TORCH BEARERS IN DARKEST AMERICA:

A STUDY OF JEANES SUPERVISION IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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TORCH BEARERS IN DARKEST AMERICA.

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ABE J. B. DESMORE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Educational ideas and practices from America have often influenced the trend of educational development in other countries. Perhaps none more than has the Jeanes system of supervision in vogue in the Southern States among the Negroes.

Information concerning that important development in the education of a racial group, so similar in many respects to the Coloured people of South Africa, should prove of inestimable value to educational authorities in this country. While a great deal of information does exist, it is so scattered that the educationist cannot easily gain access to it. Hence, in this study the attempt has been made to garner the scattered data and to make them available in a body.

The Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to present a general picture of the more significant aspects of the work engaged in by Jeanes teachers, to ascertain the extent of its adaptability[1] in South African conditions, and to stimulate interest in the promotion of the Jeanes ideal in the rural sections of this country.

Method and Scope of the Study: In this study, personal observation was the main method of investigation. A large number of typical schools were visited in a number of Southern States.[2]

Discussions and conferences, both in groups and with individual persons, supplemented observation. State agents, county supervisors and other administrative officers, Jeanes teachers, principals and assistant teachers, all contributed facts and views invaluable in the study.

In addition to the means of investigation already mentioned, a vast amount of factual and statistical material which bears directly on the subject of Jeanes supervision, has been freely used in the documentation of the study.[3]

1. Adaptation rather than adoption should be the aim of any study undertaken abroad by South Africans. This limitation is, of course, essential in educational research; for no exotic educational idea can take root and develop in the soil of South African culture, unless it has been subjected to modification.
2. At various centres the officials who kindly undertook the direction of the writer's tour evinced the utmost concern that all types of their work should be exposed to observation. Not only were the usual "show places" visited, but also the schools which obviously fell in the opposite category.
3. The use of this material, it is suggested, has lifted this report from a mere record of personal and subjective impressions to the higher plane of a study based on objective data.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

I. Miss Anna Thomas Jeanes.

Jeanes work in the United States has such a fascinating historical background, that no account of the system would be complete without at least a brief reference to the story of Miss Anna Thomas Jeanes, whose deep interest in, and munificent benefactions to, the one-teacher Negro school have, during the last three decades, enabled Negro education in the Southern States to make such phenomenal progress.

Born on 7th April, 1822, Anna Thomas Jeanes was the youngest of ten children in a Quaker family of Philadelphia. She lived a reserved and retired life. It has only been since 1900, however, that her story holds interest for this account. In that year, having outlived the rest of the family, she inherited all of the accumulated family fortune. In the same year she made notable gifts of money for the benefit of Negroes. The Normal and Industrial Institute of Fort Valley, Georgia, received a cheque for 5,000 dollars, while the Philanthropic Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends was endowed to the extent of 20,000 dollars, which sum was " to be devoted to the assistance of Friends' Freedmans' schools."[1]

Meanwhile, Miss Jeanes had given money gifts to other Negro institutions. Amongst these was Hampton Institute. When Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, then principal of that school, approached her again, Miss Jeanes, with characteristic outspokenness, told him that she knew all about Hampton, and would not give money to that institution.

" But," she added wistfully, " I want to hear about the poor little Negro cabin one-teacher rural schools. Can thee tell me about these schools ? I want to know about them."[2] The interview terminated with Miss Jeanes handing Dr. Frissell a cheque for 10,000 dollars, to help this type of school. Subsequently, Dr. Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, also approached Miss Jeanes for financial aid. He received a cheque for a similar amount.

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1. Arthur D. Wright and Edward E. Redcay. The Negro Rural Fund, Inc., 1907-1933. The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1933. Page 5.

2. ibid. p. 7.

At that time the General Education Board, through its treasurer, Mr. George Foster Peabody, felt the need of funds for carrying on the work in Negro education.

" . . . the General Education Board," Mr. Peabody is reported to have written to Miss Jeanes, " being a chartered organisation with the educational field of the whole country in which to work, was in a unique position to receive and expend funds efficiently, and wisely in any designated manner, and would be glad to assume responsibility for any gift she might make, and would be glad to call on her and explain the situation."[3]

After consulting with Dr. Frissell on this request, Miss Jeanes donated the sum of 200,000 dollars to the General Education Board. This sum of money is still held in trust by this body in the name of the " Anna T. Jeanes Fund."

In 1907 Miss Jeanes set aside a million dollar fund in the form of income-bearing securities to develop " rudimentary education " in small Negro rural schools. This gift is known as " The Negro Rural School Fund." February, 1908, saw the following persons appointed as a Board of Trustees to administer this fund :—

Mr. William Howard Taft, later President of the United States ; Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Dr. Hollis B. Frissell ; Dr. Booker T. Washington and Mr. George Foster Peabody.

The latter three gentlemen undertook a special journey to see and thank Miss Jeanes, but she somewhat impatiently interrupted the eulogies of Dr. Frissell. Said she : " Thee does not need to thank me. It is I who needs to thank thee." Then, almost defiantly, " And I didn't do it to save my soul from Hell either ! "[4]

Thus was inaugurated one of the most important funds through which the education of Negroes received an impetus, but for which the struggle for existence would probably have been more intense and prolonged than it has been.

II. Formulation of Policies.

Since a substantial fund had been acquired for the education of rural Negroes, the trustees devoted much time and thought to the manner in which the fund should be used. Finally, they formulated three broad policies :—

Firstly, that it might be ascertained where the need was

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2. ibid. p. 7. 3. ibid. p. 8.
4. ibid. p. 9.

greatest, a general study of the educational situation should be conducted.

Secondly, that the most complete co-operation might be assured, the fullest approval of local school authorities should be enlisted before any work in any locality was undertaken.

Thirdly, that work instituted among the Southern Negroes should provide opportunities for experiences in intelligent rural living.

