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The Negro community of Grantville, Georgia

James Nathaniel Shopshire
Atlanta University

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THE NEGRO COMMUNITY OF GRANTVILLE, GEORGIA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
JAMES NATHANIEL SHOPSHIRE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JANUARY 1953

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Community studies as developed by modern social scientists may be classified under the broad heading of area research. Julian H. Steward, in a survey of the theory and practice of area research, points out:

Area research projects that have actually been carried out might be classified in three groups: special disciplinary studies made within particular world areas; studies of entire areas of varying magnitudes; and research dealing with particular problems rather than areas as such. . . . There are many studies which undertake to understand areas as entities, some made largely by a single discipline, some by several disciplines. The areas investigated range from communities through regions, states, and nations to large culture areas. Communities and other smaller units are usually investigated by anthropologists and sociologists; the larger units by representatives of several social sciences.1

Investigators "usually select small localized segments . . . " as units of study. Social research on the community -- as well as on other phenomena -- "concerns itself with two rather different types of questions -- the discovery of general laws and the diagnosis of specific situations. . . . Descriptive and diagnostic studies have in common, emphasis on the specific characteristics of given situations."

This investigator has undertaken a descriptive study of the social life and customs of the Negro population in a small southern town, Grantville,

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2 Ibid., p. 22.
Georgia. Grantville is an incorporated community with a 1950 population of 1,359; Negroes constitute slightly more than one-third of this population. The interest here is in portraying, as accurately as possible, life conditions and customs of the Negro population in Grantville and its immediate environs. The Negro community for which Grantville is a center contains approximately one thousand persons.

The purposes of this investigation are to uncover and to describe prevailing patterns of conduct and thought; to indicate the manner in which social behavior is organized; and to note the focal points for community life.

The Problem

For purposes of this investigation, the Negro population of Grantville and its environs is viewed as a more or less integrated social unit. It is assumed that the various elements of this unit; the processes of interaction among them; and the factors -- both internal and external -- affecting life in this setting can be identified and studied. The writer is concerned with the following questions:

1. What is the setting -- cultural and economic -- of the Grantville Negro community?

2. What are the social characteristics of the Negro population?

3. What are the distinctive features of the social organization of the Negro community?

4. What is the relation of the school and similar institutions in the Negro community to other aspects of life and conduct in that community?

The actual extent of the Negro community as studied here is coterminous with the service area of the school. At the beginning of this study the school appears to be the one central institution which serves as a focal point for practically the entire community.
Data and Methods

The basic data for this study were collected over a six month period, April to October, 1951. Data descriptive of selected characteristics of the Negro group and the behavior and expectations of its members were obtained with the use of schedules, interviews, and participant-observation. Statistical records, and historical documents were used as secondary sources of data.

During the month of May, 1951, schedules were completed on 126 households in the Grantville community. The types of data collected by the schedules were: census-like data, with reference to age, sex, education, occupation and conditions of household; and reports of membership and participation in community organizations. Approximately fifty students, enrolled in the social science classes of the Grantville Training High School, administered these schedules. After the schedules had been administered, the investigator made a personal call on each of the family heads in the community in order to obtain additional information about the life experiences and expectations of the respondents and their relationships to the school and other institutions in the community. Additional interview material was obtained by twelve teachers in the high school, who served as temporary field workers; they recorded pertinent information obtained while making regular family visitations in connection with their teaching duties. The data collected in the way described were supplemented by the knowledge and insights of the investigator who

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1 An attempt was made to get a one hundred per cent sample of the Negro persons within the service area of the school. It is estimated that this sample is more than ninety-five per cent complete.
has played a participant-observer role in the community over a period of four years. During this period the writer and his wife have worked and lived in the community -- the writer as principal of the school mentioned, and his wife as a teacher. In addition, the writer has also served as a pastor of the John Wesley Methodist Church, one of three Negro churches in the community.

Related Studies

It has been indicated that community studies have, in the main, been either descriptive-analytical or diagnostic. Social surveys are best representative of diagnostic studies wherein the interest is in the implications of findings for action. Pauline Young points out that such social surveys are concerned with the formulation of a constructive program of social reform and amelioration of a social pathological nature, which has geographic limits and social significance. There have been many studies of this type made. Of historical interest is Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London*, published in 1892. Booth concerned himself with "the numerical relations which poverty, misery and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort and ... the general conditions under which each class lives."

During the early part of the twentieth century, Rowntree made a detailed study of working class conditions in the provincial town of York, England, at a time of serious economic readjustment. In his *Poverty: A* 

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Study of Town Life, B. S. Rowntree tried to compare the conditions of labor in a small town with those in a large metropolitan area.

The survey movement gained prominence in the United States as a systematic method of studying a community with the publication of the Pittsburgh Survey: A Study of the Effects of Urbanization in 1909. Under the direction of Paul Kellogg, a group of trained social economists and professional social workers made a study of an industrial area to gain insight into the dangers to workers in steel industries and its disorganizing effects.

Another notable survey is one that was initiated by Shelby Harrison in 1914. Using Springfield, Illinois as a laboratory, Harrison attempted to study the social conditions of a small American city as a complex unit. The Springfield survey was an inclusive study of social, education, economic, health, administrative, and legal conditions.

Related to these social surveys -- but at the same time differing because of the interest in describing social processes without any immediate interest in social action -- are the many studies of communities made within the last forty years by sociologists and anthropologists. This study of Grantville is thought of as being more nearly in the tradition of the sociological and anthropological survey, rather than the


social survey.

A list of some of the significant published works would include:

Albert Blumenthal, *Small Town Stuff* (1932)

Participant-observer method in study of small town of Mineville.

Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlan* (1930)

Acculturation study of a Mexican village.


The former viewed by Wissler as "a pioneer attempt to deal with a sample American community after the manner of social anthropology." (p. vi).

John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937)

Among other things, an attempt "to grasp and describe the emotional structure which runs parallel to the formal social structure in a community." (p. 2).

Elin Anderson, *We Americans*

A study of cleavage in a New England town.

Robert Miner, *St. Denis* (1939)

A study of a French-Canadian parish.

Robert Embree, *Suya Mura* (1939)

Anthropological study of a Japanese village.

Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (1939)

"An effort.... to view a unit of southern American culture in terms of human beings who have inherited a historical situation and whose personalities are being constantly affected by the culture in which they live." (p. ix).


Earl H. Bell, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas* (1942)
Kenneth Macleish and Kimball Young, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Lendaff, New Hampshire* (1942)

Walter M. Kellmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Community: The Old Amish Order of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (1942)


Walter J. Wynne, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Harmony, Georgia* (1943)

These are six in a series of "Rural Life Studies" sponsored by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Based upon the participant-observer method, these studies of contemporary rural life purport to be "samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability to great instability."

W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (1941)


The first volume in the Yankee City series indicates the intent: "A practical attempt to use the techniques and ideas which have been developed by social anthropologists in primitive society in order to obtain a more accurate understanding of an American community. . . . It seems likely that once we place the study of civilization in the framework of an inductive, systematic, comparative sociology, we can increase our knowledge of our own social behavior with . . . rapidity. . . ." (pp. 14-15)

Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, *Deep South* (1941)

"A social anthropological study of caste and class." An attempt "to understand the social structure and customs of the Negroes and whites of Old City, with the same perspective and minimum of bias which their fellow anthropologists have used when they have told of the natives of New Guinea, the Indians of the Amazon, or the aborigines of Australia." (p. 3)

James West (pseudonym), *Plainville, U. S. A.* (1945)

A study of the culture of a small Czarks farming community. The problem: the acculturation of a backward community to "the constant stream of
traits and influences pouring into it from cities and from more 'modern' farming communities."

St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (1945)

A study of the Negro community in Chicago that combines the sociological and anthropological approaches; described as revealing; "(1) the relationship of Negroes to whites in Chicago, (2) the kind of world which Negroes have built up under their separate, subordinate status, and (3) the impact of these twin configurations upon the personalities and institutions of Negroes." (pp. xix-xx)
CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

Historical Background

Grantville is a small southern town in the middle southwest section of Georgia and is one of seven towns located in Coweta County. It is exceeded in size in the county only by Newnan, the county seat, which is twelve miles away. Newnan had a 1950 population of slightly less than nine thousand -- nearly five times as many as Grantville's approximately fourteen hundred. Grantville is located on U. S. Highway 29 and is fifty-one miles southwest of Atlanta -- the Georgia metropolis. Grantville is also on the main line of the Atlanta and West Point railroad. The county in which Grantville is located -- is described by the local Chamber of Commerce as an ideal place to live -- "in the heart of the southeast."

