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ATTITUDES OF SELECTED RACIAL LEADERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES FOR NEGROES DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by
Herman H. Bozeman

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ATTITUDES OF SELECTED RACIAL LEADERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES FOR NEGROES DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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This study reveals the dominant attitudes which characterize the nature and extent of the educational concern of two interest groups, namely: the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These groups are cited as "racial leadership" groups in recognition of the specific orientation of their master programs which derive their justification-for-being from the existence of certain disabilities peculiar to Negroes as a racial group in the American society.

Basic attitudes are sought through the educationally related activities approved and sponsored by the organizations, and the pronouncements of key personnel recorded in the official literature of these organizations, 1910 to 1954. Historical and descriptive research methods are primarily relied upon in an effort to present an intensive and longitudinal view of the pertinent aspects of the problem.

The master programs of the selected organizations are revealed to be intricately involved with efforts to modify policies and practices affecting the educational opportunities of Negroes as a racial group. Of special significance is the National Urban League's pioneering role in making available social work training opportunities for Negroes, and in the employment of visiting teachers for predominantly Negro school situations. It has been a potent factor in seeking to get school vocational programs geared more to the

needs of workers, especially those in modern industrial areas, and to facilitate the improvement and functional adequacy of school vocational guidance counseling programs. At times, this organization is shown to be highly critical of certain school policies and practices, including the vocational offerings of many Negro industrial schools, and of vocational counselors who would restrict the vocational aspirations of Negro youths to jobs having a tradition of accepting members of their group.

The primary educational attitudes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are apparent in its efforts to seek certain "equalities" of opportunities for Negroes as compared with those available for members of the dominant group in the American society. These "equalities" have reference to: the length of school terms, pay for equally qualified teachers doing similar work, transportation provided school children at public expense, buildings and equipment, per capita expenditures for education, graduate and professional training opportunities; and educational opportunities on all levels on a nonracially segregated basis.

On the whole, both organizations have favorably adhered to the generally accepted purposes and philosophy of American education, and have sought to cooperate with efforts for their implementation. However, it is apparent that the primary educational concern of these organizations is predicated upon their perception of the implied potential and efficacy of formal education as an instrument for racial up-grading in the American society.

The selected organizations vary somewhat in their approaches for implementing their respective objectives. The National Urban League's efforts tend to be characterized by more indirection, less militancy, and by a conspicuous reliance upon interracial good will and interracial cooperation. The National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People's program is better characterized by its more direct approach, its vocal militancy, and its persistent utilization of the courts as an instrument to facilitate desired modifications in aspects of educational opportunities for Negroes.

The records of both organizations are replete with evidences of cultural maladjustments and disabilities confronting Negroes as defined and articulated by the leadership of these organizations. An awareness of such information is recommended as of particular value to those entrusted with the responsibilities for determining educational policies and practices for school situations in which Negroes constitute a part of the population.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer takes this privilege to express his profound appreciation to the members of his doctoral committee for the help which they gave him. Special thanks are due the chairman, Professor Claude A. Eggertsen, under whose patient guidance the study was made.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to the officials of the organizations involved in this study for making available to him information, and granting him repeated personal interviews (August, 1952) concerning the educational activities of their respective offices. On the national level, thanks go to Miss Tanneyhill, Director of Vocational Guidance, and Mr. R. Maurice Moss, Associate Executive Director, both of the National Urban League; Mr. Roy Wilkins, Administrator, and Miss Julia Baxter, Research Associate, both of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On the local levels, thanks are extended to Mr. John C. Dancy, Executive Secretary, Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan; Mr. Wiley A. Hall, Executive Secretary, Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia; and Mr. Lester Banks, Secretary, the Virginia State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Richmond, Virginia.

