwald schools of the county will cook many delectable and appetizing things to eat, being used in the domestic science department of those schools. Until a few years ago domestic science was taught in the elementary schools of the city. With the addition of the seventh grade to the high school the course was discontinued. ...The colored schools were found to be in need of cooking utensils with the result that instructions were issued by Frank M. Martin, schools superintendent, for all of them to be handed over to the Rosenwald schools for use in the domestic science department. According to Mr. Martin, many of the utensils were rusty and were thrown away. Others, however, with a little polishing up, will be serviceable and it was these that were given to the schools.” This might be one of the reasons Mr. Credle thought the schools were so well equipped! DMH 17 September 1924 “Colored Schools Are Given Pans: Cooking Utensils Given to County Rosenwald Schools for Use,” 3.

313 DSBM 6 June 1925, 6 September 1925 and W. F. Credle to L. H. Barbour 4 September 1925 Box 2, Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder B, DNE.

314 DSBM 25 August 1925 and 6 September 1925. The patrons of the Sylvan Colored School came to the board with offers of money and materials for a new Rosenwald School and the board agreed to apply for the grant and build a school.

315 DSBM 3 May 1926. Woods and Bahama patrons turned in $300 each for their Rosenwald School. See DMH 6 April 1926.

316 Ibid.

317 Ibid. The Russell School is only surviving Rosenwald School. It sits near the junction of St Mary’s and Guess Road. It is now part of the Cain’s Chapel Baptist Church. See Appendix 16.
Woods. They would be completed over the summer of 1926. The Durham Morning Herald boasted that “when these schools are completed there will remain only four of the old type school: Page, South Lowell, Chandler, and Stagville.”

While the city was building modern brick schools for both the black and white students, while the county was consolidating its white schools and building large brick buildings for white students, the county African American community knew that their one story frame Rosenwald schools were the best they could get under this separate and unequal system. Mrs. Jordan wrote that

Pictures of Mr. Rosenwald were made available by the Rosenwald Fund at the nominal cost of $1.50 each, and one of these now hang in every Rosenwald School in the county, a token of the esteem in which he is held by both patrons and pupils.

Mr. Rosenwald was held in esteem, but it was the African American communities that pushed the Board, raised matching grants, and often contributed labor these schools. Mrs. Jordan reported that they raised $1,500.00 for the schools in 1923-1924. She would use these fundraising meetings and rallies to improve the general community. She wrote:

The meetings held in this connection served a dual purpose, securing new buildings, and giving opportunity to stress important matters pertaining to

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318 Ibid.
319 DMH 4 April 1926, “Improved Colored Schools In County are Made Possible by the Rosenwald Foundation,” 8
320 Ibid. The paper does not mention the Barbee’s and Mangum’s Chapel Schools. Of the listed schools only Page would be rebuilt as a Rosenwald schools. 2 September 1929. It would be one of the last Rosenwald Schools in Durham built after its “old type” building was destroyed by a windstorm. Other schools will receive additions and the Pearsontown school was rebuilt after it burned down in 1930. See Appendix 17 for monies spent on each Rosenwald school and other information from the Fisk Rosenwald Database and Appendix 18 for pictures of some of Durham’s Rosenwald schools.
education and home making. The large attendance on these occasions manifested the ever increasing interest of parents in the education of their children.\textsuperscript{323}

Mrs. Jordan mentions industrial work, referring to it as “homemaking.” She saw the industrial subjects like cooking, sewing and canning as way African American students could improve their own lives rather than simply learning to be maids and cooks for whites.

Through the organization and reorganization of Betterment Leagues, P.T.A.’s and other Community Meetings many improvements have been made, such as painting of buildings, placing of new window shades, purchasing organs and other special equipment for classroom use.\textsuperscript{324}

Mrs. Jordan reported how she and all the teachers worked to secure more books for the schools.

One of the pressing needs of Negro Schools is suitable books for general reading. To secure these books is one of the tasks set for the next year. Twenty-five dollars awarded the Durham County unit for one hundred per cent registration at the [North Carolina] Teachers’ Association will serve as the nucleus of the fund which we hope to raise for this purpose.\textsuperscript{325}

Mrs. Jordan began a new tradition for the Durham County African American schools: a county-wide commencement. The county commencements were a time that the black community could gather and celebrate. They provided “a public voice for making moral and political claims on the rest of society,” Leloudis wrote in \textit{Schooling the New South}. “This they seem to exclaim, is how the world should be.”\textsuperscript{326} Valinda W. Littlefield wrote that the commencements “demonstrated the ability to overcome great odds with little financial and material support from the local and state educational establishments,” and were a way to prove how much African Americans valued education. She noted that academic achievement was proof to both the black and white communities of black

\textsuperscript{323} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{325} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{326} Leloudis, \textit{Schooling the New South}, page 206.
potential and equality. 327 Thousands of blacks gathering to celebrate the achievements of their children was an empowering event.

In order to create a wider community interest in education, as a climax to Group Center Rallies, a county-wide Commencement was undertaken instead of the usual Durham Township Commencement. The Commencement was held at the Durham State Normal School, Friday, April 18, 1924, and in spite of the downpour of rain, the auditorium of the school was filled to its capacity. The program rendered was very satisfactory and encouraging to patrons. Very helpful addresses were delivered by Mrs. Annie W. Holland, State Supervisor of Elementary Schools, Superintendent J. W. Carr, and Dr. James E. Shepard, Principal of the State Normal School. 328

To earn a place at the County Commencement, students had to win their Group Center Rallies. Mrs. Jordan described them like this:

Group Center Rallies, which served as preliminaries for the County Commencements were held in the schools which were selected for demonstration work during the year. The large crowds which filled buildings to overflowing attested the growing interest in education. The programs presented by the schools represented were unusually good. The exhibits, which were numerous and varied were done during the year, and represented every subject taught. 329

The winners from each of these rallies would compete for county-wide honors. Her choice of having the final rally at Durham State Normal School was another way to expose the best and the brightest of the county students to the world of higher education and to encourage them to believe that they could achieve great things. The county commencement also brought white Durham’s attention to the achievements of these African American students. The winners had their names printed in the Durham Morning Herald. Parents, who had worked long and hard to improve their schools, were probably pleased that the paper named the children who won the various contests. The students competed in arithmetic, singing, dramatization, story-telling, spelling and grammar

327 Littlefield, I Am Only One, 50.
329 Ibid.
recitation contests. There were also industrial and literary exhibits that Mrs. Holland declared outstanding. The only non-academic contest mentioned was biscuit making.

The Herald published five articles in the month of April about the commencements. This positive coverage of the African American community was unprecedented. One of the articles described the event.

Twenty-two schools will compete in the literary and athletic events for county honors and approximately 1,500 negroes are expected to attend the meet. The schools taking part in the contest will represent approximately 2,000 colored pupils of the county.” A literary event will begin [the day] and during morning the first few feature will run concurrently in order to finish in time for the track features in the afternoon. Only survivals of the group center contest throughout the county will enter the meet. Prizes will be awarded winners of first place. Numbers of enthusiastic supports will be present to encourage their school representatives. The managing marshals for the occasion will be A. S. Hunter, chief H. R. Holt, J. Lee White, and F. T. Husband. Miss Nell Hunter will direct all of the singing. The committee on arrangements is composed of Mrs. E. C. Connick, Mr. Cora Russell and Mattie L. Y. Woodward. Mrs. C.T. Jordan and Mattie N. Day will manage all contests.

All three of Durham’s Jeanes teachers were involved. Mr. Husband served as a marshal, and Miss Day helped Mrs. Jordan supervise the contests. The musical presentations were led by Mrs. Nell Hunter, “Mutual’s company soprano,” who had a national reputation and would one day sing at the White House for the King and Queen of England. Mrs. Hunter may have led the assembly in singing “Lift Every Voice and

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330 “Report of Annie W. Holland, April 1924,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder H, Box 91, DPI.
331 DMH 20 April 1924, “Many Durham County Negroes in Attendance at School Exercises,” 8.
332 DMH 11 April 1924, “Groups Rallies at County Schools,” 4. DMH 16 April 1924. “Commencement of County Negro Schools, 9. DMH 18 April 1924 “Negro Schools of Durham County To Hold Commencement of Friday” page 9. DMH 19 April 1924 “Hundreds Are Preparing for Negro School Contest Here,” 25. DMH 20 April 1924 “Many Durham County Negroes in Attendance at School Exercises,” 8. One of the great losses in Durham’s history was the loss of the archive record of the Carolina Times, the African American newspaper, before 1939. The articles of the county commencements in the Times would have been fascinating to read and to compare to those of the Herald.
334 DMH 18 April 1924, “Negro Schools of Durham County To Hold Commencement of Friday,” 9.
335 Weaver, Black Business of the New South, 257.
336 Anderson, Durham County, 377. Nell Hunter would become the assistant director of the Federal Music Project of the WPA in North Carolina and in 1939, she and her choir would sing at the White House before
Sing,” the Negro National Hymn, as well as the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “Onward Christian Soldiers.”337 The paper viewed the day as very successful and even commented on the support the African American community exhibited for improvements in their schools.338

The full day’s activities were to include a picnic on the grounds and field events in the afternoon, but it seemed the rain canceled those events. Even with rain, the day was a huge success. The Herald praised Mrs. Jordan for her work, and gave her the title of “Mrs.”—a sign of respect it rarely gave a black woman. It reported:

The success of the commencement is due to the untiring efforts and ingenuity of the county supervisor Mrs. C. T. Jordan and with the cooperation of her staff of teachers. Superintendent of Schools John W. Carr, Jr. was present and expressed himself as being well pleased with the commencement and the work of the year. He said he hoped the commencement will become an annual feature with the county schools.

Superintendent Carr and Carrie T. Jordan, director of colored school work, at the close of the school year, expressed themselves as gratified with the showing made during the past year and the commendable increase in efficiency and enrollment.339

After the great success of the first county-wide commencements, Mrs. Jordan made them an annual event. She would use the same format each year, with Group Center competitions leading to winners competing at Durham State Normal School for the County Commencement. Each year the crowds grew as thousands of people attended both events.340 The Herald continued to print the names of the winners of the contests.

One year, along with individual prizes given to students, prizes of books, dictionaries, Britain’s King George and Queen Elizabeth. Her husband, Dr. A. S. Hunter, was the chief marshal for the commencement. Dr. Hunter served as principal of East Durham Graded School. See DSBM 2 September 1918. Dr. Hunter had conducted a Moonlight School at the East Durham Colored School. See DSBM 19 February 1921. Jean Anderson noted that Dr. A. S. Hunter was Durham physician. See Durham County, 377. It is unclear if Dr. Hunter practiced as a physician in addition to being an educator.

337 DMH 18 April 1924, “Negro Schools of Durham County To Hold Commencement of Friday,” 9. While the program listed some songs, others were not named.
338 DMH 20 April 1924, “Many Durham County Negroes in Attendance at School Exercises,” 8.
339 Ibid.
340 DMH 19 April 1925, “Hundreds Are Preparing for Negro School Contest Here,” 25
maps and pictures were awarded to the top performing schools.\textsuperscript{341} Mrs. Jordan continued to find speakers that would inspire and motivate such as W. C. Credle, Supervisor of Julius Rosenwald Fund in North Carolina;\textsuperscript{342} Rev. F. L. McDowell, pastor of White Rock Baptist Church;\textsuperscript{343} Rev. W. S. Ravnal of Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro;\textsuperscript{344} C. B. Curley\textsuperscript{345} and C.C. Spaulding of the N C Mutual Insurance Company. The only woman speaker, besides Mrs. Holland, was Mrs. M. N. Hall. The Herald described her as graduating “about 50 years ago from Strait University [Straight University] in New Orleans” and noted that she had “devoted her life to the uplifting and improvement of her race.”\textsuperscript{346}

For all the lives that Mrs. Jordan touched and her many achievements, Mr. Newbold’s response was very brief. He may have been a man of few words, but his response to Mrs. Jordan’s five page single-spaced report was two sentences. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
I have read your annual report with great interest, and it convinces me that you are doing some very definite organizing in Durham County. You are going about it in a very intelligent manner, and I am led to believe that in a very few years the results will be encouraging to you and other officials in the county.\textsuperscript{347}
\end{quote}

Mr. Newbold’s terse response did not seem to dampen Mrs. Jordan’s effort to work to improve the schools. The next year, perhaps working with Miss Day, she helped

\begin{footnotes}
\item[342] DMH 24 April 1925, “Negro Schools to Hold Annual Commencement At State Normal School Through Day On Friday,” 9
\item[343] DMH 27 April 1925, “Barbee’s Chapel and Rocky Knoll Tie for first Place in Meet of Negro Schools,” 7. Reverend McDowell’s talk was described in the Herald: “In his talk he appealed to the negroes to give higher education the uppermost consideration, and urged that all continue going to school as long as there was a possibility.”
\item[345] DMH 1 April 1926, “Rocky Knoll Won in Four Contests:” Colored Schools Held Interesting Group Center Meeting Tuesday,” 11.
\item[346] DMH 10 April 1926, “Final Group Rally Held in East Durham,” 3.
\item[347] N. C. Newbold to Carrie T. Jordan, 12 June 1924. Special Subject File, Folder N, Box 2, DNE.
\end{footnotes}
to equip the domestic science rooms of the new Rosenwald Schools by raising $1,908.00 for kitchen equipment, more than any Jeanes teacher in North Carolina.  

