

1 | **JOAN MALCZEWSKI**

2 | “The Schools Lost Their Isolation”: Interest  
3 | Groups and Institutions in Educational  
4 | Policy Development in the Jim Crow South  
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14 | In early 1929, Mag Hanna, a teacher in Conway, Mississippi, wrote to John  
15 | Easom, the state agent for Negro education, to complain about local govern-  
16 | ment policies for rural black schools. The complaint was that the new county  
17 | superintendent was “cutting the colored schools short this term” and it in-  
18 | cluded a plea for help from the state agent to extend the school term because  
19 | “we as a race of people can not advance in education without a chance to do  
20 | so.”<sup>1</sup> The state agent responded that it would not be possible to remedy the sit-  
21 | uation for the whole county without the support of the white superintendent  
22 | and the “good white friends of Leake County,” but he did provide an applica-  
23 | tion to get money from the Rosenwald Fund to extend the school term if  
24 | money could be raised in the community toward the effort and teachers could  
25 | be guaranteed a minimum salary.<sup>2</sup> While it would seem impossible that anyone  
26 | outside of the local governing structure could be consulted on matters of edu-  
27 | cational policy in rural communities in the Jim Crow South, this teacher not  
28 | only protested but also bypassed the local government to get an application for  
29 | funding that could potentially have a significant impact on the county’s public  
30 | schools. In spite of their relative marginalization from state and local political  
31 | structures, rural black communities were able to participate in the develop-  
32 | ment of educational policy in the South. Public-private collaboration between  
33 | northern philanthropists and southern states promoted the development of an  
34 | educational infrastructure that provided institutional sites for that participa-  
35 | tion and the means to mitigate against the strength of local politics.  
36 |

1           In this article, I make two distinct contributions to the literature. The first  
2 is to the social science literature on organizational change, providing a more  
3 theoretical understanding of the ways in which rural blacks in the South, in  
4 spite of being isolated both geographically and through segregation, were  
5 able to establish links to political networks beyond their communities  
6 through schooling. The centralization of schools created the networks that  
7 rural communities needed to affect the public sphere. The second is that the use  
8 of a social science lens helps to reframe the historical literature on southern  
9 education and race by expanding definitions of black agency and the contri-  
10 butions of northern philanthropists. The more that schooling created links  
11 between rural communities and the political structure outside of them, the  
12 more rural blacks were able to participate in the development of policy. The  
13 dynamic effects of organizational change in the South are important to devel-  
14 oping the historical narrative.

15           W. E. B. Du Bois documented the central role that southern blacks played  
16 in promoting their own education, and historians have expanded on his work  
17 by providing considerable evidence of the quantity and quality of their con-  
18 tributions to reform.<sup>3</sup> These narratives show that teachers and community  
19 leaders were essential to educational development, and provide ample empiri-  
20 cal evidence that members of the black community served as both a catalyst  
21 and a force for reform. However, there has not been a social and historical  
22 account that transcends individual cases, documenting more fully the institu-  
23 tional means by which the success of individual leaders and by extension, the  
24 community, was promoted and sustained. Christine Woysner, in her study  
25 of the development of the national PTA, makes a similar case for the need to  
26 move beyond "local case histories that overlook translocal networks."<sup>4</sup>

27           In recent years, there has been a renewed focus on the relative strengths  
28 of policy history as a distinct disciplinary lens. Julian Zelizer described some  
29 of the advantages, including the ability to incorporate a broader range of  
30 actors into the historical narrative by exploring the dynamic relationship  
31 that exists between interest groups and institutions, and the possibility of  
32 exploring the temporal dimensions of social processes.<sup>5</sup> While policy and  
33 organizational frameworks can provide a fresh perspective on any number of  
34 established historical narratives, one area where this seems to be particularly  
35 true is in southern education, where educational policy was developed during  
36 Jim Crow in a dynamic process that included state and local governments,  
37 private interests, and disenfranchised southern blacks. Research on Jeanes  
38 teachers in the South, especially when considered through the theoretical  
lens of neo-institutionalism, provides evidence that schooling was an

1 important institutional venue for promoting more formal and substantive  
2 participation in policy and political development than has been documented  
3 in the literature.

4 The Jeanes Fund, established with a formal bequest by Anna T. Jeanes in  
5 1907, was to be applied for the sole purpose of “assisting and maintaining, in  
6 the southern United States, community, country and rural schools for the  
7 great class of negroes to whom the small rural community schools are alone  
8 available,” primarily through the appointment of supervising teachers in  
9 rural black communities.<sup>6</sup> This fund was one of a number of philanthropies  
10 that promoted educational reform in the South in the early twentieth century  
11 through collaborative relationships with state and local governments. The  
12 earliest of these, the Peabody and Slater Funds, were established in 1867 and  
13 1882, respectively, and funded a variety of projects. The Rosenwald Fund,  
14 established by Sears’ magnate Julius Rosenwald with initial gifts in 1912 and a  
15 formal endowment in 1917, is best known for its contributions toward the  
16 construction of school buildings, but also provided funding for a range of  
17 educational initiatives like school libraries. The General Education Board  
18 (GEB), funded by John D. Rockefeller Jr. in 1902, contributed to a range of  
19 initiatives and helped to coordinate and oversee the work of all the funds that  
20 were active in the South.<sup>7</sup>

21 There is a rich body of literature that explores this philanthropic work.  
22 James Anderson argued in *The Education of Blacks in the South* that the  
23 inability of reformers to reach consensus around competing conceptions of  
24 the relationship of education to the political economy of the South thwarted  
25 educational reform for decades.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent historians expanded the discus-  
26 sion, focusing more fully on issues of intentionality and its impact on reform,  
27 and asserted that the philanthropists provided relatively little funding for an  
28 agenda that promoted social injustice.<sup>9</sup> Most historians of southern education  
29 would be quick to point out that the intentions of the philanthropists with  
30 regard to southern blacks determined the infrastructure, built specifically for  
31 industrial education in which menial skills were promoted without academic  
32 focus, rather than a classical, liberal arts curriculum. Indeed, the literature  
33 has provided a compelling indictment of philanthropists and the negative  
34 effects of their funding program, even in the case of the Jeanes teachers, whose  
35 appointments were often intended by philanthropists and southerners alike  
36 to support industrial education.<sup>10</sup> The philanthropists have also been charac-  
37 terized as being part of one group and, indeed, the membership of their  
38 boards consisted of an interlocking directorate with some serving simulta-  
neously on all three. However, these philanthropists differed greatly in terms

1 of religion, geography, and business background and there were differences  
2 in the way each operated within the context of Progressive reform.<sup>11</sup> As such,  
3 it is important not to make sweeping generalizations about their work in the  
4 South, but rather to build on more recent work that has considered the effects  
5 of reform at the local level.<sup>12</sup> Organizational change is typically a dynamic  
6 process with both intended and unintended consequences.

7 Scholars of new institutionalism and American political development  
8 have provided theoretical frameworks to explain the role of interest groups  
9 and institutions in policy and political development, but typically do not  
10 provide a theoretical basis for understanding black agency during this time  
11 period.<sup>13</sup> For example, Elisabeth Clemens, in her exploration of marginalized  
12 groups in the Progressive Era, explicitly excludes rural blacks during this  
13 time period from her analysis as being too marginal.<sup>14</sup> They were isolated by  
14 the lack of a broader community, and efforts at community organization  
15 could have political consequences.<sup>15</sup> Robert Lieberman illustrates the mecha-  
16 nisms by which institutions embody and make real socially and politically  
17 constructed racial differences.<sup>16</sup> His work could support the conception of  
18 blacks as marginal to educational policy development in the South because  
19 educational institutions established by northern philanthropists were  
20 intended to sustain social and economic practices defined by the color line,  
21 incorporating blacks into policy initiatives like industrial education that were  
22 designed not to promote educational progress but to further embed blacks in  
23 the labor market.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, Jill Quadagno, in her case study on  
24 Medicare, illustrates that the state can be an effective mechanism for reducing  
25 racial inequality if four criteria are met: interest groups must be able to mobi-  
26 lize political resources, institutions that reproduce systems of oppression  
27 must be shifted from the private to the public sphere, the rules and conditions  
28 for the distribution of benefits must be designed to reinforce racial equality,  
29 and the benefits must be provided on a continuous and universal basis.<sup>18</sup> It  
30 would appear that the racist ideology of northern philanthropists and southern  
31 whites was too pervasive for any of these criteria to be met with regard to  
32 educational equality.

33 These adverse conditions certainly limited the extent to which rural  
34 blacks could participate in policy development, and it would be overstating it  
35 to claim that blacks were able to mobilize in a significant way during this time  
36 period. However, rural blacks did participate in education policy and reform.  
37 First, a review of the southern reform process in education reveals that at the  
38 local level, black reformers were able to organize with the imprimatur of  
whites when it was based in the context of industrial education. As such, rural

1 blacks were able to replicate the organizational repertoires of schooling with  
2 impunity, similar to the process that Clemens describes.<sup>19</sup> This form of orga-  
3 nizing provided rural blacks with opportunities to participate in discussions  
4 about educational policy, and to promote their own vision for educational  
5 reform as part of a broader group of political actors with competing visions  
6 for change.

7 Second, while many rural black communities sought to retain control  
8 over their local schools, both public and private, the Jeanes teachers facili-  
9 tated the increased bureaucratization of schooling and promoted its centrali-  
10 zation in southern states. While the South can be defined by its localism,  
11 schooling helped to link black communities to the political and social struc-  
12 ture outside their communities, helping to overcome the extent to which the  
13 local nature of the political system, especially in education, has often been to  
14 the detriment of racial equality. Recent scholarship has shown that strong  
15 political institutions are essential to the relationship between civil society and  
16 democracy, and that localism did much to promote and sustain discrimina-  
17 tion and inequality in education.<sup>20</sup>

18 Finally, in those regions of the South where it was possible to shift schools  
19 more to a public sphere through state centralization, the Jeanes teachers were  
20 able both to mobilize political resources and promote universal education.  
21 Quadagno has shown that inequality can be reduced when decisions about  
22 the distribution of resources are brought into the public sphere and institu-  
23 tional arrangements that sustain oppression are transformed.<sup>21</sup> In the case of  
24 education, the transfer of resources from private to public did not directly  
25 lead to a redistribution of power or resources, because the public sphere was  
26 dominated by a local racial state.<sup>22</sup> However, the Jeanes program provided  
27 avenues for integrating more local institutions into the public sphere so that  
28 they could be regulated by the state, and in doing so, sought over time to  
29 reconstruct the public sphere. Schooling provided opportunities for community  
30 organizing, expanding political opportunities and the development of shared  
31 cognitions about education among members of the black community, factors  
32 that are crucial to the more formal insurgency that would later develop.<sup>23</sup>  
33 The centralization of schools was a precondition for any of the criteria that  
34 Quadagno outlines. This transfer of the educational infrastructure more fully  
35 to the public sphere ultimately affected the path dependency of racial incor-  
36 poration that Lieberman describes.

