

VLR-4/18/89 NRHP-12/19/90

United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Holley Graded School. other names/site number

2. Location

street & number U.S. Route 360 city, town Lottsburg state Virginia code VA county Northumberland code 133 zip code 22511

3. Classification

Table with 3 columns: Ownership of Property, Category of Property, and Number of Resources within Property. Includes sub-rows for Contributing and Noncontributing resources.

Name of related multiple property listing: Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended. I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is: entered in the National Register. determined eligible for the National Register. determined not eligible for the National Register. removed from the National Register. other, (explain:)

## 6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

EDUCATION: School

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Work in Progress

## 7. Description

Architectural Classification  
(enter categories from instructions)

MIXED

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation Concrete

walls Wood (weatherboard:shingle)

roof Metal (iron)

other

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

### SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

Located on a two-acre tract in the village of Lottsburg, Holley Graded School is a remarkably unaltered frame schoolhouse erected in stages between ca. 1914 and 1933 to serve the needs of the local black community. The single-story building has a cross-shaped plan featuring four identical-sized classrooms, a central passage, two cloakrooms and a kitchen. A larger, more handsome structure than most rural grade schools of its period, Holley School displays an unusual degree of refinement. Exterior detailing includes scalloped bargeboards, gables with patterned wood shingles and bull's-eye windows, and ashlar-shaped cement-block piers. On the interior, walls and ceilings are embellished with molded sheetmetal sheathing, and an original cast-iron heating stove stands in one of the classrooms.

### ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS

Holley School stands about thirty yards from the east side of State Route 360 in the small village of Lottsburg in northwestern Northumberland County. Set near the front center of a level, two-acre lot, the building is surrounded by a lawn. Small trees and bushes define the sides of the lot, and a large oak tree dominates the back yard. The ruins of two small frame privies stand at the rear corners of the lot, and the site of a nineteenth-century teacher's cottage, covered in vines, can be seen nearby.

The school is a one-story, frame, gable-roofed structure clad in weatherboards and wood shingles. Built on a cross-shaped plan, it features a rectangular main block measuring 62'-3" x 41'-4". The building has a formal, symmetrical five-bay facade with a projecting central pavilion of three bays. It has ceilings 11'-3" in height and stands roughly three feet above grade on tall piers built of ashlar-faced concrete blocks.

The relatively simple floorplan is one widely used for Virginia school buildings of its size and period. A thirteen-foot-wide central passage bisects the double-pile building, giving access to four identical-size classrooms, each measuring roughly 19' x 23'. Identical 6' x 34'

**8. Statement of Significance**

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally     statewide     locally

Applicable National Register Criteria     A     B     C     D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions)     A     B     C     D     E     F     G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance

Significant Dates

Architecture

1914-1939

1923

1927

1933

Cultural Affiliation  
Black

Significant Person

Architect/Builder  
Unknown

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

**STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**

Holley Graded School is a one-story, frame, four-classroom schoolhouse located on a two-acre tract in the village of Lottsburg in Northumberland County. The schoolhouse was erected largely if not entirely by contributions of money and labor from the local black community. Construction began some time between 1914 and 1917 and the building was opened gradually, on a room-by-room basis, between 1923 and 1933. When completed, Holley School was the largest and most architecturally sophisticated black elementary schoolhouse in the county. It remains largely unaltered today, featuring unusually fine detailing, including classrooms with walls and ceilings sheathed with ornamental sheetmetal. Handsome and commodious, Holley School is a testament to the perserverance, independence, and self-sufficiency of Lottsburg's blacks during a period of racial segregation and unequal opportunity, a time when schools available to blacks were patently inferior to those available to whites. Erected to replace a smaller Reconstruction-era schoolhouse, Holley School continues to be owned and operated by a board of trustees comprised of local blacks. Because it was sustained during most of its history by private funds rather than the white-controlled school system, Holley School is a source of particular local pride. During its thirty-seven years of operation in the present building, two generations of schoolchildren were educated there, including many who later became teachers, school principals, and other community leaders. Today, after nearly three decades of marginal use, the school is being restored to serve as a combination museum and adult-education facility.