These policies having been formulated, the next obvious step was to map out a working programme consistent with these policies, and to carry it into effect. During the first few years of the existence of the fund, this preliminary work involved expenditure on various projects. Conferences were frequently called and surveys made; summer schools for teachers were instituted, and, in a few cases, schools built and equipment supplied; school terms were extended, and teachers' salaries supplemented.

After these preliminary activities, and in pursuance of the third policy, it was realised that the school and the community were rigidly demarcated from each other. It was somewhat vaguely felt that there should be a close relationship between these social institutions in terms of common life experiences. However, the techniques for effecting this relationship had not then been completely developed. Uncertainty led to experimentation. It was thought that the wall between school and community might be demolished by modifying the curriculum with a practical bias. Hence, "industrial work" formed part of the curriculum.5 From this stage onward the salaries of industrial teachers increasingly represented the main liability of the fund.

In May, 1908, Mr. Jackson Davis, then superintendent of schools in Henrico County, Virginia, wrote to Dr. James H. Dillard, Chairman of the Jeanes Fund, that he was anxious to develop the idea of industrial training in Negro schools under his supervision. Negro teachers, he assured Dr. Dillard, were favourably disposed towards the idea. Already "Improvement Leagues" had been organised in some communities, and hand-work, sewing, basketry, fishing-net weaving, mat- and broom-making had been started.

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5. " . . . even before the Civil War there was emphasis on industrial training."—Benjamin Brawley. Early Effort for Industrial Education. Occasional Papers, No. 22. The Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1923. Page 2.

He required the sum of 720 dollars for a year or two. That would enable him to pay the salaries of two teachers at 40 dollars per month each. Their duties would include the supervision and direction of industrial work. In October, 1908, the board agreed to pay the salary of one teacher, and Miss Virginia E. Randolph was appointed the first "Jeanes Teacher."

III. Development of Jeanes Ideal.

The duties of Jeanes teachers were not originally explicitly defined. Generally they were expected to discover what needed most to be done in a school and community; and then to do it. This procedure made not only for the development of initiative, but also for elasticity of organisation, factors which seem to have helped towards the achievement of practical results.

However, certain guiding principles were understood:—

1. "The work of any individual Jeanes teacher must be determined by (a) the wishes of her superintendent; (b) the needs of the local situation in which she is working; and (c) her own particular tastes and abilities.

2. "The Jeanes teacher must always be primarily a helper rather than a supervisor.

3. "The Jeanes teacher must be recognized as a regular employee of the local school system and as such responsible to the local superintendent and school board in all matters pertaining to her work."[5]

At the end of the first year of the Jeanes experiment, Dr. Dillard published a statement in which he set out the duties performed by the first Jeanes teacher. This teacher had spent her whole time visiting some twenty-two schools, "sometimes two or three a day, so that the schools have had the benefit not only of the industrial training, but of constant supervision, suggestion and encouragement. It has also been a part of her work to form, in the various communities, organizations for school and home improvement."[6] In discussing the advisability of extending the work, Dr. Dillard wrote:—

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5. ibid. p. 17.

6. James H. Dillard. Letter to Board of the Jeanes Fund. Extract given by Arthur D. Wright and Edward E. Redcay in the Negro Rural School Fund, Inc., 1907-1933. Page 18.

" I find, however, that it will be possible in many places to adopt a modification of the plan. That is, we can supply the salary for a teacher at the most favourable point in the county, have this teacher give three or four days' work to this school, and let her give the rest of her time to two, three, or four neighbouring schools . . ."[7]

Perhaps the fullest statement on the duties of the Jeanes teacher, as these are understood to-day, is the following :—

" The Jeanes teacher teaches in the various rural schools simple industrial work, helps the regular teacher with her work, raises money for the extension of school terms, the erection of new buildings, the improvement of buildings and grounds, the supplementing of teachers' salaries and the purchase of school materials, helps the women of the community to can and sew, holds teachers' meetings, distributes supplies, and in general does anything to promote the welfare of the Negro people and especially of the Negro schools of the county in which she works."[8]

A study of the development of the Jeanes idea shows that the work of the Jeanes teacher in the beginning did not differ essentially from the work of the Jeanes teacher to-day. Apparent differences lie in the modifications and adaptations of the idea to local conditions, a procedure implied in the peculiar political and, therefore, educational set-up in the United States. The real difference lies in the emphasis that has been placed on various aspects of the work from time to time and from place to place.[9]

The comprehensive nature of Jeanes work, as well as the fact of emphasis, seems to have been reflected in the terminology used to describe the functions of Jeanes teachers. These teachers have been variously called " Supervising Industrial Teachers," " Jeanes Workers," " Jeanes Supervising Teachers," " Jeanes Visiting Teachers," or, simply, " Jeanes Teachers." The latter term is the one in most popular use.[10]

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7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. This idea will be developed later.
10. Throughout this discussion the Jeanes teacher has been constantly referred to as " she." This fact hardly requires explanation. In the United States comparatively few male teachers are employed in elementary schools. It is to be expected that female teachers should predominate in the Jeanes system. Moreover, much of the Jeanes teachers' work has been related to the home, traditionally the responsibility of the mother. Probably this tradition has been a factor in the preference for female teachers.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL SETTING OF JEANES WORK.

Probably it is a truism to state that problems in education the world over are fundamentally the same. Universally, they seem to arise from social and economic causes. They mainly differ from country to country in the manner of attack that is brought to bear upon them in the quest for solutions, and the particular means used for that purpose is largely determined by the cultural pattern of the country concerned. So it is with the so-called problem of Negro education in the Southern States. Between that problem and the problem of Coloured education in South Africa there exists a marked similarity, which is exemplified in the profound effect of bi-racialism on the education of the under privileged groups in the two situations. Indeed, were it not for the fact of bi-racialism, the nature of the problem in either country would have been decidedly different from what it actually is.