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CHAPTER I

INTEREST GROUPS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

The problem of this study arises from the recognition of the existence of special interest groups which would attempt to use formal education as a means of implementing their objectives and programs. This study reveals the nature and extent of the educational concern of two such groups. It interprets their dominant attitudes and their roles as forces seeking to modify certain policies and practices affecting formal educational opportunities for Negroes in American society. It seeks to answer the queries: What have been the dominant attitudes of selected Negro interest groups toward educational policies and practices during the allotted period? In what respects have these groups sought to modify certain educational policies and practices during the allotted period? The period of this study spans the present century, including more than half the existence of the emancipated Negro in the United States.

As a social institution, the school is susceptible to the impact of many social forces. The shaping of its policies and practices must reflect in varying degrees the constant demands of the activities of the organized forces of the socioeconomic matrix of which it is a part, and in which it must function. Warner and others have succinctly pointed out:

> The American school . . . reflects the socio-economic order in everything that it does; in what it teaches, whom it teaches, who does the teaching, who does the hiring and firing of the

teachers, and what the children learn in and out of the classroom.[1]

Organized groups as social forces are part and parcel of the socio-economic order. They may seek to use formal education as represented by the school as a means of getting advantages and status in their social order. Some policies and practices they seek to inaugurate or to prohibit; others, they seek to extend or restrain, accordingly as they are perceived to have an affect on individual or group well-being.

The existence of a democratic concept of the American system of public education which implies that the schools "belong to all the people," and that citizens have a right and responsibility to participate in policy making for public education[2] apparently invites lay interest and "pressures" upon public schools. This situation enhances the necessity on the part of educators for continuous and comprehensive knowledge of the attitudes and activities of organized groups. These groups may provide a locus of available and potential resources of cultural needs of the people and community served by the school.[3] Awareness of their activities and related attitudes is essential for constructive citizen participation in the programs of formal education.

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[1] W. Lloyd Warner et al., Who Shall Be Educated? p. xii. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944. Cf. Lloyd A. Cook and Elaine F. Cook, A Sociological Approach to Education (2d ed.), p. 201. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950.

[2] Citizens and Educational Policies, pp. 5, 19. Washington: National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, June, 1951.

[3] John Dewey in the Foreword to: Elsie R. Clapp, Community Schools in Action. New York: The Viking Press, 1939.

The groups investigated in this study are the National Urban League[1] and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[2] These groups are referred to as "racial leadership" groups, denoting a category of special interest groups.[3] The study reveals the primary purposes and aims of each group and the structures for implementing such. It cites the major emphases of the educational program of each group, and the techniques employed in an effort to implement the program. It points to certain evidences of the possible impact of the attitudes and activities of these groups on aspects of educational policies and practices for Negroes. Finally, it recommends each group studied as a community resource available to educational policy makers and teacher trainers concerned with meeting the cultural needs of a racial minority group. This possible function of a racial leadership group is believed to be of special value for those who feel that formal education is an instrument capable of helping to secure a more realistic application of democratic ideology

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[1] For convenience, the National Urban League will be referred to as the "League," or designated by the initials "N.U.L."

[2] For convenience, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be referred to as the "Association," or designated by the initials "N.A.A.C.P."

[3] In this report, the term "special interest group" refers to a voluntary association of persons who pursue activities which they deem to be in their own interest. The prime orientation of their programs is the welfare of their particular group, or avowed clientele. Such a group itself is not pathological. Its activities may or may not be considered beneficial to society in general. The term "racial leadership group" is used to refer to a type of special interest group whose common bond of interest is the welfare and status up-grading of a particular racial element of the American society--in the present study, the American Negro. The significance of the label stems from the orientation of the avowed purposes and goals of the group, rather than its immediate constituency.

in the economic and social life of a nation characterized by divergent ethnic, religious, and racial groups.