**JUSTIFICATION OF CRITERIA**

Holley Graded School is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C. The main building on the property is a one-story frame schoolhouse constructed between 1914 and 1933. Two small privies at the rear of the lot are listed as noncontributing because of their ruinous condition. The locations of a former

See continuation sheet

**9. Major Bibliographical References**

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Specify repository:

VA Division of Historic Landmarks  
221 Governor St., Richmond, VA 23219

**10. Geographical Data**

Acreage of property 2 acres

UTM References

A 

1	8	3	6	5	2	0	4	2	0	2	4	8	0
Zone				Easting				Northing					

C 

Zone				Easting				Northing					

B 

Zone				Easting				Northing					

D 

Zone				Easting				Northing					

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

Beginning at a point 300 feet north of the intersection of county road 614 and US 360; proceed north along the eastern right-of-way of US 360 209 feet. Then proceed east 418 feet; then proceed south 209 feet; then proceed west to the point of beginning.

See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

The nominated property includes the entire acreage historically associated with the Holley School tract.

See continuation sheet

**11. Form Prepared By**

name/title Jeff O'Dell, Architectural Historian

organization VA Division of Historic Landmarks date March 1989

street & number 221 Governor Street telephone (804) 786-3143

city or town Richmond state VA zip code 23219

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projecting pavilions articulate the building's front and rear facades. Each pavilion originally contained two cloakrooms divided by a nine-foot-wide vestibule, but the rear cloakrooms and vestibule, along with part of the central passage, were converted to use as a kitchen in the late 1930s or 1940s. Except for that, the building stands today essentially as it did when completed in 1933.

The building's exterior detailing expresses the pride the local black community took in the school. Most rural schoolhouses of the period in Virginia--white as well as black--were austere buildings displaying minimal detailing, but Holley School exhibits a number of refinements. The most obvious of these are its decorated gables, enlivened by a central bull's-eye window and clad with patterned rows of triangular and round-edged wooden shingles. (The front and side gables share identical treatment, but the rear gable is sheathed with plain weatherboards.) In addition, the bargeboards of the front gable display a scalloped profile at their lower edges. All exterior woodwork--trim as well as cladding--is painted white, as it apparently was originally.

A semicircular fanlight punctuates the wide front entry. Panelled frames flank the front door, which is a 1950s replacement of the original double-leaf doors. Windows on the front and rear elevations are paired, while those on the side elevations are single. All contain original six-over-six-light sashes. The relatively steep-pitched gable roof is sheathed in standing-seam metal painted silver. Two brick stove flues with corbelled caps pierce the roof at the ridge. The school is raised three feet off the ground on molded cement piers whose tall height is consonant with the building's ample scale and good proportions. A flight of five wide poured-concrete steps leads to a stoop in front of the unsheltered front door.

Above the entry is a plainly carved wooden plaque spelling out the historical name of the building: HOLLEY GRADED SCHOOL. A more permanent inscription can be seen at the front right corner of the building. There, a cement block in the corner pier is molded with the words: HOLLEY SCHOOL/ FEB. 1869/ APRIL 29, 1933. (The former date refers to the founding of the school, housed in an earlier building on the property, while the latter refers to the day the present building was completed or dedicated.)

The interior, like the exterior of the building, is largely intact. Its most remarkable feature is its pressed-metal sheathing, which covers all walls and ceilings in the classrooms and passage. Such sheathing was widely used in commercial structures of the period, but seldom in Virginia schoolhouses; no other examples are known in Northumberland County schools. Manufactured of galvanized iron, the sheathing was

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probably supplied by a Baltimore manufacturer or retailer. Painted various colors, including white, light green and dark green, the sheathing is of a uniform pattern throughout the building. All walls feature a vertical striped pattern consisting of reeded bands alternating with bands displaying an abstract floral-repeat pattern. The ceilings are more elaborate, having a double border surrounding a central gridded field of roughly one-foot-square panels, each with an elaborate motif incorporating scrolls, scallops and cartouches. Probably designed and first manufactured around the turn of the century, the pattern incorporates both Neoclassical and Rococco-Revival motifs. The formality of this treatment is enhanced by the use of a pressed-metal ceiling cornice with cyma moldings and narrow bands of quasi-classical motifs.

