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Alabama Historical Commission

NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

cover

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Rosenwald School Building Fund and Associated Buildings (1913-1937)

B. Associated Historic Contexts

The Rosenwald School Building Fund (1913-1937)

The Rosenwald School Building Fund in Alabama (1913-1932)

C. Geographical Data

The State of Alabama

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Signature of certifying official — Date: 8/21/97

Alabama Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office)
State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date: 10/10/97

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

The Rosenwald School Building Fund Program and Associated Buildings, 1913 - 1937

Introduction

The historic contextual information in this Multiple Property Documentation form for the Rosenwald School Building Fund Program and associated buildings (1913-1937) is presented in two developmental narratives, The Rosenwald School Building Fund Program (1913-1937) and The Rosenwald School Building Fund Program in Alabama (1913-1932). Three areas of significance are addressed in each contextual statement through a single chronological treatment. All of the three areas of significance span the period of significance. The areas of significance are: Education, Ethnic Heritage - African American, and Social and Cultural History.

Overview

In the early 1900s, Booker T. Washington and his staff at Tuskegee Institute conceived an ambitious program of public-private partnership to improve black rural schooling. Initially, the school building program was aimed for communities around Tuskegee, Alabama, but eventually, Washington expanded his ideas to include communities throughout the South. According to Thomas Hanchett, Washington's aim was to improve not only black school facilities but also to "promote black-white cooperation in the dark days of Jim Crow legislation and to encourage southern communities to increase support for black education." Washington had secured some funding for a rural school building program from Anna T. Jeanes, the wealthy Quaker philanthropist of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and from Henry H. Rogers, a Vice-President of the Standard Oil Company. But to launch this particular program on a much larger scale, Washington turned to a relatively new ally and a generous contributor to Tuskegee Institute, Julius Rosenwald, then president of Sears, Roebuck and Company. Rosenwald agreed to supply matching grants to rural communities interested in building black elementary schools. In 1913, with the dedication of the first Rosenwald funded school, the Loachapoka School in Macon County, Alabama, one of the most ambitious school building programs ever witnessed in the United States was launched. Indeed, the Rosenwald School Building Fund has been described as "the most influential philanthropic force that came to [the] aid of Negroes at that time."[1]

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[1]Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* LXV, (October, 1988); Lisa Schafer, "The Loachapoka Rosenwald School," *Trails in History,* A publication of the Lee County Historical Society, (n.d), 4-6. See also, Jeffrey Sosland, " A School in Every County," (Washington, D. C.; Economics and Science Planning, 1995), 6-64.

[X] See continuation sheet

According to Hanchett, "In the short run, the Rosenwald Fund had an impressive effect. By the 1930s thousands of old shanty schoolhouses had been replaced with new, larger structures constructed from modern standardized plans." By the time the fund shut down its school building progam in 1932, "over 5,300 Rosenwald buildings blanketed fifteen southern states." The school facilities incorporated the most up to date designs in American rural school architecture and the plans were soon utilized for the construction of white schools as well. For twenty years, the Rosenwald School Building Fund provided matching grants to rural southern communities for the erection of local schools, teachers' homes, and county training schools in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.[2]

"The Rosenwald program constituted an important but limited avenue for the advancement of black education during much of the first half of the twentieth century...By July 1, 1932, a total of 5,357 Rosenwald schools, shops and teachers' homes stood in 833 counties of fifteen southern states, erected at a cost of $28.4 million. The Rosenwald Fund's donation of some $4.3 million had sparked $4.7 million in black contributions. Local governments had in turn contributed $18.1 million or 64 percent of the total with private local white contributions making up the remaining 4 percent."[3]

"The Rosenwald classrooms provided generations of black children with real educational opportunities and a number of schools operated until after World War II." Unfortunately, while the Rosenwald School Building Fund did improve rural school facilities, it fell short in obtaining the far-reaching impact Washington and Rosenwald envisioned. The attitudes of southern whites were little changed by Rosenwald grants and few whites were induced to contribute to the building fund. "School boards continued to let public investment in black education lag even further behind than in white schools...the problem of school inequality would not begin to crack until a generation later, under pressure from a different strategy. Starting slowly in the 1950s with the United States Supreme Court decisions *Sweatt v. Painter* and *Brown v. Board of Education* and accelerating through the 1960s and into the 1970s, African-American activists and white liberals brought the power of the United States government to bear on southern school boards."[4]

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[2]Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman, *Investment in People: The Story of The Julius Rosenwald Fund* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), 37-106; Hanchett, 387-389.

[3]Embree and Waxman, 51; Hanchett, 426-427.

[4]Hanchett, 425-427. For an account of the Rosenwald school movement in Tennessee, see Mary S. Hoffschwelle, "Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1914-1929" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1993), 109-129.

Today, the surviving Rosenwald schools, teachers' homes and vocational training buildings symbolize the vision of Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald toward improving educational opportunities for African-American children and the struggle of blacks for educational opportunities in a segregated South. These buildings are all that remain of one of the most ambitious school building programs ever instigated as well as one of the most important philanthropic efforts in the field of African-American education.

The Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund Program (1913-1937)

In 1911, Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company (then the world's largest mail order catalogue business) met Booker T. Washington, the nation's foremost black educator and the founder of Tuskegee Institute. At the time, Rosenwald was just beginning to receive recognition for his philanthropic efforts, particularly substantial gifts to hospitals, universities and YMCAs, including controversial segregated black YMCAs in several large cities. The Chicago millionaire first became interested in Washington and Tuskegee Institute through reading a biography of William H. Baldwin, Jr., the chairman of the Tuskegee Board of Trustees who died in 1905. It was not, however, until 1911, that Rosenwald visited Tuskegee Institute in Macon County, Alabama. The philanthropist was impressed in the contrast between the "decadent rural surroundings and the energy and achievement he saw at the institute." In 1912, Rosenwald accepted an invitation to become a trustee of the institution Washington had almost single-handedly created and the two men soon launched one of the most ambitious school building projects ever witnessed. Focusing his attention and energy on an existing program which Washington had implemented, Rosenwald channeled large sums into what would become known as the Rosenwald School Building Fund Program. Over the next 25 years, Julius Rosenwald and the fund he created battled to narrow the gap in the discrepancies between black and white education and educational facilities which had continued to plague the African-American community since Reconstruction. Indeed, by the 1900s, black public schools, which once had held great promise for African-Americans were suffering terribly from the two overriding factors of poverty and localism. For blacks, it seemed as if very little had changed in regard to educational opportunities since the creation of black public schools during the Civil War.[5]

Prior to the Civil War, every Southern state except Tennessee prohibited the instruction of slaves. Some teaching of blacks did take place, however, as many whites ignored these laws, at least until the 1830s. The advocates for black education argued that the instruction of slaves would provide

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[5]Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock, eds. *The Booker T. Washington Papers, Vol. 10, 1909-11*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 590-591, hereinafter cited as *BTW Papers*; Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 194-196; Embree and Waxman, *Investment in People*, 37-42. See also William A. Link, *A Hard Country and a Lonely Place: Schooling, Society, and Reform in Rural Virginia, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

masters with more efficient labor and missionaries with more receptive congregations. Nevertheless,according to William Preston Vaughan, the Denmark Vesey revolt in 1822 and the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831 convinced Southern whites that it was impossible to

> "cultivate black minds without arousing a spirit of self-assertion and rebellion. Others believed that blacks were incapable of being educated, while still others feared that literate blacks would read and be influenced by abolitionist literature. These whites insisted that a continuation of slavery depended upon keeping the black in a state of ignorance."

After the Vesey and Turner slave revolts, stricter laws against the education of blacks were enacted and enforced. Alabama denied formal education to all blacks in 1832 as a means to discourage revolts. In 1834, South Carolina forbade slave instruction and "rigidly circumscribed the instruction of free blacks." Georgia law provided for punishment by fine and whipping of free blacks who were caught teaching slaves while whites faced a $500 fine and possible imprisonment for the same crime. Yet, as Louis Harlan notes, despite these restrictions, slaves and free blacks learned

> "through a variety of methods: some attended illegally operated schools, particularly in urban communities such as Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans; some were taught by their masters or their master's children; some learned through contact with and observation of whites; and some taught themselves."[6]

By 1860, between 5 and 10 percent of the adult black population (free and slave) in the South was literate, probably a substantial decline from the pre-1830s period. And although there were important efforts to permit the education of slaves in both North Carolina and Georgia prior to 1860, no real progress was made toward the education of Southern blacks until 1862, when Northern religious and philanthropic organizations initiated efforts to educate slaves living in areas occupied by the Union Army. In the 1860s, public meetings were held in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to promote schools for freedmen. These meetings led to the establishment in New York of the Association for the Aid of Freedmen and the Missionary Association and, in Boston, the Committee of Education. These groups collected money and opened schools. The most powerful of these agencies was the American Missionary Association (AMA), a nonsectarian association which since 1846, had conducted missionary work in the United States and abroad. Supported primarily by Congregationalists, the AMA also received support and funds from Freewill Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and the Dutch Reformed Church. By 1866, the AMA had 353 teachers working in the South. Four years later, the AMA was providing instruction to over 21,000 students. Although the AMA opened the first black school under Union Authority at

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[6]William Preston Vaughan, *Schools For All: The Blacks and Public Education in the South, 1865-1877,* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 1-24. Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in The Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 3-44.

Fortress Monroe, Virginia in September 1861, the earliest large scale effort to educate freedmen was made at Port Royal on the islands off the South Carolina coast. Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, dispatched Edward Pierce to organize a labor force and promote the welfare of about 9,000 former slaves. Acting on Pierce's advice, President Lincoln dispatched superintendents and a corps of teachers on February 15, 1862.[7]

Union commanders also became directly involved in black education during the early years of the war. In November 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant, concerned about the large numbers of freedmen entering occupied territory, appointed Col. John Eaton as superintendent of Negro affairs for the military Department of Tennessee which also included portions of Mississippi and Kentucky. Eaton, a former school superintendent in Toledo, Ohio, was an exellent organizer and divided the school into districts, appointed superintendents, recruited teachers, and adopted textbooks. Eaton eventually supervised 105 teachers and 6,200 pupils. Similarly, Gen. Nathaniel Banks, a former governor of Massachusetts, established an educational system in 1863 for his Department of the Gulf (which included Alabama, Mississippi, Lousisiana, and Texas). Banks, however, established schools for black children under the age of twelve, supported by a tax imposed on disloyal whites. By May 1864, ninety teachers were instructing over 5,000 black children in forty-nine Lousiana schools.

> "As of January 1865, an estimated 750 teachers were instructing 75,000 blacks in Union occupied areas of the South. Additionally, the thirty-seven black regiments of the Twenty-Fifth corps received primary education classes. One of the incentives for learning to read was the possibility of promotion. By 1865, 20,000 black soldiers were literate." [8]

When the federal goverment finally created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, known simply as the Freedmen's Bureau, educational efforts finally fell under a central organization. Originally, the legislation establishing the Freedmen's Bureau did not include educational activities so the bureau mainly assisted the missionary and benevolent societies by converting unused government buildings, providing money for books and school furniture, and transporting teachers. In 1866, the federal government enacted the bureau to "seize, hold, use, lease, or sell all buildings formerly held by the Confederacy, and to use the proceeds derived from these transactions for the education of freedmen." The legislation included $21,000 for salaries of school superintendents and $500,000 for repairs and rental of schoolhouses and asylums. By working together, the Freedmen's Bureau and the missionary and benevolent societies made impressive progress. The number of teachers increased from 972 in January 1867 to 2,948 in January 1868 and from 7,840 in January 1869 to a peak of 9,593 in July 1870. Large numbers of applicants for teaching positions were white southerners, some of whom were impoverished and others who claimed to have remained loyal to the North and were now suffering for their opinions.

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[7]Vaughan, 6-8.

[8]Ibid., 8-9.

Large percentages of black teachers would not enter the ranks until after 1868 when they had completed their coursework in fledgling normal schools.[9]

The reaction of white southerners to the initiatives in black public education was mixed. But the South had a poor record of supporting tax-funded public schools in general. There were, of course, no tax supported schools for slaves or free blacks in the antebellum South and very few for whites. By 1860, however, all Southern states (except South Carolina) had made at least a token effort toward educating white children at public expense. North Carolina and Lousiana made the greatest strides in organizing a comprehensive public school system but these fell apart during the war. As William Preston Vaughan notes,

> [The] "forces that gained political control in the South after 1867 stressed the necessity of educating both freedmen and whites, and therefore, new educational systems were developed. Although these schools were sometimes deprived of funds by unscrupulous politicians, they were far superior to their antebellum predecessors and gave a measure of basic education to some blacks and many whites who previously had received none."

By 1866, most leading whites accepted black public school education. Indeed, Vaughan found that

> "Contrary to the almost universal hatred of Northern teachers, attitudes of Southern whites toward black education displayed great variance. Many upper-class whites, motivated by economic or humanitarian reasons, favored freedmen's schools, but most preferred that these schools be taught by native Southerners. The poorer classes often indicated a strong opposition to [black] schools which intensified as their hatred of Reconstruction increased."[10]

The main issues for whites in regard to black education, were control and integration. For example, some Alabama whites came to support black education in 1866 when they realized that the Selma blacks' newspaper appeal of 1865 had been prophetic - if the local whites did not provide black schools, Northern missionaries would. Many whites admitted that southerners would support black schools "with the provision that Northern teachers shall not be sent." For southerners, there was no differentiation between the Carpetbagger and Schoolma'am "who rode into the South together, Yankees both, one to uplift, the other to exploit," both hated and unwanted. Many whites who aided black education really saw themselves as benefactors believing they had a responsibility to society to ensure that blacks received the "proper" education. "A newspaper in Greensboro, Alabama urged whites to support black schools beacause 'the more interest the whites take in Negro education, the better they will be able to control their former slaves for good.' The "good" of course, would be the good of the whites." According to Robert

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[9]Ibid., 12-13.

[10]Ibid., 52-54.

Sherer, white reaction against black education came not because of black and missionary political activity, but because Southerners found that educating free men was not the same thing as indoctrinating slaves. "Thus, many whites who aided black schools immediately after the Civil War felt betrayed in their efforts" when they did not regain control of their former slaves.[11]

Integration was an immediate point of issue during the Reconstructionist constitutional conventions of 1867-68. "Principal advocates of mixed schools in the South included carpetbag politicians of varying degrees of sincerity, well-meaning reformers such as bureau-associated personnel, and well-known crusaders such as Charles Sumner and William Lloyd Garrison." While whites convinced themselves that blacks did not want integration, blacks realized that separate educational facilities would result in black schools receiving a smaller share of funds than their white counterparts. While Louisiana experimented with school integrations, it was an experiment fraught with hostility and violence. Louisiana's constitutional convention passed an education article which read "there shall be no separate schools or institutions of learning established exclusively for any race by the state of Louisiana." Nevertheless, the hatred of many Louisiana whites for integrated schools produced such violent attitudes that school officials were often frightened from their homes. Assailants had murdered the president of the DeSoto Parish school board and the treasurer of the Red River board. By the end of 1875, schools of Lafayette Parish in south-central Louisiana were suspended because of the opposition and interference of local whites who "did not hesitate to threaten school directors with violence."[12]

Unfortunately, Southern blacks could not look to the North for examples of integrated public school systems. The constitutions of most Northern states provided separate schools for each race. As to be expected, the Reconstructionist constitutional conventions of almost all Southern states carefully avoided any distinction between separate or mixed schools. The acts of the constitutional convention of the State of Mississippi were typical of the actions taken in other Southern states. Although the sixteen blacks which served as delegates to Mississippi's reconstructionist constitutional convention were able to prevent conservatives from inserting a separate school clause in the proposed constitution, they were unable to force the convention to make reference to an integrated public school system. The adopted provision simply declared it the "duty of the legislature to establish free public schools for all children between five and twenty-one years of age, and the decision of mixed schools is thus left to that body (the state legislature)." Charles W. Fitzhugh, a member of a leading free black family from Wilkinson County, called for a resolution that "although the question of school integration had been left to the legislature, that it is the sense of this Convention that separate schools for the races ought not to be established." Fitzhugh's resolution was tabled by a vote of 58-1. The *Jackson Clarion*, a conservative Mississippi paper,

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[11]Robert G. Sherer, *Subordination or Liberation? The Development and Conflicting Theories of Black Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1977), 3-6; Vaughan, 47-48.

[12]Vaughan, 78-118.

noted that the "delegates have sown the seeds of discord" between the two races by leaving a loophole for integrated schools. The paper predicted, prophetically, that it would require a standing army to integrate schools in Mississippi. Similarly, in South Carolina, as one writer notes, "after the return of the state to Conservative control, it would have taken a sizable contingent of federal troops to have kept the university open on an integrated basis, a requirement that no national administration whether Republican or Democratic, would be willing to meet" until the 1960s.[13]

If Southern blacks expected support from the Federal government in regard to establishing integrated schools, they were sorely disappointed. Congressional Radicals, led by Charles Sumner, were interested in securing federal support for school integration in the 1870s, but most members of Congress, while not wanting to appear to favor segregation, were hesitant to support integration. In 1872, Legrand W. Pierce, a former New Yorker now representing Mississippi, introduced a bill in the House which would have created a national education fund out of proceeds from public land sales invested in government bonds. The money was to be distributed annually among states and territories for educational purposes if they provided free education for all children between the ages of six and sixteen. Congressional Democrats viewed this bill as the first step of compulsory school integration even though the bill did not provide for mixed schools but merely free education. Democrat Frank Hereford of West Virginia proposed an amendment providing that money would not be withheld if the state or territory refused to establish integrated schools. The amendment passed with 115 yeas, 81 nays with forty-three not voting. Almost all of those who refused to vote were Republicans who were reluctant to vote for mixed schools but did not want to be viewed as supporting segregation. Their reluctance to vote ensured the passage of the Hereford amendment.[14]

Perhaps the most damaging piece of legislation effecting the establishment of an integrated public school system came in 1874 with the proposed Kellogg amendment to Charles Sumner's Civil Rights Bill. Sumner had introduced a new and comprehensive supplementary civil rights bill in the Senate in 1870 which he viewed to be the "crowning work" of Reconstruction. It proposed equal rights on railroad cars, steamboats, public conveyances, hotels, licensed theatres, places of public entertainment, church institutions, cemetery associations, and "common schools and institutions authorized by law." For three years, Sumner worked feverishly to have the civil rights legislation enacted, reintroducing it on several occasions. The introduction of Sumner's bill generated hundreds of letters from proponents on both sides of the mixed school issue. Thomas Conway, superintendent of education in Louisiana wrote that if the bill did not pass, "We shall be in agony here for years. Better strike out every relic of the old barbarism at once." A semi-illiterate Georgia pastor condemned Sumner for sponsoring a social equality bill which none but "the very worst of the Negroes" desired. The bill finally passed the Senate on May 22, 1874, with many of those voting for the legislation doing so out of respect for Sumner, who had died on March 12. The bill,

[13]Vaughan, 60-62, 108-118.

[14]Ibid., 119-140.

however, was altered significantly when it reached the House. Alexander White, a Radical from Alabama, proposed omitting the cemetery provision and called for "separate but equal" public accommodations and school facilities. More importantly, however, was Stephen Kellogg's amendment which proposed deleting the clause "and also all common schools and public institutions of learning or benevolence supported in whole or in part by general taxation." If the Kellogg amendment was approved, Sumner's civil rights bill would not contain any reference to equal rights in schools. As William Phelps argued to his congressional colleagues, if they enacted the school clause calling for integrated schools, there would not be a state in the South whose legislature would vote a single dollar for the creation and support of public education. The civil rights bill, as amended and therefore without the school clause, passed on February 4, 1875. Alabama's Constitution of 1875 made segregated schools part of the state's basic law and in 1877, that state's first financial segregation went into effect when a law was passed providing that poll taxes should be separated and distributed by race for public schools.[15]

William Preston Vaughan notes "What many whites feared to be the greatest threat to Southern public schools since their reorganization had failed to materialize. The Forty-Third Congress agreed to delete the school provision from the civil rights law and federal prohibition of segregated schools was postponed for seventy-nine years until the Supreme Court decision of 1954." Yet two significant developments did emerge from the Reconstructionist period in regard to black education. Precedents were established for integrated schools and the constitutional revisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments laid the groundwork for future assaults on segregated education. Also, the importance assigned to black education by benevolent and missionary societies was taken up by philanthropic funds and foundations. Unfortunately, it was not just the state and Federal governments which were perpetuating segregation. The philanthropic societies and foundations (entities quite different from the missionary societies of the 1860s) which were springing up across the nation in the late 19th century, while promoting black education, unfortunately also promoted segregation. [16]

American philanthropic foundations grew out of the spectacular fortunes amassed during the swift expansion of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The late nineteenth century was a golden age in America with the creation of extensive transportation and communication networks, the exploitation of an abundance of natural resources, the influx of millions of immigrants and laborers, and the implementation of mechanization and mass production. With the Industrial Revolution coming to a climax, American fortunes grew to unheard of proportions. Yet many of these "Robber barons" had a commitment to progress and a sense of social responsibility. These wealthy industrialists established foundations to oversee the distribution of private funds for a variety of social causes and projects. It was during this period that America witnessed the creation of the Carnegie endowment, the Rockefeller, Harkness and

[15]Ibid., 119, 135-140; Sherer, 3-10.

[16]Vaughan, 140.

Cullen Foundations. The McCormick Memorial Fund, the Duke and Reynolds Trusts, the Ford and Sloane Foundations, the Guggenheim Fund, the Russell Sage, Kellogg, and Phelps-Stoke funds were all created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to battle the country's social ills. In regard to the funding of public education for African-Americans, however, four foundations deserve particular note: the John Slater Fund, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, and the Peabody Fund. [17]

In 1867, George Peabody, a wealthy Northern philanthropist established a fund to provide vital financial assistance to Southern school systems. Peabody, a banker and financier, had made his fortune in England as a merchant and money broker. By 1867, he had donated $4,480,000 to projects throughout England and the United States, including a $60,000 gift in 1867 to Washington College, a gift solicited by the school's new president, Robert E. Lee. That year, Peabody bequethed $1 million for public school education in the South, the investment income to be used "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the South and South Western States of our Union." Peabody declared that the fund should benefit the entire population, "without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them." A board of trustees, including Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Admiral David Farragut, as well as five Southerners, was selected by Peabody to administer the fund. Peabody insisted that the fund's main goal was to encourage primary education rather than providing college education for gentlemen's sons. The trustees selected Barnas Sears, an educator and former college president, as the fund's chief administrator.[18]

Sears outlined for the board two possible courses of action: the establishment and operation of a system of Peabody Schools or the disbursement of funds to struggling but established schools. Sears stressed that it would be much simpler and wiser to "strengthen and revive existing facilities." He also favored the creation of normal schools, scholarships to potential teachers, encouragement of teacher's associations, and financial assistance to periodicals. Unfortunately, Sears also advoacated that the fund distribute monies on a segregated basis, with no contributions made to integrated schools. From the very beginning of the distribution of funds, Sears followed a policy of discrimination in payments to black schools, a policy justified in his mind due to what he perceived as lower fiscal needs of black schools. In September of 1869, Sears wrote that he had "adopted a scale for blacks that was one-third less than the scale for whites because it costs less to maintain schools for black children." Too, whenever Sears offered aid to a town, it was

[17]Embree and Waxman, 1-4.

[18]Vaughan, 141-158. In addition to Grant and Farragut, the board of trustees of the Peabody Fund included Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts; Hamilton Fish, New York; William C. Rives, Virginia; William Aiken, South Carolina; George W. Riggs, Washington, D.C.; Edward A. Bradford, Louisiana; and George N. Eaton of Maryland. Following Sears' death in 1880, Jabez L. M. Curry of Talladega, Alabama became chief administrator of the Peabody Fund.

understood that blacks would have separate facilities. When whites in Louisiana were in an uproar over the integration of public schools, Sears and the board of the Peabody Fund officially took the position that the public schools of that state no longer served white citizens. Therefore, Louisiana's share of the Peabody funds were distributed for the sole benefit of white children. Robert Lusher, former Louisiana state superintendent of education and a staunch segregationist, later wrote that only with the aid of the Peabody fund, was he able to "provide ten months a year of thorough education for 9,000 white children, who were at the same time protected from moral contamination, and redeemed from the sway of ignorance."[19]

In 1874, Barnas Sears testified before Congress opposing the clause in the Sumner civil rights bill calling for the establishment of integrated schools. By the end of Reconstruction, the Peabody trustees had turned their attention to training teachers and they established the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee. Until its dissolution in 1914, the Peabody Fund would emphasize the development of Southern education, particularly the training of secondary and elementary school teachers. While it is perhaps unrealistic to have expected Sears and the trustees to have worked actively for integration, their refusal to give any money to integrated schools reinforced the prevailing attitude which was then sweeping the South: separate but equal, and while never equal, always separate. It would be twenty years before the United States Supreme Court officially sanctioned "separate but equal" facilities for whites and blacks in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1895. In addition to the segregationist practices of the Peabody fund, in the late nineteenth century, African-Americans began to recognize the preference among Northern philanthropic foundations for funding industrial education courses for blacks rather than the traditional elementary and secondary school curriculums. Industrial education, as opposed to a broad, liberal arts curriculum, was viewed by many as an appropriate field of study for blacks. An industrial education curriculum for African-Americans suited Southern whites, particularly the poorer whites, who were content for young black men to be trained as farmers and mechanics and for young black women to learn the basics of good housekeeping or "domestic science."[20]

The ensuing debate over the appropriateness of industrial education courses over the traditional school curriculum for African-American children deeply divided the black community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the argument was a principle dividing issue between the educational philosophies of the two greatest African-American leaders of the era, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. As Washington once declared,

> "I would set no limits to the attainment of the Negro in arts, in letters, or in statemanship, but I believe the surest way to reach those ends is by laying the foundation in the little things of life that lie immediately about one's door. I plead for industrial development of the Negro

[19]Vaughan, 141-159.

[20]Vaughan, 141-158; Hanchett, 392-393.

not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him. I want to see him enter the all-powerful business and commercial world."

Du Bois and his followers thought Washington too accommodating to whites on voting and social issues. Indeed, as one biographer of DuBois notes,

"For twenty years Washington appealed to a national mood of moderation on Negro rights: economic progress, especially through industrial education, and postponement of civil, political, and, above all, social equality. Long restive under Washington's acquiescence in second-class citizenship, Du Bois ordered the Negro to be a man and demanded that white America recognize him as such." [21]

Despite Du Bois' arguments, many African-Americans faced with overt white hostility to noneconomic advancement, chose to follow Washington's lead. Too, Washington's philosophy fell on the receptive ears of wealthy white industrialists who began to funnel unprecedented funds through Washington's school, Tuskegee Institute, for a wide variety of programs "designed to uplift black America." For example, in 1882, John Fox Slater, a member of the New England textile family, established a fund to assist in the development of industrial education for African-Americans. While in some respects the Peabody and Slater Funds were similar, Slater established a foundation specifically to aid black education. No money was allocated for white schools and funds were specifically earmarked for schools which "give instructions in trades and other manual occupations simultaneously with mental and moral instruction. It was believed that such training would make the students most useful to their Race." Soon after the first grants were distributed in 1884, Atticus Haygood, the agent of the Slater fund, was able to report that Slater aid to Clark University in Atlanta had

"helped their printing department where twenty students were taught type-setting and press operation. Thirty students were employed in the carpentry department and constructed eight houses, as well as tables, bookcases, and other furniture. Girls were taught to make dresses for themselves and teachers. The school had a model house where girls were taught house-wifery."

Haygood's report also included a letter from the relatively new and young president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, noting that with Slater aid, students at the facility had made a large part of the half million bricks used in the construction of their new college building. "Young men were taught how to cultivate the soil, prepare manures, and care for stock." The young president, Booker T. Washington, was one of the first to receive money from the Slater Fund. By as early as 1884,

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[21]Francis L. Broderick, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), ix; Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 186; Hanchett, 394; Vaughan, 141-158.

Washington had mastered the art of obtaining philanthropic support from wealthy white industrialists for his small but thriving Tuskegee Institute.[22]

Booker T. Washington had come to Tuskegee Institute in 1881 from Hampton Institute in Virginia. Born a slave at Hale's Ford, Viriginia in 1856, Washington had attended Hampton in the 1870s and it was there that Washington adopted the industrial education philosophy espoused by the school's superintendent, Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Hampton produced "less advanced but more solid men." Indeed, Hampton offered only English and elementary and industrial training. Armstrong once wrote that he desired African-Americans to

> "go out and teach their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands and to these ends to build up an industrial system for the sake of characters."

It was a philosophy Washington took to heart and brought to the plains of Alabama in the summer of 1881. [23]

Tuskegee began in a political deal between two white office seekers, Wilbur F. Foster and Arthur L. Brooks, and a black leader in Tuskegee, Lewis Adams. During the 1880 election, Adams promised to deliver the black vote to Foster and Brooks if they sponsored the creation of a black normal school in Tuskegee. After winning their respective races, the two men pushed a bill through the Alabama Legislature appropriating two thousand dollars annually for a Normal school for colored teachers. A white man was first brought to Tuskegee to consider the job but finding that an actual school was not yet in existence, he "turned his back upon the whole project as hopeless." Upon his arrival, Washington spent the month of June, 1881 looking for satisfactory buildings and traveling through Alabama,

> "examining into the actual life of the people, especially in the country districts and announcing the school to the class of people that he wanted to have attend it. Washington found the crude and backward mode of living of most of the people overwhelming, but he

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[22]Sherer, 52.