The town of Grantville is approximately 150 years old. Originally known as Calico Corners, it was renamed in 1852 in honor of the President of the then newly completed Atlanta and West Point Railroad, which runs through the main section of Coweta County. It is a matter of conjecture as to how long the town bore the name of Calico Corner; oldest residents are unable to recall. The Coweta County Chronicle reports the population of Grantville as being 600 in 1875, and records the town as having one hundred thousand dollars worth of taxable property.

A comparison of the 1875 population with the 1950 population indicates that the town has more than doubled its population over a seventy-five year

\[\text{Mary Gibson and Lilly Reynolds, } \textit{Coweta County Chronicles} \ (Atlanta, 1928), \ p. 104.\]
period. Probably the most important factor in the development of the town was the founding of the Grantville cotton mills. In 1896 the first mill was founded and although some residents showed a resistance to this operation, much of the town's population was soon associated in some way with the mill and its affiliated enterprises. Older residents point out that prior to the coming of the mill the town was little more than a small trading center with a population of prosperous farmers and well-to-do people.

Grantville is a community three-fourths of a square mile in area, and the town limits are today the same as those set when the community was incorporated in November, 1912. With the incorporation of the area, a mayor was elected to function with a town council consisting of three councilmen. The economic activity of Grantville has been divided between agriculture and cotton mills. With the incorporation of the town and the decline in importance of the cotton crop, due to the boll weevil and soil erosion, the mill became dominant. This shift from agriculture was of great importance to the Negro population. One elderly white person recalls: "After the boll weevils destroyed so much of our cotton and we could not make a living at cotton farming, our colored people left by the hundreds."

Economic Activity

Today Grantville is a prototype of a small southern mill town. The three mills are locally owned, and during 1950 normally employed 550 persons, of whom forty, or less than ten per cent, were Negroes. Negroes are employed in custodial functions.

The economic activity of Grantville is in part a reflection of topographical and historical factors. Grantville displays many characteristics of the "red clay hills of Georgia." It is located in a hilly region and
has an annual mean temperature of $61.5^\circ$ Fahrenheit -- the mean summer temperature being $72.0^\circ$ and the mean winter temperature being $49.4^\circ$ Fahrenheit.

The average rainfall is 43.86 inches. The soil in Grantville is ninety percent clay and is inferior for farming purposes. This is true also of Coweta County where much concern is being evidenced over erosion and "wash outs."  

The general topographical characteristics of the area probably account for much of the dominance of industrial activity over agricultural pursuits. According to the Industrial Index of Coweta County, one-third of the principle industries of Coweta County are located in Grantville.

The business district of Grantville is on three streets within a one and one-half block area in the center of the town. This shopping center is known to the residents of the community and outlying areas as "town." "Town" is composed of three grocery stores, one confectionery store owned by Negroes, one laundry and dry-cleaning establishment, two barber shops (one patronized by whites and one by Negroes), two hardware stores, two dry-good stores, one children's wear store, one movie (with a balcony for Negroes), one automobile repair garage and one funeral home.

The Negro Society

The "Negro businesses" of the town consist of the Negro barber shop and two confectionery stores. The barber shop is located in a storeroom.

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1 Industrial Index of Coweta County, Georgia, 1951.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 20.
The front section of the room is occupied by a small flat top stove, a jukebox and a pinball machine, and it is the meeting place of the Negro men on Saturday afternoons.

Three churches serve the five hundred Negro citizens of Grantville -- a Baptist Church, a Methodist Church and a Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The Baptist church, located in a small brick building, has the largest congregation with two hundred members. The Methodist Church has 147 members. The building is frame and has electricity. Recently, work began on a ten thousand dollar educational annex which will provide recreational activities for the church and community. The effort represents the first attempt of the church in that community to provide recreational activities for young people on a large scale. Provisions for sanitary toilets and running water have been made in the building plans.

Aside from their religious functions, the churches serve as centers for social activity. Many social activities are organized around the Grantville churches: picnics, prayer meetings, festivals, and singing conventions. In the words of an informant:

I like to go to all of the churches because I meet all of my friends there. I go to my church and hear the choir, then I go to the Methodist Church. When I leave there, I usually go and visit some of the folks. The people in the church ain't like they use to be. Too much educated preachers with no religion... not like the old days.

The Negro population of Grantville is divided among three separate neighborhoods, each with its designated name. The largest of these, "Summer Hill" is located on the northwest edge of the community and runs along the highway. "Darktown" adjoins the center section of town; "Jersey City" is on the western side of town and, it too, is near the center of the
community. With the exception of one macadamized street running through Darktown, all streets in the Negro community are unpaved and without sidewalks. There are no significant differences among the types of physical structures in these communities -- there are one or two better houses in each community. The people are designated and apparently informally ranked on a basis of the communities in which they live.

Darktown, probably because it is the location of one of the oldest churches, and also because some of the oldest, most respected, and stable families live there, has the reputation among some people in the community as being the "best Negro community." Jersey City is looked upon as a section where a large number of non-respectable and least stable members of the community live. One person, in commenting on the differences among these Negro communities, commented "Darktown people look upon the Summer Hill people as being pretty fair, and a little different from the bad element that hangs out in Jersey City."

Distances between these various communities are not great, and although there is a sense of neighborhood identification, people do travel back and forth frequently among the areas for church-going purposes, social visiting, and legal and extra-legal recreation.

The major institutions which operate with respect to the primary interest of the Negro community are the school, the churches, the service enterprises, like restaurants and barber shops, and the undercover enterprises featuring bootleg whiskey, gambling and other forms of vice.

The one school in the community is located on a hill on the eastern side of the town near Summer Hill. There are three established churches in the community, two in Summer Hill -- Jehovah Baptist Church and Lowe's Temple Colored Methodist Episcopal -- and one in Darktown -- John Wesley
Methodist Church.

The largest businesses catering to the Negro population are confined to services, primarily. There are two confectionery stores, one in Summer Hill, and the other in the Darktown area; the barber shop is also in the Darktown area. There are no Negro members of the medical and legal profession, nor is there a local undertaker. Despite the fact that the Negro community of Grantville apparently lacks a full complement of the institutions necessary to serve the varied needs of its population, affective adjustments are made through the use of local white institutions and facilities, such as for medical care. The major dependence of Grantville Negroes -- and to a large extent whites -- for many institutional services such as legal aid, medical care, recreation and education, is upon the county seat, Newman, and Atlanta which is fifty-one miles away. A considerable part of the social and economic activity of Grantville is slanted toward Atlanta and Newman. Because of its proximity and political role, it is possible that Newman is of more immediate and practical importance.

Some Outside Influences

Newman, the seat of Coweta County, is located thirty-eight miles southwest of Atlanta at the intersection of U. S. Highways 29 and 27A; lying "in the heart of the industrial southeast." Its location provides it with adequate railroad and highway transportation for its industries and products.

One of the richest cities in America on a per-capita basis, Newman has the reputation of having more beautiful homes and palatial estates, for its size, than any other city in the south. It is popularly known as "the city of beautiful homes."1

1In the downtown shopping district there is a large neon sign carrying this title.
With a population of 10,218, Newman affords a modern well equipped health center, a large municipal auditorium and a Carnegie library, a gymnasium and a waterworks system. Its city offices are located in the municipal building; while the welfare building is the location of all county offices.

A survey of Newman concluded that the Negroes of the community have a higher living level than the Negroes in Grantville. In Newman, there are two Negro funeral establishments serving the entire Negro population of the county. A small professional group containing several Negro doctors and teachers has developed. A nineteen bed Negro hospital serves the local population and the county.

Grantville citizens, both white and Negro, utilize the shopping facilities, welfare office and health offices of Newman. Several people commute there daily having found jobs in Newman. For such reasons, a significant part of the behavior and interest of Grantville Negroes is toward nearby Newman and the larger metropolis of Atlanta which is fifty-one miles away.

\[1\]

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

In this chapter we propose to examine some of the social and economic characteristics of the Negro population in the Grantville area, and to indicate how they affect institutions and custom in the community.

