LAWRENCE PETER HOLLIS (1883-1977)

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The Early Life of Hollis

Similar to many of the early textile mill operatives Lawrence Peter Hollis was born on a farm on November 29, 1883, in Chester County, a rural-agricultural area of upstate South Carolina, As a child he grew up working the farm with his family, his education being quite erratic and primarily scheduled around the harvesting of the cotton crop.1 Hollis attended school three to four months a year, typical of the rural educational experience of the day. He speaks fondly of an itinerant teacher named Knox who came to rural Chester to instruct the children.2 Itinerant teachers lived with the families of the students and Hollis speaks to the quality of this man's teaching. He describes the classroom instruction in the following manner: "You just went and studied a book and a principal would call your class and hear your lesson,"3 Hollis simply describes the primary method of instruction of his day, recitation and memorization. Such instruction would not have a place in the curriculum of the Parker School District

Unfortunately, Hollis' rural education failed to prepare him adequately for higher educational pursuits. Despite tutoring, he failed his entrance examination to South Carolina College in 1901. Admitted under probationary status shortly thereafter, Hollis regretted his poor academic background. Although only an average performer in the classroom, at South Carolina College his leadership skills and charisma became evident.

In his junior year at South Carolina College he served as president of the Clariosophic Literary Society, considered at the time one of the highest honors in the college. Hollis later won the Roddey debate medal in 1904, for the society and also served

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as president of the Young Men's Christian Association on campus. His association with the YMCA on campus brought him to the attention of textile manufacturer, Thomas Fleming Parker. Hollis was graduated in 1905 from South Carolina College with a Bachelor of Arts degree. He is described by his classmates in the 1905 edition of Garnet and Black, the South Carolina College Yearbook, as being interested in all phases of the college and the business of everyone else. The yearbook lists his chief occupation as running the mess hall and visiting the all-girl Methodist College (now Columbia College). Hollis is further described by fellow students as "the greatest hypocrite" and in the following quotes: "He for a very busy man did pass - and yet he seemed much busier than he was "5"

Hollis and Thomas Fleming Parker (1860-1926)

Southern textile manufacturer Thomas Fleming Parker served as a primary influence on the life of L. P. Hollis. Parker dreamed of the cotton mill as a way to a better future for both owner and worker. The cotton mill could help the South rise to the political and economic prowess she experienced before the War Between the States. Late in his textile career he came to believe in the importance of education for the textile operatives, the future being in the improvement of human capital. Parker argued through writings and speeches the importance of the educational process in creating a civilizing influence among the operatives.

Parker descends from an illustrious array of South Carolinians, one of the prominent families in the state. His father lost his life in the Battle of Secessionvile, fought on James Island on June 16, 1862. In her diary Mary Chesnut described the battle as something of a turkey shoot, "fair shooting that as they say in the West. We whipped our weight of wildcats. And some to pieces." Parker's mother Margaretta Fleming Parker remarried Prioleau Ravenel on December 6, 1865. Ravenel held family connections in Philadelphia and Charleston which eventually helped finance Monachan Mill

Thomas Fleming Parker came to South Carolina in 1899 at the request of his first cousin Lewis Wardlaw Parker to organize Monaghan Mill. Parker became well-known among textile manufacturers for his expertise and practice in industrial welfare. Parker is considered to be the first Southern industrialist to establish a YMCA for factory workers? His interest in industrial welfare to create a stable, reliable, and efficient work force later influenced the formation of the Parker School District.

Parker believed the wealth of the industrialist should be used to improve the ethical, mental, social and physical standards of the mill village community.8 He called for greater social activities such as recreation for the operatives and provided places for religious worship. He sincerely believed the operative better off in the textile mill village than those "soil-polluted, disease breeding, one-house penniless farms."9 He also perceived the mill village as a source of uplift, providing the operative with a "regular wage, intelligent interests and contact with civilization."10 He further called for an industrial education for both parents and children in the form of day schools for children and night schools for adults. Education appeared the process whereby the child could be instilled with the proper habits of industry and a desire for the good things in life. "...what we need in our villages is not so much numbers as efficiency, general intelligence and character; for unintelligent, unskilled labor is in the long run not only unprofitable, but dangerous to capital."11 The ideal welfare village is one of strong solidarity, priding itself on increasing Christian character, thrift, education, efficiency and good citizenship. Schools and churches serve as the two primary builders of this industrial character.