It need hardly be explained that the term bi-racialism has specific reference to the relationship of the two racial types which comprise the population, the white people of European origin, and the Negroes of African descent.[1] White Americans have always regarded the Negroes as inherently inferior to themselves, naïvely believed the black man was divinely ordained to serve them, unscientifically assumed the inability of the Negro to assimilate their culture, and, finally, arbitrarily decreed that the Negro should be

1. There are respectively about 113,000,000 and 12,000,000 white people and Negroes in the United States. The original stock of the former was mainly Anglo-Saxon. It is estimated that these number about 83,000,000. The remainder of the white population, approximately 30,000,000, is classed as "second generation," and other foreigners arrived comparatively lately. The "vanishing race," the Red Indians, need not be considered for the purpose of this study.
Whatever influence accretions of foreign stock have exerted on the Anglo-Saxon culture, their advent in America has been of too recent time to have modified in any considerable degree the culture of the United States. Before that country became a refuge for European immigrants, the pattern of its culture had been set, and the bi-racial character of its schools had been determined. In South Africa a distinction is drawn between persons of mixed blood and full-blooded Africans. But in the United States no such distinction exists. The term Negro in the U.S. denotes people of African descent and includes persons of mixed blood, with the least strain of African blood in their veins. Some persons of this latter type so closely resemble "Nordics," that they are indistinguishable from white people.

" kept in his place." This attitude has become traditional. It is woven in the fabric of American culture on which bi-racial education is founded. The implication of this attitude towards the Negro is clear. He is thereby put beyond the pale of full citizenship, since he must submit to segregation in the educational system.[2]

The fact of bi-racial education is undoubtedly the most glaring denial in American democracy ; its practice, the negation of the principle, equality of opportunity. For almost invariably, bi-racial education implies different standards of efficiency, and almost inevitably tends to become discriminatory.[3] In the Southern States it has meant for the Negro unequal financial support, inferior buildings and equipment, inadequate facilities for schooling, and discrimination in the pay of teachers.

It is probably generally known that the states, and in many cases the larger cities too, raise their own revenue for education. It is intereesting to note how financial support for Negro and white schools varies almost in direct proportion to race prejudice. Where race antipathies are deepest, there also the gap of financial support is widest. The following table of figures taken from the United States Census for 1930 illustrates this feature in the relative per capita expenditure in eleven Southern States :—

STATE.	WHITE.	NEGRO.
Alabama	36.43 dollars	10.09 dollars
Arkansas	38.15 ,,	13.02 ,,
Florida	57.16 ,,	14.45 ,,
Georgia	35.42 ,,	6.38 ,,
Louisiana	67.47 ,,	16.54 ,,
Maryland	64.86 ,,	43.16 ,,
Mississippi	45.34 ,,	5.45 ,,
North Carolina	40.07 ,,	15.71 ,,
Oklahoma	43.86 ,,	34.25 ,,
South Carolina	60.06 ,,	7.84 ,,
Texas	38.76 ,,	16.02 ,,

2. Nor is segregation in schools north of Mason and Dixon's Line unknown. With few exceptions, notably in New York City, it is illegally but openly practised. Even in New York, where the public schools are open to all children. regardless of class, creed or colour, and where a liberal tradition prevails, segregation operates almost as effectively as in the South. But there it operates more subtly, since attendance at school is conditioned by residential qualifications. In Harlem one would expect the schools to be almost wholly for Negro children.

3. The bi-racial educational situation in Washington, D.C., is perhaps the only exception. There educational facilities are distributed between the races in nearly equal proportions.

This table reveals the fact that educational opportunity for Negro children, measured in terms of per capita expenditure, lags far behind that for white children. Only in Maryland and in Oklahoma does expenditure show a relatively high ratio. In the other states the proportion ranges from about one-half to one-ninth. Of course, per capita expenditure on white children in these states compares unfavourably with that for the United States as a whole. In the former case it is 44.31 dollars, while in the latter it is 87.22 dollars. But the fact of discrimination becomes even more obvious, when it is considered that the comparative sum for Negro children is only 12.57 dollars.

As in the matter of per capita expenditure so also in regard to school buildings Negro children are notoriously badly off. This fact is reflected in the low cost of public school buildings. According to the figures for 1930 there were 24,100 school buildings valued at 57,143,000 dollars. It is significant to note that these included 1,585 urban schools valued at 7,925,000 dollars, and 5,000 Rosenwald rural schools at 25,342,000 dollars. Referring to these figures, an eminent American authority makes this observation :—

> " Eliminating the value of both the urban and Rosenwald schools the average value of the 17,500 rural schools would be approximately 1,360 dollars. Obviously the large majority of Negro rural schools are very inadequate structures. Studies of school buildings in many of the southern counties indicate that conditions are far worse than those reflected by the above averages."[4]

In connection with this question, as well as with the general inefficiency of one-room Negro schools, the opinion of a Carnegie visitor from South Africa is appropriate. He writes :—

> " Visiting these one-teacher schools is a melancholy and depressing business. Those seen were near roads and under the supervision of Jeanes teachers ; it might reasonably be inferred that where schools are situated in more backward areas and are not under supervision to such an extent, conditions are very much worse."[5]

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4. Thomas Jesse Jones. " Trends in Negro Education, 1915-1930." Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931. Page 36.
5. W. H. Seaton. Schools in Travail. The Carnegie Corporation, New York City. Page 13.

Not only are the majority of school buildings unsatisfactory, but also are they insufficient to accommodate Negro children. A study of census statistics reveals that in 1930 approximately a million Negro children of school age were unprovided with facilities for schooling. This means that more than a quarter of the Negro children who ought to attend school are denied the benefits of schooling.

Another dismal commentary on American democracy is the remuneration of Negro teachers. The following comparative table shows the figures for 1912 and 1930, respectively :—

Year.	State.	White.	Negro.
1912	North Carolina	197 dollars	119 dollars
1930		1,046 ,,	465 ,,
1912	South Carolina	333 ,,	111 ,,
1930		1,047 ,,	316 ,,
1912	Virginia	322 ,,	173 ,,
1930		795 ,,	434 ,,

This table indicates an upward trend in the salaries of all teachers, but it also illustrates the wideness of the gap that exists between the remuneration of white and Negro teachers.