37 It has not always been the case that shifting institutions from the private  
38 to the public sphere will be beneficial to oppressed groups.<sup>24</sup> For rural blacks,  
the development of a centralized public school system that diminished local

1 control and with its efforts by communities to improve their own schools  
2 could be detrimental to progress. Historians have noted the number of high-  
3 quality private institutions for southern blacks that were converted to public  
4 schools that focused on industrial education or were closed down altogether  
5 in the name of educational progress. The willingness of the GEB to allow  
6 numerous institutions of varying quality to close has been viewed by many as  
7 evidence of their commitment to industrial education as a first priority and of  
8 the negative effects of centralization. However, from a more narrowly defined  
9 goal of institution building, the conversion of private academies into county  
10 training schools also helped to institutionalize a greater number of schools  
11 extending into higher grades and substantially increased the public system.  
12 While it is valid to argue that centralization might take away from the power  
13 that blacks were able to yield over their neighborhood schools, a principal  
14 cost of devolving power to small local units in the American state has been  
15 the tendency to place policymaking in the hands of oppressive local major-  
16 ities, typically to the detriment of the black community.<sup>25</sup>

17 One interesting way to gauge the benefits of the institutionalization and  
18 centralization of public schooling in the South is to consider the work of  
19 the Jeanes teachers. The process of historicizing educational reform by time  
20 period in the South is complicated. Reform in one rural community would  
21 not be matched in another within the same period, despite coexisting in time  
22 and space. However, while progress was not linear and consistent, it did  
23 evolve over the period beginning with the appointment of the first Jeanes  
24 teacher in Virginia in 1909, and ending just as New Deal policies and war  
25 mobilization began to take effect. While the work of the Jeanes teachers has  
26 been discussed in the literature, it is useful to consider empirical evidence  
27 through the lens of social science theory in order to reconstruct the narrative  
28 of southern education, and in particular the role of schools.

29 Southern blacks faced a formidable challenge. Political development in  
30 the South was complicated by the strength of partisan politics, the hegemony  
31 of the planter class, a relatively weak state and local bureaucracy, and the  
32 racial politics that defined the social structure. A central feature is that sec-  
33 tional interests, often defended in terms of states' rights, were strong determi-  
34 nants of policy development.<sup>26</sup> The development of a state system of public  
35 schooling in the South required a long process of building the organizational  
36 capacity necessary to the developing educational system, and this process was  
37 facilitated by an array of public-private collaborations that took place between  
38 northern philanthropists and southern states, including programs such as  
State Agents for Negro education, county training schools, teacher training

1 programs, a philanthropic mode of giving that provided funding that both  
2 coexisted with state and local budgets and operated discretely, and the Jeanes  
3 teachers.<sup>27</sup> These operated in parallel fashion to existing political systems and  
4 provided the institutional venues necessary for both philanthropists and  
5 rural blacks to promote goals.<sup>28</sup> Public-private collaboration has increasingly  
6 been a focus of scholars of American political development and scholars are  
7 looking much earlier in American history to consider the relationship  
8 between collaboration and the development of the American political  
9 system.<sup>29</sup> The public schools that developed from this collaboration served as  
10 an institutional site for rural blacks to engage in reform and challenge the  
11 political structure of the South at the state and local levels.

12 However, the issue of local control and states rights created strict param-  
13 eters around policy development. State centralization of schooling, as defined  
14 by compulsory schooling, public support and taxation, and state regulations  
15 and oversight, occurred over time in the South, with some regions making  
16 progress relatively earlier than others. The average year for enacting compul-  
17 sory schooling was 1912 in the South as compared to 1870 in the North, and  
18 typically there were no measures in the South guaranteeing enforcement,  
19 with school terms in some areas tied to agricultural cycles well into the  
20 1930s.<sup>30</sup> The total budget for public schooling was significantly smaller in the  
21 South, with little incentive to generate greater revenues, especially at the local  
22 level.<sup>31</sup> The assignation of state funds to white county officials to allocate as  
23 they wished and the dearth of legislated local taxes ensured that local com-  
24 munities would fight for scarce resources, which were distributed to benefit  
25 white schools first.<sup>32</sup> The Rosenwald director for southern schools described  
26 this problem in 1930: "I notice that about one-third of your [Mississippi]  
27 counties spend less on Negro education than they receive from the state for  
28 Negro education."<sup>33</sup> A report about South Carolina was similar. "At the end of  
29 the first quarter of the century . . . whites represent 55 per cent of the total  
30 enrollment but receive 95 per cent of the total appropriation for current  
31 expenses leaving 5 per cent for the Negro enrollment constituting 45 per cent."<sup>34</sup>  
32 Another report concluded, "The cause for this very disadvantageous situa-  
33 tion has been attributed to various reasons, but the principal one is that the  
34 available funds for school purposes are too limited to maintain the dual  
35 system of schools up to the standard the whites desire for themselves and  
36 neither the legal injunctions nor the common justice involved is sufficient to  
37 protect the interests of the politically powerless group of Negroes."<sup>35</sup> Racial  
38 politics and the nature of political development in the South created a land-  
scape that affected the development of policy in every domain, including the

1 school curriculum, which was based on the Hampton model of industrial  
2 education.

3 This was a context in which blacks were clearly excluded from the social  
4 and political structure, and one in which merely providing additional re-  
5 sources or reallocating existing resources would not sufficiently redress their  
6 grievances. As one report explained, the situation facing southern blacks with  
7 regard to schooling "can be alleviated only through a change of attitude on  
8 the part of southern legislators, organization of Negro teachers and princi-  
9 pals, and an influx of highly trained Negroes. . . . With this, however, the most  
10 potent necessity is a larger participation on the part of Negroes in the govern-  
11 ment of the states, through the exercises of the franchise."<sup>36</sup> Disenfranchise-  
12 ment meant that normal avenues to political power in the South were not  
13 open, options were restricted, and action was likely to invite repression. How-  
14 ever, public-private collaboration, especially the appointment of a Jeanes  
15 teacher, provided an important means for rural blacks to participate.

16 The first Jeanes teacher was appointed in 1909 in Virginia and the  
17 appointments increased over subsequent decades. The GEB made an effort to  
18 appoint a teacher only in those counties where a significant portion of the  
19 population was black, or where more than ten black teachers were employed,  
20 with only 804 of the 1,415 counties considered eligible as late as 1933.<sup>37</sup> Of the  
21 total counties, however, 213 counties (15 percent) employed these teachers  
22 by 1919, 354 (25 percent) by 1930, and 390 (28 percent) by 1935.<sup>38</sup> However,  
23 the appointment of a teacher in one county might also influence changes  
24 in neighboring counties where no teacher was appointed. Reports from  
25 Kentucky discussed four Jeanes teachers who had organized sixty-four clubs,  
26 providing instruction to about 600 mothers and girls, resulting in the hire of  
27 additional supervising industrial teachers in McLean, Bourbon, and Madison  
28 Counties.<sup>39</sup> They were selected and hired by the county superintendent and  
29 were to report to that office on a daily basis, with a part of their salary paid  
30 through the county tax funds in order to receive funding from the Jeanes  
31 Foundation.<sup>40</sup> In order to be successful in these positions, the teachers had to  
32 answer to multiple constituencies, and ensure the support of local whites. The  
33 Jeanes teachers truly were "double agents" as Ann Chirhart has described  
34 them, serving not only metaphorically between two cultural ideals but also  
35 literally as experts on the payroll of northern philanthropists, who answered  
36 daily to local whites.<sup>41</sup> Both the teachers and the organizations that they cre-  
37 ated had the imprimatur of the white community, insofar as it typically pro-  
38 vided at least some of the funding for these positions, expecting them to result  
in community improvement and a commitment to industrial education.

1 Jackson Davis was appointed by the GEB to serve as the first state agent  
2 for Negro education in Virginia, where he hired the first Jeanes teacher in  
3 Henrico County in 1909. Davis outlined the importance of these positions to  
4 the achievement of industrial education as a defining feature of rural black  
5 education. He explained that whites would be willing to lift their objection to  
6 public schooling for rural blacks if philanthropists could “adjust the training  
7 of the negro to his needs,” based upon the Hampton model of industrial  
8 education, rather than a more liberal arts curriculum that might make them  
9 “dissatisfied with their environments.”<sup>42</sup>

10 We must select a qualified well-trained negro teacher to supervise  
11 the rural schools in each county, and introduce the particular kinds  
12 of industrial and agricultural work that may be practical and useful  
13 to each particular locality. . . . The average negro teacher is . . . ambi-  
14 tious to use many books, and to teach the so-called “higher branches.”  
15 The supervising teacher will prevent this mistake by showing the  
16 teachers how to connect the school with the child’s everyday life  
17 through simple forms of industrial work, and by planning a course  
18 of study and work that will fit them for a useful and happy life in  
19 their own community.<sup>43</sup>  
20

21 The first circular letter from the Jeanes Fund to these teachers throughout the  
22 South explained that work would focus on both schools and communities and  
23 would vary by place, and then suggested that teachers keep in regular contact  
24 with schools officials, be willing to help fellow teachers, assist in organizing  
25 the people of the community into associations for self-help, cooperate with  
26 the minister or ministers of the community, and introduce industrial work.<sup>44</sup>