[23]Three works which chronicle Washington's life, and serve as references for this brief biographical sketch, are *UP From Slavery*, Washington's autobiography, and two books by Louis Harlan, *The Making of a Black Leader* and *The Wizard of Tuskegee*; In addition, see Harlan and Smock's multi-volume work, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*; Sherer, 46-58.

was firmly convinced that industrial training could reach these people and help them raise their standard of living."[24]

Tuskegee Institute opened on July 4, 1881 with thirty students, aged fifteen to forty, primarily from surrounding Macon County. The following year Washington purchased an abandoned plantation for $500. At this point, the Institute's physical plant consisted of one hundred acres of farmland, a cabin once used as the plantation dining room, an old kitchen, a stable and hen house. Once the debt on the plantation had been paid, Washington began to make plans for new buildings and he relied heavily on funds solicited from Northern philanthropists. His incredible success in obtaining funds for buildings soon made Tuskegee's physical plant the best in Alabama, if not the entire South. By 1901, just twenty years after opening the doors of his school, Washington had personally supervised the contruction of twenty-five buildings, including a Carnegie Library, dining hall, dormitories, recitation rooms, auditoriums, laboratories, agricultural buildings, a hospital, and a president's residence. Yet the emphasis was still placed on industrial education. For example, Washington began farming at Tuskegee not only to provide food for the students but because he believed that most blacks lived on farms and needed this training. The establishment of a brickyard furnished not only bricks for the new buildings at Tuskegee, but was an "instrument of education." And although Tuskegee was a normal school, the primary focus was always on teaching each student a manual trade, for example, carpentry, printing, wheelwrighting, etc. The critics of Washington's industrial education philosophy argued that the "Wizard of Tuskegee" was not uplifting his race but rather training African-Americans as wage-earners and servants of white employers. Yet Louis Harlan, Washington's biograher, notes that

"Washington's correspondence with the large donors to Tuskegee does not reveal a conspiracy...to prepare Tuskegee's students to become wage-workers. The typical donor sent his check rather than his advice...Washington's efforts were to train students to become independent small businessmen, farmers and teachers."

Yet Washington "flattered and cajoled the very rich" and never challenged their status as the embodiment of the American success story. Washington taught his students the work ethic, self-help and self-improvement that his donors liked to believe "were more important to their own success than their acquisitive behavior. The wealthy loved Washington because he seemed rather like one of them, a self-made man with a big physical plant to prove it. But for his color, he could have belonged to their club." Too, Washington did recognize the need for higher education and professional schools for blacks. In 1904, he stated

"[African-Americans] need not only the industrial school but the college and professional schools as well, for a people so largely segregated, as we are, from the main body of our people must have its own professional leaders who shall be able to measure with others in

[24]Sherer, 47-48.

all forms of intellectual life....however, teachers, ministers, lawyers, and doctors will prosper just in proportion as they have about them an intelligent and skillful producing class."[25]

If Washington insisted that academic training be tied to industrial education, he also demanded that Tuskegee be a service institution for blacks throughout Alabama's Black Belt prairie region. "The most obvious means of service was the training of students and teachers to go out and share what they had learned from others." Yet Tuskegee did more than train teachers and workers. Washington's wife began women's and children's conferences and developed a rural settlement program. And, in what were perhaps the most famous extension efforts of Washington, he established the Phelps Hall Training School for rural ministers and the Farmer's and Worker's Conferences to address the common problems of African-Americans.[26]

Washington achieved phenomenal success at Tuskegee. In 1883, the Alabama Legislature increased Tuskegee's appropriation to $3,000 and the school received its first Slater and Peabody funds. The legislature also established an Agricultural Research and Experiment Station at Tuskegee in 1896, appropriating an additional $1,500 annually. By 1900, the annual Slater Fund grant had risen to $11,000 and the Peabody Fund was contributing $1,500 annually. In 1898, a single fund-raising meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York City netted Tuskegee $100,000 for an endowment fund. Two years later, the fund amounted to $165,662.49. Cash income in 1900 alone was $197,630. Tuskegee taught twenty-eight industries in 1900. Total enrollment stood at 1,231 with students representing twenty-seven states and territories, including Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, and parts of Africa. There were 103 teachers and staff members and the Normal School had graduated 342 through it's department. Washington had brought Tuskegee a long way from the day in 1881 when he opened the facility in a "borrowed, run-down, leaky church and shanty." [27]

Washington owed a great deal of his success at Tuskegee to Henry H. Rogers, one of the earliest partners in the Standard Oil trust and Washington's personal benefactor. Rogers had begun donating small sums to Tuskegee in the 1890s but after hearing Washington speak at a dinner in New York in 1903, he pressed ten one-thousand dollar bills into the educator's hand. Rogers aided not only Tuskegee but other small southern schools and colleges as well, giving Washington $500

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[25]Sherer, 52; Harlan, 3-31.

[26]Sherer, 56-58. The Black Belt prairie is a particular region of Alabama which stretches roughly across the state from Columbus, Mississippi to Columbus, Georgia. Historically known as one of the plantation districts of the state, the area contains rich soil and a lengthy growing season. The Black Belt derives its name from the dark rich soil and not from the large black population.

[27]Ibid.

a month to distribute to them. And it was through the generosity of Henry H. Rogers that Washington first began his program of constructing rural elementary schools for blacks in Alabama.[28]

At the same time that he approached Rogers with the rural elementary school program, Washington was also securing funds for Tuskegee from Anna T. Jeanes, a Quaker from Philadelphia whose family had accumulated great wealth from their extensive coal and land holdings. In 1902, Miss Jeanes contributed $5,000 to the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial Institute in Georgia. Upon learning of her gift, George Foster Peabody, a treasurer of the General Education Board,[29] encouraged Hollis B. Frissell of Hampton Institute to contact Miss Jeanes. When Dr. Frissell approached Anna T. Jeanes about a possible contribution for Hampton, he was rebuffed. "Yes, I know all about Hampton," she said, "and I won't give any money to that. But I want to hear about the poor little Negro cabin one-teacher rural schools. Can thee tell me about these schools? I want to know about them." When Frissell completed telling her about the condition of rural Negro schools, Miss Jeanes presented him with a check for $10,000 to establish a rural elementary school for blacks near Hampton. Frissell immediately contacted Washington, suggesting that he call on Miss Jeanes. In 1905, Washington approached Miss Jeanes for a contribution to erect a dining

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[28]For a detailed account of the origins of the Rosenwald School Building Fund, see Alfred K. Stern's untitled and undated typed manuscript in the archives at Tuskegee University. Although not footnoted, the text, which consists of seven chapters, was obviously prepared for publication. Alfred K. Stern was a trustee and director of the Rosenwald Fund from 1928-1937 and director of special activities from 1927-1935. Hereinafter cited as Stern.

[29]The General Education Board (GEB) had been established in 1902 by John D. Rockefeller to handle his contributions to schools and to promote his educational philosophy. Although Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. did contribute money to Tuskegee (indeed, the entire amount for the construction of Rockefeller Hall), in comparison to the monies donated by the GEB to white institutions, the amount given to Tuskegee and Hampton was considered to be a mere pittance. While Rockefeller eventually gave the GEB $54 million, the organization contributed only $699,781 for black colleges and schools from 1902-1914. The first chairman of GEB was William H. Baldwin, Jr. whose biography greatly influenced Julius Rosenwald. An organization similar to the GEB was the Southern Education Board (SEB), which campaigned for better public schools for every child in the entire South. The southern members of the board, however, insisted that the SEB's mission be the promotion of white education and they refused to allow any black person, including Washington, to meet with the board. Louis Harlan notes that Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Tennessee, reported that the fund "would not emphasize the *negro* too much. In the excited state of public sentiment, this was considered wisest." Charles D. McIver, president of the State Normal and Industrial College of North Carolina, observed that "The less the Negro has to do with politics the more cheerfully will his white neighbors help him to work out his educational and industrial salvation." Harlan, *Wizard of Tuskegee*, 186-187.

room at Tuskegee. Miss Jeanes asked Washington "Is not aid for 'Rural Schools' more desirable and important than the Tuskegee dining room, (to cost $54,000)? that might benefit the few while the influence of Rural Schools might benefit the many." Washington agreed and was quickly presented a check for $10,000.[30]

Realizing that more than $10,000 was at stake, Washington and Frissell kept each other informed as to their negotiations with Jeanes. Washington suggested to Jeanes that the money be lent to "black patrons building their own schoolhouses, and using the interest to pay part of the schoolhouses." Miss Jeanes did not approve this plan. A few weeks later, Jeanes increased her contribution to $200,000, which she placed under the supervision of the Rockefeller-funded General Education Board (GEB). Although the GEB managed the funds, Washington and Frissell formulated policy and actually spent the money. "They began by giving matching grants for the building of black schoolhouses to communities in the immediate vicinity of their institutions."[31]

In 1907, Jeanes set up a fund consisting of income bearing securities for "the furthering and fostering of rudimentary education in small Negro rural schools." Washington and Frissell set up an independent board, including the most liberal white southerners they could find, to administer the million dollar gift and to satisfy Miss Jeanes' wishes. Washington realized that the Jeanes Fund could be a counterpart to the white controlled Southern Education Board (SEB), promoting concern for the development of black schools. James Hardy Dillard, a classics professor and dean at Tulane College, became the first general agent of the Jeanes Fund. In 1908, he hired the first supervising teacher, Virginia Randolph, who acted as a county superintendent for the black schools in Henrico County, Virginia. Miss Randolph improved teaching methods, introduced simple forms of manual training, and learned first hand about the conditions and problems in the county schools. Randolph and Dillard began training a number of Jeanes supervising teachers, first in Virginia and then throughout the South. "In some counties, the superintendent was on the faculty of some intermediate normal or industrial school such as Hampton and Tuskegee. The Jeanes Fund employed their graduates by the score; in other cases, the Jeanes Fund agents simply searched out the best teacher in the county and set him or her to work visiting the other schools." According to Louis Harlan, Dillard took care "that nothing [the Jeanes agents] might do should tend to lessen the responsibility of the regular school officials and the Jeanes Fund never entered a county without authorization and assurances of good will."[32]

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[30]Arthur D. Wright, *The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. (Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, 1907-1933)*, (Washington, D.C.: The Rural Negro School Fund), 7-8; Harlan, *The Wizard of Tuskegee,* 193-195.

[31]Harlan, *The Wizard of Tuskegee,* 195.

[32]Ibid., 195-196.

By 1915, the Jeanes Fund had placed supervisors in 134 counties; in 110 of these counties, one-fourth to one-half of their salary was paid by the county school board. "These achievements were statistically insignificant as compared with the great and growing gap of educational opportunity between white and black." The typical black school was a county church filled with barefoot tenant children for three or four months out of the year. More often than not, the teacher was barely more knowledgeable than the pupils. Washington realized that the Jeanes Fund was a start but that the Jeanes teachers needed adequate school buildings. As early as 1902, in his book *Character Building*, Washington had advocated the building of quality school facilities for blacks throughout the South.

> "The next thing is to get a convenient schoolhouse. Usually in the far South the State has not been able to build a schoolhouse. How is it to be secured? A good school house should be carefully planned. Then the teacher or some one else should go among the people of the community, colored and white, and get each individual to give something, no matter how small an amount if in money, or, if not in money, how little in value for purchasing lumber. When we were getting started at Tuskegee, one old colored woman brought me six eggs as her contribution to our work. If enough money cannot be secured by subscription and collection to pay for the lumber, a supper or festival, entertainment or church collection will help out. After the lumber is secured, the parents should be asked to 'club in' with their wagons and haul it free. Then at least one good carpenter should agree to give a certain number of days' work in helping to put up the structure. In this work of building, the larger pupils can help a good deal, and they will have all the more interest in the schoolhouse because they have had a hand in its erection. In these ways, by patient effort, a good frame schoolhouse can be secured in almost any community."[33]

Working with Henry H. Rogers, Washington began to implement his rural school building fund. As Washington once wrote

> "I was showing him [Rogers] one day the copy of a little Negro farmer's newspaper published at Tuskegee containing an account of the efforts the people in one of our country communities were making to raise a sum of money among themselves in order that they might receive the aid he had promised them in building a schoolhouse. As Mr. Rogers read the account of this school "rally" as it was called, and looked down the long list of names of the individuals who, in order to make up the required sum, had contributed out of their poverty some a penny, some five cents, some twenty-five, some a dollar and a few as much as five dollars, his eyes filled with

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[33]Stern, 12; Harlan, *Wizard of Tuskegee*, 166-167.

tears. I do not think he ever before realized, as he did at that moment, the great power and the great power for good--which his money gave them."[34]

Rogers became extremely interested and supportive of Washington's rural school plans and suggested that two or three counties be identified for the experiment. They were to be given up-to-date schools so that the experiment could have every chance for success. Washington, however, cautioned Rogers against giving the schools to the people outright. He thought it best to require the blacks to raise a portion of the sum so that from the very beginning, they would be taught to help themselves. Washington and Rogers determined that each school building could be constructed for $700. In addition to a portion of the construction cost, the communities would also have to provide for the lengthening of the school term and the cost of maintaining the building. Blacks more than met the expectations of Washington and Rogers, raising over $20,000 toward the expenses. The plan was extended to four other counties. In five years (1904-1909), forty-six school houses were built. Unfortunately, in 1909, Henry Rogers died before many of the school buildings were completed. To continue his school building program, Washington turned initially to Jacob Schiff, a wealthy Jewish philanthropist and then to Julius Rosenwald, the president of Sears, Roebuck and Company. In 1911, Rosenwald met Washington in Chicago and visited Tuskegee later that year. Rosenwald was impressed with "the former slave's accomplishments, his intelligence, and integrity and was moved by his story of southern conditions." Negro education quickly became a primary interest of Rosenwald although he contributed to numerous charitable and educational institutions all of his life.[35]

Julius Rosenwald was born in a middle-class household in Springfield, Illinois on August 12, 1862. His father, a German Jew who had fled his native land due to limited economic opportunity, had arrived in America in 1854 with a total capital of twenty dollars. Starting as a peddlar, he quickly found success as a member of a clothing firm. Julius went to public schools and earned extra money doing odd jobs. At seventeen, Rosenwald's formal education came to an end and he began an apprenticeship in his uncles' clothing firm. By the 1890s, Rosenwald had become a moderately prosperous merchant and he once remarked to a friend "The aim of my life is to have an income of fifteen thousand dollars a year - five thousand to be used for my personal expenses, five thousand to be laid aside, and five thousand to go to charity." In 1896, Rosenwald's brother-in-law convinced him to form a partnership and invest in the mail-order business of Richard Sears, which was then in need of capital to implement an expansion plan. In 1897, the year Rosenwald became active in the firm, annual sales at Sears, Roebuck and Company were $1,404,237. When Rosenwald retired as president of the company in 1924, annual sales were close to two million dollars. Rosenwald's initial investment of seventy-five thousand dollars had spiraled into a

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[34]Stern, Ch. 1, 10; Wright, 6-10; Harlan, *Wizard of Tuskegee*, 166-167.

[35]M. R. Werner, *Julius Rosenwald: The Life of a Practical Humanitarian*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1939), 127; Embree and Waxman, 24-27; Stern, 10-11.

personal fortune worth hundreds of millions of dollars. For Rosenwald, his fortune enabled him to contribute generously to numerous charitable, social and religious insitutions.[36]

A number of factors contributed to Rosenwald's concern for the welfare of African-Americans. Paul Sachs, a former partner in the financial firm of Goldman, Sachs and Company, discussed at length with Julius Rosenwald the problems of Negroes and he enlisted the merchant's support of urban leagues, organizations designed to improve the conditions of blacks in America's largest cities. As early as 1910, in response to an appeal for funds to erect a YMCA building for blacks in Chicago, Rosenwald offered to give twenty-five thousand dollars toward such a building in any city in the United States where an additional $75,000 was raised among whites and blacks. Too, Rosenwald had read the biography of William H. Baldwin, Jr., a northern white man who had devoted his life to promoting black education in the South, and *Up From Slavery*, the saga of Booker T. Washington. Rosenwald finally met Washington in Chicago in 1911 during a fund-raising drive for Tuskegee. Rosenwald later gave a luncheon for the educator at the Blackstone Hotel. Later that evening, the two men attended the fifty-third anniversary banquet of the YMCA at which both of them spoke.[37]

In October of 1911, Rosenwald hired a private railroad car and took a party of relatives and friends to Tuskegee Institute. The group made a thorough inspection of the buildings and held a meeting in the chapel with the faculty and about two thousand students. The entire Rosenwald family and their friends were enthusiastic about Washington's achievements and the possibilities afforded Tuskegee's graduates. Rosenwald himself, was particularly interested in the model country school Washington had established at the Rising Star community in Macon County, Alabama. Rosenwald later wrote,

> "Dr. Washington said, 'I think the most interesting work that Tuskegee has done in recent years is its work in rural schools in the country surrounding the Institute. During the last five or six years, forty-seven school buildings have been erected in Macon County by colored people themselves. At the same time the school term has been lengthened in every part of the country from five to eight months. This work had been done under the direction of a supervising teacher in connection with the extension department of the Institute. The school at Rising Star is an example of the rural school that Tuskegee is seeking to promote. It consists of a five-room frame house in which the teachers - a Tuskegee graduate and his wife - not only teach, but live. All the rooms are used by the school children. In the kitchen they are taught to cook, in the dining-room to serve a meal, in the bed-room to make the beds. In the garden they are taught how to raise vegetables, poultry, pigs and cows. They recite in the sitting-room or on the veranda, and their lessons all deal with matters of their own every-day life.....Instead of figuring how long it will take an express train to reach the moon if it traveled at the rate of

[36]Embree and Waxman, 1-28.

[37]Ibid.; Werner, 107-127.

forty miles an hour, the pupils figure out how much corn can be raised on neighbor Smith's patch of land and how much farmer Jones' pig will bring when slaughtered. The pupils learn neatness and cleanliness by living in a decent home during their school hours. They carry the lesson home and the result is seen in cleaner and better farm-houses. The model house has become the pattern on which the farmers and their wives are improving their homes."[38]

In 1912, Rosenwald was elected a trustee of Tuskegee Institute and later that year, he gave Washington, as one of his fiftieth birthday anniversary gifts, $25,000. It is not exactly clear what the gift was earmarked for, but when the project was completed, Washington discovered that $2,800 of the initial gift remained. Washington asked Rosenwald whether he might use this money to build rural schoolhouses near Tuskegee. Rosenwald consented and soon six rural schools in Alabama were constructed. There is some debate as to which was the first Rosenwald school constructed in Alabama. Alfred K. Stern, in his history of the Rosenwald movement and Lisa Shafer, in her article on the Loachapoka school, both note that "the first building was completed at Loachapoka, Lee County" while other sources point to the two-room frame building at Notasulga, Macon County as the earliest Rosenwald funded building. The school at Loachapoka consisted of a single-room, 28' by 40,' and the total cost of construction was $942.50. Blacks had contributed $150 to buy land for the school site as well as labor to the amount of $132.50. Local whites contributed $360 and the Rosenwald Fund, $300. Similar schools at Big Zion, Little Zion and Madison Park in Montgomery County, and Notasulga were soon finished at a total cost of $5,354.14; Rosenwald donated $1,976.67 while blacks, whites and the State of Alabama contributed $3,377.47.[39]

In 1914, Washington wrote to Rosenwald not long after the educator's article on rural school needs appeared in a black publication, Outlook.

"I am sending you by today's mail some photographs bearing upon completion of the remaining country schoolhouses for which you provided the money. I thought perhaps you would like to have a little time in which to glance over these pictures in advance of my seeing you on the 10th when I can give you the details covering the matter of the erection of these buildings. Yesterday I spent one of the most interesting days in all of my work in the South. Through our Extension Department under Mr. Calloway, a trip was planned that enabled us to visit four of the communities where the schoolhouses have been completed. We traveled, all told, about 135 miles. At each one of the points visited there was a very large audience averaging I should say a thousand people of both white and black people. It may interest you further to know that two of the State officers from the educational department accompanied us on the entire trip. It was a most interesting day, and the people showed in a very acceptable way their gratitude to you for what you are helping them to do. I wish you

[38]Werner, 123-127; Stern, Chapter II, 12.

[39]Stern, Chapter III, 2; Werner, 128-129; Shafer, 4-6.

could have been present to have noted how encouraged and hopeful they feel; and I repeat, how grateful they are to you. I have never seen a set of people who have changed so much within recent years from a feeling of almost despair and hopelessness to one of encouragement and determination."[40]

Soon thereafter, Rosenwald visited the first schools and being so impressed with the potential of the plan, gave Washington an additional $30,000 for the construction of one hundred schools in Alabama. After consulting with the Executive Council at Tuskegee, Washington drafted a lengthy letter to Rosenwald outlining a plan of operation for the construction of the schoolhouses. The plan included the following:

1. Money given by Mr. Julius Rosenwald
2. To be used in a way to encourage public school officers and the people in the community in erecting schoolhouses in rural and village districts by supplementing what the public school officers or the people themselves may do.
3. As far as possible before beginning work in any county or community, the approval and co-operation of the State, county or township school officers is to be secured.
4. In the erection of the schoolhouses care is to be exercised to co-operate with the Jeanes Fund Supervisors and State Supervisors of Negro rural schools wherever possible.The idea of such co-operation is to make one kind of work supplement the other. Later on it is hoped to do the work of building schoolhouses through the agency of any large school that might be located in that county; for example, when the proper time comes it might be possible and best to build schoolhouses in Wilcox County through the agency of the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute.
5. The money is to be used in providing schoolhouses in rural districts preferably the one-teacher schoolhouse, on condition that the people shall secure from the public school fund or raise among themselves an amount equal to or larger than that given by Mr. Rosenwald; this is with the understanding that the amount to be given by Mr. Rosenwald will not, in any case, exceed $350 for each house. Traveling and other expenses in connection with working up interest in the schoolhouse, guiding people in erecting them, is to be taken out of the amount allotted to each schoolhouse. In every case, the money given by Mr. Rosenwald is to be the partial payment for completion of building, including furnishings.
6. The kind of building to be erected is to be approved by the Extension Department of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and, where required, by the State Department of Education.
7. It is thought best at present to concentrate upon supplying the following three counties Montgomery, Lowndes, and Lee, in Alabama, with schoolhouses. One of these counties contains the capital of the State. It is thought wise for advertising and for the purpose of creating public sentiment to put the county containing the capital of the State and nearby counties in good shape first, and concentrating on a few counties may serve the further purpose of bringing about a rivalry between communities that will prove of value.

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[40]Stern, Chapter III, 2-3.

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8. It is also recommended that while at present these three counties are to be concentrated upon, any exceptional communities and other counties in and out of Alabama will be considered.
9. At present, it is thought wise to confine the schoolhouse building to the State of Alabama with the view of getting experience that will enable us to render the best service for the least money and in the shortest time possible. As states, however, exceptions may be made to this general policy wherever it is necessary.
10. That until further notice from Mr. Rosenwald, the plans shall be to construct about 100 rural schoolhouses, at a cost to Mr. Rosenwald, representing his contribution toward the total cost, of not to exceed $30,000; that not to exceed $350 shall be paid by him for any one such schoolhouse; and that this offer shall be effective for a period of five years from August 1, A. D., 1914.
11. Any publications to the effect that Mr. Rosenwald has promised to give dollar for dollar for rural schools for colored children in the South without limitations as to number and location have been made without Mr. Rosenwald's authority or knowledge.[41]

From the outset of the Rosenwald School Building Fund, Rosenwald had two overriding reasons for giving to the cause of black education. The first of these, according to Edwin Embree, was "to stimulate public agencies to take a larger share of social responsibility. Long before the days of the New Deal - as far back as 1915 - Rosenwald recognized clearly in modern complex society the state must assume increasingly the burdens of education and health and a multitude of other functions which in a simpler era were carried on by private charity or individual initiative." The other purpose was to spur a pattern of cooperation that would bring about lasting change. "A school has to represent common effort by the state and county authorities and the local colored and white citizens...The program [school building] was projected not merely as a series of schoolhouses, but as a community enterprise in cooperation between citizens and officials, white and colored."[42]

Under Washington's directive, Clinton J. Calloway, Tuskegee's extension agent, assumed control of the school building project. He traveled throughout the Alabama countryside, encouraging church congregations to finance local schools. Calloway received mixed reactions from blacks and whites alike. Some blacks felt that what had been good enough for them was good enough for their children while others liked the idea of holding school in a nearby church building. Too, some blacks questioned whether or not a white philanthropist in far away Chicago could be counted on to make his contribution while others had little faith that the county government would pay their

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[41]Stern, Chapter III, 2-5; In 1893, William J. Edwards graduated from Tuskegee Institute and founded Snow Hill Institute which became known as the "little Tuskegee" of Wilcox County, Alabama. For a history of Snow Hill Institute see William J. Edwards, *Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993).

[42]Hanchett, 398.

share.Whites, of course, saw little reason why they should pay any or part of the building expenses; others argued against educating blacks at all. All of these doubts and antagonisms were considered before a decision was made to actually begin construction of a schoolhouse. Schools were not built in communities where there was strong opposition from the white community for there was always the danger that the school would be burned down to the accompaniment of race riots. Additionally, most blacks and whites thought it extravagant to include cloak rooms, sanitary facilities and other conveniences in the new schoolhouse. Others found it silly to even paint the building. Nevertheless, when they saw the achievement of the first schools, blacks became enthusiastic about the program and whites were somewhat assured that with Washington's name associated with the plan, it was not dangerous or radical.[43]

The task of promoting and supervising the actual school building program fell onto the shoulders of the field agents who virtually had to begin at the bottom. And they were somewhat daunted in their task by the difficulties of travel and the inferior living conditions they encountered. Too, they not only had to build schoolhouses but plant the ideals of education in the minds of the people of both races before the structures could be established. Most of the rural people had no general conception of the physical surroundings or comforts with which a schoolhouse should be provided. In the early days of the program, field agents were often disappointed. Land titles were often faulty and mechanics and carpenters were few and far between. A considerable follow-up effort was often necessary to ensure that the buildings were properly completed, painted, and equipped. Often, after having contacted an influential citizen in the community and having been assured that a successful meeting could be held, the agent would arrive to find only a few people present. Once, an agent found only the president of the school board present who stated that the other members had gone fishing but had authorized him to act for them. In another case, the agent appeared to find that an imposter, posing as a field agent, had arrived earlier and swindled $18 from the community. Yet these field agents were equal to the task. They traveled door to door and appeared at churches, fraternal meetings, barbeques, festivals, singings and picnics. Instead of asking people to come to them, they went to the people. And they labored to convince the population that they were bringing to them a worthwhile institution.[44]

Yet field agents began to witness an increased interest in their work, and as enthusiasm among the blacks increased, so did Rosenwald's encouragement of the project. In February, 1915, Rosenwald assured Washington that money for an additional 100 schools would be forthcoming when the first 100 schools had been completed. Washington was also encouraged by the work of Joseph L. Sibley who in 1913, became Alabama's state supervisor of rural schools under a salary subsidy from the General Education Board. Realizing the enormity of his task, Sibley relied heavily on Washington's advice and selected Macon County as one of three Alabama counties in which to conduct a school needs and assessment study. Washington wrote that Sibley and "all of

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[43]Werner, 129.

[44]Stern, Chapter III, 9.

us are convinced that this schoolhouse building in the rural districts is 'taproot' work and is reaching the bottom of the problem. Everywhere we can feel and see the influence of these rural schoolhouses not only among the colored people but among the white." In 1915, Washington, working closely with Sibley, expanded the program to five additional counties in Alabama. By August of that year, Washington was able to remark

> "It is impossible for me to describe in words the good that this schoolhouse building is accomplishing - not only in providing people with comfortable school buildings, who never knew what a decent school building was before, but even in changing and revolutionizing public sentiment in the South, as far as Negro education is concerned."

Still, ever mindful of the southern white perception, Washington urged strict economy in schoolhouse construction. "I think we will have to be very careful, " he wrote, "not to put so much money into a building that it will bring about a feeling of jealousy on the part of the white people who may have a schoolhouse that is much poorer."[45]

Booker T. Washington died on November 14, 1915 and therefore, as Alfred Stern notes, never witnessed the "fruition of the great work he had so nobly begun." At the time of his death, 80 schoolbuildings had been completed in Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia and 12 more were underway. A year end financial statement for the year showed that the 92 buildings had cost $103,784.61. Blacks had contributed $47,204.72, whites $6,208.50 and public funds, $16,550. Julius Rosenwald's total contribution stood at $33,821.39. The estimated cost of a school was $1,128.10 and the average contribution by Rosenwald was $367.62. In 1916, Julius Rosenwald offered to pay one-third of the cost of an additional 300 rural schoolhouses in the South, an offer he made again in 1917 and 1918. Realizing the need for an extensive, orderly plan for the construction of such a large number of these schools, Rosenwald called for a conference on schoolhouse construction. Other states in the South had begun applying for Rosenwald money and in time, fifteen southern states were participating in the work.[46]

Because of the great success of the program in Alabama, in 1916 that state's legislature passed a bill offering state aid for rural schoolhouse construction for blacks to the extent of one half of the amount raised by the local community. By this plan, the state contributed $300, the local community $300 and Rosenwald $300 for a one teacher school. In the annual report of the State Department of Education, the superintendent wrote,

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[45]Ibid., Chapter III, 9-12; Werner, 130-132; Harlan, *Wizard of Tuskegee*, 198, 212-214.

[46]Werner, 132; Stern, Chapter III, 12-13. The only southern state which did not participate in the program was Delaware which already had a similar school building program financed by the DuPont family.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

> "Encouragement has also been given to the erection of school buildings through the aid of the Rosenwald Fund, administered through the Extension Department of Tuskegee Institute. Seventy-nine new school buildings have been erected in Alabama at an average cost of a trifle more than $1,000 each, practically half of the funds having been raised by the Negroes themselves. A part of the time of the rural agents has been given to the stimulation and direction of these enterprises."