Sex and Age

The survey conducted in 1951 as a part of this study revealed a total of 673 Negro residents in the Grantville community. Table 1 and Figure 1 show the sex and age distribution of that population. The data reveal an excess of females in the population. There are approximately eighty-nine Negro males for every one hundred females in the Grantville area. There are proportionately fewer Negro males in Grantville than there are in the county as a whole. In 1940 the Negro sex ratio for the county was approximately 93.0. It is probable that these figures reflect, not only differences in the survival rates, but also differences in economic opportunities for the sexes. It is probably easier for the Negro females to secure employment than it is for males. The economic opportunities open to Negro females are primarily in the area of domestic service.

Forty-five per cent of the Grantville Negro population is over twenty years of age. This is a smaller proportion than that for both the Negro and white population in the county as a whole.

Less than one-third, (twenty-eight per cent), of the Negro population is in the productive age group, twenty to forty-five. About one in every sixteen persons is over sixty years old. The interesting fact about this particular population is that there are more Negro males than Negro females.
TABLE 1
SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 673 NEGRO RESIDENTS OF GRANTVILLE, GEORGIA, SPRING, 1951

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<td>Per Cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

over sixty years old. The fertility ratio, that is, the ratio of children under five years old to women of child-bearing age, is 88 to 142 or 0.62.

Families and Households

Table 2 shows the distribution of households by size and tenancy status. Nearly one-third of all households had three or fewer members. On the other hand, one-fourth of the households had seven or more members. The median
Fig. 1.— Sex and age composition of the Negro population of Grantville, Georgia, 1950.
size of households is five. Two-thirds of the householders are tenants. The median size of tenant householders is approximately six; the median size of owner householders is about four.

**TABLE 2**

**SIZE OF 126 NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN GRANTVILLE, GEORGIA, BY TENANCY STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons in Households</th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Tenants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 and over</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 indicates the kind of equipment that goes along with the characteristically one-story frame house typically in need of repair. Less than one in ten Negro householders have inside running water. Two-thirds of the families have outside spigots on their own premises. Two-thirds of the families have their homes wired for electricity. Only one Negro home affords a complete modern inside bath. More than two-thirds have pit toilets. One in seven have telephones and one in eight have pianos. Only one in every one hundred households have inside toilets. Two-thirds of the
families have living rooms. Many of the rooms are bedroom and livingroom combined.

TABLE 3
SELECTED EQUIPMENT OF 126 NEGRO HOMES IN GRANTVILLE,
GEORGIA COMMUNITY, SPRING, 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items of Equipment</th>
<th>Number Possessing</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit Toilet</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Spigot</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside Running</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside Toilet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside Toilet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ROOMS PER HOUSEHOLD AMONG 126 GRANTVILLE NEGRO FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Rooms</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Per Cent of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kind of family life and interest that develops among Negroes in
the Grantville setting is suggested in the following documents: the first two described families in which the mothers are the heads.

Family A

The head of this family is a woman of about fifty with two daughters. The mother has never been married. According to the information given, her mother who is dead was never married and was the mother of three children. One of her daughters has one child, a girl, and the younger daughter has two children, a boy and a girl. Neither of the daughters has ever married. The mother and daughters are maids. They were the second Negro family to own a television set in Grantville. The mother and eldest daughter are both leaders in one of the Negro churches in Grantville. This family owns their home. The house is one of the best furnished among Negroes in the town.

Fig. 2.— A three generation household with illegitimacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEGEND:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Deceased</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family B

This family has a woman of about forty-five as its head. Three persons comprise this family; a mother of the head of the household; the daughter who is head of the house; and a granddaughter of the head of the family, about fourteen years old.
The woman's mother was never married and was the mother of three children. Her daughter, who is the mother of the fourteen year old girl, had this girl out of wedlock.

The house consists of three rooms; one is used as a kitchen and has no floor, one is used as a storage room, and the other is used for a bedroom for the mother and granddaughter; this is also the living room. It has a flat top heater, two beds, a dresser and a lamp in it, and paper falling from the walls.

The exterior of the house is in very poor condition, boards rotted and falling; a toilet with sacks sewed together for a door.

The family head is also an energetic church worker and her mother was also according to information given the writer.

*Fig. 3.— Four generation household with two generations of illegitimate offspring.*

**Family C**

Family C has thirteen members. In addition to the father and mother who are in their early forties, there are six sons ranging in age from six to twenty-one years, four girls ranging in ages from two to twenty-three years. One son is married and his nineteen year old wife completes the family group.

The father, the married son and one other son are section hands on the Atlanta and West Point Railroad. Their combined salaries represent the entire family income. Although there are other children living in the family who are employable, they do not work.
The family owns an old model dilapidated automobile, but they do not own a home. The home is a dilapidated, run down, four-room shanty type of house which is wired for electricity, but affords no other conveniences.

The family owns a radio, have eight books, and subscribes to a daily newspaper. The younger children pursue leisures through the radio and sporadic patronization of the few commercial places in town. The older folks "just sit." According to the mother, this is all she is able to do after her daily household chores.

\[ O = \Delta \]
\[ \Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta \]
\[ O = \Delta \]
\[ \Delta \Delta \]
\[ O \quad O \]

Fig. 4. -- Three generation household with thirteen members

Family D

Family D has twelve persons. The highest educational level is tenth grade for one girl. This family is composed of the mother and father, the immediate offsprings and their children. Four children, all belonging to one daughter, are the only family members of school age. The other members of the family have ages ranging from the fifties for the parents twenty-to thirty-two years for the five sons and twenty-four for the daughter.

The family lives in a rented house with electricity, but no other conveniences. They do not own an automobile, but they are proud of their living room which is converted into a bed at night (if company comes). They have a studio bed-couch.

They take a weekly newspaper and own fifty-two books, most of them old school books and pocket-sized novels. Leisure time activities are limited to an occasional movie and Saturday night "flying" in Newman.

This is a mill family, with the exception of two members of the group, all are employed at the mill as textile workers. The family income is divided for rent, food, clothing, and "flings." No thought of buying a house or acquiring other negotiable property has entered their planning.
Family E

Family E is a farm family. The mother and father are between thirty-five and forty-two years of age. There are five sons and five daughters. The ages range from seven months to fourteen years for the boys and from two to sixteen for the girls.

They own a car which is twelve years old and they have three rooms in their rented house. All available space possible is used for sleeping. The rented house affords no modern conveniences, not even electricity and the family uses a battery radio.

They subscribe to one daily paper and a Negro weekly ("We like to see what our people are doing."). The children's school books comprise the family library.

All of the children are still in school or of pre-school age. The parents represent a little higher educational level than do many of the Negroes of Grantville; having completed the ninth grade.

Very little leisure is possible on a commercial basis because of the father's limited income, but they do go for rides on Sundays and sometimes they have picnics.

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There are three families which might be termed "leading families." Two of these families migrated to Grantville because of their profession. The other family represents an old resident.
Family F

There are three children in this family. Both parents are teachers in the Grantville School and are college graduates. They own a car, have a telephone and radio. They have electricity and inside running water in their rented home of four rooms and a hall. Their books and subscriptions are also extensive.

Being a relatively young family, they are interested in varied activities and use their car to go to those places which can afford them better leisure time opportunities.

\[ O = \Delta \]

\[ O \quad \Delta \]

Fig. 7.-- Two generation household with five members

Family G

Family G is the old resident family, and the members are fully accepted by other residents. They are influential in swaying community thought. The father taught school; the mother, a domestic worker, finished the seventh grade. The maternal mother-in-law's daughter by a former marriage lives here also.

This family owns its home as well as a late model car. They have a telephone, electricity, a radio, outside running water and a piano. They also have modern luxuries such as a washing machine and hot water heater.

Their reading supply is limited, but they have subscriptions to several newspapers, both daily and weekly. The parents are active on church boards and in the P.T.A. The family has been vested with the role of leadership and it is theirs to use wisely or not, as they choose. Except for an inherent antagonism usually found toward "outsiders" which seemingly grasps the family to the point that their thinking and feeling becomes subjective toward the outsiders, this family could contribute much to the Grantville Negro community.

The father being out of the home most of the time, there is little pursuit of leisure activities. Leisure time is usually occupied with family business and community activities.
A = ft = KLg» S»— Small stable two generation household with stepfather

Occupations

Typically, the Grantville adult Negro is a member of the labor force, that is, he or she is working or looking for work. The kinds of work that Negroes do is determined, not only by the nature of the small-town economy, but also by custom which allocates certain types of jobs to Negroes and bars them from others.