The building's simple interior woodwork stands in contrast to its fancy metal sheathing. Although well executed, it is relatively plain. Window casings have only a rounded lip at the outer edges, and the wide openings between front and rear rooms are embellished simply by a molded strip forming a rudimentary cornice. Stock doors with five horizontal panels appear throughout the building. Flooring is intact, consisting of six-inch-wide tongue-and-groove boards.

Not surprisingly, the two cloakrooms at the front of the building have plain, inexpensive wall treatments. Sheathing there consists of a combination of unpainted matchboard and broad flush horizontal boards. Both these unheated rooms lack ceilings; the roof framing is visible from the cloakrooms.

Similarly, the kitchen at the rear of the building has wall and ceiling cladding of plain horizontal matchboards. This T-shaped room was created in the late 1930s from the rear portion of the central passage and the former rear cloakrooms. (There were originally four cloakrooms, one for the children attending each of the four graded classrooms.)

Early interior fixtures and furniture have for the most part disappeared. There is, however, an original cast-iron woodstove in the northwest room, and a few early wood-and-iron school desks remain in the building. Blackboards are gone; according to oral accounts, they were simply hung on the walls where needed.

The building was apparently wired for electricity from the 1940s or earlier, but the power was used only to illumine the single overhead light fixtures in each room. Heat was supplied solely by wood stoves. There was (and still is) no plumbing; originally two wooden privies stood in the back yard. A cistern in the yard provided water for drinking and washing, but this too has disappeared.

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The site of the former schoolhouse is located near the road by a large oak tree. This earlier school was a one-story frame structure consisting of three classrooms arranged in a row. Further back, at the rear of the lot, is the site of the former teacher's cottage. This building, which may have been erected as early as the 1870s, was demolished around 1935. (Neither of these are considered contributing sites, since their archaeological significance is unknown.)

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schoolhouse and a nineteenth-century teacher's cottage are also listed as noncontributing sites because they lack archaeological significance. The Holley School building itself, however, retains a high degree of architectural integrity, and both its general and immediate surroundings have changed little since it was erected.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The present Holley Graded School--sometimes referred to as the New Holley Graded School--was built to replace a smaller schoolhouse erected during the Reconstruction Era. The roughly two-acre lot on which it stands was purchased shortly after the Civil War by Sallie Holley, for whom the school was later named.<sup>1</sup> Miss Holley (1818-1893), a native of New York State, was a white woman reared in a family active in the anti-slavery movement. A graduate of Oberlin College, Holley became an ardent abolitionist as a young woman, traveling widely as a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Also a firm advocate of women's rights, temperance, and universal suffrage, Holley worked to extend black suffrage immediately after the Civil War. In 1869, at the suggestion of her friend Emily Howland--who had recently established a school of her own in Northumberland--she purchased the parcel of land on which Holley School stands today. There, together with her friend and lifelong companion Miss Caroline Putnam (1826-1917), she established a school for the children of former slaves.<sup>2</sup>

Spurned by the local white community, Holley and Putnam built and maintained this school with the help of the local blacks and the financial support of Northern friends. Holley died in 1893, but Caroline Putnam continued to operate the school until her death in 1917. A detailed and moving account of the early years of the first Holley school appears in the 1899 biography and collection of Holley's letters titled A Life for Liberty.<sup>3</sup>

