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"A New Era in Building": African American Educational Activism in Goochland County, Virginia, 1911-32

Brian J. Daugherity
Virginia Commonwealth University, bjdaugherity@vcu.edu

Alyce Miller
Valencia College

BRIAN J. DAUGHERITY AND ALYCE MILLER

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African Americans have long believed in the transformative power of education and the importance of grassroots activism in bringing educational opportunities to black communities. As historian V. P. Franklin explains in his introduction to *Cultural Capital and Black Education*, education and literacy were seen as "core values" by African Americans. During the era of Reconstruction after the Civil War, African Americans helped create southern public school systems, and large numbers of freedmen and freedwomen pursued educational opportunities for themselves and their children, despite substantial white resistance.[1]

After the Reconstruction era ended in the 1870s, white southerners regained control of the region's political system and its schools. Throughout the Jim Crow era that followed, black communities fought an uphill battle for adequate educational opportunities, winning some important victories but remaining frustrated by gross inequities in educational funding and official support. Black activists were savvy and persistent—writing letters, appearing before local school boards, fundraising, threatening litigation, and otherwise asserting the right of African American children to have an education equal to that of white children. In this article, we demonstrate and

Brian J. Daugherity is an associate professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University. Alyce Miller is a professor of history at Valencia College.

analyze community efforts to increase educational access and opportunity for African Americans in Goochland County, Virginia, as well as the connections between this advocacy and other communities across the state and throughout the South.[2]

This struggle demonstrates the power and agency of rural black southern communities during the Jim Crow era. As in other communities, Goochland's African American residents effectively secured better treatment and educational opportunities via their organized and persistent efforts. It also reflects the "long" civil rights movement, as historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall has phrased it, with roots stretching back to Reconstruction. Moreover, this grassroots activism both informed and was informed by regional and national figures and organizations. In the end, black educational activism in the early twentieth century helped lay the groundwork for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) school equalization efforts of the 1930s and 1940s, part of the long road toward *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. Recognizing and analyzing this advocacy, we believe, expands our understanding of black activism during the Jim Crow era, educational philanthropy, and southern educational history, as well as how this era of black activism was linked to subsequent civil rights achievements.[3]

THERE IS GROWING INTEREST AMONG SCHOLARS in the history of African American education during the Jim Crow era. Historian James Anderson, in his pioneering study *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935*, underscores how black public education in the late 1800s and early 1900s developed within a context of oppression and white supremacy. In Virginia and elsewhere, white racism resulted in an unequal educational system for African Americans. Another historian, Horace Mann Bond, notes the disastrous effects that local control over state education funds had on African American education in Alabama. Local control, coupled with the disenfranchisement of black voters during and after Reconstruction, allowed authorities to effectively starve black schools of resources. This argument also applies to Virginia. Summing up the inequities of southern educational systems in the *Journal of Southern History* in the 1950s, Louis Harlan, later the biographer of Booker T. Washington, noted, "The two systems were grossly unequal. Discrimination against Negro schools represented a fiscal saving

and was a basis for compromise between taxpayer and tax-layer."[4]

Poor rural communities in the South often struggled to provide enough funds for public education. The burden of supporting a dual education system, one for whites and a separate system for blacks, was a unique challenge. As discussed below, state governments provided assistance, but many southern states, including Virginia, did not prioritize educational funding. As historian J. Douglas Smith notes, "In 1928 Virginia ranked nineteenth among all of the states and first among the southern states in tangible wealth, but only forty-fifth out of forty-eight states in the percentage of wealth spent on education." In this climate, where school resources were scarce and African Americans politically disenfranchised, white communities often attempted to secure the largest portion of the meager resources for themselves, at the expense of black students. Though the state paid money to each district based on the total number of students, black and white, one 1919 report noted that some Virginia counties refused to use local taxes to pay for black education.[5]

Within this context, African American educational activism was a means of resistance to oppression. As shown in *The Education of Blacks in the South*, education and literacy had a unique and profound meaning to freedmen and freedwomen. Because literacy had been kept from slaves as a means to further their oppression and maintain the bonds of slavery, freedmen and freedwomen viewed literacy as a way of breaking the bond of oppression and resisting white supremacy. During Reconstruction, black politicians eagerly helped create public school systems throughout the South, including Virginia's in 1870. Subsequent generations of African Americans provided donations of labor, materials, and funds to maintain and improve these schools, even as they engaged in activism to press authorities for equal treatment.[6]

Historians refer to such additional resources, provided by the black community for the black schools in addition to their required taxes, as a "double tax." In Virginia, Jackson Davis, Supervisor of Rural Elementary Schools, recognized that "this is, in reality, a voluntary school tax, and often means a sacrifice, but it speaks volumes of the desire of an increasing number of home-owning Negroes to give their children good schools." In 1929, Goochland County schools Superintendent Stuart C. (S. C.) Cottrell added,

"The colored population have been very generous in donating both fund and labor to the construction of new buildings." African American individuals and communities deemed the attainment of education to be so valuable as to be worthy of these many and unfair sacrifices.[7]

One avenue for improving educational opportunities for African American schoolchildren was to tap into growing northern philanthropic support for southern education. Scholars have long debated the motivations of the foundations that engaged principally in educational opportunities for blacks in the South, such as the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, the John Slater Fund, the George Peabody Fund, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Historian James Anderson, in *The Education of Blacks in the South*, suggests philanthropists were motivated largely by a desire to promote efficiency in the southern economy, an agenda which lent itself more toward supporting vocational or industrial education than the liberal arts education many African American parents and leaders desired. In *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss emphasize a less deterministic perspective on northern philanthropy, one that allows for individual agency and contingency. In their opinion, northern philanthropists occasionally exhibited egalitarian views that were tempered by the realities of working within the southern educational system. For African American parents, the most important consideration was improving the educational opportunities available to their children, and they generally sought to take advantage of whatever opportunities and funds were available to them.[8]

The Julius Rosenwald Fund was particularly important to African Americans in Goochland County. Mary Hoffschwelle's *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South* is an examination of the Julius Rosenwald Fund's school building program. Rosenwald was president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and a northern philanthropist who provided money to construct schools for blacks in the South. Like this article, Hoffschwelle situates the Rosenwald school building program within the context of African American self-help and activism. Because Hoffschwelle's narrative focuses on the South as a whole, as do most other examinations of this subject matter, it helps set the stage for an examination into local educational activism and the impact of the school building program on the local level.[9]

SOUTHERN OFFICIALS OFFERED A VARIETY OF RATIONALES for the unequal educational opportunities offered to black schoolchildren during the Jim Crow era. Many white leaders feared that a meaningful education for African Americans would upset the racial and economic order that had taken hold in the wake of Reconstruction; educated blacks would move into professions heretofore not open to them, and white employers might lose their source of labor. In 1901, Paul Brandon Barringer, chairman of the faculty at the University of Virginia and later president of Virginia Tech, argued that educational opportunities for African Americans should be limited to "Sunday-school training," because the principal function of black Virginians was as a "source of cheap labor for a warm climate." Other white officials opposed providing an equal education for black children because they felt African Americans were biologically inferior and, therefore, not suited for an equal education. State Superintendent of Education Joseph W. Southall reportedly complained that "negro education is a failure."[10]

The results were devastating for the education of African Americans in the Old Dominion. Despite the "separate but equal" doctrine established by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896, local school officials in Virginia refused to fund black and white schools equally. State officials, who provided a substantial financial supplement to local school funds based on the number of pupils in each locality, generally countenanced local funding disparities and other discriminatory practices. In 1925, Virginia spent an average of $10.47 on each black public school student while it spent $40.27 on each white public school student. Throughout the state, African American school facilities, teacher salaries, educational equipment, and course offerings suffered.[11]

The problems were greatest at the local level. State officials sometimes prevented or overturned the most egregious policies enacted by local school officials, either to address larger challenges within the state education system, such as a shortage of teachers, or to address racial disparities that had become problematic. For instance, in his annual report for 1927–28, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart stated that one of the priorities for black education was "better salaries for many Negro teachers to keep them from leaving the State." State officials declared their desire to improve instruction for black students throughout the period covered here,

so long as the changes did not incur too great an expense. As a result, the most significant roadblock to equal educational opportunities for African Americans in Virginia, at least on the elementary and secondary levels, was often local officials.[12]

Recognizing the power of education, black communities fought for equal educational opportunities for their children and viewed philanthropic funds as one means to that end. Black southerners created school organizations, raised funds, invested labor and energy, and sought the largest possible share of resources from local and state officials, as well as philanthropic funds, for their communities. The most immediate goals included adequate facilities, longer school terms/years, high-quality teachers, and transportation. A related battle was for the right to a classical or liberal arts, rather than an industrial, education. More broadly, black parents and communities wanted to have a stake in local society and politics, and many believed that the education of their children was of the greatest importance.[13]

Goochland County, located forty miles west of Richmond, mirrored much of central Virginia during this period. Like other counties in the central Piedmont region, Goochland was composed of farms interspersed with a handful of small towns. Its population of 8,863 in 1920 was 46 percent white and 54 percent African American. Much of the black population, however, was unable to vote because of disenfranchisement laws and the 1902 state constitution. Records demonstrate that county government and school officials, all white, provided better educational opportunities for children of the white race.[14]

Goochland County officials levied taxes, allocated for education, to supplement state tax dollars. In the early 1920s, the county school board received the same amount of funding, roughly $25,000, from both the state and the county. By 1929, the state's appropriation to Goochland County had fallen slightly, but the county's levy now provided nearly $35,000.[15]

The combined state and local money, however, was not distributed equally. Although the number of black students enrolled in county schools consistently outnumbered the number of white students, county officials spent significantly less on the instruction of black students than white students. Because the state distributed its share of school funding based on the number of pupils, this meant local officials used money intended for African

Americans to educate white pupils. In 1915, when blacks made up nearly 65 percent of the school population, the superintendent of schools for Goochland County noted that "negro schools are in many cases overcrowded. We need more money to build houses and employ more teachers." During the 1917–18 school year, Goochland County spent $4.20 per black student and $14.87 per white student. During the 1929–30 school year, the per capita cost of instruction in Goochland County was $30 per white student and $7 per black student. Between 1927 and 1932, the average per capita cost of instruction for white students in the county was $29.54; for black students it was $10.85.[16]

Oral history interviews with former students and teachers demonstrate that the emphasis on education began at home, where black parents emphasized its importance to their children. Former student Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., a graduate of Fauquier Training School (a Rosenwald school), explained a common sentiment in Goochland County. "My family believed in education. Like I said, my father couldn't read or write and he emphasized education, my mother emphasized education and I think it was true of most of the black community. They emphasized, 'Go to school, I hope you don't have to work like me.'" Eva Anthony, a graduate of Beaver Dam School and Central High School in Goochland County, remembered, "We didn't have the books and we only had what was passed down. . . . Before we started the school he [her father] would teach [us] how to print our names. . . . And he just always taught us that we was just, just as good as anybody else, anything, and we could do whatever we put our mind to, to do. . . . And he made us read. . . . It didn't make no difference what it was, we had to read."[17]