The economy of Grantville is geared to the textile mills and agriculture. Most of the job opportunities for Negroes represent maintenance work in the mills as unskilled or semi-skilled service workers, serving mill managers or machinists and employees and agricultural laborers. Table 5 shows the occupational levels by sex of 126 heads of households. Approximately ninety-five per cent of the group falls in the semi-skilled or unskilled labor and domestic servant class. At the time of this study 27 were unemployed; one-third of the males were farm laborers; one in five mill workers was unskilled, and one in four semi-skilled, the latter due to the designation given by the mill authorities to a number of Negro employees who serve as helpers in the dye house and as machine tenders.

Income Levels

The level of income of the Grantville Negro is suggested by the fact
## TABLE 5

**OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 126 NEGRO FAMILY HEADS IN GRANTVILLE, GEORGIA, 1951**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborer</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data based upon a personal canvassing of key local workers.

that the typical income of the Grantville mill worker is $32.00 weekly, and
the highest paid female domestic worker in Grantville earns a salary of
$10.00 a week; there are two women who are included in the $10.00 a week
salaries. The characteristic salary for female domestic workers is $5.00
a week. Farm laborers for the most part are seasonal workers, they are
normally paid at a per pound rate when picking cotton, a piece rate for
picking peaches, and other fruits, pecans and walnuts. On an annual basis
their income would be approximately less than one thousand dollars a year.
The relatively low income of the Grantville worker means that most adult
members of a household work in order to supplement family income.
It also means that a large number of Grantvillians supplement income by part-time farming.

On the basis of information obtained from a survey of one hundred and twenty-six family heads in the Grantville community, the educational levels of four hundred and fifty residents were tabulated. Of this number, ninety-four per cent have completed or were in the process of completing the sixth or seventh grade. Only one in a hundred had gone through college or beyond. Eight and one-tenth per cent of the total number of people had no formal education or fell in the first grade level.

As revealed in Table 6 the educational level of 457 persons is low, with only six persons (two males and four females) having completed one or no years of schooling.

**TABLE 6**

YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF 457 NEGRO RESIDENTS OF THE GRANTVILLE, GEORGIA COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Schooling</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - 9</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - and over</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Church Membership and Attendance

Tables 7 and 8 indicate that a large proportion of the Negro population of Grantville belongs to church. Forty family heads are Methodist, sixteen are Colored Methodist Episcopal, sixty-two have memberships in the Baptist church and eight have no membership. Table 7 indicates that 51 family heads or 40.5 per cent go to the Methodist church, 14 or 11.5 per cent go to the Colored Methodist Episcopal church, 55 or 43.7 per cent go to the Baptist church and 6 or 4.8 per cent of those who are not members do not go to any church. It can be seen from these figures that a high percentage of the church members attend churches of their choice.

**Table 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Church Membership</th>
<th>Church Usually Attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Methodist</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows the number of Sundays the family heads attended church
TABLE 3
CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF 126 FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE TIMES PER MONTH THE HEAD ATTENDED BY NUMBER AND PER CENT, SPRING, 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Sundays Attended</th>
<th>Number of Family Heads Attending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

during the month of March, 1951. Eighteen family heads or 14.3 per cent did not attend church during the month, thirty-three or 26.2 per cent attended on Sunday; attending two Sundays were 29 persons or 23.0 per cent. Thirty or 23.9 per cent went to church three Sundays during the year, and sixteen, 12.7 attended four Sundays.

Two of these churches, the Baptist and the Colored Methodist Episcopal, meet only one Sunday each month.
CHAPTER IV

RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO THE COMMUNITY

The Grantville Training High School is a pivotal institution in the Negro community. An examination of the personnel, pupil, and program characteristics of the school, and the school's participation in community activities was undertaken in order to throw light on the question, "What is the relation of the school to the community?"

A school which draws the largest number of its students from the town or county within which it is located may have a different type of service problem from that of an institution which serves a wider area. That is, the one may determine basic needs and policies in terms of local problems, whereas the other must consider the needs of the diverse group.

The Grantville Training High School serves not only students within the area located, but also students from nearby counties. This poses a difficulty in the study of community relations, inasmuch as the residence of students are scattered in distant territories. However, Ima C. Brown offers useful suggestions in such a dilemma by stating:

The area which an institution now serves can be determined by an analysis of the student body, either in the present enrollment or an enrollment over a period of years. This analysis should reveal:

1. The per cent of students who are local (live at home).
2. The per cent of students from the county in which the (school) is located.
3. The per cent of students from adjacent counties.
4. The per cent of students from within the (community).

A study of the enrollment of the local school for Negroes affords some

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clues to point up school-community relations. Similarly, an examination of the facts concerning the physical plant and equipment, transportation, personnel, and program of the local school for Negroes will throw light on the physical ability of the school, the school's role as an educational institution, the effect of its educational program, and the extent to which the school serves as a community institution.

Of equal importance is a consideration of social trends and changes which have a tremendous effect upon the progress and improvement of educational conditions in the county.

The spatial distance between the location of the Negro school of Grantville and the communities of the people which it serves does not constitute a serious problem where transportation is concerned. Bus transportation has been provided for the school children since 1949. However, in terms of accessibility of the school to students living in other areas, certain physical factors should be considered.

According to the principal's Annual Report for 1952, there were 500 students enrolled. Of this number 145 students were "transported," that is, they lived far enough away from school to need county transportation to and from the Grantville school. A study of Table 9 will reveal the distance from school of 126 families of students who are enrolled at the Grantville Training High School. The largest number of the students (44.4 per cent) live within two miles of school; while 7.94 per cent of the students had to travel a distance of twelve or more miles. Almost half of the students live outside of the immediate community wherein the school is located and, consequently, participate only to a limited extent in many of the extra-curricula activities and school events taking place in Grantville.

The Grantville Training High School, a consolidated center, serves
students living a distance of twenty-five miles from the town of Grantville.

**TABLE 9**

DISTANCES FROM SCHOOL OF 126 FAMILY HEADS WITH STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE GRANTVILLE TRAINING SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Miles</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - Over</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Report</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An historical sketch of the development of bus services for the school over a period of thirteen years displays the efforts made to provide better transportation for students. A report of a survey of Coweta County Schools contains the following statement:

The first Grantville school bus was driven by one of the teachers with a mileage of 76 miles per day. The teachers used personal funds from their salaries to operate the bus. The next bus owned by the Grantville Training School cost seven hundred ($700.00). The school borrowed three hundred dollars ($300.00) from the First National Bank of Newman, and three hundred and six dollars and ninety-nine cents ($306.99) from a white citizen of the community.

Grantville Training School's third bus was purchased for nine hundred dollars ($900.00) by the county with a stipulation that the school pay thirty-five dollars a month until half was paid back.
The last bus before the county took over the busses was operated by the Jammings brothers. The brothers purchased the bus and operated for one year at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars ($1500) per year from the County Board of Education.

Under the present county administration, beginning 1949-50, the county took over the transportation, operating 175 days with seven busses. During the first year the busses were owned by the county and drive, three drivers owning the chasis. The county purchased the busses and the drivers signed contracts to pay the county for the chasis.

Previous to the county's control of school bus transportation, the families of "transported" pupils were handicapped in attending various school activities. Drivers of private busses would charge passengers as much as one dollar ($1.00) for a round trip from the nearby community to the school. There was an additional charge of twenty-five cents to fifty cents each for pupils accompanying their parents. However, even with free bus transportation now extended to parents, only a few of them participate in school activities.

A feeling of hostility toward the consolidation of the school might account for much of the non-cooperation of parents with the school programs. Many people of communities outside of Grantville that the consolidation of the schools in the various communities deprived them of their main source of social participation and were resentful toward any attempts to encourage them to participate in the consolidated school's program.

The people of Morelend felt that the school should have stayed in their town. The change in the school's location elicited the following antagonistic comments:

They was dirty, that's all, that's why they moved us school. Morelend is the place where the high school belong and I ain't going to Grantville to no high school because they ain't got none. It's ours.
Teacher and Community

In small communities it is often expected that professional workers—doctors, lawyers, teachers, and the like—conform to the mores and folkways of the particular environment. It is not too frequent that conflict occurs between professional workers and the members of the community, especially when there is traditional suspicion of the "outsider."