27 The early reports from the Jeanes teachers indicated that community  
28 organizing was an important part of their work. Most teachers reported orga-  
29 nizing mothers’ clubs, homemakers’ clubs, girls’ clubs, boys’ clubs, and other  
30 types of agricultural clubs. A teacher in Fulton County, Georgia, reported  
31 that there was a homemakers’ club in every school, but that yard and garden  
32 committees were also formed with their own officers, meeting every Friday  
33 afternoon.<sup>45</sup> The Summary of Reports for 1914–15 in Georgia noted that in  
34 19 counties comprised of 533 schools, the Jeanes teachers visited 1,588 homes,  
35 formed 101 parents’ clubs, and organized 1,020 girls into canning clubs and  
36 563 boys into corn clubs.<sup>46</sup> The Jeanes teacher in Leake County, Mississippi,  
37 recognized the value of these groups when she responded to a question  
38 about the “special things” she had set out to do during the year and noted the  
“organization of people in the various communities into groups.”<sup>47</sup>

1       The Jeanes teacher from Madison County, Kentucky, described his plans  
2 for community clubs.

3       I begin today to organize in every school district in Madison a  
4 “Negro Women’s Homemakers” Club for the purpose of promoting  
5 domestic industry and domestic economy among the colored women  
6 and girls of Madison County. Each Club shall meet once a month at  
7 the Public School House, which thus becomes the social center of the  
8 district. Members will be required to wear at each meeting a simple  
9 and inexpensive uniform, consisting of a white cap and apron. Every  
10 club will be furnished with blanks on which to record each thing  
11 done by the members to beautify the home, to preserve food for  
12 family use, and to increase the scope of domestic activity.”<sup>48</sup>

13  
14 Like voluntary organizations, these school-based clubs were nonprofit, pro-  
15 vided mutual aid, regularly enacted rituals stressing shared values and iden-  
16 tities, and performed genuinely “civic” functions in that they participated in  
17 public occasions, in support of education and community service, and in  
18 legislative and policy campaigns.<sup>49</sup> There is considerable evidence that black  
19 citizens participated in voluntary associations early in the century, especially  
20 the extent to which they embraced fraternal organizations and the church,  
21 and there was significant interest in joining these school-based organizations  
22 as evidenced by the number of citizens who were enrolled.<sup>50</sup> The clubs were  
23 funded by northern philanthropists, primarily through salary support for the  
24 Jeanes teachers, and also with contributions for extension work by Smith-  
25 Lever funding from the federal government. While the teacher was often paid  
26 for an extra month or two of work beyond the school year, clubs were orga-  
27 nized year around.

28       Southern whites often had little interest in school-based organizations  
29 and provided more cursory oversight. The state agent in Mississippi discussed  
30 the twenty-three Jeanes teachers appointed in that state in 1925, acknowl-  
31 edging that they are given “only a minimum amount of time which, of course,  
32 is a regret to us.”<sup>51</sup> The teachers, who had little day-to-day oversight, could do  
33 far more than that asked of them. The use of organizational forms linked to a  
34 more traditional model of schooling that was intended by many southern  
35 whites to ensure the place of blacks as a laboring class in the South allowed  
36 rural blacks to secure a public presence in conversations about education,  
37 and helped to establish them as political actors. It was this latter role that  
38 provided significant latitude for mobilizing the black community both with  
regard to educational reform and beyond.

1 A teacher in Georgia reported that she had “successfully brought  
2 [teachers] together in frank discussion of their problems in a series of monthly  
3 meetings, which culminated in field day and joint commencement. These fea-  
4 tures brought together trustees and patrons and also marked the beginning of  
5 countywide interest in schools and their problems.”<sup>52</sup> Most teachers orga-  
6 nized commencement exercises and other school-based venues that would  
7 communicate their work to the black community, but showcase it to local  
8 whites. In Alabama in 1916, “Little fairs and exhibits were held in many com-  
9 munities, to which the public, both white and colored, came. The co-operation  
10 of leading white people has been no small factor in making the club work a  
11 decided success.”<sup>53</sup> These organizations promoted rural uplift and community  
12 cooperation, which promoted successive change.<sup>54</sup> The organizational reper-  
13 toires of schooling, which was assumed by whites to be based primarily in an  
14 industrial training context, was not only perceived as nonthreatening to  
15 southern whites, but it was supported by them. While this created strict  
16 parameters around the behavior of the black community in policy settings, it  
17 also provided them with opportunities to engage within and beyond their  
18 communities. Indeed, Woyshner illustrates the extent to which the segre-  
19 gated black PTA was also able to participate within the national PTA and get  
20 considerable organizational power from it, because both groups promoted  
21 shared ideals of child welfare and parent education making black participa-  
22 tion seem nonthreatening.<sup>55</sup>

23 When local citizens coalesced around rural and industrial education  
24 themes, these groups also could enhance literacy, share news, and promote  
25 more academic endeavors. In Noxabee County, Mississippi, the teacher  
26 reported that thirty of sixty-three county schools had been visited, and “at the  
27 homemaker club meetings, newspapers are read and reports made.”<sup>56</sup> The  
28 Jeanes teacher in Spartanburg, South Carolina, wrote in her annual letter to  
29 the county teachers in 1919: “Realizing the need of our country’s service and  
30 the great demand for efficient leadership, I know that you have entered into  
31 the year’s work with an aim to make your school a community center and to  
32 use every educational force to encourage thrift, economy, and patriotism.”<sup>57</sup>  
33 Health and homemaking not only brought the community together but also  
34 promoted education and linked the community to values beyond local con-  
35 cerns. It became evident to state agents early on that community organiza-  
36 tions established by these teachers could have considerable influence and  
37 reach. The state agent for black education in North Carolina was explicit in  
38 his 1918 letter to teachers. “Organize in every community where possible  
clubs of girls and women in groups of ten to twenty, and urge food producing

1 and food saving. . . [This] may help next fall in organizing many permanent  
2 Leagues for the promotion of all phases of real community work—schools,  
3 health, food, better homes, war-work, etc.”<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the Jeanes teachers were  
4 expected to mobilize these groups for a range of social policy initiatives,  
5 including tuberculosis and vaccination campaigns, the war effort, and other  
6 goals determined outside of the black community. However, community  
7 building was a dynamic enterprise, providing a platform around which citizens  
8 could come together, at the same time that it provided opportunities to share  
9 information and exchange ideas.

10 Teacher reports to the philanthropists focused on the campaign for  
11 school and community improvement, which would ensure support from  
12 local whites, and often did so using the language of the industrial training  
13 curriculum that was promoted by both northern philanthropists and southern  
14 whites. However, while teachers assumed the task asked of them, community  
15 organizing provided a venue to raise funds to support the expansion of  
16 schooling, increasing bureaucratization and moving small local schools into  
17 the more public sphere through consolidation and state centralization.  
18 A summary report for October 1923 of the Alabama Jeanes teachers detailed  
19 supervision in 995 schools in the state, 218 mothers’ clubs enrolling 1,744  
20 members, and 1,509 parent-teacher associations. Within these groups, \$5,309  
21 in private funding was raised to support the addition of school buildings, the  
22 extension of the school term, and an increase in teacher salaries.<sup>59</sup> Jackson  
23 Davis reported on work in Virginia in 1916, noting that “the first efforts of the  
24 colored people after they have been organized into School Improvement  
25 Leagues has been to get equipment and a decent schoolhouse. After this has  
26 been done, the next step is to lengthen the term.”<sup>60</sup>

27 The existence of public-private collaboration between philanthropists  
28 and southern states provided important opportunities for rural blacks to par-  
29 ticipate in policy development, often circumventing the local political struc-  
30 ture. It was not uncommon for arrangements with northern philanthropists  
31 to be initiated by the black community. In Pickens County, South Carolina,  
32 the Jeanes teacher described the process by which a Rosenwald School had  
33 been constructed:

34  
35 One day while reading a Christian Index Journal I noticed a head-  
36 line “Better Rural Schools.” . . . Where Mr. Julius Rosenwald was  
37 deeply interested in Better Negro School buildings and would give  
38 dollar for dollar in the erection of modern negro school buildings.  
I wrote him immediately for further information. He referred me to

1 Mr. C. J. Calloway, Rosenwald's Agent. . . . From him I received all  
2 needed information. Filled with encouragement I began to advertise  
3 my project. . . . I tried to organize a school improvement association.  
4 I succeeded with three men and four women. The men were afraid  
5 to venture, so I had to assume all the responsibility. I bought two  
6 acres of land at a cost of \$50.00. With my school improvement asso-  
7 ciation we planned a school rally and raised \$62.00. This paid for the  
8 land, which was encouraging.<sup>61</sup>

9 Like the introductory story about Conway, Mississippi, this teacher was also  
10 able to bypass the local government structure to extend the school term and  
11 promote minimum salaries for teachers. Once the funds were collected in the  
12 community, and there was some agreement from philanthropists to provide a  
13 budget, it would be difficult for the county to deny the extension or revoke it  
14 at a later date, thereby institutionalizing the goals of the black community.  
15 The gender dynamics are equally interesting. Women were often able to have  
16 greater success in organizing schools because they were perceived as non-  
17 threatening by local whites, especially given their role within the context of  
18 schooling. As the example illustrates, this point was not lost on the black  
19 community. It was also clear to philanthropists, who explicitly sought women  
20 to serve in these positions. Their view was supported by state agents like John  
21 Ellis in Mississippi, who wrote to the GEB in 1916 regarding this issue. "I con-  
22 cur heartily in the opinion that women, as a rule, are capable of doing more  
23 effective work than men. My experience in Lauderdale County and my obser-  
24 vation during the past few weeks thoroughly convinces me of this fact, and  
25 I am wondering if it would be advisable to go any further than recommend  
26 the employment of women in preference to men for this work."<sup>62</sup>

27  
28 Almost every report from the Jeanes teachers included the amount  
29 of funds raised, typically through community organizations, to support the  
30 creation of organizational capacity. The double taxation of black commu-  
31 nities to support schools was a grossly unfair policy that was both encouraged  
32 and managed by the county Jeanes teacher, usually under the direction and  
33 encouragement of the funders and the state agents. However, it also helped to  
34 ensure that the agenda of the black community would become institutional-  
35 ized in local communities. As the infrastructure grew and public sentiment  
36 toward education evolved, it would be more difficult to take away these gains.  
37 As one GEB report stated, "It has been the policy of the Board gradually to  
38 withdraw support of activities in public education after having demonstrated  
the value of these activities, and to let the public school funds assume the

1 support of such activities."<sup>63</sup> The unjust tactic of using double taxation to  
 2 prove "Negro self-help" was one that contributed in significant ways to both  
 3 building and sustaining the infrastructure, creating an alternate revenue  
 4 stream, managed by the state agent and the local Jeanes teacher. Over time, as  
 5 organizational capacity grew, the ability of local partisan politicians to limit  
 6 the development of educational opportunities for local blacks was lessened.

