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SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF NEGRO EDUCATION

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by

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Staff Study Number 12

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FOREWORD BY THE COMMITTEE

The Advisory Committee on Education was appointed by the President of the United States on September 19, 1936, initially for the purpose of making a study of the experience under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, the relation of such training to general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions, and the extent of the need for an expanded program of Federal aid for vocational education. The Committee was requested to develop recommendations that would be available to the Congress and the Executive. Under its original assignment, the Committee was known as the President's Committee on Vocational Education.

In a later letter dated April 19, 1937, the President stated that he had been giving much thought to the general relationship of the Federal Government to education, that numerous bills in connection with educational matters were pending in the Congress, and that it was his understanding that the Committee was already in possession of much information bearing upon the subject. He therefore requested the Committee to give more extended consideration to the whole subject of Federal relationship to State and local conduct of education, and to prepare a report.

In accordance with this request, the Committee enlarged the scope of its work and prepared a comprehensive report, which was transmitted to the President on February 18, 1938, and was transmitted by him to the Congress on February 23, 1938. The report was printed as House Document No. 529, Seventy-fifth Congress, third session. An indexed edition of the report, differing in pagination but not in text, was also printed for public use by the Advisory Committee, and has been made widely available.[1]

The Committee was assisted in its work by a temporary staff of specialists in education, public administration, and economics. The major function of this staff was to collect,

[1] The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price 35 cents.

analyze, and interpret available data bearing upon the problems under consideration by the Committee. Time did not permit any extensive amount of original research, and original research was not attempted except in areas where the existing information seemed entirely inadequate. The work of the staff did result, however, in a number of studies which present in convenient form a large amount of information bearing upon the status and problems of education in the United States.

The present volume is one of the studies prepared by the research staff. The statements and conclusions contained in it are those of the author, and do not necessarily conform to those of the Committee. The findings of this study were considered by the Committee, however, in formulating the conclusions and recommendations that appear in its own report.

Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, the author of this study, is Associate Professor of Education and Director of the Summer School, Howard University. When the Committee began its studies of vocational education, Professor Wilkerson was engaged to make a study of Federal relations to the vocational education of Negroes, under the supervision of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, formerly Adviser on Negro Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, and at present Special Assistant in Charge of the Office of Racial Relations, United States Housing Authority, who was serving as a consultant at the request of the Committee. Later Professor Wilkerson made other studies of special problems of Negro education under the supervision of Doctors Payson Smith and Floyd Jordan.

These various investigations are reported in part in other staff studies published by the Committee, namely, Staff Study No. 1, Education in the Forty-eight States; Staff Study No. 8, Vocational Education; Staff Study No. 9, Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled; and Staff Study No. 10, The Land-Grant Colleges. In view of the importance of the problems considered, however, it has seemed desirable to draw together the various materials prepared by Professor Wilkerson for unified publication in the present volume.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to numerous individuals and agencies for previously unpublished data made available for use in this study. The sources of such data are cited throughout the report. However, special acknowledgment should be made to Dr. Arthur D. Wright, President, Southern Education Foundation, and to Mr. W. H. Conway, Division of Cooperative Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture. Special acknowledgment should also be made to the following officials in the United States Office of Education: Mr. David T. Blose, Associate Specialist in Educational Statistics; Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes; Dr. T. C. Foster, Director of Research, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation; and Dr. J. C. Wright, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education.

Acknowledgment is made also to Dr. Robert C. Weaver, consultant of the Committee, and to Dr. Payson Smith and Dr. Floyd Jordan, senior members of the Committee's research staff, under the supervision of each of whom the author prepared one of the three extensive memorandums which constitute the basis of this report; to Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Howard University, for careful review and criticism of the original manuscript; to many members of the Committee's research staff, for advice and technical assistance; and to Howard University, where the author is employed, for institutional adjustments which permitted him to make this investigation.

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INTRODUCTION

Negroes are required by law to attend separate schools in 19 States and the District of Columbia. In 2 States, segregated schools are legally permissive where they are desired; in 13 States they are prohibited by constitutional or statutory enactments; and in 14 States the law is silent on the question.[1] Since in two of the States requiring separate schools, Arizona and Kansas, the mandatory provision applies only to elementary schools,[2] and since Negro populations of these States are relatively small,[3] they are omitted from this inquiry. There remain the following 18 States which require the complete segregation of schools for the white and Negro races: [4]

Alabama	Kentucky	South Carolina
Arkansas	Louisiana	Tennessee
Delaware	Maryland	Texas
District of Columbia	Mississippi	Virginia
Florida	Missouri	West Virginia
Georgia	North Carolina	
	Oklahoma	

In terms of 1930 census figures, the proportions which Negroes constitute of the populations of these States range from 6 percent, in Missouri, to 50 percent, in Mississippi. The more than nine million Negroes who live in these 18 States constitute 23 percent of their total population and 81 percent of all Negroes in the United States. Thus, four-fifths of all Negro Americans, representing nearly one-fourth

[1] Charles H. Thompson, "The Courts and the Negro Separate School: Editorial Note," Journal of Negro Education, IV (1935), pp. 289–92. New York, where separate schools were formerly permissive under the law, has recently enacted legislation prohibiting separate schools.

[2] In first class cities in Kansas, school segregation on the secondary level is also required.

[3] Their ratios of Negro to total population are, respectively, 2.5 percent and 3.5 percent.

[4] For convenience, the District of Columbia is here included in the designation "State." Missouri, listed by the United States Census as "West North Central," is here classified as "Southern." These 18 States are hereinafter referred to as "the South" or "the Southern States" except in Chapter V, where the District of Columbia is omitted and New Jersey is included.

of the entire population of the South, are dependent for education upon the legally mandatory Negro separate school.

It is the purpose of this report to do three things: (1) To determine the relative adequacy of public education for the white and Negro populations in those 18 States which require complete school segregation on all educational levels; (2) to evaluate the present status of the Negro separate school; and (3) in the light thereof, to suggest measures for making more nearly adequate the public education of Negroes in States which maintain separate schools. Upon the assumption that the public educational services available in a given State or community should be equally available to all population groups, the measure of "relative adequacy" here employed is the degree to which selected quantitative indexes of efficiency approximate in educational programs for Negroes corresponding indexes in the programs for the white population.

For the most part, attention is restricted to the external aspects of public education: to the presence or absence of schools; their physical plant and equipment; the attendance and persistence of children in school; the number, qualifications, and salaries of teachers; pupil transportation; and the extent of public financial support. As regards fields of education, consideration is given to public elementary and secondary schools, to institutions of higher education, and to certain special and auxiliary educational programs and services. The last group includes public library services, and federally supported programs of vocational education, vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons, emergency education, agricultural research, and agricultural and home economics extension.

With but few exceptions, data are taken from official publications and records. The study was originally made in 1937 and was based on data for the years 1933–34, which were the latest available at the time. However, many specific points have been revised in the light of 1935–36 data which have subsequently become available. These points are indicated in the text.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The elementary and secondary fields afford by far the most significant measure of the relative adequacy of white and Negro education in the South. It is in the elementary and secondary schools that the vast majority of the population receives all of its formal education.

To what extent, relatively, does the South provide adequate public elementary and secondary schools for its white and its Negro populations? Combined data for the schools on both educational levels afford a convincing answer to the question.

Enrollment and Attendance

In 1933–34 there were reported for the 18 States with which this inquiry is concerned some 12,166,700 children between the ages of 5 and 17, inclusive, 9,262,600 of whom were white and 2,904,100 of whom were Negro. Enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools of these States were 10,078,913 pupils, 7,648,815 white and 2,430,098 Negro. Thus, Negroes constituted 24 percent of the school population [1] and represented 24 percent of the enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools. In 10 of the 18 States, their enrollment ratios exceeded their corresponding school population ratios. In only 1 State—Alabama—did the proportion which Negroes constituted of the total enrollment fall as much as 2 percent below their proportion of the total school population. Similarly, whereas the number of white pupils enrolled was 83 percent of the white school population, the corresponding proportion for Negro pupils was 84 percent. (See Table 1.)

[1] "School population" is defined by the U. S. Office of Education as the number of persons between the ages of 5 and 17, inclusive. See U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1935, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education: 1932-1934 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), ch. II, pp. 3-5.

TABLE 1.—*Number of children of school age and enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools, by race, percentages Negro children and enrollment were of the respective totals, and percentage ratios of white and Negro enrollment to school population, in 18 States, 1933–34* [1]

State	Number of children 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive		Public school enrollment		Negro percentage of—		Percentage ratio of enrollment to school population	
	White [2]	Negro	White	Negro	School population	Enrollments	White	Negro
18 States	9,262,600	2,904,100	7,648,815	2,430,098	24	24	83	84
Alabama	534,700	293,000	435,995	212,986	35	33	82	73
Arkansas	422,100	137,200	347,791	108,889	25	24	82	79
Delaware	50,600	8,100	38,801	7,147	14	16	77	88
District of Columbia	63,300	27,100	61,437	32,675	30	35	97	121
Florida	284,400	116,700	277,629	104,881	29	27	98	90
Georgia	554,000	332,500	491,529	273,336	38	36	89	82
Kentucky	710,200	53,700	559,527	50,157	7	8	79	83
Louisiana	389,100	227,600	294,269	167,338	37	36	76	74
Maryland	340,200	71,200	237,310	56,368	17	19	70	79
Mississippi	304,400	313,500	308,775	299,261	51	49	101	96
Missouri	813,200	47,100	675,342	44,246	6	6	83	94
North Carolina	742,500	328,800	614,784	280,741	31	31	83	85
Oklahoma	658,500	49,500	575,802	47,695	7	8	87	96
South Carolina	309,000	287,800	257,870	228,842	48	47	84	80
Tennessee	633,600	128,000	539,498	115,809	17	18	85	91
Texas	1,430,500	243,700	1,098,318	213,344	15	16	77	88
Virginia	514,600	207,600	424,767	160,890	29	28	83	78
West Virginia	507,700	31,000	409,371	25,493	6	6	81	82

[1] Derived from U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1935, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), ch. II, pp. 93–4.
[2] "White" includes all races except Negro.

The ratios of enrollment to school population are surprisingly comparable for white and Negro pupils. They suggest that, for elementary and secondary schools combined, there were proportionately slightly more Negro children than white children enrolled in the public schools of the 18 States in 1933–34. This finding is hardly consistent with the generally recognized difference in the availability of public education for the two population groups in those States.[2] Hence, it must be interpreted with considerable caution. The possibility suggests itself that a disproportionate number of Negro children outside the 5 to 17 age-

[2] See, for example, Ambrose Caliver, Availability of Education to Negroes in Rural Communities, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1935, No. 12 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), and Ambrose Caliver, Secondary Education for Negroes, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph No. 7 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933).

group, particularly older children, was enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools. Comparisons based upon enrollments for children of specified ages,[3] say the period of legally compulsory school attendance, might reveal significant differences between white and Negro children. Further, it is quite probable that there were racial differences in school attendance in rural or in urban communities which are not apparent from figures for States as a whole. Through the analysis of data from the last decennial census, which reports school attendance by age, and by urban and rural areas, it is possible to test the validity of these two hypotheses.

School attendance by children within compulsory age limits.— The period of compulsory full-time school attendance differs from State to State. Among the 18 States with which this investigation deals, the lower compulsory school age limits range from ages 7 to 8, and the upper limits from ages 14 to 18.[4] For the 18 States as a whole, then, the vast majority of children aged 7 to 15, inclusive, fall within the legal period of compulsory full-time school attendance. Data from the last decennial census afford a measure of significant differences in the extent to which white and Negro children between these ages were attending schools of some type, private or public, at the elementary, secondary, or other level.

It may be seen from Table 2 that, whereas in 1930 Negroes constituted 24 percent of the population aged 7 to 15, inclusive, they represented only 23 percent of the children aged 7 to 15 who were attending school in that year. Similarly, whereas 91 percent of the white children aged 7 to 15 were attending school, the corresponding percentage for Negro children was only 84. In each of the 18 States, proportionately fewer Negro than white children within this age group were attending school. In several States, notably Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, racial differences in the extent of school attendance were particularly marked. If, for all 18 States combined,

[3] The enrollment data on which Table 1 is based afford no information concerning the ages of the pupils represented.

[4] Walter S. Deffenbaugh and Ward W. Keesecker, Compulsory School Attendance Laws and Their Administration, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1935, No. 4 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 12.

there had been proportionately as many Negro children aged 7 to 15 attending school as there were white children, there would have been an additional 150,615 Negro children in school.

TABLE 2.—*Number of children 7 to 15 years of age, inclusive, and number attending school, by race, percentages Negro children were of the respective totals, and percentages of white and Negro children attending school, in 18 States, 1930* [1]

State	Number of children 7 to 15 years of age, inclusive				Negro percentage of children 7 to 15 years of age		Percentage attending school	
	Total		Attending school		Total	Attending school	White	Negro
	White	Negro	White	Negro				
18 States	6,241,707	1,990,626	5,694,810	1,664,836	24	23	91	84
Alabama	359,416	200,361	329,368	158,889	36	33	92	79
Arkansas	290,015	95,709	262,246	82,657	25	24	90	86
Delaware	34,876	5,493	33,637	5,087	14	13	96	93
District of Columbia	42,760	17,783	41,787	17,047	29	29	98	96
Florida	184,341	77,316	173,123	62,668	30	27	94	81
Georgia	380,361	237,750	340,036	187,725	39	36	89	79
Kentucky	481,645	37,283	430,869	33,152	7	7	90	89
Louisiana	263,014	155,718	238,371	126,159	37	35	91	81
Maryland	231,198	48,010	216,827	43,039	17	17	94	90
Mississippi	205,979	213,590	193,520	184,107	51	49	94	86
Missouri	561,492	30,959	531,006	28,180	5	5	95	91
North Carolina	489,876	216,833	449,618	187,007	31	29	92	86
Oklahoma	445,032	33,698	415,575	30,552	7	7	93	91
South Carolina	206,953	201,321	185,714	156,300	49	46	90	78
Tennessee	426,882	88,051	388,376	76,700	17	17	91	87
Texas	950,774	165,678	836,412	144,305	15	15	88	87
Virginia	349,529	145,136	316,002	122,903	29	28	90	85
West Virginia	337,564	19,937	312,323	18,359	6	6	93	92

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. 3, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932) pts. 1 and 2, Table 6. Notice that "white" as used in this study includes all races except Negro.

Obviously, there were very real differences in the extent of school attendance on the part of white and Negro children in the 18 States. That this fact is not apparent from the data of Table 1 is probably attributable to the enrollment in school of proportionately more Negro than white children beyond the age of 17.

It will be recalled that almost all of the more than eight million Southern children who were between the ages of 7 and 15 in 1930 fell within the legal period of compulsory full-time school attendance in their respective States. More than

one-tenth of these children, nearly 9 percent of the white and over 16 percent of the Negro, were not enrolled in school. It appears that compulsory school attendance laws did not operate very efficiently with either population group. In the case of Negro children, the administration of these laws would seem to have been particularly lax.

It should be noted also that, according to the official interpretation of census returns, school attendance data include persons who "attended any kind of school, college, or other educational institutions at any time" between September 1, 1929, and the census date, April 1, 1930.[5] The average number out of school at any time between these two dates was probably greater than the number indicated by the census returns.

School attendance in urban and rural areas.—In order to measure racial differences in school attendance in urban and rural communities, it is necessary again to utilize census figures for 1930, since the Biennial Survey of Education in the United States does not publish rural-urban school enrollment data by race. To this end, analysis is here made of public school attendance on the part of children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, the group designated by the Office of Education as comprising the "school population."

At the time of the last decennial census, there were 11,965,869 children between the ages of 5 and 17, inclusive, in the 18 States involved in this analysis. Of these children 9,063,211 were white, and 2,902,658 were Negro. Approximately 70 percent of the white children and 75 percent of the Negro children lived in rural communities. As may be seen from Table 3, analysis of urban-rural ratios of school attendance to school population in the 17 States which afford rural-urban comparisons,[6] reveals greater racial differences in rural than in urban communities. In urban areas, 80 percent of the white children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, as compared with 75 percent of the Negro children, were attending school in 1930. This represents a difference of 5 percent between the two racial groups. In rural areas,

[5] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States: 1920-32 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 208.

[6] Excluding the urban community of District of Columbia.

corresponding proportions were 74 percent for white children and 67 percent for Negro children, a difference of 7 percent.

Among the 8,547,376 rural children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, in the 18 States in 1930,[7] there were 4,246,681 white and 1,676,778 Negro children who lived in "rural-farm" areas. Of the rural-farm groups, 3,133,400 white children and 1,120,308 Negro children were attending school in 1930. Thus, whereas 74 percent of the rural-farm white children of school age were enrolled in school, the corresponding proportion for rural-farm Negro children was only 67 percent.[8] Relatively, the extent of racial difference was almost identical for the two types of rural areas. The ratio of school attendance to school population was 90 percent as great for Negroes as for whites in all rural areas, and 91 percent as great in rural-farm areas. Thus, it appears that, in general, racial differences in school attendance were no greater in rural-farm areas than in rural-nonfarm areas.

These analyses still further illuminate the data of Table 1, which appear to suggest that the extent of public school attendance for Negro children was quite as great as it was for white children in 1933–34. It has here been shown, first, that as in the case of the population aged 7 to 15, inclusive (mostly within the period of compulsory school attendance), so with the population aged 5 to 17, inclusive, the extent of public or private school attendance in 1933–34 was considerably greater for white than for Negro children in the South; second, that racial differences in public or private school attendance were more marked in rural than in urban areas; and third, that, in general, such differences appear to have been no greater in rural-farm areas than in other rural areas. These findings, particularly the first two, are more consistent with observed school conditions than is the apparent lack of racial differences in the extent of school attendance which the uncritical interpretation of the data of Table 1 would seem to suggest.

[7] See Table 2, fn. 1.

[8] Data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. III (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932), pts. 1 and 2, Table 6.

TABLE 3.—*Percentages of children 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, attending school, in 18 States, by type of community and by race, 1930* [1]

State	Percentage of children 5 to 17 years of age attending school						Difference between white and Negro percentage [2]	
	Urban and rural		Urban		Rural			
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	Urban	Rural
18 States [3]	76	69	80	75	74	67	5	7
Alabama	75	64	79	72	74	62	7	12
Arkansas	76	73	82	78	75	72	4	3
Delaware	81	76	82	80	80	73	2	7
District of Columbia	88	83	88	83			5	
Florida	80	67	83	77	77	60	7	18
Georgia	75	64	79	68	73	63	11	11
Kentucky	73	74	79	78	71	71	1	1
Louisiana	77	67	82	75	73	64	7	10
Maryland	78	72	78	75	77	68	4	8
Mississippi	84	74	85	76	83	73	9	10
Missouri	81	78	83	81	79	72	3	6
North Carolina	75	70	76	72	75	70	4	5
Oklahoma	80	79	84	82	78	78	1	1
South Carolina	74	63	78	70	73	62	8	11
Tennessee	75	72	78	75	74	70	3	4
Texas	72	71	75	76	70	69	−1	1
Virginia	73	68	80	74	71	66	6	5
West Virginia	76	76	80	80	74	74		(4)

[1] See Table 2, fn. 1.
[2] Total numbers are as follows: Urban white population, 2,691,648; urban Negro population, 726,845; rural white population, 6,371,563; rural Negro population, 2,175,813; urban white attendance, 2,146,786; urban Negro attendance, 541,621; rural white attendance, 4,722,203; rural Negro attendance, 1,453,620.
[3] Adjustments have not been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding basic percents.
[4] Difference is −0.3 percent.

Regularity of attendance.—For the South as a whole, the school attendance of white pupils in 1933–34 appears to have been somewhat more regular than that of Negro pupils. Out of every 100 white and 100 Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools, 81 of the former and 78 of the latter were in average daily attendance. The percentage ratio of average daily attendance to enrollment for Negro pupils exceeded that for white pupils in 3 States, equaled it in 4 States, and was less in the remaining 11 States. For the 18 States as a whole, however, the regularity with which Negro pupils attended school was 96 percent of the measure for white pupils. (See Table 4.)

Summary.—In general, such data as are available suggest that school attendance in 1933–34 in the 18 States with which this study is concerned was considerably less extensive among Negro children than among white children. About one-sixth of the Negro children 7 to 15 years of age, inclusive, as compared with one-eleventh of the white children, of the same ages, were out of school entirely in 1930. This situation existed despite the fact that full-time school attendance for children between the ages of 7 to 15, inclusive, was legally compulsory in the typical State of this group.

TABLE 4.—*Percentage ratios of average daily attendance to enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools, in 18 States, by race, 1933–34* [1]

State	Percentage ratio of average daily attendance to enrollment		State	Percentage ratio of average daily attendance to enrollment	
	White	Negro		White	Negro
18 States	81	78	Maryland	87	82
			Mississippi	76	73
Alabama	77	80	Missouri	85	85
Arkansas	76	76	North Carolina	86	82
Delaware	87	85	Oklahoma	79	77
District of Columbia	81	81	South Carolina	81	74
Florida	78	78	Tennessee	78	79
Georgia	78	76	Texas	83	78
Kentucky	78	70	Virginia	85	79
Louisiana	83	82	West Virginia	86	93

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. II, p. 94.

Length of School Term

In addition to the extent of enrollment and regularity of attendance in school, the length of time during which schools are kept open constitutes an important criterion by which to judge the relative availability of public elementary and secondary education for white and Negro children in the States with separate school systems. Data for average length of term and attendance in public elementary and secondary schools, enrollment by terms of varying lengths, together with trends during a period of over two decades, are descriptive of racial differences in this regard.

Average length of school term and attendance.—In the 18 States with which this inquiry is concerned, the average

white pupil in 1935–36 attended a school which remained open for a term of 167 days. The corresponding school term for the average Negro pupil was 146 days. The average white pupil was actually in attendance at school for 136 days during the year, as compared with 113 days for the average Negro pupil. Thus, the average Negro pupil's school was kept open 87 percent as long per year as the school of the average white pupil. Further, the average Negro pupil actually attended school only 83 percent as many days as the average white pupil. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5.—*Average length of school term and average number of days attended by each pupil, in 18 States, by race, 1935–36* [1]

State	Average length of school term, in days		Average number of days attended by each pupil		Percentage ratio of Negro to white average—	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	Length of term	Number of days attended
18 States	167	146	136	113	87	83
Alabama	144	127	115	102	88	89
Arkansas	156	132	123	102	85	83
Delaware	181	181	158	146	100	92
District of Columbia	176	176	145	142	100	98
Florida	174	168	139	132	97	95
Georgia	168	143	132	108	85	82
Kentucky	158	146	123	114	92	93
Louisiana	175	128	145	104	73	82
Maryland	188	179	162	144	95	89
Mississippi	145	119	111	86	82	78
Missouri	177	187	147	152	106	103
North Carolina	161	161	140	132	100	94
Oklahoma	174	172	132	125	99	95
South Carolina	173	127	141	91	73	65
Tennessee	167	158	131	125	95	95
Texas	171	157	137	115	92	84
Virginia	170	165	143	130	97	91
West Virginia	173	173	151	155	100	103

[1] Data from David T. Blose and Ambrose Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1938, No. 13, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), Table 16, p. 35.

Urban-rural data are not available for white and Negro schools separately. In the United States as a whole the average length of school terms in urban schools in 1935–36 was 182 days and in rural schools was 164 days.[9] It seems

[9] U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934–36 [Advance Pages], vol. II, ch. II (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 49.

unlikely, however, that the difference in the average length of term in Negro and white schools in these 18 States is accounted for to any great extent by urban-rural differences, since according to 1930 census data 69 percent of the white children 5 to 17 years of age who were attending some type of school lived in rural areas and 73 percent of the Negro children attending some type of school lived in rural areas.[10] The difference here does not seem to be sufficiently large to account for the differences in length of school terms noted above.

The data of Table 5 reflect marked differences among the several States in the relative lengths of school terms for white and Negro pupils. In Missouri, schools were kept open several days longer for the average Negro pupil than for the average white pupil in 1935–36.[11] On the average, white and Negro school terms were of identical length in Delaware, West Virginia, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia. However, in Mississippi Negro pupils were afforded an average school term but little over four-fifths as long as the average school term for white pupils. Negro schools were kept open less than three-fourths as long as white schools in Louisiana and South Carolina.

Enrollment by length of school term.—The full extent of racial disparities in length of school term is obscured by the comparison of State averages alone. The analysis of white and Negro enrollments by length of term affords a much more revealing index. Data for such an analysis are available for only 9 of the 18 Southern States.[12] These 9 States include about the same proportion (43 percent) of the Negro pupils as of the white pupils enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools of all 18 States in 1935–36.[13] Of the number of rural children 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, in all 18 States attending some type of school in 1930, 44 percent

[10] See Table 2, fn 1.

[11] This condition probably results largely from the relatively greater urbanization of Negroes in Missouri. Some 76 percent of that State's Negro population, as compared with only 50 percent of the white population, lives in urban communities. (Negroes in the United States: 1920–32, p. 52.)

[12] See Table 7 for the 9 States included.

[13] Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103.

of the white children and 43 percent of the Negro children lived in these 9 States.[14]

In the 9 States for which data for 1935–36 are available, there were 32,159 Negro pupils, and only 8,255 white pupils, enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools with terms of 90 days or less. Some 320,533 Negro pupils, as compared with 255,589 white pupils, were enrolled in schools with terms of 130 days or less. Proportionately, nearly 4 times as many Negro pupils as white pupils were enrolled for terms of less than 131 days. By contrast, proportionately nearly one and one-third more white pupils than Negro pupils were enrolled in schools with terms of more than 170 days. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6.—*Percentages of white and of Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in 9 States, by length of term, 1935–36* [1]

Length of term, in days	Enrollment			Percentage distribution	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	4,399,381	3,346,074	1,053,307	100.0	100.0
90 or less	40,414	8,255	32,159	(2)	3
91–110	116,748	23,817	92,931	1	9
111–130	418,960	223,517	195,443	7	19
131–150	230,986	148,219	82,767	4	8
151–170	1,391,352	1,058,169	333,183	32	32
171–190	2,066,922	1,768,873	298,049	53	28
191–210	132,883	114,108	18,775	3	2
Over 210	1,116	1,116	----------	(2)	--------

[1] Data from U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934–36 [Advance Pages], vol. II, ch. II (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 67; and Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 4, p. 23. See Table 7 below for States covered by data.
[2] Less than 0.5 percent.

Still more revealing in this regard are differences between the proportions Negroes constituted of total enrollments and of enrollments in schools with varying lengths of term. Representing but 24 percent of the total enrollment in the 9 States for which 1935–36 data are available, Negro pupils constituted approximately 80 percent of the enrollment for terms of 90 days or less and 80 percent for terms of 91 to 110 days. By contrast, in the case of schools with terms of more than 150 days, there were relatively few Negro pupils enrolled.

[14] See Table 2, fn. 1.

They constituted 47 percent of the total enrollment for terms of 111 to 130 days, 24 percent for terms of 151 to 170 days, 14 percent for terms of 171 to 190 days, 14 percent for terms of 191 to 210 days, and were not represented at all in the few schools with terms of more than 210 days. (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7.—*Negro percentages of total enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools, in 9 States, by length of term, 1935–36* [1]

State	Negro percentage of total enrollment	Negro percentage of total enrollment, by length of term, in days							
		90 or less	91–110	111–130	131–150	151–170	171–190	191–210	Over 210
9 States	24	80	80	47	36	24	14	14	(2)
Alabama	34	90	81	28	14	21	31	------	------
Arkansas	24	54	71	46	47	15	11	------	------
Delaware	16	------	------	------	------	------	16	------	------
District of Columbia	35	------	------	------	------	------	35	------	------
Georgia	35	100	87	82	35	23	20	------	(2)
Maryland	19	------	------	------	------	99	13	(2)	------
Missouri	6	------	------	------	------	3	6	15	------
North Carolina	30	------	------	97	95	29	32	------	------
West Virginia	6	------	------	------	------	------	6	------	------

[1] Data from Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes; 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 4, p. 23, and Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 67.
[2] Some white schools but no Negro schools have terms of such length.

The data of Table 7 reveal pronounced differences in some States between white and Negro schools in length of term. For example, almost all of the pupils enrolled for terms of 90 days or less in Alabama and Georgia were Negro. The shortest terms in North Carolina, 111–150 days, and in Maryland, 151–170 days, were almost entirely in Negro schools. Some white pupils in Georgia and Maryland were enrolled in schools with terms of more than 190 days, but there were no Negro pupils enrolled in schools with terms as long as these. Thus, not only were Negro pupils disproportionately concentrated in short-term schools, but in some States the shortest school terms were almost exclusively for Negro pupils, whereas the longest school terms were for white pupils only.

Accumulated handicap to Negro pupils.—The existing racial difference of about 1 school month (21 days) [15] in average length of term accumulates, over a period of years, to create a tremendous quantitative handicap for Negro pupils. It

[15] See Table 5 above.

means that the average Negro pupil in the South must spend 9.2 years to complete 8 elementary grades with the same amount of schooling afforded for the average white pupil in 8 years. This calculation is on the basis of the average number of days schools are kept open during the year. In terms of the number of days pupils actually attend school, the accumulated handicap for the average Negro pupil amounts to almost an additional one-half year. (See Table 8.)

TABLE 8.—*Number of average Negro school terms required to equal eight average white school terms, in 18 States, 1935–36* [1]

State	Number of Negro school terms required to equal eight white school terms on the basis of—		State	Number of Negro school terms required to equal eight white school terms on the basis of—	
	Average number of days schools are kept open	Average number of days pupils actually attend school		Average number of days schools are kept open	Average number of days pupils actually attend school
18 States	9.2	9.6	Tennessee	8.5	8.4
			Maryland	8.4	9.0
Louisiana	10.9	11.2	Florida	8.3	8.4
South Carolina	10.9	12.4	Virginia	8.2	8.8
Mississippi	9.7	10.3	Oklahoma	8.1	8.4
Arkansas	9.5	9.6	Delaware	8.0	8.7
Georgia	9.4	9.8	North Carolina	8.0	8.5
Alabama	9.1	9.0	District of Columbia	8.0	8.2
Kentucky	8.7	8.6	West Virginia	8.0	7.8
Texas	8.7	9.5	Missouri	7.6	7.7

[1] Calculated from the 1935–36 data of Table 5 as illustrated below for average length of term in South Carolina.

The average school term for white pupils in South Carolina is 173 days. School terms of this length over a period of eight years would aggregate 1,384 days. The average length of school term for Negro pupils is 127 days. It would require, therefore, 10.9 average Negro school terms to equal 8 average white school terms.

For most of the 18 States the cumulative handicap imposed upon Negro pupils by relatively short school terms amounts to 1 year or less on the basis of the average number of days Negro schools are kept open. However, in several States, especially Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Negro pupils suffer a much greater disadvantage. On the basis of the average number of days schools were kept open in 1935–36, in Mississippi 9.7 average Negro school

terms would be required to equal 8 average white school terms; in Louisiana and South Carolina 10.9 terms would be required. On the basis of the number of days pupils actually attended school, in Mississippi 10.3, in Louisiana 11.2, and in South Carolina 12.4 average Negro school terms would be required to equal 8 average white terms in these States respectively. This situation in Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina is of special significance, for within these 3 States live 28 percent of the Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in all 18 States.[16]

Trends in length of school term.—Analysis of trends between 1920 and 1936 reveals considerable fluctuation in the extent of racial differences in average length of school term in these 18 States. White schools were kept open 25 days longer than Negro schools in 1919–20. During the succeeding six bienniums, except during 1925–26, the difference ranged from 29 to 32 days. However, during 1933–34, the difference decreased to 22 days; and in 1935–36 to 21 days, the low point for the entire period. Though the last two bienniums reflect a trend toward decreasing racial differences in average length of school term, the progress made since 1920 has been relatively small. Whereas Negro school terms were approximately 83 percent as long as white school terms in 1919–20, the corresponding proportion 16 years later was 87 percent. Though this period has seen the equivalent of more than one school month added to the average terms for both white and Negro schools, in 1936 Negro school terms were about as long as were white school terms in 1920. (See Table 9.)

Summary.—The Negro population of the Southern States is confronted not only with the educational handicap resulting from the fact that disproportionately large numbers of the children are out of school, but also with the further disadvantage of relatively short terms for those pupils who are enrolled in school. The handicap of considerably less schooling per year results in a decided educational loss to

[16] Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103.

Negro pupils. If Negro schools were equivalent in all other respects to schools for white pupils, the cumulative effect of continuing differences in length of term would, in and of itself, result in lower levels of scholastic achievement on the part of Negro pupils.

TABLE 9.—*Average length of term in white and in Negro public elementary and secondary schools in 18 States, by year, 1919–20 to 1935–36* [1]

Year	Average length of term, in days		Percentage ratio of Negro to white	Number of additional days white schools are kept open
	White	Negro		
1920 [2]	145	120	83	25
1922 [3]	151	119	79	32
1924 [4]	153	123	80	30
1926 [4]	155	132	85	23
1928 [5]	161	131	81	30
1930	162	132	82	30
1932 [6]	164	135	82	29
1934	164	142	87	22
1936	167	146	87	21

[1] Data from David T. Blose and Ambrose Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1929–30 and 1931–32, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1935, No. 13 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 27; Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 17, p. 36; Biennial Survey of Education, 1932–1934, p. 94. Data cover the 18 States given in Table 8 above with the exceptions noted below.
[2] Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas are not included.
[3] Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia are not included.
[4] Kentucky and Tennessee are not included.
[5] Kentucky and West Virginia are not included.
[6] West Virginia is not included.

Grade Distribution

In 1933–34 the distributions of white and Negro pupils among the elementary and secondary grades in public schools in the 18 States differed markedly. More than 70 percent of the Negro pupils as compared with about 50 percent of the white pupils were below the fifth grade. Nearly 47 percent of the Negro pupils and about 28 percent of the white pupils were enrolled in the first two grades.[17] The grade distribution of Negro pupils is more markedly skewed toward the lower school levels than is that of white pupils.

There are many factors which affect grade distribution. Some of these factors, such as birth and death rates and net

[17] Biennial Survey of Education: 1932-1934, ch. II, p. 95.

migration, are largely outside of the school system. Other factors may be considered as largely inside the school system and are included under the terms "promotional policy" and "holding power." These two sets of factors affect the grade distributions in both white and Negro schools. It seems probable that the large differences observed between the percentage ratios of enrollments in particular grades to the average enrollments in the first three grades for white and Negro schools are to a large extent the result of "inside" factors, that is, promotional policies and holding power.

The marked differences between first and second grade enrollments in most Southern States probably result in large measure from the failure of first grade pupils to achieve promotion, with a consequent piling up in grade 1.[18] Averaging the enrollments in the first three grades tends to remove a large part of the effects of the piling up in the first few grades and to provide a more reliable estimate of the number of pupils entering school.[19] The pupils who are retarded in these or other early grades are likely to drop out of school. The decline in the percentage ratio of enrollments in successive grades, beginning with the fourth, to the average enrollments in the first three grades results in large measure from dropping out and these percentage ratios provide an index of the extent to which public schools fail to hold pupils for given periods of education. Information in this regard for white and Negro schools in 18 States is presented in Table 10.

[18] See Appendix, Table 1, for enrollments by States and by grades. Notice that for white and Negro pupils combined enrollments in grade 2 are only 55 percent of the enrollments in grade 1.

[19] This procedure was used in Elias J. Kline's investigation of "Significant Changes in the Curve of Elimination Since 1900," Journal of Educational Research, XXVI (1933), p. 608.

TABLE 10.—*Percentage ratios of enrollments in grades 4 to 12, inclusive, to average enrollments in grades 1 to 3, in 18 States, by race, 1933–34* [1]

State and race	Average of enrollments in grades 1 to 3	Percentage ratio of enrollments to average of enrollments in grades 1 to 3, by grade								
		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
18 States										
White	983,354	84	77	69	64	32	49	39	32	26
Negro	478,116	56	45	36	26	9	14	9	7	5
Alabama										
White	61,633	77	70	62	56	43	35	27	21	17
Negro	44,531	52	42	34	19	12	9	5	4	3
Arkansas										
White	47,185	79	74	64	59	53	36	29	24	20
Negro	21,626	59	48	36	24	19	8	5	4	3
Delaware										
White	3,568	100	103	101	106	91	82	81	60	45
Negro	983	81	82	72	61	47	31	20	16	12
District of Columbia										
White	5,554	92	90	87	88	87	86	76	63	50
Negro	3,856	85	75	64	66	61	45	41	28	25
Florida										
White	31,836	89	87	80	76	64	55	43	35	31
Negro	20,338	59	48	39	25	18	11	7	5	4
Georgia										
White	67,434	80	73	65	61	9	47	37	27	21
Negro	58,562	53	42	30	20	3	8	5	3	2
Kentucky										
White	77,939	78	62	67	47	53	35	29	23	20
Negro	7,385	75	63	58	47	40	36	25	20	16
Louisiana										
White	40,208	79	71	61	54	-----	55	42	34	26
Negro	37,566	50	34	22	16	-----	9	6	5	3
Maryland										
White	25,843	98	93	88	83	40	69	52	39	33
Negro	8,857	76	65	56	48	16	24	17	13	9
Mississippi										
White	40,690	74	69	62	58	52	46	36	29	25
Negro	65,564	49	38	28	18	14	5	3	2	1
Missouri										
White	67,478	96	106	77	103	70	73	61	53	41
Negro	6,551	75	63	58	47	40	35	24	19	15
North Carolina										
White	81,239	88	80	72	63	-----	52	40	33	27
Negro	54,310	56	47	37	32	-----	18	12	9	7
Oklahoma										
White	69,336	85	78	73	69	62	50	42	34	30
Negro	7,228	70	66	55	45	42	27	20	16	12
South Carolina										
White	34,665	86	78	69	62	-----	53	38	32	27
Negro	51,531	47	36	25	17	-----	9	6	4	2
Tennessee										
White	76,907	75	67	60	53	47	34	27	22	18
Negro	19,702	65	55	47	36	30	21	14	10	9
Texas										
White	145,564	85	74	67	61	-----	55	45	36	29
Negro	37,224	64	54	48	39	-----	28	18	14	10
Virginia										
White	55,314	88	83	72	68	8	51	39	31	25
Negro	28,775	70	57	46	37	5	18	12	8	6
West Virginia										
White	50,961	86	79	71	61	58	49	38	32	27
Negro	3,526	81	73	66	58	37	40	31	21	16

[1] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2, for enrollment by grade.