Very often the "learned man" in the community is regarded as a foreigner. According to a group of writers:

... staff members (of schools) often have characteristics and values that differ from those of the townspeople. In such situations the townspeople tend to regard the staff of the institution of higher learning as an outgrowth, and vice-versa. It is often but a small step further for relationships of hostility to develop between them.¹

The Greatville Training High School's personnel consists of twelve teachers and a principal, each has received a college degree, and many have done further study. Due to the combined primary, elementary and secondary school programs, eight of the twelve teachers work with children on the elementary and high school levels, while four teachers function on the primary level. Table 10 shows the functions of the teachers of the elementary and high school and the principal.²

Five of the thirteen teachers live in Newman, a town twelve miles from Greatville. The principal and his wife, one married couple on the faculty,
## Table 10

**Personnel and Their Functions of the Grantville Training High School, 1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>8:30-8:45</th>
<th>9:45</th>
<th>10:45</th>
<th>11:00</th>
<th>12:00</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>8:30-8:45 Devotion</td>
<td>8:45-9:45</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Extra-Curricula Activity*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Homemaking 10th</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>Health 7th</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Homemaking 9th</td>
<td>Extra-Curricula Activity*</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. B</td>
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<td>Agriculture 10th</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Agriculture 9th</td>
<td>Extra-Curricula Activity*</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. C</td>
<td>Chem. &amp; Phy. 11th-12th</td>
<td>Science 8th</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Math. 8th</td>
<td>Math. 9th</td>
<td>Extra-Curricula Activity*</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Recess</td>
<td>English 8th</td>
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<td>Literature 11th-12th</td>
<td>Art 11th-12th</td>
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### TABLE 10 (Continued)

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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>English Spelling</td>
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<td>Health</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Arith.</td>
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<td>9th</td>
<td>6th</td>
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<td>6th</td>
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<td>6th</td>
<td>7th-6th</td>
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<td>Language Arts</td>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>Amer.</td>
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<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>World</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Science</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Data derived from class schedule for Grantville Training High School, Second Semester, 1962

* Each member of the faculty acts as advisor or supervisor of the various extra-curricula activities
and three single teachers live in the Grantville community. Therefore, there is little opportunity to establish social cohesion between staff and the community.

The Grantville citizens display sensitivity toward their community and living conditions. The following is a case in point:

A teacher who came to Grantville to teach during the 1951-52 school year asked a citizen who met her at the station, "aren't there any modern facilities such as baths and inside toilets in this little town?" The citizen resented this and told the principal of the school, "These damned teachers come here talking about inside baths when they're use to setting over outdoor stools like we is.

A further example of resentment of teachers at the local school is shown in the following statement:

That little nasty one, I hate her. She always saying something she ain't got no business saying. She think because she got a degree she is better than we is. I hate her.

The Grantville citizens attempt to uphold the moral standards of the community, and sometimes use certain values as a measurement of being "better than the school teachers." The following is an example of the attitudes assumed by some of the Grantville citizens relative to the behavior of the "Grantville Teacher":

I never is going to let the teachers stay in my house. They don't know how to act and treat people. They come in at eleven o'clock. No decent woman ain't going to be caught out that time of night.

Another citizen who provided lodging for the teacher stated:

All I hate about Miss (D) is she never tell you where she's going. When she go away for weekends she could say, "I won't be back before Monday."

During the first semester of the school year 1951-52, four single teachers lived in Grantville. One of the teachers resigned at the end of the first semester.
She don't have good sense.

In spite of the "in-group" feelings among the Grantville citizens toward the local teachers, there is a "consciousness of kind" in respect to race, as revealed in the following interview.

They ain't no more than me. All of us is niggers alike. I ain't got no degree but I got sense enough to know I love chocolate cake just like that you serving the teachers.

Feelings of hostility are reciprocated. Some of the teachers in the local school show resentment toward living conditions and the attempts on the part of the citizen to "keep them in line."

I tell you, I did not know that people acted like these folk. They are ignorant. I just say, "I don't care what they say."

These living conditions here are terrible. I hate these lying people.

These are the most low down people I have ever seen. I almost hate them. They are always meddling into your business. I will be glad when we leave here. This is no place to rear your children. I want to get these people told so bad. Did you ever see such narrow people? I don't want to see any of them. I am satisfied at home.

Another has this to say:

I am frustrated. You see, I have a wife and these lies that these dirty people are telling on me will break up my home. I want to get away from this place, because it is too low down for me.

Bitterness has accompanied resentment among some of the teachers in their attitudes toward the Grantville citizens.

Who me? Why no! I will not stoop to trash. Go to their churches? Why, never! For what? For these snuff-dippers? I do anything I want to do and just let one of these "simps" look like they want to meddle.

There are some intergroup hostilities among the faculty of the school. There are two teachers at the Grantville school who are blamed for the dismissal of many teachers during their thirteen years of employment.
These two teachers are "confederates" of the community, and quickly "take side" with the Grantville citizens in any "fight" against the Grantville school teachers. They are said to regard the young teachers as "enemies" of the community. One of the confederates had the following to say:

Yes, I tell you these young teachers who come out are bad. They will learn. I say they are just fools, even if they have been to college. I hate to see people strutting with keys from their school.

It can be seen from the foregoing statements made by members of the Grantville community and teachers of the Grantville Training School, that a degree of conflict exists between the two groups. Each group looks upon the other as "outsiders," thereby making effective teacher-community relations difficult of attainment.

In small southern towns, very often the school systems are administered by white educators who "want to give what the patrons of the town request." The superintendent is "a person of explosive temperament," and often displays his attitude toward Negro teachers in meetings with such statements as "God helps them who helps themselves", "I believe in the separate but equal, and I mean the separate but equal." He is given to temper tantrums and often takes teachers to task in his office in the presence of others and in teachers' meetings.

The regional meeting of teachers was held February, 1952, in Grantville, and the superintendent stated in the welcome address, "We are glad to have you. We believe in the separate but equal." Then he added, "God helps them who helps themselves." When response from the audience seemed slow, he shouted, "Well why don't you applaud? That's what is the matter with you. When you ought to speak you sit up and keep your mouth shut."

When talking to the Negro principals under his supervision, the superin-
tendent frequently says, "I want principals who will make friends with my white friends." The superintendent is concerned to a great extent with how "his principals and teachers" get along with the white community. His conception of "getting along" is suggested in the following statements:

One of our principals was in a store acting "uppity." The greatest man I have ever seen was a humble man. I want a principal who can win my white friends favorable reactions. Say what you will, it pays to have the white people to like you. Keep your finance straight with the white people, because you may be ever so bad and keep straight with the white people and get along.

My white friends at Grantville stood by me in the recent election and the colored principals and teachers will have to make friends with them.

I was not satisfied when I stopped by the school the other night and saw you with the robes on. They make it look like you looking down on the people. The humbliest person in that school needs to feel on the level with the principal and teachers. It might not hurt if you had been down on the floor with them instead of the stage.

The chairman of the Coweta County Board of Education is a resident of Grantville, Georgia. She is active in political, civic and religious work in the county. She is a member of the Southern Regional Board of Race Relations and a leader in the North Georgia Methodist Conference. The board chairman seems alert in avoiding Negro and white problems in the Grantville community. An interviewee made the following statement concerning her:

She always got her nose in other folks business. She had the nerve to say to the policeman, "You would not call the Negro teachers Mary or Martha, would you? You would say Miss or Mr., whatever the case might be, wouldn't you? If that ain't nerve, I don't know what is.

The board chairman tends to advocate higher education for Negroes, and has aided several girls in attending colleges.

The supervisor of the Negro County Schools is a Negro woman. Teachers describe her work as that of carrying messages from the superintendent's
office to the principals of the various Negro county schools. However, she travels periodically from school to school and makes reports concerning the county school programs.

The supervisor is required to maintain residence in the county. However, she spends only five days per week in the county wherein she works and spends most of her week-ends at her home in College Park, Georgia, located in Fulton County. She serves as an advisor to the superintendent and principals in matters concerning the "hiring" and "firing" of teachers. Serving in this capacity she has acquired the title of "tattler" from several of the Negro teachers in Coweta County schools. According to one of the Grantville school teachers:

She just tells the superintendent everything. She is dirty and is always trying to fire somebody. There are only three teachers and the supervisor running the schools in this county.

Through the examination of the personnel characteristics of the Grantville Training High School it is found that the principal and teachers of the school, in addition to their professional functions, are faced with certain community problems due to a "town-gown" conflict existing as a result of the presence of two different "cultures" - the way of life exemplified by the teachers and the ways of the townspeople.