7 While rural blacks were denied access to local party organizations, they  
 8 developed instead cooperative ties between community school-based organi-  
 9 zations and the state agents and private agencies that might promote their  
 10 needs. This, in turn, helped to displace political parties in local communities  
 11 as the critical component with regard to the development of educational  
 12 policy. The archives contain many examples of rural black citizens and  
 13 teachers who corresponded directly with northern philanthropists and their  
 14 agents, which in turn provided access to state educational organizations. One  
 15 incident from Mississippi is particularly instructive as reported by the state  
 16 agent. The newly elected state superintendent of schools in 1935 had little  
 17 experience with rural black schools,

18 knew practically nothing about them . . . [and] for months had not  
 19 time to get out and visit Negro schools. . . . At once, a group of Negro  
 20 leaders in the State were contacted. It was suggested to them that they  
 21 ask for a conference with the new State Superintendent at the Vicksburg  
 22 Negro school. . . . The State Agent and the State Superintendent and  
 23 his wife . . . [visited] the Field Day exhibit of the Jeanes teacher of that  
 24 county . . . [and] . . . became enthusiastic in his support of the Negro  
 25 work. The following year he arranged for State funds to be given to  
 26 the counties as a part of the salaries of the Jeanes Teachers."<sup>64</sup>

27  
 28 In the Harmony Consolidated Schools in Mississippi, a request had been  
 29 made to the Rosenwald Fund to lengthen the school term, but it was denied  
 30 because teachers there did not earn a minimum of \$50 per month. At the  
 31 urging of the Rosenwald director for southern schools, the state agent agreed  
 32 to provide funds that were not locally available to increase teacher salaries so  
 33 that private funds would be forthcoming to extend the school term, and then  
 34 sent a letter to the superintendent of Harmony Schools informing him of the  
 35 funded initiative.<sup>65</sup> A similar incident was reported in Virginia when the state  
 36 agent for black schools contacted the superintendent in Center Cross to  
 37 initiate reform, the result of a letter and accompanying petitions that had  
 38 been received from a black resident requesting that a county training school  
 be established.<sup>66</sup>

1 One notable example provides further evidence of the extent to which  
2 public-private collaboration and schooling could connect local communities  
3 to the political structures outside their local arena. The Alabama agent for the  
4 Rosenwald Fund reminisced about his experiences building schools. He  
5 recalled a visit to the town of Bexar, a small village with almost two hundred  
6 black children in Marion County. The residents there “represented a class of  
7 old settlers left over from slavery days, and they had made but little if any  
8 progress at all educationally or other wise. Some of them had never seen a  
9 state man or one who represented the ‘higher ups’ as they called us.” He  
10 explained that he was able to persuade them to try to build a school with the  
11 help of the Rosenwald Fund, in spite of being “at a loss when we told them  
12 they would have to raise seven hundred dollars. That sounded like a million  
13 to them.”<sup>67</sup> However, they were successful in their efforts and a county training  
14 school was established.

15 Schooling also provided an institutional means for private interests to  
16 influence rural communities directly, again circumventing the local political  
17 structure. In 1932, Jackson Davis approved an allocation of \$2,080 to continue  
18 the work of the “Negro Organization Society [which] has done, and is doing,  
19 valuable work in improving the Negro rural schools of Virginia. The Society  
20 organizes local leagues in the counties and in the different schools and stim-  
21 ulates the people to provide needed equipment for the schools and assist in  
22 bringing about better cooperation between parents and teachers.” The Jeanes  
23 teacher and county agricultural agent in Madison County, Tennessee,  
24 described events in Ingram, where a member of the county board and a  
25 prominent black citizen had opposed the building of a school, and in Atwater,  
26 where white residents had opposed a new school. “The County Board refused  
27 to act against the wishes of the white people objecting. . . . I heard the action  
28 of the people and got in touch with the Inter-Racial Secretary. We called a  
29 meeting in the community . . . and [the secretary] put squarely before the  
30 white committee the attitude of certain white residents in the Atwater com-  
31 munity and the attitude of the County Board toward the Rosenwald building  
32 program. . . . The buildings in both communities are completed and are now  
33 in use.”<sup>68</sup> In this example, this rural black community was given access to the  
34 Inter-Racial Cooperating Committee, which operated throughout the South  
35 to promote racial cooperation, and was essential to success in Ingram.

36 The GEB acknowledged after just a decade of Jeanes teacher appoint-  
37 ments that if support for the Jeanes program was withdrawn, the “building of  
38 new schoolhouses, the improvement of teachers, and school improvement  
activities would be seriously hampered. . . . It is more than a coincidence that

1 the sixty percent of the counties of the South ranked by state agents as strong  
2 in negro education have Jeanes agents . . . and that an examination of the map  
3 of the southern states shows that in sections of the South where Rosenwald  
4 buildings are thickest, Jeanes agents in considerable numbers are also found.”<sup>69</sup>  
5 This may be merely illustrative of greater willingness in these communities to  
6 promote reform as evidenced by the hiring of a teacher in the first place.  
7 However, white reformers and superintendents often wanted these teachers  
8 for reasons that were anything but academic, which created a perception that  
9 these community-based organizations had little power. For example, in 1915  
10 the state agent for black schools in North Carolina reported on a school visit  
11 to discuss the Jeanes program: “Supt. Blair was so much interested in reports  
12 of work done in other counties, he stated that he was going to get a barrel  
13 or more of lime for each of his negro schools, get the government recipe for  
14 making whitewash, then get his principals to urge the negro residents to  
15 whitewash their houses and premises, the schools, furnishing to each a buck-  
16 etful or more of whitewash to do the work. Both these superintendents are  
17 anxious to have a supervisor.”<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the state agent in Georgia reported  
18 in 1914 that more than six hundred boys and girls were members of home-  
19 making clubs and the work had advanced far beyond expectations. “If the  
20 Negro is a resource of the State, and he is, why should he not be made as prof-  
21 itable resource as he may be? He is susceptible of training, since he can think,  
22 remember, will, and act, and it is only reasonable to think that he can be made  
23 a larger resource for good than he is.”<sup>71</sup>

24 The infrastructure that was promoted was not value-free and the limita-  
25 tions of the industrial training curriculum were clear. However, it is not clear  
26 how pervasive this curriculum was, even in schools overseen by experts who  
27 were paid with philanthropic funds.<sup>72</sup> In a fully segregated school system  
28 where local whites, even those involved with schooling, often cared little  
29 about black education, it is unlikely that there was significant, effective over-  
30 sight of the curriculum in rural classrooms. With regard to Progressive  
31 reforms in general, the dynamic nature of organizational change required  
32 that experts employed often compromise ideals or act upon competing ideals  
33 in order to create an effective organizational structure.<sup>73</sup> The Jeanes teachers  
34 and the organizations that they established ended up having considerable  
35 control over what actually was taught in the schools and in some states played  
36 a role in developing a state curriculum.

37 A set of 1919 reports from teachers across the South noted industrial  
38 training in almost every entry and also included a significant amount of  
information that mitigates against believing that it was pervasive. In Mitchell

1 County, Georgia, it was reported that there were forty-seven schools, and  
 2 twenty that included work in industrial training.<sup>74</sup> In this example, similar to  
 3 others across the South, it appears that at first glance there was real progress  
 4 in implementing an industrial training curriculum. However, in reality, less  
 5 than half of the schools participated, and for those that did, it is not clear what  
 6 it meant to “include work in industrial training.” A notable example was  
 7 reported from Georgia in 1924, where the GEB visited various county schools  
 8 and noted concern regarding the lack of industrial work: “One of the schools  
 9 had no industrial work, and at least two of the schools are teaching Latin. . . .  
 10 A loom was found still crated in one school, and in another school no use had  
 11 ever been made of the loom provided. It appears that no one feels charged  
 12 with the duty of giving these schools very close supervision.”<sup>75</sup>

13 Progress for the philanthropists was measured by success at the state and  
 14 local level, and those states in the Upper South made considerable progress  
 15 toward the development of a centralized system of public schooling before  
 16 those states in the Deep South.<sup>76</sup> The array of relationships that developed  
 17 regionally has potentially enormous implications for black agency, civil  
 18 rights, and the institutionalization of education as part of state political devel-  
 19 opment. Historians and sociologists have sought greater understanding of the  
 20 impetus for social movements and have considered specifically the role of  
 21 interest groups and institutions.<sup>77</sup> Public schooling in the South, especially as  
 22 it developed through public-private collaboration, played a stronger role in  
 23 mobilizing interest groups than has been recognized and, in that regard, was  
 24 particularly important to rural blacks.

25 Regional histories illustrate that local context had significant impact on  
 26 the role of both black and white interest groups.<sup>78</sup> Matthew Lassiter describes  
 27 a divided white South that included groups of “white moderates” in the sub-  
 28 urban Sunbelt. In Virginia, for example, more moderate white parents orga-  
 29 nized to prioritize the maintenance of public schools over efforts to resist  
 30 desegregation.<sup>79</sup> In states like Alabama and Mississippi, however, whites made  
 31 every effort to create a singular response to desegregation and organized  
 32 groups like Citizens Councils to promote massive resistance.<sup>80</sup> The strength of  
 33 massive resistance tended to be greater in the Deep South, and had a signifi-  
 34 cant impact on the ability of rural blacks and more moderate whites in those  
 35 regions to mobilize.<sup>81</sup> These regional differences had an impact on the form  
 36 that public-private partnerships took in the South and the role that rural  
 37 blacks had within them.