The aims and goals of the Young Men's Christian Association met much of Parker's concerns for building industrial character and he offered praise for those women and men working in welfare. Parker believed if South Carolina were to retain her rank in the industrial world she would have to supply industrial and vocational training for her young men. Education should seek to dignify labor and provide efficiency. Education was the ultimate investment in human capital. Parker called for an eduultimate investment in human capital. Parker called for an education adapted to the local needs of the community and each student, given in congenial surroundings. Adults should be given opportunities for night classes in mechanical drawing, drafting, textile design and electrical and steam engineering.³³

Lawrence Peter Hollis claimed Parker the primary influence on his life and educational philosophy. Parker died three years after the formation of the Parker School District, but his ideology regarding education for the operatives proved well entrenched in the theory and practice of L. P. Hollis.

Hollis as Welfare Secretary

Hollis' association with the YMCA at South Carolina College led to his job upon graduation in 1905 as an assistant welfare secretary of Monaghan Mill. Thomas Fleming Parker held the presidency of Monaghan Mill at the time. Hollis worked for only a short time as assistant welfare secretary because the welfare secretary who had been hired "didn't speak the same language that we spoke here in the cotton mills of the South. He had a very active wife, but she said things that she thought and some of those things did not take well with the people." The operatives of the village demanded Hollis succeed as welfare secretary, Monaghan Mill. He attended conferences in New York (Lake George) learning the details of YMCA welfare work.

Hollis 'recalled that at the time the textile mills needed more workers so "we sent a man up into the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky and we brought down a lot of people from the mountains." Recruiting textile operatives was part of the role of welfare secretary within many Southern textile mills at the turn of the century. Hollis recalled Thomas Parker teiling him that a family of thirteen was coming to work in one of the Parker Mills. Parker told Hollis to help get the family settled and "see if you can make them happy. We can get some good spinners out of these kids if we could get them to stay down here." "Eupon arrival of the family of thirteen, Hollis took the mother to buy furniture, and at a later date bought her an organ, all items difficult to move. The textile mills had enormous difficulty keeping

the mountain people from moving from mill to mill which was costly, inefficient and aggravating to the mill owner. These people could afford few personal possessions so moving from mill to mill proved quite easy for them. Under the auspices of Thomas Parker, Hollis travelled to New York to hire a producer and several actors to make a movie to teach the people not to relocate. The climax of the film showed the unconcerned movers dropping a beautiful organ off the top of a wagon. Hollis brought farm animals to the mill village and distributed them among the people and also saw that the backyards of the Monaghan operatives were plowed so operatives could plant a garden. To Fringing in farm animals and planting gardens have been described by some historians as tactics designed to make it more difficult for the operative to move. Many operatives planted gardens regardless of mill administration for it gave them a connection with the past, a time when most provided for their own food.

Hollis' rural background helped him deal with and better understand the plight of the cotton mill operative. Hollis' mission seemed to be to help meet the needs of the operatives, yet only as he or the mill owner interpreted them. Although the operatives worked ten-hour days at this time, there was always a concern among the mill owner to keep the operatives busy, out of mischief, and involved in extracurricular activities. Hollis was particularly fond of recreational activities and brought the game of basketball and the Boy Scouts into the mill community. Basketball flourished within the textile community because of op-erative interests and because the textile mills had the only gymnasiums. Recreation served not only as a means of "keeping kids off the streets", but also a means of increasing worker loyalty and solidarity to the mill for which one worked. Owners rarely spared expense building indoor gymnasiums and constructing playing fields of the highest quality. Sporting competition often reached a high level of intensity.

W. M. Grier, who in 1925 was recreational director for Woodside and Easley Cotton Mills, describes man in general as a gregarious animal who has a tendency to form groups (gangs) who will then do things they would not do as individuals. ³⁸ Grier

states the mill owners needed to provide organized recreational and social activities, "due to the early environment of the people, the consequent lack of community spirit and the tendency to find recreation of questionable character." ¹⁹

Hollis stated that he got along well with the operatives at money to do things. In his role as welfare secretary at Monaghan, Hollis stated that he always tried to keep the people busy through fairs, exhibits, and athletic events. Thomas Parker allowed Hollis a great deal of freedom to explore new concepts and ideas dealing with welfare. Hollis was eventually made director of welfare activities for the Parker Cotton Mills which in 1911 was composed of sixteen mills. He states, "I didn't know why they called it welfare, but I was head of welfare activities or "During this time as welfare director for the Parker Cotton Mills, Hollis also served as head of the Victor Monaghan elementary schools from 1916 to 1923.