African American parents fought for the best possible education for their children. In Goochland County, the struggle was primarily a local grassroots movement, but its advocates were connected to activists elsewhere in Virginia and nationwide. Crucial local organizations included the Goochland School League and the Caledonia Lodge, an all-male Masonic group. Throughout Virginia, black "school leagues" agitated and provided for improved educational opportunities. Outside the county, the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, Virginia Union University, and Hampton Institute also played important roles. So did the Negro Organization Society, founded in 1912 by Robert Russa Moton, then commandant of cadets at

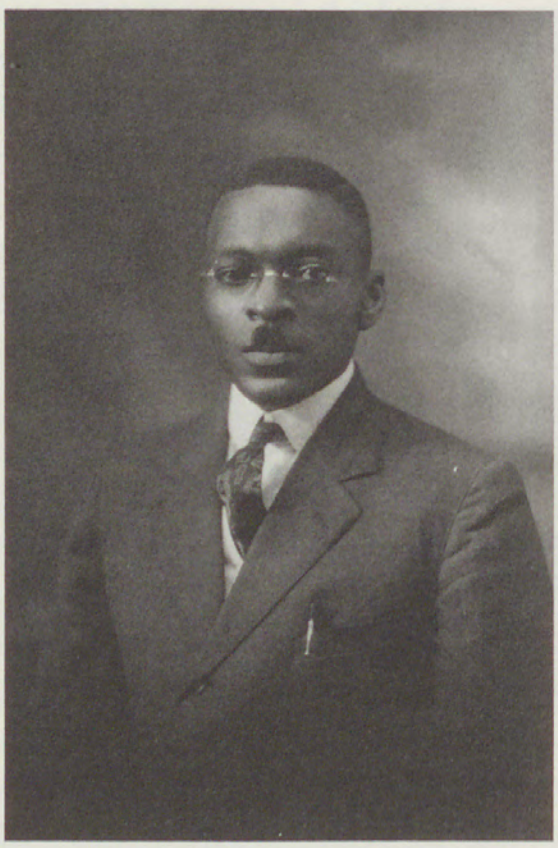
Hampton Institute, which advocated for "better schools, better health, better homes, better farms."[18]

School leagues, or patron leagues—local organizations that supported a specific school—were particularly significant during this era of black activism. These school leagues were made up of parents with children in the schools, and sometimes other interested community members and activists. The adults lobbied on behalf of the best interests of the children attending that school. The leagues began to develop in Goochland around 1912 and spread quickly. By early 1914, they influenced all facets of education in the county. The Goochland School League was an umbrella organization and coordinated and encouraged their efforts. In addition to raising funds and serving as community forums, the leagues increased the influence and impact of black school patrons on white officials. In 1914, the division superintendent of schools, Charles William (C. W.) Dickinson, Sr., noted that an increase in school construction that year, fueled in part by school leagues, represented a "new era in building in Goochland." By 1916 there were leagues representing each of the black schools in the county, and similar organizations existed in neighboring counties. In his 1918–19 annual report, Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart noted that "the negroes through league meetings and rallies in various parts of the state are giving generously their money for educational purposes."[19]

Records show that members of school leagues in Goochland County, or "patrons," were instrumental in pushing the Goochland School Board to construct new buildings, improve facilities and equipment, provide teacher pay to lengthen school terms, and secure transportation. Two of the most prominent local black activists between 1911 and 1932 were Dr. Arthur Gilbert (A. G.) Blakey and Mr. George Walter (G. W.) Hayden. These men are still remembered in the community. Both were leaders on a number of different fronts in the fight for equal educational opportunities. They were joined in this fight by other local people who wanted to bring change, such as John T. Cooke and George Henry Dickerson.[20]

These activists regularly appealed to local school officials for additional funds for black education. Sometimes the school board requested that representatives from the black community appear at its meetings, but generally these representatives "went down to the Courthouse" to assert the education-

Above: Patrons of Centreville School, built in Goochland County in 1923. Below: Centreville School children (and teacher), Goochland County, 1930–31 (Both: *Courtesy of Virginia State University*)



Goochland County medical doctor and prominent activist for black educational opportunities, Dr. A. G. Blakey. (*Courtesy of the Blakey family*)

al rights of the black community with no invitation or arrangement with the school board. Sometimes they carried with them petitions or letters from the communities they represented, and they asked the board to respect the rights of black citizens. Between 1928 and 1932, Hayden alone appeared thirteen times before the Goochland County School Board advocating for African American education.[21]

Committees representing the "colored patrons" also regularly appeared before the school board, requesting improvements. During the Progressive era, state education officials, who sought to improve educational opportunities for both races, though not always equally, recognized the need for such improvements. In his 1913–14 annual report, State Superintendent of Public Instruction R. C. Stearnes pointed out that "the handicap of a short session [school year] is so apparent that a State-wide movement for longer terms has been inaugurated even among the colored people, and we find that they are willing to contribute money from their own means to secure the desired minimum of seven months." Stearnes added that "the state depart-

Stuart C. Cottrell, Goochland County Superintendent of Schools from the late 1910s through the mid-1930s. (*Courtesy of Virginia State University*)

ment has offered to meet half way every community that will undertake to increase its length of term from five to seven months."[22]

In their appearances, league members often presented petitions on behalf of a particular league or school. In the petitions, the black residents, as citizens, laid claim to their right to an education equal to that afforded to the white children of Goochland County. In doing so, they showed their determination to participate in the political process and requested, often successfully, that the county address their concerns.[23]

In April 1924, the patrons of Second Union School wrote to Goochland County schools Superintendent S. C. Cottrell regarding the budget being considered by the school board. The letter was signed by the Second Union School League and its president, T. A. Daniel. It noted that the budget manual claimed the "county pays all expenditures" for the school, but that this was not the reality. The letter pointed out that the "instruction[al] salaries for teachers are not as the manual has laid out [and] therefore we are not

Second Union Rosenwald School, built in Goochland County in 1918, pictured here in 2013. (*Photo by Cris Silvent*)

willing to give anything for instruction until teachers are properly paid." In reference to the operations portion of the budget, the patrons pointed out, "We have no trucks, our children have to walk. . . . Chalk, erasers, other articles for schoolrooms have not been furnished by the Board, [and] we have received only two books for indigent pupils. The last Diplomas [were] given in 1919. Therefore we gave no expenses for operation." The Second Union patrons also explained that they were not receiving any benefit from the budget item "Auxiliary Agencies": "We have no library, the Board has not given us anything. We finished this building ourselves." Regarding the school itself, the patrons pointed out that "we raised the amount we were asked for our new building." The final item addressed by the Second Union patrons was the deficit. They stated: "We were not the cause."[24]

The leagues also spearheaded letter-writing campaigns to the county board of supervisors. A 16 April 1924 letter from Caledonia School patrons listed items that the school needed, including "a wood house for the fuel and maps for the geography classes. The desks of the school are in very bad shape and we would like to have about fifty for the boys and girls of our school."[25]

G. W. Hayden with an unidentified boy (1923). (*Photo courtesy of Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr.*)

In another petition, African Americans living in the vicinity of Manakin disagreed with the school board's plan to build a one-room schoolhouse in what they considered an ill-suited location. Instead, they asked for an expansion of Manakin Colored School [an addition of at least one room] and transportation. The petitioners asserted that they were "convinced more efficient instruction by better teachers could thus be secured." During the 1930–31 academic year, they secured funds to build the addition.[26]

On the border of Goochland and Louisa counties, G. W. Hayden fought to secure additional educational resources for the African American children of both counties. Hayden staged his own letter-writing campaign in the early 1920s. Among others, he wrote to Dr. James H. Dillard of the Slater Fund, Virginia Negro Rural Supervisor W. D. Gresham, State Superintendent of Instruction Harris Hart, the county superintendents of both Goochland and Louisa, the local Jeanes supervisor and the Jeanes Fund, the General Education Board, and Hampton Institute. The Jeanes Fund and Slater Fund, both active in Goochland County, provided money for things such as school equipment, term extension, and supervising teachers. The latter was run by Virginian James Dillard. In a 1923 letter to J. F. Abel, the Assistant

in Rural Education within the Bureau of Education of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Hayden requested "comparisons of teachers' salaries, length of term, amount of money spent . . . for all the counties of Virginia," as well as "figures giving the comparative amount of wealth owned by the colored citizens and the white citizens." His query suggested a sophisticated agenda and predated the Virginia NAACP's teacher salary equalization campaign by more than a decade.[27]

Hayden also inquired with the Department of the Interior about the comparable amounts of wealth owned by blacks and whites in Goochland and Louisa counties. He did this in order to demonstrate the African American residents were paying significantly more than they were receiving in funding for public schools, when compared to taxes paid by whites and funding received for white schools. In doing so, Hayden was implicitly arguing that blacks were not receiving their fair share of tax funds for education. This was part of a grassroots effort staking claim to full citizenship rights for the African American community.[28]

When league representatives asked for a new building, the school board often required the league to come up with a portion of the money, or other assets. Patrons donated lumber, both for building and heating schools. If a school needed painting, the school board might be persuaded to purchase the paint, if the patrons provided for a painter. In most cases, the leagues were also expected to shoulder the majority of repair costs. In 1917, the county built three two-room schools; African Americans contributed $700 toward the construction. Though they paid taxes like other county residents, African Americans were forced to shoulder an additional burden in order to elevate the quality of education for their children to the level of education provided to the county's white school children.[29]

Fundraising for school construction and repairs was a major function of the leagues. During the 1913–14 school year, Goochland's twenty black school improvement leagues (out of twenty-one schools) raised $500 for "new buildings, extending [the length of] terms, and school improvements." They did so via rallies, dinners, and church services. In fact, in the twenty-nine counties included in the 1914 Annual Report of the Virginia Supervisor of Elementary Rural Schools (including Goochland County), local black communities raised a combined $30,752 for new buildings, term

extensions, and school improvements. Twenty-four black schools were built (for a total cost of $19,430) and fifteen schools were enlarged (for a total cost of $4,008). In addition, forty-one schools were painted, eighty-nine schools were whitewashed, and 175 sanitary outhouses were built. During the 1913–14 school year, 196 schools extended their term length by one month. The funds raised by the 545 active school improvement leagues in these twenty-nine counties, including those in Goochland, made up the significant majority of funds spent on any aspect of African American education.[30]

In this context, national philanthropic funds that supported black education were significant to the opportunities available to African Americans. The Julius Rosenwald Fund focused on black education in the South, as did the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, the John F. Slater Fund, and the General Education Board. African Americans throughout the region were familiar with these organizations, and successfully sought funding to supplement their private contributions to build schoolhouses, lengthen school terms, increase teacher salaries, and provide transportation to black students. African Americans leveraged the resources of the black community to secure funds, and incentivized white school boards to appropriate money as well.[31]