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For every 100 Negro pupils estimated as entering the first grade in 1933–34, there were 45 in grade 5, 26 in grade 7, 14 in the first year of high school, and 5 in the fourth year of high school. By contrast, for every 100 white pupils entering the first grade in 1933–34, there were 77 in grade 5, 64 in grade 7, 49 in the first year of high school, and 26 in the fourth year of high school. In these 18 States the ratio of white pupils in grade 7 to the number of entering pupils was about two and a half times the ratio for Negro pupils; the ratio of white pupils in the fourth year of high school was over five times the ratio of Negro pupils in that grade. The ratio in grade 7 was over three times as great for white pupils as for Negro pupils in Georgia and nearly four times as great in South Carolina. The ratio of white pupils in the fourth year of high school to entering pupils was over 8 times as great as the same proportion of Negro pupils in Louisiana, 10 times as great in Georgia, approximately 13 times as great in South Carolina, and over 25 times as great in Mississippi. Only in Kentucky and West Virginia were the ratios for Negro pupils very close to the ratios of white pupils during even the elementary school period. In no State was there close correspondence between the two groups through the secondary school period. Thus, in so far as can be determined by the analysis of grade distribution, there are extreme differences in the holding power of white and of Negro schools.[20]

Pupil Transportation

Of the nine and one-half million Negro inhabitants of 17 States (not including the District of Columbia), about six and one-half million (68 percent) live in rural areas. Negroes constitute 23 percent of the total population in these States and 24 percent of the rural population. A recent survey of 57,530 rural Negro pupils in 638 schools of 28 counties in 6

[20] An analysis was made of data for the years 1919–20 to 1934–35, comparing for example, grade 3 of 1921–22 with grade 1 of 1919–20. The ratios of enrollments in successive grades beginning with grade 4 to the average of enrollments in grades 1, 2, and 3, are slightly reduced by this procedure both for white pupils and for Negro pupils. The differences are small and the comparison between whites and Negroes is not affected to any significant extent. This analysis showed further that the differences between holding power of white and Negro schools have persisted over a long period.

States revealed that of a total of 52,311 children fewer than half lived within "a reasonable walking distance of 1½ miles" from the schools they attended.[21] From these facts, it is evident that a prime necessity for adequate educational opportunity for many Negro children is transportation to school.

Only 10 States report the costs of public school transportation services by race. The total cost of school transportation services in these States during 1935–36 was $12,216,704. Of this amount, $11,870,344 was spent for the transportation of white pupils, and only $346,360 (3 percent) for the transportation of Negro pupils. (See Table 11.) Since Negroes constitute 34 percent of the rural-farm population aged 5 to 17, inclusive, in these 10 States, the proportion spent for the transportation of Negro pupils was less than one-tenth as great as would seem to be warranted by their relative need for transportation services.

TABLE 11.—*Expenditures from public funds for transportation of pupils, by race, and Negro percentages of transportation expenditures and public school enrollment, 1935–36, and of rural-farm population 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, 1930, in 10 States*

State	Expenditures for transportation of pupils			Negro percentage of total—		
	Total [1]	White	Negro [2]	Transportation expenditures	Enrollment 1935–36 [3]	Rural farm population 5 to 17 years of age inclusive, 1930 [4]
10 States	$12,216,704	$11,870,344	$346,360	3	28	34
Alabama	1,487,968	1,462,921	25,047	2	34	38
Arkansas	665,109	650,278	14,831	2	24	28
Florida	1,064,640	1,039,825	24,815	2	26	29
Georgia	1,500,000	1,492,811	7,189	1	35	41
Maryland	977,088	910,134	66,954	7	20	21
Mississippi	1,928,840	1,928,840			49	56
Missouri	541,265	513,595	27,670	5	7	3
North Carolina	1,967,467	1,899,077	68,390	4	30	34
Oklahoma	1,223,948	1,116,126	107,822	9	8	8
South Carolina	860,379	856,737	3,642	1	46	58

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 92.
[2] Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 29, p. 57, column 15.
[3] Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103.
[4] Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Table 6.

[21] Ambrose Caliver, Availability of Education to Negroes in Rural Communities, pp. 18–9.

In addition to these 10 States, Kentucky, Texas and Virginia are known to provide some transportation facilities at public expense for Negro pupils. In the year 1933–34 in Kentucky, the average number of Negro pupils transported daily was 1,934 and the average number of white pupils transported was 29,208.[22] In the recent survey of rural Negro pupils in 28 counties of 6 States referred to above, it was found that in Texas only 1 percent of the 1,947 children studied and in Virginia about 3 percent of 5,721 children were transported at public expense.[23]

The very meager extent to which school transportation facilities are provided for Negro pupils in the agricultural South imposes a major limitation upon their educational opportunity. The maintenance of rural school units with enrollments large enough to make for efficiency would require the transportation to school of proportionately more Negro than white pupils. Further, even with the small, relatively inefficient Negro school units which now predominate, it has been found that in general Negro pupils live farther from school than do white pupils. Yet, despite their greater need for transportation services, only to a very limited extent do Southern Negro pupils share the benefits of transportation to school at public expense.

Instructional Staff

He who directs the learning experiences of pupils is the chief determiner of educational efficiency. More closely related to the educative process than any other aspect of the school is the quality of instruction provided. In a study of the relative adequacy of public education for the white and Negro populations of the South, it is especially important, therefore, to give consideration to such factors as the size, qualifications, and remuneration of the instructional personnel in white and Negro schools.

Pupil-teacher load.—In the 18 States with which this investigation deals, there were in 1933–34, 227,028 teaching

[22] Kentucky, State Board of Education, Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Biennium Ended June 30, 1935, published as Educational Bulletin, vol. III, no. 17 (December 1935), p. 44.

[23] Caliver, Availability of Education to Negroes in Rural Communities, p. 23.

positions [24] in white public elementary and secondary schools, and 56,143 teaching positions in the corresponding Negro schools. Hence, whereas 24 percent of all pupils in these States were Negro, only 20 percent of all teaching positions were in Negro schools. For this group of States as a whole, there was an average of 34 pupils per white teacher as compared with 43 pupils per Negro teacher. (See Table 12.) On the basis of the 2,430,098 pupils enrolled in Negro schools in 1933–34,[25] a reduction of the pupil-load of Negro teachers to that of white teachers would have necessitated a total of 72,110 teaching positions in Negro schools. This would have required the creation of 15,967 new positions for Negro teachers.

TABLE 12.—*Number of teaching positions and average number of pupils per teaching position, in 18 States, by race, 1933–34* [1]

State	Number of teaching positions		Average number of pupils per teaching position (pupil-load)		Percentage ratio of pupil-load, Negro to white [2]
	White	Negro	White	Negro	
18 States	227,028	56,143	34	43	128
Alabama	12,320	4,351	35	49	138
Arkansas	9,431	2,379	37	46	124
Delaware	1,364	219	28	33	115
District of Columbia	1,829	964	34	34	101
Florida	8,141	2,601	34	40	118
Georgia	14,297	5,738	34	48	138
Kentucky	15,140	1,465	37	34	92
Louisiana	9,200	3,299	32	51	158
Maryland	6,668	1,558	36	36	102
Mississippi	7,685	5,982	40	50	124
Missouri	22,887	1,312	30	34	114
North Carolina	15,938	6,534	39	43	111
Oklahoma	17,044	1,499	34	32	94
South Carolina	8,297	4,656	31	49	158
Tennessee	15,908	2,812	34	41	122
Texas	36,115	5,624	30	38	125
Virginia	12,407	4,004	34	40	118
West Virginia	12,357	1,146	33	22	67

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. II, pp. 64–5 and 99, and Table 1 of the present study.
[2] Adjustments have not been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding basic averages.

There were notable differences among the several States in the comparative pupil-loads of white and Negro teachers.

[24] Since several teachers may hold the same position at different times during the school term, the number of "teaching positions" is a more valid base than the number of teachers for computing pupil-teacher ratios.
[25] See Table 1.

In the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia the average Negro teacher was responsible for fewer than, or approximately the same number of pupils as, the average white teacher. However, in Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas, the pupil-load of the average Negro teacher was from one-fifth to nearly one-half greater than that of the average white teacher. The Negro teacher taught 38 percent more pupils than the white teacher in Alabama and Georgia, and about 58 percent more in Louisiana and South Carolina. For all 18 States combined, the pupil-load of the average Negro teacher was 27 percent greater than that of the average white teacher. Thus, as regards the size of the instructional personnel, the average Negro school of the South was far less adequately staffed than the average white school.

Educational status of teachers.—Even more important than the pupil-loads of white and Negro teachers are their comparative professional qualifications, one index of which is the levels of schooling attained by the two groups.

On the basis of a sample of 248,648 white teachers and 8,803 Negro teachers in the elementary schools of 17 States in 1930–31, the National Survey of the Education of Teachers reported that 6 percent of the white teachers and 23 percent of the Negro teachers had received no formal education beyond high school. (See Table 13.) Thus, proportionately nearly four times as many Negro as white elementary teachers had no college training at all. Among elementary teachers in the open country, proportionately about seven times as many Negro teachers (36 percent of the total) as white teachers (5 percent of the total) were in this class.[26] Only one-fourth of all white teachers and one-fifth of all Negro teachers had studied more than 2 years in college. Though in some degree this difference in the education of white and Negro elementary teachers persists in all types of communities, it is not so marked in urban areas.

[26] Ambrose Caliver, Education of Negro Teachers, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1933, No. 10, National Survey of the Education of Teachers, vol. IV (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933), Table 2, p. 10.

TABLE 13.—*Percentages of public elementary school teachers with specified amounts of formal education, in 17 States, by race, 1930–31* [1]

State	4 years of high school or less		6 weeks to 2 years of college		3 to 4 years of college		1 year or more of graduate work	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
17 States	6	23	67	56	26	21	2	1
Alabama	2	19	65	72	31	8	2	(2)
Arkansas	6	41	72	42	22	17	(2)	
District of Columbia	2	2	48	52	43	42	7	4
Florida	9	43	62	47	28	10	1	1
Georgia	7	63	61	29	30	7	2	1
Kentucky	4	6	58	69	36	23	2	2
Louisiana	1	36	66	49	31	15	1	1
Maryland	10	6	74	77	15	15	1	2
Mississippi	5	54	49	37	45	9	1	
Missouri	2	3	43	57	53	38	2	2
North Carolina	2	28	49	55	48	16	1	1
Oklahoma	(2)	3	41	44	54	49	5	4
South Carolina	5	38	29	42	63	17	4	3
Tennessee	5	17	67	58	28	24	1	1
Texas	1	5	29	37	65	56	5	2
Virginia	2	10	77	71	21	17	1	1
West Virginia [3]								

[1] Adapted from Ambrose Caliver, Education of Negro Teachers, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1933, No. 10, National Survey of the Education of Teachers, vol. IV (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933) pp. 10 and 14. Notice that adjustments have not been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding percents.

[2] Less than 0.5 percent.

[3] Because of the small amount of data, West Virginia is not shown separately, although data are included in the total.

There appears to be less disparity on the secondary level than on the elementary level in the educational status of white and Negro teachers. It is reported by the National Survey of Education of Teachers that, in 1930–31, some 4 percent of the Negro high school teachers and 1 percent of the white high school teachers had not themselves progressed beyond the high school level. In the open country, the corresponding proportion for Negro teachers was 20 percent. The accepted minimum standard of 4 years of college work had not been attained by 28 percent of the Negro teachers and 21 percent of the white teachers. White teachers far surpassed Negro teachers in terms of graduate study, their respective percentages being 25 and 11.[27]

From these purely quantitative indexes alone, it is apparent that the learning experiences of Negro pupils, especially on the elementary level, were guided by teachers who were far

[27] Caliver, Education of Negro Teachers, pp. 31-2.

less adequately educated than were the teachers of white pupils. It would seem inevitable that this condition should operate to the relative disadvantage of Negro pupils in scholastic achievement.

Teachers' salaries.—By no means unrelated to the educational status of teachers is the level of teachers' salaries. The quality of human material that can be attracted to teaching, the tenure of teachers in given positions and their length of service in the profession, the nature and extent of their in-service programs of professional improvement, the cultural level on which they find it possible to live and which finds expression in their instructional programs—all are conditioned by the remuneration teachers receive for their services. Hence, though the comparative salaries of white and Negro teachers are not a direct measure of their respective qualifications, they nevertheless constitute a significant index of the relative status of education for white and Negro children.

The average annual salaries of Negro teachers in the 17 States for which data are available for 1935–36 ranged from $282 in Georgia to $2,376 in the District of Columbia. The range for white teachers was from $550 in Arkansas to $2,376 in the District of Columbia. For all 17 States combined, the average annual salaries of white and Negro teachers were, respectively, $833 and $510. For every dollar in salary received by the average white teacher in 1935–36, the average Negro teacher received only 61 cents. The average annual salary of Negro teachers was 108 percent of the average for white teachers in Delaware and equal to the average salary for white teachers in the District of Columbia. In the other States the corresponding proportions ranged downward to 37 percent in South Carolina and 32 percent in Mississippi. (See Table 14.)

The difference between the average salaries of white and Negro teachers in these 17 States during 1935–36 was considerably less than that reported for 15 States in 1931–32. If, however, comparisons for the period are based on data from the 14 States reporting for both years, it appears that in these States the average Negro teacher received 47 cents

for every dollar received by the average white teacher in 1931–32, and 50 cents for every dollar received by the average white teacher in 1935–36.

TABLE 14.—*Average annual salaries of instructional personnel, in 15 States, 1931–32, and in 17 States, 1935–36, by race*

State	1931–32 [1]			1935–36 [2]		
	White	Negro	Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white	White	Negro	Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white
States reporting						
Both years	$951	$451	$0.47	$907	$450	$0.50
Each year	937	462	.49	833	510	.61
Alabama	830	351	.42	709	328	.46
Arkansas	652	341	.52	550	316	.57
Delaware	1,662	1,433	.86	1,538	1,664	1.08
District of Columbia	[3]	[3]	[3]	2,376	2,376	1.00
Florida	987	462	.47	1,030	493	.48
Georgia	844	301	.36	709	282	.40
Kentucky	[3]	[3]	[3]	802	607	.76
Louisiana	1,050	442	.42	931	403	.43
Maryland	1,589	1,211	.76	1,515	1,187	.78
Mississippi	422	175	.41	783	247	.32
Missouri	[3]	[3]	[3]	1,031	1,332	1.29
North Carolina	904	504	.56	811	543	.67
Oklahoma	1,048	843	.80	926	821	.89
South Carolina	879	275	.31	825	302	.37
Tennessee	873	559	.64	752	520	.69
Texas	951	629	.66	991	604	.61
Virginia	960	528	.55	901	520	.58
West Virginia	1,090	1,008	.92	[3]	[3]	[3]

[1] Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1929–30 and 1931–32, p. 33.
[2] Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 25, p. 46.
[3] No data.

Comparison of the ratios of Negro to white average annual salaries in the 14 States for which both 1931–32 and 1935–36 data are available reveals that the degree of racial inequality for most of the States lessened somewhat from 1931–32 to 1935–36. In Delaware Negro teachers received much less in proportion to white teachers in 1931–32 than in 1935–36, 86 cents and $1.08 respectively. North Carolina showed a relative increase for Negro teachers also, from 56 cents to 67 cents. In both of these States the average salary for Negro teachers increased and for white teachers decreased in this period. In two States, Mississippi and Texas, the relative

position of Negro teachers with respect to salary became worse.

It may be seen from Figure 1 that in 1900 the average annual salaries of both white and Negro teachers in 13 Southern States fell within the $100–$200 interval, the average for white teachers exceeding that for Negro teachers by about 40 percent. In 1930, the average white teacher's salary was roughly $900 and exceeded the average Negro

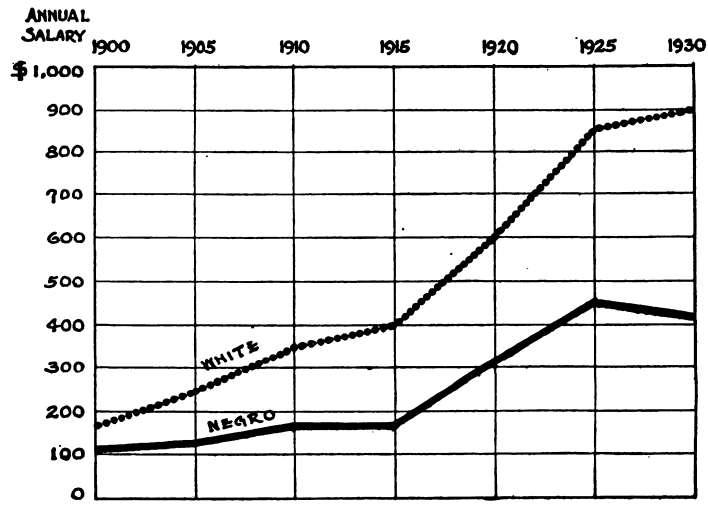

FIGURE 1.—Trends in average annual teachers' salaries in 13 Southern States, by race, 1900 to 1930.[1]

[1] Reproduced from School Money in Black and White (Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1934).

teacher's salary of slightly over $400 by about 125 percent. Thus, during the 30-year period, there had been a threefold increase in disparity between the average salaries of white and Negro teachers in these States. The data of Table 14 reflect a slight reversal of this trend in recent years.

In a recent study of disparities between the salaries of white and Negro teachers in the independent school districts of Kentucky, Meece reports that those superintendents who seek to justify the policy do so chiefly in terms of the following arguments:

(1) that the standards of living of Negroes in the South are lower than for whites, therefore the cost of living is less for Negroes than for whites, (2) traditionally, Negroes are paid less than whites, and public sentiment will not support equality in the salaries of white and Negro teachers, (3) the quality of instruction of Negro teachers is generally inferior to that of white teachers with equal training.[28]

Meece's evaluation of these arguments is of such pertinence as to warrant an extended quotation.

Regardless of whether or not the above arguments are based upon facts, it appears that each of the arguments may be successfully refuted by asking the simple question: Are such conditions desirable? If answered in the negative, and few, if any, of the school administrators would answer otherwise, then it is clearly the responsibility of the school to set for itself the task of eliminating these undesirable conditions.

The standards of living of any group or race of people are closely associated with income. Discrimination in salaries on the basis of race tends to perpetuate rather than to eliminate the low standards of living of the Negro.

Tradition, expediency, and race prejudice are undoubtedly powerful forces in the determination of school policies, but when such forces are recognized as detrimental to social welfare, it becomes the business of the school to set in motion other forces to counteract those recognized as detrimental. Few school administrators today would argue that discrimination in the salaries of teachers on the basis of race is either just or socially desirable.

The possibility that Negro teachers are less efficient than white teachers with equal training should challenge school administrators to investigate the reasons for the difference. If it is because of lack of proper training, the Negro teacher-training institutions should be strengthened so that they will provide the necessary training. If it is because Negro teachers have more limited facilities with which to work, these conditions should be remedied. If the reason is lack of cultural background of the Negro teachers, then better educational and economic advantages are needed in order to enable them to overcome this condition. In any case, the solution demands increased support and interest in Negro education. The problem cannot be solved by invoking penalties against the Negro teachers or the Negro pupils.

All of the arguments advanced in justification of a race differential in the salaries of Negro teachers, are, if viewed in a democratic way, arguments against such discrimination.[29]

It is reasonable to assume that the extremely, and dis-

[28] Leonard E. Meece, Negro Education in Kentucky, Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, vol. X, no. 3 (March 1938), p. 174.
[29] Ibid., pp. 174–5.

proportionately, meager salaries paid to Negro teachers are causally related to their relatively low educational status. The 17-State average annual salary reported for Negro teachers in 1935–36 is equivalent to $42.50 per month for the 12 months that a teacher must live. Similarly, the 15-State average reported for 1931–32 is equivalent to only $38.50 per month. Such salaries hardly approximate a subsistence wage. If dependent upon them alone, Negro teachers would find it impossible to finance such personal experiences as contribute to professional growth, or even to maintain a wholesome standard of living. The effects of this condition cannot but redound to the detriment of Negro pupils.

Summary.—Negro teachers in the South carry larger pupil-loads than white teachers, have had somewhat less formal education, and receive markedly smaller salaries. Because of the intimate relations of the teacher to the educative process, these conditions impose upon Negro pupils another major educational disadvantage.

School Plant and Equipment

The State agent for Negro education in Mississippi provides the following description of Negro school buildings and equipment in his State in 1933–35:

> Of the 3,753 Negro schoolhouses in Mississippi, 2,313 are owned by public school authorities. The other 1,440 schools are conducted in churches, lodges, old stores, tenant houses, or whatever building is available. Last winter, with the aid of the CWA, a considerable number of the best buildings were repaired. Up to the present time there has been only one PWA Negro school project . . . The Negroes themselves, in some cases, are building and repairing their schoolhouses out of their own meager savings and with their own labor.
>
> School buildings need to be erected to displace the many little shanties and churches now being used. . . .
>
> There is also dire need for school furniture and teaching materials—comfortable seating facilities, stoves, blackboards, erasers, crayon, supplementary reading materials, maps, flash cards, and charts.
>
> In many of the 3,753 colored schools of the State there is not a decent specimen of any one of the above mentioned items. In hundreds of rural schools there are just four blank, unpainted walls, a few old rickety benches, an old stove propped up on brickbats, and two or three boards nailed together and painted black for a blackboard. In many

cases, this constitutes the sum total of the furniture and teaching equipment.[30]

A typical Negro school in East Texas is thus described by one student:

> The building was a crude box shack built by the Negroes out of old slabs and scrap lumber. Windows and doors were badly broken. The floor was in such condition that one had to walk carefully to keep from going through cracks and weak boards. Daylight was easily visible through walls, floor, and roof. The building was used for both church and school. Its only equipment consisted of a few roughhewn seats, an old stove brought from a junk pile, a crude homemade pulpit, a very small table, and a large water barrel. All the children drank from the open barrel which was refilled with fresh water only when it became empty. Water was hauled to the schoolhouse and poured through a window into the barrel. There was no blackboard and there were no desks. When the children wrote, their knees served for desks. Fifty-two children were enrolled. All these crowded into a single small room, with benches for but half the number. The teacher and pupils had tacked newspapers on the walls to keep the wind out. Rain poured through the roof, and school was dismissed when it rained. No supplies, except a broom, were furnished the school by the district during the year.[31]

It is generally recognized that such descriptions as these apply, not only to the Negro schools of Mississippi and East Texas, but to many schools for both races in the group of States considered in this study. Especially in rural areas are school buildings and equipment extremely inadequate. It is important for the purpose of this investigation to appraise the relative status of white and Negro schools in this regard.

Financial investments.—In 1935–36 there were 24,405 public elementary schools and 2,305 public high schools for Negroes in these 18 States. Of the 24,405 elementary schools, 13,431 or 55 percent were 1-room schools, and 4,714 or 19 percent were 2-room schools.[32] According to recent information many Negro schools are housed in nonpublic buildings, such as churches and lodge halls.

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[30] P. H. Easom, "Negro Education," in Biennial Report and Recommendations of the State Superintendent of Public Education to the Legislature of Mississippi for the Scholastic Years 1933–34 and 1934–35 (Jackson: 1935), p. 41.

[31] William R. Davis, The Development and Present Status of Negro Education in East Texas, Contributions to Education, No. 626 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), p. 56.

[32] David T. Blose and Ambrose Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 13 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 8.

The immediate cause of the predominance of small, outmoded, impoverished Negro school buildings lies in the fact that relatively little money is invested in plant and equipment for Negro schools. Racial comparisons of the value of school property are illustrative of this point. Relevant information is available for 10 of the 18 States during 1935–36. They constitute a sample which is fairly representative of the area as a whole.[33]

In the 10 Southern States for which data are available, there was invested in property for white and Negro public elementary and secondary schools a total of $905,215,696 in 1935–36. Only $68,914,048 of this amount was invested in property for Negro schools. Though Negro pupils constitute 30 percent of the total enrollment in these States, the value of Negro school property was but 8 percent of the total. (See Table 15.)

TABLE 15.—*Value of public property used for school purposes, by race, and Negro percentages of total, in 10 States, 1935–36*

State	Value of all property used for school purposes			Negro percentage of total—	
	Total [1]	White	Negro [2]	Value of property	Enrollment [3]
10 States	$905,215,696	$836,301,648	$68,914,048	8	30
Alabama	54,026,178	49,291,477	4,734,701	9	34
Arkansas	38,487,848	35,852,503	2,635,345	7	24
Florida	75,484,666	70,543,011	4,941,655	7	26
Georgia	55,783,918	50,049,521	5,734,397	10	35
Maryland	74,413,453	65,571,374	8,842,079	12	20
Mississippi	48,650,500	45,456,000	3,194,500	7	49
North Carolina	110,325,493	97,823,361	12,502,132	11	30
South Carolina	42,691,493	37,444,716	5,246,777	12	46
Texas	335,236,456	321,139,892	14,096,564	4	16
Virginia	70,115,691	63,129,793	6,985,898	10	27

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 81.
[2] Data from Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 28, p. 56.
[3] Data from Biennial Survey of Education, 1934–36, vol. I, ch. II, p. 103.

[33] These 10 States include 64 percent of the pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in all 18 Southern States, 59 percent of the white pupils and 80 percent of the Negro pupils. In these States Negro pupils are 30 percent of the total enrollments as contrasted with 31 percent in all 18 States. In these 10 States 76 percent of the Negro children 5–17 years of age attending school in 1930 lived in rural areas; the corresponding percentage for white children was 70. The percentages for the group of 18 States are 80 for Negro children and 69 for white children. See Biennial Survey of Education, 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103 and Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930 Population, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Table 6.

For the average white pupil enrolled, these 10 States had invested $183 in school sites, buildings, and equipment. The corresponding investment per Negro pupil was $36. For every dollar invested in school property for the average white pupil, there was invested for the average Negro pupil only 19 cents. Comparable figures range from 7 cents in Mississippi to 55 cents in Maryland. (See Table 16.) Even in the absence of more direct evidence, these comparative property values leave little doubt as to the relative status of white and Negro schools with respect to physical plant and equipment.

TABLE 16.—*Value of school property per white and per Negro pupil enrolled, and amount per Negro pupil for each $1.00 per white pupil, in 10 States, 1935–36* [1]

State	Value of sites, buildings, and equipment		Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white [2]
	Per white pupil	Per Negro pupil	
10 States	$183	$36	$0.19
Texas	282	63	.22
Maryland	273	151	.55
Florida	248	49	.20
North Carolina	158	46	.29
Mississippi	147	11	.07
Virginia	146	44	.30
South Carolina	145	24	.17
Alabama	111	20	.19
Georgia	103	22	.21
Arkansas	103	24	.23

[1] Enrollment data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103; value of school property from Table 15 above.
[2] Adjustments for discrepancies resulting from rounding basic data to dollars have not been made.

Rosenwald school-building program.—One of the greatest stimulations to the construction of wholesome Negro school buildings in the South, particularly in rural areas, has come through the influence of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.[34] Between 1913 and 1932, some 5,357 Negro school buildings, located in 883 counties of 15 Southern States, were constructed with Rosenwald aid. The total cost of these buildings was $28,408,520, of which 64 percent ($18,104,155)

[34] Incorporated October 30, 1917. For four years prior to the Fund's incorporation, Mr. Rosenwald had been active in promoting the construction of Negro school buildings.

came from tax funds, 15 percent ($4,366,519) from the Rosenwald Fund, 4 percent ($1,211,975) from donations by white persons, and 17 percent ($4,725,871) from "a flood of small contributions from Negroes themselves—striking evidence of the desire of members of this race for schooling for their children." [35]

When the number of "Rosenwald buildings" constructed during this 20-year period is compared with the total number of Negro schools in 12 States for which information is available, it will be seen that the number of buildings constructed with Rosenwald aid is equivalent to about one-fifth (20 percent) of the total number of Negro school buildings in 1935–36.[36] More than one-fourth of the Negro school buildings in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Maryland, and nearly one-third in North Carolina and Tennessee were constructed with Rosenwald aid. Similarly, in the 10 States for which information is at hand, the amount of money invested in "Rosenwald buildings" is equivalent to nearly one-third (32 percent) of the total value of Negro school property in 1935–36. In South Carolina the corresponding proportion is more than one-half, in Arkansas nearly three-fourths, and in Mississippi nearly nine-tenths. (See Table 17.)

Major emphasis upon this particular philanthropic activity was concluded by the Rosenwald Fund in 1932. During the preceding two decades, by stimulating appropriations from public school authorities and donations from white and Negro citizens, and by direct grants, the Fund had contributed markedly to the improvement of Negro school housing. The fact that, even after this significant program, the per capita value of Negro school property remains less than one-fifth as great as that for white schools affords some measure of the lag in Negro school-building development in the Southern States.

[35] Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro: 1937–1938 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1937), p. 184.

[36] It is assumed that the number of schools is roughly equivalent to the number of school buildings.

TABLE 17.—*Number and value of Negro school buildings, number and cost of Rosenwald buildings, and percent Rosenwald was of total, in 12 States, 1936*

State	Number of Negro school buildings			Value of Negro school property		
	Total [1]	Rosenwald [2]	Percent Rosenwald of total	Total [3]	Rosenwald [2]	Percent Rosenwald of total
States reporting	24,454	4,997	20	[4] $68,914,048	[4] $22,250,074	32
Alabama	2,603	407	16	4,734,701	1,285,060	27
Arkansas	1,438	389	27	2,635,345	1,952,441	74
Florida	1,014	125	12	4,941,655	1,432,706	29
Georgia	3,111	261	8	5,734,397	1,378,859	24
Louisiana	1,675	435	26	[5]	[6]	
Maryland	536	153	29	8,842,079	899,658	10
Mississippi	3,339	633	19	3,194,500	2,851,421	89
North Carolina	2,456	813	33	12,502,132	5,167,042	41
South Carolina	2,466	500	20	5,246,777	2,892,360	55
Tennessee	1,208	373	31	[5]	[6]	
Texas	2,810	527	19	14,096,564	2,496,521	18
Virginia	1,798	381	21	6,985,898	1,894,006	27

[1] See Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36. Table 2, p. 22. Data cover number of schools.
[2] Negro Year Book: An Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro: 1937–38 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1937), p. 185. (Not including 360 buildings, costing $2,467,118, in Kentucky, Missouri, and Oklahoma.)
[3] See Table 15.
[4] Covers 10 States only.
[5] Information not available.
[6] The total cost in Louisiana was $1,721,506, and in Tennessee $1,969,822.

Summary.—Negro public schools in the South are much less adequately housed than white schools. In 1935–36 the value of Negro school sites, buildings, and equipment per pupil enrolled was less than one-fifth as great as the per pupil value of property in white schools. This was true even after the 20-year, 28-million-dollar cooperative Negro school-building program of the Rosenwald Fund.

Such strictly quantitative measures as these fall far short of picturing concretely the extreme disparities between white and Negro schools as regards sites, buildings, and equipment. Anyone who has visited many of the Negro schools of the Southern States knows that in no respect are racial inequalities in public education more glaringly evident than in the quality of the school environments provided for white and Negro pupils. It is reasonable to suppose that Negro pupils, required to attend school in a physical environment

which is not conducive to learning, are thus confronted with a major deterrent to scholastic efficiency.

General Summary

The indexes presented in this chapter point to extreme differences in the educational opportunities of white and Negro children in the Southern States. In the numbers of children out of school; in the length of school terms; in the progress of pupils through the grades; in facilities for transporting pupils to school; in the pupil-loads of teachers, their educational qualifications, and their salaries; and finally, in the adequacy of school plants and equipment—in all these respects there is reflected a program of public elementary and secondary education for Negroes which is far less extensive than, and markedly inferior to, that afforded for the white population.

This chapter has dealt exclusively with the status of public elementary and secondary schools combined. In view of the comparatively recent development of public secondary schools for Negroes in the South, it is important to note specifically the relative extent to which secondary education has been popularized for the white and Negro races. Information in this regard is presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

THE POPULARIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

It was reported by the National Survey of Secondary Education that, in 1930, some 47 percent of the Nation's children of high school age were enrolled in public secondary schools.[1] "This enrollment," in the words of the then Commissioner of Education, "is so unusual for a secondary school that it has attracted the attention of Europe where only 8 to 10 percent attend secondary schools." [2] By 1934, the proportion of children of high school age enrolled in public high schools had increased to 60 percent; and, including private school enrollments, it approximated 64 percent.[3] This relatively high degree of popularization results in large measure from the increasing importance of secondary education as a requisite for making satisfactory personal adjustment and approaching general social well-being. The literature of American education abounds with theoretical justification for its extension to an even greater proportion of the population.

To what extent, relatively, has the trend toward greater popularization of secondary education affected the Negro residents of the Southern States? Data concerning public and private secondary school enrollments, including junior colleges, and the availability of secondary schools afford an answer to the question.

Enrollment in Public High Schools

It was shown in connection with Table 10 that, using the average of the enrollments of the first three grades as a base,

[1] U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph No. 4, The Secondary School Population (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. v.

[3] U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934-36 [Advance Pages] vol. I, ch. II (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 1.

for every 100 white pupils and 100 Negro pupils "entering" the public elementary schools in the 18 Southern States in 1933–34, there were 64 white pupils and only 26 Negro pupils enrolled in grade 7, 49 white and 14 Negro pupils enrolled in the first year of high school, and 26 white pupils and 5 Negro pupils enrolled in the fourth year of high school. From these ratios alone, there is apparent a major difference in the extent to which secondary education has become popularized for the white and Negro races of the South. This fact is even more clearly shown by the data of Table 18.

TABLE 18.—*Number of children of high school age, 1930, enrollment in secondary grades in public schools, 1933–34, and percentage ratios of enrollment to number of children, in 18 States, by race*

State	Number of children 14 to 17 years of age, inclusive, 1930 [1]		Enrollment in secondary grades, 1933–34 [2]		Percentage ratio of enrollment to number of children	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
18 States	2,639,169	869,641	1,445,017	163,185	55	19
Alabama	152,937	90,654	60,821	9,162	40	10
Arkansas	122,944	41,655	51,066	4,038	42	10
Delaware	14,623	2,368	9,573	771	66	33
District of Columbia	18,388	7,711	15,311	5,382	83	70
Florida	78,055	33,775	52,415	5,550	67	16
Georgia	162,865	107,158	89,470	10,927	55	10
Kentucky	196,547	16,751	83,812	7,079	43	42
Louisiana	109,951	65,304	62,836	8,832	57	14
Maryland	97,122	19,714	49,781	5,536	51	28
Mississippi	87,549	93,660	57,959	6,757	66	7
Missouri	248,199	13,490	154,059	6,033	62	45
North Carolina	203,852	93,578	124,281	24,725	61	26
Oklahoma	186,898	14,767	108,754	5,493	58	37
South Carolina	85,722	87,493	51,616	10,377	60	12
Tennessee	181,106	40,233	77,565	10,751	43	27
Texas	408,230	72,725	239,887	25,505	59	35
Virginia	147,543	60,816	80,697	12,475	55	21
West Virginia	136,638	7,789	75,114	3,792	55	49

[1] Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. II, pp. 674–90.
[2] See Appendix, Table 2, for enrollment by grade.

In 1930 there lived in the 18 States with which this investigation is concerned 2,639,169 white and 869,641 Negro children between the ages of 14 and 17, inclusive.[4] In the same States there were 1,445,017 white children and

[4] The "secondary-school population" group used by the National Survey of Secondary Education. See fn. 1, p. 35.

163,185 Negro children enrolled in secondary grades in public high school in 1933–34. Although they represented 25 percent of the total secondary school population, Negroes constituted only 10 percent of the pupils enrolled in the secondary grades of public schools.

Also expressive of racial differences in the popularization of secondary education are comparative ratios of the number of pupils enrolled in high school grades to the number of children of high school age. For every 100 white children of high school age, there were approximately 55 white pupils enrolled in the secondary grades of public schools in 1933–34. For every 100 Negro children of high school age, there were only 19 Negro pupils enrolled in the secondary grades of public schools. Thus, there were proportionately nearly three times as many white children as Negro children [5] enrolled in high school. (See Table 18.)

In only one State, Kentucky, were white and Negro ratios of enrollments to school population approximately equal. The proportion of children enrolled in high school was nearly four times as great for the white population as for Negroes in Alabama, between four and five times as great in Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana, and slightly more than five times as great in Georgia and South Carolina. The disparity was greatest in Mississippi, where there were proportionately more than nine times as many white children as Negro children enrolled in public high schools.

It will be recalled that, for the United States as a whole in 1933–34, 60 pupils were enrolled in public high schools for every 100 children aged 14 to 17, inclusive.[6] For every 100 white and 100 Negro children of the same ages in the 18 Southern States, there were 55 white pupils and only 19 Negro pupils enrolled in public high schools. Hence, in these States the proportion of white children enrolled was 93 percent, and of Negro children only 32 percent, of the proportion for the Nation as a whole.

[5] If the number of children 15 to 19 years of age, inclusive, is used as a base rather than the number of children 14 to 16 years of age, inclusive, the percentage ratios of high school enrollments to the 15–19 population group are: White, 44; Negro, 15. The percentage ratio of the number of Negro pupils per 100 Negro children to the number of white pupils per 100 white children is 34 regardless of which population group is used as a base.

[6] See p. 35.

Public programs of secondary education for Negroes are of relatively recent development. Only during the past 15 or 20 years has there been significant extension of secondary education to the Negro population of the Southern States. However, during this period, the rate of growth in high school enrollments has been considerably more marked for Negroes in these States than for the population of the United States as a whole.

In 1920, there were approximately 2,200,389 pupils enrolled in the public high schools of the Nation. By 1934, the number had increased to 5,669,156, representing a gain of nearly 160 percent.[7] During this 15-year period, the number of Negro pupils enrolled in public high schools in 18 Southern States increased from 33,341 [8] to 163,185,[9] a gain of approximately 389 percent. Thus, between 1920 and 1934, enrollments in public Negro high schools in these States increased more than twice as rapidly as did all public high school enrollments for the Nation as a whole. It should be recalled, however, that in 1934, even after this gain, public secondary education was only about one-third as extensive for Negroes in the South as it was for all the children in the Nation.

Availability of Public Secondary Education to Negroes

The relatively low degree to which secondary education has been popularized among Negroes in the 18 Southern States probably reflects the operation of several influences. The marked tendency for Negro pupils to drop out of school during the early elementary grades is undoubtedly an important factor. This results, very probably, from such combined influences as inferior instruction, questionable promotional policies, inaccessibility of schools, and economic necessity. Suggestive evidence of the last-mentioned influence is found in the reports of principals concerning the causes of irregular attendance on the part of many Negro high school

[7] Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. II, p. 46.

[8] David T. Blose and Ambrose Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1929–30 and 1931–32 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 18.

[9] See Table 18 of the present study.

pupils. For 317 schools reporting, "work" and "poverty" were listed as the major causes of poor attendance.[10] The same factors, very probably, operate to prevent large numbers of Negro students from ever reaching the high school grades.