Formation of the Parker School District

In 1921, the State Supervisor of Mill Schools in South Carolina, W. M. Shealy, visited and reported on the mill schools in the Greenville area which would later consolidate to form the Parker School District in 1923. Shealy reported the quality of mill education in the area was quite good with many of the school buildings being among the best in the state. Shealy estimated in 1921 approximately 1,000 children attended mill schools in the Greenville community. Shealy also noted these schools were corporation schools, essentially private schools, being totally financed by the mills themselves. Shealy called for a property tax to take care of the educational needs of every child living in the mill villages of Greenville. This tax would shift the financial burden of school support as he saw it. The school district of Brandon. Woodside, Judson and Monaghan Mills comprised the richest district in terms of property values in the state. 3

Shealy reports no high school existed within the mill communities and only one in the city of Greenville. Shealy felt it improper for the mill children to be attending public schools since they were not officially contributing to the support of public education through taxation. Children of the mill villages who wished to attend the already overcrowded Greenville High School were being charged tuition fees.

Shealy praised the improvement in mill schools since 1916 when the first State Supervisor of mill schools began gathering data regarding mill schools in South Carolina. Mill officials no longer kept workers ignorant, feeling that educated help was far more skillful, contented, industrious, and thirfty.²⁴ According to Shealy the mills were making better citizens for their investment in education. Shealy had particular praise for the school at Monaghan which he mentions was successfully operating a "Gary School." Shealy is referring to the progressive industrial school in Gary, Indiana, which John Dewey describes in his book Schools of Tomorrow (1915).²⁴ The population of Gary was primarily employed by the United States Steel Corporation. The school in Gary was well-known for its experimentation in manual training and its contribution to the school community.

At the conception of the Parker School District in 1923, each of the fourteen communities which would later make up the district had their own elementary school. In 1923 no central high school existed for the mill children to attend. Schools in these communities only carried children through the 7th and 8th grades. Those who sought further education had to go to Greenville High School or seek boarding at North Greenville Baptist Academy or Fruitland Institute. Those not choosing to further their education most likely entered the textile mills as operatives. This created a problem in terms of economics and logistics, "an arrangement which was not entirely satisfactory." One reason for organizing the new district was to establish a high school that would appeal to students by providing desired training in vocational and textile work." The high school was established to meet the needs of the boys and girls of the district and promote the welfare of the people of the district, including its institutions and industries. 30

Hollis was asked to serve on a committee made up of textile

officials to look into creating a new high school specifically for the mill community. This committee would later become the first board of trustees for the Parker School District, Hollis maintained that while nearly all the mills maintained schools, quality varied greatly. Hollis further states that he attempted to strengthen the school at Monaghan Mill bringing in people from George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, to advise and help with the organization of the schools.31 Hollis spent a great deal of time at the South Carolina State Department of Education studying how to set up the new high school and school district. On February 17, 1923, the South Carolina Legislature passed Act 369 allowing for the consolidation of several school districts into one school district, the Parker School District. 32 This act was challenged in court because it was viewed by some "to erect into a body politic and corporate, with special powers to govern its affairs through a special board of trustees and to levy through this board taxes in a manner and to an amount not permitted under general law."33 The South Carolina Supreme Court ruled for the defendants, the future trustees of the Parker School District. The Parker School District was formed under a cloud of controversy.

The powerful board of trustees eventually selected Lawrence Peter Hollis to become the superintendent of the Parker School District, and Hollis spent the summer of 1923 preparing for its opening. The district received its name not from Thomas Parker, but from his cousin and industrialist Lewis Wardlaw Parker, who had passed away in 1916. Because of his excellent rapport and charisma with both the people of the district and the mill owners Hollis, served as an excellent choice in meeting the goals of an industrial community. Hollis was allotted a great deal of freedom by the board of trustees who allowed him to experiment with new educational ideas. Hollis claimed to embrace the educational philosophy of the progressives, rejecting the traditional classroom approach, and stressing a child-centered approach.34 The Parker School District maintained a close relationship with Columbia University in New York until around 1935. John Dewey visited the Parker School District in the early 1930's to speak about his ideas which Hollis recalled in the following way: "Now he talked way over the heads of our people, but we managed to get this idea from him. We learn as we do and we learn only as we do." This idea of "doing" seemed quite relevant to Hollis particularly within the industrial setting of the textile mill community. For Hollis the idea of "doing" involved a movement away from the traditional high school curriculum. "Now we had to do some things with our curriculum in the high school. We didn't think that everybody would go back to the mills, but we had a wonderful textile department in the school because we knew most of the people would go back to the mills."