Besides supporting academics and fundraising, a Jeanes teacher was concerned with the health of her community and part of Mrs. Jordan’s salary came from the State Health Department. Jean Anderson, in *Durham County*, paints a grim picture of the health of African Americans in Durham in the 1920s: almost one third of all black babies died; sixty-four percent of blacks died before the age of forty; and fewer than twelve percent of blacks lived past the age of sixty. Even the Annual Report of the Durham Department of Health reported “The white death rate of ten point seven is considered quite satisfying, but the colored rate of twenty-two is indeed a very bad situation.” As the Jeanes teacher, Mrs. Jordan would have worked on Durham’s Negro Health Week under North Carolina Mutual’s sponsorship. Every year, black Durham celebrated Negro Health Week with a large parade. Mrs. Jordan may have worked with the students and

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348 Annie W. Holland to F. W. Credle. 11 September 1925. Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder H, Box 2, DNE. Mrs. Holland wrote Mr. Credle to tell him that the Jeanes supervisors had pledged to put on a drive to equip the kitchens in Rosenwald schools. Mrs. Jordan raised more than any other supervisor. Perhaps some of Durham’s black businesses had helped her raise this large amount. In today’s dollars the amount would be $23,479.00 See *Inflation Calculator*, U. S. Bureau of Statistics, 12 September 2009 <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>

349 Jeanes Supervising Teachers, Special Subject File, Folder 1903-1932, Box 15, DNE.


352 DMH 10 April 1926, “Negro Health Week Given A Demonstration.” 2. “Imposing automobile parade through the city yesterday afternoon. Health Week is Being Observed Here by the Negroes In a Most Intelligent and Impressive Manner. 40-50 automobiles, band, placards read: Take Care of Your Health Be Clean, Be Careful, Be Cheerful: Clean Your Teeth and Wash Your Mouth, Wash Your Feet, Watch your Diet, Eat Proper Food, Don’t Use Physics, Health Is Wealth, Keep Well Beats Get Well, Let a Lot of Sunshine In …many others of similar nature in regard to health and the way to keep healthy. The health propaganda for the past week, which has been carried on under the supervising of NC Mutual Life Insurance, working with Tuskegee Institute and the Health Department of the US government.” National Negro Health Week started not only to improve black health, but to insure white health. “The United States Public Health Service joined the National Red Cross and other black groups in staging health campaigns in black communities throughout the North and South. Health education, hygiene, and sanitation were their focus as they spread the “gospel of health” to black Americans. The efforts of black club women insured the interest and cooperation of both rural and urban blacks. In the early 1930s, with the financial
teachers at East Durham Colored School on a health play that was presented at one of the County Commencements. One year, part of Mrs. Jordan’s salary also came from the State Tuberculosis Association, and she probably worked with Mrs. Pearl Henderson, the black county visiting nurse, to identify cases early so treatment could begin as soon as possible.

Helping the sick, working with teachers, raising money, showcasing black achievement, and generally improving the educational environment, Mrs. Jordan fulfilled the Jeanes motto of “doing the next needed thing.” By all accounts Mrs. Jordan was an excellent Jeanes teacher, well respected by both by the black and white communities, her teachers, and Superintendents Carr, Martin, and Barbour. Although Mrs. Jordan was offered a contract for the 1926-1927 school year she did not accept it. By the time she left, the black school system was much improved. Teacher qualifications had been raised, attendance was increased, and seven new Rosenwald schools had opened, existing ones had been expanded, and four more would be completed for the fall of 1926. While it is a mystery why such a successful Jeanes teacher would leave, Mrs. Jordan would be

Referencing Susan Lynn Smith’s Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women’s Health Activism in 1890-1950, p. 71-72. The Herald’s use of the word propaganda was appropriate. Instead of wanting to promote African American health, the white funders were more concerned with preventing diseases from reaching the white community.
355 DMH 24 April 1925, “Negro Schools to Hold Annual commencement At State Normal School Through Day Friday,” 9 “This promises to be one of the enjoyable as well as most instructive features of the entire program for every line of it will be fraught with health thought’s and suggestions.”
354 Jeanes Paper, untilted, 9 April 1925, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Division of Negro Education, 1924-1925, Box 94, DPI.
356 DSBM April 6 1926. Mrs. Estell Tonkins was hired, replacing Miss Mattie Day, as the county supervisor of Home Economics.
replaced by another extremely qualified woman with connections to Durham Normal School, Mrs. Gertrude Taylor.

In September 1926, Mrs. Gertrude Tandy Taylor started work as the new Jeanes teacher for Durham County at the age of twenty-six.\textsuperscript{358} She had been a teacher working in the Mill Grove Colored School before her promotion.\textsuperscript{359} Mrs. Taylor was a graduate of Livingstone College. She would earn a B.S. in Education from Ohio State University and an M.A. from the University of Michigan.\textsuperscript{360} Mrs. Taylor’s husband, Dr. James T. Taylor, taught at Durham Normal School from 1926 to 1960.\textsuperscript{361} Mrs. Taylor would work as the Durham Jeanes teacher for almost twenty years, under Superintendent Barbour, returning to teaching when she left that position.\textsuperscript{362}

The archival records for Mrs. Taylor’s first years as the Jeanes teacher are as scant as those of Miss Day. Unlike Miss Day, Mrs. Taylor was not mentioned by name in the Durham School Board minutes.

\textsuperscript{358} DSBM 6 April 1926. Mrs. Taylor was born in Indiana and attended public school in Louisville, Kentucky. See “Funeral Program, Mrs. Gertrude Tandy Taylor, St. Titus’ P.E. Church, 27 January 1954.” See Appendix 19 for a picture of Mrs. Taylor from the Funeral Program.

\textsuperscript{359} “Jeanes Teacher Aid Applications”, Series 4, Negro Rural School Fund, 1908-1937, File 10, “Missouri-North Carolina-Oklahoma,” Box 23, SEFR.

\textsuperscript{360} “Funeral Program, Mrs. Gertrude Tandy Taylor, St. Titus’ P.E. Church, 27 January 1954.” Mrs. Taylor did post graduate work at the University of Saltillo in Mexico and the University of California at Berkeley. The education building, the Taylor Education Building, was named for her husband, Dr. Taylor who taught for 33 years at North Carolina Central University. See “History of NCCU School of Education,” NCCU School of Education, 10 September 2000 <http://web.nccu.edu/soe/about/AboutUs_index.htm> Mr. André Vann, the NCCU archivist provided this information for me.

\textsuperscript{361} Ibid. Dr. Taylor worked at NCCU from 1926 to 1960. He led the fight to equalize the salaries of black and white teachers and held several offices in the North Carolina Teachers Association including that of President. He ran for the Durham City council in 1957 and was one of the founders of the Durham Committee for Negro Affairs--now the Committee for the Affairs Black People. After retiring from NCCU, he was appointed by Governor Terry Sanford to the Good Neighbor Council and served as its second chairman. See The Baltimore Afro-American, 7 April 1907, “Service for Dr. Taylor, Live Long NCCU Worker,” page 21. Copy of paper accessed from <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=1715&date=19700407&id=LWkbAAAAIBAJ&sjid=DCADAA AIBAJ&pg=3624,8444222> 10 September 2009. Dr. Taylor was a supported of the NAACP see Brown, Upbuilding Black Durham, 319.

\textsuperscript{362} “Funeral Program, Mrs. Gertrude Tandy Taylor, St. Titus’ P.E. Church, 27 January 1954.” She would teach at Little River School from 1950 until her death on January 24, 1954. She had no children and was survived by her husband.
It is known that a group of African American teachers approached the School Board in the beginning of Mrs. Taylor’s first year and asked the board to pay their membership fees to the North Carolina Teacher’s Association. The Board was paying for the white teachers’ memberships in the North Carolina Education Association and the black teachers wanted equal treatment. Superintendent Barbour was instructed by the Board to tell the black teachers that it was “not a good policy to pay these dues,” and to tell the white teachers that they would no longer get any assistance.\footnote{DSBM 1 November 1926.}

Was Mrs. Taylor one of the teachers who approached the Board? She, and probably her husband, were members of the North Carolina Teacher’s Association.\footnote{Carrie T. Jordan, “Annual Report of Rural Supervisor of Durham County Negro Schools, 1923-1924,” 30 June 1924. Special Subject File, Folder Jeanes Fund, Miscellaneous, Box 2, DNE. Mrs. Jordan reported 100% of her teachers were members of the North Carolina Teachers’ Association. For Mr. Jordan’s involvement, see footnote 109.} By publicly supporting her teachers, Mrs. Taylor might alienate the School Board. By not, she might loose the respect of some of her teachers.

From Mrs. Holland’s report, it seems that Mrs. Taylor had some difficulty during her first year. In February, Mrs. Holland wrote that:

\begin{quote}
she visited Superintendent Barbour and the Jeanes supervisor on official business. Helped her with her meetings by discussing and demonstrating teaching devices relative to all grade work…I saw the supervisor to discuss certain problems pertaining to the work in general.\footnote{“Annie W. Holland Report. February 1, 1927,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File Folder Division of Negro Education, Folder H, Box 101, DPI.}
\end{quote}

At the same time, the new county Home Economic Supervisor, Miss Estelle Tonkins, who replaced Miss Day,\footnote{Miss Mattie Day is not listed in the 1926 Durham City Directory, nor listed in the North Carolina Cemetery Census, although it does not cover the entire state. What became of Miss Day is unknown.} was making an excellent start. During her first year in Durham, Miss Tonkins taught a class at the Conference of Jeanes Teachers of North Carolina. Her topic was “Home Economics for the elementary school not having a
regular Home Economics teacher.”  

In addition to Mrs. Jordan and Miss Tonkins, three full-time Domestic Science teachers began work in September 1926. These women worked two days a week in each of the Rosenwald Schools, providing most students with at least two days of instruction. Theirs was the first program of its kind in the state with two thirds of the money coming from the Department of Public Instruction and the county paying the remainder.  

The innovative program caught the attention of Alfred K. Stern, the director of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He wrote Superintendent Barbour:

I was glad of the opportunity to see at first hand the wonderful progress which North Carolina is making in Negro education, and especially Durham County. But the most encouraging feature of this great work which you are so ably helping to develop is the fact that you feel that you are only “scratching the surface.” Of course, any work of this magnitude will naturally move slowly. But with the fine spirit which you have, North Carolina will continue to be a pace-setter, and particularly Durham County.

After praising Superintendent Barbour, Mr. Stern focused on his main topic. He wanted Durham County to offer a comparable vocational program for boys like the girls’ domestic science program. He wrote:

I hope that you will be able to put into effect very soon a program in the Negro rural schools for vocational training for boys. You have made the finest provision for home economic training for girls. I can personally vouch for this, after having eaten the delicious luncheon which was served in one of your schools. But I am particularly interested in the outcome of your efforts to provide vocational training for boys, as what

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367 “Contributions From the Group Conference of Jeanes Supervisors School Year 1926-1927,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Division of Negro Education, Box 101, DPI. A copy of her lecture was included in the file. “Beginning in 4th grade simple food preparation and housewifery should be the topics: What foods are needed by children in our grade so that we may grow strong? Sewing projects should be simple projects adapted to the interest and needs of children. Housewifery lessons should consist of teaching the care of the bedroom, table settings, careful sweeping and dusting….doing this in the classroom is a “wonderful opportunity for the carrying out of this work.”

368 DMH 29 August 1926, “Negro Girls to Get Household Arts Work: Three Domestic Science Teachers for Negro Schools,” 6. This was not mentioned in the school board minutes.

369 Alfred K. Stern to L.H. Barbour 4 January 1927, Correspondent of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder H, Box 3, DNE. North Carolina’s reputation as the leader in black education was widespread. Mr. W. H. Richards in American Review of Reviews “North Carolina has turned its Negro ‘problem’ into a program—a program of education, health, and public welfare.” See W. H. Richards to Josephus Daniels W. H. Richards. 9 February 1927 General Correspondence of the Director File, Folder D, Box 8, DNE. Note: Alfred K. Stern was not only the director of the Rosenwald Fund, he was Mr. Rosenwald’s son in law. See Anderson, Dangerous Donations, 197.
you do in this direction will, I believe, set an example not only in North Carolina, but in the entire South. Please let me hear from you about your progress along this line.\textsuperscript{370}

The Rosenwald Fund made an offer to help pay for vocational education for boys. S. L. Smith, Field Agent for the Rosenwald Fund, wrote the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. Allen, and offered funds to school systems willing
to erect shop buildings according to the plans and specifications furnished by or approved by the Fund, purchase an ample supply of tools, and hire a trained teacher.\textsuperscript{371}

Superintendent Barbour agreed to start vocational training classes for boys with additional monies from the North Carolina Vocational Education Division.\textsuperscript{372}

Not everyone was supportive of this new emphasis on vocational training. The leading advocate for industrial or vocational education for blacks, Dr. Booker T. Washington had died in 1915, and by the 1920’s the majority of African American leaders favored the same academic instruction for both black and white students, moving to the position held by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dr. Carter G. Woodson. It was clear that while southern school administrations supported the concept of industrial education, they would not fund the more expensive classrooms and teachers needed to implement it on their own.\textsuperscript{373} It was the northern philanthropic foundations that kept the idea alive and provided the funds to push the white school officials to continue to offer this type courses. Mr. W. A. Robinson, North Carolina’s Superintendent for Negro High Schools in the Division of Negro Education, emphasized the need for high schools. Mr. Roberson was Dr. Shepard’s stepson and President of the National Association of Teachers in

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\textsuperscript{370} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{371} T.A. Allen to S. L. Smith 7 May 1927. Correspondence of the Superintendent of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder S. L. Smith, Box 3, DNE.
\textsuperscript{372} F. W. Credle to S.L. Smith, 25 January 1927, Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder S.L. Smith, Box 3, DNE.
\textsuperscript{373} Fairclough, \textit{A Class of Their Own}, 303.
Colored Schools. Mr. Robinson wrote to Mr. Stern pointing out the inherent inequality of limiting the educational opportunities for African Americans and put a patriotic spin to it. He also noted that the goals of industrial education were not and could not be met in small rural schools. Mr. Robinson wrote:

Negroes have not have as yet been able to bring the impact of their intelligence to bear upon the economic life of America and must fill jobs that could be filled as well by persons of much lower intellectual ability, thereby wasting a large amount of American’s intellectual energy.

If you will allow me to differ with you in the matter I would express this opinion that, in view of the present social situation of the Negro people, which we will all admit is a great improvement over his situation twenty or even ten years ago we would hardly be justified in the South in an effort to perpetuate the present industrial, economic and social status of any group in wholesale way by establishing a system of education definitely looking toward an industrial cast system of any group of people.

Would it not be more in keeping with American ideals of democracy and human justice to put into play certain influences which would tend to equalize economic and industrial opportunity rather than merely to admit the existence of an unjust, un-American situation and provide for its permanence?

May I say one further word to the effect that I am not convinced that the anemic type of industrial work done in the small schools will make the children any more capable of taking a more profitable place even in the present industrial system. It will however, prevent the child from profiting by the very short time that he has for learning the rudiments of reading, writing, and figuring.375

At the end of his letter, Mr. Robinson asked Mr. Stern to join the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

Mr. Stern wrote back to Mr. Robinson, mentioning the new Durham program.