The original Holley School, built in 1869, was a modest one-room structure. The fact that this was rebuilt in 1878 and again in 1886-87 suggests that these buildings were all relatively insubstantial, the products of meager funding.<sup>4</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,<sup>5</sup> the 1887 schoolhouse was expanded into a three-room structure. By the 1910s this school had apparently become dilapidated and the local black community, together with Caroline Putnam, planned a new school. It seems probable that a four-classroom structure similar in design to the present building was envisioned from the beginning, but work on it progressed in fits and starts over a period of fifteen or twenty years. No records exist stating exactly when construction began, but oral accounts indicate that it was some time between 1914 and 1917.<sup>6</sup>



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In 1917 control of the school passed into the hands of a board of trustees composed entirely of local blacks. That year Dr. Felix Adler, a New York City Unitarian minister who had been a longtime friend and associate of Sallie Holley, deeded to a board of eleven trustees the land that Holley had purchased in 1869. The trustees included Robert J. Diggs, Eugene Nelson, William D. Rich, Ernest Eskridge, L. C. Newman, Edward Diggs, Cora Smith, Maxwell Williams, Ella A. Knapp, Dr. Frank W. Lewis, and lawyer T. C. Walker. Since then, the school and its two-acre parcel have remained in the hands of trustees. In the course of the property's 120-year history, it was never owned by the county, but the Northumberland School Board did accept formal responsibility for maintaining it between 1934 and 1964.

The general form of Holley school, with its four-room, central-passage plan, projecting pavilions, and integral cloakrooms, is an unusual one. Its designer--if indeed there was a single person responsible for the building's final form--is unknown, and it seems unlikely that the school's design history will ever be fully known. The school's form may have been influenced by existing architect-designed schoolhouses, or by published or original architect's plans. In any case, its design is at least partly the product of an indigenous vernacular tradition.

Holley School was built during a period of dramatic education reforms in Virginia. Organizations such as the Southern Education Board and the Cooperative Education Association of Virginia emphasized for the need to erect school buildings providing greater space, more light, and better heating and sanitary facilities. School consolidation was another hallmark of the era, and Holley School, with its four classrooms, exemplified that trend, being the largest black elementary school in the county when completed in 1933.

Ideas for the school's design may have come from one of several institutional sources--or, more likely, some combination of them. If Rosenwald funds were used at any stage of building, they would have been subject to review by one of the foundation's building agents, who automatically reviewed the plans of any school using Rosenwald money.<sup>10</sup> Alternately, planning ideas may have originated with one of the state's programs for rural school improvement. The Williams Building Act of 1906, whose main purpose was to provide loans to schools from the state's Literary Fund, required that schools receiving state funding have their building plans approved by the state. The Strode Act of 1908 also provided loans to build and improve rural schoolhouses; money from this source carried with it stipulations<sup>11</sup> regarding ventilation, lighting, sanitary facilities and general design. Another possible source of design guidelines was the state's School Building Service, established in 1920 by the Virginia State Board of Education. Created to promote

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approved modern designs and to save local schools the expense of architects' fees, this program provided both standard and customized plans to local schools.<sup>12</sup>

While the design of Holley School was no doubt influenced--at least indirectly--by prescriptive literature and current popular notions about school design, the basic plan, as well as much of its detailing, is vernacular, taking cues from other buildings in the region. The symmetrical double-pile, central-passage floor plan, for example, was a standard plan in larger-than-average rural Virginia dwellings of the late nineteenth century. Although cloakrooms were a feature strictly associated with school buildings, the idea for those at Holley could have been borrowed from other schools in the region; it need not necessarily have come from plans provided by architects, bureaucrats, or published sources. Detailing, too, is basically vernacular. For example, the decorative gable shingles--which rarely appear on other schools in the region--were frequently used to dress up local dwellings in the 1880s and later. Too, the school's interior metal sheathing is similar to that widely used in the area's rural general stores during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Metal sheathing was also used in several Northumberland County churches, a practice seldom employed in other areas of the state.<sup>13</sup> In short, it is quite possible that Holley School was designed entirely by a local builder without the benefit of any architect-designed plans.