The effects of segregation discussed above by no means exhaust all the instances of inferior educational service suffered by Negroes, but are sufficient to give the reader a general conception of the field in which Jeanes teachers are called to labour.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEANES TEACHER IN HOME AND COMMUNITY.

Before the days of Jeanes supervision, rural education in the Southern States was bookish and almost purely academic in character. Teachers were poorly equipped for the important task of educating the young, while school buildings were generally dilapidated cabins. Improvement became an urgent necessity. Clearly the school did not satisfy the needs of the community. Education was very largely divorced from the lives of the people. Such was the scene of the early labours of Jeanes teachers.

That Jeanes teachers concentrated on the 'practical' aspect of education, almost to the total exclusion of formal supervision in the ordinary subjects of school instruction, was inevitable. It was inevitable, too, that the emphasis on industrial training was carried over to the home and community, a procedure that has become closely associated with the idea of Jeanes supervision. This emphasis was much needed in the effort to change the attitude of Negroes towards the proper function of education. The Jeanes plan was designed to rejuvenate the school and make it a living influence, by relating education to the needs of the community and of the home. This early effort encountered strong opposition from the Negroes themselves, who suspected the motive for the change and feared that purely academic or formal instruction might be sacrificed to the new idea of practical education. Gradually, however, opposition gave way to hearty co-operation.[1]

The community side of Jeanes supervision involves Jeanes teachers in the performance of varied duties, which not only call for a high degree of intelligence and versatility in those devoted to the service, but also burden them with heavy responsibilities. A brief reference to each of these duties would not be out of place.

As County Nurse : Undoubtedly one of the most important functions of the Jeanes teacher is that of county nurse. Though generally untrained for the profession of nursing, the

1. Jackson Davis. The Jeanes Visiting Teachers in the Southern States. Address. Report of Inter-Territorial Jeanes Conference, Salisbury. Southern Rhodesia.

Jeanes teacher is sufficiently informed to teach her people the simple laws of health and the elementary principles of hygiene. The teaching is done through discussions in parent-teacher meetings, through the organisation of such media as baby shows, but most effectively through informal house-visiting. That the Jeanes teacher lives in the community enhances her influence. Thus she acquires an intimate knowledge of what people do and think, enters into the living of the people as one of themselves, and can, consequently, overtly and authoritatively take her place as a leader in the community.

As Home Demonstration Agent: Not infrequently the Jeanes teacher does the work of county home demonstration agent. This happens invariably where government agents do not reach an isolated community. Much of this kind of work takes place during the summer months in counties which can afford to retain the services of these teachers beyond the duration of the school term. One approach in this type of work is through the organisation of clubs among the elder girls, who engage in vegetable gardening and frequently are joined by their mothers. These clubs meet once a week in a different home by rotation. When the gardens are well under way, the Jeanes teachers give instruction in house-cleaning, needlework and cookery. These efforts are often motivated by a county exhibition of cooking, canning and sewing. On such occasions persons and groups from all parts of the county compete in keen but friendly rivalry.

As Social Worker: The Jeanes teacher is also a social welfare worker as well as a poor relief agent. She is interested in the problems that arise from all relations in home and community. She visits the sick,[2] consoles the bereaved, administers relief, finds employment for the workless, provides recreation for the adolescent, studies the juvenile delinquent, and composes differences between husband and wife.

From this somewhat cursory survey of Jeanes activities in the community, it will readily be appreciated that the Jeanes teacher is much over-worked. At a conference held in May, 1934, at Washington, D.C., the findings of the committee on rural education expressed the view that the Jeanes

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2. "Visited many homes and in many cases endeavoured to relieve the sick." Excerpt from a Jeanes teacher's report. Quoted in Rural Elementary Education Among Negroes Under Jeanes Supervising Teachers. Bulletin No. 5, 1933. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Page 51.

teacher should be relieved of much of her present responsibilities, and " should concentrate more fully on the professional problem of technical school supervision."[3] At the same time the findings recognised that, while necessity remained a fact, the Jeanes teacher should continue to engage in these activities.

Lately there has been discernible a tendency for Jeanes supervision increasingly to become restricted to technical school supervision, though not to the exclusion of the Jeanes ideal. This tendency may be interpreted merely as a shift in emphasis from the community back to the school. But it is important to note not the old purely academic school, but a new one in its proper community setting. For while the increase and spread of social, health and home demonstration agencies have lessened the use of Jeanes work in the community, industrial work remains an important part of the functions of Jeanes teachers. Moreover, the tendency noted above relates chiefly to some of the original functions, and by no means affects the practical side of the Jeanes teacher's work in the school. Essentially she still attempts to link the school with the home and the community life of the people. This aspect of Jeanes supervision will be considered in the next chapter.

3. Ambrose Caliver. Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes. Bulletin No. 6, 1935. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Page 64.

CHAPTER V.

LINKING SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY.

A statistical presentation of the Negro rural school situation will help towards an understanding of how Jeanes teachers achieve the Jeanes ideal—the linking of school and community.

The Typical Negro Rural School: Of all Negro schools in the Southern States 93 per cent are of the one-, two- and three-teacher types, the first type alone representing 64 per cent of the total number, while 24,400, or nearly 50 per cent of Negro teachers in the United States work in schools that fall in the category of the one- and two-teacher types.[1] When it is considered that 56 per cent of the twelve million Negroes in America live in rural areas, the importance of these schools cannot be over-estimated.

Status of Rural Negro Teachers: Concerning the status of rural Negro teachers, reference is made to the National Survey of Education of Teachers.[2] According to this survey, 35.8 per cent of Negro teachers in purely rural areas and 22.5 per cent in village situations had respectively four or less years of high school training. The corresponding figures for white teachers were respectively 4.5 and 4.1 per cent.