Perhaps to placate the white legislature, the superintendent assured it that "those who are giving money from the outside are making use of local channels and agencies...securing the right response and attitude on the part of the Negroes themselves and helpful co-operation and sympathy on the part of our own native white population."[47]

After the death of Washington, the extension department of Tuskegee Institute continued to administer the Rosenwald building fund, primarily under the direction of Clinton J. Calloway. It soon became obvious, however, that the small staff at Tuskegee was incapable of properly administering the fund, due in part to Rosenwald's commitment to fund 300 more schools and particularly since the movement had spread to almost all Southern states. Field agents were complaining that more supervision of the construction of the buildings was necessary to secure conformity with specifications. While some buildings were so poorly constructed they had to be rebuilt, others were located in undesirable and isolated places. Still others lacked the necessary furniture and equipment. Rosenwald called for an audit and suggested that a careful survey of the system be made with a view toward improvement in method and procedure. Dr. F. B. Dresslar, Professor of Hygiene at Peabody Teachers' College at Nashville was engaged to make a survey of the system.[48]

The audit indicated that Tuskegee had administered the fund honestly but recommended "on account of the steady increase in the amounts involved and the number of details connected with the Rosenwald aid, that a skilled bookkeeper be employed, and it made several specific suggestions regarding the bookkeeping and the management of the business side of the work." Dresslar's report was more critical of the building fund. Having visited 47 Rosenwald schools in six states, Dresslar had viewed buildings in all stages of construction. He found many which were finished and some which had been left incomplete. His report maintained that the buildings while far better than those they had replaced, were generally poorly constructed or maintained. Dresslar found poorly laid foundations, cheap materials used in the sashes, windowpanes, hardware and plastering. Weatherboarding was often thin, roofs were defective, floors were not laid properly,

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[47]Stern, Chapter III, 14.

[48]Embree and Waxman, 26-28; Stern, Chapter IV, 2-10.

and there was little effort to care for the building. The Dresslar survey showed the necessity for closer administration and more efficient planning.[49]

In February, 1920, with Dresslar's report and the recommendations of the audit, Rosenwald held a conference at Tuskegee with all of the rural school supervisors, State superintendents and others interested in black education. According to Alfred K. Stern, the report of the conference revealed that since the beginning of the Rosenwald fund through 1920, 638 buildings had been erected. Seven hundred and fifty-two applications had been filed although some had been satisfied through consolidation. The 638 schools cost $1,341,404 of which Rosenwald aid provided $263,015. Blacks had raised $455,212, whites $61,306, and public funds had furnished $561,871. Alabama, as the birthplace of the movement, naturally led in the number of buildings with 197. Louisiana followed with 92, and then in order, North Carolina, 76; Tennessee, 71; Virginia, 47; Mississippi, 39; Georgia, 37; Kentucky, 30; Arkansas, 25; South Carolina, 15; and Maryland, 9. Rosenwald had authorized the construction of 350 schools for the 1920 fiscal year but upon calling the conference postponed approval of the new budget until a plan was developed which could insure more satisfactory buildings than those mentioned in Dresslar's report. On May 18, 1920, the question of a change in administration came up again for consideration. In 1917, Rosenwald had formally established the Julius Rosenwald Fund to administer his philanthropic and charitable giving and it was proposed that the Fund take over the rural school building program. Understandably, Dr. Moton, the successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, Mrs. Washington, and the Tuskegee people were reluctant to consider a change in the program. "I suppose that Mrs. Washington feels as I do and as our Tuskegee people feel," Moton said, "somewhat as a mother does when she gives up her daughter to be married; while she knows it is a natural and proper thing for her daughter, yet often she does not rejoice in giving her up and sometimes weeps."

The following June, a plan for the future development of the rural schools was drafted in the form of a letter to be submitted to the State Superintendents of Public Instruction. It was "time for the Julius Rosenwald Fund to take over the administration in connection with the central office." The letter was signed by Wallace Buttrick, President of the General Education Board; Abraham Flexner, Secretary, General Education Board; R. R. Moton, Principal, Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. Booker T. Washington; Clinton J. Callaway, Director, Extension Department, Tuskegee Institute; F. B. Dresslar, Professor, Rural Sanitation, Peabody College; Jackson Davis, Field Agent, General Education Board; S. L. Smith, Rural School Agent, Tennessee; Leo M. Favrot, Rural School Agent, Louisiana; and J. S. Lambert, Rural School Agent, Alabama. The final "revised" Rosenwald plan, which would dictate the schoolbuilding fund for the next seventeen years, was:

"1. That the Julius Rosenwald Fund cooperate with public school authorities and other agencies and persons in the effort to provide and equip better rural schoolhouses for

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[49]F. B. Dresslar, *A Report on the Rosenwald School Buildings*, (Rosenwald Fund: Chicago, 1920), an eighty-one page bulletin describing the conditions of the Rosenwald schools as determined by F. B. Dresslar between August 13 and September 18, 1919; Stern, Chapter IV, 3-5.

the Negroes of the Southern States, such equipment as desks, blackboards, heating apparatus, libraries and toilets being deemed of equal importance with the schoolhouses themselves.

2. That the sites and buildings of all schools aided by The Fund shall be the property of the public school authorities.
3. That the Trustee of the Fund and the State Department of Education will agree as to the number of new buildings in the construction of which they will cooperate.
4. That the school site must include ample space for playgrounds and for such agricultural work as is necessary for the best service of the community. Aid will be granted only when the site meets the approval of the State Department of Education and of the Agent of the fund. The minimum acceptable for a one-teacher school is two acres.
5. That plans and specifications for every building shall be approved by an authorized representative of the Fund before construction is begun. On request from the State Department of Education, the Fund will consider it a priviledge to furnish general suggestions, plans and specifications for schoolhouses.
6. That, in providing these buildings, it is a condition precedent to receiving the aid of the Fund that the people of the several communities shall secure, from other sources: to wit: - from public school funds, private contributions, etc., an amount equal to or greater than that provided by the Fund. Labor, land and material may be counted as cash at current market values. Money provided by the Fund will be available only when the amount otherwise raised, with that to be given by the Fund, is sufficient to complete equip, and furnish the building.
7. That the fund deposit with every cooperating State Department of Education upon application therefore, the sum of $5,000 from which the proper State Official may make disbursements as required. At the close of every month, the State Department will be expected to report to the Fund any amount or amounts disbursed, with a statement showing that the work has been inspected and approved by an authorized representative of the State Departments of Education. Thereupon the fund will replenish its deposit in the amount disbursed.
8. That the amount appropriated by the Fund shall not exceed $500 for a one-teacher school, $800 for a two-teacher school, and $1,000 for a three-teacher school. In localities where larger schools seem to be required (consolidated or County Training Schools), the Fund will make special investigations and decide every such case separately.
9. That aid be granted toward the construction and equipment of only those school buildings whose terms run at least five consecutive months.
10. That every community agree to complete, equip, and furnish its school building within twelve months after reporting that it has qualified for aid from the Fund.
11. That, to enable teachers to live in the communities, both to insure the protection of the property and to make the school serve the broadest interests of the community a Teachers' Home should be provided. In a limited number of selected localities, where the annual school term is eight months or more, the Fund should consider cooperation in the construction of Teachers' Homes, to be completed and furnished

to correspond with the school buildings. In such cases special investigation should be made by the Fund. The amount to be offered should be determined by the nature of the community's need.

12. That the Fund reserve the right to discontinue its operations in behalf of rural schools after reasonable notice to the Department of Education of the several cooperating States.
13. That the foregoing provisions become operative on and after July 1, 1920." [50]

In a series of letters to the State Superintendents, Rosenwald presented a detailed statement of the plan, asked for their cordial cooperation and announced the provision for depositing funds with the respective State Departments of Education. "With the stipulation that fund activities be channeled through the state education departments, Rosenwald hoped to build a lasting commitment to black education at the state level by creating a network of knowledgeable, dedicated administrators. Additionally, Rosenwald's letter was important for two other reasons: the State Departments of Education now officially assumed the responsibility for the school funds expended in each state and S. L. Smith was introduced as the General Field Agent with headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee. The 1920 conference had decided to not only change the headquarters of the agency but also to place a white man in charge of the building fund. Except for Washington and Rosenwald, no one would have a greater impact on the school building fund than S. L. Smith who envisioned the plan as an important factor in the remaking of the South.[51]

Smith was born and reared on a small farm in rural Humphreys County, Tennessee and obtained his early education in a one-room log building, a combination church and school. He attended McEwen College and Draughon's Business College, and received a B. A. degree from Southwestern Presbyterian University in Clarksville, Tennessee. While completing degree requirements for an M. A. in rural school education from George Peabody College for Teachers, Smith studied schoolhouse planning under F. B. Dresslar who would later conduct the initial survey of the Rosenwald schools. Smith also studied at the University of Chicago and Harvard before returning to teach in the rural schools of Tennessee. From 1914 to 1920, Smith served as State Agent for Negro Schools in Tennessee before being appointed as the General Field Agent of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Smith recognized the needs of the South and its people and he possessed a gift for establishing friendly relations with all people. Under Smith's direction, the construction of the buildings went forward with unusual success.[52]

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[50]Stern, Chapter IV, 10-12.

[51]Stern, Chapter IV, 12; Embree and Waxman, 40-41; Hanchett, 406.

[52]Werner, 132-133; Stern, Chapter IV, 11-13; Embree and Waxman, 42-43.

Upon assuming the position as General Field Agent, Smith placed the schoolhouses in four categories, those which were completed and paid for, those under construction, those paid for but not yet begun, and those which for various reasons the stipulations had not been met and conditions not complied with. By July 12, 1920, about 900 schools had been promised Rosenwald aid; 500 of these had been completed and paid for. 165 had been begun and 161 had not found support to determine whether or not they would be constructed. Smith decided to complete all unfinished programs as soon as possible and to cancel all promises of aid to communities which showed little inclination to meet the necessary conditions. For 1920, Smith recommended the appropriation of $64,600 for the completion of the buildings already under construction. By the following year, Smith was pleased enough with the progress the fund had made in streamlining the administration of the fund, that he proposed allowing $31,500 for administrative and general expenses and $432,400 for the construction of new buildings.[53]

One of Smith's greatest contributions to the building fund was the development of definite floorplans and specifications for a variety of schools. As a student of schoolhouse design and construction, Smith drew up a series of plans incorporating the most up-to-date innovations and techniques for educational facilities. Smith reasoned that the production of stock blueprints would enable any community to build a quality facility without architect's fees. Smith published his designs one at a time in four-page pamphlets which were made available to white and black schools alike. Demand, however, proved so great that in 1924, Smith published his plans in a booklet form entitled *Community School Plans* which included designs for seventeen schools. Since one teacher was usually assigned to one room, the phrase "one-teacher school" meant a one-classroom building, a "two teacher school" meant a two-classroom building, and so forth. Also included in the plans were designs for "teacherages" or teacher's homes and a sanitary privy. The booklet contained the contractor's specifications, and recommendations on siting, painting, and landscaping. "Once a community chose a design, detailed blueprints and specifications could be obtained from the Rosenwald Fund via the state's education office."[54]

Since electricity was unavailable in most rural areas, Smith was particularly concerned with the maximazation of natural light. He used groupings of tall, double-hung sash windows to catch only east-west sunshine. According to Smith's professor and mentor, F. B. Dresslar,

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[53]Stern, Chapter IV, 13-14. Since the State of Alabama had enacted a law requiring the deposit of all funds, whether State, private or Rosenwald aid, before the construction was undertaken, that state did not receive an allotment of money in 1920. It had received its share in previous disbursements. The $64,600 was disbursed as follows: North Carolina, $35,750; Virginia, $15,250; Louisiana, $5,550; and smaller amounts to Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee. In 1921, fourteen states received a portion of the $432,000, ranging from $52,000 for Mississippi to $4,600 for Tennessee.

[54]Hanchett, 400.

> "in warm weather southern exposure is more uncomfortable all day long than either east or west exposure and ventilation through windows more difficult because of the necessity of partially closing the windows with shades...on dark days a northern light will not command sufficient light for children to do their work safely."

Smith, therefore, drew two versions of each plan so "that no matter what the site, a community could construct a building with proper east-west classroom orientation."[55]

According to Thomas Hanchett, "Interior color schemes, seating plans, and even window shade arrangements were specified to make the fullest use of sunlight. The specifications required tan window shades rather that the more opaque traditional green, preferably with two shades per window for more accurate regulation of light." Seating arrangements always placed the windows on the children's left sides so that their writing arms (right-handed students, at least) would not cast shadows. Communities had two options in regard to interior paint treatments: a cream ceiling with buff walls and walnut stained trim or an ivory ceiling with light gray walls and walnut stained trim. "The layout was planned to be 'simple and efficient' omitting corridors wherever possible."[56]

An integral part of the school design and of Washington's Progressive-era educational philosophy was the incorporation of an "industrial room" where girls were taught sewing and cooking (referred to as domestic science) and boys farming and simple work with tools. Too, each school's interior design encouraged its use as a community center. As Hanchett notes, the trend for using schools as community centers emerged in the northern cities in the 1890s and extended to rural areas in the 1910s. Samuel Smith once wrote that

> "the best modern school is one which is designed to serve the entire community for twelve months in the year...whenever possible a good auditorium, large enough to seat the entire community, should be erected in connection with every community school. If there are not sufficient funds for an auditorium, two adjoining classrooms with movable partitions may be made to serve this purpose."

All Rosenwald schools built according to Smith's designs had either an auditorium or movable partitions.[57]

The exteriors of Rosenwald schools were commonly covered in simple weatherboarding with occasionally a hint of Colonial or Bungalow trim. Some of the larger schools did boast brick

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[55]Ibid., 401.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid., 400-405.

exteriors and all had brick chimneys for the stoves which stood in each classroom. For the frame buildings, Smith recommended three exterior color schemes: "White trimmed in gray or gray trimmed in white would be attractive. If it is desired to use a wood preservative stain, a nut brown trimmed in white or cream would be satisfactory." Smith also recommended "a minimum two acre site, with the school located near one corner, to give ample space for the schoolhouse, two sanitary privies, a teacher's home, playgrounds for the boys and girls, a plot for agricultural demonstrations, and proper landscaping." [58]

The "teacherages" or teacher's homes were similar to the schools in concept, style and design. And they proved to be an important part of the overall educational concept. Arthur Stern, director of special projects for the Rosenwald Fund, discovered that the best results in regard to educational achievements were obtained from schools where the teacher lived near by. "In such a case the property is usually kept in good condition because the Teacher's Home was part of the establishment and could easily supply the required supervision." The teachers were, for the most part, Hampton and Tuskegee trained graduates who had been trained in home-building and home-making and, hence, the teacher's homes became an attractive addition to the community. Too, the teacher typically became a civic leader in the area, giving lessons in agriculture to nearby farmers or domestic science classes to their wives and mothers. With the teacher living near the school, students could expect a lengthier school term for as Stern notes " in order to make the home an asset to the community, the teacher would have to remain in it longer than in the case of a short term of school, for he would have to be there long enough to work out the results of horticulture and agriculture when he would be able to reap as well as sow."[59]

In expanding the building program, the Fund cooperated with the General Education Board (GEB) and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund. Although the Julius Rosenwald Fund had no formal connection with the GEB, the two agencies worked closely in helping southern states hire administrators to oversee rural school issues. In the early 1910s, the GEB provided matching money to states to hire two agents for rural schools, "one for white facilities and one for black," (referred to commonly as the Negro agent). After the formation of the Rosenwald Fund in 1917, that agency offered each state a grant to hire a black administrator to assist the white "Negro" agent. By 1918, black assistants were working in North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia. According to Hanchett, the black assistants excited interest among blacks and helped raise money to qualify for Rosenwald schools. "They obtained funds for county training schools, for the employment of Jeanes supervisors, and for lengthening school terms. The GEB eventually provided funds to hire white assistants for the Negro agent. These white assistants were usually trained in special education, curriculum development, and schoolhouse planning and sanitation.

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[58]Ibid., 406.

[59]Stern, Chapter IV, 15-17.

"They brought an element of professionalism to the development of black schools, and they - but not their black co-workers - were eligible to succeed the 'Negro Agent.'"[60]

Appropriately, the various agents and assistants gave a great deal of the credit in regard to the success of fund-raising efforts to the Jeanes supervisors. Grass-roots fund raising was, of course, a key component in the Rosenwald efforts and the Jeanes supervisors were at the forefront of the fund-raising drives, oftentimes spearheading the "Rosenwald Rallies." "It is clear to me, " said Dr. Shepardson, the Acting Director of the Jeanes Fund, "that the work which is done by the Jeanes Supervisors is the most important feature of the general education plan now going forward for the Negroes of the Southern States. To them in large degree is due the success of the building program." Jeanes supervisors organized communities, encouraged teachers, stimulated industrial instruction, and created a sense of community pride.

> "These supervisors, chosen with great care, under constant observation, and exceptionally earnest in their endeavor, are revolutionizing community life. They stimulate the building of Rosenwald schools; they impress the importance of regular attendance at school; they visit homes and instruct the mothers in home improvement, sewing, health and sanitation. They adjust community conditions. They are proving to be important agents in securing cooperation between the white people and the Negroes. Without ostentation, special publicity or noise, they are securing results which begin to appear everywhere."[61]

By 1921, State and Governmental vocational funds were being used to pay portions of teachers' salaries. S. L. Smith wrote in 1921 that,

> "In several of the larger schools, especially County Training Schools, they have special teachers for the girls' home making work, home economics, and the boys' industries, including farm mechanics and agriculture. A large portion of the salaries of these teachers is paid out of the State and Government vocational funds. In some States, they pay one-half the salary from these funds, the local people making up the other half. In others they pay five-eights to three-fourths, and in one or two States the entire salaries of such vocational teachers are paid from the vocational fund. In the smaller schools, the regular class room teacher generally devotes a few periods each week to the industries, using the special room in our Community Plans for this

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[60]Stern, Chapter IV, 20-21; Hanchett, 406-408.

[61]For a full acccount of the Jeanes Fund see Arthur D. Wright, *The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc.: Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, 1907-1933*. The quote by Dr. Shepardson is found in Stern, Chapter IV, 21-22.

work. There are many one-teacher schools fairly well equipped for home economics and very good work is being done."[62]

From 1921 to 1932, S. L. Smith and the Rosenwald Fund provided funding for over 4,800 additional schools, teachers' homes, and county training schools. Everywhere the field agents went, they found enthusiasm for the building projects and witnessed untiring efforts and selfless acts among the black population to secure a Rosenwald School. L.M. Erwin, Building Agent of Tennessee in 1921 wrote, that at Gallatin where $3,000 had been raised, "They sold a quilt that had the initials of the people of the community sewed in it and they sold it to the person that had the lucky ticket which he paid twenty-five cents for outside of the ten cents that he, like all the others in the community, had to pay to have their names in the quilt." Erwin noted that three hundred people attended the concert where the quilt was given to the one holding the lucky number." M. H. Griffin, Alabama agent, found in Lawrence County that the community needed $400 before the contract could be let for bids. Recognizing this need, the Jeanes supervisors held a rally. "We now have $4,000 with which to begin this building. We consider this a great achievement as the people at this point had lost heart and were ready to abandon the project. We now feel that the school is a certainty." [63]

Similar reports were received from all states. In North Carolina, for example, agent G. E. Davis reported that the small community of Seaboard, Northampton County, North Carolina had never had a schoolhouse for blacks, school being conducted in an old lodge room. "When the county physician four years ago offered a price for the best kept schoolhouse and premises, despite the handicap of meeting in a lodge room, the Seaboard school won the prize, $15.00 in War Saving Stamps." As a start toward a new building, the community cashed in their stamps to apply on the building fund. Other agencies soon contributed to the fund, including the white Ladies Missionary Society. Eventually, the little group of two hundred had raised $255.00. In York, Sumter County, Alabama, F. I. Derby, a local white man, gave five acres of choice land and five hundred dollars in cash during a sweltering September rally. After the sale of the lots with the proceeds going to the building fund, Derby called on each patriotic citizen to contribute to the school fund. After the collection, Mr. Derby announced, "I have a barrel of water here and any one who will contribute one dollar will be given a glass of cold ice water." In a few minutes, the barrel of water was sold and Derby had raised over a thousand dollars for the project from his white friends.[64]

In Mississippi, John H. Culkin, superintendent of Warren County, having learned of the Rosenwald buildings in other states, became disturbed because there were no decent schools for

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[62]Stern, Chapter V, 2-3.

[63]Stern, Chapter V, 3, 7.

[64]Stern, Chapter V, 9-12.

blacks in his county. He became determined to erect a new building in each of the twenty-five black communities in Warren County. Disliked by the local Ku Klux Klan because he was Catholic and because two of his board members were Jews, Culkin ordered that the entire program be begun in each community and in the utmost secrecy. Complete bills of material and specifications for all the schools were given to large lumber mills with orders to deliver the goods on a specific day in Vicksburg. White citizens not only gave money, but provided mule teams and wagons to carry the materials to the sites. Workmen had already laid the foundations and women and children, organized by Jeanes teachers, cleaned and graded play areas and walkways and the women served hot lunches to the laborers. Within a week all twenty-five schools were enclosed and roofed and within a month, all had been completed, painted and equipped. By the time the Klan had convinced the courts to issue an injunction to stop the building, the superintendent had completed his plan.[65]

Another inspirational report came from S. L. Smith, himself, who made a special trip to Wilson, Arkansas for the dedication ceremonies of a new Rosenwald school. Smith later recounted that

> "When I reached Wilson to be at the dedication of a new Rosenwald School, I found a gloom hovering over the little community like a fog in the early morning of the autumn - the building was in ashes. The fire was discovered between 2 and 3 A.M. Saturday. No one knows just how it happened. Mr. Wilson owns and operates all the land in several miles of that place - about 30,000 acres, one half of which is in cotton. He put up more than $50,000 in money on the building, personally. He says that there has never been a word against the school and that both white and colored were doing what they could to get everything in readiness for the dedication. Mr. Wilson is said to be worth $30,000,000, took personal interest in the school, and he and his managers spent much time Friday helping to put the finishing touches on. He had just installed about $6,000 worth of new furniture. It was a beautiful building erected of the very best material and by the most skilled workers he could get. He naturally had a great deal of pride in it. It was by far the finest strictly rural Negro school in the State, or perhaps in the entire South. When we reached his office he talked over it with us, and really gave vent to his feelings. He said 'I felt that these Negroes deserved the building. They have helped me to make what I have, and I wanted to do something to help them in a substantial way, while I am living.' While he was talking, Richards, the principal sat there weeping. He [Mr. Wilson] looked at him and said 'Richards, I will start to rebuilding it next Monday - an exact duplicate of the one that burned, except that I may build it of brick and hollow tile.' Mr. Wilson rebuilt the school which cost about $60,000. The black community contributed $500." [66]

Communities made great sacrifices in order to obtain a Rosenwald school. Children in one village saved $54 by depriving themselves of candy and other small luxuries and brought their pennies to

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[65]Embree and Waxman, 45-46.

[66]Stern, Chapter V, 10-13.

the fund for the school. Many raised money by selling eggs, hens, corn, cotton, berries and other produce. Some people pledged farm animals and one elderly woman in Alabama created a sensation at a local meeting by giving her only money, one copper cent, for the local school. Another elderly man, a former slave, emptied his life's savings on a table, $38 in nickels, dimes and pennies, from a greasy sack. "I want to see the children of my grandchildren have a chance so I am giving my all," he told the meeting.[67]

Perhaps the efforts of the local citizens were summed up best by Mr. W.T. B. Williams who once remarked,

> "Their struggles to this end are often pathetic but nearly always inspiring. No sacrifice is too great for them to make. I saw recently at the dedication of a fine Rosenwald School a colored man with no children who had mortgaged his farm to secure the money necessary to complete the building. However, it often happens, as in this case, that local white people are moved by the efforts of the colored people to give them assistance, and the school thus becomes a community project in which whites and blacks alike take pride. And, of course, in practically every instance the Rosenwald School increased public funds for its erection and for its maintenance thereafter."[68]

"The completion of a Rosenwald school was cause for a celebration and for a bit more fund-raising." The chairman of the County Board of Education, and usually the white committeemen and faculty of the local white school attended the celebration, showing their support and appreciation. Too, Fund officials organized "Rosenwald Day," an event that "rearoused community interest in schools, encouraged the cleaning and beautifying of the school buildings and grounds, and raised money for repairs or additions to equipment." It is doubtful, however, that the school children could have forgotten the name of Julius Rosenwald, typically his portrait adorned the walls of the school, hanging next to Booker T. Washington and Abraham Lincoln. A visitor to a Rosenwald school noted that a teacher in her arithmetic class used Rosenwald in her equation. "If Mr. Rosenwald had six dozen eggs and if Mr. Rosenwald bought four more eggs, how many eggs would Mr. Rosenwald have?" And, "if Mr. Rosenwald had a crib four feet long and three feet wide, how many square feet would there be in Mr. Rosenwald's crib?"[69]

In addition to the building program, the Julius Rosenwald Fund had begun offering library sets or collections of books to the rural schools. Ranging in size from fourteen to fifty books, the set ranged in price from ten to a maximum of thirty dollars. Here again, the fund provided only one

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[67]Werner, 129-130.

[68]Stern, Chapter V, 16.

[69]Werner, 135; Hanchett, 415-416.

third of the cost of the library books, the remaining two-thirds coming from the local community and the state department of education. From 1928 to 1932, the fund also paid the traveling expenses of state librarians to visit the institution and give instructions on the care and use of books. In 1929, larger libraries for black high schools were added and eventually, the service was extended to white schools although they had to pay full cost for most of the library sets. The library program lasted twenty years - from 1928 to 1948 - during which time over 12, 000 library sets were distributed, more than a million books to schools in all southern states. Also in that year, the Fund arppropriated $202,708 toward the building of five industrial high schools which provided instruction for boys in such industries as auto mechanics, printing and the building trades, and for girls in cooking, dressmaking, millinery, and branches of home economics. [70]

The early 1920's were the most productive for the Julius Rosenwald Fund in regard to the building program. From July 1, 1920 to July 1, 1929, the Rosenwald schools grew at a rate of four classrooms for every working day. By 1928, the fund had contributed $3,333,852 in matching monies for 4,138 schools with a total teacher capacity of 11,362 and a pupil capacity of 511,290. By the following year, the number of schools had reached 4,729, reflecting a contribution from the Rosenwald Fund of $3,737,525. Black contributions totaled over $4 million while public funds accounted for over $12 million of the total $20 million which had been spent on the building fund. Unfortunately, whites contributed only $903,253 or a mere 41/2% of the total cost of the 4,000 plus schools. It was in 1929, that the Fund decided to aid the development of consolidated schools rather than isolated one or two-teacher schools. The larger units could be operated more economically and could attract and retain better teachers.[71]

The 1928-29 fiscal year brought great changes to the Julius Rosenwald Fund. For the first dozen years of the Fund's existence, rural school construction had been its major focus. All but $600,000 of the first $4,000,000 was spent on this particular project. In April of 1928, however, Rosenwald drafted a letter to the Trustees of the Fund donating twenty thousand shares of stock in the Sears, Roebuck and Company, bringing the total assets of the Fund to $34,439,971.40. In his letter, Rosenwald instructed the Trustees that it was his desire that the entire principal be spent within a reasonable period of time. "I am not in sympathy with the policy of perpetuating endowments and believe that more good can be accomplished by expending funds as Trustees find opportunities for constructive work than by storing up large sums of money for long periods of time, " the benefactor wrote. "In accepting the shares of stock now offered, I ask that the Trustees do so with the understanding that the entire fund in the hands of the Board, both income and principal, be

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[70]Embree and Waxman, 63-66, 51-52. The industrial high schools were located at Columbus, Georgia; Greenville, South Carolina; Little Rock, Arkansas; Maysville, Kentucky; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[71]Embree and Waxman, 41-42; See also Edwin R. Embree, *Julius Rosenwald Fund: A Review*, (Chicago: The Julius Rosenwald Fund) 1928 and 1929.

expended within twenty-five years of the time of my death." With the additional income and under the directives of the provisions of Rosenwald's gift, the Trustees undertook an extensive review of the school building program and began to explore types of programs the Fund might most usefully support. [72]

Although the Great Crash of 1929 reduced the assets of the Rosenwald Fund considerably, the Trustees managed to meet all their pledges and continue their active programs. While financial resources and constraints naturally influenced the extent of the fund's activities, the determining factors in closing programs or entering new fields were the changing needs of the times. The Fund soon launched a series of initiatives in regard to the funding of health and medical programs, student fellowships, research, and race relations studies. Edwin Embree, president of the Fund, summed up the views of the Trustees.

> "As the Fund entered one field and the problems and opportunities became clear it was driven forward step by step into further ventures. At first, it simply undertook to get schoolhouses built for a negelected group of the population. When it became evident that there was no special virtue in thousands of school-houses if the education provided them was poor, attention was given to improving the quality of teachers, and interest moved on to Negro high schools, normal schools and colleges. Both pupils and teachers lacked books. So supplementary reading and extension libraries were brought into the programs. The realization that the progress of any group depends largely on creative leadership led to the providing of fellowships to give able Negroes-and later, white Southerners-opportunities to develop their talents. Acquaintance with the faults in the distribution of medical care brought about work in medical services and Negro health. And as it became evident that it was no longer enough to provide special opportunities for this neglected group, that the important thing was to incorporate all citizens in the general stream of American life, the Fund shifted its emphasis to an active program on race relations."[73]

The school building fund continued through 1932 although the last Rosenwald school was constructed in Warm Springs, Georgia in 1937 at the personal request of President Franklin D.

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[72]Embree and Waxman, 30-32; Hanchett, 398, 423. It is important to note that in 1928, the Rosenwald Fund contributed to the founding of the Interstate School Building Service which became part of the Division of Surveys and Field Services at Peabody College for Teachers. The Service, which allowed state school planners to share ideas, evolved into the still-active Interstate School Building Conference, an annual gathering in Nashville of school facilities planners in the United States. Taken from Thomas Hanchett's *The Rosenwald Schools in North Carolina.*

[73]Embree and Waxman, 35. According to Thomas Hanchett, the decision to phase out the school building grants was made well before the Wall Street disaster although the sharp decline of the fund's endowment did hasten Embree's movement away from construction funding.

Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt served as a Trustee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund from 1940 to 1948. By the time the Fund's school building program ended, it had helped to build 5,357 public schools, shops, and teachers' homes in 883 counties of 15 southern states at a total cost of $28,408,520. The contributions of blacks exceeded by two percent the money contributed by Julius Rosenwald. The Rosenwald School Building Fund had contributed $5,362,361 to the program.[74]

Although the Trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund had decided to close the school building fund in 1928, Edwin Embree continued the schoolhouse grant program as long as Julius Rosenwald was alive. After the philanthropist's death in 1932, the school-building fund officially closed in July of that year. Samuel Smith kept the Southern Office in Nashville open until 1937, distributing school plans and overseeing the construction of the Warm Springs, Georgia school. Sensing that the program had become "a crutch rather than a stimulus" and realizing that public-private partnership was not enough to solve the South's educational problems, Embree used the Rosenwald Funds to push for Federal aid to black education. "The South has an abundance of children but scant material wealth. A national equalization of school expenditures would greatly benefit the poorer states...Federal funds should be so distributed as to guarantee equity and to correct the present glaring inequalities in the use of school funds between the children of the different races." As early as 1931, Embree had recognized the folly of maintaining dual school systems and other segregated facilities. "The Negro does not receive educational opportunity equal to white students of the same community in any separate school system...Equality of educational opportunity will be fully realized when segregation is outlawed." As Thomas Hanchett notes, "It remained to another generation of Americans to overturn segregation and equalize educational opportunities for blacks."[75]

During his lifetime it is estimated that Julius Rosenwald distributed $63,000,000 to various causes, organizations and individuals. The Rosenwald Fund included aid to high schools and colleges, fellowships to enable blacks to advance in their careers, assistance to black hospitals and health agencies, development of county library systems, and the distribution of medical services to persons of moderate means. Yet it was perhaps the school building program for which the Fund is best known. The Rosenwald schools and classrooms provided generations of blacks real educational opportunities. Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald envisioned a "public-private partnership, believing that a shift in southern white attitudes toward blacks could be achieved by retaining the goodwill of southern whites and working with the South's social

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[74]The expenditures of the Julius Rosenwald Fund for education from 1917-1948 were $4,071,463 for schoolhouse construction; $33,181 for teacher's homes; $73,200 for shops; $20,756 for shop equipment; and $10,610 for building plans and specifications.

[75]Quoted from Hanchett, 423 - 425. Also found in Embree and Waxman, *Investment in People*, 56.

system." The Rosenwald Fund never challenged segregation. Indeed, even in the late 1920s, the Fund's educational philosophy continued to "emphasize strengthening elementary school offerings rather than adding opportunities for high school. By providing eighth-grade educations supplemented by 'industrial' classes in farming and home economics, Rosenwald schools educated students to be good farmers instead of giving them the capability to leave rural life." [76]

Neverthless, the Rosenwald School Building Fund represents a benchmark in the history of black education. "As a carefully conceived and well-executed effort, of massive scope by private standards, it represents 'the most influential philanthropic force that came to aid of Negroes at that time.' " As a result of the Rosenwald Fund's initiatives, more black children went to school longer and with better trained teachers in better constructed and equipped schools. Rosenwald money helped stimulate increases in public tax money for black education. Rosenwald schools served as community centers and often, set the standards for the neighborhood in regard to architecture, sanitation and maintenance. As Robert R. Moton noted, the school-building effort "awakened a sense of greater responsibility not only on the part of public school authorities for Negro education, but...[by] the people in general for more adequate educational provisions for the Negro." Today, the remaining Rosenwald schools, scattered throughout the South, represent one of the most ambitious school building projects ever undertaken. They are the last remaining vestiges of "African-Americans tenacious pursuit of education" and their struggle for educational opportunities in the segregated South. [77]

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[76]Werner, 366; Hanchett, 426-427.

[77]Hanchett, 426-427.

The Rosenwald School Building Fund in Alabama (1913-1932)

By 1932, when director Edwin Embree discontinued the school building program of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the agency had contributed to the construction of 5,357 schools, teacher's homes, and county training facilities in 883 counties of fifteen southern states. Although the program originated in Alabama and indeed,the first eighty buildings were contructed in that state, when the program ended in 1932 Alabama ranked sixth among Southern states in regard to the total number of Rosenwald schools. Yet while other states may have eventually possessed larger numbers of buildings, there is no doubt that in the early days of the program, no state benefited more from the Rosenwald School Building Fund than Alabama. This early success is due not only to the influence and direction of Booker T. Washington and his staff at Tuskegee Institute, but also to the hard work, dedication and vision of James L. Sibley, Alabama's Rural School Agent; William Feagin, Alabama Superintendent of Education; and the scores of Jeanes Supervisors working in the rural schools to improve the educational conditions of African-American children.[78]

The history of black public school education in Alabama mirrors that of other southern states. After the Civil War, Alabama planters lost the two instruments with which they sought to inculcate subordination in blacks, chattel slavery and white-dominated churches which slaves were forced to attend. Alabama whites at first tried to prevent black education but then decided to support black schools only upon recognizing their inevitability. Too, whites recognized that through education, they could exercise control over their former slaves and therefore, immediately after the war, several forces converged to overcome whites' opposition to formal black education. Many impoverished whites needed jobs and opted to teach in black schools. While whites were not mainly concerned about black illiteracy, there were a few educators, such as Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, committed to universal education for both races. On November 20, 1865, a convention of fifty-six black men from throughout Alabama met to discuss the implications of their new freedom. They passed a resolution which stated "That we regard the education of our children and youths as vital to the preservation of our liberties...and shall use our utmost endeavors to promote these blessings in our common country." In December of that same year, blacks in Selma, playing on the fears of most whites, made an appeal for aid in obtaining teachers and schools. Their editorial in a local newspaper shrewdly pointed out to the local white community that "if you stand back, strangers will take the money from under your hands and carry it away to build up their own country." [79]

By 1866 public opinion in Alabama had become more favorable toward black education. The Methodist Conference meeting in Montgomery recommended that fellow churchmen approve and

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[78]James L. Sibley, "The Work of The Jeanes Supervising Industrial Teachers and The Homemakers' Clubs for Negro Girls, Alabama 1916," (Montgomery: The Department of Education, 1917), 1-35.; Stern, 13.

[79]Sherer, 2.

encourage day schools for black children, operated under "proper regulations by trustworthy teachers." A year later, numerous whites were carrying out promises of assistance of black schools. In Dallas County, whites helped build forty schoolhouses for blacks and at Montgomery, whites donated money to a black college and paid tuition for black students at private schools. A teacher at Marion, Alabama, even noted that several former slaveholders in his area were becoming strong advocates of black schools and were materially encouraging them.[80]

Blacks in Alabama, of course, worked closely with the Freedmen's Bureau and several missionary societies to establish and maintain various schools. The work of the Freedmen's Bureau reached its peak in 1866-1867 when the term ended with 175 schools, 14 permanent schoolhouses, 150 teachers and 9,799 pupils. Unfortunately, political wrangling between the Board of Education and the Alabama state legislature hindered the work of the Freedmen's Bureau and education in general from 1868-1874. A bureau superintendent wrote in 1869 that after visiting several parts of the state, he found the attitude of whites toward bureau schools and teachers had worsened. Additionally, during this time, three important precedents were established which later aided Alabama Conservatives in shaping the discriminatory educational policy toward blacks which would stand until the 1960s. On January 28, 1868, the Mobile Board of School Commissioners directed that the amount of school taxes paid by blacks be awarded to schools for black pupils. This was the first instance of an Alabama public agency segregating school funds by race. Since blacks had substantially lower incomes than whites, this act meant that black schools would receive less money than white schools. In 1874, the Board of Education reaffirmed its segregation policy of requiring separate schools for white and blacks unless the parents at a school gave unanimous consent for integrations. And finally, blacks confronted the discriminatory policies of the George Peabody fund (an agencey supposedly founded to aid education in the South without regard to race) when the trustees of that organization adopted a scale by which black schools received two-thirds of the amount granted to white schools.[81]

The first state financial segregation went into effect in 1877 when the Alabama legislature passed a law requiring poll taxes be separated and distributed by race. The legislature moved further when, in 1885, it passed a bill providing that the marshall of Auburn in Lee County keep lists of property assessments separate according to race. The legislature carried this idea even further when in 1887, it created an Opelika school district where tax funds collected from whites went to white schools and tax funds collected from blacks went to black schools. Additionally, rural schools felt the brunt of state regulation when in 1887 the Alabama Supreme Court ruled that taxing power could be given only to a school district if it were a municipal corporation. This decision widened the disparities between city and rural schools simply because it prohibited local taxation for school

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[80]Vaughan, 4, 41.

[81]Sherer, 6-9; Vaughan, 47.

purposes in rural areas. Since most blacks lived in rural areas, this was a direct blow to black education.[82]

The actions of the Alabama Legislature and Supreme Court clearly showed the changing attitude toward black education in the late 1800s. The state formally adopted the policy that black education would not only be separate and unequal, it would also be of a different kind than white education. Black education would focus on secondary classes and teacher training; black education was to be a special education for second-class citizens who could not have university education if they were to remain subordinated within a segregated society. This betrayal of blacks was underscored in 1888 when a compromise between representatives of the Black Belt and predominantly white counties resulted in the diversion of funds alloted for black schools to white schools. Black Belt representatives opposed a bill to raise the state's education appropriation by $100,000 because they did not want their money to go to black schools. Through political manuevering the bill passed and white counties got the increased appropriation "as a result of an understanding that the Black Belt counties could use more of their school fund for white education." By 1908, in the report of the superintendent of education, blacks made up forty-four percent of the school population but they only received twelve percent of the school fund.[83]

In 1907, progressives in the Alabama Legislature secured funds to build better schools and enacted a statewide literacy campaign, unfortunately both measures were aimed at improving white education only. The condition of rural education for blacks in turn-of-the-century Alabama was little changed from the years of Reconstruction and it was particularly distressing. In a state where blacks constituted almost one-half of the total population (90% of which lived in rural areas), only 20% of the black children were enrolled in schools, as compared with 60% of the white children. Few, if any black schools, operated for longer than five months during the year; the average school term for blacks was four months as compared to seven-month terms for whites. This disparity between the school terms for whites and blacks led Booker T. Washington to make one of his most famous and pointed remarks: "The Negro boy is smart, but White folks expect too much of him if they think he can learn as much in three months of school as their boys can in eight." In addition, facilties were appalling, school buildings were typically nothing more than crude shanties and ill constructed log cabins that were not sound, safe or convenient. Teachers were poorly paid and elementary school education was minimal. Indeed, barefoot children were often taught by a teacher barely more knowledgeable than the students.[84]

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[82]Ibid., 10.

[83]Ibid., 12-14.

[84]Schafer, 4; Sosland, 21-26; Harlan, *The Wizard of Tuskegee*, 197.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 43 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

Booker T. Washington, of course, had struggled to rectify the conditions of elementary education for blacks since the early 1900s, particularly through the work of the Southern Education Board (SEB). In 1909, for example, Washington sent SEB members evidence that in Lowndes County, Alabama, $20 per capita went to educating white schoolchildren and $.67 per capita to black schoolchildren. He pointed out that all nine of the Alabama teachers' institutes were for whites and that nearly every southern state had appropriated funds for building schoolhouses but none of this money went for black schools. "White education is being made at the expense of Negro education, that is, the money is actually being taken from the colored people and given to white schools, " the educator once wrote. He noted that in one Alabama county, black schools had been reduced from thirty to three and in many cases, black teachers were paid as little as $10 a month. Washington even cited one contract between a black teacher and a white school official for a salary of $1.40 a month.[85]

Washington became extremely frustrated with the work of the SEB, which while proclaiming its purpose to stimulate campaigns for better public schools for every child, essentially promoted white education. By 1912, Washington was urging Tuskeegee's graduates not to found any more industrial schools in imitation of Tuskegee but to work at improving public schools. Fortunately for Washington, just as it was becoming clear that the Southern Education and the General Education Boards were incapable and unwilling to assist black public schools, he found philanthropic agencies and concerned individuals which he could more or less directly control and influence to alleviate the poor conditions of black schools. With the establishment of the Anna T. Jeanes and the Julius Rosenwald Funds, Washington had at his fingertips, the resources to provide more adequate school buildings and better educated and trained teachers. The Jeanes fund supplied

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[85]Harlan, *The Wizard of Tuskegee*, 193-195. The following table is taken from Sherer, *Subordination or Liberation: Black Education in Nineteenth-Century Alabama*, 15. It illustrates the disparities between teachers' salaries.

Year	White	Black	Difference
1889-1890	$22.04	$21.05	$.99
1894-1895	$24.03	$18.71	$5.32
1895-1896	$23.96	$18.29	$5.67
1896-1897	$44.97	$17.70	$5.27
1897-1898	$24.00	$18.44	$5.65
1898-1899	$25.05	$17.66	$7.39
1900-1901	$32.25	$22.59	$9.66
1901-1902	$32.50	$22.38	$10.12
1908-1909	$50.92	$25.23	$25.69

trained teachers and supervisors while the Rosenwald School Building Fund granted matching monies to local communities for the erection of modern, up-to-date school buildings.[86]

The first school building financed in part by Julius Rosenwald was completed at Loachapoka, Lee County, Alabama in 1913. It was single-room structure, 28 by 40 feet and cost $942.50. Of this amount, African-Americans contributed $150 to buy land for the school site and labor in the amount of $132.50. White people contributed $360 and the Rosenwald Fund gave $300. Alfred Stern notes that as soon as the building was completed it was crowded with pupils and "another room had to be added soon thereafter." But even though the first buildng project was a success, expanding the work was not easy. At Brownsville, Alabama, an African-American called upon to make a dedication address for the second Rosenwald school, reminded his audience that he had made sixty-four trips on foot to see school officials and county board members before getting the desired school in his district. Yet once officials overcame their initial aversion to the program, communities began to apply for Rosenwald assistance and it became less difficult to build the next four schools at Big Zion, Little Zion, and Madison Park in Montgomery County and at Notasulga in Macon County.[87]

The Jeanes supervisors were at the forefront of the Rosenwald schoolbuilding movement in general and in particular in Alabama. From the time the first Rosenwald school was erected at Loachapoka, Alabama in 1913, these teachers played a pivotal role in raising money and encouraging community support for the program. In 1917, James L. Sibley, Alabama's Rural School Agent, published his report on the work of the Jeanes Supervisors finding that county school boards and the Jeanes Fund employed twenty-seven teachers in his state. Sibley noted that in 1917, eighty percent of the citizens of Alabama lived in rural communities, forty -two percent or nearly one-half of the total rural population was black. Echoing the industrial educational philosophy of Booker T. Washington, Sibley wrote "the South is dependent upon agriculture for a great deal of its prosperity and upon the negro farmer and laborer for a large part of its industrial development. There should be some method to train negro children while attending rural schools to become intelligent, thrifty, and skillful workers." [88]

To William F. Feagin, State Superintendent of Education, Sibley noted that from reading his reports, Feagin could "gain an idea of the work which these teachers are attempting to accomplish. If they succeed, they will bring about a new conception of the function of the school in the minds of local patrons and pupils." Sibley reported that the teachers "visit the negro rural schools, teach the industrial work in the classes, supervise the schools under the direction of the county

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[86]Ibid., 197.

[87]Stern, Chapter II, p. 2.

[88]Sibley, 4-6.

superintendent, and hold patrons' meetings for the improvement of schools. During the winter months, their time is largely devoted to actual work in connection with the schools. In the summer they devote their time to club work and community affairs." [89]

"These [Jeanes] teachers have continued to secure the hearty cooperation of the officials under whom they worked which demonstrates the value of their efforts in the twenty-five counties where they are employed, either as special supervising industrial teachers or as agents of the Homemakers' Clubs." The supervisors encouraged 9,738 people to "have home gardens, grow their own supplies, save enough food for the winter months, and improve the conditions in their homes." But it was their work in school improvement which brought the most acclaim from Sibley and Feagin. Indeed, Feagin noted that the Jeanes supervisors were successful in getting the local white people to give some $1,368 in voluntary contributions to further the erection of new schoolhouses. And Sibley wrote in his report that in the twenty-three counties where the Jeanes Supervisors worked, they raised a total of $47,451.24 for the school improvement."While the supervisors have not raised the entire amount themselves, they have held rallies, met trustees and patrons, organized improvement clubs, and personally raised a large part of the funds reported." [90]

The work of Mary Sanifer, a supervisor in Pickens County, Alabama is perhaps indicative of the struggles and successes of many Jeanes supervisors. She wrote,

> "One day while reading a copy of the Christian Index, I noticed a headline 'Better Rural Schools.' With much interest I read the notice that Mr. Julius Rosenwald was deeply interested in better Negro school buildings and would give dollar for dollar in the erection of modern Negro school buildings. I wrote him immediately for further information. He referred me to Mr. C. J. Calloway, Rosenwald's Agent, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. From him I received all needed information. Filled with encouragement I began to advertise my project. It seemed impossible to make the people believe a man would give dollar for dollar to erect a school building. I tried to organize a school improvement association. I succeeded with three men and four women. The men were afraid to venture, so I had to assume all the responsibility. I bought two acres of land at a cost of $50.00. With my school improvement association we planned

[89]Ibid.; Alabama counties employing Jeanes Supervisors in 1917 included Baldwin, Calhoun, Chambers, Coffee, Colbert, Conecuh, Coosa, Fayette, Greene, Henry, Houston, Jefferson, Lee, Lowndes, Macon, Madison, Mobile, Monroe, Montgomery, Perry, Pike, Pickens, Russell, Talladega, Tallapoosa, and Tuscaloosa.

[90]Sibley, 11. In his 1916 report, Sibley notes that there were 443 homemaker's clubs servicing 541 communities. These clubs held 1340 meetings. Total membership of 9,728 reflected 5,556 girls and 4,172 mothers. Supervisors visited 3,427 homes and instructed the members in preserving 247,040 quarts of fruits and vegetables. They traveled 14,471 miles over the course of the year.

a school rally and raised $62.00. This paid for the land, which was encouraging. I began then to raise money and subscriptions for money to qualify. When I had covered the amount in subscriptions, I suggested that we borrow the money paying as much as possible in labor. The three men secured subscriptions and immediately afterwards during my absence, had their signature abolished from security. When I found it out, I did not know what to do. Trusting God, I continued. I went to the man who was lending us the money and offered my name as security. Seeing my anxiety for the building he accepted me alone. I deposited the money and the county superintendent sent in the application. It was accepted and the work began. The community was convinced that the work would be done. I employed a contractor and the community joined in . As a result we succeeded with a beautiful two-teacher Rosenwald building." [91]

In his history of the Rosenwald building fund, Alfred K. Stern cited many stories from Jeanes supervisors, illustrating the sacrifices African-Americans in Alabama made to secure a school in their community.

"It was on the thirtieth day of January, 1923, a very cold, rainy bleak day when we gathered together in a little old rickety building without any heat, only from an old rusty stove with the stove pipe protruding out of the window where a pane had been removed for the flue. This scene took place in Boligee, Green [sic] County, where we were striving to build a consolidated school in a remote rural community, the only occupation of the people of which was farming. The farmers had been hard hit that year as the boll weevil had figured very conspicuously in that community, and most of the people were tenants on large plantations. When we reached the scene where the rally was to be staged, the teacher with thirty-five or forty little children had prepared a program, which consisted of plantation melodies. When the little children were called on to sing, they would sing with such fervor and devotion, until one could hardly restrain from weeping. It will be remembered they were very poorly clad. The patrons and friends gathered were all rural people, and crudely dressed. The women had on home spun dresses and aprons, while the men in the main were dressed in blue overalls. Their shoes and boots were muddy, as they had to trudge through the mud from three to four miles to reach the place of meeting. When we had gotten our program well underway, and the master of ceremonies introduced us, he said among the many things: 'We have never had a school in this vicinity, most of our children have grown into manhood and womanhood without the semblance of an opportunity to get an insight into life, etc.' As he spoke tears began to trickle down his face. My heart became heavy. When the speaking was over...[he] began to call the collection, the people began to respond. You would have been overcome with emotion if you could have seen

[91]Stern, Chapter III, 4.

those poor people walking up to the table, emptying their pockets for a school... One old man, who had seen slavery days, slowly drew something from his pocket containing all of his life's earnings in an old greasy sack, and emptied it on the table. He put thirty-eight dollars on the table, which was his entire savings. He said 'I want to see the children of my grandchildren have a chance, and so I am giving my all.' While I thought we would only get ten dollars...those people had laid on that table thirteen hundred and sixty-five dollars. Today they have a building which represents about ten thousand dollars, and five or six trained teachers, with an enrollment of more than three hundred children." [92]

Similarly, in Autauga County, the state building agent found conditions for African-Americans very poor, particularly as far as educational facilities were concerned. The agent and the Jeanes supervisors started a great rally for funds to build a big consolidated school, to be known as the Autauga County Training School. During a spirited talk, one elderly woman who "wanted a hand in the Big School, said 'I have only one copper cent, and it goes for the children of Autaugaville.'" Her contribution caused a great commotion and in a short time, the group had raised $200. Thirty days later, another rally was held which brought in $1,300. The community, however, lacked more than a $1,000 to qualify for the project. Local African-American men raised an additional sum with security pledges on their future crops, cows, and calves. They also approached an area planter who had several black men, women and children working on his farm. After a prolonged conversation, the planter finally drew out of his pocket a blank check and said "Fill out this check for the amount your want." As a result, they built a school that represented $12,000 for the black children of Autauga County. [93]

In Hobson City, Calhoun County, Alabama, children organized a snuff box brigade, their aim to save as much money as possible in their little tins to secure a new school. During a Rosenwald rally, they marched up and poured out the contents on the table, $200 in pennies, dimes, nickels and quarters. According to Stern, "This set the community wild, and at our next rally, we completed the project so far as qualifying for the Rosenwald and State funds were concerned." The black population at Bexar in Marion County, however, had made little progress at all, educationally or otherwise, since the Civil War. Located in a predominantly white county, Bexar and its residents were extremely poor. "They just didn't have anything," Sibley wrote,"Their food and clothing represented the most crude kind. Not a house had a screen or a glass window and other conditions were intolerable." Nevertheless, they were determined to build a school for the 198 children in the community. "Men went into the woods, cut down trees, hauled them to the saw mill and had them cut into lumber. Others cleared away the grounds and even women worked carrying water and feeding the men while they labored until enough material was placed on the grounds for a two-teacher building." Sibley wrote that five years later, Bexar was a progressive

[92]Stern, Chapter III, 21.

[93]Stern, Chapter III, 17-18.

little community with whitewashed homes, neat fences, and well-groomed children "in school every day." Jeanes supervisors and teachers filed similar reports which detailed the sacrifices of African-Americans in the towns of Brundidge, Forrest City, Madison, Atmore and York and in Lawrence, Escambia, Sumter, Fayette, and Macon counties. [94]

Perhaps one state field agent captured best the essence of the sacrifices African-Americans were willing to make in securing funds for Rosenwald schools:

> "Their struggles to this end are often pathetic but nearly always inspiring. No sacrifice is too great for them to make. I saw recently at the dedication of a fine Rosenwald School a colored man with no children who had mortgaged his farm to secure the money necessary to complete the building. However, it often happens, as in this case, that local white people are moved by the efforts of the colored people to give them assistance, and the school thus becomes a community project in which whites and blacks alike take pride. And, of course, in practically every instance the Rosenwald School increased public funds for its erection and for its maintenance thereafter.[95]

In raising money for Rosenwald schools, however, Mary Sanifer and other Jeanes supervisors followed the laws established by the Alabama legislature in 1916 providing for the construction of rural schoolhouses for African-Americans with aid from the state. The law provided that the community first deposit its money in the hands of the county treasurer of the public school funds and also its application for state aid up to one half of the amount deposited. The building was erected and inspected by someone from the office of the State Superintendent of Education before the final payment was made. The state superintendent furnished plans and specifications from the Rosenwald office and verified compliance with building instructions. The estimated cost to erect, paint, and furnish a one-teacher school was between $800 and $900. The state asked the community to raise $300, the Rosenwald Fund contributed $300, and the state supplied the remaining funds up to $300. Warren Logan, the treasurer of Tuskegee, found the Alabama law to be an advantage in that it required the community requesting Rosenwald aid to comply with the fund's regulations, namely the raising of at least one-third of the total construction cost. It did not, however, allow for in-kind contributions, such as labor and materials furnished by the communities themselves. By 1920, when the Trustees of the Rosenwald School Building Fund moved the adminstrative offices from Tuskegee to Nashville, Alabama boasted 197 schools,

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[94]Ibid., Chapter III, 19.

[95]Ibid., Chapter III, 16.

almost half of the eventual total number located within the state's borders and more than twice the number found in any other state. [96]

Until 1920, when the Rosenwald Fund hired Samuel Smith to run the Southern Office, African-American communities built their schools according to plans and specifications provided by the Extension Department of Tuskegee Institute. In 1915, Booker T. Washington and Clinton J. Calloway published the booklet, *The Negro Rural School and its Relation to the Community.* The publication contained detailed information on the selection of a school site, school activities, equipment for industrial classes, sanitation, grounds and landscaping, and of course, plans and specifications for three types of buildings and a teacher's cottage. James Sibley and the Alabama Department of Education supplied the designs for the buildings and grounds while R. R. Taylor, Director of Mechanical Industries and W. A. Hazel, of Tuskegee's Division of Architecture, executed the plans and specifications. George Washington Carver, of the Department of Agricultural Research, supplied material on school grounds, gardens, and demonstration plots. Washington and Calloway made certain that community leaders and teachers knew as much as possible about the appearance of the school, its proposed location and suitable activities which should take place inside and on the grounds. They covered topics ranging from the quality of blackboards and treatment of floors to the merits of a sanitary toilet and the best design for a jacketed stove. They recommended games and activities for children, various trees and plants for the garden, and fund-raising ideas for the teachers. Carver supplied the reader with detailed lists of vegetables with recommendations for planting and cultivating. Washington even recommended that teachers and school children keep and raise a pig, not only for educational purposes but with an eye for re-sale and for slaughter. [97]

In his introduction for *The Negro Rural School*, Washington notes that each type of school (the one-teacher, central and county training) had its function to perform both in the community and the county but that the one-teacher type would be the most prevalent and therefore, the most important. Washington advocated that the one-teacher school be taught by a woman noting that she would provide her students with the basis of instruction for years to come. He stressed that there should be a careful study of the booklet's chapter on one-teacher schools before any attempt be made to locate or erect any kind of building. While the one-teacher school would serve primarily elementary age children, the Central School, drawing pupils from a four or five mile radius, was designed for older children and was vocational in nature. For the Central School, Washington preferred the employment of two teachers, preferably a man and his wife residing on the grounds. The County

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[96]Stern, Chapter V, 8, 13. Other states and the number of schools per state included Louisiana (92), North Carolina (76), Tennessee (71), Virginia (47), Mississippi (39), Georgia (37), Kentucky (30), Arkansas (25), South Carolina (15), and Maryland (9).

[97]Booker T. Washington and Clinton J. Calloway, *The Rural Negro School and its Relation to the Community*, (Extension Department: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1915). Hereinafter cited as Washington, *The Rural Negro School.*

Training School would offer advanced training in home economics for girls, agriculture and trade for boys, and teacher-training courses for those who expected to become rural teachers. Detailed plans and blueprints for any of the schools and outbuildings could be secured from the Extension Department of Tuskegee for $1.00 each.[98]

For the actual designs of the schoolhouses, Washington, Calloway and Sibley turned to the bulletins prepared by F. B. Dresslar for the United States Bureau of Education. It would be Dresslar's report to Julius Rosenwald in 1920 which would prompt the philanthropist to remove the building program from Tuskegee and establish the Southern Office in Nashville. From 1913 until 1920, the 197 one-teacher, central and teacher training schools in Alabama were built along the lines of the designs found in *The Negro Rural School* and in bulletins issued by Sibley from the Alabama Department of Education. After 1920, and the publication of *Community School Plans*, communities throughout Alabama began constructing schools according to blueprints and specifications prepared by Samuel Smith and the Southern Office. From 1920 to 1927, African-Americans built 146 additional schools, seven teacher's homes and eight shops. By 1928, the year Edwin Embree and the trustees decided to phase out the school building program, Alabamians had succeded in building 345 schools. Only 37 additional schools would be built between 1928 and 1932. [99]

By the time the Julius Rosenwald Fund ended it's school building fund in 1932, only three Alabama counties (DeKalb, Winston, and Cleburne) did not have any black schools which were financed, in part, with money from the fund. Macon County, home to Washington's Tuskegee Institute and the birthplace of the school building movement, and Chambers County had the most schools, each with 19. Conecuh (16), Lee (15), and Lowndes (13), Montgomery (13), Russell (13) and Baldwin (12) followed close behind. An additional twelve Alabama Counties contained ten or more schools while twenty-two counties had between five and nine school buildings. Thirty-two Alabama counties had between one and four schools each. Geographically, along regional lines of the state, Rosenwald schools were most prevalent in the Black Belt prairie and the Tennessee Valley, the agricultural heartlands of Alabama which contained large numbers of African-American tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Lee, Russell, Macon, Montgomery, Lowndes, Dallas, Perry and Hale, all counties of the Black Belt prairie which stretches across the central section of the state, contained ten or more schools. It was the mountainous regions in the north and northeast, the foothills of the Appalachians with small numbers of African-Americans, which had the fewest

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[98]Washington, *The Rural Negro School*, 5-8.

[99]*The Julius Rosenwald Fund Papers*, Fisk University: Nashville, Tennessee. A compendium of Rosenwald Schools constructed in Alabama according to county and type with a detailed account of cost and contributions by blacks, whites, public, and the Rosenwald Fund. Hereinafter referred to as JRFP.