When I spoke of industrial or vocational training for Negro children, I was thinking mainly of the 68% of all the [black] school children in North Carolina who are in the first

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375 W. A. Robinson to A. K Stern, 17 January 1927, Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder R, Box 3, DNE. W. A. Robinson was hired by Mr. Newbold to be the Supervisor of Black High Schools from 1921-1928. In 1924, as the secretary of the black teachers organization he wrote: “There is upon the grounds of the State Capital a monument erected by the white school children of North Carolina to the memory of Governor Charles Brantley Aycock. In spite the dept which our race owes to Governor Aycock and others like him, the Negro children have had no part in the memorial. I wish therefore to recommend to this Body the advisability of seeking permission to place metal doors of appropriate beauty and design on the North entrance o the Capital and inscribing these doors with some of the deathless sayings of that great North Carolinian about the Negro people and their education. If permission is granted, the money for these doors can easily be collected from the hundreds of thousands of Negro child children in our state. Nothing seems to me could be more effective in reminding the legislators of today of what great sons of this State of other days have though of North Carolina’s obligations to the Negro people. See “Annual Report of the Corresponding Secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Association,” General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder R, Box 92. The NCTA reaction to Mr. Robinson’s proposal was not found, and the proposed doors were not added to the Capital.
three grades. Manual training, as was brought out in the State Agent’s [Mr. Newbold’s] meeting, is a real factor in keeping these children at school to continue into higher grades. I do not mean to infer that such training should necessarily be restricted to the lower grades.

I hardly agree with you that any instruction should be given by trained teachers. A well worked out plan, such as County Superintendent Barbour, of Durham County, is trying to develop, whereby a trained instructor will make a tour of a number of schools, spending part of a day at each one, to give vocational instruction to boys, is the type of instruction I had in mind. A similar plan is now being carried on in home economics for girls and certainly the domestic science training for girls has been most effective and valuable.

I realize that there are good reasons for not having developed more vocational training for the boys. Some of them are the fact that the teachers in the lower grades are practically all women, who have either no training in boys’ work or are not qualified for it. They are of course well qualified to teach home economics for the girls. It is difficult for the States to pay a salary necessary to obtain well trained men for vocational training. Besides the kind of equipment required for carpentry and metal work for boys does not lend itself as well as home economics to such a type of room as the industrial room of the Rosenwald School.

It seems to me, one of the finest endowments which our educational systems can provide for any young person is to equip him to best face actual conditions of life. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I sent to County S. Barbour…I will appreciate your encouraging him as well as any similar effort for the proper type of vocational training.

As Mr. Robinson requested, Mr. Stern joined the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. However, he did not seem concerned with wasting America’s intellectual energy. By encouraging students to accept the “actual conditions of life,” he appeared to condone limited opportunities for all African American students.

Mr. Credle, Mr. Robinson’s coworker, dismissed Mr. Robinson’s concerns. He wrote to Mr. Stern:

I suppose there are at least one hundred times as many white children in North Carolina taking home economics and vocational subjects as there are colored children, and seriously I have never detected any earnest effort on the part of those in authority to over-industrialize the curriculum in the Negro schools. Any effort that is being made to put a little industrial work should be highly appreciated rather than resented.

How did Mrs. Taylor react to these debates? She may have agreed with Mr. Robinson, believing black schools should concentrate on fundamental skills while

376 A. K Stern to W. A. Robinson, 25 January 1927, Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder R, Box 3, DNE.
377 F. W. Credle to A. K Stern, 1 February 1927, Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder S, Box 3, DNE. Mr. Credle wanted to limit Latin to two year in white and black high school, and use those years for the “teaching of scientific subjects, among which can be the industrial arts and home economics.
providing academic opportunities for students who were able. Yet, Jeanes teachers often viewed industrial education as a way to improve the daily lives of their students. Pearl L. Byrd wrote a “Suggestive Outline for Jeanes Teachers in North Carolina,” noting their focus on industrial education.

Industrial Arts should have for its main purpose, as all other school work, “To Help Children Live Better Now.” Children should be taught to do things which will carry over in the home, thereby helping them to be healthier, happier, and to enjoy a richer and fuller life—now, today. Industrial Arts should not be isolated but correlated with other subjects. It is desirable to have a place in the daily program and an outline by grades for this important phase of our work.378

In her paper, Mrs. Byrd affirmed the independence of the Jeanes teacher to do what she thought best for her community.

The Jeanes teacher has always had almost complete freedom in schools and communities in putting over the type of programs which seem necessary. She has had guidance and encouragement, but very little interference.379

Mrs. Taylor usually visited all of the Rosenwald schools at least once a month and held between two and six “special meetings” each month. She made sure there was a P.T.A. in every school, starting one if needed. She helped the P.T.A.’s sponsor box-parties or serve light lunches to raise the money for items the schools needed. One school bought a clock, another bought linoleum for the [domestic] science room and one bought a piano.380 Mrs. Holland reported that Mrs. Taylor had completed all the Reading Circle work for the year by December. Mrs. Taylor worked with thirteen teachers who were

378 “Pearl L. Byrd. Suggestive Outline for Jeanes Teachers in North Carolina.” No date. Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder N-Z, Box 102, DPI.
379 Ibid.
380 “Summary Reports of Jeanes Supervisors in North Carolina,” paragraph concerning Durham County, September 1927-January 1928, & May 1928. Special Subject File, Folder Annual Reports, Box 4, DNE.
taking extension classes at North Carolina College for Negroes. Every month, Mrs. Taylor raised between $16.80 and $185.08 for different special school projects. Besides raising money for local needs, Mrs. Taylor sent a donation to Liberia from Durham County school patrons for Jeanes work there.

Missing from these reports, and the Durham Morning Herald, are any mention of County Commencements. It is unclear whether Mrs. Taylor continued them. The Herald only mentioned the Group Center events and referred to them as commencements. It is possible that the black schools adopted the white schools’ custom of having smaller commencements, or perhaps the School Board became nervous at sponsoring large gatherings of blacks celebrating their achievements. Perhaps the realignment of schools between the city and the county resulted in different traditions.

During Mrs. Taylor’s first year, the city and the county finally agreed on how to transfer property and debt from county schools to city schools. In 1927, East Durham,

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381 Anderson, Durham County, 368. In 1925, Durham Normal School was changed into one of the first state supported liberal arts colleges for blacks and the name was changed to North Carolina College for Negroes.
382 “Summary Reports of Jeanes Supervisors in North Carolina,” Paragraph concerning Durham County, September 1927-January 1928, & May 1928. Special Subject File, Folder Annual Reports, Box 4, DNE. In 1928 Jeanes teacher, Miss Rebecca E. Davis was sent to Liberia to introduce the Jeanes program there. The Jeanes model was used in British Africa, the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, the Fiji Islands, South American and Asia. See The Jeanes Story, 35-37.
384 During the spring of 1925 city and county school boards were waging an unsuccessful fight to get a county-wide tax passed. Both boards realized that the county would loose most of its tax base and to provide any kind of equal education, would need a different way to fund its schools. The Durham Morning Herald ran a strong attack against the tax, noting rightly that it would not benefit the city only the county. The vote for the county-wide tax failed by a wide margin. Former Durham County Superintendent Holland Holton who had long advocated consolidation of the city and county schools was the leader of the loosing effort. The county would face even more economic hardship in the coming years. See DMH, 5 April 1925. “What is this County-Wide School Tax Scheme,” 4, DMH 9 April “Not a Question of Education,” 4, “All Possible Questions On county-Wide Tax Are Answered in Forum.” 11, 15 April “Why County Wide School Tax Plan Should be Defeated,” 2, DMH 22 April 1925 “County Wide Tax Overwhelmingly
Hickstown, Lyon’s Park, and Walltown Colored Schools became city schools as the county lost 3,000 students. The majority of Durham County’s African American children were now in the city schools, but thirty-six percent—or eight hundred black students remained in the county schools. The students who became part of the city schools had longer school terms, and may have found it easier to attend high school. The city’s new black high school, Hillside Park High School, was the first black high school in the state to granted a class “A” rating.

The county had never built a high school for its black students and the small rural schools lacked the resources or teachers to provide a high school education. This did not stop some county African American students from striving for more. In 1919, twenty-three African American students enrolled in high school courses at East Durham Colored School, the largest black school in the county system. By law a school had to have at least three teachers to teach high school subjects. Two years later, two county schools had four teachers, and nineteen black children completed the seventh grade. In 1922, Superintendent Carr worked out an agreement with Hillside Park High School to provide

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385 DSBM 6 April 1926 and DSBM 23 August 1927.
386 DMH 14 Sept 1926 “County Schools Have A Good Opening With a Big Increase Shown in a Number of Them,” 5.
387 DMH 30 May 1923 “Hillside School Gets Recognition,” 11. The paper described the new school as “one of the most modern and well equipped in the city system.” It replaced Whitted which burned down in 1921. It was named for John Sprunt Hill who donated the land on the new school. It had been open only one year when it achieved its “A” classification. This school was located on Umstead Street. In the 1950’s Hillside exchanged building with the Whitted Elementary School on Concord Street and was expanded. See Appendix 20 for a picture of the newly constructed Hillside Park High School and how it looks today.
388 DSBM 9 July 1920. Superintendent Holton’s report to the Department of Public Instruction was recorded in the minutes. It also noted that of the twenty-three students, four were boys. He also remarked that to teach high school subjects, a school had to have at least three teachers.
389 DSBM 2, July 1922.
the county students courses beyond the seventh grade. Hillside enrolled seventy-five tuition students that fall.\footnote{DSBM 16 October 1922.}

Superintendent Carr may have felt some pressure from Mr. Newbold to provide high school courses for his black students. Mr. Newbold wrote his supervisor, Dr. Brooks, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to remind him that under the Section 41 of the new school law, city and counties were required to provide high school education for black students who completed the seventh grade.\footnote{N. C. Newbold to Dr. E. C. Brooks, 25 April 1923. Correspondence of the Director File, Folder B, Box 6, DNE. At this time, twenty-five counties have Negro Training Schools— including Orange and Wake Counties. Newbold felt it would be easy and cost effective to make these into high schools. He noted that in other counties “which there are large Negro populations [like Durham] immediate steps should be taken by county boards of education to establish training and high schools for Negroes.” He then listed the four possible outside sources of aid that could be used for this purpose: the Slater Fund, General Education Board, Rosenwald Fund, and the Smith-Hughes Fund} He may have reminded Superintendent Carr of that legal requirement as well.

It is likely that Dr. Shepard initiated a plan to provide high school classes for Durham County students. Dr. Shepard wrote to Mr. Newbold that the National Training School would teach the county students at its high school, if Superintendent Carr was willing to pay the salary of one teacher.\footnote{N.C. Newbold to J. E. Shepard 4 August 1923, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder S, Box 7, DNE.} Mr. Newbold met with the School Board and presented this proposal. The Board agreed to pay the salary of one teacher and have National Training School “offer full high school instruction in all grades…to the colored children in the county without tuition charged.”\footnote{DSBM 3 Sept 1923.} Forty-six students enrolled in the first year of high school, requiring Dr. Shepard to ask for funds for a second teacher.\footnote{DSBM 5 November 1923. The Durham County School Board had provided transportation for white students since 1915. See Rice, The Consolidation of the Durham Schools, 87.
Students continued to have the option of attending Hillside Park High School, with their tuition paid by the county.\(^{395}\)

Mr. Newbold did not think that providing the opportunity for African American county students to attend Hillside Park or the Durham Normal School—formerly the National Training School—was enough. He believed the county needed to make high school education more accessible. He attended a school Board meeting to express his desire for a county high school for African American students. The Board told him it “would not be feasible at this time” to do so. Instead, they asked Mr. Newbold to contact the Durham Normal School, asking them to “take care of the high school work in the colored schools for the next year.”\(^{396}\)

This was not what Mr. Newbold wanted. He recommended the elimination of the High School Departments from all Normal Schools. He noted that the best way to do this would be:

> If the General Assembly would make some provision to help or require the local communities to provide adequate high school facilities for Negroes, there would be no question of the success of the plan suggested for the elimination of high school work from the Normal Schools.\(^{397}\)

He noted that only two counties, Durham [Hillside Park in the city] and Wake had standard high schools.\(^{398}\) While Durham Normal School would continue to offer high school instruction until 1928,\(^{399}\) many county students chose to attend Hillside Park. The school became overcrowded. The *Durham Morning Herald* reported in 1925 that Hillside

\(^{395}\)DSBM 7 January 1924.

\(^{396}\)DSBM 7 April 1924.

\(^{397}\)N. C. Newbold. Untitled Paper on Normal Schools, 1925, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Division of Negro Education, 1925, Box 94, DPI

\(^{398}\)Ibid.

\(^{399}\)DMH 16 September 1928 “Negro Schools of County Begin Instruction Monday,” Part I, 6.
would open with an enrollment of 1,208 students, because “these pupils had no where else to go.”\textsuperscript{400}

Even getting to school was a challenge for African American high school students. Some students from the East and West Durham Township could ride the segregated streetcars, if they could afford the fare. Others who lived in the rural parts of the county had to depend on parents, friends, and neighbors—sometimes traveling over fifteen miles. The situation was very different for the white students. The \textit{Herald} reported there were twenty-four trucks to transport students, putting an accredited high school in the reach of every child in Durham County, enabling them to get high school training with but little trouble from the standpoint of getting to and from the school.\textsuperscript{401}

Durham was unusual for having an accredited high school available for any white pupil who chose to attend. In all of North Carolina only 5.2\% of students of high school age were enrolled in 1925. Only South Carolina had lower high school attendance. While the \textit{Herald} did not report the county’s percent, in Durham City, 20\% of the white students and 14\% of the black students attended high school.\textsuperscript{402} The African American community of Durham responded to the opportunities presented by an excellent high school.

With annexation, Hillside Park’s enrollment doubled to 2,000 in 1927.\textsuperscript{403} That year, 130 county students enrolled at Hillside, and the Durham County School Board

\textsuperscript{400} DSBM 4 May 1925 and DMH 3 September 1925.
\textsuperscript{401} DMH 6 September 1925 “24 Trucks Used to Transport Students,” 6.
\textsuperscript{402} DMH 30 September 1925 “Durham School Record is Good.” 2.
\textsuperscript{403} DMH 4, September 1927 “Hillside Expects Large Attendance,” Part 1, 12.
preferred to pay their tuition rather than to build a high school.\footnote{Rice, \textit{Consolidation of the Durham County Schools}, p. 73A.} The Board explained in the \textit{Durham Morning Herald} why they could not build a high school for blacks.