Pupil Characteristics

The consolidated school program of Coweta County gives a diversified character to the pupil population of the Grantville Training High School. As has been previously mentioned, a large number of the school students are classified as "transported" pupils, that is, students who live a distance from the school that necessitates the use of the county busses for
transportation.

By examining the characteristics of the students enrolled at the Grantville Training High School, it will be possible to determine some of their interests and attitudes and, to some extent, the interests and attitudes of their parents. According to Brown:

... The quality of the educational program and the process depends on the students: their characteristics and abilities, their interest and attitudes, and the understanding and utilization of these elements by teachers and administrators.

The Grantville Training High School has an enrollment of three hundred students. These students come from the Grantville community and from nearby towns. In a survey conducted at the local high school, data collected concerning mailing addresses of students revealed the highest number (46.8) living in the town of Grantville. (See Table 11) The next highest number of students (25.4 per cent) had mailing addresses in fringe areas of Newman, a nearby town. A large number of students (16.7 per cent) had Grantville R.F.D. mailing addresses. Other mailing addresses were in Moreland and fringe areas of Greenville and Hogansville, Georgia.

Of the three hundred students enrolled at the Grantville Training High School in 1952, one hundred and fifty-seven were boys; while one hundred and forty-three were girls. Considering the higher percentage of women to men in Grantville, as discussed previously, the presence of more boys than girls in the school raises a question as to this disparity in numbers. A possible explanation is that many of the students come from other areas and are not included in the Grantville population. Another factor, though not

Brown, op. cit., p. 30.
TABLE 11

PLACES OF RESIDENCE OF 126 FAMILY HEADS WITH
STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE GRANTVILLE
TRAINING HIGH SCHOOL, 1951

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mailing Address</th>
<th>Number Reporting</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>59</td>
<td>46.3</td>
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<td>Grantville RFD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newman RFD</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenville RFD</td>
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<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogansville RFD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>126</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data from Grantville Training High School Survey, 1951*

dealt with extensively in this study, is that many girls of school age in
other areas attend other schools or get married at an early age.

Table 12 shows pupil enrollment by grades. The school's enrollment is
composed of primary, elementary, and high school students. The largest
enrollment was in grades one to seven (primary and elementary) with a total
of 233 students. There were sixty-seven students enrolled in the high
school grades (eight to twelve).

A closer examination of Table 12 reveals a decrease in the enrollment
as the grades advance. This might be attributed to the various socio-
economic conditions of the families of students attending the school.
Although not borne out by data, it might be assumed that many of the children
TABLE 12
GRANTVILLE TRAINING HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
BY GRADES AND AGES*

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<th>Grade</th>
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</table>

*From Principals Report, Grantville Training High School, May, 1952

have to drop out of school in order that they might work and supplement the family income. Some social scientists concerned with the economic effects upon education, have thrown some light on similar situations. A group of writers state:
there are three lines of evidence which indicate that children at the lower economic levels do not have all the educational opportunity they or their parents desire. One is the frequency with which "lack of money" is given as a reason for quitting school; another is the sharp increase in college and high school enrollment that came with the establishment of the National Youth Administration student-aid program in 1935. A third is the fact that there is a substantial out-of-pocket cost attached to attendance at a "free" high school.

The activities and interests of the pupils will be discussed in connection with the curriculum of the school and community participation.

Program Characteristics

The attitudes of the Grantville Negro citizens toward the education of their children are similar to the attitudes of the Plainvillers as expressed by West:

The most common adult phrasings in Plainville of the aims of formal schooling are (1) "to learn children readin', writin', and 'rithmetic and maybe a little joggerfy"; (2) "to give our children the same kind of education and the same chance that children have anywhere"; (3) "to keep children out of the way and out of trouble until they get old enough to know how to act"; and (4) "to keep children from growing up as wild and ignorant as the animals."

An aspect of the Grantville community's expectations of the local school can be seen in the following comment made by a citizen to the school principal:

I sure is glad you is at us school. Since you been here the kids sure do study their books. I can tell


2. West, op. cit., p. 80.
by my boy. He come home with his books in his hands and git up with them. He done changed because they been doing nothing but running around up at that school, going to town for them teachers who cook up good dinners and eat while them kids play out doors. You see, I say what they needs is to learn that arithmetics, reading, and how to talk good.

Conceptions of the townspeople as to what and how their children should be educated do not always coincide with the philosophy of education of school officials and teachers of the Grantville Training High School. The philosophy of education adopted by school boards of many communities, though not often stated, does not often include the "wants" of the "old heads" of the community. An example of this dissimilarity of interest can be seen in the statements previously given concerning the Grantville and "Plainville" community members' ideas of "what should be taught" over and against the following statements of the Coweta County School Negro Teacher Survey:

We believe that:

Education in Coweta County should be that of developing intelligent, responsible citizens in and for a democratic society.

Education should provide maximum opportunities and rich experiences for the fullest development of each individual.

Education should be based on objectives in keeping with democratic ideals and new concepts.

Education should be planned, developed and evaluated in such a way that all concerned can work together for continuous growth.

Education should provide stimulating and challenging activities which will help the individual to think critically and act wisely.

Education should develop well informed sociable-minded individuals who will aid in improving the quality of living for the common good.

To achieve the purpose of education in a democratic society, the Coweta County Schools seek
to provide education that will not only develop worthy citizens, but also prepare those who plan to enter college. In view of the foregoing philosophy we want our youth:

1. To acquire desirable knowledge, attitudes and habits conducive to healthful living and well integrated personalities.
2. To develop knowledge and skill necessary to earn an adequate living.
3. To develop understanding of and skill in performing civic and social responsibilities.
4. To be able to communicate clearly and correctly in oral and written expression.
5. To cultivate varied and rich interests in expressing the aesthetic and spiritual through art, music, drama, science, and the world around.
6. To be capable of utilizing human, natural and social resources for improved living.

Thus it can be seen that the stated objectives of the Coweta County Schools, encompass more than the "reading, writing and arithmetic" curricula advocated by many of the townspeople.

The Grantville Training High School, located in a small southern town, does not afford an elaborate program of studies. However, the various courses offered at the local school are aimed toward the preparation of its students for entrance into institutions of higher learning and for commercial and vocational pursuits. Courses taught at the Grantville Training High School embrace basic subjects as mathematics, history, English, science, home economics, chemistry, French, vocational agriculture, and guidance.

Table 13 shows the courses of instruction offered at the school.

Certain courses—mathematics, history, English, French, biology and chemistry are designed to prepare a student for college study; while courses in home economics, commerce, and vocational agriculture prepare students for economic pursuits or immediate adjustments in the life of the

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1 Statement of objectives, Coweta County Schools Survey, 1960.
**TABLE 15**

**COURSES OF INSTRUCTION, GRANTVILLE TRAINING HIGH SCHOOL, 1952-53**

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>Math. II</td>
<td>Eng. II</td>
<td>History II</td>
<td>Home Ec. II</td>
<td>Agr. II</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Biology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*According to Grantville Training High School Principal's Program for the 1952-53 school year*
community. The courses in agriculture, generally, prepare students for farming; while the home economics course is geared toward the development of girls for homemakers and for domestic service workers. The commercial course aims to prepare youths for clerical work. However, at the time of this writing, the only subject offered under this heading is typing.

It can be seen, that the curriculum of Grantville Training High School falls under four preparatory headings: (1) courses leading to college entrance, (2) agriculture courses, (3) home-making courses and (4) commercial courses.

Whereas the curriculum offers preparation for certain occupational pursuits, mainly, in agriculture, commerce, and homemaking; an examination of Table 14 reveals only a small percentage of students in the graduating classes for the years 1961 and 1962 entering into these areas of work. Out

TABLE 14

ACTIVITIES OF THE 1951 AND 1952 GRADUATING CLASSES
OF THE GRANTVILLE TRAINING HIGH SCHOOL*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1952</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Attendance</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational School Attendance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home-making</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service Workers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-entrance in School**</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Re-entered Grantville Training High School after the 12th grade was added.
of a total number of fourteen students graduating from the Grantville Training High School in 1951, thirty-six per cent or five students entered various colleges of liberal arts. The next largest number of students (29 per cent) became engaged as domestic service workers in various Grantville homes. One student in the 1951 graduating class entered a school of beauty culture; while one student married and became a housewife.