Rosenwald schools. Cullman, Blount, St. Clair, Marshall and Lamar counties only had one school building each.[100]

Surprisingly, the counties with largest numbers of schools did not necessarily have the larger numbers of teacher's homes. Although the 382 schools could accommodate 836 teachers, only seven teacherages or teacher's homes were constructed in Alabama. Autauga, Coffee, Conecuh, Coosa, Pickens and Sumter Counties each had a teachers' home located at the county training schools while one teacherage was located at the Chehaw school in Macon County. Similarly, vocational shop buildings were rare but were typically located in counties with larger numbers of Rosenwald schools and African-American populations. For example, Wilcox County, which had a large African-American population and yet had only three Rosenwald elementary schools, had two vocational shop buildings. Clarke, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Elmore, and Chambers counties also contained vocational shop facilities. To date, no teachers' homes or vocational shop buildings have been identified as extant in Alabama. [101]

Although conceived as a private-public partnership with the hope that whites would contribute to the construction of black schools, the program never garnered the financial support from the white community which Rosenwald and Washington had envisioned and so desired. This was particularly true in Alabama. Of the 382 Rosenwald schools, whites contributed to the construction of only 130 buildings, three teachers' homes and five vocational shop buildings. Their contributions ranged from $2 for the Canaan school in Chambers County to $15,300 for the Dallas County High School, the second most expensive Rosenwald funded school building project in the state ($24,948). The total white contribution of $98,434 represents $757 per each of the 130 schools to which they contributed and $257 per each of the total 382 schools. Of the $1,121,401.00 spent on the school buildings, blacks contributed $415,382; whites, $8,434; the public funds, $388,115; and the Rosenwald fund, $219,470. The seven teachers' homes were built at a total cost of $20,472, with blacks contributing almost half of the total amount. Contributions from the white community totaled only $907. The ratio of black and white contributions was considerably better in regard to the vocational training shops. The nine facilities cost a total of $35,783 reflecting a contribution from the white community of $12,337. This figure, however, is misleading because $11,037 of the total white donation went to the vocational shop at Snow Hill Institute in Wilcox County, a "mini-Tuskegee" founded by Washington protegee, William J. Edwards. The donations came not entirely from local white residents but from northern white benefactors.[102]

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[100]Ibid.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Edwards, *Twenty -Five Years in the Black Belt,* various pages.

The 382 Alabama Rosenwald Schools were typically built adjacent to or near a church, many of which had formerly served as the neighborhood school building. Additional research needs to be conducted to determine if schools in other states were also built near churches. Many schools often were named for the church itself. In Alabama, there was the Mt. Olive, Tate's Chapel, Mt. Canaan, Rehobeth, Mt. Calvary, Moore's Chapel, Howard Chapel, Andrew's Chapel, and Big Zion, Little Zion and Zion Hill schools. Alabama had the Anna T. Jeanes (Baldwin County), the Booker T. Washington (Conecuh, Monroe, Macon and Washington Counties) and the Rosenwald (Butler) schools. A school in Calhoun County was named simply Thankful School while Lee County boasted the Rough and Ready school. There were the Rising Star, Morning Star, and Pleasant Star schools as well as ones at Pleasant Ridge, Pleasant Grove, Pleasant Hill and Pleasant View. Tallapoosa Countians named their two teacher facility the Peace and Good Will school while in Chambers County, one found the Unity school. Perhaps African-Americans in Wilcox County captured best the feelings of most blacks in regard to the school building fund and Julius Rosenwald when they named their $709 one room facility, the God-Send Rosenwald school.[103]

Although the school building program ended in 1932, the Rosenwald schools remained active throughout the 1930s. Each year, the Rosenwald Fund and the State Negro School agent encouraged the annual Rosenwald Day which featured contests for children and a general clean-up of the school and the surrounding grounds. While the Rosenwald School Building Fund had been extremely successful in improving the facilities and the conditions for African-Americans, the fund, however, had failed to improve black-white relations or foster a concern for black education among the white community. It would not be until the 1950s and 1960s with the intervention of the United States Supreme Court, that the longstanding "separate but equal" educational policy would be struck down. With desegregation and the consolidation of rural schools, Rosenwald schools were abandoned. In Alabama, local residents often tore down the school buildings to obtain building materials for other projects. Samuel Smith's specifications had ensured that Rosenwald schools were well constructed with good building materials and hence, they were highly prized by scavengers. Some neighborhood residents continued to use the school buildings as community centers while others were turned into homes or converted to barns and storage facilities. The greater majority of the buildings, however, were abandoned, left to slowly deteriorate.

Today, the remaining Alabama Rosenwald schools are vivid reminders of the educational philosophy and the ambitious building program of two men, Julius Rosenwald and Booker T. Washington. Many of the schools located in Alabama were the first constructed under a program which has been called the "most influential philanthropic force that came to the aid of Negroes at that time." Indeed, Alabama was the birthplace of a program which would eventually help construct 5,358 buildings throughout the South. The fact that the Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund program began in Alabama is certainly important. Of greater importance, however, is the impact the fund had on improving the educational opportunities for thousands of African-Americans throughout the state. These school buildings were more than educational and

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[103]*JRFP papers.*

community centers. To the neighborhood and community residents, they represented advancement, achievement, opportunity, and hope for an improved quality of life. Today, these small frame school buildings are silent testaments to the determination of thousands of African-Americans searching for better educational opportunities in the segregated South.

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Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

A County by County Listing of Rosenwald Schools, Teachers' Homes, and Industrial Vocational Buildings, and Their Costs. Courtesy Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund Papers, Fisk University.

	Budget Year	County	School	Type	Cost	Contributions			
						Negroes	Whites	Public	Rosenwald
4		Autauga	County Training	5	$ 7,700	$ 2,500	$ 1,700	$ 2,100	$ 1,400
8		Autauga	County Training #2	5	14,325	3,000	-	9,600	325
3		Autauga	Hunter Hill	2	2,700	1,000	-	900	800
6		Autauga	McQueen Smith	2	3,100	700	800	900	700
1		Autauga	Mt. Sinai	2	1,325	825	-	300	500
1		Autauga	Salem	-	1,050	650	-	200	200
1-5-10		Baldwin	Anna T. Jeanes	-	5,482	4,452	130	1,150	750
8		Baldwin	Antioch	1	1,950	1,100	-	450	400
3		Baldwin	Blakely	1	1,560	750	-	400	500
1 x 9		Baldwin	County Training	7	4,325	2,925	-	700	700
1 x 6		Baldwin	Douglasville	3	2,300	1,250	-	350	700
5		Baldwin	Ft. Mims	1	1,450	600	-	450	400
6		Baldwin	Hurricane	1	1,450	700	-	450	500
11		Baldwin	Loxley	1	1,[illegible]	700	-	[illegible]	200
1		Baldwin	Rising Star	1	1,250	450	-	400	400
1		Baldwin	Stockton (Vaughn)	2	1,350	750	-	600	500
10		Baldwin	Tates' Chapel	1	1,900	600	-	1,100	200
10		Baldwin	Tate's Creek	1	1,925	600	-	1,125	200
9		Barbour	Clayton	2	3,900	1,200	500	1,500	700
11		Barbour	Eufaula	7	18,900	250	-	16,800	1,850
10		Barbour	James-Salem	3	3,675	1,275	-	1,700	700
12		Barbour	James-Salem #2	2	3,510	-	200	3,110	200
8		Barbour	Monk	1	2,580	1,630	-	650	400
5		Bibb	County Training	5	6,720	1,000	2,520	1,800	1,400
3		Bibb	Ft. Olive	2	3,110	1,460	-	950	700
4		Blount	Gamble	2	2,800	1,050	150	900	700
10		Bullock	Enon	2	2,705	605	500	1,100	500
1		Bullock	Mascotte	1	544	344	100	-	100
2		Bullock	Midway	2	2,600	1,000	-	800	800
1		Bullock	Post Oak	2	2,600	1,000	-	800	800
4		Bullock	Tanyard	2	1,000	300	50	350	300
1		Bullock	Young Harris	2	2,004	1,304	-	400	300
1		Butler	Beaver Creek	1	800	400	-	-	400
3		Butler	Dead Fall	2	3,000	900	-	800	800
12		Butler	Georgiana	4	5,000	2,500	-	1,500	1,000
7		Butler	Long Creek	2	3,700	800	200	900	900
5		Butler	Poplar Springs	1	1,590	640	-	450	500
1		Butler	Rhodes	2	2,400	800	-	800	800
10		Butler	Rosenwald	2	3,375	1,375	-	900	500
5		Calhoun	Bynum	1	1,750	700	-	550	500
7		Calhoun	County Training	5	6,800	3,500	300	1,800	1,300
3		Calhoun	Hawkins	1	3,130	1,480	-	1,250	400
1		Calhoun	Jacksonville	3	750	350	-	200	200
3		Calhoun	Mt. Eagle	1	1,768	818	-	450	500
1		Calhoun	Progressive	3	1,140	650	64	126	300
11		Calhoun	Thankful	3	3,500	500	-	2,500	500
1		Chambers	Bethel	1	900	250	70	300	300
1		Chambers	Canaan	1	977	475	2	300	300
1		Chambers	County Training	10	9,250	4,300	-	3,150	1,800
1		Chambers	Five Points	2	1,200	550	50	300	300
1		Chambers	Greenwood	1	2,100	1,300	-	400	400
1		Chambers	High Pine	1	1,250	400	-	450	400
3		Chambers	Lacedonia	1	1,350	375	25	450	500
1		Chambers	Mitchell Springs	1	890	325	55	200	300
1		Chambers	New Canaan	1	1,200	400	-	400	400
1		Chambers	New Hope	1	1,200	400	-	400	400
1 x 6		Chambers	Nethercutt	2	2,550	750	400	700	500
1		Chambers	Rocky Branch	1	1,075	450	25	300	300
1		Chambers	St. John	1	1,410	550	60	400	400
1		Chambers	Sandy Level	1	1,000	350	50	300	300
1		Chambers	Sardis	1	1,440	500	40	400	400
4		Chambers	Shawmut	3	2,695	675	420	300	900
4 x 8		Chambers	Smith Indus. S. L.	3	4,700	2,600	200	900	1,000
1		Chambers	Titanic	1	1,600	1,250	50	100	200
1		Chambers	Unity Model	5	4,200	1,500	100	1,300	1,300
8 x 12		Cherokee	Cedar Bluff	3	6,750	1,350	-	300	550
9		Cherokee	Farill	1	1,650	700	-	450	400
1		Cherokee	Savage	1	1,604	304	-	400	400

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Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

12	Chilton	Clanton	4	6,100	2,600	700	1,300	1,000
6 & 9	Chilton	County Training	3	10,263	4,863	500	3,000	1,900
3	Chilton	Lomax	1	1,550	800	-	450	400
9	Chilton	Riderville	2	3,000	1,400	-	900	700
9	Chilton	Thorsby	1	1,550	700	-	450	400
9	Choctaw	County Training	5	8,700	4,100	1,000	2,500	1,300
6	Choctaw	Melvin	3	3,900	1,400	-	1,000	700
1	Clarke	Coffeeville	2	750	250	-	200	300
3	Clarke	County Training	5	$ 6,318	$ 4,250	$ 350	$ 1,300	$ 1,400
1	Clarke	Fulton	1	750	250	-	200	300
1	Clarke	Grove Hill	3	700	200	-	200	300
1	Clarke	Hickory Hall	2	750	250	-	200	300
1	Clarke	Mt. Zion	2	950	350	50	250	300
11	Clay	Lineville (J.T.C.)	4	6,000	2,500	500	1,500	1,900
2	Coffee	Bowden Industrial	1	1,850	700	-	450	500
1	Coffee	Coppinsville	4	1,800	500	-	500	500
1	Coffee	County Training	2	1,550	1,250	-	--	300
10	Coffee	Elba	5	7,900	3,150	-	2,950	1,200
1	Coffee	Oak Grove	2	2,700	1,400	-	650	650
3	Coffee	Roonlers	1	1,850	900	-	450	500
1	Coffee	Shiloh	2	1,100	450	50	300	300
1	Coffee	Kelverton	1	900	500	-	300	300
1	Colbert	Barton	2	2,434	1,084	-	700	700
4	Colbert	Cherokee	3	2,900	1,200	-	900	800
11	Colbert	County Training	5	10,950	6,500	1,000	3,000	1,450
3	Colbert	Lane Springs	1	2,000	1,150	-	450	400
3	Colbert	Mt. Olivia	2	2,900	1,800	-	900	800
1	Colbert	Mt. Pleasant	1	1,100	500	-	300	300
3	Colbert	St. Paul	1	2,000	1,150	-	450	400
9	Colbert	Spring Valley	1	1,700	750	100	450	400
4	Conecuh	Brooksville	1	1,850	700	-	450	500
1	Conecuh	Buttrick	1	1,200	400	-	400	400
1	Conecuh	Calloway	2	1,250	650	-	200	400
1	Conecuh	Cedar Grove	2	1,400	450	-	450	500
1	Conecuh	China Agricultural	2	875	375	-	200	300
1	Conecuh	Jonassett	2	1,450	500	-	450	500
1	Conecuh	County Training	5	3,425	900	700	1,000	825
4	Conecuh	Franklin Pierce	1	1,750	800	-	450	500
1	Conecuh	Greig Industrial	2	1,800	800	250	450	500
1	Conecuh	Hamden Ridge	1	2,200	400	-	400	400
4	Conecuh	Lampert Industrial	1	1,750	800	-	450	500
1	Conecuh	Lincoln	3	1,048	548	-	200	325
1	Conecuh	Melrose	1	1,225	625	-	300	400
1	Conecuh	Nazarine	1	1,275	700	75	200	300
1	Conecuh	Rabb Industrial	1	1,200	400	-	400	400
1	Conecuh	Washington	1	825	250	-	275	300
3 & 7	Coosa	County Training	6	8,100	2,300	1,950	2,550	1,600
3	Coosa	Cross Roads	1	1,753	803	-	450	500
6	Coosa	Goodwater	1	1,550	700	-	450	400
4	Coosa	Mt. Olive	3	2,500	1,200	-	800	800
1	Coosa	Rockford	1	1,550	500	50	400	400
1	Covington	Bradley	2	1,350	500	-	650	400
11	Covington	County Line	2	2,300	1,200	200	900	500
6	Covington	County Training	5	6,200	500	2,500	1,900	1,300
1	Covington	Noahville	2	1,550	400	-	650	500
3	Crenshaw	Bradley	2	3,450	1,850	-	800	800
9	Cullman	Colony	3	4,550	2,350	-	1,300	900
1	Dale	Shady Grove	1	1,200	400	-	400	400
1	Dale	Summer Hill	1	950	350	-	300	300
1	Dallas	Beloit	1	750	250	-	200	300
12	Dallas	County High	8	24,948	3,700	15,600	3,348	2,100
7	Dallas	Jo. Trg. Voc. Bldg.	4	4,300	500	1,000	1,700	1,100
10	Dallas	Harold's Cross Roads	2	3,000	1,100	-	1,400	500
4 & 8	Dallas	Keith	4	5,480	2,480	100	1,700	1,200
10	Dallas	Lolette's Band	2	4,000	900	500	1,400	500
1	Dallas	Mud Mill	2	1,032	582	100	200	200
4	Dallas	Selma Training	2	3,750	1,475	1,475	-	800
4 & 11	Dallas	Shiloh	3	2,350	1,350	-	950	650
1	Dallas	Sister Springs	1	850	525	-	225	300
9	Elmore	Clarence Kelsey	2	2,550	700	1,000	450	700
7	Elmore	County Training	5	6,700	3,500	-	1,900	1,300
6	Elmore	Excelsior	1	1,950	700	-	450	400
3	Elmore	Flat Rock	1	2,350	1,200	-	450	400
3	Elmore	Mt. Duncan	2	3,100	1,550	150	900	700

1	Elmore	Reneboth	1	750	250	-	200	300
6 & 7	Elmore	Sweetwater	1	1,550	700	-	[illegible]	500
5	Elmore	Union Branch	1	1,650	700	-	[illegible]	500
1 & 11	Elmore	Union	3	2,250	1,000	-	[illegible]	550
1	Escambia	Boykin	2	1,050	550	-	200	300
8	Escambia	County Training	6	22,875	2,625	15,050	3,500	1,500
3	Escambia	Mason	2	2,750	1,050	-	900	800
4	Escambia	Pollard	3	3,400	1,800	-	600	1,000
1	Etowah	East Gadsden	1	1,400	600	-	400	400
2	Etowah	Turkeytown	1	1,350	1,000	-	450	400
8	Fayette	County Training	5	9,550	6,050	-	2,200	1,300
1	Fayette	Newtonville	1	950	350	-	300	300
1	Franklin	Harrican	2	1,000	500	-	200	300
6	Franklin	Reedtown	2	3,955	1,350	475	900	700
3	Geneva	Slocomb	2	3,560	1,960	-	900	700
12	Greene	Banks	1	1,650	200	500	550	200
6	Greene	County Training	5	6,450	2,750	500	1,900	1,300
11	Greene	Eutaw	3	4,697	647	-	3,350	700
1	Greene	Spring Hill	1	1,900	1,350	-	450	400
4	Greene	Taylor	1	2,250	300	100	850	500
1	Hale	Akron	1	1,650	350	800	200	300
8	Hale	Arcola	2	3,000	700	300	1,300	700
1	Hale	Bay Springs	1	1,000	500	-	200	300
1	Hale	Cedarsville	1	900	400	-	200	300
5	Hale	County Training	5	10,550	5,700	-	2,550	1,300
10	Hale	Evening Star	2	3,400	2,000	-	900	500
	Hale	Greensboro	2	1,986	1,311	175	200	300
1	Hale	Gpinia (Cypress)	2	1,050	550	-	200	300
1	Hale	Limestone	1	1,048	338	10	-	200
1	Hale	Moundsville	2	1,220	710	10	200	300
1	Hale	Newbern	1	1,145	505	60	200	300
7	Hale	Oak Grove	2	3,000	1,100	-	900	700
1	Hale	Sunshine	1	950	450	-	300	300
1	Hale	Tunstall	1	1,060	550	10	200	300
1	Hale	Wedgeworth	1	1,025	525	-	200	300
3	Henry	Brox Bent	1	1,900	950	-	450	500
4 & 12	Henry	County Training	5	2,950	1,800	-	700	450
4	Henry	Newville	3	4,002	1,702	-	1,300	1,000
4	Houston	Box Union	1	1,650	700	-	450	500
1	Houston	Crosey	1	900	250	-	250	300
1	Houston	Dothan (Douglas)	1	800	250	-	250	300
12	Jackson	Bridgeport	2	3,080	830	500	1,250	500
3	Jackson	Fackler	1	1,750	800	-	450	500
3	Jackson	Stevenson	2	2,800	1,350	-	650	800
12	Jeffer	Miles Memorial Practice	4	21,950	16,150	-	4,000	1,800
1	Lamar	Temple Spar	1	1,231	581	-	150	400
6	Lauderdale	Anderson	1	1,650	700	-	450	400
1	Lauderdale	Bethel	2	950	550	-	300	300
1	Lauderdale	Coffee	2	1,500	550	-	450	500
1	Lauderdale	Hewitt	1	1,000	500	-	-	500
1	Lauderdale	Mt. Olive	2	1,800	500	-	500	500
1	Lauderdale	Mt. Zion	2	1,500	550	-	450	500
10	Lauderdale	Shiloh	1	1,800	1,150	-	450	200
1	Lawrence	Coffee	1	950	300	-	150	400
4	Lawrence	Hillsboro	2	3,400	1,700	-	900	800
1	Lawrence	Moulton	2	1,350	665	85	300	300
1	Lawrence	Rocky Hill	1	1,650	800	-	450	400
1	Lee	Auburn (C.T.S.)	2	1,850	1,550	-	-	300
1 & 9	Lee	Bethel	2	2,025	725	200	600	500
1	Lee	Chewalka	2	1,149	649	-	200	300
11	Lee	County Training	9	21,900	5,000	5,000	9,550	2,350
1	Lee	Cross Roads	2	1,068	468	-	300	300
1	Lee	Dorsey	1	753	333	120	-	300
1	Lee	Loachopoka	1	793	493	-	-	300
1	Lee	Mott	1	500	400	-	-	100
1	Lee	Mt. Calvary	1	744	294	-	150	300
1	Lee	Mt. Horiah	1	778	403	-	100	275
1	Lee	Mt. Springs	1	773	438	35	-	300
1	Lee	Mt. Vernon	1	700	300	-	100	300
1	Lee	Rough and Ready	1	725	125	-	200	400
1	Lee	Salem	1	752	252	-	200	300
1	Lee	Wacoochee	1	809	309	-	200	300
1	Limestone	Ala. Blue Ridge Academy	2	1,500	500	-	500	500
12	Limestone	Belle Mina	2	3,450	1,200	350	1,400	500
1	Limestone	Payne	1	1,100	400	-	300	400
1	Limestone	Southern Small Farms	2	1,025	830	45	-	150

12	Limestone	Tanner	2	3,425	250	-	2,675	300
1	Lowndes	Bogue Chonnie	1	809	309	-	200	300
1	Lowndes	Collierene	1	900	400	-	200	300
1	Lowndes	County Training	4	825	425	-	100	300
1	Lowndes	Davis	2	1,250	400	50	400	400
1	Lowndes	Fort Deposit	2	850	550	-	-	300
1	Lowndes	Gordonsville	1	825	425	-	100	300
1	Lowndes	Hazel Mission	1	650	250	-	-	400
1	Lowndes	Marble Stone	1	963	438	25	200	300
1	Lowndes	Mt. Willing	2	1,000	250	50	400	300
1	Lowndes	Palmyra	1	826	326	-	200	300
1	Lowndes	Russell-Haynesville	2	1,434	728	256	100	350
1	Lowndes	Sandy Ridge	2	1,510	800	10	400	300
1	Lowndes	Trickum	1	850	350	-	200	300
9	Macon	Baldwin Farms	2	3,300	700	1,000	900	700
1	Macon	Bethel Grove	2	965	365	-	300	300
5	Macon	Bethel Grove #2	3	3,380	2,880	-	450	400
1	Macon	Brown Hill	2	1,363	763	-	500	300
1	Macon	Brownsville #2	3	1,000	500	-	200	300
1	Macon	Chehaw	1	1,540	940	-	200	400
1	Macon	Clintonville	2	950	350	-	300	300
1	Macon	Harmon	2	540	390	-	-	150
1	Macon	Macedonia	2	1,600	1,300	-	-	300
1	Macon	New Rising Star	2	2,350	1,850	-	200	300
1	Macon	Notasulga	1	642	342	-	-	300
1	Macon	Pinkerton Cross Roads	1	750	250	-	200	300
4	Macon	Russell Plantation	2	1,160	660	-	200	300
4	Macon	Shiloh	2	2,870	1,170	-	900	800
1	Macon	Sweet Gum	2	808	308	200	-	300
8	Macon	Thrasher (C.T.S.)	5	8,575	5,475	1,600	2,200	1,300
1	Macon	Tysonville	2	912	212	100	200	400
2	Macon	Union Public	2	1,200	700	-	400	100
1	Macon	Washington	4	1,002	511	191	-	300
1	Madison	Conyer	2	1,600	550	-	450	300
8	Madison	Council	2	3,200	1,800	-	900	700
10	Madison	Farmer's Capitol	1	1,650	900	100	450	200
1	Madison	Grayson	1	850	300	-	150	400
1	Madison	Horton	1	950	550	-	300	300
1	Madison	Mt. Carmel	2	1,050	450	-	300	300
6 & 9	Madison	Mt. Lebanon	2	3,050	1,500	-	950	600
1	Madison	Silver Hill	1	950	350	-	300	300
2	Madison	Toney	2	3,700	1,100	900	1,900	700
9	Marengo	County Training	5	8,700	3,350	1,500	2,550	1,300
1	Marengo	Dixon Mills	2	2,300	950	50	600	700
8	Marengo	John Essex	2	3,757	2,007	150	900	700
4	Marion	Hall	2	2,699	566	-	1,333	800
5	Marion	Pleasant Ridge	3	2,700	600	-	1,300	800
11	Marshall	Sandridge	2	3,450	1,100	300	1,300	750
4	Mobile	Chestang	2	2,700	-	-	1,900	800
1-10 & 12	Mobile	County Training	18	13,900	1,000	1,000	10,100	1,800
5	Mobile	Grand Bay	4	6,775	300	-	5,275	1,200
1	Mobile	Hanville	1	390	390	-	300	300
4	Mobile	Moffattsville	2	2,700	-	-	1,900	800
11	Mobile	Mt. Vernon	4	5,800	300	-	4,500	1,000
9	Mobile	Prichard	8	37,750	5,000	-	31,250	1,500
4	Mobile	Vineland	2	2,900	200	-	1,900	800
6 - 7	Monroe	Beatrice	5	5,700	2,500	-	1,300	1,400
2	Monroe	Franklin	2	3,000	1,200	250	850	700
7	Monroe	Monroeville	3	3,950	1,900	-	1,150	900
8	Monroe	Mt. Gaillard	1	1,550	700	-	450	400
8	Monroe	New Hope	2	3,400	1,350	-	850	700
7 & 9	Monroe	St. John	2	2,700	1,250	-	850	600
6	Monroe	Wainwright	2	2,600	1,100	-	800	700
4	Monroe	Washington	2	2,800	1,500	-	500	800
1 & 6	Montgomery	Big Zion	2	2,100	700	-	1,000	400
7	Montgomery	Cecil	2	3,850	1,500	-	1,650	700
6	Montgomery	Co. Trg. Voc. Building	4	4,775	400	1,575	1,700	1,100
1	Montgomery	Davenport	1	900	400	-	200	300
1	Montgomery	Jackson Prospect	1	950	282	68	300	300
1	Montgomery	Little Zion	1	850	350	-	200	300
3	Montgomery	Lomax	2	3,200	750	-	1,650	800
4	Montgomery	McCants	2	3,500	1,050	-	1,650	800
1 & 7	Montgomery	Madison Park	3	2,450	900	-	1,100	450
1	Montgomery	Moore's Chapel	1	950	50	-	300	100
5	Montgomery	Mt. Haig's	6	10,500	3,000	-	6,000	1,500
4	Montgomery	Tankersley	3	5,300	1,500	-	2,800	1,000

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3	Montgomery	Woodley	2	3,400	950	-	1,650	800
4	Morgan	Cedar Lake	2	2,700	1,000	-	900	800
6 & 8	Morgan	County Training	6	7,650	2,450	500	3,200	1,500
7	Perry	County Training	5	11,640	6,340	2,100	1,900	1,300
1	Perry	Hopewell	1	750	250	-	200	300
1	Perry	Marietta	1	736	233	-	200	300
1	Perry	Morning Star	1	840	290	50	200	300
1	Perry	Pleasant Grove	1	700	200	-	200	300
3	Perry	Pope's Beat	3	4,450	2,250	-	1,300	900
1	Perry	Poplar Grove	1	700	200	-	200	300
1	Perry	Spring Hill	1	760	250	10	200	300
1	Perry	State Road	1	800	250	50	200	300
1	Perry	Union Town Academy	3	2,525	2,225	-	-	300
1	Pickens	County Training	4	3,400	2,650	150	300	300
1	Pickens	Albeleville	2	712	212	-	200	300
1	Pickens	Mannerville	2	2,100	1,100	-	500	500
8	Pickens	Pickensville	2	3,350	1,750	-	900	700
4	Pickens	Reform	2	3,300	2,000	-	500	800
1	Pickens	Salem	2	675	175	200	-	300
6	Pike	Brundidge	2	2,850	1,300	-	850	700
1	Pike	Pea River	2	1,500	500	-	500	500
1	Randolph	Bethenia	2	1,700	550	-	650	600
-	Randolph	County Training	7	$ 11,700	$ 5,000	$ 2,000	$ 5,300	$ 1,300
	Randolph	Handley Chapel	2	1,400	875	125	300	400
1	Randolph	Kirk	2	975	675	-	300	300
1	Randolph	Mt. Carmel	1	1,350	1,000	-	450	500
1	Randolph	Oak Grove	1	1,650	800	-	650	500
1	Randolph	Oak Ridge	1	1,700	800	-	500	500
	Randolph	Pine Flat	3	1,125	375	50	500	400
1	Randolph	Rock Mills	2	1,500	-	500	500	500
1	Randolph	Rock Mountain	2	850	350	-	500	300
1	Randolph	Sawlowee	2	900	650	-	600	300
1	Randolph	Wehadkee	1	1,950	700	250	450	500
1	Russell	Andrew Chapel	1	900	500	-	200	200
1 & 6 & 12	Russell	County Training	5	4,469	994	1,525	1,500	650
1	Russell	Elizabeth	2	1,045	475	20	250	300
6	Russell	Hyatt Chapel	1	1,700	740	10	450	500
11	Russell	Hurtsboro	3	4,450	900	-	2,850	700
1	Russell	Little Bethel	1	865	510	55	200	300
1	Russell	Mt. Olive	1	925	450	-	250	225
11	Russell	Mullin	1	2,043	800	-	1,343	200
1	Russell	Rising Star	2	1,050	650	-	200	200
1	Russell	St. Marks	1	892	307	85	200	300
1	Russell	Shady Grove	2	1,320	920	-	200	200
1	Russell	Union Grove	1	900	400	-	200	300
1	Russell	Zion	1	800	360	40	200	200
4	St. Clair	Ashville	4	2,900	700	800	900	800
10	Shelby	Helena	3	5,000	650	1,900	3,300	700
8	Shelby	County Training	5	9,350	4,125	125	4,200	1,300
10	Shelby	Siluria	3	6,700	-	3,900	2,300	500
7	Sumter	Galloway Hall	2	2,800	1,200	-	900	700
5	Sumter	County Training	5	7,350	5,350	-	500	1,300
1 & 9	Sumter	Hamner	2	2,450	1,150	50	800	600
1	Sumter	Mt. Tabor	2	1,070	650	40	500	300
1	Sumter	Piney Grove	1	896	513	73	200	300
1	Sumter	Rose	1	650	50	-	300	300
9	Sumter	York West Ann	3	5,450	1,900	1,250	2,300	900
1	Sumter	Zion Hill	3	1,377	340	37	200	300
3	Talladega	Antioch	1	1,500	400	-	600	500
8	Talladega	County Training	5	7,150	3,700	-	2,100	1,300
7	Talladega	Jenifer	1	1,360	500	-	450	400
6	Talladega	Lunsford	2	3,100	1,200	-	1,100	800
12	Talladega	Silver Run	2	3,365	1,465	-	900	500
1	Tallapoosa	Agreeable Hill	1	1,375	525	-	450	400
9	Tallapoosa	Agwaliga	5	5,350	-	3,050	1,300	900
4	Tallapoosa	Peace & Good Will	2	2,900	1,200	-	900	800
1	Tallapoosa	Rocky Mt.	1	1,065	465	-	200	400
1	Tallapoosa	Stewart	3	2,850	1,950	100	600	200
1	Tallapoosa	Vines	1	1,100	400	-	300	400
6	Tuscaloosa	Dowling	2	2,300	1,200	-	900	700
1	Tuscaloosa	County Training	4	3,050	1,450	-	1,000	600
5	Tuscaloosa	Northport	3	7,000	4,050	-	1,650	1,300
5	Walker	Carbon Hill	5	6,800	1,200	1,200	3,100	1,300
9	Walker	Carbon Hill #2 (Duncar)	5	7,750	1,350	450	5,600	345
4	Walker	Cordova	3	4,000	1,000	1,500	500	1,000
8	Walker	County Training	6	12,000	2,000	3,000	6,500	1,500

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3	Walker	Dora	3	4,000	1,300	1,500	-		1,000
3	Walker	Jasper	3	4,200	1,000	700	1,500		1,000
6	Walker	Lincoln	3	4,150	1,350	700	1,300		900
8	Walker	Oakman	2	3,400	1,400	-	1,300		700
9	Walker	Wyatt	1	1,300	950	-	450		400
1	Washington	Booker T. Washington	2	1,200	500	200	-		500
1	Washington	Koenton	2	1,975	525	-	950		500
8	Washington	Pleasant View	2	3,500	700	-	2,100		700
11	Washington	Prestwick	2	2,900	1,200	-	1,200		500
9	Wilcox	Duncan	1	1,900	350	-	650		400
1	Wilcox	God Send-Rosenwald	1	709	469	40	-		200
11	Wilcox	Mactama	1	1,510	660	-	650		200
	Total Schools		336	$1121,401	$415,382	$ 98,434	$388,115		$219,470
TEACHERS' HOMES									
8	Autauga	County Training		$ 3,500	$ 1,900	$ -	$ 700	$	900
5	Coffee	County Training		1,950	900	150	-		900
4	Conecuh	County Training		2,200	1,200	-	-		1,000
10	Coosa	County Training		3,300	2,213	-	187		900
7	Macon	Chehaw		2,600	900	-	800		900
9	Pickens	County Training		3,172	365	257	1,650		900
10	Sumter	County Training		3,750	2,350	500	-		900
	Total Teachers' Homes			$ 20,472	$ 9,828	$ 907	$ 3,337	$	6,400
SHOPS									
11	Chambers	County Training	2 R. 1	$ 2,700	$ 1,100	$ -	$ 1,200	$	400
11	Choctaw	County Training	2 R. 1	3,000	1,400	300	900		400
10	Clarke	County Training	2 R. 1	2,126	918	-	1,008		400
10	Dimore	County Training	2 R. 1	2,925	1,300	-	1,225		400
10	Greene	County Training	2 R. 1	3,200	1,200	-	1,600		400
11	Hale	County Training	2 R. 1	3,100	1,200	300	1,200		400
10	Lowndes	County Training	2 R. 1	1,950	500	100	950		400
10	Macon	County Training	2 R. 1	2,925	400	600	1,525		400
11	Wilcox	Snow Hill Inst.	4 R. 2	13,837	500	11,037	1,300		1,000
	Total Shops		10	$ 35,763	$ 8,518	$ 12,337	$ 10,908	$	4,200
GRAND TOTALS			346	$1177,636	$433,528	$111,678	$402,360		$230,070

TYPE indicates size of school. For example, 1 = one teacher school, 2 = two teacher school, 3 = three teacher school, etc.