Availability of Education for Negroes: Important factors in the availability of education for Negro children in rural communities are the length of the school term and school attendance. In seventeen Southern States the average length of the school term works out at 135 days, or one and a half months short of the standard term. "The cumulative effect of this annual loss to Negroes over one school generation of 12 years means a difference of 18 months—or two school years."[3] Negro children. for a variety of reasons, chief among which are long distances, bad roads and lack of transport facilities, lose every year an average of from twenty-six to thirty-five days.[4]

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1. Caliver. op. cit. p. 61.
2. Education of Negro Teachers in the United States. Bulletin No. 10. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1935.
3. Availability of Education to Negroes in Rural Communities. Bulletin No. 12. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1935 Page 34.
4. ibid. p. 38.

Status of Jeanes Supervisors: The work of Jeanes supervisors lies essentially in the type of school referred to above. In 1933, in fourteen states embracing 1,415 counties, Jeanes teachers were employed in only 305 counties.[5] Of the remaining number of counties 499 were in need of Jeanes supervision. In the same year the average Jeanes teacher "had about two years' education beyond the high school level, worked for nine months . . . , had served an average of six years as Jeanes teacher, and was between thirty-five and forty years of age."[6]

The Linking Process: Wide and varied as the range of the Jeanes teacher's work undoubtedly is in extension service, that directly connected with schools is as varied and wide. It includes supervision of both industrial and regular academic instruction, the promotion of school clubs, improvement of sanitary and health conditions at schools, as well as the raising of funds for a variety of educational purposes, among which feature prominently funds for the erection of new buildings, for equipment and for extending the length of the school term. In fact, the Jeanes teacher has spent much of her time on this particular activity.[7]

It is interesting to note that Jeanes teachers between 1913 and 1928 were instrumental in raising the approximate sum of 5,000,000 dollars.[8] This splendid effort was directly stimulated by the Julius Rosenwald Fund which, during the period between 1913 and 1931, contributed 4,273,927 dollars towards the construction of 5,295 Negro rural schools. Significantly enough, whites and Negroes respectively contributed 1,179,229 and 4,683,012 dollars, while state and county governments aided to the extent of 17,511,663 dollars.[9]

Health education figures prominently in the teaching programmes of Jeanes supervisors, and the importance of both its personal and public aspects is generally recognised. Though this latter aspect directly falls outside the scope of the school, dependent as it is on many factors[10] beyond the control of the community, great influence is indirectly brought

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5. Wright and Redcay. The Negro Rural Fund, Inc. p. 20.
6. ibid. p. 19.
7. Ambrose Caliver. Rural Elementary Education Among Negroes Under Jeanes Supervising Teachers. Bulletin No. 5. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1933. Page 3.
8. ibid. p. 3.
9. Jones. Trends in Negro Education. p. 34.
10. Low income, poor housing, etc.

to bear on the community in respect of public health. The personal aspect of health teaching assumes an important part of the school curriculum ; nevertheless it has proved to be all but wholly ineffective.[11] Results have been disappointing, mainly for the reason that teachers do not yet generally realise that health education is a process of modifying habits and attitudes in children and not merely a matter of memorising facts about healthful living.[12]

In bringing teachers to a realisation of this important side of education, the Jeanes teacher exerts tremendous influence. Some schools furnish abundant evidence of this influence. Teachers encourage pupils to prepare their lunches at school and thus ensure due regard for food values. In connection with projects of this kind, ample scope is afforded for practice in cleanliness. Children are expected to wash their hands and brush their teeth before and after meals. They are also encouraged to cleanse cutlery and crockery after use.

In the most backward rural situations the school latrine has become a necessary part of school equipment. Sometimes the structure is made of boards obtained from boxes and covered with rubberoid Often they are rough wooden structures, with sanitary pails, and roofs of petrol cans. But white-wash inside and outside, a cover for the seat, and a box of ashes characterise the crudest latrine. Frequently parents, pupils and teachers co-operate in these and similar projects. The school cabin is white-washed, roofs and fences are kept in repair, and the school ground is generally maintained in good order. Increasingly, the influence of the Jeanes teacher extends to the local community. This influence is not felt so much through precept as example. Cabins are white-washed, windows curtained and footpaths kept free from mud in imitation of the school example.

Jeanes supervision does not end here. Its interests are as wide as the needs of the community. This fact has been demonstrated again and again, but in no instance to greater effect than in the use of leisure. Modern civilisation involves masses of people throughout the world in unprecedented leisure, both incidental as a result of release from labour through labour-saving devices, and enforced as in the case of the unemployed. Hence, humanity faces a social problem

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11. Cf. Seaton. Schools in Travail. Pages 13 and 14.
12. Caliver, op. cit., pages 39 and 40.

of comparatively recent origin, how to use leisure creatively ; and, until governments develop schemes for absorbing the leisure of their citizens, the school must recognise the urgency of the problem and attempt to deal with it.[13] For the child of to-day will be the citizen of to-morrow, and in the degree the child is furnished with opportunities for the proper use of leisure, in that degree will the adult fulfil his obligations and accept his responsibilities as a citizen.

Jeanes teachers face this problem by the promotion of recreational activities. The formation of bands, orchestras and glee clubs is popular, while athletic and literary clubs are by no means uncommon. These activities are regarded as " extra-curricular." This is a pity. For although children engage in them during out-of-school hours, they should be definitely related to the rest of the school programme. After all, the curriculum of the school should be as wide as life itself.

13. Caliver, op. cit., p. 36.

CHAPTER VI.

TECHNICAL SCHOOL SUPERVISION.

In this chapter a brief account[1] is given of supervisory activities spread over six months and affecting the schools of thirty-six counties in the State of Georgia.[2] The Jeanes Supervisor for this state, Mrs. Helen A. Whiting, planned this campaign of supervision. She felt that of all the subjects in the curriculum, reading was of basic importance, and that improvement in that field would ultimately ensure progress in other subjects.