Educational Philosophy of Hollis

The educational philosophy of Hollis proves difficult to analyze because he rarely published or spoke of his ideological influences other than Thomas Parker. In an article for Progressive Education in 1943, Hollis reiterated he could not state what truly influenced his ideas on education, but he did emphasize the importance of learning to deal with people which his welfare work had brought him.37 Hollis believed dealing with the operatives on a day to day basis had led him to a greater understanding of the human condition. "I found that once we understood each other there was no limit to the possibilities of the individual."38 Hollis further stated that traditional education, being teachercentered rather than child-centered, undermined social relationships, social understanding and cooperative attitudes; the motivating spirit being individual competition rather than cooperation. For Hollis education had to meet the needs of the children. vet teachers who did not understand the child or the life of the community could not begin to meet those needs. 39 Hollis stressed that programs of teacher inservice would lead to greater awareness of community life, the concept of community being central to the democratic ideology of the progressives. Hollis began his initial revision of the curriculum during the school term of 1927-1928. He further stated: "It was followed by a three week institute in the summer at which our entire staff of 160 elementary teachers worked on their problems with expert helpers from Columbia University." According to Hollis through inservice "the teachers began to see the kinds of experience which bring growth in boys and girls. "I Activities were to appeal to the interests of the children promoting their skills. The role of the school was to meet the needs of boys and girls in the community in which they find themselves. The school and the community were inseparable for the progressive educator. The progressive educator held the industrial revolution perpetuated an alienation from the community where one understood one's contribution to the whole. Such a contribution appeared apparent in the rural community, where everyone pitched in. Industrialization changed the conception of community making everyone, even children, wage earners, disrupting our basic social institutions, particularly the family.

Hollis sought for his teachers to gain the same support with students and family that he had achieved with the operatives as welfare secretary. He believed parent-teacher cooperation essential if the needs of the children and the community were to be met. In a book published by the Parker Faculty in 1942, Hollis attempted to briefly explain in a foreword to parents what was going on in the school in terms of helping the children become good citizens.42 Hollis was aware through his previous experience that many of the parents of the students lacked a basic education. Hollis established the Parker People's College in 1929 for the purpose of offering a broad comprehensive education for those adults who had not completed their education. The Parker People's College charged no fee, nor were there any examinations. The College held classes in the afternoon and at night so workers could attend. The Parker People's College was of particular importance because it increased adult literacy in the community.43 The most popular classes were in English, interior decorating, business law, psychology, sociology, foremanship, and reading aids. "Hollis also stated in order to truly reach inside the homes, classes alone were not enough.

Hollis hired a landscaper to help beautify the community as well as stressed that teachers meet with the people of the com-

munity. Hollis stressed to the parents of the Parker High School students that the activities and program of the Parker High School were an attempt to give their children more than just facts attainable through books, but learning through experience.⁴⁵

Hollis admired and praised the teaching corps at Parker. He commended teachers for their efforts in making school activities real-life activities, the pupils being loyal and cooperative. Hrough Hollis' stress on teacher training and selection of teachers at Parker High School, he created a cohesive core of teachers who rarely challenged his authority. Teachers spent inservice time at Blythe Shoals in Travelers Rest, South Carolina, and Camp Reasonover in Cedar Mountain, North Carolina, swimming, mountain climbing, going to conferences, musical events, and cooking out.

Höllis believed the school should fit the individual rather than the individual being molded to the demands of the school. The school proved the center of the community from which should flow ideas, love of learning, improvement of home life, readiness for jobs, and friendship and love. Hollis believed that the school should formulate its goals relative to the community, what progressive educators referred to as a community school. Hollis' educational goals are well-grounded in progressive rhetoric stressing the school should promote physical health and well being, cooperation and participation, and the learner as an active problem solver utilizing the scientific method to solve relevant problems. However, it seemed as if progressive education was defined in the following way: "Progressive education was the name applied to teaching that stressed the child rather than the subject matter. It was also involved with the personality development of the child. Learning should take place by doing rather than by rote. Students should have job training." "

Interviews with former teachers and students of the Parker School District describe Hollis in many ways, a promoter, a religious man, an idea man, a Christian gentleman, a humanitarian, absent-minded, unselfish, charitable and a man of action. Teachers seemed often caught off guard by Hollis' unpredictability. He seemed always whistling, a jovial kind of person deeply en-

tranced in thought.

Hollis gained the respect and affection of the operatives so welfare secretary for Monaghan Mill. This respect and admiration gave him a great deal of leverage in experimenting with new educational ideas within the Parker School District. Hollis' charitable spirit remained his entire life. The operatives of the Parker community considered Hollis as one of their own, the patriarch of the community, and not the textile manufacturers Thomas Parker and Lewis Parker for whom the school district was named.