The Julius Rosenwald Fund school building program was in many ways the brainchild of Booker T. Washington. As early as 1904, Washington wrote to Dr. Samuel A. Green of the George Peabody Fund to highlight the importance of African Americans benefiting from the Peabody Fund, which provided money, largely in the form of challenge or matching grants, for school building, teacher education, and industrial education. The Peabody Fund supported both white and black education, but Washington faced a challenge: "I mention that colored race because in many cases I find that people are likely to overlook their welfare in a board where the race is not directly represented." Washington argued that building and improving black schoolhouses would transform the lives and opportunities of African Americans, and he made it his mission, and that of the Tuskegee Institute, to bring new and better schools to southern blacks, starting in Alabama.[32]

Beginning in 1905, Washington teamed up with Tuskegee Institute Extension Director Clinton J. Calloway and philanthropist Henry Huttleston Rogers to form a school building program in Macon County, Alabama. Washington and Calloway convinced Rogers that enhancements

for African American education would benefit all residents because the improvements would make blacks "better workers, better customers, and better citizens." Through a combination of funds from Macon County's African American community, the Jeanes Fund, and Rogers, Washington, and Calloway helped build forty-six schools. This school building program continued until 1910, shortly after Henry Huttleston Rogers's death.[33]

Booker T. Washington found a new patron in Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears, Roebuck, and Company. The two met in 1911 when Washington visited Chicago on a fundraising trip for Tuskegee Institute. Rosenwald joined Tuskegee's board of directors in 1912. That same year, he gave money, to be distributed by Washington, to assist rural black schools in Alabama, an outgrowth of Washington's earlier program. Out of this came the Rosenwald building program, which constructed more than 5,000 black schools across 883 counties in fifteen southern states between 1917 and 1932, including 367 schools in Virginia, and ten in Goochland County.[34]

The Rosenwald school building program and other northern educational philanthropists were motivated by a combination of factors. In part, they feared the growing tide of southern blacks moving north during the first Great Migration, believing that lower-wage workers in the North might destabilize the business-employee relationship, and a large black population might negatively affect race relations. Support for southern black education might stem the growing tide of black migrants. At the same time, however, many philanthropists were also motivated by progressivism, the turn-of-the-century strain of thinking that advocated improving the conditions of society, especially for the poor. Educational philanthropists supported better school transportation, longer terms, and higher teacher salaries as a means of lifting up those on the lower levels of American society, especially African Americans. In *Dangerous Donations*, historians Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., argue, "In spite of their compromises and ulterior motives, the foundation philanthropists had a vision of race relations (and black potential) that was significantly different from the ideas of the South's white majority."[35]

However, northern white philanthropists generally supported improvements to southern education, including that of African Americans, while also catering to the views of southern whites. For example, they did not chal-

Boys with handmade chairs take part in an industrial exhibit at the courthouse in Goochland County. (*Courtesy of the University of Virginia Library*)

lenge the segregated nature of southern education. In his examination of Rosenwald school building in North Carolina, historian James Leloudis argues that the building campaign helped create and promote a kind of "updated paternalism" aimed at "moderating conflict" wherein "African Americans could aspire to 'better things' in life within the safe confines of a patron-client relationship." Thus, new educational resources were offered from within the confines of Jim Crow and the racial discourses prevalent throughout the Western world in the early twentieth century.[36]

Nonetheless, for several decades in the early 1900s, northern philanthropic funding provided crucial support for black education in the South, including Goochland County. Between 1917 and 1932, the Julius Rosenwald Fund helped construct 367 schools, three teachers' homes, and eleven school shops in Virginia. The schools had a student capacity of 42,840 and employed nearly 1,000 teachers. The total cost of the new buildings, grounds, and equipment in Virginia was $1,894,006. Of this cost, African Americans contributed 22 percent ($407,969), white contribu-

tions totaled 1 percent ($23,128), the Rosenwald Fund contributed 15 percent ($279,650), and state and local governments contributed 62 percent ($1,183,259, primarily from tax revenue). In the fifteen states where the school building program operated, African Americans collectively contributed 17 percent of the funds, the Rosenwald Fund contributed 15 percent of the funds, private white contributions totaled 4 percent of the funds, and public funds made up the remaining 64 percent of the funds.[37]

The process of obtaining Rosenwald Fund assistance was complex. The Negro Rural Supervisor for Virginia, a state official whose salary was paid in part by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and in part by the General Education Board, submitted an application annually to the Rosenwald Fund for aid based on the agent's calculations of how many and what type of schools (and/or shops, teachers' homes, etc.) were needed in the state. If the application was approved, the state was then given a portion of their Rosenwald funds as working capital, which state officials could disburse as appropriate. Once each new school building was constructed and an inspection report furnished to the Fund, the remaining funds were disbursed.[38]

Importantly, Rosenwald grant funds encouraged states and local school boards to expend money they would not have ordinarily spent on black schools. For its total contribution, the Rosenwald Fund required matching funds from public and private sources. The Fund also required that each school building and the land it was built on (two acres minimum) be deeded to the local public school system. In Goochland, the school board often factored in Rosenwald Fund aid when it was approached for school building funds, in part because the county was poor, rural, and had one of the lowest tax assessments in the state. For the year 1923–24, only one county in Virginia had a lower tax assessment. The county school board, which regularly ran a deficit and was sometimes forced to end the school year early, could not provide adequately funded segregated school systems on its own.[39]

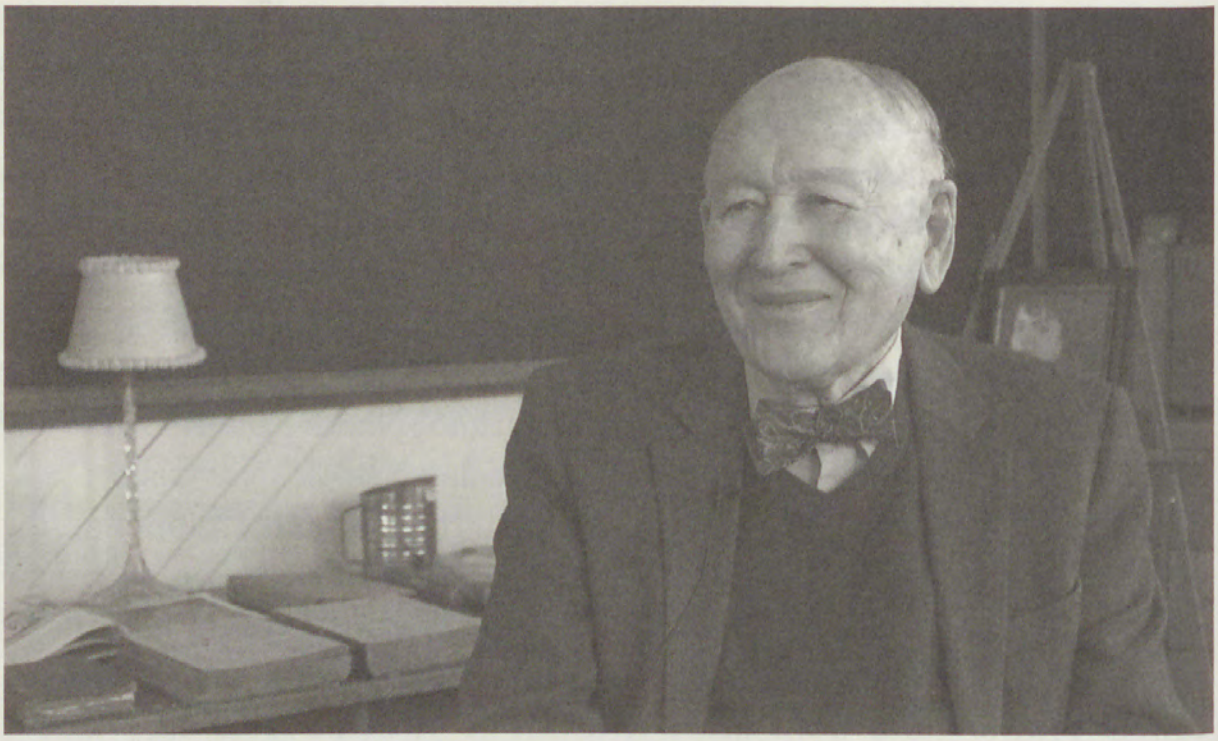
Rosenwald funds helped fill the gap. At a June 1926 school board meeting, during a discussion about expanding a black school, G. W. Hayden announced that the local school league "thought that with the amount of money they had on hand together with the amount of Rosenwald aid they could get for the addition that they would have enough and not have to call on the school board for any aid." Two years later, a group of parents and

community members representing Manakin Colored School went before the school board and requested an addition to their school. The board told the delegation they needed to raise $400 before the board could take any action. The Manakin league stated that it would "go to work at once and get the balance they needed," at which point the superintendent promised to apply for Rosenwald school building funds to also help finance the project.[40]

In Goochland County, African Americans built ten schools with the assistance of the Rosenwald Fund. Six of these were built as two-teacher schools, three were built as one-teacher schools, and Fauquier Training School was a five-teacher school. The two-teacher schools were Chapel Hill, First Union, Manakin, Providence, Randolph, and Second Union, and the one-teacher schools were Goochland, Miller, and Westview. Together these schools educated generations of black residents. The total cost of the schools was $28,456. The African American community contributed 21 percent. Private contributions from white residents of Goochland County totaled 1 percent. The Rosenwald Fund contributed 17 percent, and state and local government contributed 61 percent.[41]

Even when schools were available, a lack of transportation prevented some black students from completing their education. The earliest record of school "wagons," meaning automobiles, and buses in the Virginia Department of Public Instruction archives is from 1921–22. That year, 348 wagons and buses were publicly operated for school transportation. By 1929–30, that number had increased to 1,405. From July 1929 to June 1931, the Rosenwald Fund helped pay for fifteen buses, which transported 434 African American pupils to eleven schools in eleven counties in Virginia. The total cost of the operation of these fifteen buses was $14,989, with the Julius Rosenwald Fund providing $6,591.[42]

Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., attended Caledonia School in 1928. After completing the seventh grade, he wanted to attend Fauquier Training School. Fauquier was the only high school for African Americans in the county, and they had lobbied hard for its construction in the early 1920s. However, there was no transportation available. James Bowles was forced to repeat the seventh grade at Caledonia School; fortunately, he was mentored by his neighbor, A. G. Blakey.[43]



Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., a medical doctor and prominent activist and member of the Goochland community. (*Photo by Cris Silvent*)

Together with other community activists, including G. W. Hayden and John T. Cooke, Blakey pressed the school board for transportation to Fauquier Training School. Cooke's daughter, Ruth Cooke Johnson, remembers that "if anybody wanted to go to the high school they would have to walk, or either get a ride . . . because there was only one bus, and that bus was segregated. The black children could not ride that. So, my father worked on that, and went down and he fussed and went on for several years until they also started a bus for the black children."[44]

In April 1929, however, the school board told Hayden it could no longer continue bus service to Fauquier because of a lack of funds. In response, Hayden secured petitions from members of the black school leagues in Goochland County "asking for a raise of taxes so there might be money enough for transportation." In addition, Hayden appeared before the school board to press for transportation to Fauquier so many times that the minutes are peppered with phrases like "again" in reference to his requests. He was told the board could not act on his requests because it lacked the funds. At

the October 1929 meeting, Hayden asked the board to contribute toward transportation to Fauquier in light of the fact that if the board contributed funds, they would be able to take advantage of the Rosenwald transportation funds. In addition, several unnamed white residents of the county had contributed money to transport black students to Fauquier. Finally, the school board passed a resolution stating, "The school board will enter into the transportation proposition only as a partner to handle the funds but still not give any financial support to same." Thus, in 1929, the "colored patrons" spent $335 on a truck for black schoolchildren. That same year, the school system paid more than $7,220 to operate sixteen school trucks for white students.[45]