In addition to such causal factors as those listed above, there is considerable evidence that the relatively small number of Negro pupils enrolled in high school results largely from the fact that there are few secondary schools for them to attend. Several indexes reflect this nonavailability of Negro high schools. One such measure is the number of children of high school age per high school teacher employed.

The National Survey of Secondary Education reported that, in 16 Southern States in 1930,[11] there were 51,842 white and 5,040 Negro high school teachers. For each white high school teacher there were 60 "potential" high school pupils. The corresponding number of "potential" pupils per Negro high school teacher was 211.[12] In terms of the white and Negro secondary school populations, there were available proportionately fewer than one-third as many Negro high school teachers as there were white high school teachers.

These comparisons, based upon the respective white and Negro populations of high school age, ignore the fact that proportionately many more Negro than white pupils drop out of school in the early elementary grades. It is probable that comparative enrollments in grade 7 afford a more valid index of the "potential" white and Negro high school populations, and hence a more appropriate basis for measuring the relative size of the white and Negro high school teaching staffs.

In the 16 States referred to above, there were in 1930 560,257 white and 103,150 Negro pupils enrolled in grade 7 of public elementary schools.[13] As previously reported, there were during that year 51,842 white and 5,040 Negro

[10] Caliver, Secondary Education for Negroes, p. 52.

[11] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[12] Caliver, Secondary Education for Negroes, p. 20. The term "potential high school pupils" is used to designate all children of high school age.

[13] U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1931, No. 20, Biennial Survey of Education: 1928–1930 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932), vol. II, pp. 53 and 85.

public high school teachers in these States, or one white high school teacher per 11 white seventh grade pupils, and 1 Negro high school teacher per 20 Negro seventh grade pupils. Even when the number of "potential" high school pupils is estimated on the basis of seventh grade enrollments, there were available proportionately only about one-half as many Negro as white teachers in the public high schools of the 16 States.

This apparent nonavailability of public secondary education to Negroes is characteristic chiefly of school conditions in rural areas. The rural-urban distribution of Negro high schools and enrollments, and the distribution of Negro high schools among the counties of the South, are suggestive in this regard.

In 1930, slightly more than two-thirds of all Southern Negroes lived in rural areas. Yet, out of 1,077 Negro high schools reported to the Office of Education in 1933–34, only 508, fewer than one-half, were rural schools. Further, the 34,283 rural Negro high school pupils enrolled in these schools constituted but 21 percent of the total number of Negro pupils in rural and urban schools combined. (See Table 19.)

TABLE 19.—*Number of and enrollment in public high schools, 1933–34, and total population, 1930, in 18 States, by type of community and by race* [1]

	Public high schools [2]		Population [3] 1930
	Number	Enrollment	
All races	9,637	1,738,183	41,487,000
Urban	1,888	947,017	14,763,367
Rural	7,749	791,166	26,723,633
Negro	1,077	163,331	9,585,417
Urban	569	129,048	3,136,279
Rural	508	34,283	6,449,138
Percentage Negro	11	9	23
Urban	30	14	21
Rural	7	4	24

[1] See Table 18 above for list of States covered here. Notice that the data in these two tables cannot be reconciled entirely.

[2] Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. V, pp. 24–5. Notice that data include elementary grades in reorganized high schools.

[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States: 1920–32 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 53; and Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. III, pt. I, p. 29.

From another point of view, though Negroes constitute about 24 percent of the total rural population in these 18 States, they had only 7 percent of the rural high schools in 1933–34 and formed 4 percent of the rural high school enrollment. By contrast, whereas Negroes constitute about 21 percent of the urban population, they had 30 percent of the 1933–34 urban high schools and 14 percent of the urban high school enrollment. It is in rural areas, primarily, that Negroes fail to share the benefits of public secondary education.

Direct evidence that the proportionately small number of rural Negro high school pupils results from the nonavailability of secondary schools is found in the great number of counties with very limited public high school facilities for Negroes, or entirely without such facilities. Of the 1,413 couties in 15 Southern States in 1930, there were 230 whose populations were 12.5 percent or more Negro, with 158,939 Negro children of high school age, which afforded no public high schools for Negroes. In 195 other such counties, containing 197,242 Negro children of high school age, no 4-year high schools for Negroes were provided. It is significant that these 425 counties with very limited secondary school facilities for Negroes, or with none at all, were concentrated chiefly in States with large Negro populations, notably Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Alabama.[14] Just how many of these counties have expanded their Negro high school facilities since 1930 is not known.

In conclusion, the marked extension of public secondary education which has characterized the Nation during the past half century did not begin significantly to affect Negroes in the Southern States until about 1920. Even today, comparatively few Negro children in these States enjoy the benefits of secondary education. A major cause of this condition lies in the fact that many rural communities with significantly large Negro populations do not afford public high school facilities for the Negro race.

[14] Caliver, Secondary Education for Negroes, pp. 26–30. Delaware, the District of Columbia, and South Carolina are not included.

The Relative Extent of Public and Private Secondary Education

Though this analysis is concerned primarily with the extent of secondary education for Negroes in public schools, it is important to determine the extent to which deficiencies in public school facilities are counterbalanced by facilities in private schools. Private school enrollment data are available for the year 1932–33 and public school data for the year 1933–34. By comparing these data, it is possible to determine roughly the relative extent of secondary education for Negroes in the two types of institutions.

TABLE 20.—*Enrollment in public secondary schools for Negroes, 1933–34, and in private secondary schools for Negroes, 1932–33, and percentage ratios of private to total enrollment and of total enrollment to Negro population 14 to 17 years of age, inclusive, 1930, in 15 States*

State	Secondary school enrollment			Percentage ratio of—	
	Total	Public [1]	Private [2]	Private to total enrollment	Total enrollment to population group [1]
15 States	158,169	152,589	5,580	4	19
South Carolina	11,382	10,377	1,005	9	13
Georgia	11,845	10,927	918	8	11
Alabama	9,838	9,162	676	7	11
Mississippi	7,250	6,757	493	7	7
Virginia	13,072	12,475	597	5	22
Louisiana	9,201	8,832	369	4	14
North Carolina	25,579	24,725	854	3	27
Florida	5,710	5,550	160	3	17
Kentucky	7,199	7,079	120	2	43
Arkansas	4,105	4,038	67	2	10
Tennessee	10,896	10,751	145	1	27
District of Columbia	5,434	5,382	52	1	71
Texas	25,600	25,505	95	[3]	35
Oklahoma	5,510	5,493	17	[3]	37
Maryland	5,548	5,536	12	[3]	28

[1] Data from Table 18.
[2] Data from Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes; 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 3, p. 22.
[3] Less than 0.5 percent.

In the 15 Southern States for which information is available, there were 158,169 Negro pupils enrolled in public and private high schools combined. Private schools enrolled 5,580 of these pupils, or 4 percent of the total. (See Table 20.) In these 15 States private school enrollments repre-

sented 3 percent of the combined white and Negro enrollments in secondary schools.[15] Thus, in relation to total secondary education, private secondary education in these States was about one-third more extensive for Negroes than for white and Negro pupils combined.

It has been the historic function of private agencies in the education of Negroes to supplement the inadequate, if not nonexistent, facilities afforded by public schools. The above comparisons suggest that private secondary schools in the South still function in their historic role. Even more direct evidence is found in State-to-State differences in the relative extensiveness of public and private secondary education for Negroes.

The 15 States involved in this analysis are listed in Table 20 in the order of the ratios of their Negro private secondary school enrollments to their respective Negro total (public and private) secondary school enrollments. Inspection of the table reveals a marked tendency for States with a high proportion of children of high school age enrolled in high school to have a low proportion of their secondary school enrollments in private schools, and vice versa. It appears, therefore, that private secondary education for Negroes was most extensive in States whose total secondary school facilities for Negroes were least adequate. In contrast, those States in which secondary education was most readily available to Negroes had the least extensive private Negro secondary school programs. Thus, the continuing role of private secondary schools for Negroes appears to be primarily to afford a needed educational service which public agencies do not adequately provide.

Junior Colleges

In view of the rapid recent spread of the junior college movement in the United States, it is pertinent to give attention here to the relative extensiveness of this type of "secondary education" for the white and Negro populations of the South. Information in this regard is afforded by racial

[15] Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. VI. Public school enrollment data for 1933–34 are from Table 18 above. Private school enrollments reported rather than estimated, since the data for Negro enrollments in private high schools cover schools reporting only.

comparisons of the numbers of junior colleges, their enrollments, their geographical distribution, and the agencies by which they are controlled.

Institutions.—A recent survey reports only 22 Negro junior colleges in 1933–34.[16] These institutions were located in 12 Southern States, one of which (Texas) reported six schools, over one-fourth of the total. Only five of these institutions were under public control. Also, in the 16 Southern States for which data are available there were 196 junior colleges for white students; of this total, 126 were private and 70 were public institutions. Whereas public junior colleges constituted 36 percent of the total for white students, the corresponding proportion for Negro students was 23 percent. (See Table 21.)

Although Negroes constitute approximately one-fourth of the total population in these States, only 10 percent of all junior colleges, and 7 percent of the public junior colleges, were Negro institutions in 1933–34. In 4 of these States,[17] there was a total of 59 institutions, not one of which served Negroes. Thus, from comparative numbers of institutions alone, it is apparent that junior college education was considerably less available for Negroes than for the white population of the South.

Enrollment.—There were 35,445 white and 2,050 Negro students enrolled in the 218 public and private junior colleges of the 16 States in 1933–34. Negroes constituted 6 percent of the total enrollment in public and private institutions combined, and 4 percent of the total enrollment in public institutions. Further, the proportion Negroes constituted of the total enrollment reported for all junior colleges was only about one-half as large as the ratio of the number of Negro junior colleges to all junior colleges. Thus, the white institutions, in addition to being proportionately more numerous, were also much larger than the Negro institutions. In fact, the enrollment of the average Negro junior college

[16] Walter J. Greenleaf, Junior Colleges, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1936, No. 3 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936) pp. 72-3. Notice that the study covers (1) privately controlled junior colleges which report as many as 25 students and offer at least two years of public work and (2) publicly controlled junior colleges offering at least 2 years of college work regardless of the enrollment. Ibid., p. 37.

[17] Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Virginia.

TABLE 21.—*Number of and enrollment in junior colleges, in 16 States, by type of institution and by race, 1933–34* [1]

State	Number of institutions							Enrollment							Negro percentage of total—	
	Grand total	White			Negro			Grand total	White			Negro			Institutions	Enrollment
		Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private		Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private		
16 States	218	196	70	126	22	5	17	37,495	35,445	17,695	17,750	2,050	706	1,344	10	6
Alabama	4	2	-------	2	2	-------	2	291	192	-------	192	99	-------	99	50	34
Arkansas	9	8	5	3	1	1	-------	1,958	1,814	1,492	322	144	144	-------	11	7
Florida	5	33	1	2	2	-------	2	602	401	250	151	201	-------	201	40	33
Georgia	15	12	6	6	3	2	1	2,481	2,229	1,422	807	252	172	80	20	10
Kentucky	16	15	-------	15	1	-------	1	2,517	2,471	-------	2,471	46	-------	46	6	2
Louisiana	7	6	2	4	1	1	-------	922	862	643	219	60	60	-------	14	7
Maryland	4	4	-------	4	-------	-------	-------	290	290	-------	290	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
Mississippi	21	20	11	9	1	-------	1	3,938	3,902	2,943	959	36	-------	36	5	1
Missouri	24	24	7	17	-------	-------	-------	5,085	5,085	2,175	2,910	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
North Carolina	21	19	1	18	2	-------	2	2,845	2,589	141	2,448	256	-------	256	10	9
Oklahoma	20	20	17	3	-------	-------	-------	3,133	3,133	2,959	174	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
South Carolina	4	3	-------	3	1	-------	1	405	365	-------	365	40	-------	40	25	10
Tennessee	9	8	-------	8	1	-------	1	1,588	1,532	-------	1,532	56	-------	56	11	4
Texas	42	36	19	17	6	1	5	9,355	8,546	5,455	3,091	809	330	479	14	9
Virginia	11	11	-------	11	-------	-------	-------	1,086	1,086	-------	1,086	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
West Virginia	6	5	1	4	1	-------	1	999	948	215	733	51	-------	51	17	5

[1] Data from Walter J. Greenleaf, Junior Colleges, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1936, No. 3, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 56–73. Notice that the totals obtained from ibid., Table 1, pp. 56–69 do not in all cases agree with those given in ibid., Summary H, p. 48.

(93 students) was only about one-half as large as that of the average white junior college (181 students).

The "junior college movement" among Negroes.—The "junior college movement," a concept much popularized in recent years, properly connotes, among other things, the development of "reorganized" educational programs on the upper secondary school levels, programs which include a variety of "terminal courses," and which are adapted primarily to the needs of the majority of students, who will go no farther in school. The concept seems to imply also the further development of institutions under public control, accessible, with little or no cost, to a large population which would otherwise be denied all opportunity for education above the senior high school level. It would be an error to consider the institutions here reported as illustrative of this concept of the junior college. Rather, the survey from which the data were obtained classifies as a junior college any "separate organization, with 25 or more students enrolled in a program which includes the traditional freshman and sophomore college courses." [18] Such a definition incorporates none of the criteria which inhere in the concept of the junior college as a "reorganized" institution.

It is very probable that many, if not most, of the Negro schools here reported may be called junior colleges solely in the sense of abbreviated collegiate institutions. Even so conceived, the relatively small number of such institutions, the few students they enrolled, and the very small number under public control all tend to validate Lane's finding that, in the field of Negro education, "the junior college movement has barely won a foothold." [19] Were the definition of junior college to be so restricted as to refer to "reorganized" schools only, it is probable that exceedingly few of the Negro institutions could be included in the total number of junior colleges.

[18] Greenleaf, Junior Colleges, pp. 3–4. Notice, however, that publicly controlled institutions enrolling fewer than 25 students were not excluded. Ibid. p. 37.

[19] David A. Lane, Jr. "The Junior College Movement Among Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, II (1933), pp. 272–83.

Summary

It is evident from these analyses that the degree of popularization achieved by the Nation as a whole in the field of public secondary education has been approximated fairly closely for the white population of the South. However, despite notable gains between 1920 and 1934, public secondary education for Negroes in the Southern States was popularized to less than one-third the extent which obtained for the country as a whole. The relatively small proportion of Negro children of high school age enrolled in high school resulted very largely from the nonavailability of public secondary education to Negroes, particularly in rural areas. To a considerable extent, private agencies have sought to supplement the inadequate public secondary school facilities. Their apparent function in this regard is reflected in the tendency for the extensiveness of private high school education for Negroes to vary inversely, from State to State, with the extensiveness of public high school programs. On the junior college level, as in the lower secondary grades, the development of public programs of secondary education for Negroes has lagged far behind similar developments for the white population in the Southern States.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Because of their relatively small amount of taxable resources, most of the Southern States are financially unable to support an adequate program of public education. In 1935, 10 of the 18 States involved in this study were among the lowest 12 States in the Union in ability to support schools. Three were among the next lowest 12, 2 were in the next group of 12, and only 3—the District of Columbia, Delaware, and Maryland—were among the highest 13 States.[1] In 1930, 8 of these States could not have supported a "defensible foundation" program for public education even if they had spent for education an amount equal to *all* they could have raised by the use of a uniform tax plan designed to measure the financial ability of States to support all social functions of government.[2] Further, as is subsequently shown, from their own resources alone these States cannot approximate the level of school support of which the Nation as a whole is capable. Unless there is a much enlarged program of Federal aid to education, public schools in most of the Southern States, both white and Negro, must continue to function on a plane of financial support which is considerably lower than that for the Nation as a whole.

However, this fact, in and of itself, implies nothing more than limited total expenditures for public schools in general. If these States, even with their meager financial resources, should attempt to provide for all children democratic opportunities for public education, such funds as are available would be distributed equitably among their elementary and secondary schools. By virtue of the universal requirement of separate schools for white and Negro pupils in these

[1] Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, and associates, Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 5 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 12 and 20.

[2] Ibid., pp. 13-4.

States, such a policy would necessarily involve the expenditure for the education of Negroes of a proportionate amount of the total expenditures. Many of the Southern States do not report financial data which reveal the extent to which this policy is followed. Yet the practices of those States for which information is at hand are suggestive of the general practice of the South as a whole.

Current Expenditure per Pupil Enrolled

Information as to the current expenditure for public elementary and secondary schools per white and Negro pupil enrolled during 1935–36 is available for 10 of the Southern States. Although the practice of these 10 States may not be completely representative of all Southern States combined, the 10 States are, for purposes of this study, of major importance in themselves, for in them lived 68 percent of all Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in all 18 States in 1935–36.[3]

During 1935–36, the 10 States spent $183,060,890 for current expenses in public elementary and secondary schools. Of this amount, $161,445,377 was spent for white schools, and $21,615,513 for Negro schools. Although Negroes constituted 28 percent of the total enrollment in these States, only 12 percent of the total current expenditures went for the support of Negro schools. (See Table 22.)

Current expenditures in these 10 States averaged $37.87 per white pupil enrolled and $13.09 per enrolled Negro pupil. Thus, for every $1.00 spent for the education of the average white pupil, there was spent for the average Negro pupil only 35 cents. In Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, the average per capita expenditure for Negro pupils amounted to only 20 cents per $1.00 expended for the average white pupil. The expenditure per Negro pupil approached the expenditure per white pupil by nearly one-half in North Carolina, and by nearly three-fourths in Maryland. In Oklahoma and Missouri, the per capita expenditure for

[3] Data from Biennial Survey of Education; 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 105.

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Negro pupils exceeded that for white pupils by 13 and 14 percent respectively.

TABLE 22.—*Current expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools and expenditures per pupil enrolled, in 10 States, by race, 1935–36*

State	Current expenditure [1]		Enrollment [2]		Expenditure per pupil enrolled		Expenditure per Negro pupil for each $1.00 per white pupil
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
10 States	$161,445,377	$21,615,513	4,263,063	1,651,356	$37.87	$13.09	$0.35
Alabama	13,446,556	2,024,271	445,810	231,252	30.16	8.75	.29
Arkansas	7,922,918	925,311	348,837	112,032	22.71	8.26	.36
Florida	14,699,372	1,821,649	284,483	101,280	51.67	17.99	.35
Georgia	16,237,331	1,740,999	485,135	263,402	33.47	6.61	.20
Maryland	16,211,290	2,802,814	239,781	58,376	67.61	48.01	.71
Mississippi	10,516,623	2,020,353	308,775	299,261	34.06	6.75	.20
Missouri	33,057,252	2,660,414	664,520	46,736	49.75	56.92	1.14
North Carolina	19,514,512	4,123,713	618,571	270,204	31.55	15.26	.48
Oklahoma	19,726,022	1,821,133	608,528	49,521	32.42	36.77	1.13
South Carolina	10,113,501	1,674,856	258,623	219,292	39.11	7.64	.20

[1] Data from Blose and Caliver, Statistics of Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 29, p. 57, and Biennial Survey of Education; 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 92. Interest is not included.
[2] Biennial Survey of Education; 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 103.

Cost of Equalizing White and Negro School Support

Both the extent of existing inequalities and some measure of the cost of eliminating them are reflected by the estimated cost of financing Negro schools at the 1935–36 level for white schools. Total current expenditure data which are available for Negro public schools in 10 States, together with total salary payments for Negro public schools for all 18 States (see Table 23), afford a fairly reliable basis upon which to estimate total current expenditures for Negro public schools in all of the States with which this analysis deals.

It may be seen from Table 23 that the ratios of total current expenses to total salary payments vary among the 10 States for which both sets of data are available. These variations seem not to bear any definite relationship to the size of salary payments; rather, they appear to be random variations. Hence, the amount expended for current purposes for Negro schools in all 18 States may be estimated by

applying the 10-State average percentage ratio of current expenses to salary payments to the total salary payments of $30,482,299 for Negro schools in all 18 States.[4] By this procedure it is estimated that $38,316,250 was expended for current purposes for Negro public schools in the 18 States during 1935–36.

TABLE 23.—*Total payments for salaries and expenses of supervisors and principals and for salaries of teachers, in 18 States, and total current expenditures and percentage ratios of current expenditures to salary payments, in 10 States, for public schools for Negroes, 1935–36* [1]

State	Total payments for salaries and expenses of supervisors and principals and for salaries of teachers	Total current expenditures	Percentage ratio of current expenditures to salary payments
States reporting	$30,482,299	[2] $21,615,513	[2] 126
Alabama	1,654,055	2,024,271	122
Arkansas	774,891	925,311	119
Delaware	386,059	[3]	[3]
District of Columbia	[4] 2,423,520	[3]	[3]
Florida	1,427,207	1,821,649	128
Georgia	1,535,795	1,740,999	113
Kentucky	842,215	[3]	[3]
Louisiana	1,420,172	[3]	[3]
Maryland	1,936,611	2,802,814	145
Mississippi	1,476,945	2,020,353	137
Missouri	1,874,831	2,660,414	142
North Carolina	3,712,199	4,123,713	111
Oklahoma	1,312,316	1,821,133	139
South Carolina	1,493,838	1,674,856	112
Tennessee	[4] 1,495,885	[3]	[3]
Texas	3,602,412	[3]	[3]
Virginia	2,131,796	[3]	[3]
West Virginia	[5] 981,552	[3]	[3]

[1] Data from Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes; 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 29, p. 57, except for West Virginia, estimated figure, for which see fn. 4 below.

[2] Based on data for 10 States only.

[3] Data not available.

[4] Estimated by Blose and Caliver.

[5] Salary payments for West Virginia were estimated as follows: In 1931–32 total salary payments for white and Negro schools were $18,171,699, the total number of teachers, supervisors, and principals was 16,745 and the average salary of such personnel was $1,085. (See U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1933, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education: 1930–32, (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), ch. II, pp. 74 and 84.) In 1935–36 corresponding data were: $17,216,495; 15,777; and $1,091. (See Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, pp. 74, 76, and 90.) In 1931–32 total salary and expense payments for Negro teachers, supervisors, and instructors were $1,008,979; there were 1,001 persons on the instructional staff and the average salary was $1,008. (See Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1929–30 and 1931–32, pp. 32, 33, and 38.) In 1935–36 there were 968 Negro teachers, supervisors, and principals. (See Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 23.) Assuming the average salary for Negro personnel increased between 1931–32 and 1935–36 in proportion to the increase in average salary for all personnel (white and Negro) gives an estimate of $1,014 for the average salary of Negro personnel, or an estimate of $981,552 for the total payments for such personnel.

[4] The percentage ratio of 125.7 rather than the rounded figure of 126 given in Table 23 was used.

The total amount spent in the 18 States for current purposes for both white and Negro schools was $352,508,761.[5] The estimated amount spent for white schools alone is therefore $314,192,511. Since there were 1,885,690 Negro pupils and 6,300,320 white pupils in average daily attendance in these 18 States,[6] the estimated average expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance is $20.32 per Negro pupil and $49.87 per white pupil. If the same amount had been spent for each Negro pupil as was spent for each white pupil, the total expenditure for current purposes for Negro schools would have been $94,039,360, or $55,723,110 more than the expenditure estimated above.

Cost of a Minimum Defensible Program of Education

Even with the addition of 56 million dollars to present current expenditures for Negro schools, there could be provided only a very modest program of education for Negro pupils. The added sum would suffice merely to raise their educational level, as regards current expenses alone, to that for white pupils in these States, for whom expenditures are now far below the national average.

It is relevant to the general purpose of this investigation to estimate the cost of financing a really "defensible minimum program" [7] of public elementary and secondary education for both the white and Negro populations of the South. For the attainment of such a program, three basic conditions must be met: (1) There must be enrolled and maintained in regular attendance at school several hundred thousand white and Negro children of school age who do not now attend any school at all, or who attend very irregularly; (2) current per capita expenditures for white and Negro schools must be increased to an amount commensurate with

[5] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, pp. 92–3.

[6] Ibid., pp. 70 and 107.

[7] For a description of the type of education which a "defensible minimum program" of expenditures would provide, see Paul R. Mort, Federal Support for Public Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936), pp. 221–4.

minimum defensible educational standards; and (3) investments in white and Negro school buildings and equipment must be increased enormously.

Enrollment and attendance.—There is no way to determine with certainty just what proportion of a State's children of school age "ought" to be in regular attendance in public elementary and secondary schools. Such attendance is conditioned by too many variable factors not associated with public schools (e. g., physical illness, mental abnormalities, economic necessity, attendance in private schools, etc.) to permit a necessarily valid determination of just what standard ought apply. For purposes of this analysis there has been used the ratio of average daily attendance to number of children 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, in a criterion group of 10 Northern and Western States. (See Table 24, fn. 2). In these 10 States, there are proportionately more children of school age actually enrolled in public and private schools, and proportionately fewer of those enrolled attending private schools, than is true for the Nation as a whole. Though the selection of these States is somewhat arbitrary, the status of school attendance which they exemplify probably represents a fair criterion by which to estimate the minimum level of school attendance which could reasonably be brought about in the 18 States with which this study is concerned.

In the light of school conditions in the criterion group of States, it is assumed, first, that 80 percent of the children of school age should be in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary schools; and second, that of the pupils in average daily attendance in public schools, 70 percent should be in the elementary grades and 30 percent in the high school grades. On this basis, in order to satisfy the first requirement of a minimum defensible program of education, the 18 States would have to effect the regular attendance in public elementary and secondary schools of more than 1,000,000 white and nearly 500,000 Negro children who now are not in average daily attendance. (See Table 24.)

TABLE 24.—*Number of pupils that actually were, and that should have been, in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary schools, and current expenses for existing programs and those required for a minimum defensible program in 18 States, by race, 1935–36*

Item	Number of pupils in average daily attendance [1]	Estimated number of pupils that should be in average daily attendance [2]	Actual current expenditures [3]	Estimated current cost of a minimum program [4]
Grand total	8,186,010	9,748,160	$352,508,761	$707,716,416
Total white	6,300,320	7,391,200	314,192,511	536,601,120
Total Negro	1,885,690	2,356,960	38,316,250	171,115,296
Elementary	[5]	6,823,712	[5]	409,422,720
Total white	[5]	5,173,840	[5]	310,430,400
Total Negro	[5]	1,649,872	[5]	98,992,320
High school	[5]	2,924,448	[5]	298,293,696
Total white	[5]	2,217,360	[5]	226,170,720
Total Negro	[5]	707,088	[5]	72,122,976

[1] Biennial Survey of Education, 1934–36, Vol. II, ch. II, pp. 68 and 107.

[2] Estimated as follows: There were 9,239,000 white children and 2,946,000 Negro children 5–17 years of age, as of July 1, 1936 in these States. (See ibid., p. 103.)

In a group of 10 States, excluding Southern States, which have higher than average proportion of children in school, including private and parochial schools, and lower than average proportions of children of school age in private and parochial schools, 79 percent of the children of school age were in average daily attendance in public schools. The States included are: Nevada, California, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, Indiana, and Kansas. (See Payson Smith, Frank W. Wright and associates, Education in the Forty-eight States, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 1 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), table 1, p. 15.) Attendance data are from Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, pp. 61–2 and p. 68. This group of 10 States have 6.5 percent of children of school age enrolled in private and parochial schools while the 18 Southern States have only 3.3 percent of such children enrolled in such schools (data from ibid., pp. 61–2 and 123–4). The Southern States should therefore have a slightly higher proportion of children of school age in average daily attendance in public schools. Consequently, the percentage was rounded upward to 80 percent.

In these 10 States 70 percent of the pupils in average daily attendance are in kindergarten and elementary grades. (See ibid., p. 68.) Notice that in States having reorganized schools ⅔ of the junior high school and ½ of the junior-senior high school attendance were apportioned to elementary grades. This percentage is applied in the Southern States.

[3] See text above, pp. 50–2.

[4] See Paul R. Mort, Federal Support for Public Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936), p. 21. It should be noted that these figures represent Mort's basic cost estimates and do not include allowances for higher costs resulting from higher cost of living (of teachers) in larger communities or higher cost resulting from sparsity of population as reflected in small classes, or in need for transportation, or for allowances for board and room. If Mort's corrections for these factors were applied in the estimates given above, the total estimated cost of a minimum program would be greatly increased.

[5] Data not available.

Current expenditures.—Mort has estimated that a minimum defensible program of education would require an annual current expenditure of $60.00 per elementary pupil and $102.00 per high school pupil in average daily attendance. According to Mort's procedure, allowances must also be made for higher costs resulting from higher cost of living in

urban areas and from sparsity of population in rural areas.[8] In the estimates given below, however, the basic per pupil costs are used and no attempt is made to correct for these additional cost factors.

Table 24 shows that, if 80 percent of the 12,185,000 children 5–17 years of age in the 18 States in 1936 had attended school regularly and if 70 percent of the 9,748,160 children attending school had been in the elementary grades, and further, if the average amount spent for current purposes had been $60 for each elementary pupil and $102 for each high school pupil, these 18 States would have spent $707,716,416 in 1935–36, or slightly more than twice as much as they actually did spend in that year.[9] Expenditures for white pupils would have been over $220,000,000, or 71 percent, greater, and expenditures for Negro pupils nearly $133,000,000, or 347 percent, greater than the actual expenditures for current purposes.

Capital outlay.—The current expenditure of nearly 708 million dollars which the above calculations suggest as needed to finance a minimum defensible program of public elementary and secondary education in the 18 States makes no provision for improvement in school plant and equipment, items in which both the white and Negro schools are markedly deficient. To this sum there must be added the estimated annual cost of needed improvements in capital outlay.

Grossnickle's investigations of the ratio between expenditures for capital outlay and for current purposes led to the conclusion that the annual costs of capital outlay should represent 14 percent of the current costs.[10] On this basis, in addition to the amounts estimated above as needed for current expenditures for white and Negro schools in the 18

[8] Ibid., p. 21.

[9] Notice that Mort and Lawler (op. cit., p. 20) estimate, on the basis of 1935-36 data, that a minimum program (of current expenditure) in these States would cost $757,911,000.

[10] Foster E. Grossnickle, Capital Outlay in Relation to a State's Minimum Educational Program, Teachers College, Columbia University, Contribution to Education, No. 464 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931), pp. 17 and 64.

Southern States, there would be required annual expenditures for capital outlay as follows:

Type of school	*Amount*
Total	$99, 080, 298
For white schools	75, 124, 157
For Negro schools	23, 956, 141

Grossnickle's study covered capital outlay (debt service) for the period 1919–1928 inclusive in 113 school districts in New Jersey.[11] Data are not available for determining the extent to which Grossnickle's percentage would apply to the Southern States. On the one hand, adequate sites and buildings may well cost somewhat less in these States than in New Jersey. On the other hand, it seems likely that the rate of replacement of existing facilities and the necessary expansion in facilities that would be required in the South in order to provide adequate buildings and equipment for white and Negro schools would be much greater than the replacement and expansion which underlay the annual charges for capital outlay for school districts in New Jersey during the 10-year period covered by the investigation. It is probable, therefore, that the estimates of the annual needs for capital outlay given above are too small for white schools and much too small for Negro schools.

Cost of program and financial ability.—Estimates of the annual costs of a minimum defensible program of public elementary and secondary education in the 18 Southern States are:

Type of school	*Total annual cost*	*Current expenditures*	*Capital outlay*
Total	$806, 796, 714	$707, 716, 416	$99, 080, 298
White	611, 725, 277	536, 601, 120	75, 124, 157
Negro	195, 071, 437	171, 115, 296	23, 956, 141

Thus, for the South as a whole, there is needed an annual school budget of nearly $807,000,000. It is significant to compare this sum with the amount of school revenue which these States could reasonably be expected to provide.

Attention has already been called to the fact that most of these 18 States are among the lowest in their taxable resources and therefore in their ability to support schools. The cost of an adequate minimum program may well be com-

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

pared with the estimated yield of a uniform tax plan designed for the special purpose of measuring the financial ability of States to support social functions of government. In 1935 such a tax plan would have yielded a total of $575,000,000 in all of the 18 States combined.[12] The total cost of a defensible program of education would have been $807,000,000, or 40 percent greater than the amount that could reasonably have been raised for the support of all social functions of government combined. In the more favorable year of 1930 these States together could have raised $969,000,000.[13] A defensible program of education would have required 83 percent of the amount that could have been available for all social functions of government. The total 1935–36 expenditures for elementary and secondary education of $1,969,000,000 in the United States were only 40 percent of the total amount of money that could have been raised in 1930 in all States by the application of this uniform tax plan.[14] It seems clear that the Southern States as a whole cannot support a defensible minimum program of public elementary and secondary education.

Summary

Owing to their relatively small amounts of taxable resources, most of the 18 States with which this inquiry deals are considerably less able than the average State in the Nation to support adequate programs of public education. During 1935–36, current expenditures per white pupil in average daily attendance in the public elementary and secondary schools in 10 of these States averaged $37.87, or one-half the average for the Nation at large ($74.30).[15] For Negro schools in these 10 States, such expenditures averaged $13.09, or slightly more than one-sixth as much as for all schools of the Nation.

In order to bring current per capita expenditures for Negro schools in the 18 Southern States to the level for white schools during 1935–36, there would have to be spent on

[12] Based on Mort and Lawler, op. cit., p. 50.
[13] Ibid., p. 14.
[14] Biennial Survey of Education: 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, p. 94.
[15] Data from ibid., pp. 68 and 94.

Negro schools alone a total of over 94 million dollars annually. This would require an increase of almost 150 percent in expenditures for Negro schools. In order to provide a minimum defensible program of education for both the white and the Negro populations, there would be required, for current expenses and capital outlay, an annual expenditure of over 800 million dollars for public elementary and secondary schools in these 18 States. This sum is 140 percent of the total amount of money these States as a whole could have raised in 1935 by a uniform tax plan designed to measure the ability of State and local governments to support *all* social functions of government, and is 83 percent of the amount these States could have so raised in the more favorable year of 1930 by the same tax plan.

CHAPTER IV

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Southern Negro college stands at the apex of a system of school segregation. Experiencing directly the limitations characteristically imposed upon the Negro separate school, it suffers the further disadvantage of the cumulative deficiencies which it inherits in its students from inferior elementary and secondary schools. Yet, potentially, the Negro college occupies a position of vital importance to the welfare of both the Negro race and the country as a whole. From it should emanate that able and wholesome leadership so sorely needed by the Negro people. Further, in so far as the Negro college functions so as to aid the majority of Negroes to become better adjusted to the social and economic structure of the land, the strength of the Nation is significantly enhanced.

It is the general purpose of this chapter to measure the relative extent and adequacy of higher education for the white and Negro populations of the South. To this end, analysis is made of the availability of higher education in general, as reflected by the number and distribution of institutions and enrollments, opportunities for graduate and professional education, the extent to which institutions of higher education have been accredited, and the financial support they receive. Special attention is given to facilities for higher education in land-grant colleges and universities, and to the financial aid they receive from the Federal Government.

Availability of Higher Education

In 1932–33 there were 117 Negro institutions of higher education in the United States, 36 public and 81 private.[1] In the 110 institutions for which enrollment data are available,[2] there were over 38,000 students of collegiate grade.[3] (See Table 25.) The geographical distribution of these institutions and enrollments, and especially the comparative extent of private and public institutions and enrollments for the white and Negro populations, afford some measure of the relative availability of higher education to Negroes.

Geographical distribution of institutions and enrollments.—All but 4 of the Negro institutions of higher education (96 percent) are located in the Southern States.[4] The public institutions are distributed fairly evenly among the several Southern States, there being 1 or 2 such institutions in each of 15 States and 3 in each of 3 other States. The notable exception in this regard is North Carolina, where there are 5 publicly controlled institutions of higher education for Negroes. By contrast, the private Negro institutions are concentrated in relatively few States. Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of the entire group of private institutions are located in but 6 States—Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Thirty-one of the 81 private institutions in the Nation (38 percent) are located in the first 3 of these States.

The distribution of the Negro population in the South varies considerably from the distribution of Negro institutions of higher education. In the words of one student of this situation:

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[1] For purposes of this analysis, the comprehensive list of Negro colleges and universities compiled by the John F. Slater Fund, now the Southern Educational Foundation, is used. Unless otherwise noted, information is taken from an unpublished group of data collected through field studies by the Southern Education Foundation, for the year 1932–33. Notice, however, that the U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1938, No. 1, Educational Directory: 1938 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938) pt. III, p. 6, lists 106 Negro institutions, including 61 colleges or universities, 4 professional schools, 9 teachers colleges, 9 normal schools and 23 junior colleges.

[2] Excluding five private and two public institutions for which comparable enrollment figures are not at hand.

[3] Not including nearly 16,000 elementary and secondary school pupils.

[4] The four exceptions are: One public institution in Pennsylvania, and three private institutions in Pennsylvania, Kansas, and Ohio.

TABLE 25.—*Number of and enrollment in Negro institutions of higher education, in 21 States, by type of institution, 1932–33* [1]

State	Grand total		Number of institutions				Enrollment				Percentage private	
			Private			Public	Private			Public [3]		
	Institutions	Enrollment	Total	Sectarian	Nonsectarian		Total	Sectarian [2]	Nonsectarian		Institutions	Enrollment
21 States	117	38,274	81	[4] 72	9	36	19,037	[4] 15,277	3,760	19,237	69	50
Alabama	6	1,964	4	3	1	2	1,200	559	641	764	67	61
Arkansas	5	816	3	3		2	298	298		518	60	37
Delaware	1	69				1				69		
District of Columbia	3	2,381	1		1	[4] 2	13		13	2,368	33	1
Florida	5	1,725	4	4		1	653	653		1,072	80	38
Georgia	13	3,193	10	7	3	3	2,532	1,760	772	661	77	79
Kansas	1		1	1							100	
Kentucky	4	1,223	1		1	3	41		41	1,182	25	3
Louisiana	7	1,856	5	[5] 5		2	1,383	[5] 1,383		473	71	75
Maryland	4	909	1	1		3	662	662		247	25	73
Missouri	2	527				2				527		
Mississippi	8	1,006	7	7		1	658	658		348	87	65
North Carolina	14	4,632	9	9		5	1,653	[5] 1,653		2,979	64	36
Ohio	1	553	1	1			553	553			100	100
Oklahoma	1	889				1				889		
Pennsylvania	2	464	1	1		1	292	292		172	50	63
South Carolina	8	1,738	7	7		1	1,112	1,112		626	87	64
Tennessee	9	4,283	8	6	2	1	2,093	1,347	746	2,190	89	49
Texas	14	4,799	12	12		2	3,217	3,217		1,582	86	67
Virginia	6	3,722	5	4	1	1	2,625	1,078	1,547	1,097	83	71
West Virginia	3	1,525	1	1		2	52	52		1,473	33	3

[1] Derived from unpublished records of the Southern Education Foundation, formerly the John F. Slater Fund.
[2] Not including the following "other sectarian" institutions for which enrollment data are not available: Kansas—1, Mississippi—1, Texas—2, Virginia,—1.
[3] Not including the following public institutions for which enrollment data are not available: Georgia—1, Louisiana—1.
[4] Howard University, though technically a private institution, is here classified as "public" because its major financial support comes from public funds.
[5] Including 1 Catholic institution with an enrollment of 557 students.