38 Social reform for southern blacks in Virginia and in North Carolina has  
 been seen less as an effort to ensure equality and more as a means to provide

1 limited reforms that would reduce racial tension. Through a form of "managed  
2 race relations," whites supported segregation and disenfranchisement but  
3 rejected the rigid oppression and violence characteristic of the Deep South,  
4 instead providing a certain amount of black education and economic uplift  
5 with the expectation of complete deference.<sup>82</sup> In these areas, whites created  
6 paternalistic organizations that would ensure the continuance of Jim Crow  
7 while simultaneously promoting limited reform and better race relations.<sup>83</sup> In  
8 this regard, states like Virginia might have been eager to delegate responsi-  
9 bility to philanthropic organizations, and both groups might have encour-  
10 aged the participation of rural blacks as a means of addressing the  
11 communities' grievances in a managed and limited way.<sup>84</sup> The Jeanes pro-  
12 gram was one important manifestation of the collaboration that existed  
13 between the public and private entities. As the Virginia state supervisor of  
14 black schools pointed out in 1919, "There is undoubtedly a very general feeling  
15 among the people that the splendid patriotism of the Negroes is deserving of  
16 some recognition and while financial limitations may stand in the way of our  
17 doing much that we would like to do, yet in increasing the efficiency of the  
18 work of this group of women we have a chance to make a very large contribu-  
19 tion to the progress of the Negroes at a relatively slight increase of cost."<sup>85</sup>  
20 Indeed, between 1924 and 1927, the total number of teachers actually decreased  
21 in the states of the Deep South from 123 to 104 but increased in the remaining  
22 states from 178 to 203.<sup>86</sup> Significant progress was made in Kentucky, where the  
23 superintendent of public instruction in 1929 called for a "relaxation of the  
24 Jeanes program of separate supervision of colored schools with a program of  
25 general supervision of all schools within a local (county) jurisdiction, all  
26 getting the services of the same supervisors."<sup>87</sup>

27 While an important element of the reform agenda was the creation of a  
28 trained and certified teaching force that was in line with the industrial  
29 training agenda early on, by the 1930s expectations in those areas of the South  
30 in which greater centralization had been achieved were more consistently  
31 aligned with a call for greater academic training, especially for certification  
32 purposes. In 1927, the North Carolina State Superintendent of Education  
33 wrote to the GEB for funding, noting:

34  
35 Elementary schools for negroes cannot be improved and built up  
36 until we get better high schools turning out high school graduates  
37 who are capable of going to the normal schools and coming back  
38 better prepared for teaching. In other words, so long as the teaching  
profession stays on the level of the elementary school, we will never

1           be able to make the elementary school what it ought to be. The best  
2           work that can be done right now to build up the whole situation for  
3           the negroes, as I see it, is to strengthen the high schools.<sup>88</sup>

4           The more schools became centralized and public, the more likely it was that  
5           policy would evolve to the benefit of the black community through longer  
6           terms, higher salaries, and secondary schools.

7           Reports from North Carolina, beginning with the appointment of the  
8           state agent in 1913, consistently spoke to industrial training efforts, yet the  
9           state agent also appointed Annie Holland to promote teacher training in rural  
10          black communities consistently throughout the state. She started as a North  
11          Carolina Jeanes teacher, was appointed in 1916 as supervisor of Jeanes  
12          teachers, and in 1921 became the state supervisor for elementary schools for  
13          the Division of Negro Education, responsible for visiting schools and super-  
14          vising Jeanes teacher work in rural communities. Her 1926 suggestive outline  
15          for supervising teachers included additional teacher training programs, stan-  
16          dardized tests, parent/teacher associations, and school libraries and provided  
17          for six units of work, the first of which was “to improve the quality of teaching”  
18          and the last of which was to “direct the teaching of industrial work.”<sup>89</sup> She also  
19          noted that community cooperation could be developed through Parent  
20          Teacher Associations, community clubs, and school-benefit entertainments.<sup>90</sup>  
21          She seems to have had enormous influence in that state as evidenced by the  
22          comments made by the North Carolina state agent for Negro education in  
23          1930, who advocated “the same course for Negro high schools that the white  
24          high schools had.”<sup>91</sup>

25          Philanthropists were explicit about their desire to consolidate schools,  
26          promoting state centralization, and Jeanes teachers were central to the effort.  
27          The Rosenwald Fund reported in 1925 that consolidation was gaining in favor,  
28          with “wretched one-room schools being abandoned for the centrally located  
29          larger school. There is a steady increase in the provision of transporting the  
30          children by bus. . . . The County Training School idea is growing so rapidly  
31          that it is being followed closely by greatly increased enthusiasm for high  
32          schools for Negroes.”<sup>92</sup> In a meeting with state agents in 1930, some superin-  
33          tendents expressed a concern that the consolidated schools were actually  
34          more expensive than smaller community schools. The field director for the  
35          Rosenwald Fund promoted consolidation as “largely a high school proposi-  
36          tion with colored pupils, because 80% of the pupils transported are in the  
37          high school grades.” A South Carolina superintendent explained that in three  
38          counties the “question of consolidation was in reality a question of whether

1 the Negro children were to have access to an accredited high school." A North  
2 Carolina superintendent explained that consolidation in his county dimin-  
3 ished the number of teachers by forty-one, and that "this saving in teachers'  
4 salaries offset the cost of transportation."<sup>93</sup> While black schools were clearly  
5 underfunded, the provision of transportation costs for centralized schools  
6 was an expenditure that expanded and institutionalized educational opportu-  
7 nity in rural areas. When the GEB organized the 1925 conference for state  
8 agents, the agenda included a report on the number of accredited black high  
9 schools in the South, provisions for state affiliation and supervision, high  
10 school curricula, how to improve the quality of instruction, the attendance  
11 campaign, teacher training, the relation of state departments of education to  
12 Jeanes teachers, and the explicit question, "What is now needed to stimulate  
13 the growth of Negro four-year high schools?"<sup>94</sup>

14 Philanthropic funds promoted centralization in other ways. Rosenwald  
15 Fund applications were quite explicit in the expectations that they raised  
16 for counties. At the bottom of each form in 1929–30, the application stated,  
17 "In accepting aid of one-half the salaries the first year, one-third the second  
18 year, and one-fourth the third year from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the  
19 school authorities agree to carry on the extended term without further aid."<sup>95</sup>  
20 In addition, each application required the county to note the monthly salaries  
21 of teachers in order to ensure that minimum salaries were provided before  
22 aid would be given. In 1930, the Mississippi state agent was informed that  
23 requests for term extension would be granted by units, like counties, rather  
24 than for individual schools so that the institutionalization of extended terms  
25 could be concentrated in broader areas.<sup>96</sup>

26 Indeed, Mississippi lagged far behind states further north with regard  
27 to centralization. The Mississippi state superintendent for schools wrote to  
28 representatives of the GEB in 1929 regarding his ideas for how instruction  
29 could be improved in rural schools. "Would you, then, think well of a scheme  
30 of supervision worked out by the teachers in the county training schools as a  
31 result of group conferences in which the state supervisor participated in prefer-  
32 ence to one arbitrarily imposed by the state supervisor?"<sup>97</sup> The GEB agents  
33 responded that the idea of a "democratic program of supervision" seemed  
34 unclear, but reminded the state superintendent that it was a sound idea to  
35 formulate a program of supervision. "Nevertheless, it seems essential that a  
36 scheme of supervision or improvement of instruction be set up that can be  
37 carried on by the principal in charge, by the county superintendent, or by  
38 some other supervisory agent in the absence of a state supervisor. I feel that it  
would be very essential for you and Mr. Easom to agree upon the objectives

1 to be carried out in a plan of improvement of instruction in county training  
2 schools, and agree also upon the method to be used in achieving these  
3 objectives.”<sup>98</sup>

4 In states in the Deep South, like Mississippi, where there was less interest  
5 in managing racial tensions and less willingness to promote any kind of edu-  
6 cation to rural blacks, the public might have been less willing to develop these  
7 public-private relationships, and consolidation and state centralization of  
8 black schools was less successful. Collaboration there was more likely pro-  
9 moted and leveraged by philanthropists.<sup>99</sup> Because poverty and low levels of  
10 education made blacks less aware of their rights and more dependent upon  
11 the whites around them for economic survival, residents of the Deep South  
12 would have been less likely to mobilize, and black agency in education reform  
13 there was more covert than in the Upper South.<sup>100</sup> While North Carolina and  
14 Virginia may have had relatively less difficulty in making a case for limited  
15 education reform through managed race relations, it was not uncommon in  
16 the Deep South for arrangements with northern philanthropists to be initi-  
17 ated by the black community, rather than the state. Rural blacks, especially  
18 Jeanes teachers, might have had a more powerful role in this collaboration,  
19 often initiating reform directly with private funders, albeit with fewer tangible  
20 results.

21 The state agent for black education in Mississippi wrote to the superin-  
22 tendent of schools in Forest, Mississippi, and reported that “the negro princi-  
23 pal came into this office a day or so ago asking us for additional aid to take  
24 care of the salary of a fifth teacher. From what he said about conditions, it  
25 seems that there is really a need for this additional teacher, but this depart-  
26 ment has very little money for negro schools.”<sup>101</sup> Unlike North Carolina,  
27 where centralization resulted in extensive data collection about that state’s  
28 schools for both blacks and whites, the state agent in Mississippi in 1928 could  
29 not provide any evidence to support the principal’s request. Further, the agent  
30 continued in the letter to discuss with the superintendent \$300 that had been  
31 given in the previous year to purchase equipment for the black schools. “Of  
32 course in the nature of the case, if this Home Science equipment is not pur-  
33 chased and there is no Home Science work done in the school, it seems that  
34 this fund should be returned.”<sup>102</sup> Again, unlike counterparts further north,  
35 this agent seemed to have little understanding of how funds were used, and  
36 little dialogue with county officials about the nature of education in rural  
37 areas. In another example, a resident of Dundee, Mississippi, had written to  
38 Robert Moton, principal of the Tuskegee Institute, to complain about the  
short term of the schools in Tunica County, Mississippi. Moton brought the

1 complaint to the attention of the Rosenwald Fund, and the fund then con-  
2 tacted the Mississippi state agent. At this point, the state agent merely wrote  
3 the resident who had complained and told him to take the matter to the white  
4 county superintendent.<sup>103</sup> However, the Rosenwald agent simultaneously  
5 wrote to the resident informing him of their action, thereby opening a direct  
6 line of communication between the community and the Rosenwald Fund.<sup>104</sup>  
7 Demographics and other factors influenced political development, especially  
8 in the form of state centralization of schools. However, even limited cen-  
9 tralization provided important avenues of black participation in policy  
10 development.