While Holley School's design illustrates the influence of local architecture, its history exemplifies the strongly local and decentralized nature of education in rural Virginia during the early twentieth century. William Link has shown in his recent book A Hard Country and a Lonely Place that local control of schooling was an overriding theme of education in rural Virginia before 1920.<sup>14</sup> Rural schools' curricula, calendar and student attendance were all closely tied to local needs and preferences, and parents in each neighborhood had a strong voice in selecting teachers, in choosing the location of new schoolhouses, and in determining the degree and manner of school funding. Funding was crucial in determining the quality of a local school building. To date, this subject has received little scholarly attention, but oral history accounts together with state and local school records suggest that many rural schoolhouses in the first quarter of this century were built entirely with funds raised by parents' groups or patrons' associations.<sup>15</sup>

Certainly this seems to have been the case with Holley School. State and local records show no expenditure of public monies for the present building. Oral tradition strongly suggests that most if not all the funds to build the school came from members of the local black community.

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This conclusion is reinforced by the school's slow and sporadic building campaign. Evidence suggests that Holley School was planned from the beginning as a four-classroom school. However, though construction had started by 1917, the first room was not ready for students until 1923. After another hiatus--during which it was probably necessary to raise more funds--the second classroom opened. The third classroom was completed by 1928, but it took five more years before the school reached its final, four-classroom form.

Recent oral interviews have shown that Holley School was built not only with private funds, but also with materials and labor supplied by local blacks. The Rev. L. C. Newman, pastor of Zion Church of Lottsburg and a Holley School trustee, seems to have taken a leading hand in organizing the building effort. According to longtime resident Harvey Croxton, farmers in the neighborhood felled any available large pines on their property; they hauled the logs to the nearest sawmill, where they were cut into boards and timbers, and then set them aside to use for building the school. Local carpenters Herbert Page, John H. Brown, and Will Maith volunteered their labor, usually on Saturdays and holidays. Other black men in the area made trips to Coan Wharf to haul the cement blocks used in the school's foundations. Eddie Vanlandingham and Collie Rock, two white men, laid the building's metal roofing, and Lawton Tucker did the wiring. During the later years of the project, if not from the beginning, carpenter Harvey Burgess coordinated the project. Burgess, a leading black carpenter who who later built nearby Zion Church, may well have had a major voice in the building's design.<sup>16</sup>

When completed, Holley School was the largest black elementary school in the county. Only Northumberland Training School, a high school whose primary purpose was to provide industrial training, was bigger. The next largest black schools were plain, boxy, two- and three-classroom buildings; these included Branch-Chapel School, Avalon School, and Hygeia School, all built in the 1920s.<sup>17</sup> State superintendents' reports show that in the school year 1934-35, Northumberland blacks attended five one-teacher (i.e., one-room) schools; three two-teacher schools, and four three-teacher schools. The ledger books have no category for schools with four or more teachers, but Holley appears to have been the only elementary school in the county with more than three rooms. As late as 1934 most blacks in Northumberland continued to receive an education in small, isolated, outmoded buildings. In contrast, by that time all white children in the county attended modern consolidated schools containing such facilities as auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, and indoor plumbing.<sup>18</sup> The dramatic difference in the type and quality of physical facilities illustrates the longstanding gap that existed between the educational opportunities available to whites as opposed to blacks.

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The relatively primitive school facilities used by Northumberland blacks in the 1930s are documented in a series of recent taped oral interviews. For example, older members of the community who attended Holley School recall that the building was heated throughout its history (i.e., until 1960) by wood stoves. Teams of two boys per classroom were assigned the job of providing wood and keeping the stoves stoked. Each day they had to arrive early to start the fires. At first the wood itself was provided by parents and neighbors; the school board did not provide it until the 1930s. School lunches were also a communal effort. Children were asked to bring dried beans to add to the pot of soup that served as each day's lunch. During the first decade of the building's history, a woman volunteer cooked lunches for students using a wood stove in the central passage. In the late 1930s, though, WPA funds enabled the school to create a kitchen out of the space originally occupied by the two rear cloakrooms and the back part of the passage. During the kitchen's early years, lunches continued to consist of either beans or vegetable soup, but by the 1950s they had become more varied.<sup>19</sup>