Some large Southern centers of Negro population have inadequate college facilities, while other centers have more institutions than are needed or can be expected to continue. Some of the largest centers having inadequate college service include Birmingham with a Negro population of 99,077 and less than 100 in college; Memphis with 96,548 and approximately 200 in college; Dallas and Fort Worth, with a combined population of 60,976, have no college. When the adjacent territory is added to these centers, Birmingham, with a radius of fifty miles, becomes a center of 257,000; Memphis, with a radius of a hundred miles, has 660,000; Dallas and Forth Worth, with the same radius, have 220,000. These centers have high school facilities above the average and graduate a total of more than 1,000 students annually, many of whom would welcome the opportunity to live at home and attend an accredited college. The development of strong colleges in these centers would serve the largest number of students at a minimum cost.[5]

The 34 public Negro institutions of higher education for which enrollment data are available reported an aggregate of 19,237 students in 1932–33. The corresponding enrollment reported for 76 private institutions was 19,037 students. Of these 38,274 students, fully 97 percent attended institutions located in the Southern States. Further, even more than in the case of institutions, these enrollments were concentrated in a few States. For example, fully 60 percent of all students attending Negro institutions of higher education were enrolled in the institutions of but 6 States—Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, and District of Columbia. In case of the private institutions alone, approximately 64 percent of the students were to be found in the first 5 of these States. It is apparent that the availability of higher education to Negroes in the South varies markedly among the several States.

Extensiveness of public higher education for the white and Negro populations.—An important purpose of this inquiry is to determine the relative extent to which higher education for Negroes is provided by public institutions of the South. One measure of racial differences in the extensiveness of higher education in publicly controlled institutions is afforded by the comparison of white and Negro ratios of

[5] Fred McCuistion, "The Present Status of Higher Education of Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, II (1933), p. 380.

regular session enrollments in public colleges and universities to the respective populations "of college age" (i. e., ages 18 to 21, inclusive).[6] For purposes of this comparison, enrollment data of public institutions of higher education were obtained from the Biennial Survey of Education for 1932-1934.[7]

College enrollments during 1933–34 were reported for 162 white and 31 Negro publicly controlled institutions of higher education in 17 Southern States.[8] Of the 157,923 regular session students enrolled in these institutions, 148,241 were white and 9,682 Negro. Although Negroes constituted 25 percent of the population of these States aged 18 to 21, inclusive, Negro students constituted only 6 percent of the enrollment in publicly controlled institutions. By contrast, whereas white persons represented 75 percent of the population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, white students constituted 94 percent of the regular session enrollment in publicly controlled institutions of higher education. (See Table 26.)

Even more clearly expressive of racial differences in the extensiveness of higher education in publicly controlled institutions are the numbers of white and Negro college students per 1,000 persons aged 18 to 21, inclusive. It may be seen from Table 26 that, for every 1,000 white persons "of college age" in the 17 States, 60 white students were enrolled in public institutions of higher education. The corresponding ratio for Negroes was 12 students per 1,000 persons "of college age." Thus, in terms of the population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, proportionately five times as many white students as Negro students were attending public institutions of higher education in these States in 1933–34.

In West Virginia, there were in proportion to the population group more than 75 percent more Negro students than white students enrolled in public institutions of higher education. In Kentucky, Delaware, and Missouri, the proportion of Negroes enrolled ranged from 62 to 80 percent of the proportion of white students. The 5 States at the other

[6] Racial comparisons based upon the number of high school graduates would be more valid than comparisons based upon age-groups. However, complete information concerning the number of white and Negro high school graduates in the several States is not available.

[7] Ch. IV, pp. 120-30, 160-9, 171-4, and 178-87.

[8] Excluding District of Columbia.

extreme with respect to racial differences in the popularization of publicly controlled higher education were Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In these States the number of Negro regular session enrollees per 1,000 persons 18 to 21 years of age was from 3 to 10 percent of the corresponding number for whites.

TABLE 26.—*Population 18 to 21 years of age, inclusive, 1930, regular session enrollment in publicly controlled institutions of higher education, 1933–34, and number of enrollees per 1,000 in population group, 1930, by race, and Negro percentage of population group and enrollment, in 17 States*

State	Population 18 to 21 years of age, 1930 [1]		Regular session enrollment, 1933–34 [2]		Number of students per 1,000 in population group		Negro percentage of—	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	Population, 18 to 21 years of age	Enrollment in regular session
17 States	2,479,933	827,839	148,241	9,682	60	12	25	6
Alabama	137,408	80,951	8,536	519	62	6	37	6
Arkansas	111,200	41,940	5,437	178	49	4	27	3
Delaware	14,421	2,421	750	77	52	32	14	9
Florida	72,798	36,691	4,161	469	57	13	34	10
Georgia	153,710	103,393	7,898	432	51	4	40	5
Kentucky	176,823	16,310	10,867	797	61	49	8	7
Louisiana	106,234	65,062	7,607	322	72	5	38	4
Maryland	95,831	21,111	[3] 4,059	239	42	11	18	6
Mississippi	81,510	88,682	5,079	169	62	2	52	3
Missouri	242,315	15,225	11,319	464	47	30	6	4
North Carolina	183,556	86,250	8,116	1,590	44	18	32	16
Oklahoma	180,813	15,038	19,716	539	109	36	8	3
South Carolina	80,136	76,864	5,002	373	62	5	49	7
Tennessee	173,315	41,806	7,746	949	45	23	19	11
Texas	405,734	75,069	26,019	949	64	13	16	4
Virginia	140,050	52,569	9,392	822	67	16	27	8
West Virginia	124,079	8,457	6,537	794	53	94	6	11

[1] Data from Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Vol. II, pp. 674–90.
[2] Data from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1932–34, ch. IV, pp. 120–30, 160–9, 171–4 and 178–87.
[3] Not including enrollment in the United States Naval Academy.

These differences in the extent of public higher education for the white and Negro populations result, in considerable measure, from the relatively small number of Negro pupils who continue through the elementary and secondary grades. Unquestionably, they reflect also the lower economic level of the average Negro family. However, when the relatively

small Negro enrollments are viewed in the light of the number and distribution of publicly controlled Negro institutions of higher education, there can be no doubt that they are likewise expressive, in very large measure, of the relative nonavailability of public Negro institutions of higher education. Further, regardless of cause, these comparisons reflect a major disparity in the extent to which the benefits of higher education at public expense are being shared by the white and Negro populations of the South.

Opportunities for Graduate and Professional Education

It is on the graduate level that public facilities for the higher education of Negroes are least adequate. With two exceptions noted below, five private institutions afford the only facilities for graduate education available to Negroes in the Southern States. One of these institutions, Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana, is controlled by the Roman Catholic Church. The other four, all nonsectarian schools, are Howard University,[9] District of Columbia; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia; and Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. During 1933–34, these institutions enrolled more than 300 graduate students and granted 76 master's degrees.[10] The fact that graduate programs in public institutions for Negroes are practically nonexistent reflects a major disparity, in kind, between the educational opportunities of white and Negro citizens in the South.

[9] Because its support comes primarily from public funds, Howard University was classified in Table 25 as a "public" institution. Technically, however, the institution is private, being governed by an independent Board of Trustees.

[10] Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. IV, pp. 120–199. The graduate enrollment of Hampton Institute is not reported. There are reported 289 graduate students for the other four institutions. Notice that 10 graduate students are listed for 1933–34 in Virginia Union University (ibid., p. 158). In 1935–36 graduate students or degrees were reported by Howard University, Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Xavier University, Fisk University and Bishop College, Texas. (See Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes: 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 19, pp. 38–9.) Jenkins reports five institutions offering work leading to the master's degree in 1937. These are Howard University, Atlanta University, Fisk University, Virginia State College for Negroes, and Hampton Institute. (See Martin D. Jenkins, "Enrollment in Negro Colleges and Universities: 1937–38", Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), pp. 118–23.)

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During 1937, the Negro land-grant college in Virginia [11] began a limited program of graduate work in one or two fields. The following year, a similar program was initiated at the Negro land-grant college in Texas.[12] Only during the past four or five years have these institutions been able to meet the standards set up by their regional accrediting association for Class "A" undergraduate colleges. It therefore seems unlikely that their facilities are such as to justify even small beginnings of graduate study. The initiation of such work in the first of these States appears to have resulted from legal pressure for the admittance of Negroes to the University of Virginia. During 1935–36, such litigation resulted in a court order requiring the admittance of a Negro student to the law school of the University of Maryland.[13]

Though most of the Southern States make no provision for the graduate and professional education of Negroes, seven States provide scholarships of varying degrees of adequacy to assist Negro students in attending graduate and professional schools in other States.[14] It is important to note, however, that these are not the States in which the Negro population is most heavily concentrated. None of the 7 States with 29 to 50 percent Negro population provide scholarships for graduate and professional work. It is evident that even this type of aid is restricted, for the most part, to States with proportionately small Negro populations.

Attention should be called to the unusual opportunities afforded Negroes for graduate and professional education, principally at public expense, in the District of Columbia. Howard University, though technically a private institution, derives nearly three-fourths of its income from the Federal

[11] Virginia State College for Negroes, Ettrick, Virginia.

[12] Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas.

[13] Board of Regents of the University of Maryland, vs. Donald G. Murray, 169 Md. 478 (1936), 182 A. 590. (This student has subsequently graduated from the University of Maryland School of Law.) Court cases of this type are pending or imminent in several other states.

[14] The States which provide such scholarships are Missouri, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Maryland, Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky. See Leon A. Ransom, "State-Aid on Scholarship Legislation," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), pp. 232-7.

Government.[15] Probably no other nonmilitary institution of higher education in the Nation receives so large a proportion of its income from Federal funds. During 1937–38, Howard University enrolled 2,240 students from 42 States and 16 foreign countries. Of this entire group of students, approximately 24 percent reported their residence as the District of Columbia, and 46 percent said that they came from the other 17 Southern States. In addition to its undergraduate college, the University maintains a graduate school of arts and sciences and seven professional schools, enrolling a total of 932 students during 1937–38. During that same year, in addition to bachelor's degrees awarded to 136 undergraduate students in the College of Liberal Arts, the master's degree was awarded to 45 students in the Graduate School, and professional degrees to 59 students in the other schools of the university. Of the 104 students receiving graduate and professional degrees, 41 percent reported their residence as the District of Columbia, and approximately 28 percent as other Southern States.[16] The fact that residents of the South constitute so large a proportion of Howard University's enrollment, particularly in the graduate and professional schools, probably reflects in large measure the nonavailability of such educational services to Negroes in their native States.

The present concentration of facilities for graduate and professional study suggests the possibility of making such facilities more widely available by a system of State scholarships, affording liberal grants to qualified Negro students. Such scholarships could be used in a few well-developed Negro university centers in the South (such as Washington, D. C.; Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; and New Orleans, Louisiana), or in Northern universities, if the students so desired. Such a system would enable the Negro population to share the benefits of graduate and

[15] During 1937–38, out of $1,124,283 received by the University for current expenses, $699,825 (62 percent) came from Federal funds. Out of $829,096 added to the plant fund during that year, $787,472 (95 percent) came from the Federal Government. Thus, approximately 74 percent of the combined income for current expenses and plant was derived from Federal sources. (Report of the Treasurer of Howard University for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.)

[16] From the Report of the Registrar of Howard University for the Year 1937–38. (It should be noted that many students who come to the University from Southern States have been observed to record their residence as the District of Columbia.)

professional education by taking advantage of existing facilities.

It is probable, however, that State systems of scholarships for Negro graduate and professional students would not satisfy the requirements of a recent, and highly significant, decision of the United States Supreme Court. The decision was rendered in the case of a Negro student who was denied admission to the Law School of the University of Missouri, even though the State provided no comparable facilities in its Negro institution.[17] To the argument that there was available to the petitioner a State scholarship for attendance at the law school in some adjacent State, the Court declared:

> The white resident is afforded legal education within the State; the negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there and must go outside the State to obtain it. That is a denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege which the State has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another State does not remove the discrimination.

The Court held, further:

> Nor can we regard the fact that there is but a limited demand in Missouri for the legal education of negroes as excusing the discrimination in favor of whites.

It concluded:

> We are of the opinion . . . that petitioner was entitled to be admitted to the law school of the State University in the absence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the State.

According to this decision, the Southern States seem to be confronted with but two alternatives in fulfilling their responsibility to provide Negroes with public facilities for graduate and professional education. As directed by the Court in this case, the State universities might be opened to all qualified Negro students desiring to enter their graduate and professional schools. Such action would run counter to the tradition of segregated schools, but it is not inconceivable that it might be taken in a number of States. The other possibility is that of establishing separate graduate and professional schools for Negroes in the Southern States. However, the financial resources of most of these States are

[17] *Missouri ex rel. Gaines* v. *Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, et al.*, 305 U. S. 337 (1938).

limited. Very few of their Negro colleges have as yet been able to develop really adequate programs of undergraduate education; and, further, there are now but a few Negro students in any given State who are prepared for graduate study. In the light of these considerations, it is probably impractical to attempt at this time to develop creditable separate Negro graduate schools in the several Southern States. For some years to come, it is almost certain that enterprises of this sort would consist primarily in affixing the graduate label to institutions which lack the resources, financial and otherwise, to do standard graduate work.

Whatever method is chosen, the necessity for "proper provision" of graduate and professional facilities *within* the several States is made clear by the decision of the Supreme Court. Either the States must provide separate facilities, or they must admit Negroes to their universities.

Accreditation

This analysis of facilities in Southern States for the higher education of Negroes has been restricted for the most part to quantitative measures only. One index of the quality of the educational programs of Negro colleges and universities is afforded by the extent to which they have received standard ratings by regional and national accrediting associations.

By December 1936, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools had awarded Class "A" ratings [18] to only 5 public and 11 private 4-year Negro colleges, and to 1 public and 2 private Negro junior colleges.[19] In addition to these, 3 public and 2 private institutions had been accredited in 1938 by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.[20] Only about

[18] The designation given to institutions which "meet in full the standards set up by the Association." In the case of Negro colleges, the Southern Association also awards Class "B" ratings to institutions which "do not yet meet one or more of the standards set up by the Association for four-year colleges, but the general quality of . . . [whose] work is such as to warrant the admission of their graduates to any institution requiring the bachelor's degree for entrance." There are 24 4-year colleges and 2 junior colleges with this rating. For an evaluation of this practice, see Charles H. Thompson, "Why a Class 'B' Negro College?" Journal of Negro Education, II (1933), pp. 427–31.

[19] Negro Year Book: 1937–38, p. 210.

[20] Data from Educational Directory: 1938. Howard University is here classified as public.

one-fifth of the 117 Negro colleges and universities in the Nation are accredited institutions, and nearly two-thirds of those accredited are under private control.

Direct comparisons between the accredited status of white and Negro institutions are afforded by data for 11 States in the region covered by the Southern Association. The Educational Directory for 1938 lists 119 public and 239 private institutions for white students in these States, and 21 public and 64 private institutions for Negroes. About 67 percent of the public white colleges, as compared with 29 percent of the public Negro colleges, are fully accredited (i. e., given an unconditional Class "A" rating) by the Southern Association. Among the private colleges and universities, 36 percent of the white institutions and only 20 percent of the Negro institutions are so accredited. In these 11 States, there are, in all, some 165 accredited colleges for white students (46 percent of the total), as compared with 19 accredited colleges (22 percent of the total) for Negro students. (See Table 27.) Thus, in the Southern Association area, the proportion of Negro institutions that have satisfied in full the criteria of their regional accrediting agency for a standard college is less than one-half the proportion for white institutions.

Even more marked are differences in the extent to which white and Negro institutions have been accredited by the Association of American Universities. For all 18 Southern States, the Educational Directory lists 535 white institutions for higher education, 186 public and 349 private, together with 103 Negro institutions, 35 public and 68 private. About 16 percent of the white public institutions and nearly 14 percent of the white private institutions are on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. In all, there are in the 18 States 77 white institutions which have been approved by this national accrediting agency. By contrast, only 1 Negro institution in these States, in fact only 1 in the entire Nation, has as yet achieved a place on the approved list of the Association of American Universities.[21]

[21] Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, a private institution.

The fact that, for one reason or another, so few Negro colleges and universities have achieved the status of full accreditation is suggestive of the very limited extent to which these institutions have as yet been able to develop acceptable programs of higher education. As in the case of the purely quantitative measures presented earlier in this chapter, on the basis of this qualitative index it is evident that facilities for higher education in the South afford opportunities for the white population markedly superior to those available to the Negroes.

TABLE 27.—*Number and percent of institutions of higher education accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 11 States and by the Association of American Universities in 18 States, by type of institution and by race, 1938* [1]

Item	11 States [2]			18 States [3]		
	Number of institutions reported	Accredited by the Southern Association		Number of institutions reported	Accredited by the Association of American Universities	
		Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Total						
White	358	165	46	535	77	14
Negro	85	19	22	103	1	1
Public						
White	119	[4] 78	66	186	29	16
Negro	21	[5] 6	29	35		
Private						
White	239	[6] 87	36	349	48	14
Negro	64	[7] 13	20	68	1	2

[1] Tabulated from U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1938, No. 1, Educational Directory 1938 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), pt. III. Notice that the total numbers of Negro colleges given for some of these States differ from the numbers shown n Table 25 above.

One institution for white persons in the District of Columbia and one in Florida which are listed as both public and private are here classified as public. Also one Negro institution in the District of Columbia and one in West Virginia listed as both public and private are here classified as public.

[2] Includes Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

[3] Includes the 17 States listed in Table 26 above and the District of Columbia.

[4] Excludes 6 institutions that are provisionally or partially accredited, or admitted on probation.

[5] Excludes 5 institutions accredited as class B.

[6] Excludes 9 institutions provisionally, partially accredited or admitted on probation.

[7] Excludes 1 institution provisionally accredited and 19 that are accredited as Class B.

Land-Grant Colleges: Educational Programs and Personnel [22]

Publicly supported higher education for Negroes in the Southern States centers primarily in the land-grant colleges. There are 2 land-grant institutions in each of the Southern States, except the District of Columbia, 1 for white students and 1 for Negro students. The Negro land-grant institutions constitute slightly more than half of the public Negro institutions of higher education in these States.[23] During 1937–38, they enrolled nearly three-fourths of the students in all public institutions of higher education for Negroes, and about one-third of the total in public and private institutions combined.[24] In view of the predominant position of the land-grant colleges in public higher education for Negroes in the South and the further fact that these institutions are subsidized to a considerable extent by the Federal Government, it is appropriate for this inquiry to give special consideration to the scope of their educational programs, the size of their instructional staffs, and the financial support they receive. Directly comparable information for the white and Negro land-grant colleges in these States makes possible an appraisal of the relative adequacy of this important type of publicly supported higher education for the white and Negro populations of the South.

Scope of the resident educational program.[25]—The major purpose of land-grant colleges, as set forth in the organic First Morrill Act is

> . . . without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.[26]

[22] For a fuller discussion, see George A. Works and Barton Morgan, The Land-Grant Colleges, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 10 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939).

[23] Derived from Table 25 above.

[24] Data from Martin D. Jenkins, op. cit.

[25] The agricultural extension and research programs of land-grant colleges are discussed in Chapter V.

[26] 12 Stat. L. 503 (1862), sec. 4.

In practice, the white institutions have developed very comprehensive resident programs of study. Considerable emphasis is given, on both the undergraduate and graduate levels, to work in the arts and sciences, education (teacher training), architecture, commerce and business, the several branches of engineering, agriculture, home economics, and forestry. Also included, with somewhat less emphasis, are programs in medicine, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, fine arts, law, journalism, library science, and veterinary medicine.[27]

In marked contrast with the varied educational programs afforded by the white land-grant colleges are the much more restricted programs of the Negro institutions. By far the predominant emphasis in all of the Negro land-grant colleges is teacher education. Slightly more than three-fifths of the resident students in these institutions take their majors in the arts and sciences or in education. The remainder are concentrated chiefly in the fields of agriculture, mechanic arts, and home economics, even here the chief emphasis being the preparation of teachers in these fields. With two exceptions noted earlier in this chapter, none of the Negro land-grant colleges offers any work whatever on the graduate level. Completely absent from their programs are curriculums in forestry, architecture, engineering, dentistry, pharmacy, medicine, law, library science, and journalism.[28]

It is probable that limitations in the scope of educational programs in Negro land-grant colleges are, in some measure, imposed by deficiencies inherited from the inadequate public elementary and secondary school facilities for Negroes in the Southern States. Without doubt, another major factor—probably the chief cause—is the limited financial support given to the Negro institutions.[29] However, regardless of factors contributing to the present situation, it is clear that,

[27] See Walter J. Greenleaf, Preliminary Report: Land-Grant Colleges and Universities: Year Ended June 30, 1936, U. S. Office of Education Circular 168 (multilithed), pp. 8–13.

[28] See Biennial Survey of Education: 1932-1934, ch. IV, pp. 470 ff. See also John W. Davis, "The Participation of Negro Land-Grant Colleges in Permanent Federal Education Funds," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), p. 288, and A. J. Klein, Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1930, No. 9 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1930).

[29] Financial data are presented later in this chapter.

in the scope of their programs of resident instruction, considering educational levels as well as the variety of curriculum fields, the Negro land-grant colleges of the South afford opportunities for higher education which are far less comprehensive than those afforded by land-grant colleges for white students in the same States.

Enrollment, staff, and degrees.—During 1935–36, there were 59,356 resident students enrolled in the white and Negro land-grant colleges of the 17 Southern States. Though Negroes in these States constitute 25 percent of the population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, they constituted only 15 percent of the resident enrollment in land-grant colleges. The average white institution had a resident enrollment of 2,962 students. By contrast, the average Negro institution enrolled only 529 resident students, or fewer than one-fifth as many as the average white institution. Thus, as was noted previously for all public institutions of higher education, the benefits of higher education at public expense in the land-grant colleges were shared by proportionately far fewer Negro than white persons in the South. Further, in contrast to the white institutions, educational programs in the Negro land-grant colleges are confronted with the many limitations associated with very small resident enrollments. (See Table 28.)

Except in the case of general administration,[30] the staffs of the white institutions were proportionately larger than those of the Negro institutions. This difference was found chiefly in personnel for extension service and agricultural research. The student-loads of the average white and Negro teachers engaged in resident instruction were practically identical. However, because of the much larger enrollments in the white institutions, their resident teachers, with the same student-loads, can carry an instructional program which is vastly more diversified than can possibly be carried by resident teachers in the Negro institutions.

[30] The fact that, in relation to enrollments, the staffs for general administration are proportionately larger in the Negro colleges than in the white colleges probably results chiefly from the fact that the white institutions are nearly six times as large as the Negro institutions. Thus, with large enrollments, the white colleges have smaller unit costs.

TABLE 28.—*Population 18 to 21 years of age, inclusive, and resident enrollment, staff, and degrees in land-grant colleges in 17 States, by race, 1935–36* [1]

Item	Total	White	Negro	Negro percentage of total
Population 18 to 21 years of age, inclusive, 1930[2]	3,307,772	2,479,933	827,839	25
Resident students	59,356	50,357	8,999	15
Average number of resident students per institution	1,746	2,962	529	
Staff[3]	9,965	9,020	945	9
General administration	679	485	194	29
Resident instruction	4,418	3,754	664	15
Extension service	4,946	4,703	243	5
Agriculture Experiment Station	1,008	1,008		
Average number of students per teacher for resident instruction	13.4	13.4	13.6	
Degrees awarded				
Bachelor's	8,042	7,120	922	11
Master's	915	915		
Doctor's	58	58		

[1] Walter J. Greenleaf, Preliminary Report: Land-Grant Colleges and Universities...1936, U. S. Office of Education Circular 168 (multilithed), pp. 4–7, 10–13. Data cover the 17 States listed in Table 31 below.
[2] See Table 26 above.
[3] Total excludes duplicates.

Of the 8,042 bachelor's degrees awarded by land-grant colleges in these 17 States during 1935–36, only 922 went to Negro students. This is only about three-fourths as many as would be expected from the percentage Negroes constitute of the total number of resident students. Graduate degrees, including 58 doctorates, were awarded to 973 land-grant college students. There were no Negroes among this group.

Thus, in size, personnel, and scope of educational program, the Negro land-grant colleges suffer by comparison with the corresponding white institutions in the Southern States.

Land-Grant Colleges: Financial Support

There are many additional bases upon which to appraise the relative adequacy of publicly supported higher education for Negroes in Southern land-grant colleges. Among them, the qualifications and salaries of teachers, the size and value of libraries, and "holding power" would be particularly significant. Such indexes, however, would serve merely to document further a general truth which must already be

quite evident.[31] In view of this fact, it should suffice to limit the remainder of this discussion to a consideration of one important determiner of educational efficiency—the extent of current financial support. Also, in view of the increasing emphasis being given to the need for an enlarged program of Federal aid to education,[32] it is particularly important to appraise the experience of Negro land-grant colleges with Federal educational subsidies of the past.

Receipts from various sources.—During 1935–36, the 34 white and Negro land-grant colleges in the 17 Southern States received, from all sources, about $55,000,000. Of this amount, about $4,400,000 (8 percent) went to the 17 Negro institutions. Whereas the average white college received nearly $3,000,000, the average Negro college received slightly more than $260,000. (See Table 29.)

About two-thirds of the receipts for white colleges, and a little over one-half of the receipts for the Negro colleges came from Federal, State, and local tax funds. Average receipts per resident student from endowment income in the Negro institutions were only about one-fifth as great as in the white institutions. Per capita receipts of the Negro colleges were more than twice as great as those of the white institutions in the case of private gifts and grants.

The last finding is especially significant. Though Negro students constitute only about 15 percent of the resident students in land-grant colleges in the South, about 29 percent of all private gifts and grants went to the Negro institutions. Receipts per resident student from this source averaged $4.20 in the white colleges, and $9.78 in the Negro colleges. Thus,

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[31] For further information in this regard, see: "A Survey of Negro Higher Education," Journal of Negro Education (1933), pp. 255–425; Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1928, No. 7 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1928): Fred McCuistion, Higher Education of Negroes (A Summary), Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (Nashville, Tenn.: The Association, 1933); and John W. Davis, Problems in the Collegiate Education of Negroes, West Virginia State College Bulletin, Series 24, No. 4, Contribution No. 8 of the Department of Education (Institute, W. Va.: 1937).

[32] See, for example: 75th Cong., 1st sess., Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill (S. 419 and H. R. 5962); Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings . . . on S. 419 (February 9, 10, 11, and 15, 1937); and House of Representatives Committee on Education, Hearings on H. R. 5962 (March 30 and 31, April 1, 2, 6, 8, and 13, 1937). See also 75th Cong., 3d sess., Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill (S. 419 and H. R. 10340).

private philanthropy tends toward equalizing the financial resources of white and Negro land-grant colleges. However, the fact that private gifts constitute only 2 percent of the income of Negro institutions suggests that their total effect to this end is very slight.

TABLE 29.—*Total and per capita receipts of land-grant colleges in 17 States, by source of funds and by race, 1935–36* [1]

Source	Total receipts		Percentage distribution of total receipts		Average receipts per resident student enrolled		
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white
Total	$50,941,753	$4,416,561	100.0	100.0	(2)	(2)	(2)
Student fees	4,640,366	321,255	9	7	$92.15	$35.70	$0.39
Endowment income	684,767	23,409	1	1	13.60	2.60	.19
Appropriations and tax levies							
Federal Government	16,831,667	923,971	33	21	(2)	(2)	
State	15,851,102	1,399,910	31	32	(2)	(2)	
County and district	1,703,540	11,319	3	(3)	(2)	(2)	
Private gifts and grants	211,458	87,967	1	2	4.20	9.78	2.33
Sales and service	2,144,933	113,453	4	3	(2)	(2)	
Auxiliary enterprises	5,573,700	1,133,304	11	25	(2)	(2)	
Miscellaneous rent, loans, etc.	3,300,220	401,973	7	9	(2)	(2)	

[1] Data given in Greenleaf, op. cit., pp. 14–5 have been revised from records in the U. S. Office of Education and may be subject to further revision. Data cover the 17 States listed in Table 31 below.

[2] Since "appropriations and tax levies" include funds for agricultural extension and research, computations of receipts from these sources per "resident student" would lack significance. (See Table 33 for expenditures per student for resident instruction.) Somewhat similar considerations apply in the case of the last three items listed in the table.

[3] Less than 0.5 percent.

Receipts from various Federal funds.—There are at least a dozen permanent funds, in addition to several emergency funds, through which the land-grant colleges receive subsidies from the Federal Government. Several of these funds, such as those authorized for resident instruction by the First and Second [33] Morrill Acts and their extensions, funds for vocational teacher training from the Smith-Hughes Act,[34] and funds for agricultural research from the Hatch-Adams [35]

[33] 12 Stat. L. 503 (1862) and 26 Stat. L. 417 (1890).

[34] 39 Stat. L. 929 (1917).

[35] Hatch Act, 24 Stat. L. 447 (1887); Adams Act, 34 Stat. L. 669 (1906).

and Purnell Acts,[36] serve partially to finance general or special auxiliary educational programs at the seat of the college. Other funds, such as those authorized by the Smith-Lever Act [37] and its extensions, together with the Clarke-McNary Act,[38] though administered by the land-grant college, are used for extension programs throughout the State. These several funds are grouped in Table 30 according to the educational purposes which they serve.

Of the $17,755,638 which went to the 34 land-grant colleges in the 17 Southern States, the Negro institutions received only $923,971, or 5 percent of the total. (See Table 30.) This proportion is to be appraised in the light of the fact that Negroes constitute one-fourth of the total population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, in these States.

As regards funds for different purposes, the Negro colleges received not any of the $133,451 in interest from "other land-grants," [39] none of the $1,820,476 for agricultural research, none of the $51,578 for forestry extension, none of the $613,472 for military training, and none of the $8,226,524 for agricultural and home economics extension.[40] The percentage ratio of the total receipts for Negroes to their proportion of the population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, was nearly 40 in case of funds from 1862 land-grants, about 48 in case of emergency education funds, 67 in case of funds for vocational teacher training, and 116 in case of funds for general purposes from the Morrill-Nelson Act and the Bankhead-Jones Act (sec. 22).

The fact that receipts from the last-mentioned funds were the only ones which went to Negro colleges in a proportion at least as great as the proportion of Negroes in the population is of special significance. The Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones Acts are unique, among all Federal education laws, in their inclusion of a safeguard for Negro schools. The original provision in the Second Morrill Act, continued in the case of its two sequels, requires that "no money shall be

[36] 43 Stat. L. 970 (1925).
[37] 38 Stat. L. 372 (1914).
[38] 43 Stat. L. 653 (1924).
[39] Authorized by Congress in 1866 for States admitted to the Union since the passage of the original grants of 1862.
[40] Data presented in Chapter V show the amount and proportion of extension funds devoted to work among Negroes.

paid" to any State with separate white and Negro land-grant institutions unless the legislature of such State shall

propose and report to the Secretary of the Interior a just and equitable division of the fund . . . between one college for white students and one institution for colored students . . . which shall be divided into two parts, and paid accordingly . . . [41]

TABLE 30.—*Total receipts from Federal funds of land-grant colleges in 17 States, and amount and proportion received by Negro institutions, by purpose and by act, 1935–36* [1]

Purpose and act [2]	Total receipts of white and Negro colleges	Receipts of Negro colleges	
		Amount	Percent of total [3]
Total	$17,755,638	$923,971	5.2
General instruction, administration, and permanent improvements	1,520,789	367,881	24.2
Morrill Act of 1862	197,338	23,409	11.9
Other land grants of 1866	133,451		
Morrill Act of 1890; Nelson amendment, 1907; and Bankhead-Jones Act, 1935, sec. 22	1,190,000	344,472	28.9
Vocational teacher training Smith-Hughes Act, 1917	315,279	52,804	16.7
Extension work in agriculture and home economics	8,226,524		
Smith-Lever Act, 1914 [4]	3,003,902		
Capper-Ketcham Act, 1928	587,297		
Bankhead-Jones Act, 1935, sec. 21	4,227,475		
Additional cooperative extension funds	407,850		
Agricultural research	1,820,476		
Hatch Act 1887, and Adams Act, 1906	510,000		
Purnell Act, 1925	1,020,000		
Bankhead-Jones Act, secs. 1–8	290,476		
Cooperative farm forestry Clarke-McNary Act, 1924	51,578		
Military training funds paid through War Department	613,472		
Emergency funds [5]	5,207,520	503,286	9.7

[1] Data from U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2 [Advance Pages] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934–36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), vol. II, ch. IV, pp. 346–7, based on reports from the States, have been revised from records of the Office of Education, the Office of Experiment Stations, and the Extension Service, and are subject to further revision. Data cover the States listed in Table 31 of this study. Data prepared earlier and reported in Payson Smith and Frank W. Wright, Education in the Forty-Eight States, the Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 1 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 136, do not agree with the revised data of this table.

[2] The allotment bases of these various funds are as follows: *Administrative discretion*—Clarke-McNary, farmer's cooperative demonstration, additional cooperative, military training funds, emergency funds; *Flat grants*—Morrill (1890), Nelson Amendment, Bankhead-Jones, sec. 22, Hatch-Adams, Purnell, part of Bankhead-Jones, sec. 21; *Population*—First Morrill Act and other land-grants allot 30,000 acres of land for each Senator and each Representative; Smith-Hughes, teacher-training funds alloted on basis of total population, Smith-Lever funds, Capper-Ketcham funds, part of Bankhead-Jones funds, Title 1, on basis of rural population; and Bankhead-Jones, sec. 21, remainder over flat grant on basis of farm population. See George A. Works and Barton Morgan, The Land-Grant Colleges, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 10 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), and John Dale Russell and associates, Vocational Education, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 8 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938).

[3] Negroes constitute 25 percent of the population aged 18 to 21, inclusive, in these 17 States.

[4] Including supplementary Smith-Lever fund.

[5] Works Progress Administration, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, etc.

[41] Sec. 1.

In compliance with the above provision, each of the Southern States enacted legislation to define a "just and equitable division of the fund." The formulas they set up are listed in Table 31. Also recorded are the proportions Negroes constitute of the total populations of these several States, and the proportions Negro colleges received of total State allotments from the Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones (sec. 22) funds in 1935–36.

Inspection of Table 31 reveals that bases for division adopted by most State legislatures approximate the ratio of Negro to total or school population.[42] It will be noted also that the proportion the Negro college received from these funds during 1935–36 equals or exceeds the proportion Negroes constitute of the total population in all but 1 State. In Georgia, although the Negro college received a proportion slightly less than the ratio of Negro to total population, it did receive the one-third which the State legislature had defined as its "equitable" share.

TABLE 31.—*Bases for apportioning Morrill-Nelson funds between white and Negro land-grant colleges as defined by the legislatures of 17 States, percentages received by Negro colleges, 1935–36, and percentages Negroes were of total population, 1930*

State	Legal basis of apportionment to Negro colleges [1]	Percent Negro of—	
		Receipts from Morrill-Nelson funds, 1935–36 [2]	Population, 1930
Alabama	Percentage of school population	36	36
Arkansas	Three-elevenths	27	26
Delaware	20 percent	20	14
Florida	Equally	50	29
Georgia	One-third	33	37
Kentucky	Percentage of school population	14	9
Louisiana	Percentage of school population	38	37
Maryland	Percentage of total population	17	17
Mississippi	Percentage of school population	55	50
Missouri	One-sixteenth	6	6
North Carolina	Percentage of total population	33	29
Oklahoma	One-tenth	10	7
South Carolina	Equally	50	46
Tennessee	Percentage of school population	24	18
Texas	One-fourth	25	15
Virginia	One-third	33	27
West Virginia	$10,000 annually (20 percent)	20	7

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1930–32, ch. III, pp. 377–8.
[2] See Table 30, fn. 1.

[42] In most States, these laws were enacted during the 1890's when Negroes constituted a larger proportion of the total population than at present.

Trends in receipts from selected Federal funds.—The proportions in which Federal funds were divided between white and Negro land-grant colleges during 1935–36 are typical of practices which have continued for more than a decade at least. It may be seen from Table 32 that allotments from Federal funds to land-grant colleges in the 17 Southern States had increased from approximately 5 million dollars in 1922–23 to nearly 18 million dollars in 1935–36. However, during this 14-year period, there had been but little fluctuation in the proportion which went to Negro institutions. Such changes as had occurred in the ratio of Negro to total receipts suggest a slight trend toward increasing racial disparity in the division of Federal funds.

There may be noted much more marked, and at times extreme, fluctuations in the ratio of Negro to total receipts for three of the Federal funds represented in Table 32. Several considerations help to explain these variations. In the case of 1862 land grants, only four Negro colleges [43] shared at all in State allotments, and not all of them participated each year. Only one Negro institution (in Mississippi) shared in "other land grants" during the entire 14-year period surveyed. In case of the Smith-Hughes funds, there has been considerable variation from year to year in the number of participating institutions. The Negro land-grant college in Maryland did not share in the fund at all, and the Delaware college participated during 3 years only. There have been from two to six Negro institutions not participating in this fund in successive years. In notable contrast to these year-to-year fluctuations is the regularity with which Negro land-grant colleges have received well over one-fourth of the Morrill-Nelson funds. Clearly reflected in the Negro-total ratios for these funds is the effect of the Federal safeguard for Negro schools incorporated into the Second Morrill Act.

In connection with the trends reflected by Table 32, it should be noted that, between 1920 and 1930, there was a slight decrease in the ratio of Negro to total population. In the 17 States classified by the United States Census as "The

[43] In Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia.

South," [44] Negroes constituted 27 percent of the total population in 1920, and 25 percent in 1930.[45] It should be noted further, however, that public Negro college enrollments [46] increased tremendously during this same general period. Quite probably, this enrollment increase more than compensated for the slight decrease in the ratio of Negro to total population.