Because Rosenwald funds for transportation were only temporary, Hayden, Blakey, and other African American leaders continued to press county officials for bus transportation to the high school. At the September 1930 school board meeting, Hayden again asked for bus transportation to Fauquier. At the October 1930 meeting, after yet another request, the board voted 2-to-1 to provide $200 toward the running of a bus to Fauquier, "provided the board is not held responsible for the continuation of the bus after this session." It is evident that Hayden, Blakey, and other activists argued they were legally entitled to such funds, and they were determined to hold the school board to that. In March 1931, Hayden cautioned the school board that the black community was being treated unfairly and that it was unacceptable. Asking again for a black school bus to be included in the following year's budget, Hayden invoked a prominent member of the white community. "Hayden stated that Dr. Leake [the County Treasurer] said that the negroes were not being treated fairly and that the white people didn't put up any money for their buses and the negroes did."[46]

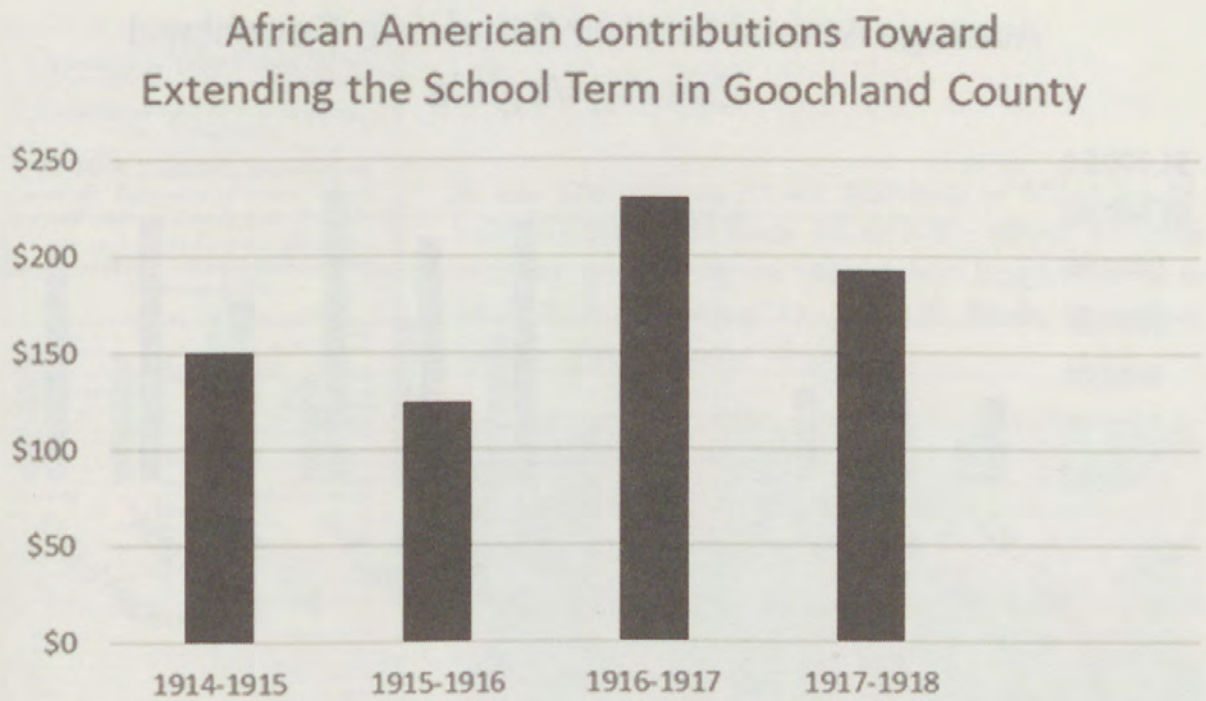
Local black leaders also fought for accreditation for Fauquier Training School. Hayden and Blakey waged this fight. Bowles later recalled: "There was a lot of attention and controversy about it because in order for Fauquier Training School to become an accredited school you had to have so many books in the library, and you had to have this and that, and the citizens worked to get it. It wasn't provided by the county, it was provided by the black citizens."[47]

The black community also contacted the commonwealth's attorney, P. L. Smith, and other lawyers to secure their rights. Smith regularly appeared at school board hearings when black leaders asked for education improvements. These grassroots activists, such as Blakey, Hayden, and Cooke, argued they were entitled to educational opportunities equal to those white children were receiving—and that they were not receiving them. Although he was not formally trained as such, some community members remember G. W. Hayden functioning as a lawyer for the Goochland black community, assisting them in staking claim on their full rights as citizens and taxpayers.[48]

The school leagues, Julius Rosenwald Fund, and other national philanthropic funds were also committed to extending the length of the school year. In 1914–15, the African American community in Goochland County contributed $150 toward "term extension," in addition to money raised for buildings and a school library. The next year, the figure was $124, and in 1916–17, African Americans in Goochland County contributed $231 toward extending the school term. In 1917–18, Goochland County had twenty school buildings for black children, twenty-four teachers, twenty active school leagues, and thirteen schools that extended their term with the assistance of patrons (to seven months or more). That year, African Americans raised more than $900 for general educational purposes in Goochland County, including $193 to extend the school year.[49]

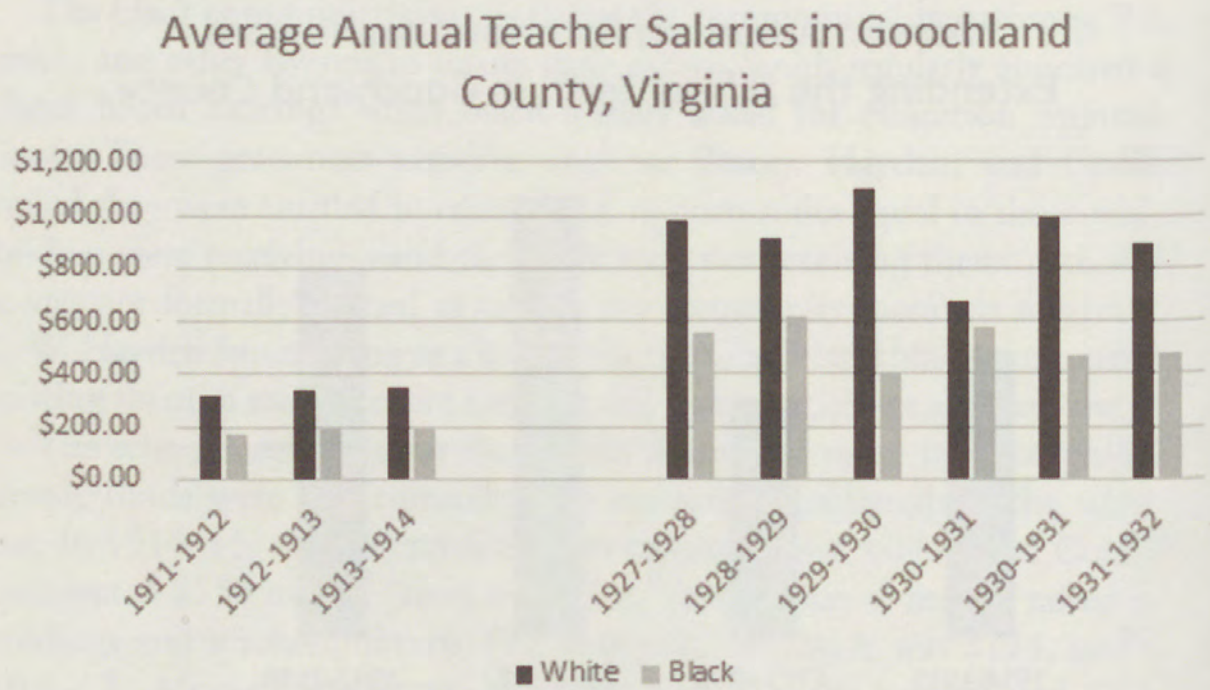
Though it required financial sacrifice, the black community continued its commitment to extending the school term. Statewide, the average school term for whites in 1913–14 was just over 146 days, and for blacks was 124 days. That same year, there were twenty-one black schools in Goochland County, eight of which extended their term by one month. The term at Fauquier was extended to eight months (from seven months) in 1926 as a condition of the board's acceptance of funds from the Slater Fund. During the 1927–30 school terms, the average length of term in Goochland County was 180 days for white schools and 140 days for black schools.[50]

During the 1929–30 school year, the school board grew increasingly concerned about its financial situation. The Great Depression, coupled with the low tax levies assessed by Goochland County, took their toll on the board's coffers. Accordingly, it requested that the county superintendent ask State Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart for permission to run



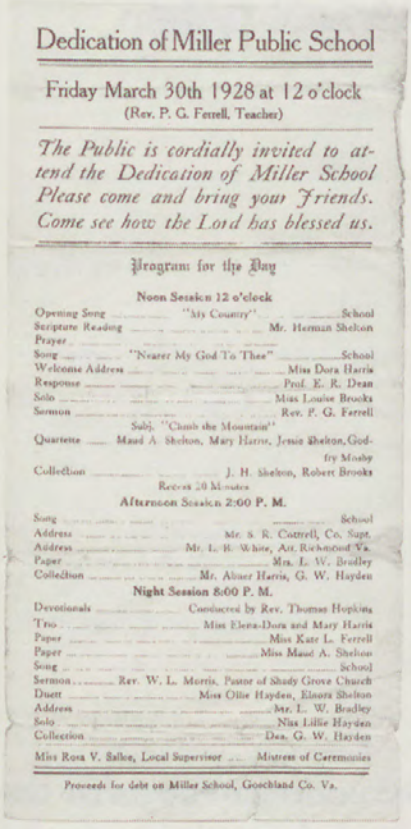
the white schools in the county for eight months and the black schools only six months during the 1929–30 school year. Superintendent Hart denied the request. At the same time, black fundraising and funds from philanthropies helped to compensate for declining local support. By the 1931–32 session, the average length of term for black schools had increased by ten days to 150 days, and for white schools had decreased by ten days to 170 days. In the 1932–33 school term, there was parity in the length of term for white and black schools in Goochland County, as the white school term again decreased by ten days and the black term again increased by ten days. This significant achievement was made possible by the actions of the local African American community and by state educational officials' unwillingness to side with Goochland County officials.[51]

Another challenge facing black schools in Goochland County was the disparity in teacher pay. In 1911–12, the average annual salary for African American teachers in Goochland County was 47 percent less than their white counterparts. During the Great Depression, when the state's already low school coffers became even more depleted, teacher salaries saw drastic swings. In general, the school board attempted to mitigate the decline in white teachers' salaries at the expense of black teachers' salaries. On the eve



of the Depression, in 1928–29 African American teachers in Goochland County made 32 percent less than their white teacher salaries—a 15 percent improvement since the 1911–12 school year. But in the 1929–30 term, black teachers in Goochland County made 63 percent less than white teachers did. Fortunately, subsequent years witnessed a moderate increase in black teachers' salaries in Goochland County and throughout Virginia, while their white counterparts faced pay reductions. By 1932–33, African Americans had regained most of the ground they had lost during the Depression. That year, black teachers made 30 percent less than white teachers in Goochland County. The continuing inequities in teacher pay, which were noted by instructors in Goochland, soon set the stage for a legal assault on Virginia's segregated pay scales by the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP.[52]

The activism that occurred in Goochland County was part of a larger movement for educational equality then taking place throughout Virginia and the South. In 1917–18, African Americans throughout Virginia contributed a combined $7,551 for teacher salaries (to extend the school term/year) and a total of $46,180 for "term extension, new buildings, industrial work, and general school betterment." Such contributions increased throughout the early twentieth century, as Jim Crow laws and policies



Dedication of Miller Public School

Friday March 30th 1928 at 12 o'clock
(Rev. P. G. Ferrell, Teacher)

The Public is cordially invited to attend the Dedication of Miller School Please come and bring your Friends. Come see how the Lord has blessed us.