This study does not propose to be an investigation of the activities and attitudes of all organizations[1] having programs designed to benefit the Negro, or to improve the status of his group in the American society. Rather, it is concentrated on the roles of two uniquely situated groups with respect to their status within the Negro community and in the American society in general. By means of the criteria used for their selection--to be explained in the following paragraph--the special appropriateness of these groups for this study was established. Furthermore, this present writing is not concerned with the total range of racial welfare or improvement activities of the selected organizations. It is limited to only those activities and attitudes designed for, or arising from, efforts to affect policy and practices of formal educational opportunities for Negroes in the American society.[2]

The groups studied in this dissertation were selected because of their exceptional compliance with the criteria outlined below:

(1) Length of continuous existence--a relatively long period of continuous existence was taken as evidence of a favorable degree of acceptance of the group in its area of service;

(2) Comprehensiveness of program--the more complete its program for racial welfare, the greater probability of its acceptance as a racial leadership group;

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[1] In this writing, the terms "group" and "organization" are used interchangeably.

[2] In this writing, "American society" is considered to be synonymous with the limits of continental United States.

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(3) Availability of records--organizations with official periodicals preferred;

(4) Avowed objectives--groups must have their major objectives and activities oriented in behalf of the improvement of the general status of the American Negroes as a racial group, thus assuring their role as special interest groups.

Through the use of these criteria a list of organizations having programs designed to benefit Negroes as a racial group was compiled.[1] Each of these groups qualified in some respect to provide a type of leadership for the racial group. Careful consideration of this listing in consultation with a "board of judges"[2] revealed that two such groups offered special appropriateness for a study of this design and they have been chosen. Thus, a detailed, longitudinal investigation of the activities and resultant attitudes of these two groups as interest groups affecting the educational policies and practices for Negroes during the current century becomes the primary object of this writing. This is believed to provide a more fruitful approach, and to yield a more meaningful body of information than the same energy expended in surveying an array of other possible but hardly as significant groups.

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[1] References most helpful in listing these groups include: Ralph J. Bunche, "The Programs of Organizations Devoted to the Improvement of the Status of the American Negro," Journal of Negro Education, VIII (July, 1939), 539-50; Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society, chap. xx, especially pp. 449-55. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1949; and Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, chaps. xxxv and especially xxix. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

[2] Members of the Divisions of Social Sciences and Education, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, served in this capacity, 1951.

The special appropriateness of the above selected groups for this study stems from the following facts:

(1) Together, their programs approximate more nearly the total range of racial up-grading and welfare.

(2) Each has continuously existed and increased in membership and comprehensiveness of program for more than forty years. Should their existence in their antecedent bodies be included, they span more than half the period of existence of the emancipated Negro in the United States.

(3) With the possible exception of the church, no other national organizations have attained and maintained the intraracial group status and loyalty that these two groups have.[1]

(4) Their racial welfare programs transcend any intraracial group segmental barriers, either class or occupational. In this respect they differ with, for example, professional associations or labor unions.

(5) Both selected groups pledge adherence to the basic American ideals; they deny any alien interests. Their reason for being

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[1] Reid E. Jackson, "Background Factors for Negroes Listed as Leaders in Education," School and Society, LXVI (August 30, 1947), 168. Jackson reported that 146 Negroes were listed among the leaders in education, Leaders in Education: A Biographical Dictionary, 1941 (revised ed.); of the 172 organizations in which they reported memberships, among those mentioned most frequently is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Maurice R. Davie, Negroes In American Society, op. cit., p. 494. Davie concludes, "Of the long established interracial organizations working to improve the status of the American Negro, the most important are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League." In its folder, This Is The Urban League, prepared and distributed by the National Urban League, New York City, 1951, n.p., the League stakes its claim to uniqueness as "the only and oldest national, interracial organization of its kind in the United States."

is the welfare of Negroes as a racial group, reflecting the presence of certain castelike features in the American society.

(6) Each has provided continuous published records for approximately forty years.

(7) Both have served as sounding boards and testing grounds for individual racial leaders.

(8) Both have attained a high degree of community status, being consulted for certain information and leadership in the area of race relations where Negroes have been involved.