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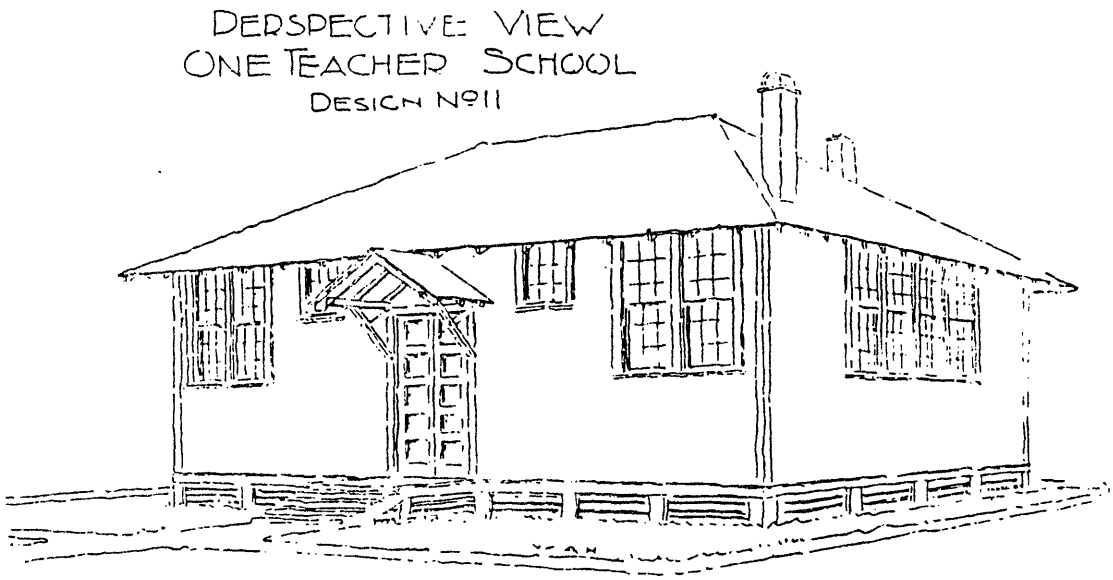
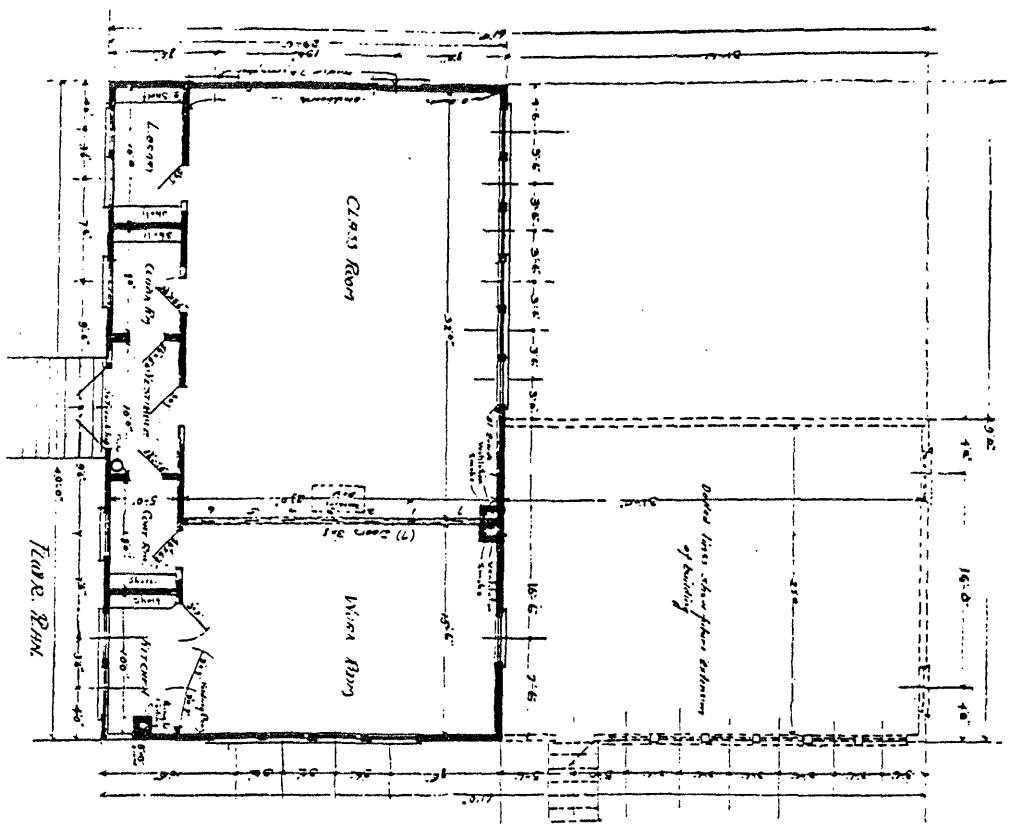
Section number E Page 60 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

Rural Negro School plans



DESIGN NO. 11.—ONE TEACHER SCHOOL



DESIGN NO. 11.—FLOOR PLAN—ONE TEACHER SCHOOL
(Showing provision for future addition.)

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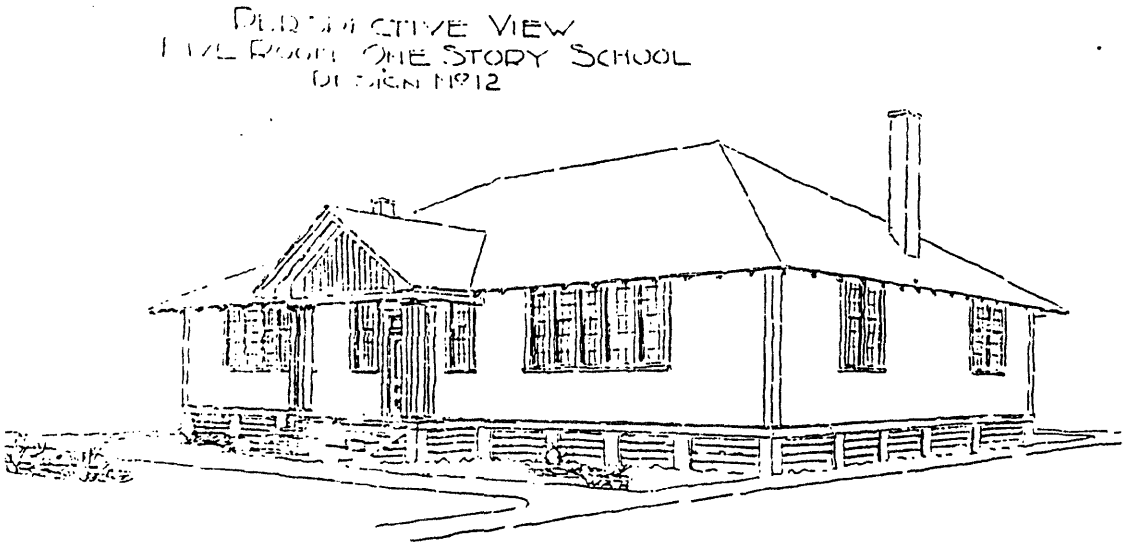
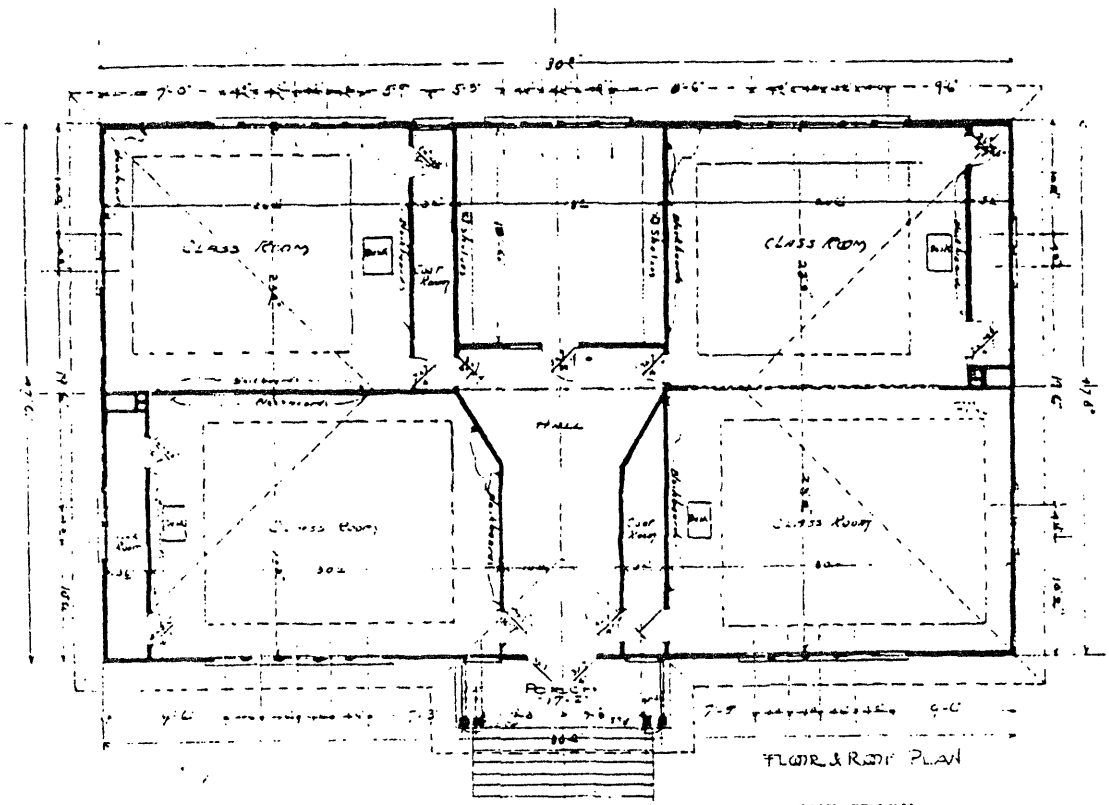
Rural Negro School plans



(a). DESIGN NO. 12.—FIVE ROOM SCHOOL—ONE STORY



(b). DESIGN NO 12.—FLOOR PLAN, FIVE ROOM SCHOOL—ONE STORY

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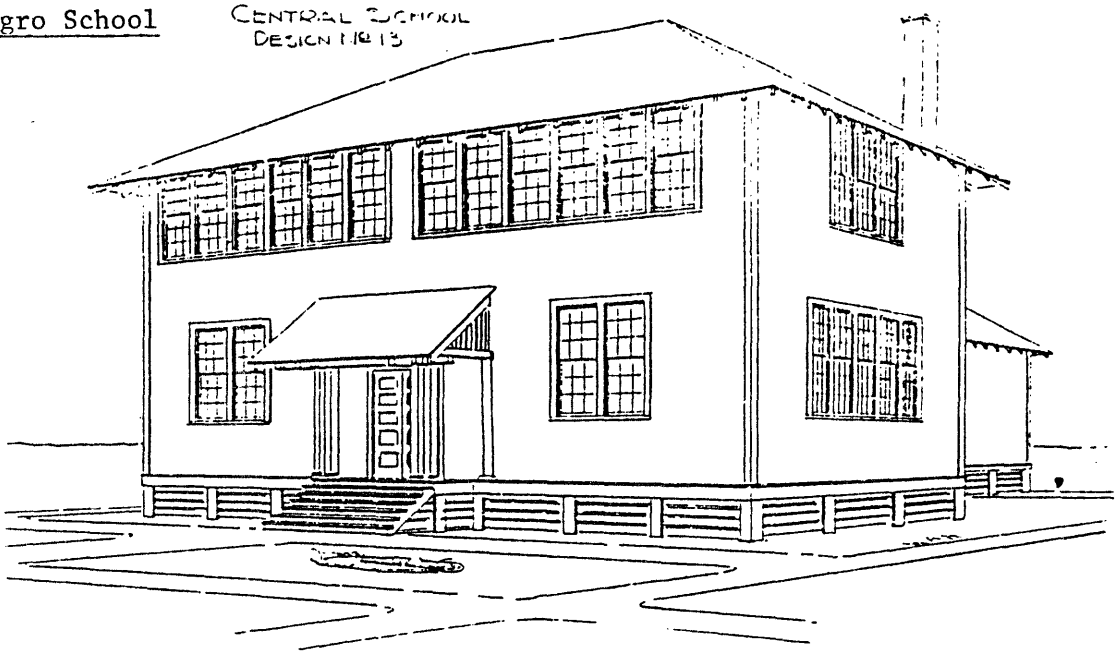
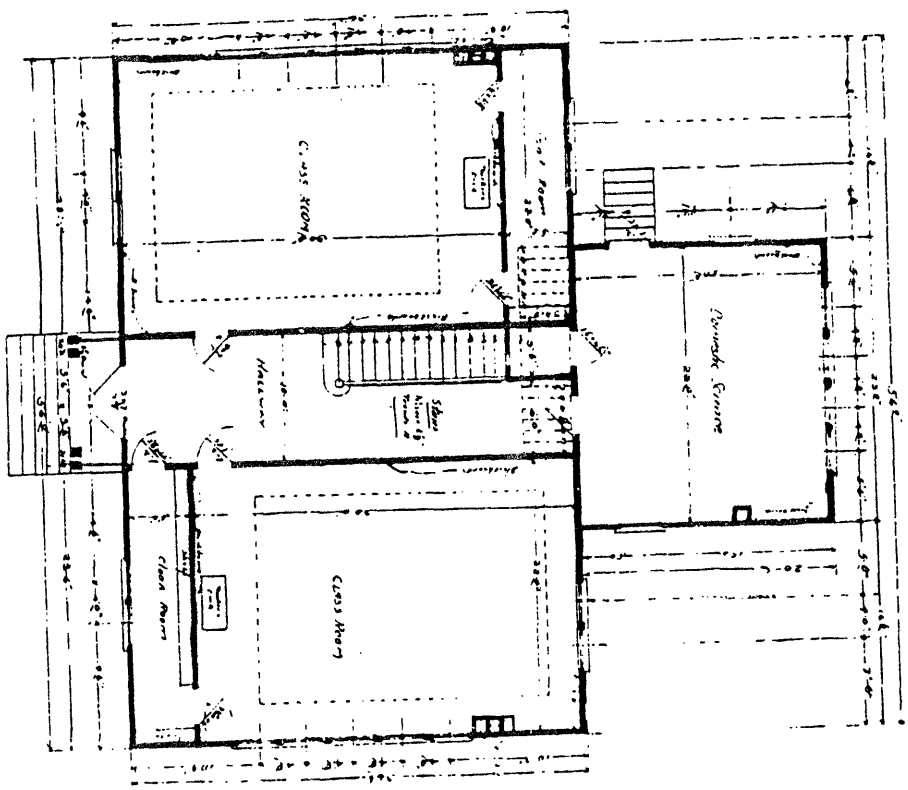
Rural Negro School plans

PERSPECTIVE VIEW
CENTRAL SCHOOL
DESIGN NO 13



DESIGN NO. 13.—CENTRAL SCHOOL, TWO STORY, FIVE ROOMS



DESIGN NO. 13.—FIRST FLOOR PLAN—CENTRAL SCHOOL

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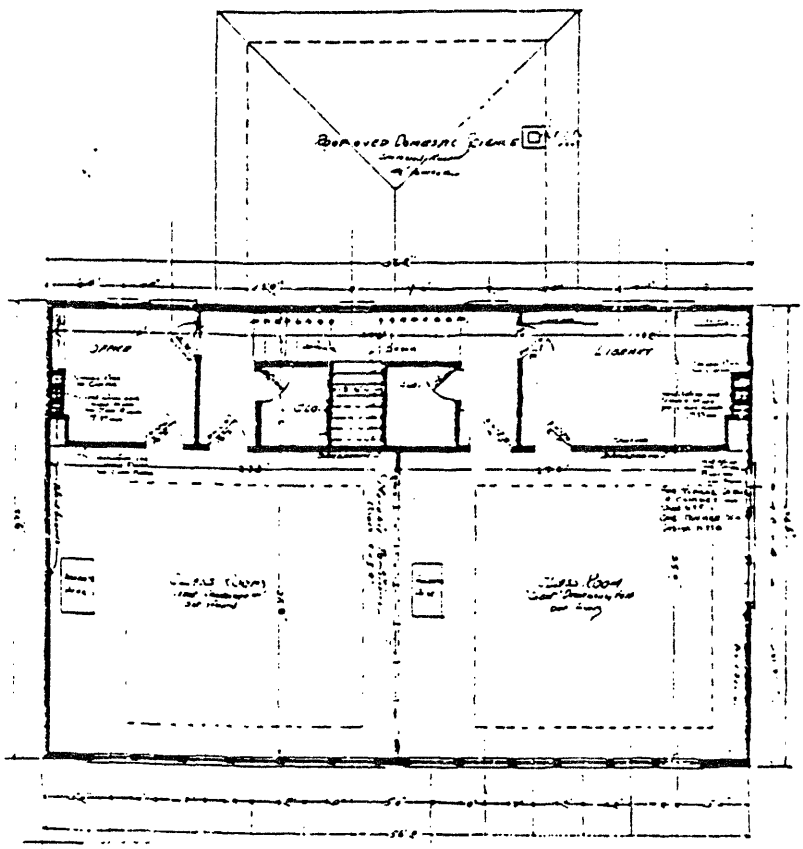
Section number E Page 63 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

Rural Negro School plans



DESIGN NO. 13.—SECOND FLOOR PLAN—CENTRAL SCHOOL

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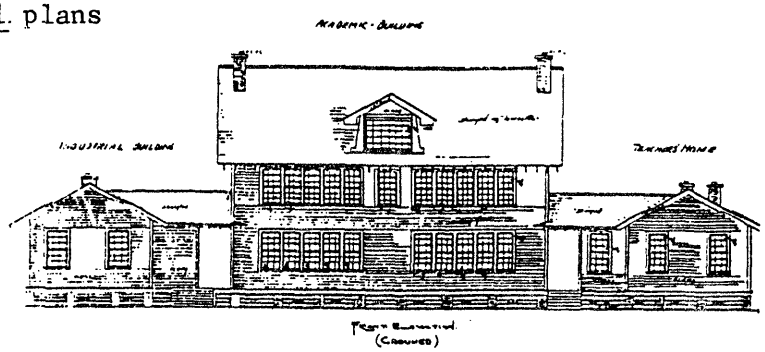
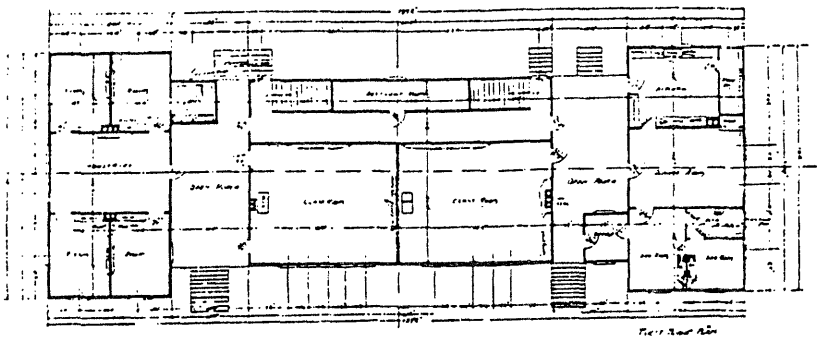
Section number E Page 64 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

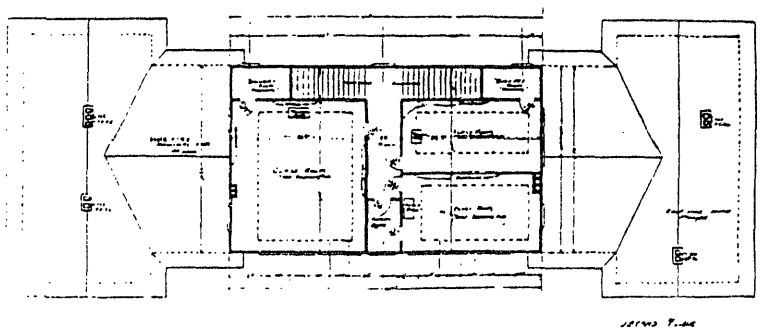
Rural Negro School plans



DESIGN NO. 17.—A COUNTY TRAINING SCHOOL—(GROUPED)



DESIGN NO. 17.—FIRST FLOOR PLAN—COUNTY TRAINING SCHOOL. (GROUPED.)



DESIGN NO. 17.—SECOND FLOOR PLAN—COUNTY TRAINING SCHOOL. (GROUPED.)

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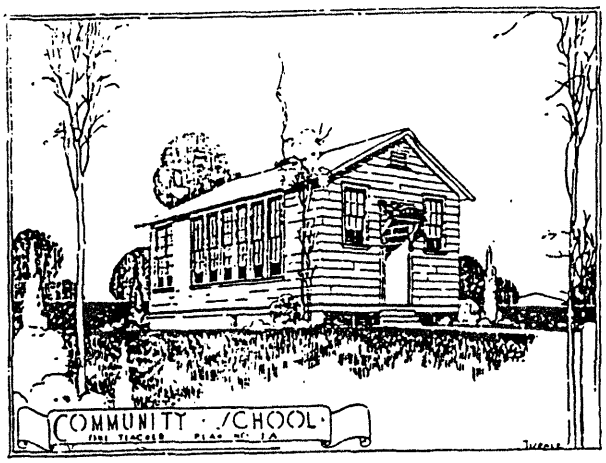
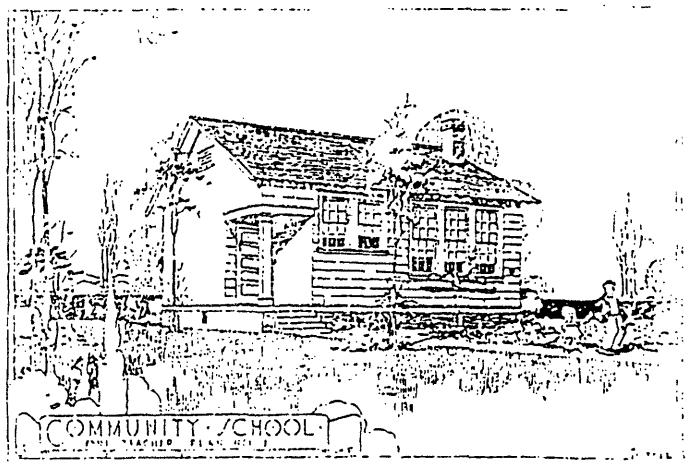
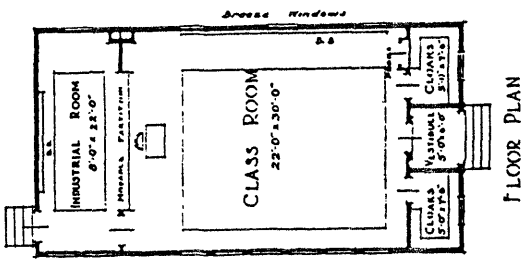
Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

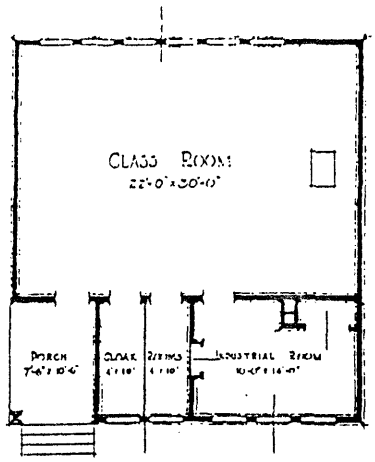
Community School plans, Section E page 65 through 72







ONE-TEACHER
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLAN NO I-A
TO FACE NORTH OR SOUTH ONLY



FLOOR PLAN
· COMMUNITY · SCHOOL · PLAN · NO · I ·
TO FACE EAST OR WEST ONLY

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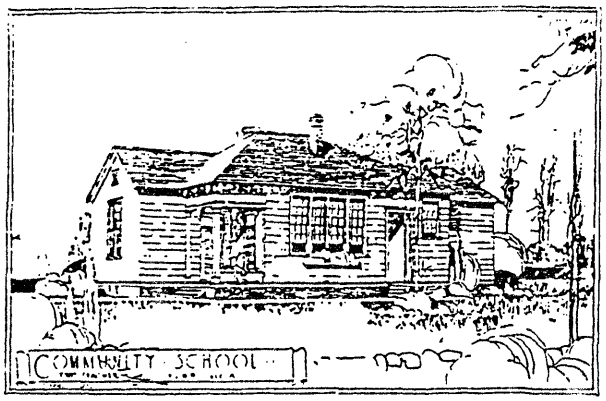
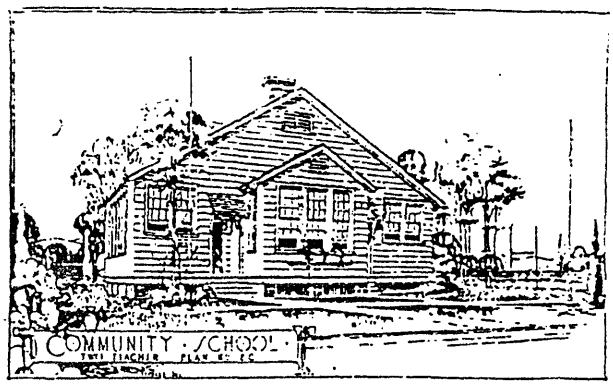
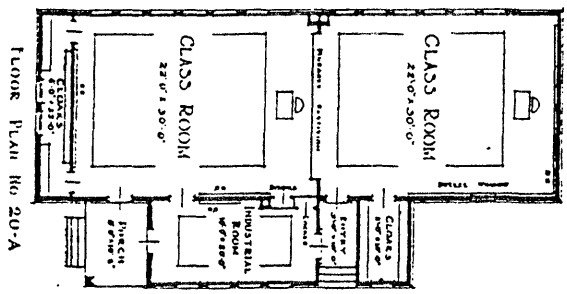
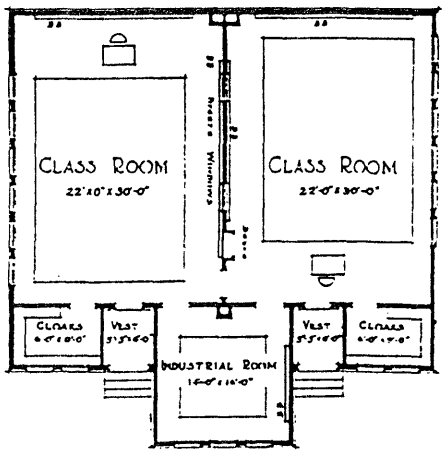
Section number E Page 66