11 It is truly remarkable that in areas of the Deep South, schooling might  
12 offer an institutional means for rural blacks to promote public-private collab-  
13 oration; they were able covertly to promote action with the imprimatur of  
14 whites because it was within the context of schooling. Kenneth Andrews, in  
15 his analysis of the Mississippi social movement, points out that teachers  
16 would have been less likely to mobilize because of their dependence on local  
17 communities for employment.<sup>105</sup> However, from the perspective of the  
18 public-private relationships that developed in that state, there were a number  
19 of teachers who were actually on the payroll of the northern philanthropists  
20 who might still fear economic reprisal, but had relatively more power, not  
21 only giving them access to information outside of the community but also  
22 making connections between the institution of schooling and forces outside  
23 the local arena. These schools facilitated the mobilization of local blacks, and  
24 opportunities for individual effort, during both Jim Crow and in the face of  
25 the massive resistance that came with *Brown v. Board of Education*.

26 The design of the developing educational system would have affected the  
27 distribution of political authority with regard to education and the interplay  
28 between all of the groups involved in promoting, or blocking, reform.<sup>106</sup> In  
29 this regard, it is not surprising that a majority of lawsuits began in those states  
30 where blacks had greater opportunity to organize through schooling.<sup>107</sup> Mark  
31 Tushnet, in his work on the NAACP's legal strategy against segregation,  
32 points out that the NAACP began working in the 1930s toward desegregation  
33 by building a set of precedent cases across the South, but as late as 1961 not a  
34 single educational desegregation suit had been filed in Mississippi.<sup>108</sup> Adam  
35 Fairclough gives credit to the NAACP in Alabama for promoting desegrega-  
36 tion and acknowledges the extent to which the school building program  
37 mobilized the local black communities, creating solidarity and a common  
38 goal in education, as well as the extent to which the NAACP considered the  
teaching profession to be a good source for membership.<sup>109</sup>

1       The role of these teachers, with formal avenues to state agents and the  
 2 philanthropic organizations, evolved over time into much more than had  
 3 originally been envisioned, bringing some discomfort to northerners and  
 4 southerners alike. In 1925, at a meeting of all the state agents, the head of the  
 5 Jeanes Fund reported that “originally . . . their purpose was largely to relate  
 6 the Negro home a little more closely to the Negro school, to help instruction,  
 7 and to teach simple industries. Now in some instances these teachers are used  
 8 largely to direct the Negro school system of a county.”<sup>110</sup> He questioned  
 9 whether the Jeanes county teachers had departed too much from their original  
 10 work.<sup>111</sup> The position had originally been defined as “more a community worker  
 11 than a professional teacher.”<sup>112</sup> However, after two decades, three distinct  
 12 types of teacher had evolved:

13       In counties where the Jeanes agent has an unusually strong personality  
 14 and qualities of leadership, the county superintendent has come to  
 15 depend more and more upon this agent for the management of the  
 16 Negro schools. This second type of Jeanes agent, who has developed  
 17 from the first type, now frequently recommends the Negro teachers  
 18 for the county schools, conducts teachers’ meetings and teachers’  
 19 institutes, promotes and directs the building of schoolhouses, and  
 20 performs other administrative duties. A third type of Jeanes agent is  
 21 the agent that gives most of her time to supervising classroom work,  
 22 testing pupils, conducting teachers’ reading courses and working for  
 23 the improvement of instruction.<sup>113</sup>  
 24

25       As the de facto superintendent of the black schools, the job of each teacher was  
 26 extensive and clearly gave them responsibility for policy within the local black  
 27 schools. By the 1930s, the majority was pedagogically focused, and their work  
 28 included supervising classrooms, testing pupils, and improving the curriculum.

29       In July 1932, the superintendent of schools in King George County,  
 30 Virginia, sent an application to the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation requesting  
 31 funding for a teacher who would supervise instruction in the county’s rural  
 32 black schools. This particular application was significant because the super-  
 33 intendent noted that the appointment would provide a means for rural black  
 34 teachers there to make “contact with the school board,” given that “our local  
 35 school boards permit the colored supervisor to sit-in at our meetings and  
 36 represent his people.”<sup>114</sup> Although Jeanes supervisors were not always explicitly  
 37 invited or even allowed to sit at the table with the local white school board,  
 38 schooling clearly played an important role in granting legitimacy to rural  
 blacks in policy discussions.

1 While progress was significantly slower in the Deep South, the Jeanes  
2 teachers there still promoted centralization and networks that could open  
3 opportunities for participation in policy development. A state network of  
4 Georgia Jeanes teachers issued monthly reports in order to share accomplish-  
5 ments and news with other teachers across the state, but also with the state  
6 division and with philanthropic agents, and the teacher in Dooley reported  
7 that a district teachers' association meeting was held with representatives from  
8 seven counties present.<sup>115</sup> In 1935, Helen Whiting was appointed the Georgia  
9 State Supervisor of Colored Elementary Schools in the Division of Negro  
10 Education, and began to administer reading achievement tests throughout  
11 the state by the end of her first year.<sup>116</sup> She issued regular "itinerary reports"  
12 about her work in the field, including suggestions to teachers that would pro-  
13 mote centralization, such as adopting the State Reading Program in counties  
14 and seeking assistance from the county supervisor.<sup>117</sup> The Georgia state agent,  
15 reflecting upon a decade of progress, noted that "the State Agents for Negro  
16 Schools, unlike the other state school supervisors, are free to move in and out  
17 among both white and Negro groups without considering the political impli-  
18 cations of every step taken . . . the counties in Georgia now provide secondary  
19 schools for Negroes at public expense . . . , [which] has been accomplished by  
20 visiting the various counties and outlining a program with the stimulus of  
21 state and philanthropic funds."<sup>118</sup>

22 Much credit has been given to the black churches in the South for their  
23 role in community organizing, and where the church was administratively  
24 part of a broader national or state organization, it could have a profound role  
25 in connecting the community outward. However, the schools also had this  
26 ability through their connection to northern philanthropists, state and local  
27 political systems, and, as an institution that was largely ignored, as a site for  
28 mobilization. Teachers there were able to encourage institutional innovation  
29 at the local level. As society became more interdependent, this was a crucial  
30 link to the social and political structure that disenfranchisement kept out of  
31 reach, and an important institutional site for participating in the develop-  
32 ment of policy. Jackson Davis, acting as field agent for the GEB, was asked to  
33 describe the accomplishments of the Jeanes teachers. "They succeeded in  
34 organizing the people into school community associations and bringing to  
35 bear the united sentiment of the community in favor of better school build-  
36 ings, longer terms and more practical work in the schools by introducing  
37 simple industries. . . . The schools lost their isolation."<sup>119</sup>

38 Public-private collaboration was essential to education development in  
the South and ultimately resulted in a stronger centralized school system. The

1 concept of “agency” can be defined along a continuum that includes anything  
2 from subtle forms of resistance to group insurgency.<sup>120</sup> However, black  
3 teachers were able to engage with collaborative relationships, and in doing  
4 so exercised agency more broadly defined, helped to establish centralized  
5 administrative capacity in the lower tiers of government, and undermined  
6 the strength of sectional interests. It is not possible truly to understand black  
7 agency in the South without understanding the institutional venues in which  
8 it operated. Schooling helped to make political opportunity structures more  
9 permeable. In addition to people like Annie Holland and Helen Whiting,  
10 public-private collaboration and centralization also provided venues for  
11 blacks like W. T. B. Williams, who served as a field agent for the Jeanes Fund,  
12 and Hollis Frissel as principal of the Tuskegee Institute, to have significant  
13 influence on policy decision that affected rural communities. The actions of  
14 individual reformers were important, but it is essential also to understand the  
15 broader dynamic of interest groups and institutions that challenged the polit-  
16 ical structure. Schooling provided an institutional venue for rural blacks to  
17 mobilize, and it should be placed more centrally in the reform dynamic as an  
18 early institutional site for the mobilization of blacks.

19 Rural black reformers recognized the value of promoting an education  
20 system not just as an end in itself, especially given the value placed on it as the  
21 antithesis to slavery, but also as a means to create avenues for greater partici-  
22 pation in the political and social structure. They participated in the expan-  
23 sion of government at the local level through their efforts to create  
24 organizational capacity, and promoted voluntary organizations that created a  
25 common culture within and beyond local communities and broadened  
26 frames of support for their own agenda.<sup>121</sup> In this regard, both conceptually and  
27 institutionally, “education” became the central meeting point for reformers,  
28 and the place in which organizational forms, parallel structures, and new  
29 identities were created ultimately to overcome southern opposition to educa-  
30 tional advancement. Both of these ideals converged in the form of schooling,  
31 which became a unifying organizational venue. Local school-based organiza-  
32 tions became central to the creation of a more bureaucratic state by facili-  
33 tating the institutionalism of reforms at the local level and providing links to  
34 policy initiatives that emerged from philanthropists and their agents outside  
35 the community.

36 It would be overstating it to make the claim that the black community  
37 mobilized between 1909 and 1935 as an organized interest group in the South,  
38 or to claim that it had a formally defined role in policy development. How-  
ever, education reformers were able to mobilize the community through

1 schooling in a more organized manner than has been recognized. Schools  
 2 helped to promote expanding political opportunities, organizational strength,  
 3 and shared cognitions in the community.<sup>122</sup> The black community, especially  
 4 through the work of the Jeanes teachers, was able to utilize the organizational  
 5 repertoires of schooling to connect local institutions to the political struc-  
 6 tures outside rural communities, creating political innovation and promoting  
 7 reform. Southern blacks did indeed have an instrument for constructing new  
 8 collective identities; schooling served as a link to alternative models of polit-  
 9 ical organization and participation far earlier than what has typically been  
 10 attributed to the community. Through schools, teachers were able to exploit  
 11 and even initiate the public-private collaborations that developed between  
 12 philanthropists and state and local governments in order to institutionalize  
 13 reforms, especially through state centralization. The insurgency that devel-  
 14 oped in later decades is indebted to the organizational structures and com-  
 15 munity mobilization that occurred through schooling.