TABLE 32.—*Receipts from Federal funds of land-grant colleges in 17 States, amounts and percentages received by Negro colleges, and percentages Negro colleges received from selected funds, by fiscal year, 1923 to 1936* [1]

Year ending June 30—	Receipts from all funds		Percentage Negro colleges received from—				
	All colleges	Negro	All funds	1862 land grants	Other land grants [2]	Smith-Hughes	Second Morrill, Nelson, Bankhead-Jones (sec. 22)
1923	$4,986,354	$315,652	6	10	28	16	29
1924	4,890,362	306,822	6	10	100	15	29
1925	4,795,370	320,492	7	7	100	23	29
1926	5,176,174	314,392	6	7	100	21	29
1927	5,404,196	332,954	6	7	100	31	29
1928	5,481,863	338,389	6	15	51	38	29
1929	5,991,083	310,252	5	-------	22	36	29
1930	6,511,710	217,323	3	7	18	23	29
1931 [3]	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
1932	6,992,399	354,716	5	10	4	27	29
1933	6,925,896	309,871	5	8	-------	32	29
1934	7,720,799	316,565	8	8	3	16	29
1935	10,158,611	419,530	4	12	-------	15	29
1936	17,755,638	923,971	5	12	-------	17	29

[1] Annual reports for land-grant colleges of the U. S. Office of Education. Negro colleges shared not at all or in negligible proportions in the several Federal funds not here represented. See Table 30 above. Data covers the 17 States listed in Table 31 above.
[2] Only one Negro institution (in Mississippi) shared in this fund during the entire period shown in the table.
[3] Information is not available for 1930–31.

Per capita receipts from Federal funds for resident instruction.—This analysis of racial differences in the receipts of land-grant colleges from Federal funds has been based thus far upon the proportions Negroes constitute of the total population.[47] However, in view of the fact that such proportions are generally much larger than the proportions

[44] Including all the States so classified in this study with the exception of Missouri.
[45] Negroes in the United States: 1920–32, p. 14.
[46] And thus, Negro land-grant college enrollments.
[47] Or of certain age-groups in the total population.

Negroes constitute of total land-grant college enrollments, it is desirable that analysis be made also of average receipts per student enrolled. Only Federal funds authorized for general or special types of resident instruction are included in the analysis.

It may be seen from Table 33 that in 1935–36, from all Federal funds for resident instruction and general purposes, the 17 white land-grant colleges received an average of $134.09 per resident student enrolled. The corresponding average for the 17 Negro land-grant colleges was $102.67. Thus, for each dollar received for the average white student, there was received approximately 77 cents for the average Negro student. The per capita receipts of the Negro institutions exceeded those of the white institutions in 8 of the 17 States, ranging from $1.21 to $6.50 per Negro student for each $1.00 per white student. In the other 9 States, the Negro institutions received less per student than the white institutions, ranging from 7 cents to 74 cents per Negro student for each $1.00 per white student.

TABLE 33.—*Receipts from Federal funds for resident instruction and general purposes, number of resident students, and receipts per student in white and in Negro land-grant colleges, in 17 States, 1935–36*

State	Total receipts [1]		Number of resident students [2]		Receipts per student		Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
17 States	$6,752,252	$923,971	50,357	8,999	$134.09	$102.67	$0.77
Alabama	194,697	31,783	2,351	224	82.81	141.89	1.71
Arkansas	1,184,673	106,070	1,961	345	604.12	307.45	.51
Delaware	96,651	16,344	759	83	127.34	196.92	1.55
Florida	337,603	52,740	2,983	708	113.18	74.49	.66
Georgia	122,563	91,621	2,903	334	42.22	274.31	6.50
Kentucky	233,611	22,610	3,554	528	65.73	42.82	.65
Louisiana	145,528	39,123	6,101	543	23.85	72.05	3.02
Maryland	230,825	12,444	3,464	43	66.64	289.40	4.34
Mississippi	137,029	52,870	1,577	206	86.89	256.65	2.95
Missouri	530,213	56,046	4,682	410	113.24	136.70	1.21
North Carolina	283,225	33,756	2,029	565	139.59	59.75	.43
Oklahoma	1,374,300	19,764	4,138	874	332.12	22.61	.07
South Carolina	260,735	54,028	1,516	501	171.99	107.84	.63
Tennessee	175,156	182,810	4,109	1,253	42.63	145.90	3.42
Texas	851,815	31,382	3,654	880	233.12	35.66	.15
Virginia	442,228	93,842	1,836	847	240.86	110.79	.46
West Virginia	151,400	26,738	2,740	655	55.26	40.82	.74

[1] Data given in Greenleaf, op. cit., pp. 20–1 have been revised from records of the U. S. Office of Education and may be subject to further revision. (Receipts from 1862 Land-grants, "Other land-grants," Morrill-Nelson and Bankhead-Jones (Sec. 22) Acts, Smith-Hughes Act, War Department, and emergency Federal agencies are included here.)
[2] Greenleaf, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

In all 17 states, the white land-grant colleges received from Federal funds for resident instruction and general purposes $1.00 to every 77 cents per resident student received by the Negro colleges. However, since Federal funds constitute only a part of the receipts of land-grant colleges, this index is hardly adequate as a measure of racial differences in the total financial support of these institutions. Perhaps the best single measure of such differences is to be found in the comparative expenditures of white and Negro land-grant colleges from Federal, State, and local funds combined.

Expenditures from Federal, State, and local funds.—Expenditures for all purposes during 1935–36 aggregated more than 51 million dollars for white and Negro land-grant colleges in the 17 Southern States. Though Negro students constituted approximately 15 percent of the total resident enrollment in these institutions, only 9 percent of the total expenditures for resident instruction were made by the Negro colleges. Total expenditures per institution averaged $2,759,244 for the 17 white institutions, and $240,909 for the 17 Negro institutions. (See Table 34.)

TABLE 34.—*Total and percentage distribution of expenditures in white and Negro land-grant colleges in 17 States, by purpose and by item of expenditure, 1935–36* [1]

Purpose and item of expenditure	Total expenditures		Percentage distribution of expenditures	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	$46,907,146	$4,095,459	100.0	100.0
Educational and general purposes	32,958,626	2,167,632	70.3	52.9
General administration	1,825,970	281,799	3.9	6.9
Resident instruction	11,809,228	1,239,053	25.2	30.2
Organized research	4,055,098	[2] 13,758	8.6	.3
Extension	12,435,320	[3] 51,571	26.5	1.3
Libraries	634,296	73,514	1.4	1.8
Operation and maintenance	2,198,714	507,937	4.7	12.4
Other purposes	13,948,520	1,927,827	29.7	47.1
Auxiliary enterprises	5,116,356	956,623	10.9	23.4
Noneducational expense	948,463	132,530	2.0	3.2
Capital outlays	7,883,701	838,674	16.8	20.5

[1] Data given in Greenleaf, op. cit., pp. 16–17, have been revised from records in the U. S. Office of Education and may be subject to further revision. Data cover States listed in Table 31 above.
[2] Reported for only one Negro college (in Mississippi).
[3] Reported for only 11 of the Negro colleges.

The costs of resident instruction alone averaged $234.51 per white student enrolled. By contrast, an average of only

$137.69 per student was spent for resident instruction in the Negro institutions. Thus, for every dollar expended for resident instruction for the average white student, there was spent for the average Negro student only 59 cents.

These comparative current expenditures of funds for resident instruction afford the most significant single measure available of the relative financial support for white and Negro land-grant colleges. They reveal that, in addition to inequalities in the distribution of Federal funds to the white and Negro institutions, there are even greater inequalities in the distribution of State funds. It is apparent that the Negro land-grant colleges of the South are forced to operate on a plane of financial support which is markedly below that of the corresponding white institutions in the same States.

Summary

In the Nation as a whole, in 1932–33 there were 117 Negro institutions of higher education, enrolling over 38,000 students of collegiate grade. More than 90 percent of both the institutions and the students were located in 17 Southern States. There was a marked concentration of Negro collegiate institutions and enrollments in a few States, reflecting the unevenness with which higher education is available to Negroes in different areas of the South. Enrolled in publicly controlled institutions there were, in proportion to the number of persons of college age in 1933–34, five times as many white students as Negro students. Comparatively few of the Negro institutions of higher education, especially the public institutions, have succeeded in being placed on the approved lists of their respective regional accrediting associations. Only one Negro institution in the Nation has been "approved" by the Association of American Universities.

Opportunities for graduate and professional education are extremely meager for Negro students in the South. Such advanced work as there is centers almost entirely in five private institutions. Though all of the Southern States deny admittance of Negroes to their State universities, only seven of them provide scholarships to aid Negro students to attend

graduate and professional schools elsewhere. Racial inequalities in this respect, representing differences in kind, not merely in degree, are among the most extreme in the entire educational system of the South.

Publicly supported higher education for Negroes in the Southern States centers primarily in the 17 Negro land-grant colleges. These institutions are, on the average, about one-fifth as large as the land-grant colleges for white students in the same States, and their educational programs are markedly less comprehensive. Further, as regards current income and expenditures, they operate with far less adequate financial support than the white land-grant colleges in the same States. This latter generalization is valid, not only for funds derived from State, local, and miscellaneous sources, but also for receipts from Federal funds. Only in the case of Federal funds allocated to States under the Morrill-Nelson Act and the Bankhead-Jones Act (sec. 22), do the Negro land-grant colleges receive a proportionate amount of the total. These Acts are the only Federal education laws which require "a just and equitable division of the fund" between separate white and Negro institutions. The analysis of trends since 1922–23 reveals that the inequitable division of Federal education funds, except the Morrill-Nelson funds, has characterized the practices of the Southern States for at least a decade and a half.

The several indexes utilized in this discussion are restricted primarily to indirect measures of educational efficiency. Even so, they afford ample grounds for the generalization that public programs of higher education for Negroes are far less extensive and function on a much lower level of efficiency than is true in the case of corresponding educational programs for the white population of the South.

CHAPTER V

SPECIAL FEDERALLY AIDED EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

In addition to grants for resident instruction in land-grant colleges, previously discussed in Chapter IV, the Federal Government provides financial aid to the States for several other major educational programs and services. Chief among these Federal subsidies are grants for vocational education, vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, agricultural and home economics extension, agricultural research, and various new and emergency education programs. This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the relative extent to which Negroes in the Southern States share in the benefits of these federally aided educational programs and services.

Vocational Education

Among the permanent educational programs subsidized by the Federal Government, no other is so large as that of vocational education. Federal grants totaling approximately $53,594,000 are authorized during 1938–39 for vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, land-grant college instruction, agricultural research, and agricultural extension. Of this amount, approximately $21,785,000, nearly 41 percent of the total, is allocated for vocational education alone. Yet this large Federal contribution represents less than one-half of the total amount expended for vocational education in the federally aided program, there being even larger amounts provided from State and local revenues. On the basis of its cost alone, the federally aided program of vocational education represents an extremely significant educational service. The extent to which Negroes share in its benefits constitutes, therefore, an important basis upon which to appraise their opportunities for public education in the South.

The federally aided program of vocational education was initiated with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act[1] in 1917. The appropriations then authorized were supplemented and extended in 1929 by the George-Reed Act,[2] and again in 1934 by the George-Ellzey Act.[3] Finally, with the passage of the George-Deen Act[4] in 1936, the scope of the vocational education program was enlarged, and the amount of Federal money authorized for annual appropriation was more than doubled over that for any previous year.[5]

The purpose of the organic law, as set forth in its title, is

> To provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure.

To these ends, funds are authorized

> to be paid to the respective States for the purpose of cooperating with the States in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and industrial subjects, and in the preparation of teachers. . .[6]

for these several subjects, together with funds to the Federal office in charge of the grants for administration, research, and reports.

It is stipulated that vocational education programs other than teacher training must be restricted to publicly controlled or supervised schools "of less than college grade," and that "the controlling purpose of such education shall be to fit for useful employment." [7]

Thus, for a period of more than two decades, the Federal Government has made very substantial contributions to the

[1] 39 Stat. L. 929 (1917).
[2] 45 Stat. L. 1151 (1929).
[3] 48 Stat. L. 792 (1934).
[4] 49 Stat. L. 1488 (1936).
[5] For a more extended account of the history and development of the federally aided program of vocational education, see John Dale Russell, Vocational Education, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 8, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), and Lloyd E. Blauch, Federal Cooperation in Agricultural Extension Work, Vocational Education, and Vocational Rehabilitation, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1933, No. 15 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935).
[6] Smith-Hughes Act, Sec. 1. The recent George-Deen Act also authorizes appropriations for education in the field of distributive occupations.
[7] Smith-Hughes Act, secs. 10 and 11.

several States toward paying the salaries of vocational teachers. Also, by virtue of its authority to approve State plans for the use of Federal grants, the Office of Education, which administers the grants, has exercised considerable control over the qualifications of teachers, the length of courses, and the kinds of schools and equipment, together with various other aspects of the program.

Before noting the extent to which Negroes participate in the federally aided program of vocational education, it is well to describe briefly the occupational status of the Negro population. In the light thereof, the need of Negroes for this particular type of educational service can be better appreciated, and hence the extent to which they have shared in its benefits can be more adequately appraised.

The need of Negroes for vocational education.—Neither the economic problems of the Nation as a whole nor those of its Negro minority result from, or can be solved by, programs of vocational education. In the mid-depression words of the President's Committee on Economic Security, "it is tragically evident that education and training are not a guarantee against dependency and destitution." [8] The maladjustments in the Nation's economy which gave rise to this assertion regarding the population as a whole leave no basis for faith in vocational education as a panacea for the economic ills of the especially disadvantaged Negro minority. Yet, for the Negro as for other groups, vocational education can play a very important role in the occupational adjustment of individuals. As competition for jobs becomes sharper, even more essential to the survival of the individual worker is a special occupational competence. Again quoting the Committee on Economic Security:

> . . . the educational and vocational equipment of individuals is a major factor in their economic security. . . . Particularly for the young workers and those who have little hope of returning to their old occupations, the need for educational and vocational training and retraining programs is clearly indicated.[9]

[8] Committee on Economic Security, Report to the President . . . (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 47.

[9] Ibid., pp. 47–8.

Thus, at least for the individual, economic security depends increasingly upon his equipment in the tools and techniques of job competition, upon those understandings, attitudes, and skills which are the objectives of vocational education. If, then, special vocational preparation is needed for the Nation's workers as a whole, what is its relative need among Negro workers?

Two main groups of occupations, agriculture and domestic and personal service, have always afforded employment to a major proportion of Negro workers. Of the 5,503,535 gainfully employed Negroes in the United States in 1930, there were 3,564,044 (65 percent) working in these fields. Similarly employed were 3,036,951 (70 percent) of the 4,358,980 Negro workers in 18 Southern States.[10] Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits afforded employment for only 19 percent of the Negro workers of the Nation, and 16 percent of those in the South. In the seven other major occupational classes listed in the United States Census, there were but 17 percent of all gainfully employed Negroes in the country, and 13 percent of those in the South.

From another point of view, whereas Negroes constituted but 11 percent of all workers in the Nation, they constituted 19 percent of the agricultural workers and 32 percent of the workers in domestic and personal service. In the South, where Negroes constituted 25 percent of all workers, the proportions they constituted of all workers in these two fields were, respectively, 33 percent and 60 percent. By contrast, especially in the fields of trade, public service, professional service, and clerical occupations, Negroes constituted almost negligible proportions of the total numbers of gainfully employed workers.[11]

But even more suggestive of the relative economic status of Negroes are racial differences in the distribution of the

[10] Throughout this section of Chapter V, the terms "South" and "18 Southern States" designate 17 of the 18 States listed in the introduction of this study, p. xv, excluding the District of Columbia, which did not participate in the federally aided program of vocational education prior to passage of the George-Deen Act, and including New Jersey, which maintains a considerable number of Negro separate schools, and whose reports on the vocational education program include separate data for the two races.

[11] Negroes in the United States: 1920–32, pp. 290, and 303–9.

Nation's workers in 1930 among the several social-economic groups.[12] In this regard, Edwards reports:

> The percentage, both of native whites and of foreign-born whites, was larger than that of Negroes in each main group except "Unskilled workers," where the percentage was over three times as large for Negroes [67 percent] as for native whites [22 percent] and over twice as high for Negroes as for foreign-born whites [29 percent]. More than 2 out of 3 Negro workers in 1930 were unskilled; and the proportions of the Negro workers in the semi-skilled group, in the skilled group, and in the clerical group were very small as compared with the corresponding proportions for native whites and foreign-born whites.[13]

In another related study of the distribution of Negro workers, Edwards reports:

> The skilled, the semiskilled and the unskilled are all manual workers. Almost 8 out of 10 (79.5 percent) of the Negro workers in 1930 were in these three groups. It is quite probable, also, that most of the Negro farm owners and farm tenants are actually engaged in manual labor, and that the Negro croppers, in the work they do, do not differ greatly from farm laborers. If the Negro farm owners and tenants be considered manual workers, then, in 1930, more than 95 out of each 100 (95.4 percent) of the Negro workers were engaged in manual work; and if the 392,897 Negro croppers be considered unskilled, then, in 1930, 74.1 percent of the Negro workers were in unskilled pursuits.[14]

This picture reflects considerably more, of course, than the influence of vocational preparation—or lack of it. There is operative also the factor of racial discrimination in employment. However, if that factor be ignored entirely, and if the occupational status of Negroes be taken as even a rough measure of their vocational equipment, it is evident that in a situation of job competition on the basis of units of preparation alone, the average Negro worker would be overwhelmed. If, for all workers, economic security for the individual is coming to depend increasingly upon special vocational preparation, then for Negro workers the need for vocational education is especially pronounced.

Enrollments in vocational courses.—Smith-Hughes funds for vocational agriculture "in schools of less than college grade"

[12] Professional persons; proprietors, managers and officials; clerks and kindred workers; skilled workmen and foremen; semiskilled workers: and unskilled workers.

[13] Alba M. Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States" Journal of the American Statistical Association, XXVIII (1933), p. 386.

[14] "The Negro as a Factor in the Nation's Labor Force," Journal of the American Statistical Association, XXXI (1936), p. 533.

are apportioned among the several States on the basis of their rural populations, and those for home economics and for trades and industries on the basis of their urban populations.[15] In view of this fact, one should expect that, with equitable opportunities to participate in the program, Negro pupils should constitute at least as large a proportion of the total enrollments in vocational courses as Negroes constitute of the population groups on the basis of which Federal funds for vocational education are apportioned. On the one hand, this criterion ignores the lag in programs of general secondary education for Negroes, which to some extent conditions the extensiveness of programs of vocational education. On the other hand, it ignores the relatively greater need of Negroes for vocational education. All things considered, it probably affords a fairly valid basis upon which to appraise the extent to which Negroes participate in the program.

During 1934–35, there were 460,826 pupils enrolled in federally aided vocational courses in the 18 States involved in this analysis. Of these pupils 387,398 (84 percent) were white, and 73,428 (16 percent) were Negro. The white pupils were divided fairly evenly among the three types of vocational education programs, 36 percent being enrolled in agriculture, 34 percent in home economics, and 30 percent in trades and industries. By contrast, 55 percent of the Negro pupils were enrolled in vocational agriculture, 29 percent in home economics, and only 16 percent in trades and industries. As compared with the white pupils in proportion to total enrollments, about 53 percent more of the Negro pupils were enrolled in agriculture, and about 47 percent fewer in trades and industries. (See Table 35.)

In these 18 States, Negroes constituted 24 percent of the rural population and 17 percent of the urban population in 1930. During 1934–35, Negro pupils constituted 22 percent of the total enrollment in vocational agriculture, 14 percent in home economics, and about 10 percent in trades and

[15] See Russell, op. cit., p. 102. In case of the more recent George-Deen Act, funds for vocational agriculture are apportioned among the States on the basis of farm population; funds for vocational home economics on the basis of rural population; and funds for trade and industrial education on the basis of all nonfarm population. Funds are apportioned on the basis of total population for distributive occupations and for teacher training.

TABLE 35.—*Enrollment in vocational education, in 18 States, by type of program and by race, 1934–35* [1]

State	Type of program											
	All types			Agriculture			Home economics			Trades and industries		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
18 States	460,826	387,398	73,428	181,374	141,436	39,938	152,248	130,878	21,370	127,204	115,084	12,120
Alabama	26,943	21,896	5,047	7,687	6,208	1,479	10,686	8,976	1,710	8,570	6,712	1,858
Arkansas	19,728	16,015	3,713	13,105	9,947	3,158	4,458	4,222	236	2,165	1,846	319
Delaware	3,433	3,230	203	727	688	39	1,229	1,155	74	1,477	1,387	90
Florida	17,194	12,951	4,243	4,143	2,814	1,329	5,456	2,925	2,531	7,595	7,212	383
Georgia	25,527	20,152	5,375	4,780	1,834	2,946	8,514	7,414	1,100	12,233	10,904	1,329
Kentucky	12,767	12,576	191	5,799	5,721	78	3,468	3,355	113	3,500	3,500	----------
Louisiana	20,557	14,052	6,505	9,530	5,154	4,376	7,677	5,548	2,129	3,350	3,350	----------
Maryland	7,124	5,868	1,256	1,502	1,392	110	2,067	1,867	200	3,555	2,609	946
Mississippi	29,585	21,474	8,111	20,575	14,651	5,924	6,343	4,336	2,007	2,667	2,487	180
Missouri	19,936	19,184	752	6,880	6,747	133	6,299	6,299	----------	6,757	6,138	619
New Jersey	24,924	24,556	368	1,566	1,550	16	2,563	2,440	123	20,795	20,566	229
North Carolina	39,008	31,912	7,096	19,055	16,069	2,986	12,044	9,482	2,562	7,909	6,361	1,548
Oklahoma	33,228	30,041	3,187	9,593	8,120	1,473	17,031	15,516	1,515	6,604	6,405	199
South Carolina	29,877	24,277	5,600	15,933	11,757	4,176	7,744	6,807	937	6,200	5,713	487
Tennessee	30,871	27,175	3,696	16,158	14,160	1,998	9,143	7,671	1,472	5,570	5,344	226
Texas	88,928	75,315	13,613	29,962	22,522	7,440	41,074	36,822	4,252	17,892	15,971	1,921
Virginia	23,262	19,024	4,238	12,169	10,008	2,161	4,036	3,745	291	7,057	5,271	1,786
West Virginia	7,934	7,700	234	2,210	2,094	116	2,416	2,298	118	3,308	3,308	----------

[1] Preliminary data were supplied by Dr. Ambrose Caliver of the U. S. Office of Education. Revised data for the 18 States as a group by type of program and for all types of programs combined (including teacher training), by State, are given in Ambrose Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1937, No. 38 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938). Notice that the revised data give a total enrollment of Negroes in agriculture of 39,951 (ibid., p. 39), in home economics of 22,733 (ibid., p. 53), and in trades and industries of 12,656 (ibid., p. 63).

industries. Thus, there were approximately 93 percent as many Negro pupils enrolled in agricultural courses and 65 percent as many in home economics courses as would be expected on the basis of the proportion of Negroes in the population group used as a basis in apportioning Federal funds. However, in trade and industrial courses the corresponding proportion was somewhat less than 57 percent. (See Table 36.)

TABLE 36.—*Percentages Negroes were of population, 1930, by type of community, and enrollment in vocational education, by type of program, in 18 States, 1934–35* [1]

State	Percent Negro						Percentage ratio of proportion of enrollment to proportion of population group [4]		
	Population, 1930 [2]			Enrollment, 1934–35 [3]					
	Total	Rural	Urban	Agriculture	Home economics	Trades and industries	Agriculture [5]	Home economics [6]	Trades and industries [7]
18 States	21	24	17	22	14	10	93	65	57
Alabama	36	36	36	19	16	22	54	45	60
Arkansas	26	27	23	24	5	15	91	21	63
Delaware	14	15	12	5	6	6	36	44	50
Florida	29	31	28	32	46	5	103	158	18
Georgia	37	38	35	62	13	11	164	35	31
Kentucky	9	6	15	1	3	----	22	38	----
Louisiana	37	41	31	46	28	----	112	75	----
Maryland	17	18	16	7	10	27	41	57	162
Mississippi	50	52	40	29	32	7	55	63	17
Missouri	6	3	9	2	----	9	63	----	101
New Jersey	5	5	5	1	5	1	21	92	21
North Carolina	29	29	30	16	21	20	55	73	64
Oklahoma	7	7	8	15	9	3	233	124	36
South Carolina	46	48	37	26	12	8	55	27	21
Tennessee	18	14	27	12	16	4	90	88	15
Texas	15	15	14	25	10	11	162	71	78
Virginia	27	27	27	18	7	25	67	27	93
West Virginia	7	7	6	5	5	----	77	74	----

[1] See Table 35, footnote 1.
[2] See Negroes in the United States; 1920–32, pp. 15 and 52–3.
[3] See Table 35 above. Notice that of the funds available in 1934–35 the population bases of allotment were as follows: agriculture, three-fourths on rural and one-fourth on farm; trades and industries, about two-thirds on urban and nearly one-third on nonfarm; for home economics, nearly 40 percent on urban and the remainder on rural. See John Dale Russell, Vocational Education, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 8 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 17, 19, 24, and 102.
[4] Adjustments have not been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding off basic percentages.
[5] Percent Negro of total enrollment divided by percent Negro of the total rural population.
[6] Percent Negro of total enrollment divided by percent Negro of the total population. Funds for home economics are apportioned on the basis of urban population under the Smith-Hughes Act and on the basis of rural population under subsequent acts; hence the use of total population in this analysis. See Russell, op. cit., p. 102.
[7] Percent Negro of total enrollment divided by percent Negro of the total urban population.

In view of the relative nonavailability of high schools to Negroes in the rural South, the proportion Negroes constitute of these enrollments in vocational agriculture seems remarkably high. However, when the much more extensive programs of general secondary education for Negroes in urban communities are considered, vocational education for Negroes in the field of trades and industries is seen to have been relatively much less extensive than would otherwise appear to be the case.

Considerable variation is evident among the several States in the proportion which Negro enrollments were of total enrollments in vocational education courses in comparison with the proportions Negroes were of various population groups. In New Jersey and Kentucky, there were only about one-fifth as many Negro pupils enrolled in vocational agriculture as the Negro-total rural population ratios would seem to warrant.[16] In 11 other States, corresponding proportions ranged from about one-third to nine-tenths. However, in Florida and Louisiana, Negro enrollments in vocational agriculture were slightly larger; in Georgia and Texas, they were about two-thirds larger; and in Oklahoma, one and one-third larger than would be expected on the basis of the Negro percentage of rural population. In the field of trades and industries, on the average the proportion of Negroes enrolled was about three-fifths of the proportion of Negroes in the urban population. The proportion of Negroes enrolled in home economics was about two-thirds of the proportion of Negroes in the total population.

In general, it appears that racial differences in the extensiveness of vocational education were least marked in the field of vocational agriculture. Disparities were somewhat greater in the field of home economics. In the field of trades and industries, differences in the educational opportunities of white and Negro children were very marked. That these conditions are characteristic, not only of the year 1934–35, but of continuing practices in the South, is revealed by the analysis of enrollment trends over a period of seven years.

[16] Probably in large measure because of the small, sparsely settled, rural Negro populations in these two States.

Trends in vocational enrollments.—It will be recalled that Negroes constitute about 21 percent of the total population in the particular group of 18 States involved in this analysis. Yet, during no year between 1928–29 and 1934–35 did Negro pupils constitute more than 16 percent of the total enrollment in federally aided courses in vocational education. The proportion fluctuated somewhat during this period, showing a slight tendency to increase. Clearly evident from Table 37, however, is the fact that as regards enrollments in vocational courses over a period of years, Negroes in these States have not participated in the federally aided program of vocational education to the extent that would be expected on the basis of population ratios. There remains to determine the extent to which Negroes share in the Federal funds from which that program is very largely financed.

TABLE 37.—*Total and Negro enrollment in vocational education courses and percentages Negroes were of total enrollees in 18 States, by year, 1928–29 to 1934–35* [1]

Year ending June 30—	Enrollments		Percentage Negro
	Total [2]	Negro	
1929	230,337	33,127	14
1930	274,322	33,526	12
1931	323,791	46,074	14
1932	354,877	55,702	16
1933	350,684	54,522	16
1934	402,898	62,913	16
1935	486,150	76,137	16

[1] Data from Ambrose Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, pp. 123–24. Notice that students in teacher-training classes are included here. In 1935 there were 797 such Negro students (ibid., p. 70). The total number of students reported in federally aided teacher training classes in these States was 6,433. See U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division, Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education to the Office of Education, Division of Vocational Education, Fiscal year Ended June 30, 1935 (mimeographed) Statistical and Financial Tables, Sec. 1, Table 9. See Table 36 above for the 18 States included here.

[2] Notice also that the totals here reported vary slightly from those given in the Digests of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education . . . Tables 3 and 9. In 1934, 403,769 were reported and in 1935, 482,701 were reported.

Expenditures from Federal funds.—It was noted earlier in this discussion that Federal grants to States for vocational education are largely in the nature of reimbursements for the salaries of vocational teachers. The practices of the Southern States in the administration of these Federal funds are reflected by the proportions which are expended for the vocational education of Negroes. Also suggestive in this regard are average expenditures from Federal funds per

white and Negro vocational teacher, and per white and Negro pupil enrolled in vocational courses.

Expenditures of Federal funds for vocational education in the 18 States aggregated $3,634,275 during 1934–35. Of this total, $3,279,341, or 90 percent, was spent for whites; and only $354,934, or 10 percent, for Negroes. The proportion of Federal funds spent for vocational education for Negroes was less than half as large as the proportion Negroes constituted of the total population. In the field of vocational agriculture, the proportion of Federal funds spent for Negroes was only 50 percent of the proportion Negroes were of the rural population. The corresponding percentages were 43 for home economics, based on total population; 29 for trades and industries, based on urban population; and 52 for teacher training, based on total population. It will be noted that racial disparities were considerably greater in the distribution of Federal funds than in the distribution of enrollments in federally aided vocational courses. (See Table 38.)[17]

TABLE 38.—*Expenditures from Federal funds for vocational education in 18 States, by program and by race, 1934–35* [1]

Type of program	Expenditures from Federal funds		Negro percentage of—		
	Total [2]	Negro	Expenditures	Population group	Proportionate share
All types	$3,634,275	$354,934	10	[3] 21	[4] 48
Agriculture	1,911,959	225,187	12	[5] 24	50
Home economics	607,083	55,843	9	[3] 21	43
Trade and industries	856,686	46,755	5	[6] 17	29
Teacher training	258,547	27,149	11	[3] 21	52

[1] See Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, pp. 47, 56, 65, 71. See Table 39 below for the 18 States included here.

[2] Notice that the total Federal funds expended in these 18 States as given in Digest of Annual Reports . . . of State Boards for Vocational Education . . . 1935, Statistical and Financial Tables, sec. I, Tables 11–15, inclusive, are as follows: All types, $3,792,920; agriculture, $1,968,684; trade and industries, $806,469; home economics, $617,593; and teacher training, $350,174. The discrepancies with data here given are relatively large only in the case of teacher training. Even if the larger figures are correct and if all of the difference were allocated to Negro schools, the Negro percentage of the total would be increased to only about 13.5 percent.

[3] Total population.

[4] Adjustments have been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding off basic percentages. Cf. Table 39.

[5] Rural population.

[6] Urban population.

[17] Cf. Table 36.

If the 18 States had devoted to vocational education for Negroes a proportionate share of the $3,634,275 which they expended from Federal funds during 1934–35, there would have been spent for programs in Negro schools a total of $777,735, or $422,801 more than was actually expended. In other words, the 18 States received from Federal vocational education funds approximately $778,000 on the basis of their Negro populations alone. They then expended for vocational education in white schools, not only the more than $2,652,000 received on the basis of the white population, but also over $400,000 of the amount received on the basis of the Negro population. Thus, the amount diverted from Negro schools was greater by more than $67,000 than the amount actually spent on Negro schools. (See Table 39.)

Oklahoma stands alone among these States in having expended from Federal funds, for the vocational education of Negroes, an amount which was greater than the amount received during 1934–35 on the basis of the Negro population. For every dollar Negroes would have received with a proportionate distribution of Federal funds, Oklahoma spent $1.35 for vocational education in Negro schools. Texas ranks second in this regard, having spent for programs in Negro schools approximately 91 cents for every Federal dollar that would have been so expended with a proportionate distribution of funds. For each "proportionate dollar due Negro schools" from Federal funds, there was actually spent on Negro schools less than 50 cents in 14 of the 18 States, only 23 cents in Missouri, 21 cents in South Carolina, 24 cents in Kentucky, and 16 cents in Maryland. In the South as a whole, there was spent for the vocational education of Negroes only 46 cents for each dollar received from Federal funds on the basis of the Negro population.

A more direct measure of racial inequalities in the financial support from Federal funds of existing vocational education programs is afforded by average receipts per white and Negro vocational teacher employed, and per white and Negro pupil enrolled in vocational courses.

TABLE 39.—*Total expenditures from Federal funds for vocational education and teacher training for all schools and for Negro schools, Negro percentages of receipts and of total population, amounts due Negro schools on the basis of population ratio, and amounts diverted from Negroes, in 18 States, 1934–35* [1]

State	Expenditures for—		Negro percentage of—		Amount due Negroes [2]	Amount diverted from Negroes	Amount expended for Negro schools per $1.00 due Negroes
	All schools	Negro schools	Expenditures	Population [2]			
18 States	[3] $3,634,275	$354,934	9.8	21.4	$777,735	$422,801	$0.46
Alabama	214,562	27,831	13.0	35.7	76,599	48,768	.36
Arkansas	178,784	27,105	15.2	25.8	46,126	19,021	.59
Delaware	40,024	2,079	5.2	13.7	5,483	3,404	.38
Florida	111,958	12,868	11.5	29.4	32,916	20,048	.39
Georgia	255,483	32,088	12.6	36.8	94,018	61,930	.34
Kentucky	198,103	4,052	2.1	8.6	17,037	12,985	.24
Louisiana	165,975	25,591	15.4	36.9	61,245	35,654	.42
Maryland	97,165	2,555	2.6	16.9	16,421	13,866	.16
Mississippi	192,314	33,490	17.4	50.2	96,542	63,052	.35
Missouri	265,756	3,643	1.4	6.2	16,477	12,834	.23
New Jersey	272,594	7,113	2.6	5.2	14,175	7,062	.50
North Carolina	252,466	27,319	10.8	29.0	73,215	45,896	.37
Oklahoma	189,369	18,409	9.7	7.2	13,635	−4,774	1.35
South Carolina	164,619	15,673	9.5	45.6	75,066	59,393	.21
Tennessee	222,520	18,974	8.5	18.3	40,721	21,747	.47
Texas	501,157	67,091	13.4	14.7	73,670	6,579	.91
Virginia	214,005	26,147	12.2	26.8	57,353	31,206	.46
West Virginia	97,421	2,906	3.0	6.6	6,430	3,524	.45

[1] See Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, pp. 127–8.

[2] See Table 38, fns. 3, 4, and 5 for population bases used in apportioning the various funds among the States. Analyses not here reported reveal that calculation of the amounts due Negroes on the basis of their percentage of the total population in the several States does not involve any appreciable error.

[3] It should be noted that the total expenditures here reported for the several States do not check with the corresponding totals reported in Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards of Vocational Education . . ., 1935, Statistical and Financial Tables, Sec. I, Table 10. In the latter publication, total expenditures for all 18 States are reported as $3,792,920, or $158,646 more than is shown in the above table. The writer has been unable to reconcile these totals. However, if it be assumed that this difference of $158,646 is due entirely to unreported expenditures in Negro schools, the total amount so spent would be $513,580, and the amount diverted from Negro schools would be decreased to $298,105. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the $158,646 unaccounted for was all expended for white schools, then, the amount diverted from Negro schools would be increased to $456,751. Thus, the discrepancy here noted does not affect the general conclusions drawn in the text for the 18 States as a whole; only the degree of disparity is affected. It is possible, however, that if additional information were available, the conclusions drawn with respect to individual States might require modification.

During 1934–35, the 18 States expended from Federal funds for vocational education an average of $314 per white vocational teacher, and $139 per Negro vocational teacher.[18] Thus, for every dollar of Federal funds which went to the average white teacher, only 44 cents went to the average

[18] Data include teachers of teacher-training courses.

Negro teacher. (See Table 40.) Only in New Jersey, which reported but 12 Negro teachers, and in West Virginia, which reported only 7 Negro teachers, were average expenditures for Negro teachers greater than average receipts for white teachers. In Texas average expenditures per teacher were equal for both groups. In three States, Missouri, South Carolina, and Maryland, average expenditures from Federal funds were less than one-third as great for Negro teachers as for white teachers. In Maryland, racial differences in this regard were particularly marked. Whereas the average white vocational teacher in that State received $483 from Federal funds, the average Negro teacher received only $56. For every dollar received from Federal vocational education funds by the average white teacher in Maryland, the average Negro teacher received only 12 cents.

Similar racial differences in the financial support of vocational education from Federal funds are reflected in the average expenditures per pupil enrolled in vocational courses during 1934–35. Such expenditures for all 18 States averaged $8.07 per white pupil, as compared with $4.66 per Negro pupil. In other words, for every Federal dollar expended per white pupil enrolled in the federally aided program of vocational education, there was expended per Negro pupil enrolled only 58 cents. Again, there was greater racial inequality in the distribution of Federal vocational education funds in Maryland than in any of the other Southern States. Expenditures from Federal funds in that State averaged less than one-tenth as much per Negro pupil as they did per white pupil. New Jersey was the only State in which average expenditures per pupil were larger in Negro schools than in white schools.

Trends in expenditures from Federal funds.—As in the case of enrollments in vocational courses, the analysis of trends in the distribution of Federal funds reveals continuing racial inequalities. Data for the fiscal years 1929 to 1935, inclusive, are illustrative in this regard.

During the 7-year period which ended with the fiscal year 1935, Federal grants for vocational education in the 18 States aggregated $21,286,145. Of this total, $19,322,667

TABLE 40.—*Number of enrollees and teachers and average expenditures from Federal funds for vocational education, by race, and amounts per Negro for each $1.00 per white, in 18 States, 1934–35* [1]

State	Number of enrollees		Expenditure per enrollee		Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white	Number of teachers		Expenditure per teacher		Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white
	White	Negro	White	Negro		White	Negro	White	Negro	
18 States	406,564	76,137	$8.07	$4.66	$0.58	10,453	2,555	$314	$139	$0.44
Alabama	22,383	5,073	8.34	5.49	.66	805	205	232	136	.59
Arkansas	16,068	3,721	9.44	7.28	.77	371	127	409	213	.52
Delaware	3,255	232	11.66	8.96	.77	103	11	368	189	.51
Florida	13,189	4,294	7.51	3.00	.40	347	105	286	123	.43
Georgia	36,148	5,414	6.18	5.93	.96	712	206	314	156	.50
Kentucky	12,787	293	15.18	13.83	.91	400	10	485	405	.84
Louisiana	14,340	6,575	9.79	3.89	.40	421	232	333	110	.33
Maryland	5,178	1,846	18.27	1.38	.08	196	46	483	56	.12
Mississippi	22,597	8,429	7.03	3.97	.56	740	308	215	109	.51
Missouri	18,290	1,122	14.33	3.25	.23	566	39	463	93	.20
New Jersey	21,676	368	12.25	19.33	1.58	557	12	477	593	1.24
North Carolina	31,982	7,133	7.04	3.83	.54	937	227	240	120	.50
Oklahoma	30,022	3,568	5.69	5.16	.91	445	82	384	225	.59
South Carolina	27,421	5,663	5.43	2.77	.51	864	292	172	54	.31
Tennessee	27,711	3,773	7.35	5.03	.68	622	115	327	165	.50
Texas	76,371	14,061	5.68	4.77	.84	1,673	453	259	259	1.00
Virginia	19,362	4,315	9.70	6.06	.62	438	78	429	335	.78
West Virginia	7,784	257	12.14	11.31	.93	256	7	369	415	1.12

[1] Enrollment and teacher data for all races from Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education . . . 1935, Statistical and Financial Tables, Sec. I, Tables 2 and 8, 3, and 9. Data for Negroes are from Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, pp. 123–4 and 126. Notice that the totals for both races given by Caliver are 482,701 enrollees and 13,060 teachers. Students in teacher-training courses are included among enrollees and teachers of such courses are included in the number of teachers from both sources. For expenditure data by year see Table 41 of the present study. Notice that the total number of teachers here given is 13,008 rather than 13,060 as given in Table 41.

was spent for vocational courses in white schools, and only $1,963,478 for vocational courses in Negro schools. Thus, during this period as a whole, the Negro population, which was more than one-fifth of the total population, benefited directly from less than one-tenth of the Federal funds. Further, there was no appreciable increase in this proportion during the 7 years for which data are available. Negro schools received 9.7 percent of the total Federal funds in 1929 and 9.8 percent in 1935. The range for such proportions is from 8.0 percent, in 1932, to 10.1 percent, in 1934. (See Table 41.)