Although a water tap was installed when the kitchen was added in the late 1930s, Holley School was never equipped with full plumbing or indoor toilets. Instead, students used wooden privies--one for boys and one for girls--situated in the rear corners of the lot. Toilets of any kind represented a major advance in sanitation when Holley School began construction in the 1910s. However, in the 1930s and '40s indoor toilets had begun to replace outdoor privies, and by the 1950s the transition was complete in the county's white schools. Students at Holley and many other small black schools, however, continued to make do with outdoor facilities until around 1960.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, in contrast to the schoolyards of white elementary schools, which beginning in the 1940s were equipped with a variety of playground equipment and sports facilities, the yard at Holley School was bare. Students did play baseball in the back yard, but there were no swings, slides, or jungle gyms. There was, however, a flagpole in the front yard at Holley School--as there was at all other schools in the county, both black and white. Each day a team of boys raised and lowered the United States flag.

Until federal law mandated racial integration in the 1950s and Virginia responded by adopting a "separate but equal" policy, funding for black schools continued to lag far behind that for whites. In 1959, however, a new, relatively spacious and up-to-date brick consolidated school for blacks opened in Lottsburg. All students from Holley school were transferred there that same year, and the smaller school closed permanently. Holley School stood unused until the mid-1960s, when

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several local black men installed a billiards table in the building and began a tradition of playing pool there on a Thursday nights.

During this period the school began to deteriorate for want of maintenance. It was saved largely by the efforts of Mrs. Ruth Blackwell, who lived next door. Each week she collected change from the men who played pool in the building, using it to buy paint and pay the insurance and electric bills. When the county indicated it wanted to take control of the schoolhouse, Mrs. Blackwell went to a local judge and asked him to appoint a slate of new trustees, filling longstanding vacancies. The new trustees organized fund-raising events such as fish dinners and baby contests, and these provided enough money to keep the school in fairly good condition. In the early 1980s the trustees began developing plans to restore the building for use as a museum and community center. Fund-raising efforts quickly gained momentum, and by 1988 substantial rehabilitation had begun. Current plans call for the school to serve, beginning in the fall of 1989, as the center for the Adult Literacy Program of Northumberland County. The trustees hope eventually to establish a museum of local black history in one of the rooms.<sup>21</sup>

Today the newly refurbished Holley Graded School is a source of great pride to the black community of Lottsburg. Although the present building dates to the 1910s, the school's historical roots extend to the Reconstruction era, when Virginia's blacks were first allowed to pursue an education. The present building represents the dedicated work of many local people who, despite economic hardship, erected a schoolhouse that was remarkably large and well-appointed for its time. Holley School was where most of Lottsburg's older generation of blacks received their educations. For nearly forty years the school helped open doors to the larger world and to greater opportunities; it provided hope, support and social cohesion during an era of institutionalized racial discrimination. As Ruth Blackwell stated in 1985, "It's where I got my start. It's where the whole community got its start."<sup>22</sup>