16 It is important to recognize that moving beyond narrow interpretations  
 17 of philanthropic intentionality can actually expand our understanding of  
 18 what was possible with regard to black agency during this time period. Both  
 19 black and white reformers promoted and compromised ideals in order to  
 20 garner political support.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, in the same way that the Progressive Era  
 21 was a critical precursor to the development of a more centralized national  
 22 state as seen in the New Deal, the early development of rural schooling in the  
 23 South was an important precursor to a more centralized bureaucracy around  
 24 schooling at the state level in the South and the organization of rural blacks  
 25 into interest groups. The story of southern education development can signif-  
 26 icantly add to our understanding of interest groups and institutions.

27  
 28 *New York University*  
 29  
 30

## 31 NOTES

32  
 33 1. Mag Hanna to Percy H. Easom, 21 February 1929, Box 8012, Series 2342  
 34 (Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson); hereafter MDAH.

35 2. Percy H. Easom to Mag Hanna, 27 February 1929, Box 8012, Series 2342, MDAH.

36 3. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York,  
 37 1992); James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill,  
 38 1988); Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss, *Dangerous Donations* (Columbia, Mo., 1999);  
 Mary S. Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South* (Gainseville, 2006);  
 V. P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of the Fathers*

(Westport, Conn., 1984). For information about the work of rural black teachers, see also Ann Short Chirhart, *Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South* (Athens, 2005); Adam Fairclough, *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow* (Athens, 2002); Michael Fultz, "African American Teachers in the South, 1890–1940: Powerlessness and the Ironies of Expectations and Protest," *History of Education Quarterly* 35 (Winter 1995): 401–22; Vanessa Siddle-Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill, 1996); James LeLoudis, *Schooling the New South* (Chapel Hill, 1996).

4. Christine Woynshner, *The National PTA, Race, and Civic Engagement: 1897–1970* (Columbus, 2009).

5. Julian E. Zelizer, "Introduction: New Directions in Policy History," *Journal of Policy History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 1–11.

6. "Certificate of Incorporation of Negro Rural School Fund," 20 November 1907, Folder 1920, Box 202, Papers of the General Education Board (Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, N.Y.); hereafter RAC-GEB.

7. With regard to the GEB, see Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*. For an early history of the foundation, see Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board, a Foundation Established by John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1962). For the Rosenwald Fund, see Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools*.

8. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 81–83.

9. Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*; Adam Fairclough, *Teaching Equality*; and Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*.

10. Louis Harlan, *Separate and Unequal* (New York, 1968); Anderson and Moss, *Dangerous Donations*; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*; and Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools*.

11. There are a number of examples of these differences. George Foster Peabody noted that Anna Jeanes had specified with her original gift that it should be expended on the advice of Booker T. Washington and Hollis Frissel, both of whom served on the board of the Jeanes Fund. George Foster Peabody to F. K. Rogers, 12 December 1918, Folder 2121, Box 221, RAC-GEB. See also Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 113–82; and James J. Connolly, *The Triumph of Ethnic Progressivism: Urban Political Culture in Boston, 1900–1925* (Cambridge, 1998). As Connolly points about the Irish community, "We must recognize the plasticity of Progressivism. . . . It was a public language open to manipulation by those with access to the public sphere. . . . These men and women fashioned their own specific versions of Progressivism, just as their upper- and middle-class Yankee counterparts did." For a discussion of the relationship between philanthropic concerns and progressive reforms, see Ellen Lagemann, in *Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown, Conn., 1983), 3; and Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Baltimore, 1997). See also the histories about specific philanthropies, including Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*; Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving*.

12. More recent work in policy history has explored policy implementation in the South. Robert Lieberman, "Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy," *Social Science History* 19 (Winter 1995): 511–42, asserts that a weak national government

1 provided multiple avenues for innovative policies and reform at the local level in the South  
 2 through the work of experts in local communities. See also Jill Quadagno and Debra Street,  
 3 "Ideology and Public Policy: Antistatism in American Welfare State Transformation,"  
 4 *Journal of Policy History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 60; Regina Werum, "Sectionalism and Racial  
 5 Politics: Federal Vocational Policies and Program in the Predesegregation South," *Social  
 6 Science History* 21 (Fall 1997): 399–453; Regina Werum, "Elite Control in State and Nation:  
 7 Racial Inequalities in Vocational Funding in North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi,  
 8 1918–1936," *Social Forces* 78 (September 1999): 145–86; Regina Werum "Tug-of-War:  
 9 Political Mobilization and Access to Schooling in the Southern Racial State," *Sociology of  
 10 Education* 72 (April 1999): 89–110. For information about the relationship between public-  
 11 private relationships and state development, see Michael B. Katz, *The Price of Citizenship:  
 12 Redefining the American Welfare State* (Philadelphia, 2001); and Ian Shapiro, Stephen  
 Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, eds., *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State*  
 (New York, 2006).

13 13. Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American  
 14 History," *Business History Review* 44 (Autumn 1970): 279–90; Samuel Hays, "The Social  
 15 Analysis of American Political History, 1880–1920," *Political Science Quarterly* 80  
 16 (September 1965): 373–94; Robert Weibe, *The Search for Order: 1877–1920* (New York,  
 17 1967); Brian Balogh, "Reorganizing the Organizational Synthesis: Federal-Professional  
 18 Relations in Modern America," *Studies in American Political Development* 5 (Spring 1991):  
 119–72.

19 14. Elisabeth Clemens, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of  
 20 Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890–1925* (Chicago, 1997), 92–93.

21 15. *Ibid.*, 152.

22 16. Robert Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare  
 23 State* (Cambridge, 2005); Robert Lieberman, *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in  
 24 Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, 2005), Robert Lieberman, "Race, Institutions, and the  
 Administration of Social Policy," *Social Science History* 19 (Winter 1995): 511–42.

25 17. See Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line*, 5–12, for a discussion of incorporation.

26 18. Jill Quadagno, "Promoting Civil Rights Through the Welfare State: How Medicare  
 Integrated Southern Hospitals," *Social Problems* 47 (February 2000): 69.

27 19. Clemens, *The People's Lobby*, 92.

28 20. Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in  
 29 American Civil Life* (Norman, Okla., 2003); Jennifer Hoshchild and Nathan Scovronick,  
*The American Dream and the Public Schools* (Oxford, 2003), 28–36.

30 21. Quadagno, "Promoting Civil Rights Through the Welfare State," 71.

31 22. *Ibid.*, 73.

32 23. Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*  
 33 (Chicago, 1982).

34 24. Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform: 1890–1935* (New  
 35 York, 1991). Muncy describes the Progressive female reformers who promoted social  
 36 reforms that influenced the creation of a welfare state and criticizes white, middle-class  
 37 women who sought to prescribe policy based upon the narrow view of "experts" rather than  
 38 needs as defined by the recipient community. She notes that regardless of intent, "when  
 one group in society designs policy for another, the result will prove intrusive and to some  
 degree authoritarian" (63).

1           25. Desmond King and Robert C. Lieberman, "Ironies of State Building: A  
2 Comparative Perspective on the American State," *World Politics* 61 (July 2009): 571.

3           26. Werum, "Sectionalism and Racial Politics"; Richard Bensel, *Sectionalism and*  
4 *American Political Development, 1880–1980* (Madison, 1987); Quadagno and Street,  
5 "Ideology and Public Policy," 60. While the GEB did shift its agenda more to a focus on  
6 higher education after 1919, the original agenda and the parallel systems that developed  
7 with it continued to be implemented and sustained in the South. See "General Education  
8 Board, Negro Education," Folder 14, Box 27, Southern Education Foundation Records  
9 (Archives and Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center,  
10 Atlanta); hereafter SEF-AUC.

11           27. See Frederick M. Hess, ed., *With the Best of Intentions: How Philanthropy Is*  
12 *Reshaping K-12 Education* (Cambridge, 2005), which discusses contemporary philan-  
13 thropy and notes the importance of creating parallel systems and organizational capacity  
14 as an effective means to promote sustained reform. For a discussion of how southern  
15 parochialism helped to promote change through incremental local reforms through  
16 local institution building, see Ann-Marie Szymanski, "Beyond Parochialism: Southern  
17 Progressivism, Prohibition, and State-Building." *Journal of Southern History* 69 (February  
18 2003): 107–37. For a discussion particular to schooling, see Joan Malczewski, "Weak State,  
19 Stronger Schools: Northern Philanthropy and Organizational Change in the Jim Crow  
20 South," *Journal of Southern History* 75 (November 2009).

21           28. Malczewski, "Weak State, Stronger Schools." There is evidence in the literature  
22 that the absence of a stronger federal system of government meant that institutions such  
23 as regulatory agencies and political party structures were developed to address legislative  
24 and social policy needs, forming parallel systems that were essential to establishing new  
25 policy, enacting reform, and ensuring bureaucratic management over social policy in the  
26 Progressive Era. See Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion*  
27 *of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge, 1982); Bensel, *Sectionalism*  
28 *and American Political Development*; Scott James, "Prelude to Progressivism: Party  
29 Decay, Populism, and the Doctrine of 'Free and Unrestricted Competition' in American  
30 Antitrust Policy, 1890–1897," *Studies in American Political Development* 13 (Fall 1999),  
31 288–336.

32           29. See Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau, ed., *Public-Private Policy Partnerships*  
33 (Cambridge, 2000); Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public*  
34 *and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York, 2002); Christopher Howard,  
35 *The Welfare State Nobody Knows: Debunking Myths About U.S. Social Policy* (Princeton,  
36 2007), and *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United*  
37 *States* (Princeton, 1997). For a comparative perspective, see Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The*  
38 *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton, 1990). On the relationship between public-  
private relationships and state development, see Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*; Shapiro,  
Skowronek, and Galvin, ed., *Rethinking Political Institutions*.

39           30. David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, eds., *Law and the Shaping of*  
40 *Public Education, 1785–1954* (Madison, 1987), 75.