Such continuing racial inequalities in the administration of Federal vocational education funds in the South are reflected, not only by the ratio of Negro expenditures to total expenditures, but even more directly by the average expenditures per vocational teacher employed. For the entire 7-year period ending with 1935, there was expended from Federal funds for vocational education an average of $332 per teacher in white schools, and only $152, or 46 percent as much, per teacher in Negro schools. Negro-white ratios of average expenditures per teacher ranged from 39 percent in the fiscal year 1932 to 56 percent in 1928 and 1929. Corresponding ratios for each of the seven years reveal a distinct trend toward increasing racial inequalities in average expenditures per teacher from Federal funds.

Evaluation and conclusion.—This analysis has sought to determine, first, the relative need of Negroes for vocational education; second, the relative opportunities of the white and Negro populations of the South to participate in the federally aided program of vocational education; and third, the relative financial support from Federal funds of vocational education in white and Negro schools. The data presented warrant several generalizations.

First, to approach individual economic security from his present submerged status in an increasingly competitive occupational world, the average Negro worker has greater need than the average white worker for vocational education.

Second, the opportunities of Negroes for vocational education under the federally aided program in the Southern States are, in general, approximately two-thirds as exten-

TABLE 41.—*Expenditures from Federal funds for vocational education, number of teachers, and average expenditures per teacher in 18 States, by race and by fiscal year, 1929 to 1935* [1]

Year ending June 30—	Total expenditures			Percent Negro of total	Number of teachers			Average expenditure per teacher		Amount per Negro for each $1.00 per white
	All schools	White schools	Negro schools		Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	
1929	$2,394,361	$2,161,255	$233,106	9.7	7,888	6,623	1,265	$326	$184	$0.56
1930	2,640,213	2,383,697	256,516	9.7	8,984	7,530	1,454	317	176	.56
1931	3,340,963	3,061,833	279,130	8.4	10,234	8,473	1,761	361	159	.44
1932	4,093,567	3,767,505	326,062	8.0	10,465	8,559	1,906	440	171	.39
1933	2,680,687	2,419,301	261,386	9.8	9,810	7,940	1,870	305	140	.46
1934	2,502,079	2,249,735	252,344	10.1	10,623	8,551	2,072	263	122	.46
1935	3,634,275	3,279,341	354,934	9.8	13,060	10,505	2,555	312	139	.45

[1] Data from Caliver, Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes, pp. 126, 127–8. Notice that both funds expended for, and teachers of, teacher-training classes are included. See Table 40 above for list of States included.

sive as would seem to be warranted by the proportion Negroes constitute of the total population. The corresponding proportions are nine-tenths in agriculture, two-thirds in home economics, and a little less than three-fifths in trades and industries. Over a period of 7 years, similar proportions for all fields combined have ranged from 57 to 76 percent.

Third, there has been even greater racial inequality in the support of vocational education from Federal funds than in opportunities to participate in the program. Negro schools in 1934–35 received only about one-half of a proportionate share of the Federal funds allocated to the Southern States for courses in agriculture and teacher training, less than one-half in home economics, and less than one-third of a proportionate share of the funds for courses in trades and industries. The average Negro teacher in all three types of programs combined received from Federal vocational education funds approximately 45 cents for each dollar received by the average white teacher.

Fourth, over a period of seven years, Negroes have received a fairly constant proportion of Federal funds for vocational education, but in every year this proportion has been less than one-half of the proportion Negroes are of the total population. The continuing policy of the Southern States appears to have been to divert from Negro schools a large part of even those Federal vocational education funds which are allotted to them on the basis of their Negro populations.

These, then, are the major findings of this analysis. Several considerations are important for their proper evaluation.

Comparative enrollments in vocational courses in white and Negro schools have here been used as a basis for determining the relative "opportunities" of Negroes for vocational education. This procedure assumes that the demand for vocational education is as pronounced among Negroes as among other population groups, and hence, that relatively small Negro enrollments result primarily from the nonavailability of vocational courses for Negroes.

The probable validity of this assumption is attested by the responses of many school officials in different parts of

the South to an inquiry form used in the present study. There follow typical replies to the question: "What has been the response of Negroes to vocational education where it has been provided for them?"

> The response of Negroes to vocational education has been splendid in instances where a standard program has been offered. The response has been very poor in instances where a slipshod program has been provided.
>
> Crowded classes.
>
> Response always good. (Often interest soon wanes because of poor facilities and inadequate equipment.)
>
> . . . growing interest on the part of Negroes.
>
> The response has been happy wherever genuine opportunities have been provided. The unprecedented growth of ———— High School . . . is a partial example with its very poor equipment in building and facilities.

In response to the further question: "Is an enlarged program of vocational education for Negroes desired by Negroes themselves?" replies were unanimously affirmative. Such testimony as this, all from responsible school officials,[19] lends justification to the assumption that racial differences in vocational enrollments reflect racial differences in the availability of vocational courses rather than racial differences in desire for vocational education.

Another assumption underlying much of this analysis is that Negroes should be proportionately represented in each of the three types of vocational courses receiving Federal aid, agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries. It is probably more than coincidental that the relative opportunities of Negro pupils for vocational education in the several types of programs correspond fairly closely to the distribution of gainfully employed Negro workers among the various occupational fields. Agriculture and domestic and personal service are the present major occupational fields for Negroes, and agricultural and home economics courses are the most widely offered.[20] Relatively few Negroes are employed in skilled mechanical and manufacturing pursuits; Negro pupils have relatively few opportunities for trade and industrial

[19] Superintendents, assistant superintendents, supervisors, principals, college presidents, vocational teacher-trainers, vocational teachers, vocational counselors, and others.

[20] Though "homemaking" is the dominant concern of home economics education, its most direct relationship to gainful employment is in the field of domestic and personal service.

education. Whether such correspondence between Negroes' educational opportunities and their vocational pursuits is desirable is a question of judgment involving social values and policy.

It is probable that many school administrators in the South sincerely desire to provide for Negroes opportunities to prepare for vocations in which it is assumed that they are likely to be employed. It may have been this consideration which prompted one State school official to reply as follows to the question: "What do you consider sound aims for the vocational education of Negroes?"

> In our State it would seem that Negroes should be trained in agriculture, and farm mechanics, and the girls in home economics, with special reference to home service.

The school official quoted above, an assistant State superintendent in charge of secondary schools, may be actuated by the most worthy motives. Yet, to many persons, the point of view indicated by his response would seem of questionable validity.

Though it is frequently assumed that this or that field of work offers few or no employment possibilities for Negroes, the fact is that no one seems to have determined definitely to what extent Negroes find it difficult to enter certain occupations solely because they are Negroes. Traditional concepts of what are "Negro jobs" are constantly being invalidated by the gradual but persistent integration of Negroes into practically all lines of gainful employment.[21] Illustrative in this regard is the fact that out of approximately 550 different occupations listed in the Federal census reports for 1930, there were only 4 in which no Negroes were employed.[22] Further, there is some evidence of a trend toward relative improvement in the social-economic status of Negro workers in general. If there be taken as a rough measure of social-economic status the ratio of all workers "above" the unskilled classification to the total number of gainfully employed

[21] See, for example, They Crashed the Color Line (New York: National Urban League, 1937). This pamphlet is fifth in a series of publications recounting the experiences of Negro workers in "unusual" occupations.

[22] The Fifteenth Census reports no Negroes employed as officials and superintendents of street railroads, or as proprietors, managers and officials of air transportation, of grain elevators, and of stockyards. Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. IV, Occupations by States, pp. 30-1.

workers, then, whereas in 1910 the status of Negro workers was only 42.9 percent as "high" as that of all classes of workers, by 1930 the relative status of Negro workers had advanced to 46.4 percent.[23] Thus, a deliberate policy of restricting the vocational education of Negroes to traditional fields of "Negro jobs" would seem to be predicated upon a principle which disregards historic fact. Far more valid as a basis for the administration of vocational education for Negroes, and also more wholesome socially, is the theory that Negroes will, and should, become increasingly integrated into additional lines of gainful employment.[24] This principle was the basis of the assumption made above that Negro pupils should be proportionately represented in enrollments in each of the several vocational fields for which Federal subsidies are available.

It appears that the opportunities of Negroes for trade and industrial education in the South are even less extensive than the proportions which Negroes constitute of the total number of skilled and semiskilled workers would seem to warrant. In an analysis involving 17 Southern States,[25] Thompson found that, whereas Negroes represented 12.8 percent of all skilled and semiskilled workers, Negro pupils constituted only 11.8 percent of the enrollment in federally aided courses in trades and industries.[26] Thus, Negroes participated in the federally aided courses of trade and industrial education to an extent which is only nine-tenths as great as would seem to be warranted by even their present proportion of skilled and semiskilled jobs in the South.

More direct evidence of a considered policy of restricting the opportunities of Negroes for trade and industrial education is found in the replies of many school officials to the inquiry form used in the present study. In response to the question: "Has there been any unwarranted opposition to certain types of vocational education for Negroes?" there

[23] Derived from the data of Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers in the United States."

[24] For a more complete justification of this point of view, see Charles H. Thompson, "The Vocational Guidance of Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, IV (1935), pp. 1-4.

[25] The group used in the present analysis with the exception of New Jersey.

[26] Charles H. Thompson, "The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less than College Grade," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), pp. 303-18.

were received a considerable number of such comments as the following:

The writer has met considerable opposition so far as trades are concerned. The unions often oppose rather constantly and vigorously.

There has been considerable . . . much of this comes from organized labor and the white officials of Boards of Education, who have convictions as to what Negro education ought to be.

There has been a reluctance on the part of many white people in many States to encourage types of vocational training that will produce skilled Negro workmen to compete with white workmen for jobs.

Yes. The opposition is to training Negroes for "closed jobs." At a recent conference in Alabama, a State official is reported as having openly opposed training Negroes for jobs closed to them by unions, traditions or otherwise.

Yes, especially in the skilled trades and occupations (the building trades, plumbing, house-wiring, etc.).

. . . Moreover, with the apprenticeship training in the skilled crafts of the building trades rigidly controlled by trade unions, Negroes in this community have found almost no opportunity to get this type of training.

One further assumption should be pointed out concerning the above analysis of the relative financial support of vocational education in white and Negro schools in the South. The data reported are all for expenditures from Federal funds. Figures are not available for corresponding expenditures from State and local funds. It is valid to assume, however, that Negroes did not share to any larger extent in State and local funds for vocational education than they did in Federal funds. Rather, the data indicate the probability that the Southern States spent proportionately even less of their own funds for the vocational education of Negroes than they did of Federal funds.

The 18 States for which salary payment data are available by race spent $30,482,299[27] for instructional staff for Negro elementary and secondary schools and $255,368,022[28] for instructional staff in all public elementary and secondary schools. Thus while 9.8 percent of the Federal funds for vocational education were expended for Negroes,[29] only 8.0

[27] See Table 23.

[28] Biennial Survey of Education; 1934-36, ch. II, pp. 90-1.

[29] The District of Columbia is the eighteenth State in the elementary and secondary school data and New Jersey is the eighteenth State in vocational education data.

percent of the total salary payments for instructional staff in public schools were made for the benefit of Negroes.[30]

It is thus evident that the Southern States spend proportionately less of their own money for the general elementary and secondary education of Negroes than they spend of Federal funds for the vocational education of Negroes.

A recent study has shown that in eight Southern States the proportions in which Negroes share State and local funds for vocational education are closely comparable to the proportions in which Negroes share in State and local funds for general education.[31] It is highly probable, therefore, that racial inequalities in the financial support of vocational education from Federal, State, and local funds combined are considerably greater than is apparent from racial differences in the expenditure of Federal funds alone.

In view of these many considerations, it must be apparent that the opportunities of Negroes for vocational education under the federally aided program are not nearly so extensive as would be justified on the basis of the proportion Negroes constitute of the total population. This generalization does not take into account the fact, as was previously pointed out, that the population ratio considerably understates the relative need of Negroes for vocational education.

Implications for Federal policy.—To the end of enabling Negro citizens in the South to share equitably the benefits derived from the federally aided program of vocational education, there is clear evidence of the need in certain respects for more effective controls than now exist over the administration of Federal funds. Several suggestions in this regard would seem to be appropriate.

In the first place, Federal laws authorizing funds for vocational education should be so revised as to make Federal grants to States maintaining separate white and Negro schools conditional upon a "just and equitable" expenditure of the funds between programs for the two racial groups. The generally satisfactory experience of the Federal Government with such a requirement in the case of Morrill-Nelson

[30] See Table 39.

[31] See Charles H. Thompson, "The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less Than College Grade," p. 317.

funds for land-grant colleges [32] affords a happy precedent for the application of the same principle to the administration of funds for vocational education in schools of less than college grade. Further, there should also be the requirement that State and local funds used to match Federal funds be expended for the vocational education of Negroes in proportions which are at least as large as during some specified year in the past, say 1937–38. This provision would not insure a proportionate distribution of State and local funds for vocational education. However, it would prevent the progressive diminution of State and local support for programs in Negro schools in response to a required proportionate distribution of Federal funds. Since State and local funds constitute a part of the revenue available for vocational education in the federally aided program, unless some such control be exercised over their distribution, the effects desired from the requirement of a "just and equitable" division of Federal funds could easily be nullified completely.

Second, since State plans for the use of Federal funds must be approved by the United States Office of Education, this Federal agency is in position effectively to promote the more equitable participation of Negroes in the vocational education program. Attention was called earlier to the fact that the Office of Education, by virtue of its authority to approve State plans, now exercises a considerable measure of administrative control over many details of the vocational education program. It would seem that that agency could, with propriety, encourage State officials to include among the items in State plans very definite provisions for the equitable extension of opportunities for the vocational education of Negroes in separate schools.

Finally, if information were currently available to the public concerning the very limited extent to which Negroes in the several Southern States are afforded opportunities for vocational education, it is quite probable that interested groups of citizens might use their influence to the end of more equitable participation by Negroes in the federally aided program. It happens, however, that the regular an-

[32] See pp. 79–82.

nual reports of the Office of Education on the extent of and expenditures for vocational education do not include separate data for white and Negro schools.[33] The principle that reports on the expenditure of Federal educational funds should be readily accessible to the public is hardly open to question. The fact of a dual system of schools in the South would seem to call for the publication of such information with a breakdown for the separate white and Negro schools. This practice is already being followed in the case of several Federal education funds. It should be followed likewise in reports on the Federal funds for vocational education.

Whereas the Smith-Hughes Act, the organic Federal vocational education law, provided for "the promotion of vocational education," the more recent George-Deen Act, from which the bulk of Federal funds now come, seeks to effect "the further development of vocational education." The intent of the latter phrase has been interpreted by the United States Office of Education as requiring States "to initiate programs in new centers and new fields of activity." [34] In view of the relatively greater need and the relatively fewer opportunities of Negroes in the South for vocational education, it would seem that they, certainly, should figure prominently in programs developed in "new fields of activity." The spirit of the George-Deen Act calls for much more extensive programs of vocational education in Negro schools.

Agricultural and Home Economics Extension

Since 1914, under authority of the Smith-Lever Act and its several supplements and extensions,[35] the Federal Government has been engaged in the major educational enterprise

[33] Notice the data of this investigation were compiled from the reports of individual States to the Office of Education, and were revised where possible by reference to a special report on vocational education of Negroes. (See Table 35, fn. 1.)

[34] U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division, Vocational Education Bulletin No. 1, Statement of Policies for the Administration of Vocational Education, Revised Edition, February 1937 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 37.

[35] Smith-Lever Act, 38 Stat. L. 372 (1914); Capper-Ketcham Act, 54 Stat. L. 711 (1928); Bankhead-Jones Act, 49 Stat. L. 436 (1935), sec. 21. The "supplementary Smith-Lever fund," begun in 1920, and the "additional cooperative extension fund," begun in 1930, are contained in the annual budget of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. See George A. Works and Barton Morgan, The Land-Grant Colleges, ch. IV and Appendix A.

known as the Cooperative Extension Service. Its purpose, as defined by the Smith-Lever Act, is

> . . . to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same . . .[36]

To this end, funds are authorized for the inauguration and development of extension work in connection with the several land-grant colleges. Such funds, which must be matched in part from State and local revenues, are allotted among the States primarily upon the basis of their respective rural or farm populations. Before funds are made available, State plans for their use must be agreed to by the Secretary of Agriculture.

In keeping with its general purpose, the Cooperative Extension Service administers three distinct types of extension activities: (1) Farm demonstration work, which seeks, through practical assistance and guidance, to aid farmers to solve their immediate agricultural problems; (2) home demonstration work, which aims at improved home practices in relation to such problems as child care, food selection and preparation, home nursing, family relationships, and the like; and (3) boys' and girls' club work, which seeks to develop among young people those understandings, ideals, and abilities which are deemed essential for effective farming, homemaking, community life, and citizenship. Here, obviously, is an important educational service.

The only available measures of the extent to which Negroes in the South share in the benefits of the Extension Service consist of the statistics of incidence of Negroes among the operative personnel and the proportions in which extension funds are devoted to Negro work. The use of these measures seems to be justified by the fact that, in most areas of the South, the general practice appears to be for white extension agents to serve white clients, and for Negro agents to serve Negro clients.

Number of extension agents.—At the end of February 1937, 3,735 extension agents[37] were employed in the Cooperative

[36] Sec. 1.

[37] I. e., field workers. Delaware which has 12 white field workers in 3 counties is not included here.

Extension Service in 16 Southern States.[38] Only 449 of these agents were Negroes. Thus, representing 24 percent of the total rural population in these States,[39] Negroes constituted only 12 percent of the extension agents, or only one-half of the proportion that would correspond with the population ratio. Only in Oklahoma, where there were relatively few rural Negroes, did the percentage of Negro agents exceed the Negro percentage of the rural population. In 11 of the 16 States, there were fewer than one-half as many Negro agents as would seem to be warranted by the incidence of Negroes in the total rural population.[40] (See Table 42.)

It will be noted also from Table 42 that, for both races, agricultural advisers and their assistants constituted a majority of the agents. About 62 percent of the white agents and 56 percent of the Negro agents were engaged in farm demonstration work. Home demonstration agents constituted 36 percent of the white workers and 42 percent of the Negro workers. Boys' and girls' club workers were only 2 percent of the total for each racial group. It should be noted, however, that boys' and girls' club work is generally conducted by the agricultural and home demonstration agents.

Number of farmers per worker in county agricultural extension.—In the field of farm demonstration work, in which most of the extension agents are engaged, the relative size of the potential clientele of the average white and Negro extension worker shows clearly racial differences in the adequacy of

[38] Unless otherwise noted, all data here reported were supplied by Mr. W. H. Conway, Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[39] Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932, p. 52.

[40] In discussing this statement, the Director of Extension Work of the United States Department of Agriculture pointed out that State-wide averages are to some extent misleading, inasmuch as extension workers are employed chiefly on a county basis and it is difficult to provide Negro extension workers in counties where the Negro farm population is small. He states that the Extension Service usually would not feel justified in employing an agent with a potential clientele of less than 500 families within a reasonable distance of his headquarters. In the State of Virginia, for example, nearly one-third of the Negro farm population in 1930 was living in counties with fewer than 500 Negro farm families. He also indicated that a significant amount of assistance is given Negro families by white extension agents, particularly in counties where the employment of Negro agents is difficult because of the sparsity of the Negro farm population.

Factors of sparsity and uneven distribution of the Negro farm population may be in part the cause of the differentials shown in Table 42 for a number of States. It should be noted, however, that in some cases the proportion of Negro extension agents is small in States in which the Negro farm population is relatively thickly settled.

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TABLE 42.—*Number of extension workers, by type of program and by race, February 28, 1937, and Negro percentages of total extension workers, 1937, and of rural population, 1930, in 16 States* [1]

State	Number of extension workers									Negro percentage of—		Percentage ratio of proportion Negroes are of total extension workers to their proportion of rural population [3]
	All types [2]			Farm demonstration		Home demonstration		Boys' and girls' clubs		Extension workers	Rural Population	
	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro			
16 States	3,735	3,286	449	2,045	252	1,174	190	67	7	12	24	50
Alabama	252	204	48	133	26	69	21	2	1	19	36	53
Arkansas	212	194	18	99	8	93	10	2	----	9	27	32
Florida	118	101	17	60	8	40	9	1	----	14	31	46
Georgia	326	280	46	182	23	95	22	3	1	14	38	38
Kentucky	231	226	5	159	4	58	1	9	----	2	6	37
Louisiana	188	169	19	96	12	71	7	2	----	10	41	25
Maryland	68	63	5	32	2	28	3	3	----	7	18	42
Mississippi	278	218	60	129	29	83	29	6	2	22	52	41
Missouri	202	202	----	147	----	51	----	4	----	----	3	----
North Carolina	315	271	44	187	31	83	13	1	----	14	29	49
Oklahoma	201	184	17	91	9	89	8	4	----	9	7	129
South Carolina	159	126	33	69	18	54	15	3	----	21	48	43
Tennessee	272	253	19	178	10	72	9	3	----	7	14	51
Texas	565	488	77	284	43	202	34	2	----	14	15	89
Virginia	236	198	38	141	29	55	9	2	----	16	27	60
West Virginia	112	109	3	58	----	31	----	20	3	3	7	40

[1] Data from unpublished records of the Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[2] Data include State leaders, assistant State leaders and district agents, county agents and assistant county agents but do not include directors and assistant directors, State committeemen in cotton adjustment, assistants in cotton adjustment and other specialists who are not classified under county agent work, home demonstration work, or boys' and girls' club work.

[3] Figures have not been adjusted for discrepancies resulting from rounding basic percents.

extension staffs. During 1935, in the 15 States listed in Table 43, there were 2,596,622 white and 814,920 Negro farm operators. In December of that year, there were 1,785 white and 226 Negro agricultural extension workers in these States. There was thus an average of 1,455 white farmers per white worker, as compared with 3,606 Negro farmers per Negro worker. The potential clientele of the average Negro worker was, therefore, fully two and one-half times as great as that of the average white worker.

Inspection of this table reveals notable differences among the several States in the potential loads of white and Negro workers in county agricultural extension. The loads of white and of Negro agents were approximately equal in Kentucky and Oklahoma. In five other States, the potential loads of Negro workers, though greater than those of white workers, were less than twice as great. In Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, there were from nearly three to more than five times as many Negro farmers per Negro worker as there were white farmers per white worker. In Tennessee, the corresponding ratio was six to one; in Arkansas, it was nearly seven to one.

Objection might be raised to this analysis because of the greater incidence of tenancy, particularly share-cropping, among Negro farmers. It might, therefore, be pertinent to examine the number of white and Negro farm owners and managers (excluding tenants) per extension worker in this field. It may be seen from Table 44 that in general the number of owners and managers per Negro worker was slightly larger than that per white worker. In North Carolina, Florida, Kentucky, and Texas, the average number was smaller for Negro workers than for white workers, but in Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, the average number was almost or more than twice as large. For the 15 States combined, the Negro-white ratio of the average numbers was 105 percent. Thus, even excluding tenants, a racial difference is apparent for the average load of county agents in most of the States and is very marked in some States.

TABLE 43.—*Number of farmers, number of workers engaged in county agricultural extension, and number of farmers per worker, in 15 States, by race, 1935*

State	Number of farm operators [1]			Number of workers in agricultural extension [2]			Average number of farmers per worker			Percentage ratio of farmers per worker—Negro to white
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	
15 States	3,411,542	2,596,622	814,920	2,011	1,785	226	1,696	1,455	3,606	248
Alabama	273,455	182,180	91,275	146	124	22	1,873	1,469	4,149	282
Arkansas	253,013	181,713	71,300	111	105	6	2,279	1,731	11,883	686
Florida	72,857	60,093	12,764	61	52	9	1,194	1,156	1,418	123
Georgia	250,544	177,259	73,285	194	175	19	1,291	1,013	3,857	381
Kentucky	278,298	270,048	8,250	140	136	4	1,988	1,986	2,063	104
Louisiana	170,216	99,901	70,315	97	86	11	1,755	1,162	6,392	550
Maryland [3]	44,501	39,595	4,906	32	30	2	1,391	1,320	2,453	186
Mississippi	311,683	142,677	169,006	157	128	29	1,985	1,115	5,828	523
North Carolina	300,967	231,594	69,373	201	170	31	1,497	1,362	2,238	164
Oklahoma	213,325	195,501	17,824	103	95	8	2,071	2,058	2,228	108
South Carolina	165,504	88,967	76,537	78	61	17	2,122	1,458	4,502	309
Tennessee	273,783	239,387	34,396	171	167	4	1,601	1,433	8,599	600
Texas	501,017	429,232	71,785	294	259	35	1,704	1,657	2,051	124
Virginia	197,632	154,421	43,211	168	139	29	1,176	1,111	1,490	134
West Virginia	104,747	104,054	693	58	58	----------	1,806	1,794	----------	----------

[1] Data from National Resources Committee, Farm Tenancy: Report of the President's Committee (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 98–9.

[2] As of December 31, 1935. See Table 42, fn. 1. Data include 11 white State leaders and 4 Negro, 80 white assistant State leaders and 11 Negro, 1,312 white county agents and 211 Negro, 382 white assistant county agents and no Negro.

[3] Includes District of Columbia.

TABLE 44.—*Number of farm owners and managers, number of extension workers engaged in county agricultural extension, and number of owners and managers per worker, in 15 States, by race, 1935* [1]

State	Number of owners and managers		Number of workers in county agricultural extension [2]		Average number of owners and managers per worker		Percentage ratio of owners and managers per worker, Negro to white
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
15 States	1,397,642	186,035	1,785	226	783	823	105
Alabama	81,475	15,733	124	22	657	715	109
Arkansas	89,894	11,360	105	6	856	1,893	221
Florida	45,616	6,842	52	9	877	760	87
Georgia	75,610	10,603	175	19	432	558	129
Kentucky	171,020	4,063	136	4	1,258	1,016	81
Louisiana	50,980	10,859	86	11	593	987	166
Maryland [3]	29,619	2,771	30	2	987	1,386	140
Mississippi	72,806	21,313	128	29	569	735	129
North Carolina	138,421	20,388	170	31	814	658	81
Oklahoma	75,886	6,778	95	8	799	847	106
South Carolina	44,165	18,413	61	17	724	1,083	150
Tennessee	139,325	7,851	167	4	834	1,963	235
Texas	194,070	20,844	259	35	749	596	80
Virginia	111,547	27,699	139	29	802	955	119
West Virginia	77,208	518	58	------	1,331	------	------

[1] See Table 43, fn. 1 and Table 42, fn. 1.
[2] See Table 43, fn. 2.
[3] Includes District of Columbia.

It should be remarked that to base the potential load of agents on the number of owners and managers only is to ignore the actual relations of many tenants to agricultural production in the South. It is only on the very large, highly organized plantation that a tenant, especially a cropper, has little or no responsibility for crop planning and management. This type of agricultural unit predominates in only a few areas of the South and is gradually disappearing. Much more generally, a plantation is divided into a number of relatively independent units on which a tenant's responsibility is closely comparable to that of an independent renter. Hence it would be incorrect to assume that no tenants, or even that no croppers, are in need of agricultural extension services. A large proportion of these operators are undoubtedly potential candidates for the services of such extension workers, though available data afford no reliable basis for estimating the exact percentage.

Whatever may be the comparative need of the owner-manager and tenant groups, it is obvious that their total

needs could hardly be served by the relatively small corps of agricultural extension agents available in 1935. In the 15 States here considered, there was an average of nearly 1,700 farm operators per county agent. The range was from 1,176 in Virginia to 2,279 in Arkansas. (See Table 43.) It seems likely that the needs of many operators must have been neglected and that those neglected would tend to be the tenants, especially the croppers. Since there were relatively more Negro than white tenants,[41] it is probable that proportionately more Negro than white farm operators did not find available the services of extension agents in farm demonstration work.

Expenditures for extension work.—Attention has previously been called to the fact that Federal funds for extension work in the South are received and administered almost exclusively by the white land-grant colleges.[42] In view of this fact, comparative receipts of the white and Negro institutions [43] do not provide an adequate index of comparative expenditures for the two racial groups. A more valid measure is afforded by noting the relationship between the actual expenditures for extension work among Negroes and total expenditures for the extension program in 16 Southern States.

Attention should be called to the fact that though both Federal and State governments finance the Cooperative Extension Service, its support comes chiefly from Federal appropriations. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, for example, $13,044,284 was available for extension work in these 16 States. Of this amount, $8,538,740, or nearly 66 percent, was from Federal funds and $4,505,544, or about 34 percent, from State and local funds. Thus, nearly two-thirds of the funds available for extension work in the South came from Federal revenues. The proportion of those funds devoted to work among Negroes is, therefore, not only an index of Negro participation in the cooperative extension

[41] In 1935, there were in these 15 States proportionately 1.7 times as many Negro tenants as there were white tenants, and proportionately 3.4 times as many Negro croppers as there were white croppers. Derived from data in National Resources Committee, Farm Tenancy: Report of the President's Committee (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 98–9.

[42] See Table 30.

[43] See Table 32.

program; it is also, in a very real sense, a measure of Federal support for this type of Negro education.

Reports of the Extension Service do not detail expenditures by race. However, that office has supplied estimates of expenditures for work among Negroes in the South. These estimates, together with total expenditures, are set forth by States in Table 45.

TABLE 45.—*Expenditures for all extension work and amounts and percentages expended for Negroes, in 16 States, fiscal year ended June 30, 1937*

State	Expenditures for extension work [1]		Negro percentage of—		Percentage ratio of proportion of expenditures for Negroes to proportion of Negroes in rural population [3]
	Total	Among Negroes	Rural population (1930) [2]	Expenditures for extension work	
Total [2]	$13,044,284	$804,657	24	6	26
Alabama	820,117	96,385	36	12	33
Arkansas	785,591	33,153	27	4	16
Florida	411,508	33,081	31	8	26
Georgia	1,021,964	65,050	38	6	17
Kentucky	829,265	8,630	6	1	17
Louisiana	684,816	35,150	41	5	13
Maryland	374,688	8,773	18	2	13
Mississippi	904,528	92,556	52	10	20
Missouri	746,659		3		
North Carolina	1,077,023	86,926	29	8	28
Oklahoma	747,504	33,275	7	5	68
South Carolina	613,264	50,661	48	8	17
Tennessee	830,218	35,800	14	4	31
Texas	1,852,109	138,221	15	8	49
Virginia	862,168	59,326	27	7	26
West Virginia	482,862	27,670	7	6	84

[1] Data from division of Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture. The estimate of expenditures for Negroes does not include expenditures for administration, publications, and subject matter specialists which are difficult to estimate.
[2] From Negroes in the United States: 1920–32, pp 52–3.
[3] Figures have not been adjusted for discrepancies resulting from rounding.

During 1936–37, an estimated total of $804,657 was spent for cooperative extension work among Negroes in the South. This amount represented slightly more than 6 percent of the total funds available for such work, and since Negroes constituted 24 percent of the rural population in these States, about 26 percent as much as division of the funds on the basis of rural population would have required. In no State was there spent for extension work among Negroes an amount which equalled or exceeded what would seem to be warranted by their numbers in the rural population. Such a level of

expenditures was approached by about four-fifths in West Virginia, and by about two-thirds in Oklahoma. In the other 14 States, there was spent for extension work among Negroes less than one-half of what might be considered their fair share. In seven of these States, the proportions spent for work with Negroes were less than one-fifth as large as their respective ratios of Negro to total rural population. In one State, Missouri, none of the funds were expended directly for Negroes.

It is also evident from Table 45 that the only States which approached a proportionate distribution of funds were three of those with a relatively small number of Negroes in the rural population. Four others with a relatively small number of Negroes (less than 18 percent) and 9 with relatively large numbers of Negroes (27 to 52 percent) showed ratios of proportion of funds devoted to Negroes to proportion of Negroes in rural population that varied from 0 to 33 percent.

Trends in expenditures for extension work.—There was considerable fluctuation between 1925 and 1937 in total annual expenditures for extension work in the 16 States involved in this analysis. Over this 13-year period, the total amount expended annually from all sources increased from $7,613,801 to $13,044,287. As is evident from Table 46, this increase was due almost wholly to increasing Federal funds. Especially was this true after passage of the Bankhead-Jones Act, as a result of which Federal extension funds for these States more than doubled between 1925 and 1937.

Between 1925 and 1937, the total amount of funds from all sources (i. e., Federal, State and local) spent annually for extension work among Negroes increased from $431,502 to $804,657. However, though the amount expended annually almost doubled, the proportions each year's expenditures bore to total expenditures for all groups remained fairly constant. Though there has been some fluctuation, with a slight tendency in recent years for the proportion expended for Negroes to increase, it may be seen from Table 46 that the proportion of extension funds expended for work among Negroes has been fairly well stabilized at about 6 percent.

TABLE 46.—*Total, Federal, and State and local funds allotted for extension work in 16 States, and amounts and percentages expended for Negroes, by fiscal year, 1925 to 1937* [1]

Year ending June 30—	Funds allotted for extension work			Expenditure for work among Negroes [4]	
	Total [2]	Federal	State and local [3]	Amount	Percent of total
1925	$7,613,801	$3,322,751	$4,291,050	$431,502	5.7
1929	9,002,117	4,098,969	4,903,148	509,574	5.7
1931	10,244,467	4,515,944	5,728,523	560,134	5.5
1932	10,153,309	4,528,149	5,625,161	561,785	5.5
1933	9,278,684	4,493,785	4,784,899	534,473	5.8
1935	8,096,113	4,134,894	3,961,219	509,995	6.3
1936	12,623,200	8,329,086	4,294,114	741,660	5.9
1937	13,044,284	8,538,740	4,505,544	804,657	6.2

[1] Data from Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture. See Table 45 for States included here.
[2] Totals were not adjusted for discrepancies resulting from rounding to dollars.
[3] Includes State and college funds, county funds, farmers' organizations, etc.
[4] Data concerning expenditures for extension work among Negroes by source of funds are not available.

In interpreting these relationships, it is important to recall, first, that approximately two-thirds of the expenditures for extension work in these 16 States are derived from Federal funds; second, that Federal funds for extension work are apportioned among the States primarily upon the basis of their rural populations; and third, that Negroes constitute nearly one-fourth of the total rural population in these States. Thus, approximately three-fourths of the extension funds which these States received from the Federal Government on the basis of their rural Negro population appear to have been diverted from work among Negroes to work among white groups.

Attention should be called to one constant and unavoidable error present in this entire analysis of expenditures. Percentages of funds devoted to work with Negroes have been computed on the basis of total expenditures for white persons and Negroes, which include funds for administration, printing, and the services of specialists. Presumably, those types of services are of benefit to both white and Negro clients; and hence, for complete accuracy, a portion of their costs should be added to expenditures for work with Negroes. The data required for this calculation are not available. It is known, however, that the total costs of administration and

printing are relatively small, constituting about 5 or 6 percent of the total. Expenditures for specialists are probably somewhat greater. In view of this consideration, the analyses here made exaggerate somewhat the disparities between expenditures for extension work with the white and Negro populations. However, they do establish the fact of such disparities, and the further fact that the disparities have continued over a number of years without any significant diminution in degree.

Implications for Federal policy.—It is fair to assume from the above analysis that under the existing legislative structure, Negroes in the Southern States may not be expected to participate in the federally aided program of agricultural and home economics extension in proportion to their numbers in the population. There would seem to be urgent need for revision of the basic Federal statutes. Several considerations make it probable, however, that the particular legislative safeguard for Negroes which was incorporated into the Second Morrill Act[44] is neither adequate nor appropriate as an amendment to the Smith-Lever Act and its sequels. In the first place, there are real advantages to be gained from centralized administration of extension work in a given State, chief among which is the development of a unified program for the State. It may be unwise, therefore, for Federal legislation to require that the two land-grant colleges in each Southern State be made completely coordinate in the administration of Federal funds for extension work. Second, by virtue of the requirement that Federal grants for extension work be matched from State and local revenues, it is necessary that whatever agency administers the extension program appeal for funds not only to the State, but also to the several county governments. If two agencies, one the white land-grant college and the other the Negro land-grant college, were competing for appropriations from the counties for the employment of extension workers, it is questionable whether the counties would appropriate as much for extension work with Negroes as they now do under centralized administration. Finally,

[44] See pp. 79–80.

to require merely that Federal funds for extension work be divided proportionately between programs for the white and Negro populations would not assure such a division as regards expenditures from Federal, State, and local funds combined. It would be quite possible for a State to divide the Federal funds proportionately between the racial groups, and to devote all State and local funds to work with the white population alone. In fairness not only to the Negro people of the South but also to the people of the entire Nation from whom Federal extension funds are derived, it is important that a legislative provision be enacted which will prevent the administration of State and local extension funds in a manner that will nullify efforts to secure an equitable distribution of Federal funds.