Due to the fact that the greater part of the colored population is in the city and the colored students of high school age are scattered throughout the county rather sparsely, the Board of Education has not seen fit to establish any rural Colored high school. Those colored students seeking high school education are allowed to come to the city schools, the county paying the tuition. They are [also] allowed to go to the Negro Training School [Durham Normal School] and the county pays the tuition.\footnote{DMH 4 September 1927 “Eleven County Schools Will Open on Monday,” Part 1, 12.}

That year the county enrolled about three thousand white students. The ratio of white to black students was one to three.\footnote{Ibid.}

By 1928, all of Durham County’s black high school students attended Hillside Park School. Durham Normal School had discounted its high school program. Superintendent Barbour elaborated on why the county could not provide a high school for its black students. The \textit{Herald} reported:

In commenting upon the problem of Negro education in the county, Superintendent Luther H. Barbour said that the complications were added by the fact that the Negro population is so widely scattered. In none of the 19 schools does the enrollment reach the hundred mark, thus prohibiting the maintenance of high schools in buildings or equipment or of a high scholastic standard.\footnote{DMH 16 September 1928 “Negro Schools of County Begin Instruction Monday,” Part I, 6.}

Although the white population was equally scattered across the county, the School Board had provided white students with transportation since 1915.\footnote{Rice, \textit{The Consolidation of the Durham Schools}, 87.} When black parents from Mill Grove asked for transportation for their children in 1925, they were told the board “did not think it advisable to transport negro students at the present time.”\footnote{DSBM 7 September 1925. Parents from the Mill Grove district had offered to buy a truck to transport students if the board would pay the upkeep.}
In 1930, Mill Grove parents again appeared before the board--this time asking for a high school for their children. Located at the northern end of the county, Superintendent Barbour suggested that it would be cheaper to transport the students to the Mill Grove Colored School and add high school classes there than pay tuition to the city. Showing concern for the students, he said he believed over half of the thirty-five students would drop out if the Board did not act. The Board decided to apply for a Rosenwald grant for a school truck [bus] and “try the experiment of transporting these negro children for a period of one year.”

The Rosenwald Fund had begun to change its focus in 1928, phasing out one-story frame schoolhouses while seeking to enlarge and renovate existing ones. The new Rosenwald initiatives would emphasize health care, libraries, school trucks [buses], the lengthening of school terms, and vocational education for black boys.

Mr. Julius Rosenwald visited Durham in 1928 on his way to Raleigh to celebrate the completion of the 4,000th Rosenwald School, the Berry O’Kelly Training School in Wake County. When Mr. Rosenwald toured some of the sixteen Rosenwald schools in

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410 DSBM 1 September 1930. The school year of 1929-1930, 2,021 white students were in transported in forty-six auto trucks and eleven black children were transported in “other vehicles, not auto truck” See Rice, *Consolidation of Durham County Schools*, 90. This would improve and by 1935, there were seven trucks for 342 African American students. See Rice, p.97. In 1937, the Mill Grove School burned and two high schools for African Americans were opened by the School Board at Little River in the northern part of the county and Merrick- Moore in the southern part of the county. See http://www.durhamnc.gov/departments/planning/pdf/plan_little_river_corridor.pdf

The Little River School accommodated kindergarten through high school classes. The foundation of the Mill Grove School and some playground equipment can be found Roxboro Road today. See Appendix 21.

411 Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 224.

412 DMH 22 April 1928 “Rosenwald Work May Be Expanded,” Section 4, 1. See also Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, 128-142.

413 Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 224. This Training School/High School was located in Method and had eleven teachers. It was made of brick and had two shops classes, a library, and auditorium.
Durham, Mrs. Taylor must have been one of the “local people anxious to entertain Mr. Rosenwald and show their appreciation.”

Perhaps residents told Mr. Rosenwald that there was still a desperate need to improve black schoolhouses in Durham County. Some children lived in areas without schools and many were in crowded schools. For those Durham County children who lived near the Orange County line, attending a six-month school was their only option. Residents from Weaver’s Siding, Hayerstown, and White Cross had asked the board for schools for their children with no success. The Hampton Colored School, built in 1924, was so overcrowded that in the fall of 1927 a group of parents appeared before the Board. There school had only two teachers for one hundred students. They suggested that the Domestic Science Room be used as a classroom and that the board hire another teacher. Superintendent Barbour reported “it was practically impossible for two teachers to do the work” under those conditions. The Board accepted the suggestions. The county, with some Rosenwald aid, would add rooms to most of the schools in the coming years.

Disasters helped Mrs. Taylor and the local communities build the last two Rosenwald schools in Durham County. In March of 1929, a fire destroyed the 1924

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414 DMH 1 April 1928, “Julius Rosenwald May Visit Durham,” Part IV, 8
415 DSBM Oct. 5, 1925 and October 4, 1926. Orange County agreed to this providing Durham County provided pay one half of the teacher’s salary. These children were in the Hillandale district near the Orange County line.
416 DSBM 10 August 1926.
417 DSBM 7 February 1927 and DSBM 7 March 1927.
418 DSBM 7 April 1930.
419 DSBM 7 November 1927.
420 DSBM 22 April 1927. By the end of Mrs. Taylor’s first year, at least two schools had been expanded. The Rougemont School had two new rooms and an auditorium and the Lyon Park School had ten rooms. The Lyon Park School would be transferred to the city schools at the beginning of the 1927-1928 school year.
Rosenwald School at Pearsontown. In August of that year, a wind storm destroyed the Page Colored School. The county applied for and received Rosenwald Funds and both buildings were completed in 1930. They were the last Rosenwald schools built in Durham County.

Mrs. Taylor, her predecessors, and the African American communities had built a total of eighteen Rosenwald Schools, working with a School Board that was not very interested in black education. From 1921 to March of 1929, Durham County had received $3,530 from the Jeanes Fund and in that time period Miss Day, Mrs. Jordan, and Mrs. Taylor had raised a total of $5,964.88. (This amount would be the equivalent of $75,119.47 in 2009 dollars.) A paper from the Division of Negro Education reported:

These monies indicate the amount raised from private donations through the efforts of the Durham Jeanes Supervisors. Practically all of this money has been given by the Negro people and applied on construction of buildings, equipment, and supplies.

Durham’s Rosenwald building program was completed just before the beginning of the Great Depression. Mrs. Taylor continued to work to improve the schools of

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421 From F. W. Credle to S. L. Smith, 13 March 1929. Correspondence of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File, Folder S.L. Smith Field Agent, Box 5, DNE. It was rebuilt bigger with an extra classroom and a larger domestic science room. Patrons from this school wanted it rebuilt like most of the new city schools in fireproof brick. The county refused, saying it was too expensive. See DSBM 2 April 1929. An example of the type of buildings the city was building in the African American community was the new Lyon’s Park School. Built on the site of the 1923 Rosenwald School the new Lyon’s Park city school was a large brick building and had an auditorium. The old West End school was consolidated into this school. See DMH 31 May 1929. This school still stands and is used as a community center. There is a picture of the Lyon Park Community Center in Appendix 19.

422 DMH 5 August 1929. The Board’s initial reaction was to try to repair the building the “cheapest possible cost.” In September patrons from the school asked for something to be done, wanting a school for their children that year. They brought the board $175 toward their part of a Rosenwald School. See DSBM 2 September 1929. The board decided they could build a Rosenwald school at Page if they could use the lumber from the destroyed school. See DSBM 7 November 1929

423 Note: The Pearsontown School was rebuilt after the first Pearsontown School burned. There were a total of 17 standing Rosenwald schools, although the Fund built 18.

424 See Inflation Calculator, U. S. Bureau of Statistics, 12 September 2009 < http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl > While some of Durham’s middle class may have contributed, much of this staggering amount came from tenant farmers.

425 “Some Facts About the Work of the Jeanes Industrial Supervisors, 1929,” Correspondences of the Superintendent File, Folder N, Box 110, DPI.
Durham and the lives of her students. In her December 1930 report, her only report for that year, she told of visiting all the schools and raising $121.33. Raising money during difficult times and encouraging generosity in a time of scarcity, Mrs. Taylor ended her report on a poignant note:

Many children brought clothes and food for the poor in their community. Old dolls and toys were repaired and given away. Most of the presents on the Christmas tree were made by the children. The supervisor was given a lovely vase made from a pickle jar, the inside lining of last year’s envelopes, red paint and shellac.426

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426 “Jeanes Reports, December 1930,” Special Subject File, Folder Reports, Box 2, DNE.
Conclusion

Following the tradition of the Jeanes teachers, whose work was often invisible to the white community, Mrs. Gertrude Taylor provided for the needs of the black schools during the harsh reality of the Great Depression.\textsuperscript{427} Although most of the county’s African American students were in the much better Rosenwald Schools—due to the work of Mr. Husband, Miss Day, Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor—the schools would have few improvements until the Depression ended.

Today, only one Rosenwald school still stands, the Russell School on St. Mary’s Road. Hayti, the heart of black Durham, was destroyed in 1976 by urban renewal and highway projects that demolished 4,057 houses and 502 businesses.\textsuperscript{428} Still standing are three places the Jeanes teachers would have known: North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company’s imposing six story building on Parrish Street, one block off Main Street; and Saint Joseph A. M. E. Church, now Hayti Cultural Center. What was the North Carolina College for Negroes has become North Carolina Central University, with handsome brick buildings.

This is not ancient history: much of the heart of white Durham dates from this period. By 1930, Duke University had taken its gothic shape on West Campus, while Trinity College had become East Campus and received a Georgian makeover. Many buildings on 9\textsuperscript{th} Street and Main Street date circa 1930, as do many of the tobacco warehouses that dot downtown. Carolina Theater—then the Durham Auditorium—was opened in 1926, the same year that the new Durham City Hall—now the Arts Council—

\textsuperscript{427} Durham was somewhat cushioned by the construction of Duke University and the rapid growth of the tobacco industry, but the black community was hit first and hard. See Anderson, \textit{Durham County}, 347-8.
\textsuperscript{428} Anderson, \textit{Durham County}, 409. Many of the businesses did not survive the move, and fallout from these actions still reverberates today.
opened. The old 1916 Courthouse has since been renovated and now houses the county commissioners and many county offices. When I walk in my neighborhood, I pass brick schools constructed for white Durham: George Watts Elementary School (1919), the former North Durham Grammar School (1929), Central Junior High School (1922), and Central High School, now Durham School of the Arts (1923). Also standing are the brick schools built for the black city students during this period: the first Hillside Park High School (1926), W. G. Pearson Elementary School (1928), East End School (1929) and the Lyon Park School (1929).

That one surviving Rosenwald School is not the only legacy left behind by the Jeanes teachers and the African American women and men of Durham County who worked so hard to create good schools for their students from 1900 through 1930. They built one of the best rural school systems in North Carolina--which had one of the best black school systems in the south. In Durham County, most students attended Rosenwald schools and were taught by accredited teachers. Yet the white and black schools were more equal in 1900 than they were in 1930.

The Jeanes teachers and all black educators of Durham County worked in a paradoxical environment. Durham was considered a rich county, yet while both the white and black schools were frequently short of funds, the black schools always received less of everything. Race relations were considered by blacks and whites to be among the best in the South. Yet in terms of improving the black schools, the white attitude seemed to be

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429 Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 224. Leloudis wrote that although North Carolina ranked forth in black school population, it had more Rosenwald Schools than any other state. North Carolina had 675, and Mississippi with 493 was second. Only South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana had more than 300. Also, most of North Carolina’s counties with a significant black population had Jeanes supervisors. See The NASC’s *The Jeanes Story*, pages 147-154. By 1930, only Virginia had more Jeanes teachers than North Carolina. See Littlefield, “I Am Only One, But I Am One,” 27.
“hands off” unless the African American community pushed for improvements. The one exception was what Dr. Aaron Moore called the “Trinity Spirit” of School Board member Dean Wannamaker and Superintendent Holton, which encouraged the Board to make the few improvements to black schools which were completed before 1915.

But real improvement did not occur until monies from the Jeanes Fund and Rosenwald Foundation began to come into the county. The School Board did not seek these funds. Led by Dr. Moore, Professor Charles Moore, the Jeanes teachers, and individuals like Rougemont’s Reverend Smith, black communities worked to encourage the School Board to seek these grants. Without these efforts, it seems the School Board would have been content to let the old white schools become “new” black ones.

Why did the School Board finally adopt the idea of seeking Rosenwald Funds to rebuild the entire black school system beginning in 1923? I believe Mrs. Carrie Jordan’s work as the Jeanes supervisor was responsible for this change. Perhaps, as Glenda Gilmore suggests, as she worked to mobilize the various communities to organize and raise money for a Rosenwald grant, she hoped to “embarrass state and county officials into contributing funds.” Adam Fairclough writes that “Some black teachers believed that if blacks pooled their money to improve their schools, whites would be shamed into matching their efforts.” It seems more likely to me that Mrs. Jordan believed that the first step in getting new schools was to organize the community and raise money. While the Durham County School Board showed no signs of being shamed or embarrassed

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430 Anderson, *Durham County*, 222.
431 A. Moore to E. C. Brooks, 24 December 1918, General Correspondence of the Superintendent File, Folder Negro Education, Box 71, DPI. As Trinity became Duke, and more interested in the city than the county schools, it was the spirit of what would become North Carolina Central University that provided much more support and help to the cause of African American education that Trinity ever did.
433 Fairclough, *A Class of Their Own*, 251.
about the conditions of the black schools--or the fact that it was African Americans who were leading the way to raise money to improve them--the Board may have recognized an opportunity. The annexation of East and West Durham greatly reduced Durham County’s tax base, and may have affected the Board’s thinking. It may have realized that the Rosenwald grants would increase the money contributed by the black community, and that the grants were the least costly way they could make much needed improvements to the black schools.434

The fact that the Rosenwald schools had to have an industrial room may have appealed to the Board as well. As shown earlier, many whites liked the idea of black education benefiting them by providing better servants and workers. Other whites were motivated to provide enough education to keep black workers from leaving the farm or factory, and to create consumers who could read advertisements for white merchants’ goods. Even those whites who supported black education were often blinded to the real needs and abilities of black students by their beliefs in the intrinsic inferiority of African Americans.