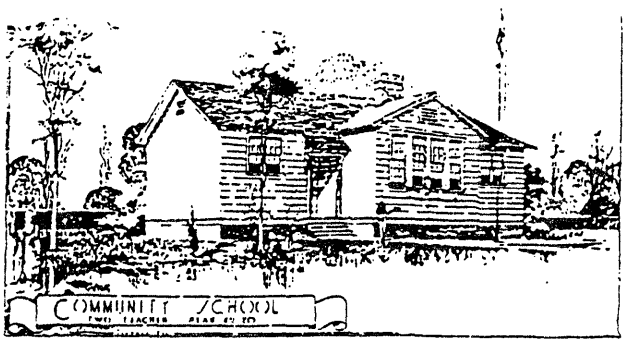


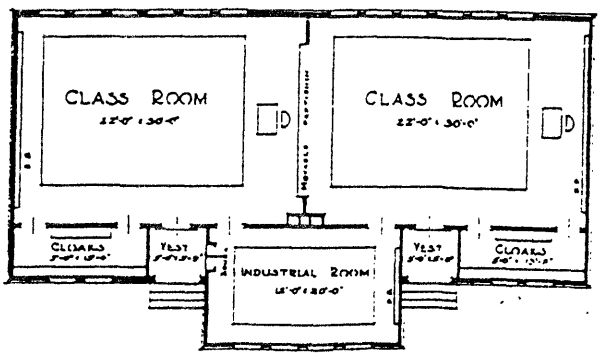


TWO TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
TO FACE NORTH OR SOUTH ONLY



FLOOR PLAN NO 2-C
TWO TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
TO FACE NORTH OR SOUTH ONLY





FLOOR PLAN NO 20
TWO TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
TO FACE EAST OR WEST ONLY

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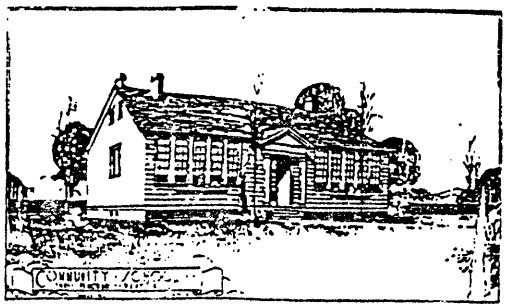
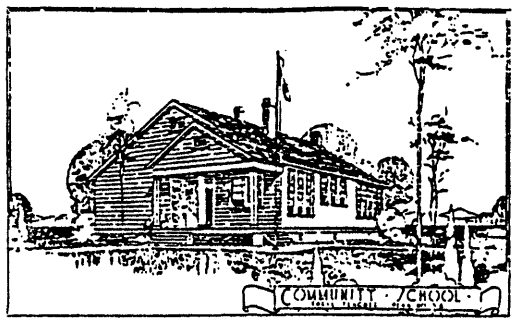
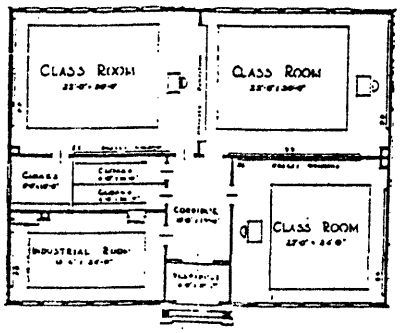
Section number E Page 67

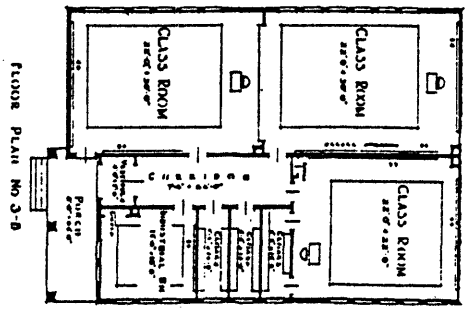
Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)







FLOOR PLAN NO 3
THREE TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL



THREE TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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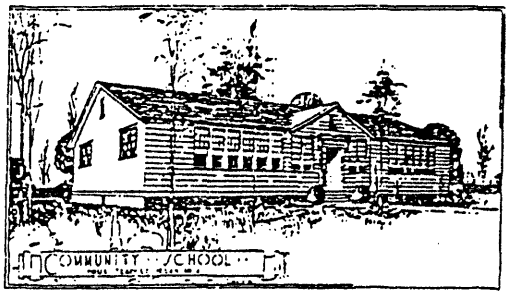
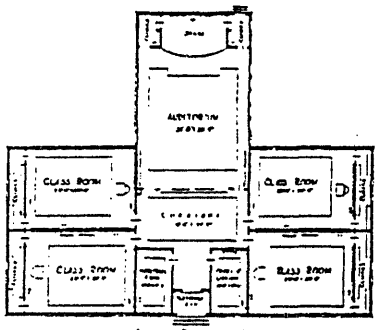
Section number E Page 68

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

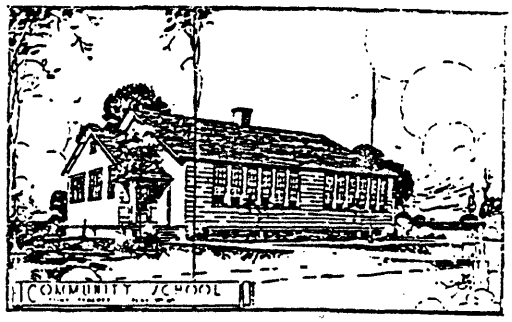
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

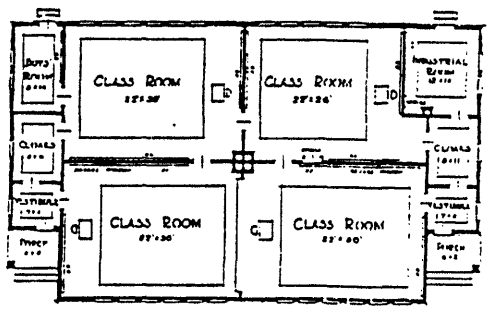




FLOOR PLAN NO 4
FOUR TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





FLOOR PLAN NO 400
FOUR TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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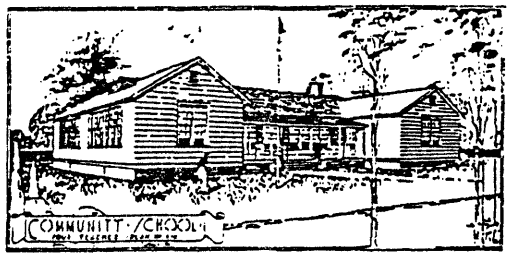
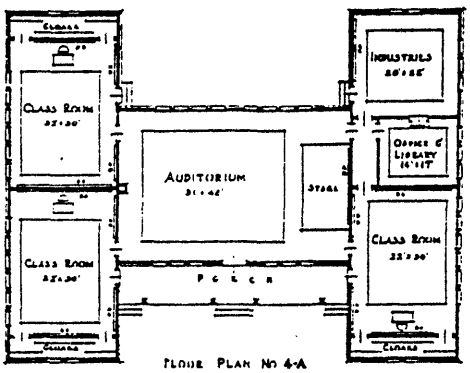
Section number E Page 69

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

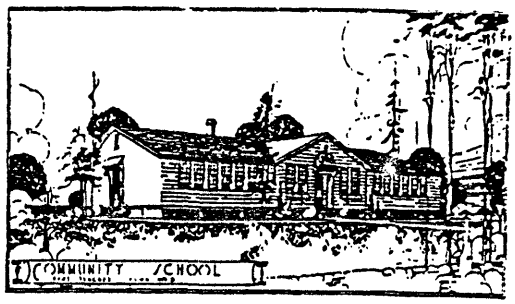
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

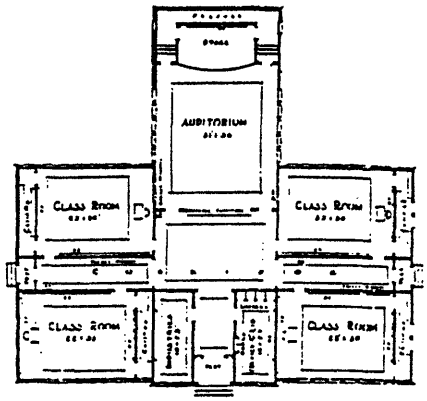




FLOOR PLAN NO 4-A
FOUR TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
TO FACE NORTH OR SOUTH ONLY

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





FLOOR PLAN NO 5
FIVE TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL
TO FACE EAST OR WEST ONLY

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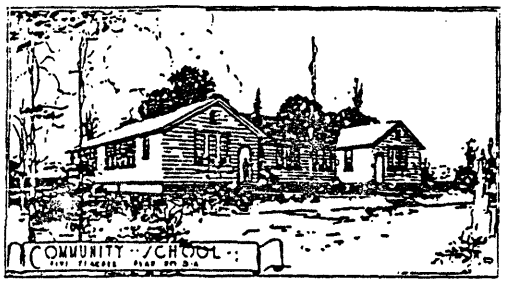
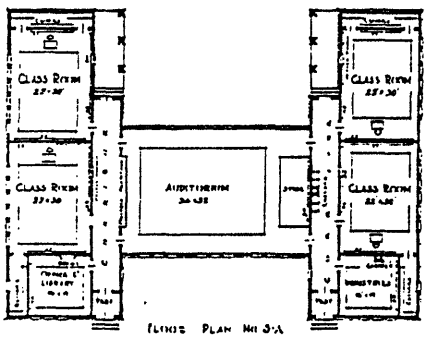
Section number E Page 70

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

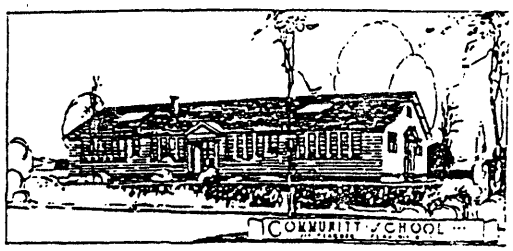
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

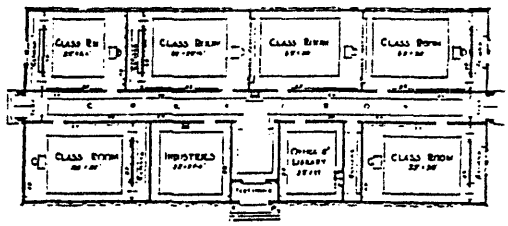




FLOOR PLAN NO 5-A
FIVE TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





FLOOR PLAN NO 6
SIX TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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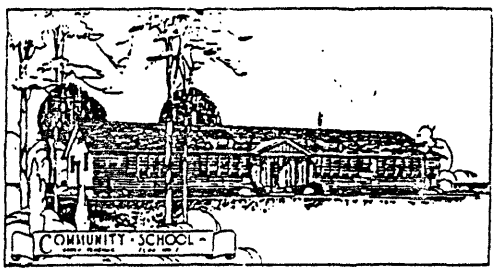
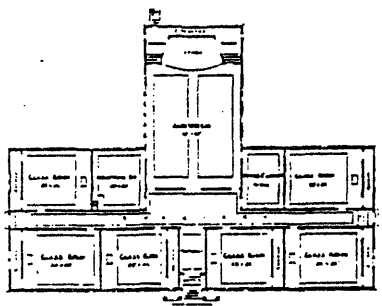
Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 71

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

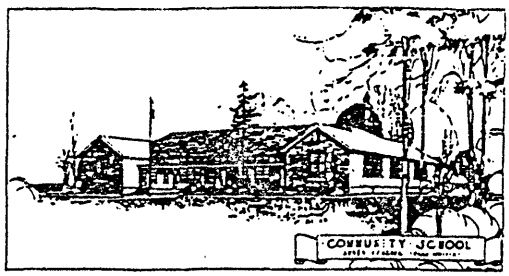
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

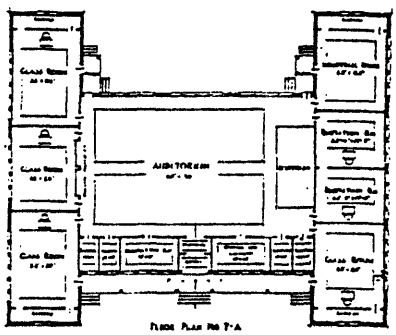




Floor Plan No 7
Seven Teacher Community School

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





Floor Plan No 7-A
Seven Teacher Community School

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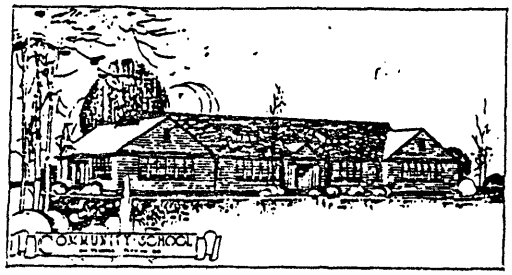
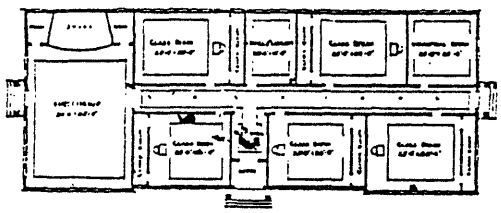
Section number E Page 72

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

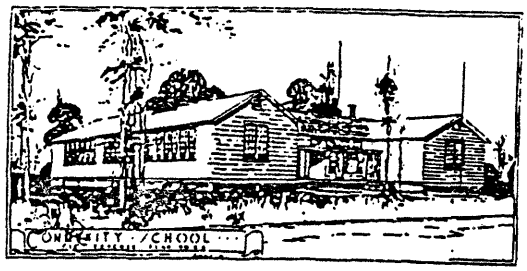
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

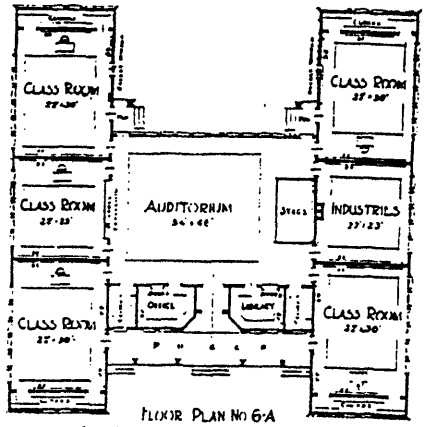




FLOOR PLAN NO 6D
SIX TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





FLOOR PLAN NO 6-A
SIX TEACHER COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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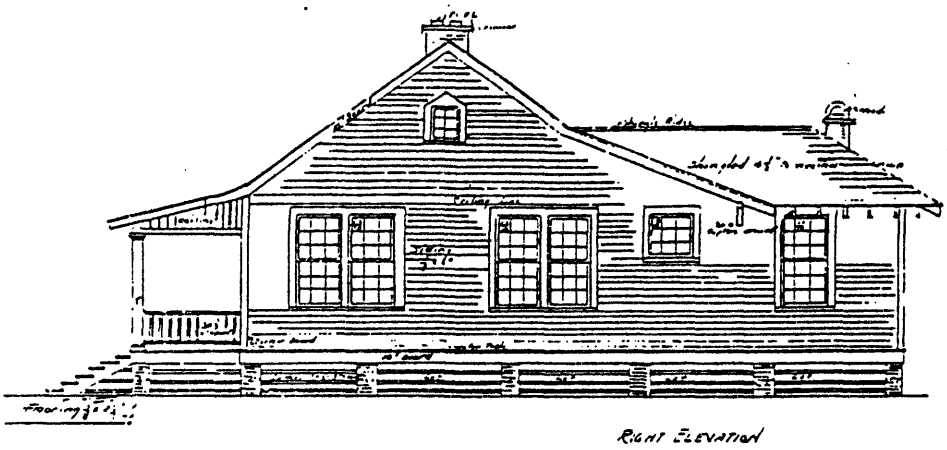
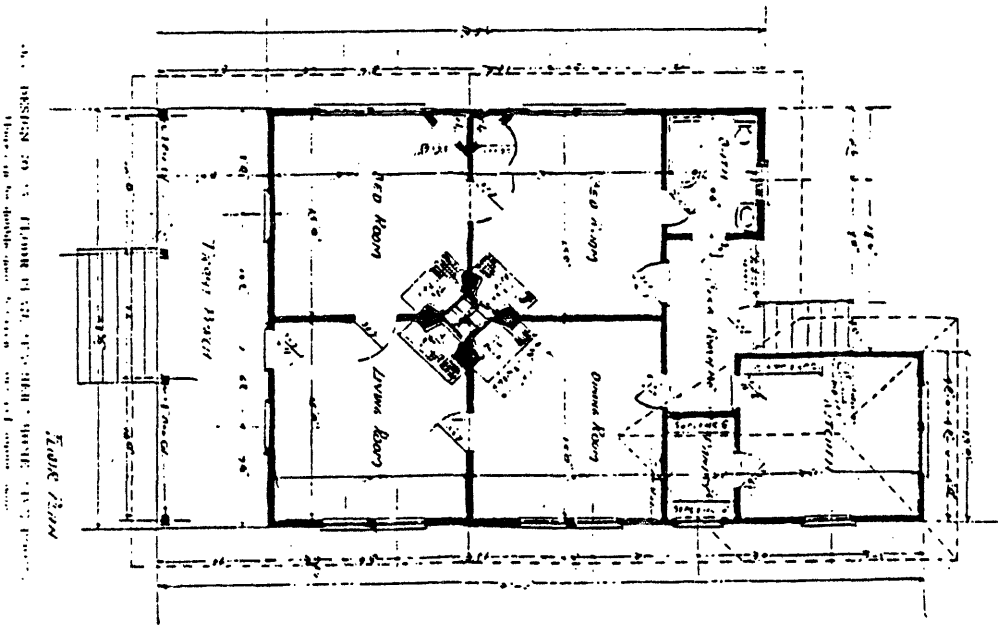
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 73 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

Rural Negro School teacher's home plans



(a). DESIGN NO. 15—TEACHER'S HOME—FIVE ROOMS



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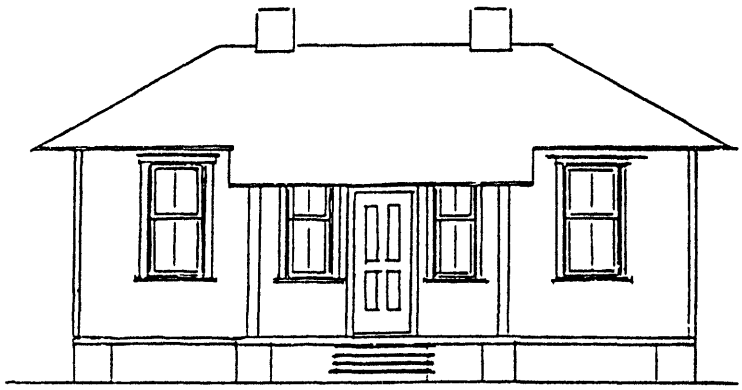
National Park Service

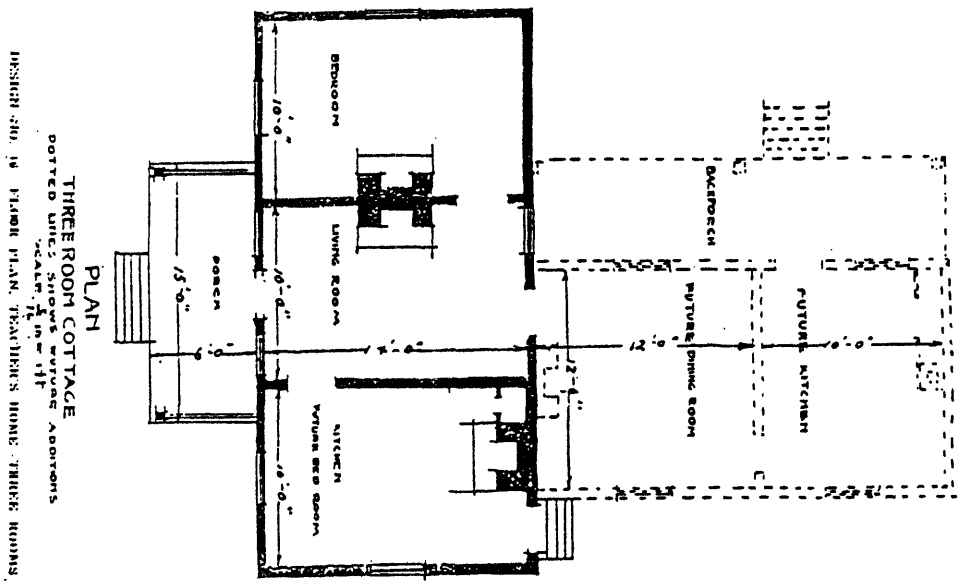
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 74 Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

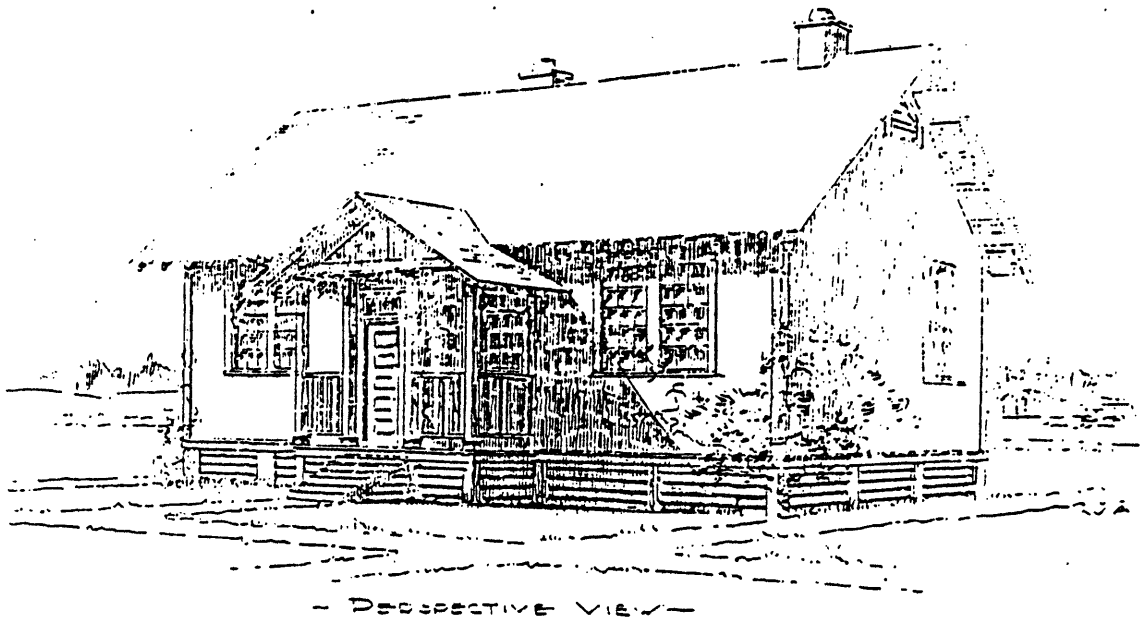
Rural Negro School teacher's home plans



DESIGN NO. 16.—TEACHER'S HOME—THREE ROOMS
(Front Elevation)



Rural Negro School teacher's home plans



DESIGN NO. 18.—TEACHER'S HOME—COUNTY TRAINING SHOOL
Note—Design No. 19 includes individual plans for Girls Dormitory and Industries.
Design No. 20 gives individual plans of the Academic Building, County Training School.

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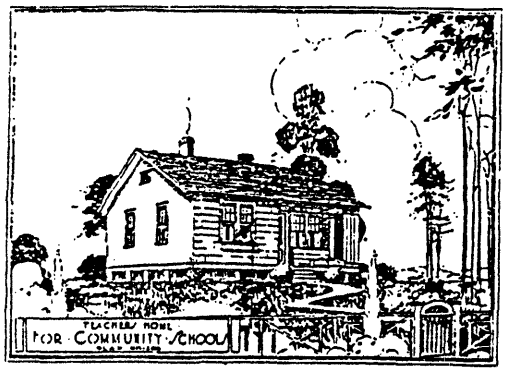
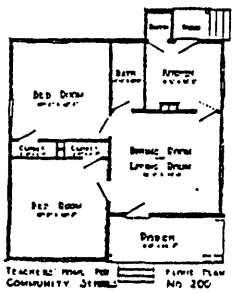
Section number E Page 76

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

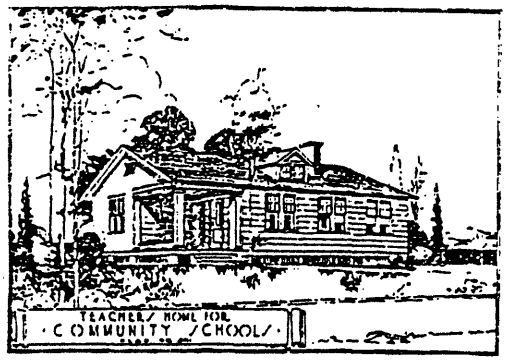
Community School teacher's home plans

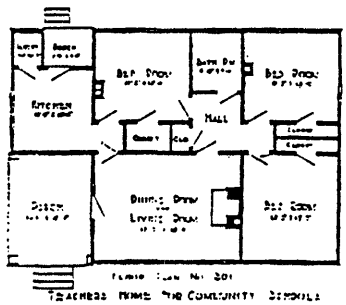
TEACHERS' HOME FOR COMMUNITY SCHOOLS





TEACHERS' HOME FOR COMMUNITY SCHOOLS





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National Park Service

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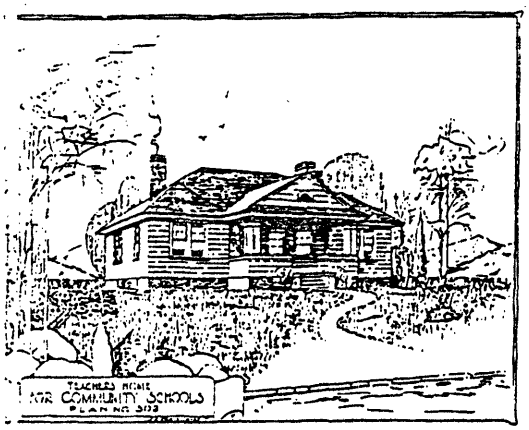
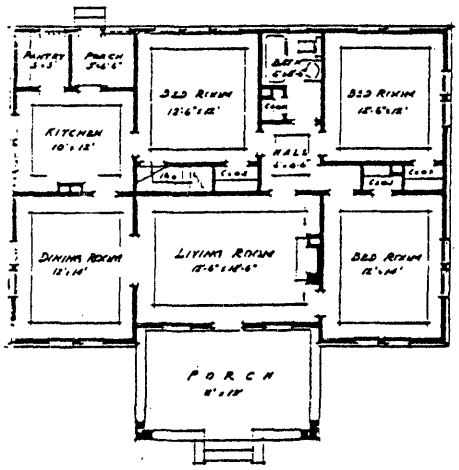
Section number E Page 77

Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

Community School teacher's home plans

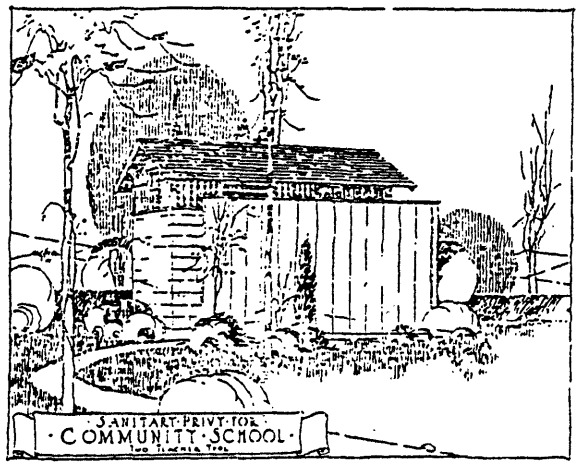
COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS

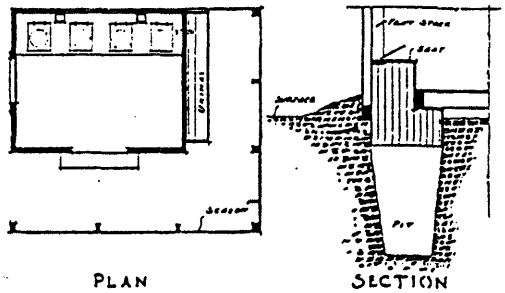




·PLAN·NO·302·
·TEACHERS'·HOME·FOR·COMMUNITY·SCHOOLS·

COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS





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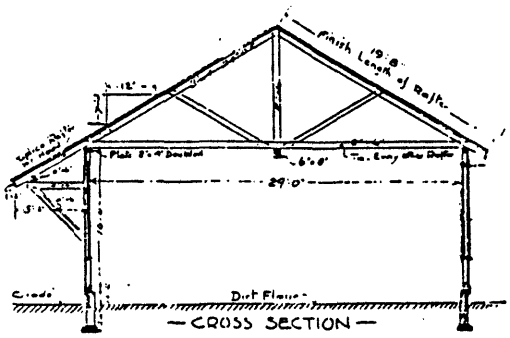
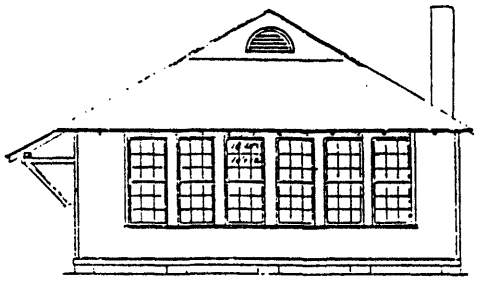
Section number E Page 78

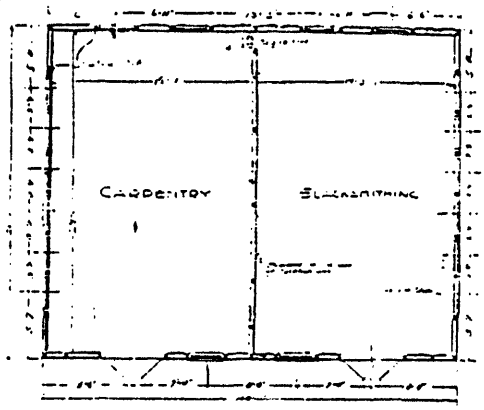
Rosenwald Schools (cont'd)

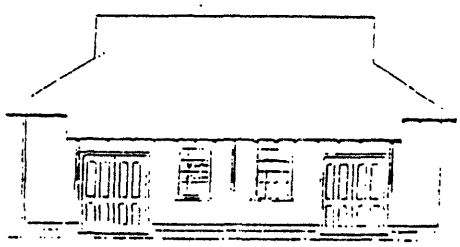
Rural Negro School industrial building plan





DESIGN NO. 11 INDUSTRIAL BUILDING
Cross section and side elevation.