As a preliminary step, a survey of teaching techniques in reading was made. Observation was undertaken in typical schools in each county. This was followed by individual and group conferences with county Jeanes teachers, principals and classroom teachers. Discussion covered such topics as improved teaching materials and methods, the need for careful teacher-preparation, the absolute necessity of taking into account the interests and needs of individual pupils.

After the completion of the survey, two schedules on school organisation were distributed. The first schedule suggested the division of a school into four main groups, according to the ability of the pupils. Not only did it provide for the lengthening of class periods by the simple device of grouping the grades, but it also involved the reduction of the number of subjects through the integration of subject matter in the social studies.

The second schedule embraced schemes for " seat-work," both as a preparation and as a follow-up for reading. Reading, based on its two-fold aspects of pleasure and of information, was assigned the most prominent place in the curriculum, and a series of written objective tests was devised to hold the attention of the pupils while the teacher was busy with another group.

At first, the idea of grouping was a stumbling block to most teachers, who still attempted to teach according to traditional practices, by " hearing " each subject grade by

1. This account is largely a summary of Mrs. Whiting's report.
2. Helen A. Whiting. Summary of Six Months' Supervisory Activities in the Supervision of the Elementary Grades of the State of Georgia. Unpublished report. April 1936.

grade. In many instances class periods seldom covered ten minutes. In the words of one of the county supervisors, ". . . Little actual teaching was being done because there was no attempt at organisation. At the end of the day the teacher was almost a nervous wreck."[3] That these teachers found difficulty in grasping the idea of grouping is not surprising, since most of them were extremely poorly equipped for their important task. The following remark by a county Jeanes teacher is significant :—

" The greatest hindrance to the carrying out of this program is the fact that the teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of subject matter and little reserve information to lead children to discover and explore for themselves."[4]

However, as the experimental period proceeded, teachers, under the guidance of the Jeanes supervisor, began more and more to appreciate the value of the new type of organisation, and after the expiration of six months' work, the Jeanes teachers could report definite outcomes of the experiment. Lessons were better taught, more time[5] could be devoted to slow pupils, seat-work kept pupils occupied, independence and initiative in pupils increased, pupils generally evinced increasing interest in their work and reading improved far beyond expectation.

The procedure described above concerned the state as a whole. It might be relevant to consider briefly the procedure in one county. The following supervisory programme was drawn up for use in Henry County, Georgia, by the county Jeanes teacher.[7]

As a background for the plan this teacher classified the county population into white and Negro ; the latter into owner families and tenant families, respectively, in rural farm and in rural non-farm areas ; according to sex and in age-groups. The agricultural population was classified as owners, part owners, tenants and croppers. Acreage, value of land and

3. ibid. p. 5.
4. ibid. p. 6.
5. One teacher reported that she had succeeded in lengthening the teaching periods from 5-10 minutes to 20-25 minutes.
6. Seat-work is work designed to keep a class or classes occupied, while the teacher gives instruction to another group of pupils. Usually seat-work takes the form of preparation on the part of pupils for a new lesson. Often it embraces the testing of work done in previous lessons.
7. Danetta Sanders. Plan of Supervision Negro Schools of Henry County. Unpublished report ; 1935.

buildings, of implements and machinery were specified, Negro workers gainfully employed were classified as farmers, farm labourers and wage earners. Schools were required to furnish information on enrolment by grades, on teachers' professional and academic qualifications, on types of schools, buildings and grounds. Information was also sought about the economic status of families, and about Parent-Teacher Associations ;8 concerning influential white persons sympathetic to Negro schools and key-people in the community ; with reference to religious and social influences at work in the community.

From this general picture, deficiencies with corresponding needs were readily ascertainable and formulated into community problems, some of which involved the education of parents, leadership in the community, recreation and economic questions.

Next, this Jeanes teacher compiled a list of all the community and school activities she proposed to introduce. This list provided for the formation of P.T.A.'s., for boys' and girls' clubs, and for co-operation with existing agencies, such as Home Demonstration and Farm Agents. The activities included, also, proposals for holding Saturday conferences with parents, for improving school libraries, for holding a Field Day, and for suitably observing special days, such as Thanksgiving and Christmas, as well as special weeks, such as National Negro History Week, and National Negro Health Week.

Outstanding in this county programme were a four-day conference and a series of monthly meetings of rural teachers. The purpose of the conference was to acquaint the teachers with the state programme, as well as to call attention to the need for professional growth. Extension classes were promoted, and private reading, both for professional advancement, and for recreation, was encouraged. The monthly meetings included demonstration lessons in the teaching of reading in one-teacher schools, the practical use of tests, and the techniques of remedial work.

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8. Parent-Teacher Associations, as the name indicates, are associations of parents and teachers. This type of organisation enlists the co-operation of parents in maintaining school property in repair, in raising funds and, among more advanced communities, in the discussion of school problems.

9. Parent-Teacher Associations.

An " observation sheet " was filled in by each teacher with reference to the following headings : Points the teacher expected the supervisor to observe ; strong points of the lesson as well as weak ones. Under this latter heading, space was provided for the judgment and the suggestions of both teacher and supervisor. The county supervisor kept a record of visits. This record included particulars as to the date of the visit, lessons observed, lessons taught by the Jeanes teacher, help requested, help offered, and evidence of professional growth.

In the experiences described above stood out the resourcefulness of the State Jeanes Supervisor herself : In that she set a lead to the county supervisors who encouraged the teachers in their care to make as much use as possible of reading and other teaching materials in their environment. Particularly in regard to reading matter, most of the schools were extremely poorly off, a handicap which taxed the ingenuity of teachers to the utmost. But this supervisor was equal to the occasion. She met the demand for reading materials by duplicating and distributing stories which students in her summer class, during the previous year at Atlanta University, had written. These stories had been assignments to cultivate appreciation in her students of the rural environment, and were on such topics as Georgia peaches, pure drinking water, sanitation, flies, gardens, vegetable dyes, and the use of Georgia clay in painting. Among the suggestions for neat work, directions for constructing a hectograph and home-made paste were included.