In the light of these considerations, it would seem desirable, first, to leave central administrative control of the extension program in the white land-grant colleges of the South. Second, Federal laws authorizing grants for extension work should be so amended as to require, in States which maintain separate schools and institutions for Negroes, an equitable division [45] of Federal funds between programs for the white and Negro populations. On the basis of Federal grants to the Southern States during 1937, this provision would have required the expenditure of approximately $2,066,375 from Federal funds for extension work with Negroes. This is $1,261,718 more than was actually spent from Federal, State, and local funds combined. (See Table 46.) Third, Federal grants should be conditioned upon the expenditure for work with Negroes of a proportion of the total State and local extension funds which is at least as great as in some given year, say 1937. By the last-mentioned provision, the Federal Government would not be forcing the Southern States to distribute their State and local extension funds proportionately for work with the two racial groups. Rather, the provision would require merely that, in administering a unified extension program, two-thirds of the support for which comes from Federal funds, to be expended equitably

[45] That is, devoting for work with Negroes a proportion of the total Federal funds which is not less than the proportion which Negroes constitute of the total rural population.

between the two races, there shall be no greater discrimination in the expenditure of State and local funds than obtained during some specified year in the past. This would seem to be a justifiable minimum requirement by the Federal Government as a protection of its very substantial contributions for the extension work with rural citizens in the South.

In addition to the need for Federal legislative action, attention should be called to the need for the exercise of already existing Federal administrative authority which could do much to further the more equitable participation of Negroes in the extension program. In the first place, mention has already been made of the fact that the agricultural and home economics extension funds are administered by States in accord with plans which must be agreed to by the Secretary of Agriculture. By virtue of its authority in connection with these State plans, the Department of Agriculture is in position to exercise considerable influence in the determination of State policies for extension work. Here, then, is available an administrative means of encouraging the greater participation of Negroes in the program. Second, as in case of the vocational education program, published reports on the use of Federal funds for extension work do not present separate information for the white and Negro populations. The publication of such information, which the Federal administrative agency has full authority to effect, might contribute significantly toward furthering the integration of Negroes into the program of the Cooperative Extension Service.

Agricultural Research

By 1935–36, under the authority of several different laws,[46] one nearly half a century old, the Federal Government was expending annually in 17 Southern States nearly two million dollars for agricultural research.[47] This money is administered by land-grant colleges for their associated agricultural experiment stations to defray the "necessary expenses of conducting investigations or making

[46] Hatch Act, 24 Stat. L. 440 (1887); Adams Act. 34 Stat. L. 669 (1906); Purnell Act, 43 Stat. L. 970 (1925); Bankhead-Jones Act, 49 Stat. L. 436 (1935), secs. 1–8. See Works and Morgan, op. cit., ch. III and Appendix A.

[47] See Table 30.

experiments" to further "the establishment and maintenance of a permanent and efficient agricultural industry." A portion of the authorized scope of the research program includes "such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life, and for printing and disseminating the results of said researches."[48]

Attention was called in Chapter IV to the fact that Federal funds for agricultural experimentation go exclusively to the white land-grant colleges in the South. None of the money is received by the Negro land-grant colleges. Brief mention is here made of what this fact entails for the relative educational opportunities of the two racial groups.

In two important respects the federally supported program of agricultural research may properly be classed as an educational enterprise. In the first place, in printing and disseminating the results of research, there are made available educational materials which may be assumed to be of value to the rural population at large. In the second place, and more directly, the graduate students who participate in such investigations or experiments gain thereby an invaluable opportunity for technical development. It is not known to what relative extent the white and Negro populations of the South share in whatever general benefits are to be derived from published results of agricultural research. Presumably such reports are equally available to both racial groups. There is no doubt, however, about opportunities for participation in the other type of educational activities. The fact that agricultural experiment stations are all connected with white institutions has so far resulted in the denial to Negro students of the opportunities they afford to white graduate students.

Perhaps even more significant is the omission from the programs of experiment stations of many potential research projects relating to social-economic problems of special concern to Negroes. This assertion does not imply that all of such studies conducted by Southern agricultural experiment stations ignore the large numbers of Negroes in the general

[48] Purnell Act, sec. 1.

population. The fact is that a considerable number of such investigations include both whites and Negroes as integral parts of the community population being studied. In general, this is as it should be. Since most aspects of rural social and economic life are comparable for white and Negro persons on similar social-economic levels, it would be both unnecessary and unwise consistently to segregate social-economic research projects along racial lines. However, in addition to problems which are common to both races, there are many adjustment problems which are considerably different for rural Negroes, in kind or degree, from those which confront the rural white population.[49] It is probable that the Negro land-grant colleges, were they permitted to participate in the agricultural research program, would be more attentive to studies centering around the special adjustment problems of Negroes in the rural communities of the South.

On several occasions, the agricultural experiment station at Virginia Polytechnic Institute has engaged, on a part-time basis, the services of investigators selected from the faculties of Negro colleges and universities to make studies of Negro life. For example, a member of the faculty of the Virginia State College for Negroes was employed to conduct studies of the rural Negro church and of rural organization and leadership among Negroes.[50] This type of arrangement, unusual in the South, makes some contribution to the need mentioned above. It could easily be duplicated in all of the Southern States.

Even more desirable would seem to be the allocation to Negro land-grant colleges of definite funds for the conduct of agricultural research. Such funds should at first be small, and should be increased as the institutions grow in ability to use them effectively. Such an arrangement, which need involve no decentralization of administrative responsibility,

[49] See Doxey A. Wilkerson, "A Determination of the Peculiar Problems of Negroes in Contemporary American Society," Journal of Negro Education, V (1936), pp. 324–50.

[50] See the following bulletins of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, all of which are based upon investigations made by Dr. John M. Ellison: The Negro Church in Rural Virginia, Bulletin 273 (Blacksburg: 1930); Negro Organizations and Leadership in Relation to Rural Life in Virginia, Bulletin 290 (Blacksburg: 1933); and Negro Life in Rural Virginia: 1865–1934, Bulletin 295 (Blacksburg: 1934).

would do more than contribute to the development of needed research projects in a now neglected area of rural Negro life. It would also provide for able and well-prepared members of Negro land-grant college faculties an opportunity which they now lack to develop their abilities in the conduct of research. At the same time, it would afford for a few advanced students in Negro institutions some measure of such educative experiences as are now enjoyed by graduate students associated with the agricultural research projects in the white land-grant colleges and universities.

Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped

Through appropriations and activities authorized by a succession of laws,[51] the Federal Government has stimulated the development, in all of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, of an extensive program for the "vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or in any legitimate occupation and their employment." [52] The phrase "disabled person" is construed to mean

> any person who, by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation. . . .[53]

and the term "rehabilitation" to mean

> . . . the rendering of a person disabled fit to engage in a remunerative occupation.[54]

Funds appropriated by the Federal Government for vocational rehabilitation are prorated among the States in proportion to population. Such funds must be matched from State and local revenues, and State plans for the use of the funds must meet with the approval of the United States Office of Education.

Prospective clients are called to the attention of the State rehabilitation department by a number of interested agencies

[51] Notably 41 Stat. L. 735 (1920); 43 Stat. L. 430 (1924); 46 Stat. L. 524 (1930); 47 Stat. L. 448 (1932); and 49 Stat. L. 633 (1935), Title V, pt. 1, sec. 531.
[52] 41 Stat. L. 735 (1920), sec. 1.
[53] Ibid., sec. 2.
[54] Ibid.

and officials, notably workmen's compensation agencies, public health nurses, physicians, clinics, hospitals, school officials, and social workers. Each case is dealt with individually in the light of the personal characteristics, disability, and environmental background of the client. In general, the process involves: (1) the making of a survey to determine the prospective client's eligibility for services, (2) formulation of a rehabilitation plan, (3) execution of the plan, (4) placement in a job, and (5) follow-up service until it is evident that employment is satisfactory and reasonably permanent. When it appears that a client has been satisfactorily placed, he is adjudged "rehabilitated," and his case is closed.[55]

Aside from placement and follow-up, the services rendered in the rehabilitation process are of three general types. A client may need assistance to secure physical reconstruction through medical treatment, a surgical operation, or some other form of therapy.[56] In other cases, prosthesis (the addition of an artificial appliance) may be necessary because of a missing or malfunctioning limb or organ. Frequently, in addition to physical restoration, clients are given special vocational training. A combination of two or more of these types of service is utilized in many cases.

The values of such a program are apparent from even this summary statement of its purpose and nature. Obviously, the federally subsidized program of civilian vocational rehabilitation is, among other things, an educational enterprise of major significance. Aside from certain sections of Blauch's study for the Advisory Committee on Education,[57] together with an article by the author and one of his graduate students,[58] no discussion of the participation of Negroes in this program has appeared in published literature. A somewhat extended analysis would seem, therefore, to be warranted in this study.

[55] See Lloyd E. Blauch, Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 9 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), ch. III.

[56] This treatment cannot be provided through Federal funds or State matching funds. Ibid., p. 19.

[57] Ibid. See. especially pp. 18–19, 29–30.

[58] Doxey A. Wilkerson and Lemuel A. Penn, "The Participation of Negroes in the Federally-Aided Program of Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), pp. 319–30.

Data included in the annual reports of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, United States Office of Education, have never presented a racial breakdown for persons receiving service. However, from records on file there, complete data have been made available [59] for white and Negro clients who were rehabilitated during 1935–36 in 17 Southern States.[60] Analysis is here made of the number of clients rehabilitated and the nature of services rendered.

Number of clients rehabilitated.—A recognized need of the vocational rehabilitation program is a census of disabled persons eligible to receive its services.[61] Only crude general estimates are now available, and they afford no reliable basis for determining precisely the relative need among white and Negro persons. However, it has been convincingly established that the incidence of illness, orthopedic impairments, and even accidents, is greatest among low-income groups of the general population.[62] Thus, it is fair to assume that the need for vocational rehabilitation is also greatest among these groups. This fact, together with the lower economic status of Negroes, warrants the further assumption that the need for vocational rehabilitation is even greater among Negroes than among white persons. The extent to which services are rendered Negroes in proportions which equal their proportions of the total population represents, therefore, a conservative basis for appraising the extent to which Negroes share in the rehabilitation program.

During the year ended June 30, 1936, 3,402 cases were closed by vocational rehabilitation agencies in the 17 Southern States. Among these physically handicapped persons restored to remunerative employment, 3,114 (92 percent) were white and 273 (8 percent) were Negro. In view of the

[59] By Dr. T. C. Foster, Director of Research, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, U. S. Office of Education.

[60] Including New Jersey; excluding District of Columbia and Delaware. (See Table 47.)

[61] Blauch, Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped, pp. 25–6.

[62] See U. S. Public Health Service, The National Health Survey: 1935-36 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), Bulletin No. A., Families Distributed by Income During the Survey Year; Bulletin No. 2, Illness and Medical Care in Relation to Economic Status; Bulletin No. 3, Accidents As a Cause of Disability; and Bulletin No. 4, The Prevalence and Causes of Orthopedic Impairments.

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fact that Negroes constituted 22 percent of the total population in these States, the number of Negro clients served was but 37 percent as great as would seem to be warranted by the number of Negroes in the total population. (See Table 47.)

TABLE 47.—*Number of clients rehabilitated, by race, Negro percentages of clients rehabilitated and of population, 1930, and percentage ratios of Negro proportion of clients to Negro proportion of population, in 17 States, 1935–36* [1]

State	Number of clients rehabilitated				Negro percentage of—		Percentage ratio of proportion of clients to proportion of population—Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Other races [2]	Clients rehabilitated	Population (1930)	
17 States	3,402	3,114	273	15	8.0	21.5	37
Alabama	172	164	7	1	4.1	35.7	12
Arkansas	75	65	10	----	13.3	25.8	52
Florida	114	105	9	----	7.9	29.4	27
Georgia	238	210	27	1	11.3	36.8	31
Kentucky	337	322	15	----	4.5	8.6	52
Louisiana	112	90	22	----	19.6	36.9	53
Maryland	101	94	7	----	6.9	16.9	41
Mississippi	137	115	22	----	16.1	50.2	32
Missouri	170	157	13	----	7.6	6.2	123
New Jersey	503	482	18	3	3.6	5.2	69
North Carolina	257	208	49	----	19.1	29.0	66
Oklahoma	304	300	3	1	1.0	7.2	14
South Carolina	72	52	20	----	27.8	45.6	61
Tennessee	178	165	12	1	6.7	18.3	37
Texas	256	243	5	8	2.0	14.7	14
Virginia	262	234	28	----	10.7	26.8	40
West Virginia	114	108	6	----	5.3	6.6	80

[1] Unpublished data supplied by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, U. S. Office of Education.
[2] Including cases not reported by race.

In one State, Missouri, there were more Negro clients rehabilitated than would be expected from a distribution of services in accordance with the population ratio. The extent to which equality was approached is approximately four-fifths in West Virginia; three-fifths in South Carolina; two-thirds in North Carolina and New Jersey; and one-half in Arkansas, Kentucky, and Louisiana. The number of Negro clients approached such distribution by less than one-third in six States. Greatest disparities between the races occurred in Alabama, Oklahoma, and Texas, where there

were only about one-eighth as many Negro clients rehabilitated as would have been required by a proportionate distribution of services.

Services rendered.—Since the data of this analysis are restricted to cases rehabilitated, one type of service rendered to each client, white or Negro, was placement on a job. The types of services afforded in addition to placement are shown in Table 48.

TABLE 48.—*Number of white and of Negro clients receiving various rehabilitation services in 17 States, 1935–36* [1]

Services rendered	Number of clients		Percentage distribution	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	3,114	273	100.0	100.0
Placement with training and—	2,031	110	65.2	40.3
No other service	1,306	49	42.0	18.0
Appliance	125	21	4.0	7.7
Physical restoration	8		.3	
Other services	468	20	15.0	7.3
Appliance and physical restoration	3		.1	
Appliance and other services	103	11	3.3	4.0
Physical restoration and other services	14	5	.4	1.8
Appliance, physical restoration and other services	4	4	.1	1.5
Placement without training and—	1,083	163	34.8	59.7
No other service	347	7	11.1	2.6
Appliance	576	133	18.5	48.7
Physical restoration	33	5	1.1	1.8
Other services	71	11	2.3	4.0
Appliance and physical restoration	11	1	.3	.4
Appliance and other services	36	3	1.2	1.1
Physical restoration and other services	5	2	.2	.7
Appliance, physical restoration and other services	4	1	.1	.4

[1] See Table 47, fn. 1.

It may be noted that services which included vocational training were given to 65 percent of the white clients, as compared with 40 percent of the Negro clients. Training only constituted the service rendered to 42 percent of the white clients and 18 percent of the Negro clients. By contrast, services which did not include vocational training were rendered to 60 percent of the Negro rehabilitants, and only 35 percent of the white rehabilitants. Thus, proportionately fewer than two-thirds as many Negro as white clients received services with training, and proportionately almost twice as many Negro as white clients received services without training.

The provision of physical appliances was included in the service rendered to 28 percent of the white rehabilitants, as compared with 64 percent of the Negro rehabilitants. The provision of appliances constituted the sole vocational rehabilitation service, except placement, for about two and two-thirds times as large a proportion of the Negro clients as of the white clients.

From these comparisons, there is evident an important difference in the types of service given to white and Negro clients. Whereas the major service rendered to white clients was vocational training, the chief service rendered to Negro clients was prosthesis.

Analysis of the physical disabilities reported for clients rehabilitated[63] reveals that amputations constitute the handicaps of proportionately more than twice as many Negro clients as white clients. On the other hand, cases classified merely as "disabled" included proportionately twice as many of the white clients as of the Negro clients. These data tend to explain why prosthesis, as a rehabilitation service, was afforded more generally to the Negro group. At the same time, it raises the question: Why were there proportionately so many more amputations among the Negro clients? Unless assumptions are made for which there seems to be no supporting evidence, it may be inferred that in most instances Negroes sought, or were referred to, the rehabilitation agency only when they were suffering from some major and overt physical disability; that fewer Negroes than white persons suffering from less obvious disabilities, such as cardiac conditions and tuberculosis, were brought to the attention of the rehabilitation agency for aid. It is asserted that most of the persons served by the rehabilitation program suffer from major physical handicaps. This seems especially true in the case of Negroes.[64]

Though the greater incidence of amputations among Negro clients may explain why a greater proportion of Negro than white clients was supplied with artificial appliances, it does not explain why this was the only service, except placement, which was rendered in so large a proportion of

[63] The data for this analysis are not here presented.

[64] Blauch, Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped, p. 30.

the cases, and why relatively so few Negroes were given vocational training. It may be that the predominating practice of rehabilitation agencies in the South is to equip a physically handicapped Negro client with some sort of artificial appliance, find him a job, and close his case, without having afforded him the opportunity for vocational training which a similarly handicapped white client would normally enjoy.

Implications for Federal policy.—From this analysis, it is apparent that, for one reason or another, Negroes did not participate in the federally subsidized program of vocational rehabilitation in proportion to their numbers in the population in 1935–36. The likelihood of just such a condition was anticipated when the National Vocational Rehabilitation Act was under consideration by Congress. In the course of debates on the bill in the House, Representative Wood of Indiana sought to insert the following amendment:

> Provided, That if any discrimination is made on account of color, sex, or religion, in the use of the funds herein authorized, the State so offending shall forfeit all its rights to further participation in the benefits provided for in this act. [65]

Such an amendment, he argued, was essential to assure the equitable participation of the population groups mentioned, particularly Negro groups.

The proposed amendment aroused considerable controversy. Representative Bee of Texas insisted that the constitution and statutes of his State were adequate to prevent racial discrimination in the use of rehabilitation funds.[66] Apparently upon the strength of his assurance that the proposed amendment "is not necessary," the House voted 39 to 40 against its approval.[67]

Without minimizing the importance of legislative correctives for the situation here described, it should be pointed out that there are administrative means by which the United States Office of Education can further the more proportionate participation of Negroes in the rehabilitation program.

[65] 66th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, House, October 16, 1919 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1919), vol. LVIII, pt. 8, p. 7022.

[66] See data for Texas in Table 47.

[67] On a roll-call vote, the division was recorded as: "Ayes 36—noes 44."

Items to be included in State plans for approval by the Federal agency are not uniform for all States. Rather, the Federal Office of Education exercises some degree of administrative discretion as to the nature of the arrangement into which it is willing to enter with each State.[68] As a means of facilitating the planning procedure, the Office of Education makes very definite suggestions of policies to be followed. One of these suggestions is:

> In the operation of the program it should be the policy of the [State] board to provide a rehabilitation service for individuals from all groups of the physically handicapped; to maintain a reasonable distribution of cases *with respect to age, sex, education, and origin and nature of disability;* and to maintain a reasonable, geographical distribution of cases throughout the State.[69]

The items specified above to be included in State plans are not prescribed by law. Rather, they are illustrative of the "administrative discretion" exercised by the Office of Education in an effort to secure a "reasonable distribution" of services among age, sex, education, disability, and geographical groups. There appears to be no valid reason why the Office of Education should not request a similar distribution of services among different racial groups.

One further administrative practice merits attention at this point. As has been previously noted, Federal reports on the rehabilitation program do not detail their information by race. Hence, such racial inequalities as there may be are effectively concealed from the public. In view of the special problem of Negroes in sharing the services of the rehabilitation program, it would seem most appropriate here, as in case of other Federal education funds, so to organize Federal reports as to reveal the extent of participation by Negroes.

Although appropriate administrative action could do much to promote the equitable participation of Negroes in the vocational rehabilitation program, a more fundamental, and perhaps more desirable, approach to this end would involve modification of the basic statutes. The Congress has ample

[68] Blauch, Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped, op. cit., p. 59.

[69] U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division, Misc. 1438 Revised May 1937, Vocational Rehabilitation: Standards for State Plans (mimeographed), p. 4. Italics are the author's.

authority, through legislation, to require that Federal grants to States for vocational rehabilitation be conditioned upon an equitable expenditure of the Federal funds between services for the white and Negro populations. The exercise of that authority should come to be a major tenet of Federal policy.

Emergency Education Programs

During recent years, the Federal Government has inaugurated several emergency education programs which have contributed significantly to the enlargement of opportunities for public education. Among those of special importance for the problem of this investigation are the programs of adult education, nursery schools, student aid, and school-building construction. Analysis is here made of the relative extent to which these programs have enlarged the educational opportunities of the white and Negro populations of the South.

Adult education enrollments, teachers, and salaries.—Beginning in the latter part of 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (in cooperation with the United States Office of Education) initiated a number of educational projects, the most extensive being literacy education, general adult education, and vocational training. At present, this program is administered by the Works Progress Administration. Official reports on the emergency education program do not present separate information for racial groups. However, under the auspices of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, with the cooperation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, there was conducted during the early spring of 1935 a comprehensive survey of emergency educational activities among the white and Negro populations of the South.[70] That study details information concerning enrollments, teachers, and salaries in the programs of 13 Southern States. Its data suffice adequately for purposes of this analysis.

During February and March of 1935, there were enrolled in emergency education classes some 353,714 white and 217,080 Negro students. Employed to instruct these classes

[70] Garth H. Akridge, Report on Emergency Educational Activities, Julius Rosenwald Fund, May 1935 (manuscript).

were 12,403 white and 5,476 Negro teachers. Thus, representing 26 percent of the total population in the States concerned, Negroes constituted 38 percent of the enrollment and 31 percent of the teachers in emergency education classes. In every State except Mississippi and South Carolina, the proportions Negroes constituted of total enrollments and teachers respectively were nearly as large as, or were larger than, their proportions of the total population. In Florida the proportion of enrollments exceeded the proportion of population, but the proportion of teachers did not. The greatest disparities occurred in Mississippi, where only about three-fourths as many Negro students were enrolled, and in which fewer than one-half as many Negro teachers were employed, as would be expected from the ratio of Negro to total population. (See Table 49.)

TABLE 49.—*Total and Negro enrollment and teachers in emergency education classes, 1935, and Negro percentages of enrollment and teachers, 1935, and of population, 1930, in 13 States*

State	Enrollment [1]		Teachers [1]		Negro percentage of—		
	Total	Negro	Total	Negro	Enrollment	Teachers	Population (1930)
13 States	570,794	217,080	17,879	5,476	38	31	26
Alabama	48,989	22,816	1,821	636	47	35	36
Arkansas	32,687	12,978	754	277	40	37	26
Florida	14,237	7,652	728	168	54	23	29
Georgia	55,743	22,551	1,680	619	40	37	37
Kentucky	45,000	6,683	1,103	163	15	15	9
Louisiana	63,189	34,627	1,789	749	55	42	37
Mississippi	47,464	17,546	1,330	307	37	23	50
North Carolina	26,210	11,494	1,309	458	44	35	29
Oklahoma	49,688	13,029	860	165	26	19	7
South Carolina	32,829	12,952	1,105	391	39	35	46
Tennessee	30,424	6,397	1,203	274	21	23	18
Texas	82,650	32,618	2,316	610	39	26	15
Virginia	41,684	15,737	1,881	659	38	35	27

[1] Data from Garth H. Akridge, Report on Emergency Education Activities, Julius Rosenwald Fund, May 1935 (manuscript), pp. 5–6, 12.

Of the 13 States here considered, only in Tennessee did Negroes constitute a smaller proportion of the total enrollment than of the total number of teachers. This indicates, in general, a greater student-load for Negro teachers than for white teachers. For all 13 States combined, there was an average of 29 students per white teacher, as compared with 40 students per Negro teacher.

The total monthly expenditure for salaries in all 13 Southern States combined was $654,840 for white emergency teachers and $231,320 for Negro emergency teachers. (See Table 50.) Since there were 12,403 white and 5,476 Negro teachers employed, the average white teacher received a monthly salary of $52.80, as compared with $42.24 for the average Negro teacher. Thus, the monthly salary of the average Negro emergency education teacher was four-fifths as great as that of the average white teacher.

By way of comparison, it may be recalled from Chapter I that in 17 Southern States for which information is available,[71] average annual salaries in public schools are only about one-half as great for Negro teachers as for white teachers. The 13 States with which the Rosenwald report deals commonly devote 12 percent of all public school salary expenditures to Negro teachers, and more than twice that proportion (26 percent) of all emergency education salaries. (See Table 51.) In every State except Mississippi, proportionate expenditures for Negro emergency teachers exceeded proportionate expenditures for Negro public school teachers. The proportion was nearly three times as great in one State (Texas), and over two and one-half times as great in two other States. In Mississippi proportionate expenditures for Negro emergency teachers' salaries were approximately as low as expenditures for the salaries of Negro public school teachers.

[71] All but four of these, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland and Missouri, are included among the 13 States given in Table 50. (Cf. Table 14, p. 25.)

TABLE 50.—*Monthly expenditures for total and for Negro emergency education teachers' salaries, 1935, and Negro percentages of expenditures, 1935, and of population, 1930, in 13 States* [1]

State	Monthly expenditures for teachers' salaries		Negro percentage of—	
	Total	For Negroes	Expenditures	Population (1930)
13 States	$886,160	$231,320	26	26
Alabama	85,456	28,380	33	36
Arkansas	42,505	13,872	33	26
Florida	34,123	6,551	19	29
Georgia	73,400	25,928	35	37
Kentucky	77,283	9,943	13	9
Louisiana	93,078	29,116	31	37
Mississippi	57,124	9,566	17	50
North Carolina	69,329	23,808	34	29
Oklahoma	49,884	8,852	18	7
South Carolina	55,876	15,528	28	46
Tennessee	66,775	15,136	23	18
Texas	112,440	26,928	24	15
Virginia	68,887	17,712	26	27

[1] Data from Akridge, op. cit., p. 7. Funds are allocated to the States for an eight-month program. (Ibid., p. 8.)

TABLE 51.—*Negro percentages of total expenditures for salaries of public school teachers, 1935–36, and of emergency education teachers, 1935, in 13 States* [1]

State	Negro percentage of total salary expenditures for—		Percentage ratio of proportion of emergency education to proportion of public school salary expenditures—Negro [3]
	Public schools	Emergency education [2]	
13 States	12	26	216
Alabama	15	33	227
Arkansas	12	33	267
Florida	13	19	150
Georgia	12	35	285
Kentucky	6	13	226
Louisiana	13	31	237
Mississippi	17	17	97
North Carolina	21	34	165
Oklahoma	8	18	211
South Carolina	17	28	164
Tennessee	11	23	210
Texas	8	24	288
Virginia	15	26	168

[1] Based on data given in Blose and Caliver, Statistics of the Education of Negroes, 1933–34 and 1935–36, Table 29, p. 57, and Biennial Survey of Education; 1934–36, vol. II, ch. II, pp. 90–1.
[2] See Table 50, fn. 1.
[3] Adjustments have not been made for discrepancies resulting from rounding basic percents.

The above analyses have all been based upon the proportions which Negroes constitute of the total populations of the several States. They have ignored the relative need of Negroes for the services afforded by the emergency education program. Some suggestion of their relative educational need is found in the severely limited educational opportunities afforded Negroes in the public schools of the South. (See Chapters I, II, and III.) Another index of this need, one recognized in the apportionment of funds, is the relative incidence of illiteracy. As regards the extent of adult illiteracy, Virginia, 11 percent of whose adult inhabitants were illiterate in 1930, ranks as the median State among the 13 involved in this analysis. Whereas 6 percent of this median State's adult native-white population of native parentage was illiterate in 1930, 25 percent of its adult Negro population was so classified.[72] It appears, therefore, that the educational need for literacy classes, the predominating type of program represented by the data of this analysis, is far greater among the Negro population than among the white.

Federal emergency education funds were apportioned among the several States on the basis of approximately 1.8 cents per inhabitant 10 years old or older, plus approximately 14 cents per illiterate. Under this plan, 40 percent of the total Federal emergency education funds received by the 13 States here concerned was allotted to them on the basis of their Negro populations.[73] Thus, the 26 percent of the total emergency education expenditures which went for work among Negroes, though equal to the percentage Negroes constitute of the total population, represents only two-thirds as much as these States received for emergency education on the basis of their general and their illiterate Negro populations alone.

To summarize, it appears that, in general, there were proportionately more Negro persons than white persons enrolled in emergency education classes in the South in 1935. However, per given number of students, there were more white than Negro teachers employed. Though there was a con-

[72] Negroes in the United States: 1920-32, p. 242.
[73] Garth H. Akridge, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

siderable difference between the average salaries paid to white and Negro emergency education teachers, the disparity was not nearly so great as in the case of public school teachers. On the basis of Negro-total population ratios, emergency education expenditures were, in general, divided fairly equitably between the races. However, on the basis used in the apportionment of funds—one which is more directly influenced by relative educational need—there was devoted to work among Negroes only about two-thirds as much as would seem to be warranted.

Despite such inequalities as existed at the time these data were collected, it is obvious that Negroes in the Southern States shared in emergency education activities much more nearly in proportion to their numbers in the population than was the case in many other publicly supported programs of education, both State and Federal. Further, the relative status of Negroes in this regard during the spring of 1935 was markedly improved over that of the preceding year, when gross inequalities were found to exist.[75]

It is significant to note some of the probable causes of this change. Among them, several are quite obvious. First, a well-qualified Negro administrative assistant was employed to devote full time to furthering the extension of emergency education activities among Negroes, especially in the South. Second, in October 1934, the Rosenwald Foundation assigned a special field officer to the task of securing "a more equitable distribution of emergency education opportunities and funds for Negroes." Finally, the Assistant Administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration stressed to State and local administrators and supervisors the importance of extending the program among the Negro population. The following paragraph from one of his general communications, distributed in the fall of 1934, is illustrative of this attitude:

> Since in proportion to population unemployment among Negroes is equal to, if not even greater than, unemployment among other groups, and since educational opportunities for Negroes are notably inade-

[75] Based on an unpublished study, The Federal Emergency Education Program Among Negroes: 1933-34, by Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes, U. S. Office of Education, and James A. Atkins, Specialist in Negro Education, Works Progress Administration.

quate, equity demands that educational relief to Negroes be at least at the level of their percentage of the population in each State.[76]

The measurable achievements which appear to have resulted from these—and perhaps other—positive influences toward equality of educational opportunity are suggestive of what might be accomplished in other fields of education by expressed and aggressively prosecuted administrative policies to further the educational opportunities of Negroes.

Nursery schools.[77]—In the development of Negro nursery schools, as in other activities of the emergency educational program, there has been considerable recent growth. In 14 Southern States for which comparable data are available, there were only 54 emergency nursery schools for Negro children in 1934. In the same States, in May 1937, there were 113 such schools. This represents a gain of 109 percent.

Comparable information is not available concerning the number of white and Negro nursery schools in the South. However, in 18 of what have here been designated as Southern States, together with 11 additional States, there were, in May 1937, a total of 160 nursery schools for Negro children. They constituted one-tenth of all Works Progress Administration nursery school units in the entire Nation.

National Youth Administration student aid.—The relative extent to which Negro youths share in the student-aid program of the National Youth Administration is suggestive of administrative practices associated with equality of educational opportunity for the white and Negro populations. An expressed policy relating to the distribution of school aid requires that:

In assigning quotas, the number of young men and women of any minority racial group given aid shall not represent a smaller propor-

[76] Assistant Administrator, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in a letter "To State Relief Administrators and Chief State School Officers," November 2, 1934. More recently, an even stronger statement of this principle was incorporated in Operating Procedure W-9, Section 11, under which the Education Program has operated since March 11, 1937. This statement is as follows: "*Equity in Education Service to Racial Groups.* Since, in proportion to population, unemployment among Negroes is equal to if not greater than unemployment among other racial groups, and since educational opportunities for Negroes are notably inadequate, educational service shall be made available to Negroes through the Education Program at least in proportion to the Negro population in each State. Furthermore, employment on this program shall be given to eligible and qualified Negro teachers if available, at least in proportion to the Negro population in each State."

[77] All data for nursery schools were supplied by Mr. James A. Atkins.

tion of the total number aided than the ratio which this racial group bears to the total population of the school district or state.[78]

Information concerning the proportions Negroes in the several States constituted of the total population, pupils receiving "school aid" on the secondary school level, and students receiving "college aid," in March 1939, is presented in Table 52. In 16 of the 18 States represented, the propor-

TABLE 52.—*Percentages Negroes were of total applicants approved for National Youth Administration student aid, March 1939, and Negro percentages of total population, in 18 States* [1]

State	Negro percentage of—			
	Total population	All student aid	School aid	College aid
Alabama	36	34	37	20
Arkansas	26	14	13	20
Delaware	14	16	20	9
District of Columbia	27	36	62	22
Florida	29	30	31	24
Georgia	37	34	40	19
Kentucky	9	8	9	8
Louisiana	37	29	40	14
Maryland	17	22	27	14
Mississippi	50	20	24	13
Missouri	6	7	7	4
North Carolina	29	26	30	17
Oklahoma	7	9	10	6
South Carolina	46	40	48	20
Tennessee	18	18	17	21
Texas	15	12	13	10
Virginia	27	25	28	20
West Virginia	7	10	10	14

[1] Information supplied by National Youth Administration, April 20, 1939.

tions which Negroes constituted of the total school-aid clients were approximately equal to or in excess of the proportions Negroes constituted of the total population. Only in Arkansas and Mississippi were there appreciable disparities in this respect. As regards college-aid clients, however, in only 4 of the 18 States did the proportions Negroes constituted of the total clients approximate or exceed the corresponding ratios of Negro to total population. In this connection, it should be noted that, in addition to the general program of college aid, and in recognition of the special problems of Negroes seeking graduate and

[78] National Youth Administration, Bulletin No. 9, School Aid: 1937-38 (mimeographed August 12, 1937), p. 4.

professional education, the National Youth Administration inaugurated, in 1936–37, a special fund to aid Negro students at the graduate level.[79] This fund is administered directly by the national office.

The data for student aid in Table 52 represent the proportions Negroes constituted of school-aid and college-aid clients combined. The percentage ratios of the proportion Negroes constituted of all student-aid clients to their proportion of the total population ranged from about 40 in Mississippi to 143 in West Virginia. Such ratios equaled or exceeded 100 in 8 of the 18 States, and ranged from 78 to 95 in 8 other States. In Arkansas and Mississippi, corresponding percentage ratios were, respectively, 54 and 40.

From this analysis it is apparent that Negroes in the Southern States share much more equitably in the benefits of the National Youth Administration programs than is the case in most permanent federally aided programs of education. This condition undoubtedly results in large measure from Federal administrative policies, illustrated by the regulation quoted above, which are designed to extend the benefits of the program to Negro youth. It is reasonable to assume that it is an effect also of the unusual degree to which Negro officials have been integrated into the administrative staff of the program. Not only is there a Division of Negro Affairs in the national office, but there are also Negro administrative assistants on the staffs of 14 of the 18 States listed in Table 52.[80]

Analyses not here reported suggest that such inequalities as obtain in the extent to which the white and Negro populations of the South share in the benefits of the school-aid program result largely, though not entirely, from the greater nonavailability of secondary schools to rural Negro youth. It would seem that this situation might be somewhat relieved if Negro pupils living in counties which afford them no secondary school facilities were given aid to attend high schools in neighboring counties. At present, aid is restricted to pupils attending secondary schools within a given county.

[79] National Youth Administration, Bulletin No. 10, College and Graduate Aid: 1937-38 (mimeographed, August 12, 1937), p. 5.

[80] Information supplied by the Administrator, National Youth Administration, April 20, 1939.

School-building construction.—During recent years, grants and loans provided through the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works have done much to improve the conditions of public schools throughout the Nation.[81] Brief analysis is here made of the estimated costs of non-Federal[82] white and Negro school-building construction projects in 17 States.

On September 30, 1937, Public Works Administration school-building projects costing approximately $173,593,016 were included in the programs of 17 Southern States. Though Negroes constitute 21 percent of the total population in these States, projects involving Negro schools were estimated to cost $14,251,616, or 8 percent of the total. Only in West Virginia and Missouri were the ratios of Negro to total school-building costs equal to or greater than the corresponding population ratios. In Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi, these three being States in which Negro school property values were lower than in the average Southern State in 1935–36, racial disparities in the distribution of Public Works Administration school-building projects are most extreme.[83] In general, it appears that the Public Works Administration school-building funds have been so used in the Southern States as to increase, ratherthan decrease, the already gross inequalities in the plants of white and Negro public schools. (See Table 53.)

Early in the development of the Public Works Administration, the Administrator gave "specific instructions" to his staff that "special consideration be given to applications for Negro schools . . . , and that allotments be made whenever legally feasible." [84] It appears, however, that relatively few Negro school-building projects were submitted by State and local school authorities for subsidy by the

[81] It should be noted also that the Works Progress Administration had spent $131,632,722 for the construction and repair of educational buildings in the United States by March 31, 1938. See Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey, Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 14 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 29.

[82] That is, construction projects for which Public Works Administration loans and grants are made to agencies and institutions of municipal, county, and State governments.

[83] See Table 16. Data for Louisiana not available for 1935–36.

[84] Quoted from a statement by the Administrator, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, June 14, 1939.

TABLE 53.—*Estimated cost of non-Federal Public Works Administration projects, total and Negro, percentages Negro projects were of total, September 30, 1937, and percentages Negroes were of total population, 1930, in 17 States* [1]

State	Estimated cost of non-Federal PWA projects		Percent for Negroes	Percent Negroes in population (1930)	Percentage ratio of proportion for Negroes to proportion of Negroes in population
	Total projects	Negro projects			
17 States	$173,593,016	$14,251,616	8.2	20.9	39
West Virginia	3,501,219	489,308	14.0	6.6	212
Missouri	15,613,911	1,536,584	9.8	6.2	158
Oklahoma	12,392,256	721,549	5.8	7.2	81
Tennessee	11,837,448	1,514,274	12.8	18.3	70
Maryland	8,428,831	974,390	11.6	16.9	69
North Carolina	11,885,874	2,067,713	17.4	29.0	60
Virginia	14,875,559	2,081,732	14.0	26.8	52
Florida	4,904,422	747,431	15.2	29.4	52
Alabama	7,906,731	866,495	11.0	35.7	31
Kentucky	11,090,974	291,270	2.6	8.6	30
Delaware	3,213,965	113,373	3.5	13.7	26
Georgia	8,740,967	749,457	8.6	36.8	23
Texas	34,680,113	1,084,591	3.1	14.7	21
Louisiana	3,957,628	216,998	5.5	36.9	15
South Carolina	7,709,814	373,019	4.8	45.6	11
Mississippi	7,228,060	317,461	4.4	50.2	9
Arkansas	5,625,244	105,971	1.9	25.8	7

[1] Adapted from Robert C. Weaver, "The Public Works Administration School Building-Aid Program and Separate Negro Schools," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), pp. 366-74. Data on cost of total projects were compiled by the PWA at the request of the writer.

Public Works Administration. Thus there is again evident the racial inequality which usually obtains in the distribution of Federal funds for educational purposes unless Federal legislative or administrative provisions explicitly require an equitable division of funds for the benefit of the white and Negro populations in the South.