Program for the Day

Noon Session 12 o'clock

Opening Song ..... "My Country" ..... School
Scripture Reading ..... Mr. Herman Shelton
Prayer
Song ..... "Nearer My God To Thee" ..... School
Welcome Address ..... Miss Dora Harris
Response ..... Prof. E. R. Dean
Solo ..... Miss Louise Brooks
Sermon ..... Rev. P. G. Ferrell
Subj. "Climb the Mountain"
Quartette ..... Maud A. Shelton, Mary Harris, Jessie Shelton, Godfry Mosby
Collection ..... J. H. Shelton, Robert Brooks
Recess 20 Minutes

Afternoon Session 2:00 P. M.

Song ..... School
Address ..... Mr. S. R. Cottrell, Co. Supt.
Address ..... Mr. L. B. White, Asst. Richmond Va.
Paper ..... Mrs. L. W. Bradley
Collection ..... Mr. Abner Harris, G. W. Hayden

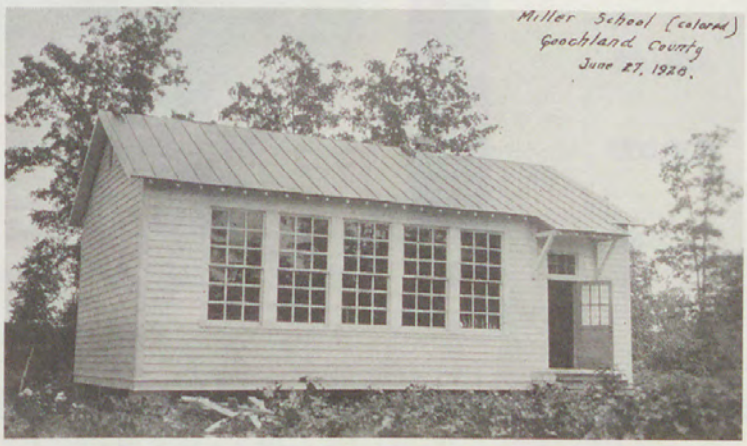
Night Session 8:00 P. M.

Devotionals ..... Conducted by Rev. Thomas Hopkins
Trio ..... Miss Elena-Dora and Mary Harris
Paper ..... Miss Kate L. Ferrell
Paper ..... Miss Maud A. Shelton
Song ..... School
Sermon ..... Rev. W. L. Morris, Pastor of Shady Grove Church
Duett ..... Miss Ollie Hayden, Elnora Shelton
Address ..... Mr. L. W. Bradley
Solo ..... Miss Lillie Hayden
Collection ..... Dea. G. W. Hayden

Miss Rosa V. Salle, Local Supervisor ..... Mistress of Ceremonies

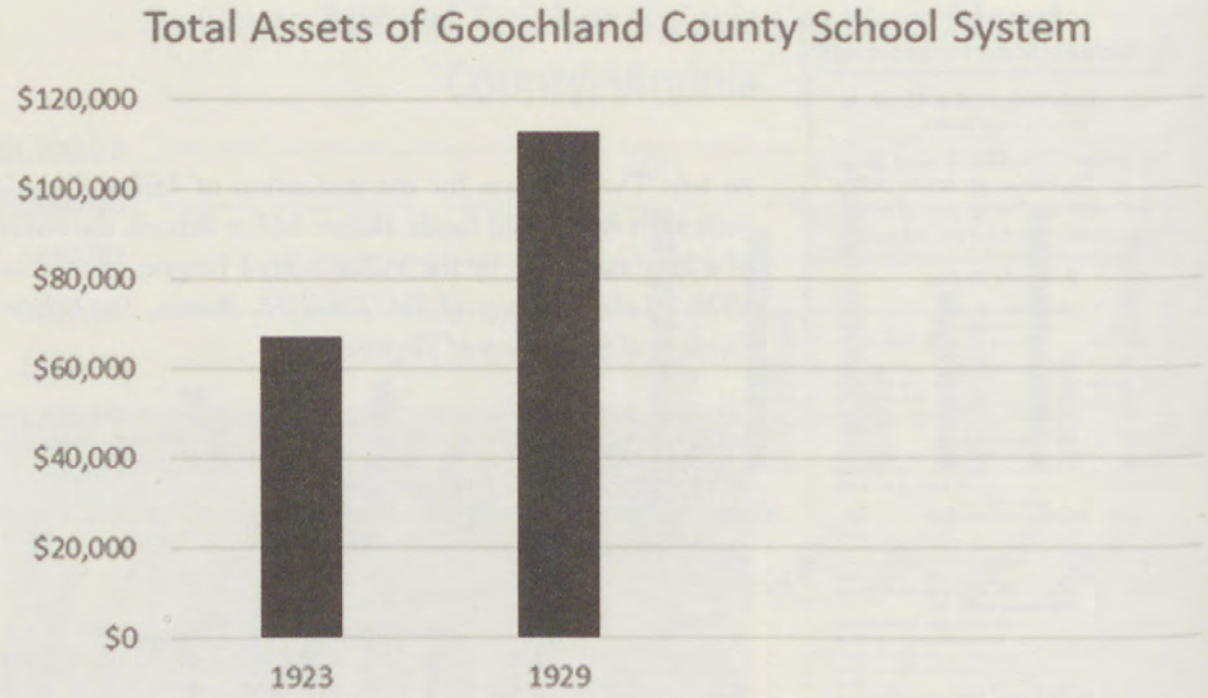
Proceeds for debt on Miller School, Goochland Co. Va.

At left: The program for the dedication of Miller School, built with Rosenwald funds. Below: Miller School, the result of a long campaign by the Miller School League, opened in 1928. (Left: *Courtesy of Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr.*; below: *Courtesy of the Library of Virginia*)



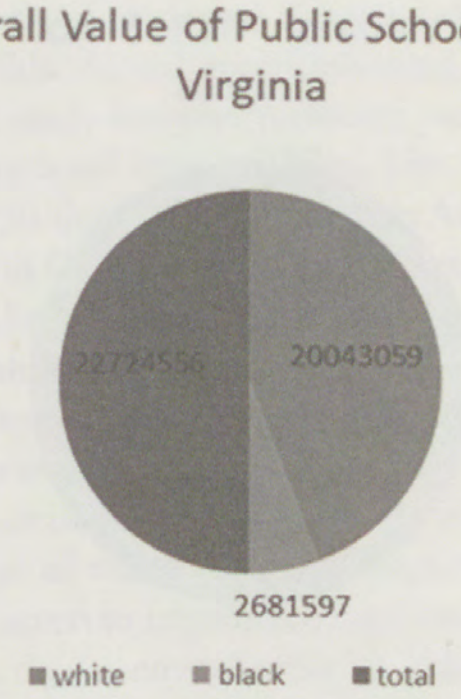
expanded. In his June 1919 quarterly bulletin, Harris Hart, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia, highlighted the importance of the General Education Board, Hampton Institute, the Slater Fund, and the Jeanes Fund for providing funding and improvements toward black education. In 1922, he added, "It is obvious that these helpful sources of outside revenue yield Virginia a substantial sum to advance negro education, and it is interesting to note that the colored people are eager to avail themselves of the advantages offered through these funds."[53]

The Julius Rosenwald Fund was adept at maximizing the reach and impact of its funds by adding conditions to the funds it disbursed. This was particularly important in 1930, when the gap between white and black educational opportunities in Virginia was its greatest since the 1910s. In 1929–30, school bus transportation money provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund included a funding schedule to incentivize counties to fund school bus operation. For example, "the fund would provide $1 for each dollar provided by local sources for the first year; $1 for each $2 provided in the second year;



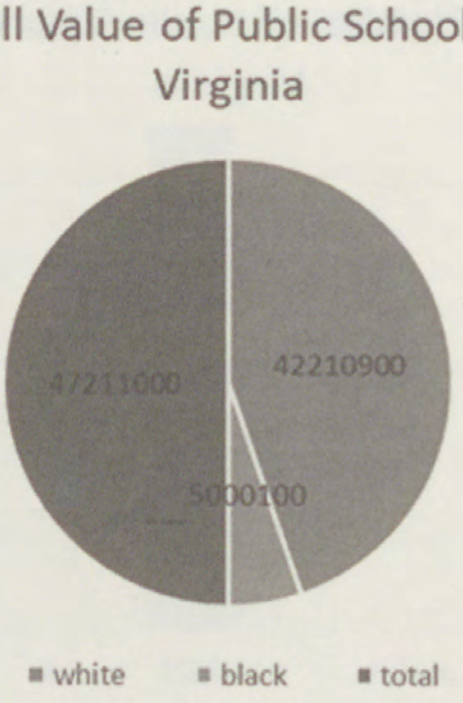
$1 for each $3 provided in the third year, with the understanding that the county will agree to continue the operation of the service after the three-year period." The Fund applied a similar scheme to the purchases of buses, mandating that for a school to be eligible for transportation aid it must have a term of at least six months—"eight months being preferred"—and that all teachers at schools receiving transportation aid be paid a salary of at least $50.[54]

The Rosenwald Fund also incentivized school boards to improve the quality of black education by requiring that newly constructed school buildings and the surrounding land be deeded to the local school board. As a result, school boards gained wealth in the form of property, and improvements on property. In a county like Goochland, which periodically ran a school deficit, this was fortuitous. For example, in 1923 the total assets of the Goochland County school system were valued at $66,952. By 1929, that number had increased by more than $45,000, to $112,723. In the six years between 1923 and 1929, the Goochland school system built or remodeled seven Rosenwald schools (First Union, Randolph, Providence, Miller, Westview, Manakin, and Fauquier).[55]