41           31. *Report of the Commissioner of Education in Reports of the Department of the*  
42 *Interior for Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1911*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1912), xxxii. See also  
43 the Digest of State Laws Relating to Public Education in Force January 1, 1915, Department  
44 of the Interior Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, no. 47 (Washington, D.C., 1916), 628.

32. See Robert A. Margo, *Race and Schooling in the South, 1880–1950: An Economic History* (Chicago, 1994), 36. For a more detailed discussion of legislative reform in this regard, see Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 133–53.

33. S. L. Smith to W. C. Strahan, 29 March 1930, Box 8013, Series 2342, MDAH.

34. "The Durham Fact-Finding Conference, April 17, 18, and 19, 1929," Folder 983, Box 97, Series 3.8, RAC-GEB, 7–11.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, 13.

37. "Survey of Jeanes Teacher Areas in 14 States," 1 March 1933, Folder 17, Box 19, SEF-AUC.

38. See "Rural Supervising Industrial Teachers, 1919–20," Folder 2122, Box 221, Series 1, Subseries 2, RAC-GEB; "Survey of Jeanes Teacher Areas in 14 States," 1 March 1933, Folder 17, Box 19; "Teachers and County Supervisors of Negro Schools," 1927–30, Folder 2125, Box 222, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB; Arthur D. Wright to Trevor Arnett, 7 October 1935, Folder 1931, Box 203, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

39. Summary of Reports of Mr. F. C. Button, State Agent for Negro Rural Schools of Kentucky, 1 January 1916–31 December 1916, Folder 4, Box 34, SEF-AUC, Ky 1.

40. By 1935, for 390 Jeanes teachers in the South, the Jeanes Fund provided \$105,230 (33 percent) of the total budget of \$316,262, with the remaining \$211,032 (67 percent) provided by public funds. North Carolina and Virginia provided the highest percentage of public funding (80 percent), while Alabama and Arkansas provided the lowest percentage (50 percent). Jeanes Fund 1935–36, attachment found in Arthur Wright to Trevor Arnett, 7 October 1935, Folder 1931, Box 203, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

41. Chirhart, *Torches of Light*, 123.

42. Jackson Davis to Wycliffe Rose, 2 September 1910, Folder Wycliffe Rose, Box 6, The Papers and Photographs of Jackson Davis (Alderman Memorial Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville).

43. *Ibid.*

44. Circular Letter to Extension and Supervising Teachers and Organizers, April 7, 1910," Folder 2125, Box 222, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

45. "Notes from Reports of Georgia Jeanes Teachers at Conference, March 28, 1919," Folder 2125, Box 222, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

46. "Summary of Reports from the Jeanes Industrial Workers Scholastic Year 1914–1915," Folder 586, Box 67, Series 1.1, RAC-GEB.

47. Jeanes Agent's Final or Term Report from Oda Kirkland, 1928, S2342, Box 7988, MDAH.

48. Summary of Reports of Mr. F. C. Button, State Agent for Negro Rural Schools of Kentucky, 1 January 1916–31 December 1916, Box 34, Folder 4, SEF-AUC.

49. Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations," *Social Science History* 28 (Fall 2004): 370.

50. See Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, 2001), who argues that black citizens have been less civically engaged historically due to slavery and the resulting problems of social capital. Theda Skocpol and Jennifer Lynn Oser refute his argument by trying to recapture the history of African American fraternal associations that were popular between the time of slavery

1 and the late twentieth century. Skocpol and Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity." See  
 2 also Gunner Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*  
 3 (New York, 1944); Bayliss J. Camp and Orit Kent, "'What a Mighty Power We can Be':  
 4 Individual and Collective Identity in African American and White Fraternal Initiation  
 5 Rituals," *Social Science History* 28, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 439–83.

6 51. Bira Hilbun to Frank Bachman, 22 April 1925, Folder 872, Box 97, Series 1.1,  
 7 RAC-GEB.

8 52. Georgia Jeanes Teacher Final Report from Jasper County, 1935, Subfiles Director,  
 9 Box 1, Papers of the Division of Education/Negro Education (Georgia State Archives,  
 10 Atlanta).

11 53. "Summary of Reports of Mr. James L. Sibley, State Agent for Negro Rural Schools  
 12 of Alabama," 1 January 1916–30 November 1916, Folder 3, Box 34, SEF-AUC, Ala 2.

13 54. Connie L. Lester, *Up from the Mudsills of Hell: The Farmers' Alliance, Populism,  
 14 and Progressive Agriculture in Tennessee, 1870–1915* (Athens, 2006), describes a similar role  
 15 in the organization of the Grange in Tennessee.

16 55. Woynshner, *The National PTA, Race, and Civic Engagement*.

17 56. "Notes Made from Reports of Mississippi Jeanes Teachers at Conference of  
 18 Louisiana and Mississippi Jeanes Teachers," 20 March 1919, Folder 2125, Box 222, Series 1.2,  
 19 RAC-GEB.

20 57. Mary E. Foster to Friends and Co-Workers, January 1918, Folder 1200, Box 131,  
 21 Series 1.1, RAC-GEB.

22 58. Newbold to Home-Makers' Club Agents, 29 May 1918, Folder 1044, Box 115, Series  
 23 1.1, RAC-GEB.

24 59. Alabama Consolidated Report of Jeanes Teachers for the month ending 31  
 25 October 1923, Folder 2122, Box 221, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

26 60. Jackson Davis to Wallace Buttrick, 13 July 1916, Folder 2121, Box 221, Series 1.2,  
 27 RAC-GEB.

28 61. Report of Miss Mary Sanifer, Folder 10, Box 76 (Rosenwald Fund Archives,  
 29 Franklin Library at Fisk University), hereafter RFA.

30 62. Jon R. Ellis to James H. Dillard, 21 March 1916, Folder 871, Box 97, Series 1.1,  
 31 RAC-GEB.

32 63. "Supplement to 'Negro Public Education in the South,'" 1927, Folder 3297, Box 315,  
 33 Series 1.2, RAC-GEB, 10.

34 64. Some Results of the Work of the State Agent in Mississippi, January 1938, Folder  
 35 873, Box 97, Series 1.1, RAC-GEB, 10.

36 65. W. C. Strahan to G. L. Orr, 27 March 1930, Box 8013, Series 2342, MDAH.

37 66. Arthur Wright to W. G. Rennolds, 24 July 1919, Folder 9, Box 2, Papers of the  
 38 Rennold's Family (Library of Virginia, Richmond).

67. By M. H. Griffith, undated recollections from work begun as the Rosenwald agent  
 in 1921, Folder 10, Box 76, RFA, 3.

68. "A Brief Summary of Some of the Accomplishments in Inter-Racial Cooperation  
 within the Past Three Years," Folder 2, Box 76, RFA, 1.

69. Newbold to Home-Makers' Club Agents, 29 May 1918, Folder 1044, Box 115, Series  
 1.1 RAC-GEB.

70. Report of N. C. Newbold, "State Agent Negro Rural Schools for the Month of  
 February, 1915," Folder 1042, Box 115, Series 1, RAC-GEB.

1 71. “Report of Geo. W. Godard,” May 1914, Folder 597, Box 68, Series 1.1, RAC-GEB.

2 72. Karl E. Weick, “Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems,”  
3 *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March 1976).

4 73. See Wiebe, *The Search for Order*; and Balogh, “Reorganizing the Organizational  
5 Synthesis.”

6 74. “Notes Made from Reports of Georgia Jeanes Teachers at Conference,” 28 March  
7 1919, Folder 2125, Box 222, Series 1.2, RAC-GEB.

8 75. Reports on Visits to County Training Schools in Georgia, 8 January–11 January  
9 1924, Folder 596, Box 67, Series 1.1, RAC-GEB.

10 76. In 1927, the GEB ranked the fourteen southern states according to their standing  
11 in the provision of education for rural blacks, based upon a composite of each state’s  
12 standing in literacy, teacher salaries, number of pupils per teacher, the length of the school  
13 term, the proportion of counties having high school facilities and Jeanes teachers, and the  
14 percent of student population enrolled. The highest seven states in the South, in order of  
15 their composite ranking were Maryland, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee,  
16 and North Carolina. The lowest seven states in order of composite ranking were Arkansas,  
17 Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. “Negro Public  
18 Education in the South: A Confidential Report for the Officers of the General Education  
19 Board, 1927,” Folder 1, Box 33, SEF-AUC, 7.

20 77. McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*; Clemens, *The  
21 People’s Lobby*; Kenneth Andrews, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil  
22 Rights Movement and Its Legacy* (Chicago, 2004); Skocpol and Oser, “Organization Despite  
23 Adversity”; Camp and Kent, “What a Mighty Power We can Be.”

24 78. Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative  
25 Counterrevolution* (Princeton, 2007); Emilye Crosby, *A Little Taste of Freedom: The  
26 Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, 2005); Adam  
27 Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana* (Athens,  
28 1995); Matthew Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis, ed., *The Moderates’ Dilemma: Massive  
29 Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1998); Lassiter, *The  
30 Silent Majority* (Princeton, 2006); Robert Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil  
31 Rights Movement in Tuskegee* (Chapel Hill, 1998); Norrell, “Labor at the Ballot Box:  
32 Alabama Politics from the New Deal to the Dixiecrat Movement,” *Journal of Southern  
33 History* 57, no. 2 (May 1991); J. Todd Moye, *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and  
34 White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945–1986* (Chapel Hill,  
35 2004), 25.

36 79. Lassiter and Lewis, ed., *The Moderates’ Dilemma*. Exceptions are evident, the  
37 result of the unique political context in particular communities. For example, Prince  
38 Edward County, which chose to close schools for a number of years rather than  
integrate, was relatively conservative for the Upper South, while efforts in Tuskegee  
were relatively liberal for the Deep South. For more information on each of these  
counties, see Lassiter and Lewis, ed., *The Moderates’ Dilemma*, and Norrell, *Reaping the  
Whirlwind*.

80. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 27. For a similar perspective in Virginia politics, see  
Lassiter and Lewis, ed., *The Moderates’ Dilemma*. There were also moderate whites in the  
Deep South, as Joseph Crespino discussed in his narrative about the practical segregationists  
in Mississippi. See Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*.

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