Enlistment into the United States Army, re-entrance of a student to the Grantville Training High School for an additional year of schooling, and unemployment account for the activities of the remaining graduates of 1951.

As seen in Table 14, only four students composed the 1952 graduating class. This is attributed to the addition of the twelfth grade to the Grantville Training High School in September, 1951; only eleven years of schooling being offered before this time. Three of the four students graduated came from other nearby areas, while one graduate in the 1951 class re-entered the school to receive the additional year of schooling.

The entire graduating class of 1952 has applied for entrance, and has been accepted, into various colleges for a liberal arts education. The relatively large number of students entering colleges from the Grantville Training High School holds significance, especially when the attitudes of parents and the students toward a college education are viewed. One Grantville parent, in discussing the advantages of an education, stated: "My boy is smart and I hope he can go to college so he can make a good living." Another parent, conceiving a college education as a "stepping stone" to better opportunities, stated: "Mary, she is going to school and finish her college so she can help us get the other children through college."

Many of the students at the Grantville Training High School have
expressed college as being a dream that they wanted to come true. An example of this desire might be seen in the following statements of interviewees:

I hope to go to college and learn how to teach small children. I rather teach them than large ones, because they ain't hard to handle.

When I get through with my high school, I want to go to college and be a nurse. I always wanted to go to college, but I don't want to teach.

I want to study music in college so I can be a bandleader. I don't want to do hard work like working at the mill.

It can be concluded from the foregoing statements that getting a college education is held as a high ambition of many students in the Grantville Training High School.

We have seen the various characteristics -- pupil, personnel, and program -- of the Grantville Training High School, and some of their relations to the Negro community of Grantville. It was found that there exists a "town-gown" conflict in Grantville between the teachers of the local school and the members of the community. Also discovered in the examination of the enrollment of the local school was a large per cent of students who come from nearby towns to attend the Grantville School, therefore, not taking an active part in nor counted as members of the community. The program of the school was scrutinized and found, on one hand, to represent what the people wanted to "teach our children," and on the other, to be inadequate for certain ambitions of the students. In dealing with a similar problem, namely the expectations of the people of a community concerning what its local school should provide in terms of an education, an author states:

Americans obviously expect their schools to provide a wide variety of different functions and services. These
expectations are not always harmonious or easily met by
the same system. Frequently, therefore, an undercurrent
of dissatisfaction and criticism of the schools exists;
some expect more of one thing, and others expect something
else. No school is ever likely to provide the type of
program desired by everyone in the community in which it
functions.1

Combining certain characteristics relating to the pupils, personnel,
and program of the Grantville Training High School, a consideration will
be given to the extent of participation of the school in the life of the
community and the participation of the community in activities sponsored by
the school.

Community Participation

There are two levels of school community participation in the Grant-
villa social milieu — community and associational. The community level of
participation takes in the broad relationships of the Grantville Negro
people; while the associational level of participation encompasses the par-
tial and more "interest-focused" relationships of groups of people in the
Negro community. According to MacIver:

A community is a focus of social life, the common
living of social beings; an association is an organization
of social life, definitely established for the pursuit of
one or more common interests. An association is partial,
a community is integral. The members of one association
may be members of many other and distinct associations.
Within a community there may exist not only numerous asso-
ciations but also antagonistic associations. Men may
associate for the least significant or for the most signi-
ficant of purposes; the association may mean merely the
excuse for a monthly dinner-party, or it may be the guardian
of their dearest or highest interests — but community is
something wider and freer than even the greatest associa-
tions; it is the greater common life out of which

1
Wilbur B. Brookover, "Education in American Culture," in Edgar A.
Schuler, et al., op. cit., p. 551.
associations rise, into which associations bring order, but which associations never completely fulfill.¹

The participation of the Negro citizens on the community level, in activities sponsored by the school is exemplified in the manner in which they display interest in the athletic activities, school concerts and other extra-curricula programs. The Grantville Training High School's extra-curricula activities include basketball, baseball, school chorus, and other organizations such as the Hi-Y, Tri-Hi-Y, New Farmers of America, New Home-makers, and the Dramatics Club.

A varied interest is shown in the athletic program of the Grantville Training High School. Intra-mural competitive sports -- basketball and baseball -- draw a large number of Grantville community members. Through the patronage of games of sport played by the high school students, the people of the community are brought into close proximity with the school -- both in terms of the provision of entertainment and recreation and in terms of the interest the community has in the "spirit of the team."

There is a feeling of being "let down" when the "home team" fails to "bring home the bacon" or win the game of sport. The members of the community identify themselves with the school during the various sport sessions and are quick to "defend" the teams against any derogatory comments made by people of nearby towns concerning the "failure" of the team. Such an attitude is borne out in the following statements of interviewees:

Ah! They cheated our team. You know d . . . well them kids can't beat our boys and girls, especially our gals.

Yes honey, you beat. They just took it from you.

Doggone them. I could just kill every one of them.

Whether the teams win or lose, in the opinion of many Grantvillians, the team always wins a "moral" victory because the "other team cheated." Basketball is the most popular sport played by the students of the Grantville Training High School. The Negro people of the community attend in large numbers the games which are played in the gymnasium of the Grantville High School (for whites). After the games are over, many of the people follow the "home team" and the "visiting team" to the Grantville Training High School where they watch both teams engage in eating and dancing. The spirit of the community members concerning basketball is expressed in the following statements of Grantvillians:

You better win. Don't let them make a single basket boy. Look out! Don't fool around with that ball.

I came out here in the cold to see you beat. Don't fool with me. If you don't beat, you can't come home.

(To the cheering squad) Show them how to holler children, and if these kids lose this game after I done spent my last twenty-five cents to come, I bet I'll beat everyone of Them. Yes sir, long as I can keep up with them.

The Grantville Training High School sponsors an annual event known as Community Appreciation Day. On this occasion, the Negro churches of the community, lodges, farmers, and community clubs participate actively in the parade. Floats made by various community clubs and churches are entered into the parade along with floats made by the various clubs and classes of the school. The parade is led by a band from either a nearby high school or college.

The Negro community "turns out" to witness this event. Domestic
service workers in homes of white citizens and Negro mill workers are
given "leave" to watch the parade. At the culmination of the parade an
assembly is held in the Grantville Training High School auditorium where
speechmaking by educators from nearby colleges or religious leaders is
the order of the day.

The Grantville Gazette, a weekly newspaper edited by a white Grant-
ville citizen helps to further, to an extent, community-school relations.
Various events sponsored by and concerning the school are published in the
newspaper and, through this medium of communication, the Negro people of
Grantville have an opportunity to "keep up with what's going on up on that
school hill."

During the school year, various dances are sponsored by the Grantville
Training High School. The dances are viewed by the Negro citizens of
Grantville as "a good chance to have fun" or "a thing of the devil." In
spite of many registered comments of disapproval by some Negro Grantville
citizens, the community, to a great extent, takes part in the social.

The parents of school students and patrons of the school are extended
invitations to attend all social affairs, including dances, sponsored by
the Grantville Training High School. The attitudes concerning the extended
invitation run the gamut from gladly accepting to the "insult" of a religi-
ous person. After being extended an invitation to attend a dance at the
school, a parent states:

I don't mind my girls coming to the school now to
dances and parties, because ain't no secret about
it. If parents don't come it sure ain't nobody's
fault but ours. We never is been treated this
good before at this school.

A mother of one of the school students complained, at one time, about
dances being given and refused to attend any of the social activities of
the school. She was extended an invitation during the spring of 1961 to
come and observe the Junior-Senior Prom, to which she replied: "I ain't
never disgraced myself coming to these dances just to see them kids twist
their bodies."

Upon another occasion the same person was asked to serve as chaperon
at the formal dance. After learning that some other parents of students
were serving as chaperons for the dance, she accepted the invitation and
attended the affair with her husband. Many of the parents took active part
by dancing to the music that was provided. The reluctant woman, viewing
the affair with interest, stated: "This is the nicest thing I ever been
to. I didn't know it would be like this. I am glad I came."