Throughout the South, between 1920 and 1930 the building of Rosenwald schools made up 78 percent of the overall increase in school property for African American students. The cost of Rosenwald buildings in thirteen states (Kentucky and Missouri not included) between 1920 and 1930 constituted 59 percent of the overall increase in value in public school property for African Americans. The overall value of public school property in Virginia in 1920 was $22,724,556—$20,043,059 for whites and $2,681,497 for blacks. By 1930, the overall value in Virginia was $47,211,000. Of that, $42,210,900 was in school property for whites and $5,000,100 for blacks. This represented an 87 percent increase in school property for blacks and a 111 percent increase in school property value for whites. It also reflected the gross inequities in Virginia's dual educational systems.[56]

Rosenwald aid allowed, and encouraged, local school boards to undertake improvements in black education. For example, the increase in public money spent on school property for African Americans between 1920 and 1930 was $2,318,603—and $1,811,060 (78 percent) of that was directed toward the construction of Rosenwald schools. Overall, across the fifteen states in which the Rosenwald school building program was active, public



school property values for black schools increased on average 174 percent between 1920 and 1930. W. D. Gresham, Supervisor of Negro Education in Virginia from 1920 to 1936, recognized the role of black community activism in the building of Rosenwald schools: "The people have caught the infection. Where one community has built one of these schools another community of the same county will almost invariably work for a school under the Rosenwald plan. Taking all things into consideration I do not hesitate to say that in Virginia Rosenwald aid has been a godsend in securing better buildings for Negro children."[57]

Black educational activism in Goochland County was effective at improving southern communities more broadly, as well as increasing educational access and opportunity for African Americans within a discriminatory system. School terms increased in length, building capacity and quality increased, teacher salaries increased, and Fauquier Training School was constructed and subsequently accredited as a high school. All these gains came about despite institutional discrimination, the overall poverty of Goochland County, and the Great Depression. These changes also translated into increased opportunity and pride in education for subsequent generations. African American educational activism in Goochland County yielded results

far beyond improved school structures, better teacher pay, bus service, and longer school terms. Educational access increased, and though education remained separate and vastly unequal, increased parity was reached between black and white educational opportunities. The benefits were dramatic: between 1910 and 1930 the number of African Americans over the age of ten who were illiterate in Goochland County decreased from 1,368 to 573.[58]

The Rosenwald school building program did not challenge the status quo of segregation in the South, nor did it require southern states or localities to equalize funds spent on black and white schools. In fact, as we have seen, the very existence and need for the Rosenwald school building program is testament to the devastating effects of segregation and racism on education in the South as well as of the "double tax" required of African American communities desiring access to improved educational opportunities for their children. Nonetheless, the Rosenwald school building program significantly increased the availability and quality of educational facilities available to black schoolchildren throughout the South, and records have shown that Rosenwald schools increased attendance rates as well as the number of school years completed. In doing so, they also helped strengthen the tradition of grassroots educational activism within African American communities. Black parents and communities sought a stake in society and politics, in Goochland County and elsewhere, and they were willing to sacrifice financially and in other ways to participate.[59]

Such activism foreshadowed the legal effort for school equalization sponsored largely by the NAACP in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as the extended campaign to bring about school desegregation thereafter. In the 1930s, the threat of initiating legal action to compel school equalization in Goochland County led to a settlement with the school board. In the late 1940s, the Goochland County branch of the NAACP, which included activists discussed above as well as their descendants, openly challenged segregation and voter disenfranchisement. Discussing this era in a county about two hours east of Goochland, author Phyllis McClure noted, "The effort of black communities to secure a Rosenwald school was an important precursor to the campaign for equal educational opportunities that came in the modern civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s."[60]

This fight for better schools through the use of Rosenwald school building funds in Virginia showcases the commitment and organization of local black communities that were determined to secure educational opportunities for the children within their communities. The activism and fundraising activity by local blacks highlights the strong and vibrant tradition of self-help within the African American community and underscores the importance of educational activism as a means of acquiring cultural capital during the early twentieth century. Soon thereafter, increased black activism would set the stage for the coming civil rights era.

Unfortunately, little is known about African American educational activism in the early decades of the twentieth century. This article seeks to increase our understanding of the "long" civil rights movement as it manifested itself in rural communities throughout the South, and to help fill a gap in the scholarship of the Jim Crow era. The African American struggle for equal educational opportunity in Goochland County reveals an enduring commitment to equal rights and racial justice during a period in which both were in short supply.[61]

NOTES

The authors would like to thank Virginia Humanities, the John Tyler Community College Foundation, and the Virginia Community College System for grant support for this project. We would also like to thank John Tyler Community College (JTCC) and Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) for their support. We would also like to thank Cris Silvent at JTCC, the librarians and archivists at JTCC, VCU Special Collections and Archives, Fisk University Special Collections, Vanderbilt University Special Collections, the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia, the Library of Virginia, Virginia State University, and the Library of Congress. Thank you to Second Union Rosenwald School, Inc., Goochland County Schools, Dr. L. Ray Drinkwater, the Goochland Historical Society, and Professor Michael A. Blakey of the College of William & Mary. Thank you as well to Dr. Lynn Rainville and Dr. Charles Bolton for feedback on this article. A special thank you to Calvin Hopkins and our interviewees. We would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr.

1. V. P. Franklin, "Introduction," in *Cultural Capital and Black Education: African American Communities and the Funding of Black Schooling, 1865 to the Present*, eds. V. P. Franklin and Carter Julian Savage (Greenwich, Conn., 2004), xiii. Also see V. P. Franklin, "Introduction: Cultural Capital and African American Education," *Journal of African American History* 87 (2002): 175–81; James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, 1964), 386–90. For more on African American commitment to educational opportunity post-emancipation, see Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2005). For related information on Goochland County, see Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 370–72, 402.

2. See Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930* (Columbia, Mo., 1999).

3. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91 (2005): 1233–63.

4. Bond argues that the Apportionment Act of 1891 was detrimental to black education because it allowed local officials to discern what constituted "just and equitable" funding of schools. Bond asserts, "The Act was intended only to allow discrimination between the races." Although he largely examines Alabama in this work, his analysis is useful in an examination of the meager funding of black education throughout the South (Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A study in Cotton and* Steel [New York, 1969], 160–63, 217). For an examination of the impact of local control on farm policy, see Pete Daniel, *Dispossession: Discrimination against African American Farmers in the Age of Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill, 2015), 17–20, 158–60; James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988); Louis R. Harlan, "The Southern Education Board and the Race Issue in Public Education," *Journal of Southern History* 23 (1957): 201.

5. Generally, Goochland County schools received just under half of their financial support from the state. In 1918–19, for example, 45 percent of the school system's budget came from the state, and 55 percent came from local sources (*Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia 1918–19* [Richmond, 1921], 54). In the 1930–31 school term, the state provided

Goochland County with $31,282.87 and county funds provided for $36,787.25, while "other" funds made up $3,836.84 and loans accounted for $16,607,69 of the total $88,514.65 receipts taken in by Goochland County schools for the year 1930–31. See "Receipts—By counties and cities," *The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, 1930–31* (Richmond, 1932), 140; J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 133; Division Superintendent Stuart Cottrell to "The Teachers of Seven Month School Term," 15 April 1928, Goochland County School Reports, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center, Richmond. In 1928, Goochland County schools were forced to close between ten days and two weeks early (depending on their regular term length). Goochland County School Board Minutes, 6 July 1925, Goochland County Public Schools, Goochland, Va. At the Goochland County School Board meeting on 4 November 1929, the board was told it either had to raise the school tax or close the schools. In 1913–14, the Goochland tax levy was 25 cents per $100. County tax levies throughout the state ran from 20 cents to 95 cents. Only six counties had districts with lower levies than Goochland County (Amelia, Culpeper, Fauquier, Clarke, Page, and Warwick). See "Exhibit of Local School Levies in Counties," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, 1913–1914* (Richmond, 1916), 75. The money was divided up among Virginia's school districts, which in most cases were county units. J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 133; Phyllis McClure, "Rosenwald Schools in the Northern Neck," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 113 (2005): 114–18.

6. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 3, 17–21; Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman, *Investment in People: The Story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund* (New York, 1949). The authors' interviews in Goochland County also demonstrated this commitment to education; families sacrificed to develop the financial means to allow their children to attend as much school as possible before entering the workforce (Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., conducted by Alyce Miller, Goochland, Va., 4 Oct. 2013, https://digital.library.vcu.edu/islandora/object/vcu%3A34005 [accessed 27 Nov. 2019]; Interview with Ruth Cooke Johnson, conducted by Brian J. Daugherity and Alyce Miller, Goochland, Va., 4 Oct. 2013, https://digital.library.vcu.edu/islandora/object/vcu%3A34044 [accessed 27 Nov. 2019]; Interview with Eva Anthony, conducted by Alyce Miller, Goochland, Va., 31 Jan. 2014, https://digital.library.vcu.edu/islandora/object/vcu%3A34060 [accessed 27 Nov. 2019]). African Americans also sought better treatment in other aspects of life, outside of education (see, for example, Hahn, *Nation under Our Feet*).

7. Jackson Davis, "Monthly and Annual Reports of Virginia Supervisor of Rural Elementary Schools, 1910–1915," quoted in Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 184 (see also 17–21, 156, 170, 184–185); "Disbursements," The Annual Report of Goochland Public Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1929, Goochland County School Records, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center, Richmond. African Americans contributed $407,969; local whites contributed $23,128; state and local government contributed $1,183,259. "Summary of Completed Buildings from Beginning to July 1, 1932," folder 2, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives, Fisk University Special Collections and Archives, Nashville.

8. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 80; Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 191–95, 214.

9. The Rosenwald school building program was active in Virginia between 1917 and 1932 (Mary

S. Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South* [Gainesville, Fla., 2006]). Peter Ascoli depicts Rosenwald's actions and motivations in a more positive and purely altruistic light in his book, *Julius Rosenwald: The Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and the Cause of Black Education in the American South* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006).

10. Barringer had previously argued that whites should stop supporting free public schools for black Virginians. Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901–1915* (Chapel Hill, 1958), 138; Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 96–97; Brian J. Daugherity, "Keep on Keeping On," in Brian J. Daugherity and Charles C. Bolton, eds., *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2008), 41–43. See also Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 22–23, 80–81. Quotation is from Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 97.

11. Louis Harlan discussed how state education officials tried to conceal racial discrimination within this system in *Separate and Unequal*, 165–66, 273. See also J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2002), 135; Daugherity, "Keep on Keeping On," 41–43.

12. Hart quotation is in "Negro Education for 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1927–28*, (Richmond, 1928), 35. See also Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, 16–17, 141–44, 159.

13. Many northern philanthropists, as James Anderson explains in *The Education of Blacks in the South*, were committed to industrial or vocational education as the appropriate form of education for blacks. For more information on the use of educational funds to funnel money and thus support toward particular educational practices, policies, and ideologies, see William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865–1954* (New York, 2001). Also see Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, and James D. Anderson, "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education, 1902–1935," *History of Education Quarterly* 18 (1978): 371–96. For more information on African American educational activism in Virginia and its intersection with northern philanthropy, see Archie G. Richardson, *The Development of Negro Education in Virginia, 1831–1970* (Richmond, 1976). Richardson was the highest ranking African American in state government when he was appointed Assistant to the Assistant Supervisor of Negro Education in Virginia in 1936. For a well-done examination of Virginia's Northern Neck region, see McClure, "Rosenwald Schools in the Northern Neck," 114–45. For the fight over a liberal arts or classical academic curriculum in Virginia, see George F. Bagby, "William G. Price and the Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108 (2000): 45–84.