During observation in over a hundred schools, the state supervisor kept records, which enabled her to illustrate criticism of teaching procedures, with actual examples. When teachers complained of lack of text-books, and did nothing to supply the need, she told them that the lack was " a blessing and a challenge to teacher-resourcefulness," and that they might learn to appreciate the value of common things like catalogues, commercial and manufacturing booklets, old newspapers and magazines.10

Perhaps the most difficult task of all was to wean teachers from the faults of the traditional school. They persisted in stressing oral reading. It was tactfully pointed out that people read silently in life situations. Teachers would " row-up " the children along the wall, instead of allowing

10. Whiting. Six months' Supervisory Activities. p. 13.

them to be comfortably seated. They invested arithmetic with an exaggerated importance, when, " what the children needed was an occasional arithmetic reading, where they might be taught to read silently, to understand arithmetic problems." Although arithmetic was the first subject on the time-table, " yet, no matter when one visited (a school) later in the day, oral arithmetic was flourishing."[11] With unabating enthusiasm and relentless determination, this enterprising supervisor pursued her quest for improving educational procedures, even to the extent of criticising the stiffness and fixity of school furniture. The formality of the classroom, she admonished, should be broken up. The pupils themselves should take a hand in the reformation of the classroom, and construct needed articles of furniture.

11. ibid. p. 14.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FINANCING OF JEANES WORK.[1]

The burden of financing the work of Jeanes teachers has, of course, fallen mainly on the Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. During the period April, 1907, to June, 1932, the total income from investments and from interest on bank balances amounted to the huge sum of 1,036,466 dollars. Contributions from other sources amounted to 1,115,637 dollars. Thus, the aggregate income was 2,152,104 dollars. The following table is a summary of this income :—

Income from Investments, etc.	1,036,466	dollars
General Education Board	1,087,193	,,
Phelps-Stokes Fund	10,000	,,
Julius Rosenwald	9,302	,,
Keith Fund	4,500	,,
Unclassified	4,640	,,

On the expenditure side, the total disbursements reached the sum of 2,121,578 dollars. Under the item of administration expenses, 209,866 and 77,647 dollars, respectively, were expended on salaries and travel. The following table summarises expenditure :—

Administration	321,121	dollars
Teachers' Salaries	1,670,847	,,
Conferences	41,806	,,
Buildings and Equipment	20,780	,,
Summer Schools	10,818	,,
Unclassified	5,108	,,

The summary of expenditure by no means represents all the monies devoted to the cause of Negro rural education, for public educational authorities contributed a share towards the expenses involved in Jeanes work. At first, the contribution was small, and almost grudgingly made ; but, as time went on, the contributions increasingly became more substantial. This fact of growing increments seems to indicate that the state and local school authorities appreciated the value of Jeanes supervision.

1. The figures in this chapter are derived from the tables in : The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. Pages 169-172. Cents have been disregarded.

The following table shows the increasing ratio of public contributions to contributions from the Jeanes Fund for the period 1914-1932. No figures are available of the contributions from public funds prior to that period. It should be noted that each year earned an increment from that source, except the seven years 1922-1928, when contributions fluctuated and averaged annually 56 per cent. In the table below only selected years are given to illustrate the rate and amount of increment :—

Year.	Negro Rural School Fund.	Public Funds.
1914	84 per cent	16 per cent
1915	73 ,,	27 ,,
1917	62 ,,	38 ,,
1919	56 ,,	44 ,,
1921	41 ,,	59 ,,
1931	34 ,,	66 ,,
1932	34 ,,	66 ,,

CHAPTER VIII.

JEANES SUPERVISION; AN EVALUATION.

Any attempt at an evaluation of Jeanes supervision must necessarily have reference to a criterion of judgment. Such a criterion is found in the philosophy underlying Jeanes work, a philosophy which is exemplified in the two aspects or functions of community service and of technical school supervision. Whether this philosophy accords with sound educational principles will be considered first; the implications that involve abandonment of the Jeanes ideal will be discussed next.

The two aspects of Jeanes work are frequently regarded as distinct each from the other, and, because they differ functionally, the view is held that community service properly belongs to the social worker, while school supervision should be the only responsibility of the Jeanes teacher. In this view, however, the essential unity involved is entirely disregarded, that the two functions exemplify different aspects of the same educational process. They are complementary, the one formal in the school, the other indirect in the community. Regarded from this point of view, the functional differences merge into the single process of education.

Moreover, the philosophy under consideration receives the strongest sanction from current psychology.[1]. Education is not concerned only with the individual as such, but decidedly with the individual-in-its-environment. In order that the teacher may approach her task with intelligence and sympathy, she should acquire as wide a knowledge and as deep an insight as possible of the child's environment. This purpose can be achieved most effectively by the teacher's active participation in the experiences of her pupils in their homes and in the community.[2] Deficiencies in the teacher's know-

1. William Heard Kilpatrick. A Reconstructed Theory of the Educative Process. Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1935.

2. This idea might be further developed. Biologically considered, the child is an organism in continuous interaction with its environment. Each change in the latter causes an "upset" in the former, which strives to readjust its equilibrium. The responses called forth in the efforts towards readjustment are characterised as behaviour. It is essentially this behaviour process that education attempts to modify. Thus education involves far more than the development of "skills" in the child. It implies also the forming of acceptable attitudes and habits, and the development of ability in the child **to live intelligently.** Hence the importance of the teacher's participation in the child's social environment.

ledge of the child's environment outside the school might, of course, be supplemented in ways other than by participation in community living. But vicarious experience lacks the personal and vital element inherent in actual experience.