Durham’s black community had a powerful antidote to this Jim Crow view of their lives. Mr. Husband, Miss Day, Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor all lived in Hayti.435 In this vibrant community, they could attend a movie in a black-owned theater, shop in black-owned businesses, visit black doctors and dentists, and buy insurance from North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, the world’s largest black business. They could borrow money for a home, a car, or to start a business from the Mechanics and Farmers

434 Also, the School Board may have been more willing to work with “a thoroughly competent white Southern man” than with African Americans from Tuskegee Institute. The management of the fund had changed from black to white in 1921. See footnote 135.
435 Durham City Directories.
Bank. Durham’s Jeanes teachers lived in a world created by African Americans with a public library, a hotel, and a hospital. In addition to church and Masonic organizations, there were women’s clubs and clubs devoted to current events and intellectual development such as the Volkamenia Literary Club. As faculty wives of professors at North Carolina College, Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor had the additional intellectual stimulation provided by college lectures and events. Unlike most teachers, who found “one of the most oppressive aspects of rural teaching was the lack of contact with other educated people,” Durham’s Jeanes teachers--and other county teachers--could be part of an intellectual community.

This community was interrelated in many ways. While Mr. Husband did not succeed as the Jeanes supervising teacher, he remained a respected and vocal member of the African American community. He appeared at and was named in the school board minutes, working to improve the attendance of black children. He continued to teach in the county schools, and become a school principal. Called Professor Husband, he was honored as a Marshal at the first County Commencement in 1924. Mr. Husband, Mrs. Jordan, and Mrs. Taylor and their spouses are all buried in Beechwood Cemetery with other notables of black Durham.

The interrelated nature of the black educated community in Durham, may have given it some influence on the School Board when decisions concerned the black schools. Two months before the School Board hired Mrs. Jordan, the Board recommended Dr.

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436 Fairclough, A Class of Their Own, 243.
Jordan for a High School Principal Certification. 438 Had he mentioned his wife’s interest in the Jeanes position should it come open? Did the black elite want Mrs. Jordan, one of their own, in the Jeanes position and work to make that so? Had Miss Day helped create the position of supervisor of home economics? Did she wish to focus her work on supervising home economic instruction, rather than supervising all the black teachers? 439 Did she and Mrs. Jordan present the plan to the School Board? Mrs. Jordan, at the age of fifty-three, with her experience in Atlanta and Durham, may have had more interest in supervising all the teachers than Miss Day. There may have been other behind-the-scenes activity when Mrs. Jordan decided to leave her position as the Jeanes teacher. Did she recommend Mrs. Taylor as her replacement? With both their husbands teaching at North Carolina College, Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor would have known each other and were possibly friends.

Neither Mrs. Jordan nor Mrs. Taylor were the sort of Jeanes supervisor that N. C. Newbold recommended. In 1929, he wrote that Normal School graduates were preferred to Liberal Arts College graduates, and, that “a city girl with a course in Rural

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438 DSBM 7 May 1923. This action was unique for the board. It seemed rare for the school board to recommend people for this certification. The board seemed to justified their action by saying that his records at Allen University were destroyed by fire and noted that Dr. Jordan “held a responsible position as head of the Department of Education at the National Training School and had much assisted the County Board in teacher training work.” Mr. Jordan had been working behind the scenes to improve schools in neighboring Granville County. In June 19, 1921, Dr. Jordan wrote Mr. Newbold on behalf of a group of African American parents who had raised $800 for a Rosenwald School. He noted that their present school had 90 children in one room with no equipment. Dr. Jordan asked Mr. Newbold to visit the “county superintendent who is said to be discouraging of this enterprise.” See D. J. Jordan to N.C. Newbold 19 June 1921, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder J-K, Box 5, DNE June 21, 1921. Mr. Newbold would write the superintendent and try to help the people. See N.C. Newbold to D. J. Jordan 21 June 1921, Correspondence of the Director File, Folder J-K, Box 5, DNE.

439 A year after she had been hired as the Jeanes Supervising Teacher, she had signed a letter to Dr. Wannamaker as “County Agent for the Negro Canning Clubs.” see Mattie N. Day to William Wannamaker, 28 February 1918, Folder 2, Box 1, WHWP. Miss Day may have signed her letter that way because she knew of Dean Wannamaker’s interest in canning for both black and white schools.
Sociology is not sufficient for this sort of work. Both Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor had liberal arts degrees and Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Taylor were city girls born and bred. Yet by all accounts they were very successful. We have the record of Mrs. Jordan’s first year, and Mrs. Taylor worked as the Jeanes supervisors until 1945. At some point, Mrs. Taylor took post-graduate courses at the University of Saltillo in Mexico. How many Durhamites were fluent in Spanish at that time? Both of these women were cosmopolitan and intelligent, and brought these attributes to their job. It is clear from Mrs. Jordan’s report that she wanted to encourage both her teachers and their students to pursue academic excellence and broaden their intellectual horizons. Both teachers and students worked independently on special reports and used books from the black public library.

While whites might refer to a Jeanes teacher as the “industrial teacher,” the Jeanes teachers referred to themselves as the “supervising teacher.” Mrs. Jordan’s report for the school year 1923-1924 was titled “Annual Report of the Rural Supervisor of Durham County Negro Schools.” She wrote about specific projects and teaching methods, never mentioning industrial education directly. When teaching subjects that whites considered industrial education, the Jeanes teachers knew that they were improving the lives of their students and their communities. Canning clubs would again become very important sources of food during the Great Depression. The Jeanes teachers knew that this sort of vocational education was not going to lead to jobs in the industrializing South, but they played along with the white Northern funders and state education officials who still

\[440\] N. C. Newbold, paper, possible text of speech, 6 June 1929, Correspondence of the Director File, Jeanes Fund Folder, Box 2, DNE. Other school systems hired liberal arts graduates. Rowan County’s Jeanes teacher was Rose Douglass Aggrey, a Shaw University graduate who was a poet and classical scholar. Sara Delany, graduated from St. Augustine and Columbia University and worked as the Jeanes Supervisor in Wake County. See Gilmore, Gender and Jim Crow, 162. Miss Delany would write of her experience in the best selling book, Having Our Say: The Delany’s Sisters First One Hundred Years.
believed it was the best sort of education for African Americans. For Durham’s Jeanes teachers, vocational education was not emphasized.

Even Mr. Newbold recognized that providing supervision was the most important task of the Jeanes teacher, and that advocating for vocational education was important to meet the requirements of the Northern funding sources. In his 1929 speech he briefly mentioned industrial work,\textsuperscript{441} but focused on supervision as the key responsibility of a Jeanes teacher. He noted that,

\begin{quote}
More and more the Jeanes teacher is becoming the directing agency for effective classroom instruction. This, necessarily, requires that this worker be able to evaluate teaching to the end that she may determine the weak and strong points of her teaching corps. Full acquaintance with the training, experience and economic standing of her various teachers will enable her to advise them along the lines of strengthening their weak points and developing their strong points. By encouraging summer school attendance, arranging for extension groups or study classes advising further scholastic training, the Jeanes teacher increases the teaching power to a most marked degree.\textsuperscript{442}
\end{quote}

During the period of school building, community organizing was also a very important Jeanes task. Mr. Newbold wrote:

\begin{quote}
The Jeanes teacher should study and evaluate the needs and possibilities of each school community and work for the unification of effort among all developing agencies. Better living conditions, healthful surroundings and peaceful relations among the different groups of the community, a definite constructive program and the enlisting of every individual possible in the execution of this plan should be matters of vital concern to the Jeanes teacher…the great possibilities of her job in the matter of building better homes, better schools, better communities…\textsuperscript{443}
\end{quote}

In this function, the Jeanes teachers followed the lead of Mrs. Virginia Estell Randolph, the first in that position.

But it was Mrs. Jordan who turned the Rosenwald Schools of Durham into organizing tools and community centers. She would bring members of various churches,

\textsuperscript{441} Ibid. “While she may not be a technical, industrial worker, she should have a reasonable comprehension of the plans and purposes for this phase of work and a sympathetic attitude towards such course. If she is able, however, to effectively organize this portion of the program, her efforts will give a vitalizing stimulus to all phases of her work.”
\textsuperscript{442} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{443} Ibid.
land owners, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, workers in the factories and mills of East or West Durham together to work for the common goal of improving their children’s schools. Parents and school patrons earned a sense of ownership over the new schools that they had worked so hard to build. County Commencements and Group Center Rallies provided large annual community events, encouraging more and more parents and friends to get involved with the schools in their community. The schools became centers of community life, where Moonlight schools, Home Makers’ Clubs, Betterment Leagues, P.T.A’s, and other community meetings took place. They were safe spaces for the rural African American community to comfortably gather apart from whites’ critical and watchful gaze. The construction of a new Rosenwald school was a tangible statement of unity and the sacrifice African American parents had made for their children.

After 1918, Durham’s African American school patrons began appearing before the board to ask for Rosenwald schools. This was an unusual action in many parts of the South. Did the racial climate of Durham give black school patrons a sense of security, or did the example of successful and educated black professionals, including the Jeanes teachers, give them courage to come before the School Board? Perhaps it was a combination of both that allowed regular and repeated petitioning of the school board.

The organized efforts of the rank and file teachers are rarely recorded in the school board minutes. From the 1903-1904 Annual report, we know the African American teachers were organized into the Durham County Colored Teachers

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444 A recent example of the importance of these schools as community centers can be seen in the fact that the Mill Grove School celebrated a reunion in September of 2009. See Durham Herald-Sun on line, 2 September 2009, Merrick-Moore/ Mill Grove Schools to Hold School Alumni Reunion, by Larry Barber, http://your.heraldsun.com/pages/full_story_your/push?article=Merrick+Moore-Mill+Grove+to+hold+school+alumni+reunion 1 September 2009.

445 See Fairclough, A Class of Their Own, 259. “One reason superintendents’ neglected black schools were that blacks did not submit requests. They were afraid to or considered it futile. Blacks would readily communicate their needs through Jeanes teachers.”
Association.\textsuperscript{446} It is likely they discussed salary inequalities as well as classroom teaching methods. In 1903, they may have tried to use the new professional library in the School Board’s offices in the courthouse, which was for white only use.\textsuperscript{447} In 1907 the Durham County Colored Teachers Association sent a petition to the Board to ask for higher salaries.\textsuperscript{448} In 1924, all of Durham County’s black teachers were members of North Carolina Teachers Association, and, in 1926 asked that the Board of education pay their dues just as it did for the white teachers.\textsuperscript{449} It is possible the black teachers made more petitions and appearances before the School Board that simply were not recorded.

Adam Fairclough writes, “Being a black teacher during the age of white supremacy demanded faith in the future when the present often seemed hopeless.”\textsuperscript{450} I do not think that Durham’s Jeanes teachers felt that the present was hopeless. Mrs. Carrie Jordan’s first annual report was full of hope and pride of accomplishment. She believed she was making a difference. To be a teacher in the Jim Crow South demanded a faith in the future and a belief that education could make a difference in the lives of individual students and their communities.

The Jeanes teachers and the African American teachers of Durham County worked with what they had to make the lives of their students, parents, and communities the best they could be in the context of a legally entrenched inequality. More importantly, they taught a doctrine of self-improvement, hope in the future, and racial pride. They acknowledged black achievement in yearly celebrations and small daily victories. As the

\textsuperscript{446} Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1903-1904, 32.
\textsuperscript{447} DSBM 4 May 1903.
\textsuperscript{448} DSBM 10 October 1907.
\textsuperscript{449} DSBM 1 November 1926.
\textsuperscript{450} Fairclough, A Class of Their Own, 4.
Jeanes teachers built schools and community organizations, they knew that their work was a political act in the Jim Crow South.

Yet sadly, the legacy of the Jeanes teachers is almost invisible in our historical narrative. The Rosenwald schools are much better known than the Jeanes teachers who were so instrumental to their construction: the National Trust for Historic Preservation has a Rosenwald School Initiative to save what few schools remain. Even in many articles about the Rosenwald schools, the central role of the Jeanes teachers is muted if mentioned at all.

The Jeanes teachers documented their work with monthly and annual reports, yet only a few scattered examples remain. Ninety-four percent of Jeanes teachers were women, and because of their double marginality—being black and female—few whites in authority considered their words worth saving. Because of the lack of archival records, it is difficult to discover the details of their stories. Durham School Board minutes never mentioned the Jeanes teachers’ reports, although the white elementary supervisor was mentioned nearly every month as presenting her report. A few schools in North Carolina were named for Jeanes teachers, but many of those names were lost with school

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451 While several recent books have been written on the Jeanes teachers and while they are mentioned in many others, the only scholarly book was written in 1939. A 1995 documentary focused on the oral histories of several Jeanes teachers who worked in the 1940-1960’s.

452 See Rosenwald Schools Initiative, National Trust for Historic Preservation, “The National Trust for Historic Preservation named Rosenwald Schools to its list of America’s 11 Most Endangered Historic Places in 2002. The National Trust for Historic Preservation then formed the Rosenwald Schools Initiative, calling together a task force to devise a plan for the preservation of Rosenwald schools.” http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/southern-region/rosenwald-schools/, accessed 5 October 2009. For the best, if far from complete, coverage of the role of the Jeanes teachers in building Rosenwald schools, see Hoffschwelle, The Rosenwald Schools of the American South, 234. “Observers credited women for the success of many Rosenwald campaigns. Those women who managed campaigns as Jeanes supervisors certainly played key rolls, and so did the women and girls with whom they worked.”

453 Jones, The Jeanes Teacher In the United States, 73.
integration. The 2008 book *Upbuilding Black Durham* by Leslie Brown contains the first mention of any Durham Jeanes teachers by name.\(^454\)

The Jeanes supervisors and their teachers may not have had the best school buildings or equipment, but they believed in their ability to reach their students, and they believed their students could achieve great things. Working under the hardships of Jim Crow, black educators tried to compensate for the lack of material things with vision and dedication. They all “did the next needed thing.” When one considers the magnitude of the work that these women and men accomplished, I wish a statue representing the Jeanes teachers and all the black teachers could be placed in every courthouse in the counties where they worked. In Durham, the United Daughters of the Confederacy placed a statue of a Confederate solider on the court house grounds in 1924\(^455\) While he looks north watching for the enemy, I would have the Durham Jeanes teacher “facing the rising sun” for their work did herald “a new day begun.”\(^456\) Yet, for all that the Jeanes supervising teachers and the other African American teachers accomplished, today there still exists a gap between the achievements of richer and poorer students, which--reflecting class realities--means that black and minority students achieve less than white students on standard achievement tests. This has led to conflict and concerns for the Durham County School Board, parents, and students.\(^457\)


\(^{455}\) Anderson, *Durham County*, 327.