One former teacher described Hollis' educational philosophy as practical rather than traditional. Hollis adapted the inquiry approach to the classroom, where the teachers establish the foundation and the students take over. "Our goal was to take the child where you found him and go with him from there. Hollis believed that to teach a child one must understand what kind of person the child was; understanding the environment of the child. Parker taught the practical rather than the traditional."

He believed every individual should be allowed to live up to their potential, even if that was being the best mill operative one could be. Thomas Parker served the role as visionary and Hollis the pragmatist through his practical application; "the wheels in Thomas Parker's wagon." ³⁰

Conclusion

On the surface Hollis appears to be well versed in the philosophy of progressive education, yet under this rhetoric there occasionally appears the YMCA welfare secretary molding the operative and the students to meet the needs of the industrial community. Hollis had personally studied at Columbia University during the early 1930's, even taking a class under John Dewey.³¹ The idea of learning by doing seemed quite relevant to Hollis in the context of how he viewed his community. Hollis interpreted the concept of learning by doing in a narrow vocational sense.

The goals of the Parker School District in terms of education

involved developing better citizens in both children and adults, meeting the individual needs of the people of the community and working within the community for improved living. ⁵² "In the United States, we believe that a good citizen has certain rights and privileges and that each carries with it a corresponding responsibility."53 The responsibility of citizenship was defined in terms of dependability, punctuality, vocational competence, and cooperation. Meeting the needs of the people is further defined as meeting the physical needs of health, teaching basic skills, and vocational self-sufficiency. Working within the community for improved living meant creating better homes, taking part in worthwhile leisure activities, cooperative work with others, and fitting people to take their proper role in the community. In explaining these goals to parents, teachers stated the following: "We are trying to plan and carry out a school program that will en-able each pupil to develop the basic skills necessary for getting and holding a job, for maintaining good physical and mental health and for dealing effectively with their problems in living as they arise."54 It appears that the emphasis is on job training rather than helping the pupils develop problem solving skills necessary for gaining a complete understanding of their life in an industrial community. This is the major flaw in the educational ideology of Lawrence Peter Hollis. Hollis could never separate preparation for life in a democratic society from preparation for life in terms of job training within the industrial community. Hollis and his colleagues were trying to induce an industrial consciousness defined as sustaining an active interest in daily work. In an analysis of Parker student records from 1924-1941, it can be shown that 61 percent of the students were taking a vocational oriented curriculum. 55 Under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 vocational studies consisted of agriculture, home economics, tex-tile and industrial, and distributive education. The majority of the Parker students were taking courses in either home economics (primarily girls) or textile training (primarily boys). Of the remaining students analyzed, 39 percent were taking courses that could be considered college preparatory. Approximately half of the students taking the academic courses were from the non-textile communities making up the Parker District.56

Manual training for the progressive educator was not vocational preparation as it was apparently conceived in the Parker School District, but sought to produce an understanding by the individual of his role in an industrial society. By participating in the occupations associated with one's community and studying those occupations a greater understanding of that community could be achieved. 57 Historian Robert Church states Dewey's goal was to help the individual better understand his economic role in society working eventually for the betterment of the social whole. Manual training could strengthen observation and coordination leading to greater problem solving ability, yet the most important aspect of manual training was to instill within children the ability to cooperate and work together assuming social responsibility. For Dewey as well as other true progressive educators these characteristics are essential for participation in a democratic society.

What happened during the years 1924-1951 in the Parker School District fascinates the educational historian. The focus on meeting the needs of the community, catering to the interest of the child, learning by doing, problem solving and inquiry can form the foundation of a democratic education. The Parker School District deserves to go into the annals of progressive education. Contemporary educators can learn a great deal from their mistakes and their triumphs. We as historians must seek to locate primary source material and make it available for public scrutiny, otherwise the Parker School District and its accomplishments will be lost. Currently housed in the book depository of the School District of Greenville County lie board minutes of the district as well as scrapbooks chronicling the Parker experience. These materials need to become available to the public. Teachers and students of the Parker School District must be interviewed regarding their experiences. What attracted teachers to the philosophy of progressive education? How did they accomplish their goals in the classroom? In regard to students, did the education at Parker meet their needs or did it simply channel them into a vocational curriculum preparing them for textile work?

Through the study of history we begin to realize self: who we are, and how we came to be this way. The growth of the textile industry is so crucial to the history of Greenville. As historians we must study those who contributed to the past, not only the textile manufacturers, but the welfare workers, the preachers, the teachers and particularly the workers themselves. All have a story to tell and our role is to tell that story seeking to better understand them and ourselves. Gaining this understanding will hopefully better guide us in dealing with the unknown future.

Endnotes

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