Some implications of the divergence between the philosophy and practice of Jeanes supervision will now be considered. In the early years of the system, the Jeanes teacher, on entering a community, first ascertained the most urgent need of the people, and then proceeded to supply that need. This practice held important implications for the school. The Jeanes teacher realised that many problems in the school were rooted in unfavourable conditions in home and community. Hence, she very properly concentrated her energies, and spent most of her time on social activities. These social activities in relation to formal school work was the Jeanes ideal.

That this ideal has been partly abandoned through the restriction of Jeanes supervision to purely school activities, was pointed out in an earlier chapter. Restriction seems to have been contingent upon two factors, the increasing use of federal social agencies, and the gradual passing of control of Jeanes teachers from the directors of the Negro Educational Fund to state education departments. With reference to the first factor, the practice has been in vogue of withdrawing Jeanes teachers from community service in counties supplied with specialist social agencies. This step has been taken to prevent overlapping. The specialist, whether county nurse, home demonstration agent or general social worker, must, to some extent, displace the Jeanes teacher. But total withdrawal of the Jeanes teacher is hardly necessary. Indeed the Jeanes teacher might continue her social activities on a basis of co-operation. Where two or more social agencies operate independently in a county, the problem of overlapping is bound to arise. In this respect the Jeanes teacher might be used for co-ordinating work in the community. Future development on the community side of Jeanes work might conceivably take this course. The suggestion is made here for serious consideration.

The second factor, restriction as a policy contingent upon the passing of control, does not operate uniformly throughout the states, for it seems to depend on the proportion of state aid to that derived from the Jeanes Fund. In some states, where the former exceeds the latter, the process of restriction is practically complete. In other states, where the Jeanes Fund contributes the greater share, community service still forms an important part of the Jeanes teacher's work. Why

a state, merely because it is in a position to dictate a policy of restriction, should thereby limit the usefulness of Jeanes teachers is not clear.

A possible explanation of the practice might lie in the fact that restriction should make for more intensive work in the field of formal school supervision. Observation did not bear out this contention. On the contrary, it was frequently found that Jeanes work largely meant collection of facts and data, compilation of endless records, drafting of reports, and work generally of a clerical nature.[3] In such cases actual supervision was perfunctory, and the schools suffered accordingly.

It would seem, however, that even if these factors did not operate in the manner discussed above, a third factor inherent in the system itself would still determine the amount of emphasis that should fall on either aspect of Jeanes supervision. That factor is the remarkable adaptability of the system and its sensitiveness to local requirements. Imagine a scale to represent the system, at the one extreme community service, at the other formal school supervision. In the middle the two aspects blend perfectly in the Jeanes ideal. Then the point of emphasis would move along the scale in response to local needs. Another feature of this shift in emphasis is the close connection there appears to be on the one hand between culturally backward communities, and emphasis on community service, and, on the other hand, between more advanced communities and the tendency for Jeanes practice to recede from the community ideal, and to take on the aspect of formal school supervision. That connection was evident in every situation that came under observation.

In summing up, the conclusion follows irresistibly that the Jeanes ideal not only has a sound psychological basis, but also that it is an indispensable device in modern education.

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3. Cf. Seaton. Schools in Travail. p. 31.

CHAPTER IX.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CAPE PROVINCE.

The adaptability of Jeanes supervision was referred to in the previous chapter. This adaptability should enable Jeanes supervision to function peculiarly successfully in a society like that in South Africa, which is characterised by such diverse cultural levels. The term cultural levels, of course, has reference to the extent to which social heritage has been assimilated by various groups of people in South Africa, and does not necessarily hold racial implications.[1] In the case of Africans, the racial implication undoubtedly exists, but there it is only incidental, since the Africans, as a racial group, are conscious of a cultural pattern all their own. However, the Coloured people and the Europeans share a common social heritage, and cultural levels among them transcend mere racial division. The difference between the two communities might be expressed in terms of opportunity for cultural development, and lies in the amount of social heritage each community has had the opportunity to assimilate. Generally, there has been a lag in the cultural development of the Coloured people. This leeway might be made up by subjecting them to some form of Jeanes influence.

Accordingly, the following procedures are recommended :—

1. **That the Cape Education Department formulate a scheme for the development of Jeanes supervision among the Coloured people in the Cape Province.**

The question implied in this recommendation is whether such a scheme can legally be financed from ordinary sources of educational revenue. Having regard to the distinction between formal school instruction and indirect education in the community, the answer would probably be in the negative. If so, the provincial administration might be persuaded to try the bold experiment of making a grant of money earmarked for use in the community side of the work. Administrative expenses, and the salaries of supervising teachers might then be met partly from this source, and partly from ordinary revenue.

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1. Underprivileged whites in South Africa are also culturally backward The Jeanes plan should function successfully amongst them.

2. **That the scheme be introduced experimentally.**

It is essential that the form of adaptation best suited to local conditions should be ascertained before Jeanes supervision can be introduced on a large scale. Lack of adequate means of transportation and communication, as well as the scattered nature of the schools, are all factors to be considered. These factors determine the experimental nature of the scheme.

3. **That the experiment be confined to one- and two-teacher schools in selected rural areas.**

The experiment should be conducted simultaneously in four specially selected rural areas, and should be confined to one- and two-teacher schools. Facile accessibility should be a condition of selection. The selected areas should include two backward farm communities, and two fairly advanced village situations. A full-range programme of Jeanes supervision should be instituted in one of each of the community types, while in the remaining two the experiment should be limited to technical school supervision. No single area should embrace more than ten schools.

4. **That the experiment be conducted by supervising teachers under the guidance and direction of a co-ordinating supervisor, who should be directly responsible to the Superintendent-General of Education.**

Each subsidiary experiment should be conducted by a supervising teacher specially selected for qualities of personality, of leadership, of practical experience, but not necessarily with academic attainments. These supervising teachers should reside in the communities they serve. The co-ordinating supervisor should be a person of similar qualities, should be directly responsible to the Superintendent-General of Education, and should keep in constant touch with the supervising teachers. It is, of course, understood that existing inspection should be suspended pending the final outcome of the experiment.