Thus, through the examination of the community level of participation
it is found that the people of the Negro community and the school are
"brought together" in an integral relationship by the various entertain-
ments and forms of recreation sponsored by the school. According to one
writer discussing the relation of the school to the community in the
American culture:

Nothing arouses dissatisfaction among the patrons in
a high school community more quickly than the failure of a
school to produce winning athletic teams or a successful com-
petitive band if the neighboring schools participate in such
activities. . . . In many small communities the desire that
the school provide various public activities may be partially
based on the need of the community as a whole for some type
of entertainment and recreation.1

There is relatively little community-school participation on the
associational or "interest-focused" level in the Grantville Negro Community.
The Parents-Teachers Association of the Grantville Training High School,

1 Brookhover, op. cit., p. 549
the medium through which common interest -- the students -- is manifested, is the only organization whereby members of the Grantville Community and teachers of the local maintain "face to face" relations. This organization is designed to promote relations between teachers and parents, and to serve as a means whereby teachers and parents might discuss problems -- disciplinary and social -- concerning the students. The association also has as its objective, the promotion of education for the students of the Grantville Training High School through the raising of funds to be used to purchase various extra facilities not provided by the Coweta County School System.

The Parents-Teachers Association meeting are held once each month during the school year. The meetings do not draw a large attendance. However, the teachers of the school are required to attend each meeting. An estimate of the extent of attendance on the part of parents might be obtained by an examination of Table 15. In this table is shown the attendance of members and non-members of the Grantville Training High School Parents-Teachers Association by number and per cent. It is revealed that the majority of parents attending the meetings of the Parents-Teachers Association are non-members (holding no official membership), while a smaller percentage of members attended the meetings. The disparity in the number of members and non-members attending the meetings might be attributed to a large number of people who "drop in" to see what is going on when it is felt that something of "special interest" is being discussed.

Another factor that might attribute to the small attendance of members at the regular meetings of the Parents-Teachers Association is the distance involved in the travel of parents of students from other areas to the Grantville Training High School. The distance of travel of students has
### Table 15

**Attendance at Parents-Teachers Association Meeting at Grantville Training High School of 126 Family Heads by Number and Per Cent**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Times Attended</th>
<th>Number Attended</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Times Attended</th>
<th>Number Attended</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>0 - 2</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>6 - 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>9 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>--</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
been discussed previously in Table 9.

The "town-gown" conflict, occasionally, extends to the associational level of participation in the Negro Grantville community. Conflict sometimes ensues between teachers and parents during meetings of the Parents-Teachers Association. This conflict might be in relation to the discussion of student problems or "how the money should be spent," or it might be attributed to the lack of understanding existing between parents and teachers.

Members from each group -- parents and teachers -- express antagonistic attitudes toward each other. A parent, feeling that she was not welcomed by the teachers at a meeting states:

One time we had a Parents-Teachers Association meeting, but the teachers decided that they didn't want us. None of the teachers would stay for a meeting. When they did, they would look at us like we were mad. They barely would speak, and the only time they'd send for us was when they needed some cooking or work done.

Another parent states:

They don't want us. When we go to that school all they do is read a book or hint and that just don't pay us no mind, just like us was dogs.

The teachers are not without expression of attitudes toward parents attending the Parent-Teachers Association meetings. One of the Grantville Training High School teachers states:

I wish we did not have to meet with them at all. I don't mind staying but I can't see what good they do. We only sit and look at each other. They are ignorant and insulting.

Many of the teachers express attitudes of indifference toward the Parents-Teachers Association and its purpose. Among the comments made concerning this point are the following:
I am sure that the P.T.A. does no good. The parents come, and only a few will come. It looks more like a teacher association to me.

This is the Wednesday that the P.T.A. is to meet. I get tired of trying to meet and plead with people who are too stupid to talk. It is not so bad to be ignorant, but when you go to a meeting and shut up like a clam it is absurd. I don't care if there's a meeting or not.

It can be concluded from the foregoing statements that community-school relations on the associational level, using the Parent-Teachers Association as criteria, are not of a harmonious nature. Also, while the Negro community of Grantville takes "pride" and patronizes the various recreational activities and social affairs, there is a lack of understanding between the local educational institution and the community members in terms of personnel, pupils, and program characteristics of the Grantville Training High School.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This has been a sociological survey of social life and customs of the Negro population in a small southern town, Grantville, Georgia. The specific purposes of the investigation were to uncover and describe prevailing patterns of conduct and thought among the Negro population; to indicate the social organization of that population; and to note the focal points for the contemporary life. Assumptions which we held when this study began were: that the Negro population of Grantville and its environs represents an integrated social unit carrying on common life and exhibiting some degree of both formal and informal organizations; and that the processes of interaction among the various components of this social unit, as well as the effect of external factors impinging upon it, could be identified and studied. The investigation indicated that these assumptions were essentially valid.

The Negro population of Grantville and its environs constitute a social unit in that behavior is organized with reference to a set of institutions — economic, religious, educational, social, etc. — that have been established to serve their needs. The people participating in this setting have developed a sense of identification with the community and exhibit significant consensus. The materials indicate that the limits of this Grantville Negro community might be roughly defined by the area serviced by the local school, the Grantville Training High School. Much of the character of life in the Negro community is colored by the fact that it is segregated and under the pressure of conforming to southern racial mores.

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Although this fact is central in defining life in this area, other important components of the historical and cultural situation are the nature of the small town economy -- a combination of manufacturing and agriculture -- which is affected by historical as well as topographical factors. In addition to these, the fact that much of the economic, social and political life of Grantville is oriented toward the county seat, Newman, which is twelve miles away, and the larger metropolis of Atlanta, 56 miles away, is important. Good and cheap transportation to nearby centers has broken down some of the former isolation of this small town, and is a factor decreasing local solidarity. Within the confines of the Negro community, the effects of these internal and external factors are to be seen in the size and characteristics of the Negro population, the number and quality of institutions, and social values. One apparent derivative of size, the nature of the economy, and discrimination, is a significant quota of conflict and suspicion among groups and status levels. One phase of this ingroup suspicion and conflict is the chronic antagonism between townspeople and teachers in the local school, most of whom are outsiders.

In summary, the data reveal that life for the Negro population is colored by its location in, and dependence upon, a mixed industrial and agricultural area in a southern community with a history and tradition of strong racial mores. On the one hand, the size of the community contributes to intimate and direct knowledge of one's fellow townsmen, but on the other hand, the lack of adequate employment opportunities and effective political power reflects itself in the inadequacy of institutions devoted to servicing the Negro community.

The Negro population of Grantville is divided among three separate
neighborhoods, each with its designated names. The people of these respective neighborhoods are designated and informally ranked on a basis of where they live. The major institutions which operate with respect to the primary interest of the Negro community are the school, the churches, the service enterprises like restaurants, barber shops, and a relatively large quota of illegal enterprises featuring bootleg whiskey, gambling, and other forms of vice.

Life in the Negro community is affected by the fact that there is an excess of females in the population. The sex ratio for the Grantville Negro is smaller than that for the Grantville white, and is smaller than the Negro sex ratio for the county as a whole. Less than one-third of the Negro population is in the productive age group, twenty to forty-five. This fact affects the birth rate and probably reflects the disposition of people to migrate from the community in significant numbers when they reach maturity.

Typically, the Grantville adult Negro is a member of the labor force. The kinds of work that Negroes do, is determined not only by the nature of a small economy but also by custom which allocates the more menial and lesser paid jobs to Negroes. Aside from the teachers and the ministers, Grantville has no professional class. The two institutions in the Negro community that touch the lives of the largest number of families are the churches and the school. Although the custom of attending church regularly characterizes a large number of people; and although the church serves a social and economic, as well as religious function, the data suggest that the school is an important service institution and repository of values. The school is the institution which most nearly belongs to all the
people and serves all the people. It is at once an object of loyalty, pride and sentiment, on the one hand, and the butt of much criticism on the other. Although a large proportion of the aggregate population is relatively unlearned, education, as such, has great value and, particularly among the current high school population, the goal of going to college is very important.

Since the small town Negro population of Grantville exhibits, in the aggregate, low economic and educational status and a very small degree of co-ordinated community effort to improve status, the role of the school as a service institution and as an instrument of advance, and as a symbol, is particularly crucial.
APPENDIX
This is a survey sponsored by your school in order to learn more about the area and the people it is serving in order that plans might be made to serve you and your children more effectively. Please cooperate with us by answering all of the questions asked below.

1. Where do you live?

(a) What is your mailing address?

(b) How far are you from the school?

2. List the people who live in your house in the space below, and fill in the information about them that is requested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation to Head</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>School Grade Finished</th>
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