(9) Together, their programs are concerned with the welfare of the Negro in both the rural and urban settings.

(10) Lack of membership status in the organization bars no Negro from the benefits of the activities of these organizations.

(11) The existence of these groups is dependent upon voluntary community acceptance and financial support.

(12) These groups, by and large, include, reflect, and inspire many of the basic programs and attitudes of lesser statused Negro leadership organizations.

The major hypothesis of this investigation is that the organizations selected for this study function as a type of special interest group, herein labeled "racial leadership" groups, and that in the process of implementing aims and objectives, their activities do exert pressure on school policies and practices, especially where educational opportunities for Negroes are concerned. Because of the nature, role, and the prestige of these organizations within the Negro group, their persistent and characteristic attitudes reflect basic cultural needs, as well as aspirations and the areas of dissatisfaction of their constituencies. Of minor significance are the hypotheses that the selected organizations present two different approaches to the problem of improving the cultural and social well-being

of a minority group in the United States, and that these two approaches are in many respects complementary and are reflected in the nature of pressures exerted by them upon school policies and practices.

The present study involves an investigation in human group relations, and is concerned with problems of group life and their relation to the efficient functioning of a basic social institution, the school. It is concerned with educational objectives in that an inherent assumption is that schools exist to make group living possible on higher levels of human happiness. Sociological emphases will underlie many of the writer's interpretations of phenomena involved in this study, especially in defining situations that affect the crystalization of certain interest group attitudes. As W. I. Thomas has so wisely revealed, when people define situations as real, they are real; that material facts in large measure are the products of what people think, feel, and believe.[1] Interest groups by their activities are constantly defining and redefining situations for their constituencies. Their attitudes are chiefly reactions to situations as they have defined them in terms of their perception of the relation of such situations to the special interests of their group, and the welfare of those they profess to represent. They reveal a maladjustment in the American social order when their aspirations and behavior become oriented toward goals that a dominant majority does not want to be realized.

One further methodological note seems essential due to the special nature of the phenomena to be dealt with in this study: the particular groups upon which this study is focused are avowedly

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[1] W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, passim. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. Also, E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, passim. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

dedicated to the welfare of members of a racial minority group. The peculiar, castelike position of this group in the American society is a societal phenomenon differing only in degree from one section of America to another. Thus, to consider attitudes toward the educational opportunities for this group as reflected by its organized leadership necessitates a national level approach; it is at that level that basic organizational philosophy and policy crystalization must take place. On the other hand, the real implementation of educational policies and practices in America is considered by tradition to be a local level responsibility; therefore, to study attitudes oriented toward educational policies and practices for Negroes as a racial group involves both the national and local level approaches. Obviously, not all local level bodies will be the concern of this particular study, merely those whose activities exhibit special relevance to the thesis being developed.

In obtaining the necessary information about the programs and activities of the selected organizations, major consideration has been given to the official literature published by each. Both organizations published official organs: for the League, Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life; for the Association, The Crisis magazine. In this writing, the former is cited as Opportunity; it was published as a monthly from 1923 through 1949. The latter--The Crisis--has been published as a monthly[1] since 1910. In addition to these two official organs, information has been taken from the annual reports of each organization, and from the special bulletins, directives to branches, pamphlets, folders, letters, and news releases. These sources have been supplemented by secondary materials. Correspondence

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[1] Where exceptions have been made, it is evident in the documentation.

and personal interviews were also held with officials at the national headquarters of each group, and at local level offices in Detroit, Michigan, and Richmond, Virginia.