Implications for Federal policy.—The conditions under which several of these emergency education programs are administered, together with the extent to which Southern Negroes have participated in their services, are suggestive for Federal policy with more permanent educational subsidies. Even here, there has not been complete equality of educational opportunity for the white and Negro populations of the South. Yet, except in case of the Public Works Administration school-building program, the degree of equity with which Negroes have participated in the emergency programs is considerably greater than has been true with most

permanent programs of public education. A major cause of this condition appears to be the forthright and consistent effort of some Federal administrative officers to assure for Negroes the opportunity to participate fully in benefits from the several emergency education grants. It is recognized that the extent of Federal administrative authority over the emergency programs is greater than in the case of most permanent educational programs which, although subsidized by the Federal Government, are administered by the several States. However, the point of view which has characterized administration of most of the emergency programs is one which, if expressly and consistently applied by Federal agencies administering the permanent educational funds, might reasonably be expected to assure for Negroes in the South much more extensive opportunities for public education than they now enjoy.

Summary

From the analyses of this chapter, it is seen that racial inequalities in educational opportunity are not restricted to educational programs financed from State and local revenues alone. Rather, they also appear in the limited extent to which Southern Negroes participate in programs of vocational education in schools of less than college grade and of vocational rehabilitation for the physically disabled; to a lesser extent in certain racial inequalities in emergency education programs; and especially in the marked racial disparities which characterize the programs of agricultural extension and research. Further, the experiences of Negroes with certain federally aided programs of education administered under conditions that guard against racial discrimination, and their experiences with other programs not so administered, reveal convincingly that, in a number of Southern States, Negroes may be expected to share equitably in federally subsidized educational programs only when Federal policies for the administration of such programs expressly so require.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Supplementary to educational institutions on the elementary, secondary, and higher levels, and to the various educational activities discussed in Chapter V, there are numerous other social agencies which function more or less formally as educative enterprises. One of the most important of these is the public library. It is the purpose of this chapter to present briefly the relative extent to which public library services are available to the Negro people of the South.

A recent study of county library service summarizes in the following statement the aims of the public library:

> The public library is maintained by a democratic society in order that every man, woman, and child may have the means of self-education and recreational reading. The library provides materials for education and advice in their use. It diffuses information and ideas necessary to the present welfare and future advancement of a community. It strengthens and extends appreciation of the cultural and spiritual values of life. It offers opportunity for constructive use of the new leisure. It serves all ages and all classes.[1]

This statement is a definition of goals, not a description of status, particularly in the Southern States. As in the case of its public schools, the South has lagged behind the rest of the Nation in the development of public libraries.[2] In view of the lag in the development of public schools for Negroes, their need for the services of this agency of self-education is especially acute. The extent to which they are permitted to share in such public library services as are afforded in the South is an important measure of the relative educational opportunities of the white and Negro populations.

[1] Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wight, County Library Service in the South (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 81.

[2] Tommie Dora Barker, Libraries of the South (Chicago: American Library Association, 1936.)

A survey conducted in 1935 reported the existence of 509 public libraries in 13 Southern States.[3] Only 94 of these libraries (18 percent) served Negroes. Forty-eight of these were found in West Virginia, Texas, and Kentucky whose populations are respectively only 7 percent, 15 percent, and 9 percent Negro and, taken together, include but 14 percent of the Negroes in all 13 States. Sixty of the 94 libraries which served Negroes (64 percent) were located in 4 States [4] whose combined Negro population constitutes but 24 percent of the total for all 13 States. It is evident, therefore, that though nearly one-fifth of all public libraries served Negroes, they were concentrated in relatively few States, remote from the main centers of Negro population. (See Table 54.)

It is estimated that in 13 Southern States, in 1935, approximately 66 percent of the total (white and Negro) population had no public libraries in their communities.[5] Exactly comparable data for Negroes are not available. However, in 12 of these States, only 1,494,982 Negroes were within the service areas of 77 public libraries. Out of a total Negro population of 8,633,437, some 7,138,455, or 83 percent, had no access whatever to public library services. Even this large proportion represents an improvement over 1926, when about 90 percent of the Negro inhabitants lived outside the areas served by the 45 public libraries then accessible to Negroes.[6]

Probably the greatest stimulus to the development of public library service for Southern Negroes has come from the demonstration library programs conducted by the Julius Rosenwald Fund over a period of 5 years, beginning in 1929–30. In 11 counties of 7 Southern States, money was supplied on a matching basis to supplement public funds for the extension of library services. It was "stipulated that equal service was to be given to all of the people of the county, urban and rural, white and Negro, and that the service be

[3] Ibid., pp. 199–201. The States were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[4] West Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and North Carolina.

[5] Barker, op. cit., p. 88.

[6] Ibid., p. 50.

adapted to the needs of the group." [7] An appraisal in 1935 of the 5-year program revealed that progress made under stimulation of the Fund had been noteworthy in some cases, but that "no one of the counties . . . worked out a thoroughly satisfactory system of distribution of books to Negroes." [8] Most of the agencies provided for Negroes were branch libraries in schools.[9] As a general rule, they were much less adequately equipped, staffed, and financed than libraries for white persons in the same communities.[10] Though the response of Negroes to the services provided gave evidence of an active demand,[11] numerous difficulties were confronted in efforts to serve the Negro population. Not the least of these grew out of the fact that "library boards hesitate to make large appropriations for Negroes while service to whites is still inadequately financed." [12]

It is noteworthy that two Southern States make special legal provision for the extension of public library services to Negroes. "In West Virginia, a State law requires all libraries receiving public funds to give service to Negroes, and in Texas the law requires commissioners' courts to make proper provision for library service to Negroes through branches of the county free library." [13] The influence of these provisions is undoubtedly reflected in the fact that, of all public libraries serving Negroes in 13 Southern States in 1935, over one-third were located in West Virginia and Texas. (See Table 54.)

From this somewhat scattered information, it is obvious that public library services for Negroes in the South are not only extremely inadequate, but far more inadequate than the services afforded the white population. Thus, here, as in the case of public schools, the usual concomitants of racial segregation have operated seriously to curtail the educational opportunities of Negroes. Further, and of especial significance, it appears that most officials responsible for planning the development of State library programs are but

[7] Wilson and Wight, op. cit., p. 81.
[8] Ibid., p. 68.
[9] Ibid., p. 67.
[10] Ibid., pp. 62–65, 68, 169, 211–2.
[11] Ibid., p. 96. See also E. R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund: Review for the Two-Year Period, 1933–35, pp. 36–7.
[12] Wilson and Wight, op. cit., pp. 68–70.
[13] Barker, op. cit., pp. 51–2.

little concerned over correcting this situation. Out of 12 State library plans examined in 1935, only 4 incorporated recommendations for extending equality of library service to Negroes.[14] Future State planners, one hopes, may be more responsive to the vision of two Southern library associations whose policy committees expect "continued progress . . . toward three *ultimate objectives* of library service which affect *all the people*—children and adults, and Negroes as well as white people. . . ." [15]

TABLE 54.—*Number of public libraries, number and percentages serving Negroes, and number and percentages of Negroes in total population, in 13 States, 1935*

State	Number of public libraries [1]	Public libraries serving Negroes [1]		Negro percentage of total population [2]	Total Negro population (1930) [2]
		Number	Percent		
13 States	509	94	19	26	8,748,330
Alabama	18	2	11	36	944,834
Arkansas	19	1	5	26	478,463
Florida	44	4	9	29	431,828
Georgia	53	5	9	37	1,071,125
Kentucky	64	14	22	9	226,040
Louisiana	16	3	19	37	776,326
Mississippi	22	2	9	50	1,009,718
North Carolina	64	12	19	29	918,647
South Carolina	53	4	8	46	793,681
Tennessee	34	5	15	18	477,646
Texas	58	16	28	15	854,964
Virginia	46	8	17	27	650,165
West Virginia	18	18	100	7	114,893

[1] Tommie Dora Barker, Libraries of the South (Chicago: American Library Association, 1936), pp. 199–301.
[2] U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1935, Tables 17 and 18, pp. 16–8. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1935.)

[14] Ibid., p. 29.
[15] Ibid., p. 182. Quoted from "Library Objectives for the South," a statement prepared by the Policy Committees of the Southeastern Library Association and Southwestern Library Association, Atlanta, Georgia, Nov. 14, 1935.

CHAPTER VII

DEMOCRACY IN NEGRO EDUCATION

"Equality of educational opportunity" has long been cherished as an ideal of American democracy. Its validity rests, not alone upon principles of individual rights, but also upon the practical necessities of the democratic process of social organization. The development of a democratic program of Negro education represents, therefore, something more than a means toward justice for the Negro people; it is an essential condition for national and social security.

It is the purpose of this chapter to suggest steps toward an increased measure of democracy in Negro education. To that end, first, there is provided a brief summary of existing conditions in Negro schools. Second, attention is called to their social implications, for the Negro and for the Nation. Third, somewhat as a criterion for the Negro separate school, there are described the educational opportunities of Negroes in the public schools of the District of Columbia. Fourth, as bases for educational planning, there are listed some of the major needs of Negro education. Finally, attention is called to the obligations of the Federal Government in furthering the ideal of democracy in Negro education.

The Status of Negro Education: A Summary

The indexes utilized in this investigation point consistently, in practically every field, to a relatively low standard of public education for Negroes in the Southern States. In general, and especially in rural areas, Negro elementary pupils attend extremely impoverished, small, short-term schools, lacking in transportation service, void of practically every kind of instructional equipment, and staffed by relatively unprepared, overloaded teachers whose com-

pensation does not approximate a subsistence wage. The vast majority of pupils progress through only the primary grades of these schools. The few who finish the elementary grades find relatively little opportunity, especially in rural areas, for a complete standard secondary education. Opportunities for education in public undergraduate colleges are even more limited, and opportunities for graduate and professional study at publicly controlled institutions are almost nonexistent. In most special and auxiliary educational programs and services—public libraries, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural research, and agricultural and home economics extension—the same low standards obtain. Only in case of one or two Federal emergency programs is there an approach to proportional provision of public education for Negroes in these States.

Educational opportunities in all fields are much more nearly adequate for the white population. Though its status is far below that for the Nation as a whole, still, on a scale of relative adequacy, public education for white persons in these States is markedly superior to that for Negroes. For example, the general elementary and secondary schools for white children, as measured by per capita expenditures alone, function on a level which is approximating two and one-half times as high as that for corresponding Negro schools. The disparity between the general status of education for the two racial groups appears to be decreasing only very slowly, if at all.

Social Implications

The significance of these educational inequalities lies in what they entail for the social effectiveness of the Negro citizen, and hence, for the general welfare of the Nation. Several considerations are pertinent in this regard.

The most immediate effect of racial inequalities in public elementary and secondary education is reflected in the relative scholastic achievement of Negro children. There have been numerous studies of racial differences in scholastic achievement and their relationship to corresponding differ-

ences in school environment.[1] They have demonstrated such facts as these: (1) That the extent of racial differences in scholastic achievement varies markedly among different school systems; (2) that such differences are greater in segregated than in nonsegregated schools; (3) that there is close correspondence between the extent of racial differences in scholastic achievement and racial differences in school environment; (4) that differences between the achievement of white and Negro pupils in Northern school systems are attributable almost entirely to scholastic deficiencies on the part of Negro migrants from impoverished school systems in the South; and (5) that Negro graduates of Northern high schools maintain better scholastic records in Southern Negro colleges than do graduates of Southern Negro high schools. Such facts as these afford one basis for appraising the effectiveness of traditional programs of education for Negroes in separate schools.

It is the consensus among America's most eminent psychologists, educationists, sociologists, and anthropologists, based upon their critical appraisal of investigations of racial differences, that there is no adequate evidence to support an assumption of inferior native learning ability on the part of Negro children.[2] The presumption is that, by original nature, Negro children are quite as educable as children of any other race. It has been demonstrated many times in scientific literature that the relatively low social-economic background of the average Negro pupil operates to limit realization of his scholastic potentialities.[3] Such data as are summarized above point clearly to the similar effect of an

[1] See for example: Doxey A. Wilkerson, "Racial Differences in Scholastic Achievement," Journal of Negro Education, III (1934), pp. 453-77, and "A Racial Index Number of Relative Educational Efficiency for Virginia County and City Systems of Schools," Virginia Teachers Bulletin, IX (1932), pp. 1-5, 8-12; Charles H. Thompson, "A Study of the Reading Accomplishments of Colored and White Children," unpublished master's thesis, The University of Chicago, 1920, and "The Educational Achievements of Negro Children" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CXL (1928), pp. 193-208; J. H. Johnston, "Graduates of Northern High Schools as Students at a Southern Negro College," Journal of Negro Education, II (1933), pp. 484-6; T. E. Davis, "A Study of Fisk University Freshmen from 1928 to 1930," Journal of Negro Education, II (1933), pp. 477-83; and Forrester B. Washington, The Negro in Detroit (Detroit: Bureau of Government Research, 1926).

[2] Charles H. Thompson, "The Conclusions of Scientists Relative to Racial Differences," Journal of Negro Education, III (1934), pp. 494-512.

[3] See "The Physical and Mental Abilities of the American Negro," Journal of Negro Education, III (1934), pp. 319-564, especially chs. V, VII, VIII, and IX.

inferior school environment. In view of these considerations, there can be no doubt that the marked inequalities here reported between white and Negro schools are operating seriously to curtail the relative scholastic achievement of Negro pupils. It is reasonable to assume that the subsequent extent to which Negro pupils now attending these schools are able, as adult citizens, to effect suitable adjustments to the demands of social-civic-economic life will have been severely impaired by the limited and inferior educational opportunities afforded to them during youth.

It is not alone among Negroes, however, that the effects of their limited educational opportunities are felt. Rather, the economic and social-civic relations which Negroes bear to the white population are so close that deficiencies resulting from educational restrictions upon the one-fourth minority cannot but affect the welfare of the three-fourths majority. In such social ills as spread of disease, crime and delinquency, excessive need for public health and welfare services, costs of economic dependency, and unnecessarily restricted retail markets, all of which are aggravated by ignorance, the white population shares the effects of low standards of public education for Negroes.

Nor are the ill effects restricted to the South alone. By virtue of the high rate of interstate migration, Northern communities share directly the educational deficiencies of Negroes from the Southern States. The extent of migration is shown by the fact that in the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh in 1930, 50 percent or more of the Negro population had come from other States. There were almost as many Mississippi Negroes living in Chicago as the aggregate Negro population of Vicksburg, Meridian, Greenville, and Natchez. In Philadelphia, there were nearly as many South Carolina Negroes as there were in Charleston. More Pittsburgh Negroes were from Virginia, Georgia, and Alabama than from Pennsylvania. Of the 120,066 Negroes in Detroit, only 16,881 were natives of Michigan. There were 25,400

who were born in Georgia, more than the total Negro population of Augusta or Macon.[4]

Obviously, the public education of Negroes in the South is of vital concern to the country as a whole. This is especially true at the present time. With the Nation sorely beset by internal strains and external problems, the existence of any large group of uneducated citizens is a constant threat to the stability of social, economic, and political institutions. Thus, both the American ideal of equality of educational opportunity and the necessities of the general welfare of the Nation require improvement in the public education provided for Negroes in the South.

Negro Education in the District of Columbia: A Criterion

It is well to point to the existence, in at least one community of what has here been designated as the South, of a much more equitable program of public education for Negroes than is generally found where there are separate schools. The public schools of the District of Columbia, unique in their direct control by the Federal Government, are illustrative of policies and practices which might well be emulated by other communities with segregated schools.[5] Two basic principles—first, participation in determining the policies of schools and general school administration and, second, equality of educational opportunity for children—serve as conscious guides for the direction of Negro education in Washington.

As an expression of the first of these principles, all Negro schools are organized in a separate administrative division which "exercises an optimal autonomy."[6] At the head of

[4] 75th Cong., 1st sess., Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings . . . on S. 419 (February 9, 10, 11, and 15, 1937) (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937) pp. 161–9.

[5] For a brief description of public education in this area, including numerous references to facilities for Negroes, see Lloyd E. Blauch, Public Education in the District of Columbia, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 15 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938).

[6] Howard H. Long, "The Support and Control of Public Education in the District of Columbia," Journal of Negro Education, VII (1938), p. 399.

this division is a Negro "First Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools." His administrative unit

has its complement of officers with ranks and pay paralleling officers in white schools below the rank of Superintendent. It operates a merit system through a board of examiners, established by law, in the selection and promotion of personnel. It has its own research department for the purpose of conducting research in the colored schools. The First Assistant Superintendent has "sole charge" of personnel under the general direction of the Superintendent.[7]

In addition to exercising an "optimal" degree of autonomy in the administration of Negro schools, Negro officials participate in the formulation of educational policies for the system as a whole.

On the Board of Education there are three colored persons. They are members of every committee of the Board and in turn are chairmen of committees in the same proportion as white members. The Superintendent's cabinet is made up of colored and white assistant superintendents and they meet as a unit for the purpose of discussing and planning the educational program for the system. At the Superintendent's monthly meetings all officers without regard to race meet at the same time and place.[8]

This system is in marked contrast to that which obtains generally in the Southern States. There is probably no other community in these States in which Negroes hold administrative posts above the ranks of principal and supervisor, or where Negroes are members of boards of education, for either local or State systems of public schools. Except in the case of Negro institutions of higher education, Negro citizens are effectively excluded from the determination of policies affecting Negro schools. The meager educational facilities afforded to Negroes are probably not unrelated to this fact.

In accordance with the principle of equality of educational opportunity, school terms in the District of Columbia are of identical length for white and Negro pupils.[9] White and Negro teachers, supervisors, and administrative officers are appointed and promoted on the basis of identical standards of professional qualifications,[10] and are paid in accord with a

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] See Table 5.
[10] Cf. Table 13.

common salary scale.[11] In general, in accord with legislative enactments, appropriations for the improvement and expansion of physical plant are divided proportionately between white and Negro schools.[12] A common course of study serves as the basis for instructional programs in the schools for both racial groups. The range of educational opportunities—preschool, elementary, general secondary, vocational, teacher-training, adult, and special—is identical for white and Negro pupils. Probably no dual system of schools in the Nation has quite the degree of equality between the races as that of the District of Columbia.

It is not intended here to give the impression that there are no inequalities in the educational facilities provided for the white and Negro populations in the District of Columbia. There are some racial disparities. For example, though the pupil-loads of white and Negro teachers were reported as being practically identical in 1935–36,[13] the analysis of comparative data for the 15-year period ending in 1936–37 reveals that, in general, and particularly in elementary and vocational schools, Negro teachers have had larger pupil-loads than white teachers.[14] Further, there have been occasional lapses from a proportionate division of funds for capital outlay.[15] There may be—in fact, there are alleged to be—other significant racial inequalities. Even so, the policies and practices which characterize the conduct of public education for Negroes in the District of Columbia are more nearly equitable than those which obtain in most other dual systems of schools.

Bases for Educational Planning

It has been demonstrated that, owing to their small amounts of taxable resources, most of the Southern States are financially incapable of supporting from their own revenues anything which approaches an adequate program of public education.[16] Even with a single, integrated system of schools, such a program would be impossible for most of these States.

[11] Long, op. cit., p. 397. See also Table 14.
[12] Long, loc. cit.
[13] Cf. Table 12.
[14] Long, op. cit., p. 397.
[15] Ibid.
[16] See ch. III.

The added cost of two separate systems of schools, both maintained on a plane of adequacy, would be prohibitive.

The most obvious corrective for this condition is an enlarged program of Federal aid to education. However, with or without such aid, whatever public educational services are available in a given State, or in a given community within a State, should be equally available to all population groups, regardless of race. If the public elementary and secondary schools for Negroes and their institutions of higher education, together with all other special and auxiliary educational services, were to be made equivalent in every respect—in availability, plant and equipment, program, personnel, and financial support—to similar educational provisions for the white population, the program of Negro education would still not suffice to place the education of Negroes upon a justifiable plane of efficiency. It would serve merely to eliminate the present inequalities between public education for Negroes and the program for white pupils, which is considerably below that for the Nation as a whole. Yet, the attainment of even such a program as this would require real educational statesmanship and comprehensive educational planning.

As bases for planning to equalize the educational opportunities of the white and Negro residents of the States which have completely separate schools, there are listed below what may well be considered realizable objectives in public provisions for the education of Negroes. The various items are not equally applicable to all of the 18 States, but they do apply to any generalized concept of public education for Negroes in this area.

General elementary and secondary education.—If such a concept were to be realized, the following conditions would obtain in the fields of general elementary and secondary education:

1. Compulsory school attendance laws would be enforced equally for the children of both races. This policy would probably bring into the schools the equivalent of close to one-half of the 400,000 Negro children of 7 to 15 years of age who were not in attendance at any school in 1930.

2. The average length of term for Negro elementary and secondary schools in a given State would be increased to the corresponding average for white schools in that State. Such an average for all 18 States, 167 days in 1935–36, would necessitate the addition of 21 days to the current average length of term for Negro schools.

3. Transportation facilities would be provided to an extent which would make schools as accessible to Negro pupils as they are to white pupils. This would necessitate increasing expenditures for transportation to about ten times the 1935–36 figure.

4. Steps would be taken to supply the approximately 16,000 Negro teachers necessary, on the basis of 1933–34 enrollments, to equalize the pupil-loads of white and Negro teachers at the current level for white teachers. This would reduce from 43 to 34 the average number of Negro pupils per teacher.

5. The minimum period of education above high school required for appointment to given types of teaching positions would be made equivalent for white and Negro teachers in a given State or community. This change would tend to eliminate the disproportionately large number of inadequately educated Negro teachers.

6. The annual salaries of Negro teachers would be made equal to those for white teachers with comparable qualifications and responsibilities in the same communities. This would necessitate increasing the average annual salaries of Negro teachers by about 60 percent on the basis of 1935–36 data.

7. Negro school buildings and equipment would be made quite as adequate as those for white pupils in the same communities. This improvement would entail a fourfold increase in per capita investments in property for Negro schools.

8. In the words of the National Survey of Secondary Education, "steps [would] be taken . . . to provide secondary-school facilities for the 158,939 Negroes of high-school age in 230 counties . . . in which no Negro high schools exist; and 4-year facilities for the 197,242

Negroes of high-school age in the 195 counties where no 4-year high schools are in operation." [17]

9. There would be expended for Negro schools in a given State or community at least a proportionate amount of whatever local, State, or Federal funds there are available for public education. So to finance public education for Negroes at the 1935–36 level of per capita expenditures for white elementary and secondary schools would involve the annual expenditure of about 94 million dollars for Negro schools. This amount exceeds current expenditures for Negro schools by about 56 million dollars.

10. There would be extended to Negro citizens an equitable opportunity to participate in the formulation of educational policies in each State, and in each community within a State. Further, the general policy would be to fill administrative and supervisory positions in Negro schools, as well as in other educational agencies for Negroes, with qualified Negro officials.

Higher education.—In the field of higher education, equalization of opportunity implies that:

1. Institutions of higher education for Negroes would be made equivalent to corresponding institutions for white persons in availability, in the quality and scope of their educational programs, in plant and equipment, and in teaching personnel. This would involve, among other things, making colleges and universities available to proportionately several times as many Negro youth as they now serve, significantly broadening the scope of their programs of studies, and improving the quality of the instructional staff. It would necessitate, further, enabling proportionately more than twice as many of the Negro colleges and universities to satisfy the standards of their regional accrediting agency.

2. All types of graduate and professional education available to white persons within a given State would be made equally available to Negroes. This would involve

[17] It will be recalled that the data here quoted are for counties in which Negroes constitute one-eighth or more of the total population of high school age. (See ch. II.)

admitting qualified Negroes to State universities, or developing comparable Negro institutions. The other alternative, held to be inadequate by the Supreme Court of the United States, is to provide out-of-State graduate and professional scholarships in the 10 Southern States which now make no such provision.

3. Both State and Federal funds for resident instruction in land-grant colleges would be divided equitably between the separate white and Negro institutions in each State. This would require more than doubling the proportion of the total of such funds which now goes to the Negro institutions.

Vocational education.—If equality of opportunity in vocational education were realized:

1. Opportunities for vocational education in each of the fields subsidized by the Federal Government would be afforded for Negroes to an extent commensurate with the proportions Negroes constitute of the respective population groups used in the apportionment of Federal funds. On the basis of relationships revealed by enrollment data for 1934–35, this would then have necessitated increasing the proportion of Negro enrollments in vocational courses by nearly one-tenth in the field of agriculture, by about one-half in the field of home economics, and by about seven-tenths in the field of trades and industries. Further, since the passage of the George-Deen Act, it would also involve the extension of proportionately comparable opportunities in the field of distributive occupations, which the Federal Government has only recently begun to subsidize.

2. Federal, State, and local funds for vocational education would be expended for programs in Negro schools in proportions which are as large as the proportions which Negroes constitute of the population groups used in the distribution of Federal funds. On the basis of expenditures from Federal funds alone during 1934–35, this would have necessitated more than doubling the proportion of funds spent for vocational education in Negro schools.

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Agricultural and home economics extension.—Attainment of a democratic use of funds for agricultural and home economics extension would imply that:

1. The present corps of Negro extension agents would be augmented at least to the point where Negroes were proportionately represented in the total number of agents. On the basis of the number of white and Negro agents employed in 16 Southern States during 1937 in relation to the number of farm operators, this would entail doubling the proportion of Negro agents by adding 400 for farm demonstration work, 190 for home demonstration work, and 14 for boys' and girls' club work.
2. Federal, State, and local funds for agricultural and home economics extension work would be divided proportionately between programs for the white and Negro populations. On the basis of funds available during 1937, this would require increasing the proportion spent for extension work among Negroes by about 300 percent.

Agricultural research.—A significant proportion of the funds devoted to agricultural research in federally supported experiment stations would be allotted to Negro land-grant colleges for supplementary research in the field. These allotments would at first be small, and would be increased as the institutions grow in ability to use them effectively.

Vocational rehabilitation.—To equalize participation in this important service, the proportion of physically handicapped Negroes served by the federally aided program of vocational rehabilitation would be tripled so as to approximate the proportion which Negroes bear to the total population. Vocational training would be afforded for a much larger proportion of the Negro clients than now receive such service.

Emergency education.—To obtain an even higher degree of equity in the emergency program:

1. There would be no diminution in the fair degree of equity with which Negroes share in the emergency adult education and nursery school programs, and in the student-aid program of the National Youth Administration. On the contrary, the relative extent to which

Negroes participate in these programs would be increased to accord with the disproportionately greater need of Negroes for their services.

2. In counties which provide no high school facilities for Negroes, those Negro pupils who are eligible for inclusion in the National Youth Administration quota for school aid would be assisted in attending secondary schools in other communities.

3. Public Works Administration funds for school-building construction would be divided proportionately between projects for white and Negro schools. This would entail increasing the proportion of such funds allotted for the construction of Negro school buildings about 150 percent.

Public libraries.—Public library services would be made equally available to the white and Negro populations of each State. This would involve, among other things, the extension of library services to approximately 1,500,000 Negroes who live within the service areas of public libraries, and the provision of services to over 7,000,000 Negroes who now have no access whatsoever to public libraries. Where branch libraries are provided separately for Negroes, they would be so equipped, staffed, and integrated into the library program of the community that they would involve no curtailment of service to their clients.

Federal Policy

In view of the extent of the interest of the Federal Government in education, and especially in view of the proposed extension of its participation in the financial support of education, it is appropriate to suggest here certain Federal policies which, if adopted, would do much toward assuring for Negro citizens a greater measure of equality of educational opportunity.

Attention has been called repeatedly in this study to the marked inequalities which characterize the expenditure of most Federal education funds in the Southern States. Such practices constitute an abridgment of the democratic rights of Negro citizens. Modification of these practices should be

accepted as an immediate objective of the Congress of the United States. The effective means to this end is suggested by the high degree of equity with which, for nearly half a century, the Morrill-Nelson funds have been divided between the white and Negro land-grant colleges of the South. As in case of the laws which authorize those funds, the laws authorizing Federal funds for vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural and home economics extension, and agricultural research should be amended to require "a just and equitable" division of educational subsidies between programs for white and Negro citizens in proportion to their numbers in the population.

In addition to the need for such Federal legislation, attention has been called also to certain administrative policies which might do much to extend the opportunities of Negro citizens to share equitably in the benefits derived from federally aided programs of education. Of major importance in this regard are: First, the conditioning of approval of State plans for the use of Federal funds upon their inclusion of definite provisions for the proportional distribution of such funds in the education of Negroes; second, the regular publication of reports showing the expenditure of Federal funds and the accomplishments therefrom for the white and the Negro populations in each of the States maintaining separate systems; and finally, the integration of competent Negro workers into the executive personnel of governmental agencies which administer Federal education funds.

The basic premise of American democracy is equality of opportunity. It is in this principle that Federal subsidies for education find their most fundamental validation. In view of this fact, the Federal Government can hardly escape the responsibility of providing its financial assistance to education with controls to insure that Federal funds are used to increase, rather than to decrease, equality of educational opportunity. The effective application of this principle requires the adoption of policies which will correct long-continued inequalities in the administration of Federal education funds by States which maintain separate white and Negro schools.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1.—*Enrollment in elementary grades in public schools, in 18 States, by grade and by race, 1933–34* [1]

State and race	Total	Kindergarten	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8
Total										
White	6,203,798	55,090	1,263,358	844,434	842,270	822,262	754,649	675,097	628,078	318,560
Negro	2,266,913	4,765	796,765	334,780	302,803	269,866	217,090	170,382	125,391	45,071
Alabama										
White	375,174	14	85,873	49,140	49,886	47,619	43,174	38,289	34,642	26,537
Negro	203,824	----------	79,191	28,750	25,652	23,067	18,651	14,903	8,238	5,372
Arkansas										
White	296,725	----------	64,305	39,080	38,081	37,236	34,847	30,396	27,653	25,037
Negro	104,851	----------	36,074	15,226	13,578	12,718	10,295	7,750	5,178	4,032
Delaware										
White	29,228	667	3,714	3,526	3,464	3,565	3,657	3,596	3,786	3,253
Negro	6,376	64	1,146	887	916	797	801	710	595	460
District of Columbia										
White	46,126	4,762	6,353	5,163	5,146	5,130	5,020	4,845	4,896	4,811
Negro	27,293	2,182	4,384	3,672	3,513	3,284	2,900	2,468	2,525	2,365
Florida										
White	225,214	3,387	36,988	29,204	29,317	28,359	27,573	25,549	24,338	20,499
Negro	99,331	----------	31,913	15,385	13,717	12,050	9,723	7,942	5,043	3,558
Georgia										
White	402,059	5,644	86,975	58,944	56,384	54,132	49,171	43,935	41,012	5,862
Negro	262,409	758	95,331	43,697	36,659	30,756	24,407	17,487	11,648	1,666
Kentucky										
White	475,715	3,308	106,285	65,007	62,525	60,913	48,008	51,807	36,634	41,228
Negro	43,078	----------	10,208	6,050	5,896	5,521	4,678	4,300	3,449	2,976
Louisiana										
White	231,433	4,603	49,423	36,951	34,250	31,549	28,384	24,603	21,670	----------
Negro	158,506	----------	67,365	24,252	21,081	18,704	12,839	8,401	5,864	----------

Maryland										
White	187,529	6,095	28,021	25,043	24,466	25,373	23,897	22,819	21,464	10,351
Negro	50,832	1,214	10,414	8,185	7,971	6,722	5,746	4,926	4,270	1,384
Mississippi										
White	250,816	572	59,534	31,295	31,242	30,200	28,157	25,363	23,451	21,002
Negro	292,504	----------	119,794	39,953	36,945	32,221	24,608	18,167	11,922	8,894
Missouri										
White	521,283	14,324	67,675	66,544	68,216	64,779	71,247	51,715	69,387	47,396
Negro	38,213	----------	9,056	5,367	5,230	4,897	4,150	3,814	3,059	2,640
North Carolina										
White	490,503	----------	95,552	74,626	73,538	71,256	65,317	58,756	51,458	----------
Negro	256,016	----------	92,205	37,217	33,509	30,368	25,360	20,176	17,181	----------
Oklahoma										
White	467,048	4,775	91,002	57,514	59,491	58,673	54,286	50,616	47,944	42,767
Negro	42,202	463	11,544	4,990	5,150	5,043	4,778	3,945	3,242	5,047
South Carolina										
White	206,254	102	43,802	30,146	30,046	29,756	26,975	23,890	21,537	----------
Negro	218,465	----------	90,532	35,253	28,809	24,061	18,369	12,797	8,644	----------
Tennessee										
White	461,933	----------	108,795	59,953	61,972	57,670	51,306	45,936	40,471	35,830
Negro	105,058	----------	31,530	13,784	13,791	12,757	10,888	9,335	7,152	5,821
Texas										
White	858,431	5,432	195,836	119,471	121,384	123,534	107,095	96,785	88,894	----------
Negro	187,839	----------	59,044	26,493	26,136	23,883	19,915	17,700	14,668	----------
Virginia										
White	344,070	1,425	67,089	49,650	49,203	48,471	46,061	39,921	37,723	4,527
Negro	148,415	84	42,062	22,786	21,476	20,156	16,414	13,234	10,666	1,537
West Virginia										
White	334,257	----------	66,046	43,177	43,659	44,047	40,474	36,276	31,118	29,460
Negro	21,701	----------	4,972	2,833	2,774	2,861	2,568	2,327	2,047	1,319

[1] Data from U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1935 No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1932-1934 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937), ch. II, pp. 56-57, 96.

TABLE 2.—*Enrollment in secondary grades in public schools, in 18 States, by grade and by race, 1933–34* [1]

State	Total	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Post-graduate
Total						
White	1,445,017	484,609	386,052	312,786	256,126	5,444
Negro	163,185	65,473	43,335	31,050	23,255	72
Alabama						
White	60,821	21,646	16,356	12,660	10,159	----------
Negro	9,162	3,808	2,362	1,686	1,306	----------
Arkansas						
White	51,066	16,868	13,592	11,115	9,491	----------
Negro	4,038	1,741	963	747	587	----------
Delaware						
White	9,573	2,930	2,882	2,145	1,616	----------
Negro	771	301	197	153	120	----------
District of Columbia						
White	15,311	4,768	4,235	3,517	2,791	----------
Negro	5,382	1,751	1,589	1,067	975	----------
Florida						
White	52,415	17,580	13,827	11,204	9,804	----------
Negro	5,550	2,242	1,465	1,056	787	----------
Georgia						
White	89,470	31,661	25,021	18,480	14,308	----------
Negro	10,927	4,946	2,931	1,799	1,251	----------
Kentucky						
White	83,812	26,938	22,871	18,178	15,825	----------
Negro	7,079	2,664	1,819	1,439	1,157	----------
Louisiana						
White	62,836	21,924	16,799	13,662	10,451	----------
Negro	8,832	3,480	2,412	1,731	1,209	----------
Maryland						
White	49,781	17,773	13,300	10,014	8,567	127
Negro	5,536	2,135	1,486	1,129	786	----------
Mississippi						
White	57,959	18,575	14,625	11,591	10,252	2,916
Negro	6,757	3,057	1,865	1,148	687	----------
Missouri						
White	154,059	49,096	41,343	35,498	27,936	186
Negro	6,033	2,271	1,550	1,226	986	----------
North Carolina						
White	124,281	42,596	32,838	26,797	21,758	292
Negro	24,725	9,785	6,530	4,697	3,713	----------
Oklahoma						
White	108,754	34,326	28,769	23,728	20,436	1,495
Negro	5,493	1,945	1,455	1,144	878	71
South Carolina						
White	51,616	18,273	13,099	11,030	9,214	----------
Negro	10,377	4,399	2,828	2,054	1,096	----------
Tennessee						
White	77,565	26,209	20,661	16,704	13,991	----------
Negro	10,751	4,220	2,819	1,983	1,729	----------
Texas						
White	239,887	80,131	64,793	52,957	42,006	----------
Negro	25,505	10,248	6,610	5,014	3,633	----------
Virginia						
White	80,697	28,181	21,544	16,973	13,999	----------
Negro	12,475	5,057	3,367	2,244	1,807	----------
West Virginia						
White	75,114	25,134	19,497	16,533	13,522	428
Negro	3,792	1,423	1,087	733	548	1

[1] Data from Biennial Survey of Education: 1932–1934, ch. II, pp. 56–7, 96.

RESEARCH STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

This list gives the names of the various consultants and members of the research staff of the Advisory Committee on Education. The names starred are those of major consultants of the Committee, of members of the staff who were responsible for the supervision of major staff units, and of authors of studies published by the Committee.

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*Cocking, Walter D.
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*Hamilton, Robert R.
Harrison, Mary Roberts
*Harvey, Oswald L.
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*Hughes, Raymond M.
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*Iversen, William L.
*Joeckel, Carleton B.
*Johnson, Palmer O.

[1] Miss Roma Kauffman, who served as general assistant editor in connection with other studies, was given major responsibility for the final textual editing of Staff Studies Nos. 12 and 18. Miss Fredlyn Ramsey, who had been given major responsibility for editorial review of statistical materials in most of the studies, also had that responsibility in connection with the extensive statistical materials of Staff Study No. 12.

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Mac Auley, Mary V.
*Morgan, Barton
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*Mort, Paul R.
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*Powers, J. Orin
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*Russell, John Dale
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*Smith, Lewis W.
*Smith, Payson
Studenski, Paul
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Tyler, Tracy F.
*Weaver, Robert C.
West, Roscoe L.
*Wilkerson, Doxey A.
Williams, Kenneth R.
*Works, George A.
*Wright, Frank W.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

Report of the Committee

The Federal Government and Education

A pamphlet summarizing parts of the Report.

Staff Studies

1. Education in the Forty-eight States. Payson Smith, Frank W. Wright, and associates.
2. Organization and Administration of Public Education. Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore.
3. State Personnel Administration: With Special Reference to Departments of Education. Katherine A. Frederic.
4. Federal Aid and the Tax Problem. Clarence Heer.
5. Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education. Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, and associates.
6. The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds. Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey.
7. Selected Legal Problems in Providing Federal Aid for Education. Robert R. Hamilton.
8. Vocational Education. John Dale Russell and associates.
9. Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled. Lloyd E. Blauch.
10. The Land-Grant Colleges. George A. Works and Barton Morgan.
11. Library Service. Carleton B. Joeckel.
12. Special Problems of Negro Education. Doxey A. Wilkerson.
13. The National Youth Administration. Palmer O. Johnson and Oswald L. Harvey.
14. Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration. Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey.
15. Public Education in the District of Columbia. Lloyd E. Blauch and J. Orin Powers.
16. Public Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions. Lloyd E. Blauch.
17. Education of Children on Federal Reservations. Lloyd E. Blauch and William L. Iversen.
18. Educational Service for Indians. Lloyd E. Blauch.
19. Research in the United States Office of Education. Charles H. Judd.

Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth: A National Responsibility, by Newton Edwards, a recent publication of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, is a revision of a preliminary study by Dr. Edwards which was prepared in part under the auspices of the Advisory Committee on Education. This study was announced prior to publication as The National Interest in the Education of Youth.