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### ENDNOTES

1. Northumberland County Deed Book D, p. 319. Northumberland County Clerk's Office, Heathsville, Va.
2. Edward T. James, ed. Notable American Women 1607-1950, A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass., 1971, pp. 205-06; John White Chadwick, ed., A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley. New York, 1969 (Reprint of 1899 ed.), pp. 203-29. The school Misses Holley and Putnam established was nominally available to all local children, but white parents refused to send their children. Besides Holley and Howland schools, another school for blacks was established in Northumberland County about the same time by another Northern sympathizer. Called Stebbins School after Miss Laura Stebbins of Massachusetts, it too was managed by a board of local black trustees. Stebbins school, founded in 1870, continued to operate until the 1920s. (Carolyn H. Jett, "History . . . Three Hundred Years of Education," in The Good Life of Northumberland, A Supplement to The Northumberland Echo, Heathsville, Va., March 1, 1984, p. 9B.)
3. Chadwick, A Life for Liberty. Miss Holley is buried in a family plot in Rochester, N.Y.; Miss Putnam is buried at Zion Church cemetery in Lottsburg.
4. Ibid., p. 249. In her letters, Holley alludes to the original schoolhouse built ca. 1869 (p. 221) and mentions that it was rebuilt ca. 1878 (p. 229) and ca. 1886 (p.249).
5. Mrs. Mamie Leland, Mrs. Lorraine Brooks and Harvey Croxton, interviews with author, Lottsburg, Va., 27 March 1986.
6. Porter Kier, "History of New Holley Graded School," unpub. typescript, February 1989, p. 2. "Holley Graded School" file, archives of the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, Richmond, Va.
7. Northumberland County Deed Book Z, p. 347. Northumberland County Clerk's Office, Heathsville, Va.; Chadwick, A Life for Liberty, pp. 265, 282-83.
8. Jett, "History . . . of Education," p. 6B; Porter Kier, letter to author, 13 March 1989; R. A. Treakle, Jr. "Insurance Proposal Prepared for Northumberland County School Board," Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company, Chicago, July 1957, p. 2.

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9. Link, A Hard Country, chaps. 5 & 6.

10. Ibid., pp. 188-89; Henry A. Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South From 1619 to the Present, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, pp. 127, 138-40. The Rosenwald fund was established in 1914 by Chicago philanthropist Julius Rosenwald to help Southern blacks build new schools. The amount of each grant--which could not exceed half the total cost of a school--varied with the size of the building, with an average of \$400 being given for each one-room school. Most active in the 1920s, the fund expended \$28 million to help build over five thousand schools in fifteen Southern states. Extant Northumberland School Board records do not indicate that Holley School received any Rosenwald funds, but the records are incomplete, and the possibility exists that grant money was used but not recorded.

11. J. L. Blair Buck, The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952. Richmond, 1952, p. 144.

12. Ann McCleary, "Public Schools in Augusta County, Virginia, 1870-1940," National Register nomination report, 1984. Archives of the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, Richmond, Va., continuation sheets 6-7. Recent attempts to locate these stock school plans in the Department of Education archives have been in vain; it is uncertain whether any still exist.

13. Carolyn Jett. Telephone conversation with author, 13 March 1989. Most if not all Northumberland County churches with interior metal sheathing belong to white congregations. Only one of these churches (Smithland Church) has pressed metal on the walls as well as the ceiling.

14. Link, A Hard Country, pp. 3-10.

15. Kier, "Holley Graded School," pp. 1-2; Ann McCleary, "Public Schools," continuation sheet # 12; Ann McCleary, telephone conversation with author, 13 March 1989; Carolyn Jett, "Miscellaneous Notes Gleaned from Minutes of School Board Meetings . . . Lottsburg, Va.," typescript, 1986; Jeff O'Dell, "Selected Abstracts of Annual Reports of the Division of Superintendent of Schools for Northumberland County, 1916-1935," typescript, 1989. All the above located in "Holley Graded School" file, archives of Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, Richmond, Va.

16. Kier, "Holley Graded School," pp. 1-2.

17. Northumberland Training School, later known as Julius Rosenwald High School, is still standing. A two-story frame building with at least eight rooms, it was built in 1916. Branch Chapel, Avalon and Hygeia

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schools are also still standing. For photos and descriptions, see Jett, "History . . . of Education."

18. Northumberland County records indicate that there had been twelve one-room schools for whites just eight years earlier, in 1926.

19. Kier, "Holley Graded School," p. 3.

20. Link, A Hard Country, pp. 149-55, 172; O'Dell, "Abstracts of Northumberland," pp. 1-2.

21. Kier, "Holley Graded School, " pp. 3-4. Porter Kier, telephone conversation with author, 12 March 1989.

22. Christine Reid, "Northumberland Blacks Recall Debt to 3 Educators," Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 4, 1985, p. E-5.