It is not assumed that the attitudes which are revealed by this study must necessarily be beneficial or detrimental. Rather, the point of view is that as these attitudes do exist, an awareness of them is important for educational policy makers, and ultimately to those who would facilitate the process of the decent ordering of interracial or intercaste relationships. But, prerequisite to any constructive role the schools may play in this process must be increased knowledge and understanding of the cultural needs, aspirations, and potential areas of friction of the members constituting any major social entity of the over-all community to be served by them. Raup cautions against the dangers of policy makers acting without due consideration of the special needs of the various social entities that constitute their areas of responsibility:

> In this historical period of extreme social heterogeneity the insistence of the "practical" man upon acting without regard to the deep social differences among persons and social groups increases the social frustration that now plagues society and drives all parties in the conflict to rely more and more upon power and less upon reason and deliberation in attaining common action.[1]

The existence of special interest groups may be regarded as an evidence of social entities seeking a source of power in organization. Their presence in American society can not be viewed as pathological so long as their activities remain within the limits of our democratic system of values. Their inherent role in a democratic society is described by Mursell:

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[1] R. Bruce Raup et al., The Improvement of Practical Intelligence, p. 17. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950.

> The essential dynamics of a democratic society turns upon the existence and activity of special interest groups; and the schools of such a society cannot be properly operated if they are unable to deal with the resulting problems constructively.[1]

Policy in American society, whether in the political, economic, or social realm, reflects the struggle of interest groups. Control of education as in the other aspects of our democratic society is affected by the impact of the activities of the dominant social forces or groups which constitute it.[2] For the masses who share but little major control of productive properties, who exist without security, and who are relatively inarticulate, the functions of organizations are enhanced. Their special interest groups function to define, articulate, and reflect by their activities the needs, values, and the general unrest of their constituency. Therefore, increasing research applied to their educational activities and attitudes is essential to constructive educational insight and leadership in a dynamic, multiracial society. This is especially true if the potentials attributed to democratic education[3] are to be translated into reality. It is in an attempt to contribute to this end that this present investigation

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[1] James L. Mursell, Education for American Democracy, p. 312. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1943.

[2] Jess H. Newlon, Education for Democracy in Our Times, p. 133. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

[3] This writing accepts the view that "democratic education" refers to a system of education characterized by a philosophy and practice that recognize the interrelatedness of formal educational activities and human needs and aspirations. Such education utilizes the heritages of different groups; it seeks to provide equal opportunity for all in keeping with their needs and abilities. It envisages the continuous reconstruction of its society on the basis of respect for the dignity and worth of the individual.

of the attitudes[1] and "pressures" of these selected racial leadership organizations, the League and the Association, is undertaken.

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[1] In this writing, "attitudes" refer to policies, predispositions to react toward or against social issues. Organization attitudes transcend individual attitudes. They are couched in the over-all stated policies and objectives of organizations. They give direction to the activities of the organizations, and are reflected in the same.

CHAPTER II

INTEREST GROUP PRESSURES, AN AREA OF SCHOLARLY INVESTIGATIONS

The following selected studies are presented as illustrative of the type of scholarly efforts and approaches to the general problem of ascertaining the impact of the activities of special interest groups upon certain formal educational policies and practices. They give evidence of the significant role of such research in providing essential information, insights, and awareness for educators invested with the responsibility of the final shaping of school programs designed to meet the cultural needs of the communities served. They focus attention upon those aspects of educational concern most vulnerable to the impact of group pressures; and likewise, those policies and practices perceived by interest groups as most intimately related to their welfare and up-grading.

Organized labor has been the subject of varied investigations. Curoe investigated the educational attitudes and policies of organized labor from its beginning in the United States through 1924.[1] He found the problems of child labor, apprenticeship training, and educational implications of the shorter working day to be the "perennial" educational problems receiving the attention of organized labor.[2] The

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[1] Philip R. V. Curoe, Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.

[2] Ibid., pp. 192-93.

American Federation of Labor was the most significant labor group during the latter period of his study. He held its point of view to be deserving of study and appraisal by all interested in American education.[1] His approach was concerned chiefly with the national or federal level. Documents of affiliated or state level bodies were resorted to only when it appeared necessary "to see to what extent the Federation's policies were reflected in local (level) action, or when educational activity by an affiliated body was believed to possess special significance."[2]

McLaughlin,[3] too, was concerned with the impact of organized labor's educational activities on formal education. He investigated the educational policies and activities of the American Federation of Labor. His work actually continued the type of study done by Curoe, but is limited to one group of organized labor, and is extended to a later decade. Both McLaughlin and Curoe focused their main concern upon the national level program of organized labor.