\(^{456}\) Johnson, James Weldon, “Lift Every Voice and Sing.”

\(^{457}\) The achievement gap has led to division and discord between the white and black school board members during the years there was a white superintendent of schools. See DHS, 20 August 2001, “Racial Rancor,” 1A. After a change in membership on the school board and the selection of a black superintendent, overt disagreements subsided and the school board works together in a more cooperative manor. This could change. See N&O, Sadia Latif, “Durham Schools Chief Tapped for National Job,” 3 November 2009, sec. Triangle & Co., 1B. “The news surprised local leaders, who credited Carl Harris for a three-year tenure marked by community cooperation, academic progress and relative calm after years of turmoil in the school.
Perhaps we need a discussion to recognize the effort that was required by the African American community to build schools for their children, working with indifferent or hostile white school boards. This reality informed the struggle to desegregate Durham’s public schools. The African American community wanted equal resources and realized that as long as the schools were separated by race, equality would never occur. Many African Americans had ambivalent feelings about the process, knowing they would lose the schools they had created, taught in and led. With white flight, the schools had effectively resegregated by the mid 1970’s with the city schools being predominately black and the county schools predominantly white. After numerous attempts dating back to 1921 and Superintendent Holton, the city and county schools were merged in 1992.

The legacy of this struggle may be reflected in the unusual structure of Durham’s current school board with districts, super-districts, and one at-large seat, whose purpose is to insure that at least three of the seven school board members will be black. Does the memory of the years of disinterest and neglect linger as the school board makes repeated efforts to bridge the achievement gap between white and minority students? The black and white communities of Durham, now joined by a large Hispanic community, are still

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458 Durham County African American leaders organized a protest against the closing of the two black high schools, Little River and Merrick-Moore in 1969. This had no affect on the school board. They closed both high schools and turned them into elementary schools. See McElreath, “The Cost of Opportunity,” 453. Hillside High School was the only black high school in the Triangle to survive. Black Durham had enough clout to keep this landmark institution and source of community pride. Ibid., 451. After integration, the number of black high school principals in North Carolina fell from 226 to 15. See Fairclough, A Class of Their Own, p 403 “While black teachers adjusted to white students, black students often found their new integrated schools foreign...Indeed black teachers watched in frustration as many, alienated from their new environments, underperformed and misbehaved. Discipline had rarely been a problem in segregated black schools. ...When control broke down...school authorities reacted by suspending or expelling the offenders.” Suspension and expelling students was extremely rare in black schools. See Ibid. 397. This is still an issue. See N&O, Sadia Latifl, “Suspension policy Revised,” 31 October 2009, sec. Durham News, 4 A.
working to find ways to provide equitable education for all. Durham’s Jeanes teachers would recognize this struggle.
Notes

Abbreviations

DCC  Durham Chamber of Commerce Minutes, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University Library
DDS Durham Daily Sun
DHS Durham Herald Sun
DMH Durham Morning Herald
DNE Division of Negro Education, North Carolina State Archives
  General Correspondence of the Director File
  Correspondent of the Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund File
  Special Subject File
DPI Public Instruction, Office of the Superintendent, North Carolina State Archives
  General Correspondence of the Superintendent
DSBM Durham County School Board Minutes, Durham County Library
DR Durham Recorder
N&O Raleigh News and Observer
WHWP William Hane Wannamaker Papers, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University Library
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**Periodicals**
*Durham Recorder*
*Durham Morning Sun*
*Durham Morning Herald*
*Raleigh News and Observer*

**Archives**
Durham County Library
   North Carolina Room
   Durham County Board of Education Minutes

North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.
   Department of Public Instruction
   Division of Negro Education

Southern Education Foundation Records, Archives and Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center

William Hane Wannamaker Papers, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University Library

Treasure Room, James E. Shepard Library, North Carolina Central University
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This project started when I received an e-mail from John Schelp asking those on his Durham history list, “Did you know Durham had 18 Rosenwald Schools?” This led me to discover the Jeanes teachers who built those schools. I was nearing the end of this project when I asked for John’s help in locating the Mill Grove School He told me its location and sent me a picture of the ruins.

I e-mailed, called, and worked with many reference librarians at Clark, Hampton, Fisk, North Carolina State, and North Carolina A and T Universities. I thank them all, but I
wish give special thanks to Margaret Brill of Duke University; Lynn Richardson of the North Carolina Room of the Durham County Library; and Mr. André D. Vann of the Treasure Room of North Carolina Central University. I hope they never felt I was a “problem patron!”

My partner in life, Rama Mills was patient and supportive and with out her encouragement and enthusiasm for this project it would not exist. Thank you, Rama.
Appendix 1

Governor Charles Aycock’s memorial on the old State Capital lawn
Right panel of Aycock memorial

Inscription below the panel reads:

"Equal! That is the word! On that word I plant myself and my party--
The equal right of every child born on Earth to have the opportunity to burgeon out all there is within him."
It also appears on the back of the memorial under the words: Aycock’s Ideals of Public Service

One is tempted to say: “Hypocrisy! That is the word!”
Appendix 2

Durham County African American Schools
1902-1930

1902
East Durham
Bragtown
Belvin
Brookstown
Reservoir
Sylvan
Rougemont
Hampton
Brick House
Stagville
Bahama
Rocky Knoll
Peaksville
Page’s
Union
Markham’s Chapel
Barbee’s Chapel

Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County for the year July 1, 1902 to June 30, 1903. The School Board minutes did not list the schools in the minutes 1900-1902. It is unknown if this is the first annual report, or the earliest one archived.

1905
Durham Township
    East Durham
    Bragtown
    Brookstown
    Reservoir
Lebanon Township
    Sylvan
    South Lowell
Mangum Township
    Rougemont
    Hampton
    Stageville
    Bahama
Oak Grove Township
    Rocky Knoll
    Peaksville
Cedar Fork Township
    Page
Patterson Township
  Union
  Markham’s Chapel
  Barbee’s Chapel
DSBM July 4, 1905

1910
Durham Township
  East Durham
  Bragtown
  Brookstown
  Reservoir
Lebanon Township
  Sylvan
  South Lowell
Mangum Township
  Rougemont
  Hampton
  Stageville
  Bahama
Oak Grove Township
  Rocky Knoll
  Peaksville
Cedar Fork Township
  Page
Patterson Township
  Union
  Markham’s Chapel
  Barbee’s Chapel
DSBM July 6 1910

1915
Durham Township
  East Durham
  Bragtown
  Brookstown
  Reservoir
  Cemetery
Lebanon Township
  Sylvan
  South Lowell
Mangum Township
  Rougemont
  Hampton
  Stageville
  Bahama
Woods
Oak Grove Township
   Rocky Knoll
   Peaksville
Cedar Fork Township
   Page
Patterson Township
   Union
   Markham’s Chapel
   Barbee’s Chapel
Carr Township
   Lillian
DSBM July 6 1915

1920
Durham Township
   East Durham
   Walltown
   Hickstown
   Bragtown
   Reservoir
   Cemetery (Lyon’s Park)
Lebanon Township
   Sylvan
   Russell
   South Lowell
Mangum Township
   Rougemont
   Bahama
   Hampton
   Woods
   Stageville
Oak Grove Township
   Rocky Knoll
   Peaksville
Cedar Grove Township
   Page
Patterson Township
   Union
   Markham’s Chapel
   Barbee’s Chapel
Carr Township
   Lillian
   Chandler listed, (unclear if school operated)
DSBM July 5, 1920
1925
Durham Township
   East Durham
   Walltown
   Hickstown
   Bragtown
   Lyon’s Park
Lebanon Township
   Sylvan
   Russell
   South Lowell
Mangum Township
   Rougemont
   Bahama
   Hampton
   Woods
   Stageville
Oak Grove Township
   Rocky Knoll
   Peakeville
Cedar Grove Township
   Page
Patterson Township
   Union
   Markham’s Chapel
   Barbee’s Chapel
Carr Township
   Lillian
   Chandler listed, (no teacher, no funds)
DSBM July 1, 1925

1930
Durham Township
   Mill Grove (now includes some high school grades)
   Peakeville
   Hebron (Bragtown)
Lebanon Township
   Sylvan
   Russell
   South Lowell
Mangum Township
   Rougemont
   Bahama
   Hampton
   Woods
   Stagville
Carr/Oak Grove Township
   Lillian
   Rocky Knoll
Cedar Fork Township
   Page
Patterson Township
   Union
   Markham’s Chapel
   Barbee’s Chapel
   Pearsontown
   Chandler

DSBM November 21, 1930
Appendix 3

Location of Durham County’s African American Schools

Map Key

Blue: Rosenwald Schools
1. Rougemont School
2. Walltown School (on Onslow off Club Boulevard)
3. Hickstown School (on Crest Street, near current VA Hospital, approximate location)
4. Lyon’s Park School (on Halley Street, approximate location)
5. Hampton School
6. Pearsontown School (from 1939 map, approximate location)
7. Union School
8. Lillian School
9. Mill Grove School (on Bob’s Lane, off Roxboro, just below merge with N. Duke Street, approximate location)
10. Bahama School
11. Rocky Knoll School
12. Sylvan School
13. Bragtown School (Hebron)
14. Peaksville School
15. Russell School
16. Woods School
17. Page School

Pink: Other Schools
18. East Durham School (on Sowell Alley, now Sowell Street off East Pettigrew Street, approximate location) Sowell Street was divided by the Durham Freeway, part of the urban renewal project that destroyed Hayti.
19. South Lowell School
20. Stagville School
21. Markham’s Chapel School
22. Barbee’s Chapel School
23. Chandler School

Yellow: Schools consolidated in mid 1920’s.
24. Reservoir School

Not on map: Brookstown School 1902-1915 (Location of school is unknown. Brookstown was another African American community destroyed by the Durham Freeway. Endangered Durham located the Brookstown community along Swift Avenue east along Maxwell Street towards Rome Street, north of the current West End/Burch Avenue community. On this map the Brookstown community was located between #3 and #4.) See http://endangereddurham.blogspot.com/2006/12/rome-ave-brookstown.html
Map
Appendix 4

This school was torn down in 1909 and rebuilt as the East Durham Graded school for African Americans. It was the first graded school in the county for African Americans.

Picture from:
Appendix 5

Photo courtesy North Carolina State Archives, North Carolina State Library

Negro Rural School Problem.

CONDITION—REMEDY

Let Us Reason Together.

The problem of the education of the colored youth in the rural districts of North Carolina, is more or less, at the present time, a serious one, owing to the difficulties and handicaps surrounding and confronting the situation, such as poorly equipped school houses, inadequate teaching facilities, short school terms, low general average attendance, inefficiency of most of the teachers, and lack of funds to properly carry on the work.

In addition to the above mentioned serious aspect of the case, we would call your attention to the following facts and figures, bearing upon Negro education in our state, which we find in the “Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic years, 1911-12, 1913-14.”

The colored rural school population in 1913-14 was 198,737; the enrollment 137,684; 41,053 less than the school population. The average attendance was 90,185, one-half of the school population and just a little over one-half of the general enrollment.

The average length of the school term was about four months, that of the whites nearly six months. The number of school houses 2,263; the average value of a colored school house, $247.38.

The total number of school houses for whites 7,619; the average value of each $851.55. Of course, there should be taken into consideration the fact that the white school population was at the same period 429,399.

The number of colored school teachers was 2,654, while the whites numbered 8,344. The total amount of money paid the colored teachers was $340,319.42, while the white teachers received $1,963,098.10. The average paid each colored teacher, $128.42, the white receiving $235.27.

Furthermore, the white child received per capita for his or her education $4.57, while the colored got only $1.71.
To infer that it costs less to educate a colored child than it does a white one is paying too great a compliment to the intellect of the former, which we are unwilling to acknowledge. But to the unsuspicious and uninformed, looking at the respective figures in the case, such a conclusion might be drawn therefrom.

It is a serious fact that the facilities for Negro education, that is in the rural districts, are pitifully inadequate. Although the Negroes constitute about 33 per cent of the population, less than 15 per cent of the money collected and spent for rural education is expended on them.

Now, the above are some data for your serious attention and consideration. What are you going to do about it? Nothing is to be gained by whining and complaining, and saying that if we had in addition to our usual appropriation, all the moneys that went into the general school fund as a result of Negro criminality, which unfortunately furnishes, at least, three-fourths of such fund in the state, and, also, that which goes into the school fund from the taxation of corporations, such as railroads, banks, building and loan associations and others, to which we indirectly contribute by the thousands of dollars, we would have, perhaps, available twice at much for school purposes as we do actually have now.

For do not Negroes ride on the railroads in the state by the tens of thousands annually, and have they not over hundreds of thousands in the white and colored banks, in the building and loan associations in the state, and in other corporations controlled by white and colored men respectively, upon which taxes are assessed according to their earnings; but when it comes to dividing up the taxes pro rata, according as each race has contributed its quota to the profits of these various business enterprises, we get little or nothing from these sources?

All of this is doubtless true, but we must remember that the other man collects the taxes, keeps the books, and divides and appropriates the school funds as, in his opinion, he deems proper and equitable. So there you are. In the meantime, let us be patient, but not contented. Rather, let us be up and doing.

We cannot easily evade this all important and vital question by saying: "I am not particularly interested," nor "Am I my brother's keeper?" Our white fellow citizens are aroused on this subject of rural education at the present as never before, and they are putting into operation every means and every agency they can command to bring about an improved, enlightened, social and physical rural community.
While in a few isolated quarters in the state, some of our people, realizing the gravity of the situation, have succeeded in improving the school condition in their own districts; on the other hand, we fear, the great majority of our people are too indifferent and too negligent regarding those matters affecting their intellectual, moral and social welfare. There are, doubtless many causes for this apathy and state of mind on the part of the masses. But the chief reason, we believe, is due to the fact that there is not sufficient agitation on this subject and not enough persistent and insistent reminding of our people of their duty and obligation in the premises.

There are already agencies in the state, such as the Jeanes’ Fund supervisors and employes of the Public Instruction, and may be others, who are doing the best they can to arouse our people to do their duty. But these agencies are more or less handicapped.