14. Figures in the text were rounded up by the authors. Goochland County had an overall population of 8,863 in 1920. This was made up of 4,606 males and 4,257 females. Broken down further, there were 2,102 native-born white males and 2,485 native-born black males in Goochland County in 1920. There were 4,257 females in Goochland County in 1920. This overall female population included 1,940 white females and 2,298 African American females (see University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, "Census Data Over Time: Virginia," *Historical Census Browser*, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/ [accessed 29 Nov. 2014]).

15. Goochland County's levy was 60 cents for the 1923–24 school year (see "School Levies as made by the Boards of Supervisors, for school purposes in the counties of the State for the session 1923–1924," in Goochland County School Reports, box 29, Library of Virginia State Records

Center, Richmond, Virginia). Figures in the text were rounded up by the authors. In the 1921–22 school year, the Goochland County School Board received $23,647.15 from state funds and $24,306.17 from the county. For the 1922–23 school year, the Goochland County School Board received $23,148.40 from state funds and $23,605.15 from the county. For the 1923–24 school year, the Goochland County School Board received $24,823.14 from state funds and $24,078.73 from the county (see "Comparison of Receipts and Disbursements of School Funds in Goochland County for the last three years," in Goochland County School Reports, box 29, Library of Virginia State Records Center). For the 1928–29 school year, county funds received by the Goochland County School Board significantly exceeded state funds. The Goochland County School Board received a total of $22,498.02 from the state's general appropriation and $34,842.38 from the county. $32,969.77 came from the county tax levy and an additional $1,872.91 came from a separate county levy (see "Annual School Report: Goochland County," in Goochland County School Reports, box 29, Library of Virginia State Records Center).

16. In 1913–14, there were 2,074 African American students and 1,178 white students enrolled in Goochland County schools ("Table No. 4," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1914*, Library of Virginia). See also *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 10 Sept. 1915, 7; "Written Report Showing Vital Elements of Progress Which Figures Can Not Adequately Disclose," *Annual Report of the Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1915*, Library of Virginia; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1917–1918*, (Richmond, 1919), 107. These numbers were rounded to the nearest hundredth. "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance and Operation, 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1927–28*, 100; "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance and Operation, 1928–1929," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1928–29* (Richmond, 1929), 127; "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance and Operation, 1929–1930," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1929–30* (Richmond, 1930), 148–49; "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance, and Operation, 1930–31," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1930–31*, 179; "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance, and Operation, 1931–32," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1930–31* (Richmond, 1932), 166; "Per Capita Cost of Instruction, Maintenance, and Operation, 1932–33," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1932–33* (Richmond, 1933), 169. The state did not always calculate the "per capita cost of instruction" in the same manner. The numbers are higher before the 1929–30 term because the principals' salaries were wholly included in this figure. Further, the numbers drop off beginning in 1930–31 as a result of the Great Depression (see "Per Capita Cost of Instruction" in the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1930–31*, 21).

17. Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013; Interview with Eva Anthony, 31 Jan. 2014.

18. See correspondence between G. W. Hayden and the John F. Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and the Department of the Interior (materials in the authors' possession gathered from Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr.). See also Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013; Interview with Ruth Cooke Johnson, 4 Oct. 2013. This is akin to similar movements

in other states. See, for instance, John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Champaign, Ill., 1995); Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); see G. W. Hayden correspondence, in documents from James H. Bowles Sr., in the authors' possession. The leagues were sometimes called "community leagues" by the mid-1920s (McClure, "Rosenwald Schools in the Northern Neck," 130). The society visited Goochland periodically (see for instance, "Making Better Race Relations," *New Journal and Guide* [Norfolk], 15 Sept. 1917, 1). See also Elizabeth Jordan Cobb, *The Impact of the Negro Organization Society on Public Support for Education in Virginia, 1912–1950* (Charlottesville, 1978); Interview with Eva Anthony, 31 Jan. 2014; Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013; *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland for the years 1911–1932*, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

19. Historian Louis Harlan discussed the Southern Education Board's initiative to create "school improvement leagues" in the early 1900s (see Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, 154–55). "Written Report Showing Vital Elements of Progress Which Figures Can Not Adequately Disclose," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1914*, Library of Virginia. For information on a school league in Northumberland County, Virginia, see McClure, "Rosenwald Schools in the Northern Neck," 114–18; There were also leagues, made up of parents of children who attended a particular school, for many white schools in Goochland County and throughout the commonwealth (see *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland for School Year Closing June 30, 1916*). Information about the school leagues was included in most annual reports of the divisional superintendents for the covered years. See also Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 184; J. Rupert Picott, *History of the Virginia Teachers Association* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 54–58; "Negro Schools," *Annual Report of the Superintendent for Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1918–19*, 71.

20. This is evident in the Goochland County School Board minutes from 1922 to 1932. See also Interview with Ruth Cooke Johnson, 4 Oct. 2013; Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013.

21. Hayden was mentioned in the minutes of the Goochland County School Board meetings thirty-one times between 1928 and 1932 (see Goochland County School Board Minutes, 1 Oct. 1928, 7 Oct. 1929, 2 Sept. 1930, 13 Oct. 1930, [no month or day given] 1930, 5 Jan. 1931, 2 Feb. 1931, 2 Mar. 1931, 1 June 1931, 3 Aug. 1931, 7 Sept. 1931, 5 Oct. 1931, 7 Mar. 1932, Goochland County Public Schools).

22. "Length of Session in Colored Schools," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for the School Term 1913–1914* (Richmond, 1916).

23. This is evident in the Goochland County School Board minutes from 1922 to 1932. See also Interview with Ruth Cooke Johnson, 4 Oct. 2013; Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013.

24. We have edited this petition for clarity by adding commas and conjunctions. "Second Union Patron Letter to Stuart Cottrell regarding Budget," Goochland County School Board Reports, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center, Richmond.

25. Caledonia patrons to School Board, 26 Apr. 1924, Goochland County School Board Reports, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center.

26. Undated petition from Manakin patrons to school board, Goochland County School Board

Reports, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center. The original school was built with funds from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which also provided money to help pay for the addition to the building (Goochland County School Board Minutes, 2 June 1930 and July 1930, Goochland County Public Schools).

27. J. F. Abel to G. W. Hayden, 12 Apr. 1923, in materials in the authors' possession gathered from Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr. On an envelope postmarked 16 April 1923 from the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, there is a listing of all the people and organizations to which Hayden was to write letters, how many letters were sent to each place, and the dates they were sent. For more information on the Jeanes Fund, see Lance G. E. Jones, *The Jeanes Teacher in the United States, 1908–1933* (Chapel Hill, 1937), and Linda B. Pincham, "A League of Willing Workers: The Impact of Northern Philanthropy, Virginia Estelle Randolph, and the Jeanes Teachers in Early Twentieth-Century Virginia," *Journal of Negro Education* 74 (2005): 112–23.

28. J. F. Abel to G. W. Hayden, 12 Apr. 1923, in materials in the authors' possession gathered from Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr.

29. Goochland County School Board Minutes, 4 Nov. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools. In July 1925, representatives from Caledonia School requested a new school building and were told to come up with a third of the money (see Goochland County School Board Minutes, 6 July 1925, Goochland County Public Schools). See also Thomas W. Hanchett, "Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 65 (1988): 415–16; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 7 Feb. 1927, Goochland County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 1 Dec. 1930, Goochland County Public Schools; "Written Report Showing Vital Elements of Progress Which Figures Can Not Adequately Disclose," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1917*, Library of Virginia. See also "Table No. 3–Part 5," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1917.*

30. "Annual Report of Supervisor Elementary Rural Schools For the Year Ending July 31, 1914," in the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914* (Richmond, 1916), 79. See also Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 184. The average length of the 1911–12 school term for white schools in Virginia was 138.4 days. The average term for white schools in Virginia for the 1912–13 term was 140.5 days. The average length of the 1913–14 school term for white schools in Virginia was 146.4. The term length for African American schools in Virginia remained stable for these years. In 1911–12 the average term length for African American schools in Virginia was 123.6. It dropped to 121.2 in 1912–13 and increased again to 123.1 in 1913–14 (see "Statistical Summaries—Other Than Financial: Fourth Summary: Number of Schools and Length of Session," in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914* [Richmond, 1916], 49). Superintendent Dickinson noted in his 1914 divisional annual report that African American patrons had contributed $46.80 toward "school [term] extension." See "Table No. 1," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1914*, Library of Virginia. See also Hanchett, "Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina," 411–16. Virginia had the highest percentage of black-owned farms in the South in 1920 (see Loren Schweninger, "A Vanishing Breed: Black Farm Owners in the South, 1651–1982," *Agricultural History* 63 [Summer 1989], 41–60).

31. Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 5, 9. James Dillard, a white educational reformer from Virginia, was closely associated with the latter foundations.

32. Booker T. Washington to Samuel A. Green, 21 Jan. 1904, folder 19, box 5, Peabody Education Fund Papers, Jean and Alexander Heard Library at Vanderbilt University Library Special Collections, Nashville. For Washington's continued efforts in this regard, see letters from Booker T. Washington to Dr. Samuel A. Green and to Richard Olney throughout 1904 and 1905 in folder 19, box 5, Peabody Education Fund Papers; Hoffschwelle, *Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, 25–26; Booker T. Washington Papers, containers 74–75, reel 68, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

33. This was similar to the argument made by the Negro Organization Society in Virginia (Booker T. Washington Papers, containers 74–75, reel 68, Library of Congress; Mary S. Hoffschwelle, *Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, 25–26). The Jeanes Fund also contributed toward teacher salaries for term extension. According to Washington, the local African American community raised about $20,000 toward school building and teacher salaries. One-teacher schools were common for African Americans and rural whites during this era, when one teacher in one-room schoolhouses often taught mixed grades.

34. See "Summary of Completed Buildings, June 30, 1932," folder 2, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives; Booker T. Washington Papers, containers 74–75, reel 68, Library of Congress; Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 153.

35. For a more detailed analysis of these philanthropic funds, the individuals involved, and the motivations behind them, see Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 11. For more detailed information about Julius Rosenwald's involvement in the program and the Washington-Rosenwald relationship, see Stephanie Deutsch, *You Need A Schoolhouse: Booker T. Washington, Julius Rosenwald, and the Building of Schools for the Segregated South* (Chicago, 2011).

36. James L. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 212–15, 225. Virginian James Dillard was influential in educational philanthropy in the first part of the twentieth century. He held positions as director of both the Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund.

37. This data is through June 1931. See "Summary of Completed Buildings, June 30, 1932," folder 2, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives. For more on Virginia, see *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 19 Nov. 1922, 19.