Waskiewicz, though also concerned with the attitudes and the impact of the activities of organized labor on public education, differed with Curoe and McLaughlin, in his approach to this problem. His chief concern was with the state or local level relationships. He studied the relations between organized labor and public education in Michigan from 1880 to 1938.[4] He found evidence that organized

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[1] Ibid., p. 192.

[2] Ibid., p. 106.

[3] S. J. McLaughlin, "The Educational Policies and Activities of the A. F. of Labor During the Present Century." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1936.

[4] Leon S. Waskiewicz, "Organized Labor and Public Education in Michigan from 1880 - 1938." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1939.

labor was concerned with and did exercise influence on certain aspects of public education. Among such were: (1) compulsory school attendance, and (2) child welfare activities, including health, recreation, and school lunches. He observed that labor's relations with public education in Michigan have been sporadic and not always well informed. He recommended that school officials accept the duty to inform labor and also other groups of citizens of what the schools are doing or trying to do.[1]

Professional educational associations as pressure or interest groups have been the subject of scholarly investigations. Selle[2] attempted to apply the method of organic sociological analysis--a case study--for purposes of revealing the organization and activities of the National Education Association for the period extending from 1918 to 1928. He was chiefly concerned with the association as a whole, rather than with its many departments.[3] He recommended that additional studies of this body be undertaken as supplementary to his study in order to constitute a complete sociological analysis of this association. Among his other recommendations, number sixteen was: "That the kind and extent of activities designed to secure the establishment of a Federal Department of Education be determined by the principle of avoidance of 'lag' between social-economic-political conditions and educational conditions."[4] He also recommended

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[1] Ibid., pp. 396-408.

[2] Erwin S. Selle, The Organization and Activities of the National Education Association. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

[3] Ibid., p. 163.

[4] Ibid., pp. 165-66.

in number nineteen: "That the association promote the formulation and observance of a code of ethics for teachers."[1]

Male[2] investigated the activities of a professional educational association as an interest group. His concern was with the Michigan Education Association from 1850 to 1950. His approach was from the local or state level. He emphasized the role of the Michigan Education Association in rallying "support for public education and exerting pressure on the legislature to obtain larger state aid appropriations for the public schools."[3] His writing gives evidence that the Michigan Education Association sought the aid of other interest groups in pursuing its objectives, thus revealing the awareness on the part of professional educators to the potential impact of lay group pressures in behalf of educational objectives.[4]

Major service clubs received the scholarly attention of Rumbaugh.[5] By means of survey techniques, he classified and analyzed the educational activities of the Rotary International, Lions International, and the Kiwanis International. These he described as "service clubs"; their chief purpose being "to recognize the

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[1] Ibid., p. 166.

[2] George A. Male, "The Michigan Education Association As an Interest Group, 1950-1950." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952.

[3] George Male, "A Century of Efforts to Improve the Salaries of Teachers in Michigan," History of Education Journal, Vol. III, No. 2 (Winter, 1952), 52-60.

[4] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[5] Lloyd F. Rumbaugh, "The Educational Activities of the Major Service Clubs." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1943.

community needs and meet these needs by cooperative effort or through cooperation with other agencies."[1] His study shows the comprehensiveness of the educational programs of these clubs, and their relationship to public education. Education is used in its broadest sense, including both in-school and out-of-school activities which contribute to or influence the habits, attitudes, or knowledge of individuals.[2] He did not find that the schools have made "full use of the service clubs in their public relations program."[3] He recommends closer relations between schools and service clubs. His chief approach was from the national level; however, the national offices reflected the local level activities through reports of activities from the affiliated bodies.