To come down to “brass tacks,” so to speak, what we want and need is to put a man in the field ourselves, who, while acting in co-operation with the other forces for the improvement of the rural school communities, will feel absolutely free and untrammelled in his judgment and in his activities along this line, as the conditions and his duty in each case may reveal itself to him from time to time.

“The gods help those who first help themselves.” For this work we need and must have money to push it. This movement, it is true, is an experiment, but we are encouraged to believe it will be successful. If we can obtain a few hundred faithful, interested race-loving men and women behind it.

What think ye of the proposition? Are you ready and willing to help, and how much?

Our weakness has been that we spend too much time and money in preparation for dying and expensive funerals, and too little preparation for living, which is equally as important. We give ten dollars for church building for every one given for school house improvement. In the past quarter of a century, we have remodeled each church on an average of three times, while our children remain in the same dingy, half-seated school house, in which we attended school ourselves. The biggest thing we can do, and this seems to me to be our mission, is to empty our lives and character into our children, thereby making them better and wiser citizens than we are, or had an opportunity to be.

Racial evolution or involution is absolutely inevitable and constant, and the child is the exponent of progress or index of physical, moral or intellectual degeneracy. If we are to ascend the ladder of civiliza-
tion we must follow the lead of our white neighbors, whose watchword is and has been SELF-HELP.

There is much which we can and must do for ourselves, and we call upon every teacher, preacher, farmer and business man to arouse themselves, and "Let us reason together."

**Our Plan**

In Winston, N. C., June 16, in connection with the State Teacher’s Association, you are invited to the organization of a State and Rural School Association.

**Object**

Improvement of rural schools.

**Wants**

100 men who will give $10.00 per year for expenses.
100 women who will give $5.00 per year for expenses.

**Our Aim**

Employ an efficient state organizer on full time who shall organize in every county a Board of Education, who shall work under the present legal boards and county superintendents, and who shall organize township boards in each township, who shall hold school rallies, encourage school attendance, raise by private subscription or local taxation, money for improving school buildings, lengthening school terms and improving the teaching corps by augmenting present salaries of teachers.

This appeal is personal to YOU and URGENT. We are in dead earnest. Something must be done. We send this appeal to you, because we know you to be a man of influence and successful in your field of labor.

Let us have your pledge within 7 days or check dated June 1, 1915. Act to-day. Tomorrow won’t do.

Address all communications to

A. M. MOORE, M.D.,
Durham, N. C.

April 30th, 1915
Dr. Moore’s pledge card: Courtesy of North Carolina State Archives, North Carolina State Library.
Photo copy of James B. Dudley’s and Dr. Aaron Moore’s
To The Negroes of North Carolina:
(Original a 3” by 6” pamphlet)
place in the field Prof. C. H. Moore, of Greensboro, a well known educator, as State Inspector Negro schools. Prof. Moore began his work the first of September and we are satisfied, with proper support, this movement is destined to have a far reaching effect upon all of our schools.

We have the active support of the principal Negro business men of the State. We have in our Rural Extension Department the kind and sympathetic co-operation of our State Department of Education; Hon. J. Y. Joyner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Prof. E. E. Sams, Supervisor of Teacher Training, and Prof. N. C. Newbold, Rural School Supervisor are all in closest touch with the movements of the Rural School Extension Department and are actively co-operating and directing the movements of Prof. C. H. Moore, our official school inspector. Prof. Moore advises that through the interest of the State Department of Education, he has the warm and hearty support of all of the county superintendents of public schools that he has visited. We also have the constant and active support of Prof. Jno. D. Wray, State Agent for Boys' Clubs, of the A. & T. College, Greensboro, N. C. Now with such a work before us we need influence and money, and this communication is for the purpose of asking. Do you not think the cause worthy of your active support? Will you not help us?

We desire you to help us by identifying yourself as a registered member of this Association. It is one of the oldest of its kind in the country. It extends an invitation to every person in North Carolina who is interested in the advancement of the cause of education and the advancement of our general welfare. Prof. N. C. Newbold and Prof. E. E. Sams, although of the other race, have signified their deep interest in our educational advancement by becoming registered members. Will you not do the same? If so, kindly send your name and address to Prof. P. W. Moore, Secretary, Elizabeth City, N. C. We are anxious to have a thousand registered members in our Association. We need your help. Why not help us? Why delay? Why not help us now?

Our Rural Extension Department cannot do much without proper financial support. It is unnecessary to enumerate the advantages to the State and to our race if this department is given proper support. Will you not help us? There is no question that proper support can be given if all who are able will make a small contribution to this cause. In behalf of education, in behalf of our race, in behalf of our children, we earnestly appeal to you to make a remittance of $1.00, $5.00 or $10.00, as you may be able to Dr. A. M. Moore, Secretary and Treasurer, Durham, N. C.

We further make an especial appeal to the Negro teachers of North Carolina to observe the commendable spirit and earnest zeal of the white teachers in their determination to remove illiteracy from their race. Dr. E. E. Smith has called upon the Negro teachers of Cumberland county to enter into the warfare against illiteracy in Cumberland county. On behalf of the State Teachers' Association, the undersigned appeal earnestly to the Negro teachers throughout the State to organize themselves, and earnestly work to reduce the illiteracy in their respective counties. Prof.
C. H. Moore, our school inspector, the Department of Education and your county superintendents, we are sure, will heartily co-operate with you. Write to Hon. J. Y., Joyner, State Superintendent, for the booklet on "Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina and Plans for Its Elimination." Study the plans and organize at once in this great fight. Thousands of white teachers have volunteered to give their services free to help their race. Do we not love our race as well? Can we not do as much for our people? The most expensive thing in the world is ignorance. We, our people, represent the poverty and ignorance of North Carolina more so than the other race. Surely there is greater need therefore that we should bestir ourselves.

Once more on behalf of the North Carolina Teachers' Association, we earnestly appeal to the teachers and friends of education;

First: To become registered members of our Association by remitting one dollar, the annual fees for 1915, at once to Prof. P. W. Moore, Secretary, Elizabeth City, N. C.

Second: To help all you can our Rural School Extension Department by remitting $1.00, $5.00 or $10.00 to Dr. A. M. Moore, Secretary and Treasurer, Durham, N. C.

Third: To help us reduce illiteracy in your city or county by organizing at once your teachers, and by getting them at once to enlist in the great movement against illiteracy.

We trust the loyal, energetic teachers of North Carolina will respond favorably to this appeal made to them by the North Carolina Teachers' Association. Respectfully,

JAS. B. DUDLEY, President.
P. W. MOORE, Secretary.
Appendix 7

Picture of Mrs. Virginia Estelle Randolph
“The First Jeanes Teacher”

The Jeanes Teacher in the United States by Lance G. E. Jones, page 24
Appendix 8

Copy of letter from Mr. F. T. Husband to Mr. N. C. Newbold

722 E. Pettigrew St.
Durham, N.C.
Sept. 16, 1915

Mr. Newbold,

Dear Sir,

It is a source of pleasure for me to write you a few lines in regards to our work. I humbly thank you, Mr. Moore and Prof. Massey for the honor given me. I will try to give you no cause to regret for having appointed me. My report is not such as I would like for it to be. I have spent some time in looking over the schools and seeing their needs. I find many of them in bad condition. I am working to get patent desk for three schools instead of old time benches with no desk. You will see from report work being done in Rountonmont for a new building.

In regards to my salary Prof. Massey said it was left for you to say. I was in his office this A.M. I am sorry that he can not run or work.
but nine months, we will not be able to get in but a little canning. I trust to hear from you in a few days.

Why I left salary blank on report.
When I taken the work I agreed to work eleven months for five hundred and fifty dollars, but since then there was a change in shortening the months. Therefore I left salary blank at his suggestion.

I hope to hear from you soon.

yours T. T. Husband
Supervisor
Appendix 9

Final Report on Rural School Buildings Aided by Mr. Rosenwald

Name of School___________________ No. Teachers ________________

County or Parish___________________ State_____________________

Date School completed___________

Date School Inspected___________

Inspected by_____________________

Actual Cost of Building____________ Rosenwald Aid____________

Amount put in by Public Funds White People, Colored People, Mr. Rosenwald
Cash____________________________

Material________________________________________________________

Land _____________________________________________________________

Labor____________________________________________________________

Total_____________________________________________________________

1. Kind of material used in building? Stone  Wood  Cement  Brick___________

2. What plan was used in building? ______________________________________

3. Was plan followed closely?___________________________________________

4. Is the building painted inside and outside?____________________________

5. No. of coats of paint_______________________________________________

6. Classrooms____________size________

7. No. of industrial rooms ______size________

8. No. of cloak rooms____________

9. No. and location of windows in class and industrial rooms

Class Room A______________ Industrial Room A______________

Class Room B______________ Industrial Room B ______________

Class Room C______________ Industrial Room C ______________

152
Class Room D ___________Industrial Room D___________

10. Are windows hung on weights? ____________________________________________

11. What kind of window shades are used? _______________________________________

12. How are window shades adjusted? ___________________________________________

13. No. square feet in window space? ____________________________________________

14. Size of window panes? ____________________________________________________

15. Distance from window to floor? _____________________________________________

16. Distance from ceiling to top of window? ______________________________________

17. Breeze windows, how located? ______________________________________________

18 Breeze windows, how hung? _________________________________________________

19 Location of flues? __________________________________________________________

20. Are flues built from ground up? _____________________________________________

21. How are flues lined? _______________________________________________________

22. What provisions are made for lighting building at night? _________________________

23. No. and kind of desks? _____________________________________________________

24. Linear feet black board for class room? _______________________________________


27. How is building heated? ___________________________________________________

28. Are stoves jacketed? ______________________________________________________

29 No. of toilets? __________________________________________________________________

30. Description of toilets (pit, septic tank, etc.)?____________________________________

31. Are toilets screened? ______________________________________________________
32. Tell about drinking water convinces?

33. No. acres school ground? _______ Is there a school garden?________

34. Construction of building: First Class; Fair; Poor __________________________

35. Material used: First Class; Fair; Poor __________________________

36. Is building insured?________ For how much?_________________________

37 Teachers’ names and addresses________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

Page one found on back of letter to E. C. Brooks, 10 February 1921. General Correspondence of the Director File, Folder B, Box 5, DNE.
Page two found on back of letter to W. G. Swain, 21 February 1921. General Correspondence of the Director File, Folder S, Box 5, DNE.

Document appeared to be mimeographed
Retyped by author
Appendix 10

Letter from Miss Mattie N. Day to Dean William Wannamaker

509 Fayetteville Street
Durham, N.C.
Feb. 28th, 1918

Prof. W. H. Wannamaker,
Durham, N.C.

My dear Sir:

Please find enclosed the list which you requested me to send you.

Again thanking you for so many favors,

I am, Sir,

Very truly yours,

Mattie N. Day

One sixty capacity canner
One galvanized tub (large size)
One pair of large size scales
One clock (good time keeper)
One capping stick
One tinning copper or steel
One paring knife.

Mattie N. Day
County Agent for Negro Canning Clubs

Feb. 28th, 1918

Courtesy of Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University
Appendix 11

Black School Patrons Named in the Durham County School Board Minutes
1900-1930

Rougemont School
Oct.1, 1917; March 11, June 15, and August 4, 1919: Reverend W. D. Smith

Russell School
June 6, 1921: Charles Dunagan and John Mangum
May 2, 1927: Gep Mack

Hickstown School
September 1, 1919: Henry Lyon

Pearsontown School
May 30, 1920: Haywood Dodson, Oscar Page, and J. L. Page

Lillian School
June 7, 1920: Eugene Rogers, Arthur Green, M. J Rogers, and Robert Rogers
August 2, 1920: Eugene Rogers

Page School
October 16, and November 6, 1922: Atkins Farrington and Sid Hayes
March 4, 1924 Atkins Farrington

Barbee Chapel
November 6, 1922: James Nunn

Union
October 2, 1922: W. O. Carlton, Doc Scott, Mrs. Hedgepath, Joseph Eades, W. P. Green, and C. E. Carlton

Mill Grove
May 5, 1924: W. D. Dunagan, J. S. Holloway, Duncan Meeks, and Ed Meeks

Of all the many African Americans who appeared before the school board, only these few were named in the minutes. The minutes usually noted that “a delegation of colored (or negro) patrons appeared before the board.”
THREE JORDANS WERE all smiles as they posed for picture following elaborate consecration ceremony at Coliseum. Left to right, Mrs. Artishia Jordan is as well-known as her husband, Bishop Frederick D. Jordan for her work with missionary societies of the AME church. Mrs. Carrie R. Jordan, right, mother of Bishop Jordan, wept with joy upon her son's elevation to high office, said she had no words to express her gratitude.

Picture of Carrie T. Jordan, from The Chicago Defender, May 31, 1952. Provided by Dr. Jacqueline Irvine
Appendix 13

Mrs. Carrie T. Jordan’s Annual Report of 1923-1924
Because of their size and superior equipment, the Rosenwald schools were made the centers of supervision for the twenty-three Negro Schools.

Realizing that one of the most serious handicaps of rural schools is irregular attendance, a campaign was put on at the beginning of the year, with the slogan "Every child in school every day in the year". Letters were sent to all teachers enlisting their cooperation, and talks were made in all the schools on the subject of regular attendance. In some communities great interest was manifested, resulting in improved attendance in a large number of schools.

We found many of the school houses in such poor condition that they were really unfit for use, and efforts were made to replace some of the worst ones with new buildings. By explaining to the patrons in these communities the splendid offer of Mr. Rosenwald to assist them in obtaining new buildings, much interest was aroused and people willingly pledged as they were able, funds for the work. Of course it has meant hard work, many community meetings on weekdays and evenings, with quite a few educational rallies held on Sundays. At one such rally the people laid on the table $163.00. As a result of these efforts, at least four new Rosenwald Schools with home economics departments will be built for use next year, two such schools having been put in operation this year. The meetings held in this connection served a dual purpose, securing new buildings and giving opportunity to stress important matters pertaining to
education and home making. The large attendance on these occasions manifested the ever increasing interest of parents in the education of their children.

Through the organization and reorganization of Betterment Leagues, Parent-Teacher Associations, and other Community Meetings many improvements have been made, such as painting of buildings, placing of new window shades, purchasing of organs and other special equipment for classroom use.