38. On the local level, county superintendents also filled out applications for Rosenwald aid provided by the State Department of Public Instruction. Each year, the Rosenwald Fund set specific funding amounts for each type of building. For example, for the 1927–28 term, the fund allotted a maximum of $200 for one-teacher schools, up to a maximum of $2,100 for a ten-teacher school (see "Plan for Distribution of Aid for Building Rural Schoolhouses," folder 1, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives). Anderson and Moss also discuss the position of State Supervisor of Negro Rural Schools (*Dangerous Donations*, 9).

39. See the *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland for school years 1917 through 1932*, Library of Virginia. For the year 1923–24, only one county in Virginia had a lower tax assessment (see the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the years 1917–1932*, Library of Virginia; Goochland County School Board Minutes for the years 1922 to 1932, Goochland County Public Schools). In 1923–24, four

counties tied with Goochland for the second lowest tax assessment in the state (see "School Levies as made by the Boards of Supervisors, for school purposes in the counties of the State for the session 1923–1924," in Goochland County School Reports, box 29, Library of Virginia State Records Center; Stuart Cottrell to "The Teachers of Seven Month School Term," 15 Apr. 1928, Goochland County School Reports, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center). In 1928, Goochland County schools were forced to close between ten days and two weeks early, depending on their regular term length. In 1930–31, the school system ran a $15,013.62 deficit ("Annual Budget From 1930–31," Goochland County School Reports, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center). See also Goochland County School Board Minutes, 6 July 1925, Goochland County Public Schools. At its 4 November 1929 meeting, the Goochland County School Board was told it either had to raise the school tax or close the schools. For a discussion of the school board appropriation to the building of Manakin Colored School, see Goochland County School Board Minutes, 2 June 1930, Goochland County Public Schools.

40. Goochland County School Board Minutes, 7 June 1926, Goochland County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 5 Nov. 1928, Goochland County Public Schools. See also notes 37 and 38. Hayden was appearing as the representative of Fauquier Training School, located in the county.

41. The African American community contributed $5,960. Private white contributions in Goochland County totaled $250. The Rosenwald Fund contributed $4,800, and state and local governments contributed $17,446. The two-teacher schools were Chapel Hill, First Union, Manakin, Providence, Randolph, and Second Union, and the one-teacher schools were Goochland, Miller, and Westview ("Chart," folder 27, box 343, Rosenwald Fund Archives). Dr. James H. Bowles, a graduate of Fauquier Training School, recalled that it was the largest building he had ever seen (Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013).

42. Sidney B. Hall to S. L. Smith, 2 Oct. 1931, and "Report on School Bus Transportation from July 1, 1929 to June 30, 1931," both in folder 3, box 336, Rosenwald Fund Archives.

43. School board minutes and petitions, Goochland County School Reports, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center.

44. Interview with Ruth Cooke Johnson, 4 Oct. 2013. Bowles himself recalled, "They [the activists] were something like the countywide PTA [Parent Teachers Association], I don't know if they called themselves [that] or not . . . and they pushed the county until they got it [bus transportation to Fauquier]" (Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013).

45. Goochland County School Board Minutes, 1 Apr. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 3 Sept. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 7 Oct. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools. Capitalization corrected in the original. At the 4 November 1929 Goochland County School Board meeting, the board agreed to lend the Fauquier patrons one of the school bus bodies that was not in use for transporting pupils. The board drew up a contract with the bus driver. The patrons contributed $40 toward this Fauquier bus route, matching the Rosenwald funds (Goochland School Board Minutes, 4 Nov. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools); "Disbursements," *The Annual Report of Goochland Public Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1929*, Goochland County School Records, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center.

46. Goochland County School Board Minutes, 2 Sept. 1930 and 13 Oct. 1930, Goochland

County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 2 Mar. 1931, Goochland County Public Schools. Dr. Louis Knight Leake was a county treasurer and medical doctor. He was a white man and was respected in the African American community (Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., conducted by Alyce Miller, 27 June 2014, at his home in Goochland County, Va.).

47. Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013.

48. Goochland School Board Minutes, 7 May 1927 and 2 Feb. 1931, Goochland County Public Schools. The 2 February 1931 Goochland County School Board minutes explain, "A colored committee consisting of A. Jefferson. S. M. Lynch, T. A. Daniel and G. W. Hayden came before the Board together with Mr. Smith, the commonwealth attorney, and requested some aid on [the] extension [of the] bus route to Fife [School]." See also Goochland School Board Minutes, 6 June 1927, Goochland County Public Schools; Goochland County School Board Minutes, 7 May 1928, Goochland County Public Schools; Interview with Dr. James H. Bowles, Sr., 4 Oct. 2013.

49. "Table No. 1," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1915*, Library of Virginia; "Table No. 1," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1916*, Library of Virginia; "Table No. 1," *Annual Report of Division Superintendent of Schools of Goochland County for School Year Closing June 30, 1917*, Library of Virginia; "Table 1 – Work of the Supervising Industrial Teachers in Colored Schools," *Bulletin State Board of Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1919*; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1917–1918* (Richmond, 1919), 56. Figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

50. "Statistical Summaries – Other Than Financial: Fourth Summary: Number of Schools and Length of Session," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914*, 49 (lengths of school terms were rounded to the nearest whole number); "Annual Report of Supervisor Elementary Rural Schools For the Year Ending July 31, 1914," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914*, 79. "A Letter from Mr. Gresham, negro supervisor for the state, was read in which he stated that the Fauquier training school would have to be run 8 months if the county received the $500 Slater Fund. It was passed at this time to run the Fauquier school eight months." From Goochland County School Board Minutes, 6 Dec. 1926, Goochland County Public Schools; "Number of Rooms and Average Term – Session 1928–29," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1928–29*, 109; "Number of Rooms and Average Term – Session 1929–30," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1929–30*, 130; "Number of Rooms and Average Term – Session 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1927–28*, 80.

51. Goochland County School Board Minutes, 26 July 1929 and 19 Aug. 1929, Goochland County Public Schools. Hart clearly recognized the commitment to education among African Americans in Virginia, and he had previously expressed concerns about the Great Migration. See "Negro Education for 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1927–28*, 35; "Number of Rooms and Average Term – Session 1931–32," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1931–32*, 144. This meant that both black and white schools in Goochland County

had terms of 160 days that year ("Number of Rooms and Average Term – Session 1932–33," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1932–33*, 143). Throughout the period covered here, the state declared its desire to improve instruction for black students, and this included lengthening school terms, so long as the changes did not incur too great an expense. Granting the county school board's 1929 request to shorten the African American school term in order to maintain a longer white school term would have negated the state's efforts to improve African American education (particularly rural education and at the encouragement of the northern philanthropic funds) (see Goochland County School Board minutes, Sept. 1929–Dec.1932, Goochland County Public Schools).

52. "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1932–33," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1932–33*, 165. The average annual teacher salary in Goochland County in 1911–12 was $323.35 for white teachers and $172.87 for black teachers. By 1912–13, this had increased to $339.05 for white teachers and $191.05 for black teachers, and by 1913–1914, the average annual salary for white teachers was $352.31, but for black teachers in Goochland County only $188.98. See "Statistical Summaries: Tenth Summary: Average Monthly Salaries," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914*, 52; "Census – Continued – Number of Teachers," Bulletin State Board of Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1919, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1917–1918*, 83; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1927–28*, 98; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1928–29," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1928–29*, 125; Letter to Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction Harris Hart, 22 Mar. 1929, folder 11, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1929–30," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1929–30*, 146; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1932–33," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1932–33*, 165; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1931–32," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1931–32*, 164; "Average Annual Salary of All Teachers – Session 1930–31," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1930–31*, 177. Moreover, teachers in cities typically earned more than those in counties, which added to the burden facing black educators in Goochland County. See "Statistical Summaries: Eleventh Summary: Average Annual Salaries," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1913–1914*, 52. In his annual report for 1927–28, the state superintendent of public instruction stated that one of the priorities for black education was "better salaries for many Negro teachers to keep them from leaving the State." See "Negro Education for 1927–28," *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Commonwealth of Virginia for 1927–28*, (Richmond, 1928), 35; "Leave It to Providence Says Walker," *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk), 5 May 1934, 9; Larissa M. Smith, "Where the South Begins: Black Politics and Civil Rights Activism in Virginia, 1930–1951" (Ph.D. diss, Emory University, 2001). See also Doxey A. Wilkerson, "The Negro School Movement in Virginia: From 'Equalization' to 'Integration,'" *Journal of Negro Education* 29 (1960): 17–18. Figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

53. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia With Accompanying Documents, School Year 1917–1918*, 52–53; Bulletin State Board of Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1919, Library of Virginia; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 19 Nov. 1922, 19.

54. "Virginia, Budget No. 3, Transportation of Students, 1929–1930," folder 11, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives. On the educational gap between blacks and whites in Virginia, see Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, 259.

55. See Chart, folder 27, box 343, Rosenwald Fund Archives; "A Decade of Increase in Schoolhouse Property for Negroes: 1920 and 1930," Rosenwald Fund Archives, folder 2, box 331; "Value of School Property in the South," Rosenwald Fund Archives, folder 2, box 331; "Disbursements," *Annual Report of Goochland Public Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1929*, Goochland County School Records, 1920–1961, box 30, Library of Virginia State Records Center; Goochland County, "Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Card File Database," http://rosenwald.fisk.edu/ (accessed 10 Dec. 2019); "Goochland County Survey of Public School Plants," Goochland County School Records, box 29, Library of Virginia State Records Center. There are some discrepancies in these reports as to when schools were built in the county. We have used the most often cited figures.

56. "A Decade of Increase in Schoolhouse Property for Negroes: 1920 and 1930," folder 2, box 331, Rosenwald Fund Archives.

57. "Table No. 1, A Decade of Increase in Schoolhouse Property for Negroes," folder 2, box 331; "Value of School Property in the South," folder 2, box 331; "Virginia," folder 2, box 76, all in Rosenwald Fund Archives.

58. The drop in illiteracy is likely the result of a combination of factors, including the passing of illiterate elders. However, research indicates that Rosenwald schools also played a role (see, for example, Daniel Aaronson and Bhashkar Mazumder, "The Impact of Rosenwald Schools on Black Achievement," *Journal of Political Economy* 119 [2011]: 849; Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*, 11). For comparison, the number of illiterate native-born whites in Goochland County who were at least ten years of age was 186 in 1910 and decreased to 74 by 1930 (see "Illiterate Negroes Ten Years of Age and Over" and "Illiterate Native Whites Ten Years of Age and Over" in University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, *Historical Census Browser*, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/ [accessed 29 Nov. 2014]).

59. For more on attendance rates and years completed, see Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 181–82; Robert A. Margo, *Race and Schooling in the South, 1880–1950: An Economic History* (Chicago, 2007), 15; Aaronson and Mazumder, "Impact of Rosenwald Schools on Black Achievement," 836.

60. Quotation is from McClure, "Rosenwald Schools in the Northern Neck," 142. On the NAACP, see Wilkerson, "Negro School Movement in Virginia," 18; *New Journal and Guide*, 26 June 1948, 3, and 29 Oct. 1949, 3.

61. Hall, "Long Civil Rights Movement," 1233–63; Harlan, *Separate and Unequal*, xii.