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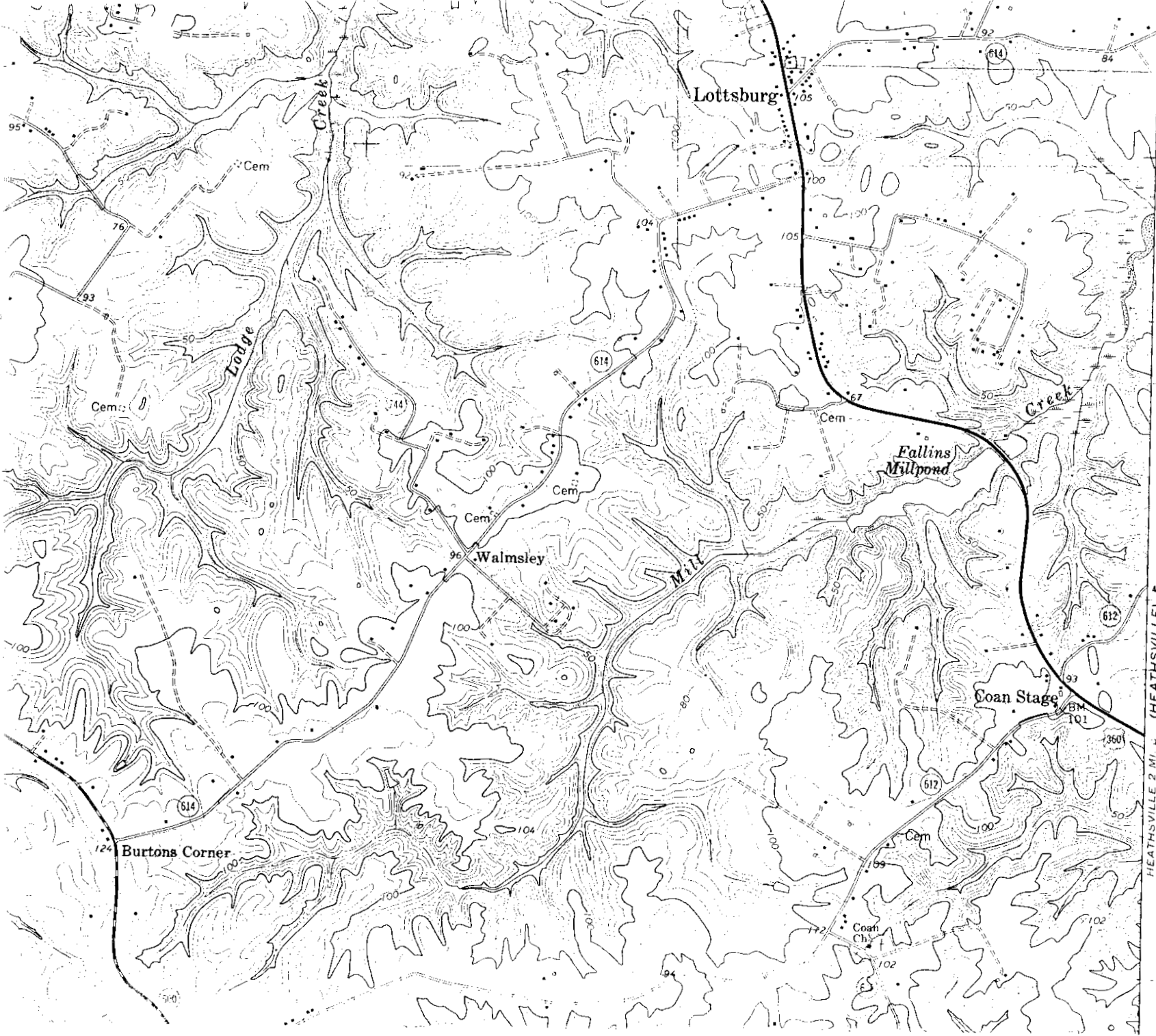
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