The subjects selected for special study and improvement in methods this year were Spelling, Geography, and Nature Study in Grammar Grades. The emphasis placed on Arithmetic, Language, and Reading last year was continued, and made correlation of this year's work with them quite easy. The work in Spelling in both Primary and Grammar Grades was based upon suggestions for teaching Spelling as found in the State Course of Study. Instead of memorizing lists of meaningless words the child was given for study words of everyday use, which he not only learned to spell and write, but to use in composition, thus making the work his own. An effort was made to develop in each child a "spelling conscience"--the ability to know when a word is spelled correctly or incorrectly; to teach the use of the dictionary and need of looking up words when uncertain of the spelling or meaning of a word. Games and spelling devices were used to motivate the drill and put life and interest into the spelling class. By correlating Language with Spelling much oral and written composition was done. Special attention was paid to the quality of the writing, with a desire to arouse in the pupils pride in decent penmanship.

Ridgley's "Home Geography", a text studied by the Primary teachers, was made the basis of instruction in Geography in Primary Grades. The teachers worked out many interesting projects for their own class work,
representing big topics relating to the needs of mankind, and how these are supplied. These projects were reproduced in the school room by the children as the topics were studied during the year. This work led to considerable outside reading and research on the part of both teachers and pupils. The State Course of Study and The Teachers' Manual used with the Essentials of Geography were the basis of work in Geography. Since Geography is not a popular subject with teachers or pupils, and is for the most part poorly taught, an effort was made to vitalize it and show that it is one of the most interesting subjects in our school curriculum. Interest the child in the conditions which influence his own life and community, its habits and customs, and he can be led to take the same interest in the people of other countries. Our schools were not as well equipped for the successful teaching of Geography as was desired, but maps were placed in nearly all the schools, and some were provided with globes. Teachers and children contributed some money for "Current Events" and geographical magazines. Teachers were permitted to take books from the Durham Colored Library and use them for one month. The teachers worked out in class a very interesting project on "Durham and Durham County", which led to a higher appreciation of the worth and achievements of the people of our own community.

Linked up with our work in Language, Drawing, and Geography, was Nature Study, based upon the State Course of Study and "Common Trees of North Carolina". While the projects in Drawing were many and well-done, and stimulated interest in the above named subjects, something finer and more lasting was our reward: children were led to a greater interest in, and appreciation of, the beauty of living things about them, in plant and animal life and our relation to them and to our Creator. It gave an incentive for doing school tasks which they had
An important improvement relating to our schools this year was the inauguration of a new system of grading and promoting the pupils upon a basis of an eight months session divided into two terms of four months each. The work was definitely outlined for each term, thus enabling the teacher to note the work of the pupils and determine whether or not they are coming up to the requirements. Making effective this promotion scheme will show parents the necessity for keeping children in school, and thus place the responsibility for non-promotion where, in a large measure, it belongs.

One of the pressing needs of Negro Schools is suitable books for general reading. To secure these books is one of the tasks set for next year. Twenty-five dollars awarded the Durham County unit for one hundred per cent registration at the Teachers' Association will serve as the nucleus of the fund which we hope to raise for this purpose.

Pictures of Mr. Rosenwald were made available by the Rosenwald Fund at the nominal cost of $1.50 each, and one of these now hangs in every Rosenwald School in the county, a taken of the esteem in which he is held by both patrons and pupils. Money raised for all purposes during the year amounts to more than $1500.00.

Group Center Rallies which served as preliminaries for the County Commencement were held in the schools which were selected for demonstration work during the year. The large crowds which filled buildings to overflowing attested the growing interest in education. The programs presented by the schools represented were unusually good. The exhibits, which were numerous and varied, were done during the year, and represented every subject taught.

In order to create a wider community interest in education, as a climax to Group Center Rallies a county-wide Commencement was undertaken.
instead of the usual Durham Township Commencement. The Commencement
was held at the Durham State Normal School, Friday, April 18th, and
in spite of the downpour of rain, the auditorium of the school was
filled to its capacity. The program rendered was very satisfactory and
encouraging to patrons. Very helpful addresses were delivered by
Mrs. Annie W. Holland, State Supervisor of Elementary Schools, Super-
intendent J. W. Carr, Jr., and Dr. James E. Shepard, Principal of the
Durham State Normal.

Such in brief is the record of what has been accomplished in our
attempt to improve the Durham County Negro Schools during the year
ending June 30, 1924.

Respectfully submitted,

Carrie J. Jordan

Jeanes Supervisor Durham County.
Appendix 14

More accurately, the last white log cabin school in Durham County
Annual Report of the Public Schools of Durham County, 1902 to 1903
The Stagville School was the last log cabin school in Durham County and was in use until at least 1931. This undated picture was taken after 1919, when the frame addition was added to the left of the original log cabin.

Photo courtesy of Historic Stagville Foundation
Appendix 15

East Durham School
(not a Rosenwald School)
Sowell Alley

Photo courtesy of the Durham Historic Photographic Archives, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.
Appendix 16

Durham’s only remaining Rosenwald School: The Russell School
West side of the Russell School showing bank of windows

Cains Chapel Baptist Church preserved the Russell School
Appendix 17

Details of Rosenwald Schools from the Fisk University Rosenwald Database
Accessed at http://rosenwald.fisk.edu/?module=search

**Rougemont School**
1915-1919 [Note Rosenwald Database has 1919, but school was started in 1915]
Two- teacher type school.
Only Durham School built under Tuskegee Institute administration.
Additions: 1925-1926, one room, became three-teacher school
[Note: Cost difficult to determine in many cases, the amount in the comments differ from the amounts in the funding sources.]
Comments: “Total cost +1400 =4238; negroes +100 =1188; public +1100 =1650; Rosenwald +200 =650”
Chart below comments:

**Funding Sources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>$1,088.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>$750.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>$550.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$450.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Walltown School**
1920-1921
Four-teacher type school
Additions: 1924-1924, one room, became five-teacher school
Comments: “Total cost +1450 =9750; negroes +85 =3385; public +1165 =5165; Rosenwald +200 =1200”

**Funding Sources**

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<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Negroes</td>
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<td>$4,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$1,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hickstown School**
1922-1923
Three-teacher type school
Additions: 1924-1925, one room, became four-teacher school
Comments: “Total cost +1480 =6180; negroes +75 =575; public +1205 =4505; Rosenwald +200 =1100”

**Funding Sources**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>$500.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>$3,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$900.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lyon’s Park School (Old Cemetery School--Rosenwald Fund called it the Lakewood School)  
1922-1923  
Four-teacher type school  
**Funding Sources**  
- Negroes $400.00  
- Public $4,000.00  
- Rosenwald $1,100.00

**Hampton School**  
1923-1924  
Two-teacher type school  
Additions: 1929-1930, one room, became three-teacher school.  
Comments: “Total cost +1525 =5525; negroes +27 =527; public +1348 =4148; Rosenwald +150 =850”  
**Funding Sources**  
- Negroes $500.00  
- Public $2,800.00  
- Rosenwald $700.00

**Pearsontown School**  
1923-1924  
Four-teacher type school  
[Instead of the required 2 acre school yard, Pearsontown had a 4 acre school yard.]  
Comments: “Burned March 9th Supt Barbors [Barbour] thinks that people broke in the domestic 8 creuie [science?] rooms and built a fire then carelessly let the building burn  
Insured for $2600.00”  
**Funding Sources**  
- Negroes $500.00  
- Public $5,900.00  
- Rosenwald $1,100.00

**Union School**  
1923-1924  
One teacher-type school  
**Funding Sources**  
- Negroes $200.00  
- Public $1,300.00  
- Rosenwald $400.00
## Lillian School
1924-1925
Two-teacher type school

**Funding Sources**

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<td>Public</td>
<td>$3,255.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$700.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Mill Grove School
1924-1925
Three-teacher type school
2.5 acre school yard

**Funding Sources**

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<td>$900.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Bahama School
1925-1926
Two-teacher type school
Additions: 1929-1930, one room, became a three-teacher school
Comments: “Total cost +1650 =5700; negroes +20 =420; public +1480 =4430; Rosenwald +150 =850”

**Funding Sources**

<table>
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<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>$2,950.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$700.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Rocky Knoll School
1925-1926
Three-teacher type school
3.25 acre school yard

**Funding Sources**

<table>
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<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>$4,550.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenwald</td>
<td>$900.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sylvan School
1925-1926
Two-teacher type school
2.25 acre school yard
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $350.00
  » Public $3,075.00
  » Rosenwald $700.00

Bragtown (Hebron) School
1926-1927
Two-teacher type school
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $200.00
  » Public $3,790.00
  » Rosenwald $700.00

Peaksville School
1926-1927
Two-teacher type school
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $300.00
  » Public $2,950.00
  » Rosenwald $700.00

Russell School
1926-1927
Two-teacher type school
2.25 acre school yard
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $270.00
  » Public $2,725.00
  » Rosenwald $700.00

Woods School
1926-1927
Two-teacher type school
3 acre school yard
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $300.00
  » Public $2,750.00
  » Rosenwald $700.00
Page School
1929-1930
Two-teacher type school
Funding Sources
  » Negroes $175.00
  » Whites $250.00
  » Public $2,575.00
  » Rosenwald $500.00

Pearsontown # 2
1929-1930
Five-teacher type school
2.75 acre lot
Comments: “$120 Elem. library at this school.”
Negroes $175.00
  » Whites $250.00
  » Public $2,575.00
  » Rosenwald $500.00
Appendix 18

A gallery of pictures of different Rosenwald School

Students outside the Walltown School---Some of the students near the steps seem to have on aprons. Perhaps they were added to please the white funders who may have taken this picture. This school seems to have a basement, which was unusual for a Rosenwald School.
Students in the Walltown School--Notice the teacher standing in the doorway, the one light bulb, and the stove pipe going across the room to provide more heat to the classroom. The size of the blackboards and type of desks seen here were specified by the Rosenwald Fund. Give the expressions of the students; this picture may have been taken by one of the white Rosenwald staffers. (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
The Hickstown School and students--Note that several of the students on the porch have brooms in their hands. This picture shows the 1924 addition to the school on the left of the picture. (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
Ms. Beth Howse of the Franklin Library at Fisk University identified the man in front of the Hickstown School as Mr. Rosenwald. Mr. Rosenwald visited Durham in 1928. (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
Lyon’s Park School (Photo courtesy of Durham Historic Photographic Archives, North Carolina Collection, and Durham County Library) & Lyon Park Community Center, the former city Lyon’s Park School, built in 1929, on Halley Street.
The original Lillian School--The Rosenwald Fund liked to document both the new and the old buildings. This school is probably typical of the rural schools of the county. The rain barrel is probably the source of drinking water for the students, and there appears to be no fireplace to heat the building in winter. (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)

Then Rosenwald Lillian School (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
Peaksville students and teachers (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)

Pearsontown School (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
Bahama School (Photo courtesy of Fisk University, Franklin Library, Special Collections)
Appendix 19

Mrs. Gertrude Tandy Taylor

Courtesy of North Carolina Central University,
The Treasure Room
Mr. André D. Vann
Appendix 20

Hillside Park High School

Photo courtesy North Carolina State Archives, North Carolina State Library
The once proud Hillside Park High School—later the J.A. Witted Elementary School, then Operation Breakthrough—now stands abandoned. The second Hillside High School was destroyed in an expansion of North Carolina Central University. The third Hillside High School is now located on Fayetteville Street. Like most of Durham’s Rosenwald Schools, this important part of Durham’s history may soon be lost. The oval medallion on the left of the door is of Abraham Lincoln.
Appendix 21

The brick foundation and playground of the Mill Grove School is located off Roxboro Road on a dirt road called Bob’s Lane.
Appendix 22

Jeanes Supervising Teachers of Durham County

Mr. Frank T. Husband 1915-1917
Miss Mattie N. Day 1917-1923
Mrs. Carrie T. Jordan 1923-1926
Mrs. Gertrude Taylor 1926-1945
Mrs. Roberta O. Peddy 1945-1946
Mr. C. V. Nixon 1946-1949 (Mr. Nixon also served as principal of the Little River School)
1949-1957 no county Jeanes teacher
Mrs. Lucia F. Taylor 1957-1961
Appendix 23
Governmental, Civic, Foundation and Educational Leaders

T. A. Allen: State Superintended of Education, 1923-1934

Luther H. Barbour: Superintendent of Durham County Schools, 1925-1943

E. C. Brooks: Professor at Trinity College and State Superintendent of Schools, 1919-1923

B. C. Caldwell: Field Director of Jeanes Fund

Clinton J. Calloway: Head of Tuskegee Institute’s Extension Department, and first director of the Rosenwald Fund

John W. Carr: Superintendent of Durham County Schools, 1921-1924

William Frontis (W. F.) Credle: Supervisor of the Rosenwald Fund in Division of Negro Education

George Edward Davis: Replaced Charles Moore as State Inspector of Negro Schools, Division of Negro Education

Dr. James H. Dillard: Chairman of the Jeanes Fund/ Negro Rural School Fund

G. H. Ferguson: Assistant Director of Division of Negro Education

Annie Welthy D. Holland: First State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Education, Division of Negro Education

Holland Holton: Superintendent of Durham County Schools, 1919-1921

James Joyner: North Carolina State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1902-1919

Marie McIver: Second State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Education

C. W. Massey: Superintendent of the Durham County Schools, 1896-1919

Frank M. Martin: Superintendent of the Durham County Schools, 1924-1925 and Durham City Schools, 1923-1933

Dr. Aaron Moore: Durham physician, businessman, education advocate

Charles H Moore: First State Inspector of Negro Schools, hired by the NCTA
Nathan Carter (N.C.) Newbold: North Carolina Associate Supervisor of Rural Education; then first Director of the Division of Negro Education in the Department of Public Instruction

William Gaston (W. G.) Pearson: Leading African American educator in Durham, principal of Whitted Graded School

W. A. Roberson: Superintendent for Negro High Schools, Division of Negro Education and President of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools

Dr. James Shepard: President and founder of the National Training School, later North Carolina College for Negroes

Samuel L. (S.L) Smith: Field Agent, and Second Director of the Rosenwald Fund.

Charles Clinton (C.C.) Spaulding: Durham business and community leader, president of North Carolina Mutual.

Alfred K. Stern: Third Director of the Rosenwald Fund

W. H. Wannamaker: Dean of Trinity College and school board member