DESIGN NO. 11 INDUSTRIAL BUILDING
Floor plan and front elevation.

F. Associated Property Types

FI. Rosenwald Schools

FII. Property Type Description

Constructed in Alabama from 1913 to 1932, Rosenwald school buildings in Alabama fall into three distinct subtypes based on their physical and associative characteristics: Subtype 1) school buildings constructed by various communities under the supervision of Tuskegee Institute but not according to standardized plans or specifications; Subtype 2) school buildings constructed from 1915 to 1920 under the supervision of Tuskegee Institute according to plans and specifications drawn up by R. R. Taylor, Director of Mechanical Industries and W. A. Hazel, Division of Architecture, Tuskegee Institute and Subtype 3) schools which were built from 1920 to 1937 under the supervision of the Rosenwald Southern office in Nashville according to designs and specifications prepared by Samuel L. Smith. Additionally, in the early years, when Tuskegee managed the program, Rosenwald Building Fund monies provided for the construction of additions to or the renovation of existing school buildings. The focus of this Multiple Property Nomination, however, is to identify those school buildings which were built entirely with funds from the Rosenwald School Building Fund and therefore, there is no property type description for school buildings which were simply renovated or expanded utilizing Rosenwald funds.

Subtype 1: During the early days of the school building program many communities constructed Rosenwald school buildings which did not follow standardized plans or designs. These schools were often poorly constructed and ill-equipped. In fact, F. B. Dresslar cited the poor construction techniques and the lack of standardization of floorplans in his 1920 report on the schools to Julius Rosenwald. This report precipitated the removal of the school building program from Tuskegee to the Southern office in Nashville. The lack of standardization or of an easily recognizable plan, facade or elevation make a description or the identification of early Rosenwald schools difficult.

Subtype 2: By 1915, Booker T. Washington, Principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and Clinton J. Calloway, Director of Tuskegee's Extension Department, had published *The Rural Negro School and Its Relation to the Community*, to serve as a guide for communties which were interested in constructing a Rosenwald school. This booklet provided plans (#'s 11-20) for schools, central schools, industrial buildings, county training schools, teacher's homes, and boys and girls domitories. Since the school building program began in Alabama in 1913, it is not surprising that almost half (197) of the schools built in the state were constructed during the Tuskegee era of administration and a number of those remaining resemble the elevations and plans which appear in *The Rural Negro School*. These school buildings are fairly easy to identify and possess a high degree of uniformity.

Subtype 3: After the establishment of the Southern office in Nashville in 1920, Samuel L. Smith published a series of pamphlets presenting a variety of floor plans and specifications for use by communities interested in constructing a Rosenwald school. The pamphlets also contained information regarding site selection, landscaping and bird's eye views of an ideal Rosenwald school campus. Beginning that year, educators and communities built Rosenwald schools according to Smith's designs. These schools are the most easily discernible and readily identifiable. Additionally, in the late 1910s and throughout the1920s, Tuskegee and the Southern office began the process of photographing each school and keeping the photograph on file, providing additional documentary sources.

There are characteristics/features which hold constant for all three subtypes. Regarding a specific period of time and locations, Rosenwald schools were built in the southeast region of the United States within a twenty-five year period extending from 1913 to 1937. In regard to physical characteristics, all schools are one to two stories with an east/west orientation. All are modest, wood frame buildings with little or no detailing. Any detailing is either Colonial Revival or Craftsman. All are located in rural areas or small communities. For associative characteristics, all Rosenwald schools were for rural blacks and provided elementary/industrial education.

Description Subtype #1 Schools
The early Rosenwald schools which were built prior to the standardization of plans and designs are a hodge-podge of architectural design and styling. While some schools may contain bits and pieces of Colonial Revival and Craftsman detailing, the most common school building is a simple one-story rectangular building with a hipped roof and bands of repeating single or grouped sash windows located on lateral walls. Smaller single sash windows are typically placed under the eaves on each end or on lateral walls (usually flanking the main entrance) providing light into the small cloak rooms. The exterior is commonly covered in plain weatherboarding. The interior features a large class room with an adjoining industrial room. A vestibule, often flanked by two cloak rooms, is usually located to the front of the building. Gable roofs often appeared on some early, one room or "one teacher" Rosenwald schools. When the main entrance is centrally placed in a gable end of the building, these schools often resemble rural churches. Larger two story buildings (referred to as central schools) usually have a hipped roof and similar bands of windows. Entrances are often placed in one of the longer sides of the rectangular block and occassionally are covered by small shed roof awnings. The more sophisticated early schools often picked up some Colonial Revival detailing such as a clipped hipped roof with semi-circular vents. Craftsman detailing, such as exposed rafters and wide overhanging eaves also appear on some of these early school buildings. None of these early schools have been documented so far in Alabama.

Description Subtype #2 Schools
With the publication of *The Rural Negro School and Its Relation to the Community*, Washington and Calloway helped standardize Rosenwald school plans. Included in the publication were designs for "one-teacher," 'two teacher," "five teacher," central and training schools. Washington

was certain that the majority of rural schools would be of the "one teacher" type. These structures feature minimal Craftsman detailing, specifically wide-overhanging eaves and exposed brackets. Typically, these structures featured hipped or gable roofs, bands of double hung sash windows, and interior chimney flues. They are covered with simple weatherboarding and the structures rest on brick piers. As with the later designs of Samuel L. Smith, Washington and Calloway supplied alternate designs to provide for an east-west orientation and maximum lighting. The interior room arrangement contained classrooms with small cloak rooms and an industrial room. Two teacher facilities contained classrooms with a movable partition between the rooms so that the classrooms could be used as a meeting room or auditorium. (for plans, see continuation sheets E-60 thru E-64)

Examples of schools from Category #2 have been identified in Alabama. Most of these schools are variations of the One Teacher type, such as the Emery or Lock 5 school in Hale County. To date, no examples of the Five Teacher, Central or County Training School have been identified.

Description Subtype #3 Schools
In 1920, when he established the Southern Office in Nashville, Tennessee, Julius Rosenwald hired Samuel Smith as the agency's first director. An experienced administrator with a keen interest in country schoolhouse design, Smith drew up a series of school plans. Demand for the school designs proved so great that in 1924, the Rosenwald Fund issued a booklet entitled *Community School Plans*, which included floor plans and exterior renderings of seventeen schools ranging in size from "one teacher," to "seven teacher," schools. The plans also included two designs for teachers' residences, plus a "Sanitary Privy for Community School." Along with the designs, the booklet contained contractor's specifications and advice on site location and size, painting, and landscaping.

Rosenwald schools incorporated the most up-to-date designs in American rural school architecture while at the same time, "reflecting common ideas about the simplicity of rural life." The structures rely on proportion and massing of form, accentuated by groupings of windows and minimal detailing. Since electricity was unavailable in most rural areas, maximization of natural light was the principal concern. Smith's designs called for the groupings of tall, double-hung sash windows, oriented to catch only east-west sunshine. Smith drew two separate versions of each plan so that no matter what site a community chose, the building could have proper east-west orientation. Interior color schemes, seating plans and window shade arrangements made the fullest use of sunlight. Floor plans always showed seating arrangements with the windows at the children's left side so that their writing arms would not cast shadows on their desk tops. Light paint colors reflected maximum illumination.

As with the designs supplied by Tuskegee, each Rosenwald school contained an industrial room. Also, the school's interior design encouraged its use as a meeting center for the adult community. In the smaller schools, folding doors divided two classrooms which could be used as a meeting space or small auditorium.

Exterior architecture of the schools exhibited only the faintest hint of Colonial or Craftsman trim. Smaller buildings usually reflected the Craftsman style in the bracketing found under the

wide overhanging eaves. Larger schools, however, featured columns or dormers, details commonly found on structures in the Colonial Revival style. As opposed to some of the Tuskegee schools, all buildings built under the supervision of the Southern Office, were one story tall (an educational characteristic that would not become prevalent in American schools for another generation). Although some of the large schools had brick exteriors, most were clad in weatherboard with brick chimneys. Smith recommended a two-acre site to "give ample space for the schoolhouse, two sanitary privies, a teacher's home, playgrounds for the boys and girls, a plot for agricultural demonstrations, and proper landscaping." The interior room arrangement depended on the type of school built but all contained classrooms, cloak rooms, and an industrial room. Larger schools often contained an auditorium while smaller schools had folding doors or movable partitions between classrooms. (for plans, see continuation sheets E-67 thru E-72)

Most of the school buildings which have been identified so far in Alabama fall in Subtype #3, are examples of the Two-Teacher type. The Fleeta and Harold's Crossroads School, for example are Two Teacher schools which retain all of the characteristics of a Rosenwald school: east-west orientation, tall double-hung sash windows, industrial rooms, foldings doors, and cloak rooms. Of frame construction, these schools have minimal Craftsman and/or Colonial detailing.

A classroom building on the campus of Miles College, Birmingham, is the only brick school building which has been identified so far. The Miles Memorial Practice School is a one story structure, basically U-shaped with a central section and projecting end wings.

F. III Significance

Rosenwald Schools are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A (Education, Ethnic History - African American) and Criterion C (Architecture).

Criterion A - Education
The Rosenwald School Building Fund constituted an important avenue for the advancement of black education during much of the first half of the twentieth century. From 1913 to 1937, the Julius Rosenwald Fund contributed to the construction of 5,358 elementary schools, teachers's homes, and industrial buildings in 15 southern states. In Alabama, the Fund built 387 schools, 7 teachers' homes and vocational buildings.The remaining school buildings reflect not only one of the most ambitious school building projects ever undertaken but they symbolize the African-Americans' struggle for educational opportunities in a segregated South.

In the early 1900s, Booker T. Washington and his staff at Tuskegee Institute conceived an ambitious program of private-public partnership to improve black rural schooling. Initially, Washington aimed the school building program for communities around Tuskegee, Alabama but eventually he expanded his ideas to include communities throughout the South. With the assistance of Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Washington launched one of the most ambitious school building programs ever instigated.

At the time when Julius Rosenwald agreed to supply matching grants to rural communities interested in building black elementary schools, black public schools were suffering from two

overriding factors: poverty and localism. By the early 1900s, the typical black school was nothing more than a deteriorating log cabin, shanty or delapidated church filled with barefoot tenant children for three or four months out of the year. Often, the teacher was barely more knowledgeable than the pupils. Washington realized that rural black communities needed qualified teachers and quality school facilities. In 1905, with money from Anna T. Jeanes, Washington established the Jeanes fund which provided for the employment of qualified teachers to work in the rural schools. To improve educational facilities, Washington turned to Chicago philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald. With a guarantee from Rosenwald to supply a third of the necessary funds, Washington implemented a program by which communities would raise a third of the funds and the state would contribute the remaining funds. Although Rosenwald and Washington hoped that members of the white community would also contribute funds toward the erection of the school buildings, white residents rarely contributed substantial sums for the school.

An integral component of Washington and Rosenwald's educational philosophy was industrial education and therefore, every school included an industrial room. Washington firmly believed that industrial education would allow blacks to be better able to cope with the day to day things that "lie immediately about one's door." The Rosenwald Fund never challenged segregation but rather provided eighth grade educations supplemented by "industrial" classes in farming and home economics. Rosenwald schools educated students to be good farmers and better housewives.

Nevertheless, the Rosenwald School Building Fund represents a benchmark in the history of black education. As Thomas Hanchett notes, as a carefully conceived and well executed effort, it represents one of the most influential philanthropic forces that came to the aid of [Negro education] at that time. As a result of the Fund's initiatives, more black children went to school longer and with better trained teachers in better constructed and equipped schools. Rosenwald money helped stimulate increases in public tax money for black education. Rosenwald schools served as community centers where not only students, but their parents, learned better methods of agriculture, sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, and domesticity. As Robert Mouton noted, the school-building effort awakened a sense of greater responsibility not only on the part of public school authorities for black education but also among people in general for more adequate educational provisions for the Negro.

Criterion A - Ethnic History-African American
The Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund has been described by Thomas Hanchett as "a carefully conceived and well executed effort of massive scope by private standards, [and] represents the most influential philanthropic force that came to aid the Negroes at that time." From 1913 to 1937, the Rosenwald School Building Fund constructed schools in 833 counties in 15 Southern states exclusively for the use and education of African Americans. By the time the last of the 5,358 schools had been constructed, the Rosenwald Fund had provided monies to improve the educational conditions for over 648,000 African-American students. The Rosenwald School Building Fund provided generations of blacks real educational opportunities.

In addition to the educational benefits of the School Building Fund, Rosenwald schools became active community centers for rural blacks. As Samuel Smith, Director of the Southern Office

noted, "the best modern school is one which is designed to serve the entire community for twelve months in the year." In these community centers, the Jeanes Supervisors taught better agricultural methods, established homemakers' clubs and held home products exhibits. Jeanes teachers and supervisors started home garden clubs and boys' agricultural clubs, worked for school and community improvement, and taught basic skills such as shuck work, hat making, sewing, and cooking. Rosenwald schools became the site of musicals, theatricals, pageants, and exhibits of industrial work. The school often set the standard for the neighborhood in regard to architecture, sanitation, and maintenance.

Criterion C - Architecture
The Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund contributed money toward the construction of 5,358 school buildings in 833 counties in 15 southern states. This building program has been called one of the most ambitious school building programs ever instigated. In addition to the sheer number of schools the Fund helped create, the Rosenwald schools reflected innovations in educational architectural design and set the standard for school construction for years to come. One of the greatest contributions of the Julius Rosenwald Fund was the development of floorplans and specifications for a variety of schools. These plans and specifications ensured every community a quality school. The designs commissioned by the Rosenwald School Building Fund revolutionized rural school architecture. These designs included alternate plans ensuring an east/west orientation for maximization of natural lighting, the inclusion of industrial and cloak rooms, and specifications for window shades, sanitary privies, heating stoves, and interior paint schemes. The folding doors between classrooms allowed the school to be used as a community center and meeting place.

As a student of schoolhouse design and construction, Samuel Smith, Director of the Southern Office, drew up a series of plans incorporating these innovations and techniques for educational facilities. Smith published his designs one at a time in four-page pamphlets which proved to be so popular that in 1924, he subsequently published his plans in a booklet, *Community School Plans*. The booklet proved equally popular and Smith re-issued the booklet in 1926, 1927, and 1928. Whites, as well as blacks used the booklet for schoolhouse construction. Included in the booklet were designs for "teacherages" or teachers' homes and a sanitary privy. The booklet contains specifications and recommendations on siting, painting, and landscaping.

Smith was particularly concerned with the maximization of natural light, providing alternate plans for each design to ensure an east-west orientation. His plans call for tall, double-hung sash windows and dictated paint colors, seating arrangements, window treatments, and black board placement. An integral part of the school design was the incorporation of an "industrial room," following the educational philosophy of Booker T. Washington. Smith also included an auditorium or connecting rooms with movable partitions to serve as an all purpose community room.

By 1928, one in five rural schools for black students in the South was a Rosenwald School. Rosenwald schools housed one third of the region's rural black schoolchildren and teachers. By the 1930s, thousands of old shanty schoolhouses had been replaced with new, larger structures constructed from modern standardized plans. These buildings set the standard not only in regard to

schoolhouse architecture and design but they influenced the construction, architecture, and maintenance of other structures in rural areas and nearby communities.

F. IV Registration Requirements

Rosenwald Schools were essentially modest, wood-frame buildings constructed in the rural South as quality facilities for black education. While the majority of the school buildings were frame, rare examples of brick schools have been identified and others probably exist. To be eligible, a Rosenwald School in Alabama must have been built between 1913 and 1932 utilizing funds provided personally by Julius Rosenwald or the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The extant schools will also usually meet registration requirements because of their design, floor plans, workmanship and materials. Stylistic details are minimal, although some schools display Craftsman or Colonial Revival influences. In general, to qualify for registration, the schools should retain their original location in a rural setting and the design, floor plans, workmanship and materials that evoke their period of construction and the conditions of the time. They should also retain a high degree of architectural integrity. The integrity of their association and feeling is greatly bolstered by their rural setting. Nevertheless, Rosenwald schools nominated solely under Criterion A for Education and Ethnic History do not have to possess as high a degree of integrity as those school buildings which are also nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

FI. "Teacherages" or Teachers' Homes

FII. Description

Teachers' homes or "teacherages," were similar to the schools in concept, style and design. They were an important part of Washington's overall educational concept. Washington noted, "a teacher's cottage or home, separate and apart from the school building itself, is recommended. If there are small children in the home, the advantages are apparent. There is more privacy."

Washington dictated that the teacher's home should not be expensive but comfortable. It was to be a model for the mothers and housekeepers of the community. Additionally, he advocated that the kitchen, back porch, dining and living room, and front porch be open so that they could be used for large community gatherings. Washington constructed a teacher's home at the Rising Star community school, but in the first two years of the Rosenwald School Building Fund there is very little evidence to suggest that any teachers' homes were constructed from 1913 to 1915. The emphasis was initially placed on the erection of schools. Washington and Calloway, however, presented two plans for teachers' homes in *The Rural Negro School*. Design #15 for a Teacher's Home, Five Rooms in *The Rural Negro School,* contains living and dining rooms, two bedrooms, a kitchen, bathroom and pantry as well as front and rear porches. The house was designed with a spraddle roof with rear hipped roof over the kitchen ell. The house would rest on brick piers and be covered with simple weatherboarding. A central flue serviced the four corner fireplaces of the principal rooms. Design #16 featured a more modest floor plan of three rooms (bedroom, living room, and kitchen) but included in the plan proposed future additions for a dining room and kitchen. The front elevation for Design #16 proposed a dwelling with hipped roof, two interior chimneys, brick piers, and a four bay facade with central single leaf entrance.

Samuel Smith offered four plans in his *Community School Plans*: two reformulations of school plan No. 200, a third in the popular Craftsman/Bungalow style, No. 302, and a large home resembling a streamlined Colonial Revival cottage, Plan 301. Smith's designs were more compact than those Tuskegee had supplied earlier. They resembled more of a family home than a house which could be used for community gatherings and socials. Plan 200 contained a large living/dining room, two bedrooms, kitchen, bath and small pantry. The house was designed to rest on brick piers, have a side gable roof and be clad in simple weatherboarding. Plan 302 resembled a typical craftsman bungalow with a small gable roof porch supported by tapered posts. The interior contained two bedrooms, a bathroom, kitchen, and combination living room/dining room. Plan 301, the Colonial Revival cottage featured a small gable roof dormer in the center of the roofline, a small recessed porch, side gable roof, brick pier foundation and simple weatherboarding exterior. The interior plan contained three bedrooms, a bath, living/dining room, kitchen, pantry and rear recessed porch. (for plans of teacher's homes, see continuation sheets E-73 thru E-78)

The research conducted so far indicates that only 7 teachers' homes were constructed in Alabama, all under the supervision of The Southern Office. To date, no teachers' homes have been located in Alabama.

FIII. Significance

Teachers' Homes are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A - Education, Ethic History - African American, and Criterion C - Architecture.

Criterion A - Education, Ethnic History - African American
The teacherages that are associated with the Rosenwald Schools symbolize the commitment of the black teachers to the communities they served. They illustrate the unique relationship between the teacher and local blacks as everyone struggled to give black children an adequate education in a segregated South. Teachers' homes built by the Rosenwald School Building Fund were an integral component in Booker T. Washington's overall educational concept. The construction of teacherages on the school grounds greatly improved the educational opportunities offered by the school and enabled teachers to provide leadership to the local black community.

In plans provided to various communities, Washington and Samuel Smith, Director of the Southern Office, recommended that schools be constructed on a two-acre site, to give ample space for the schoolhouse, sanitary privies, a teacher's home, playgrounds for the boys and girls, a plot for agricultural demonstrations and proper landscaping. Arthur Stern, director of special projects for the Rosenwald Fund, noted that studies indicated that the best results in regard to educational achievements were obtained from schools where the teacher lived near by. As Stern notes, "In such a case the property is usually kept in good condition because the Teacher's Home was part of the establishment and could easily supply the required supervision." Teachers were, for the most part, Hampton and Tuskegee graduates who had been trained in home-building and home-making. Hence, the teachers' homes became an attractive addition to the community. Also, they served as a social center where mothers' clubs and small socials were held.

As the teacher home became an attractive addition to the community, the teacher usually became a civic leader in the area. Hampton and Tuskegee graduates usually occupied the home as did the Jeanes Supervisors, who were community leaders and instrumental in raising funds for longer school terms and additional Rosenwald schools. Often, with the teacher living near the school, students could expect a lengthier school term for as Stern notes,"in order to make the home an asset to the community, the teacher would have to remain in it longer than in the case of a short term or school, for he would have to be there long enough to work out the results of horticulture and agriculture when he would be able to reap as well as sow."

Criterion C - Architecture
The teachers' homes built by the Julius Rosenwald Fund reflect the architectural styles, forms and trends popular in the Progressive era in America during the early part of the twentieth century. The homes are basically bungalows and Colonial Revival dwellings with minimal styling and detailing. They were, however, built according to designs furnished by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee in *The Rural Negro School* and Samuel Smith in *Community School Plans* and complement the designs of the school buildings. In all, the Rosenwald fund contributed to the construction of 217

homes throughout the 15 southern states. As part of the Rosenwald School Building Fund program, the teachers' homes were an integral part in the most ambitious building program undertaken to advance the cause of African American education in the South.

FIV. Registration Requirements

Teachers' homes were essentially modest, wood frame buildings constructed in rural areas near Rosenwald Schools. To be eligible, teacher's homes in Alabama must have been built between 1913 and 1932 with funds from Julius Rosenwald or the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The extant teachers' homes will also meet registration requirements because of their design, floor plans, workmanship and materials. Stylistic details are minimal, although some teachers' homes display Craftsman or Colonial Revival influences. In general, to qualify for registration, the teachers' homes should retain their original location in a rural setting and the design, floor plan, workmanship and materials that evoke their period of construction and the conditions of the time. They should also retain a high degree of architectural integrity. The integrity of their association and feeling is greatly bolstered by their rural setting. Teachers' homes nominated solely under Criterion A for Education and Ethnic Heritage do not have to possess as high a degree of architectural integrity as those teacher's homes which are also nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

FI. Industrial Vocational Buildings

FII. Description

Booker T. Washington, in *The Rural Negro School,* states that "the idea of the central school is mainly vocational. Three buildings are necessary: The school proper, the industrial building and the teachers' homes." Industrial buildings or "shops" were inexpensive buildings, but well suited for carpentry, blacksmithing and other forms of vocational work. The 40' x 30' building contained two rooms, one designated for carpentry work and the other for blacksmithing. The building features a gable on hip roof and wide overhanging eaves. Six double hung sash windows were located on each (short) side wall of the building while the front facade (long side) featured two sets of double doors as well as two double hung sash windows. Washington advocated a simple dirt floor although he suggested that if concrete were desired, it could be constructed at very little expense. The interior was left unfinished as were the ceilings. (for plans, see continuation sheet E-78)

Only one plan for industrial shops is found in *The Rural Negro School* but none are found in Samuel Smith's *Community School Plans.* Industrial buildings were constructed using the plan found in *The Rural Negro School Fund.* Industrial buildings or shops were usually located on the grounds of county training schools. In Alabama, records indicate that one shop was built on the grounds of Snow Hill Institute in Wilcox County, an educational center based on the Tuskegee model. Although 9 vocational buildings were constructed in Alabama, to date, no extant vocational buildings have been identified through various surveys.

FIII. Significance

Industrial buildings or shops are eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A - Education, Ethnic History - African American and Criterion C - Architecture.

Criterion A - Education, Ethnic History - African American
Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald joined forces to improve public education for African Americans in southern states. Their concern was practical as well as humanitarian. They set about creating a better-trained black labor force through vocational instruction, then known as industrial education. Julius Rosenwald, like so many others believed that improved black education based on the Hampton and Tuskegee models would not make African Americans unfit for their subordinate status and would also make them more energetic, stable, and deferential laborers. Rosenwald was attracted to Washington's idea of self-help through vocational training and therefore, industrial education was a key component in his educational philosophy and the development of rural school plans. In 1932, at the conclusion of the building program in Alabama, Rosenwald Schools were training 663,615 students throughout the South. The 163 shops in 15 Southern states were an integral component of the Rosenwald School complex. In these buildings boys were taught carpentry, blacksmithing, furniture making, home building, and tool repair. The industrial buildings were an integral part of the Rosenwald School complex and best represent Booker T. Washington's and Julius Rosenwald's ideas on education for blacks.

Criterion C - Architecture
The industrial buildings found in a Rosenwald school complex were an integral resource in the complex because they illustrate the significance which both Washington and Rosenwald placed on industrial education for rural southern blacks. The 163 industrial buildings or shops constructed throughout the South were built according to plans and specifications produced by Booker T. Washington and his staff at Tuskegee. They are simple, utilitarian structures with a minimum of stylistic detailing.

FIV. Registration Requirements

Industrial buildings were essentially modest, utilitarian buildings construced in the rural South as vocational training facilities for black education. To be eligible, an industrial building must have been built between 1913 and 1932 utilizing funds provided personally by Julius Rosenwald or the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The plans for these structures were taken from *The Rural Negro School Fund*. The extant industrial buildings will also usually meet registration requirements because of their design, floor plans, workmanship and materials. Basically utilitarian structures, sytlistic details are minimal. In general, to qualify for registration, the schools should retain their original location in a rural setting and the design, floor plans, workmanship, and materials that evoke their period of construction and the conditions of the time. They should also retain a high degree of architectural integrity. The integrity of their association and feeling is greatly bolstered by their rural setting. Industrial buildings nominated solely under Criterion A for Education and Ethnic Heritage do not have to possess as high a degree of architectural integrity as those industrial buildings which are also nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

Please see continuation sheet.

[X] See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

Please see continuation sheet.

[X] See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- [X] State historic preservation office
- [X] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [X] University
- [ ] Other

Specify repository: Alabama Historical Commission, Cahaba Trace Commission, Fisk University

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In 1995, the Cahaba Trace Commission applied for and received a grant from the Alabama Historical Commission to compile the multiple property nomination, The Rosenwald School Building Fund Program and Associated Buildings, 1913-1937. Since its creation in 1986, the Cahaba Trace Commission, an eleven county regional tourism agency, has undertaken county architectural surveys. While documenting architectural and historical resources, field surveyors began locating rural school buildings which they later discovered were Rosenwald schools.

The grant application specified that the Cahaba Trace Commission would compile the multiple property nomination form and individual property nominations for Rosenwald schools which had been identified in the five counties which the commission had surveyed: Bibb, Dallas, Hale, Lowndes, and Perry Counties. Additionally, the grant included two schools which had been located in Montgomery County which lies within the Cahaba Trace Commission jurisdiction as well as the Notasulga and Loachapoka schools in Bullock County, which research had determined were the first two Rosenwald schools ever constructed. Unfortunately, a survey determined that neither the Loachapoka nor Notasulga schools were extant. Although the Cahaba Trace Commission originally estimated that perhaps fifteen schools were still standing and eligible for listing, further research and evaluation indicated that only seven schools were actually Rosenwald schools. Several school buildings for white students were constructed using Samuel Smith's *Community Schools Plans* and although identical to some Rosenwald schools, were not funded by Julius Rosenwald or the Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund.

To be eligible for inclusion in this project, it had to be determined that the particular school building had been constructed in Alabama from 1913 to 1932 with funds provided by Julius Rosenwald or the Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund. Once the school had been identified as being a Rosenwald school, the building was evaluated according to registration requirements.

Historical research was conducted at the archives at Fisk University and special collections at Tuskegee Institute. Additional material was gathered from the Rockefeller Archives in New York as well as numerous secondary sources. Two historic contexts were developed, one focusing on the Julius Rosenwald School Building Fund in general and the other concentrating specifically on the Fund's work in Alabama. It is the intention that other states may use the general context to nominate Rosenwald schools in other areas throughout the South.

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