Brown[4] examined the attitudes of selected national organizations on certain current and controversial issues in education. The groups she selected were the: (1) American Legion, (2) National Education Association, (3) National Catholic Education Association, (4) American Association of University Women, (5) Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, (6) American Federation of Labor, and (7) National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She found that these organizations exerted pressure to have their special beliefs carried out in the schools; that they have taken stands with reference to the position of teachers and the teaching of certain topics in the schools; and that their attitudes have apparently reflected the major social and economic changes of society at a given

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 155.

[4] Rheba B. Brown, "The Attitudes of Seven 'Pressure Groups' Toward Twelve Phases of Education." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Michigan, 1937.

time.[1] She was able to group these organizations on the basis of the trends in their attitudes as (1) liberal, (2) middleground, and (3) conservative. Her period of study was from 1916 to 1936.

What appears to be the standard work in this area was made by Raup.[2] In the early thirties, he emphasized the inescapable involvement of the school as an instrument in the "remaking of culture."[3] For him, "to teach a child is to modify in some way the social inheritance."[4] He concurred with Kilpatrick[5] in stressing the need for educators to understand society, its organization, and the social forces that undergird its dynamic character.[6] He cited the role of organized forces in shaping the lives of each growing generation, and indicated that these organizations are powerful educational instruments. They constitute parts of the social milieu and heritage; and that, "both indirectly and directly," educational leaders feel the pressure of organized interests.[7] From Raup's point of view, "The teacher, the administrator, the board, and every citizen interested

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[1] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[2] R. Bruce Raup, Education and Organized Interests in America, passim. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936.

[3] Ibid., p. 3.

[4] Ibid.

[5] William H. Kilpatrick, The Educational Frontier. New York: The Century Company, 1933.

[6] Dewey, too, would caution educators to "continue the process of educating themselves as to the community's needs and resources, its weaknesses and strong points; only in this way could they engage in further education of the community." See Dewey in his foreword to: Elsie R. Clapp, Community Schools in Action, pp. viii, ix. New York: The Viking Press, 1939.

[7] Raup, op. cit., p. 2.

in education achieves educational statesmanship just in the degree that passing events of pressure and influence are related to a growing and inclusive long-time program of social good."[1]

In documenting his thesis, Raup studied approximately eighty-five to ninety organizations.[2] These were classified into such categories as: (1) those concerned with the distribution and control of wealth, and (2) those concerned with nationalism, war, and international policy.[3] He found these organizations to be actively attempting to influence the school's program. He concluded that educators must know the attitudes of the public in which the social program of the schools of the future is to be worked. Further, that "a part of the educator's role may be to propose and actively to advance new bases for consensus in American belief and conduct. . . ." and that "a lively sense of the conditions where crisis is imminent is a first step."[4]

Armstrong[5] was concerned with educational programs of lay groups, and the possible impact of their pressures exerted upon the policies and programs of public schools. He investigated the

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[1] Ibid., p. 8.

[2] Pierce found over two hundred national organizations striving to influence educational policies and practices to the extent of having made official pronouncements on the subject of their special interest. Cf. Bessie L. Pierce, Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, passim. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

[3] Raup, op. cit., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 229.

[5] Thomas F. Armstrong, Jr., "The Public Educational Programs of Selected Lay Organizations in Pennsylvania," pp. iii, 2. Doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Temple University, Philadelphia, 1947.

educational programs of four lay groups,[1] namely: (1) the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania; (2) the Pennsylvania State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution; (3) the American Association of University Women, Pennsylvania Division; and (4) the Pennsylvania Branches and Youth Councils of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This study was limited to the state of Pennsylvania, and covered the period from 1930 to 1944.

Armstrong's investigation revealed that public education in Pennsylvania had been influenced by the four lay groups studied.[2] He found these groups to have developed wide contacts among the population. He concluded that they "must be taken into consideration by those who have been given authority and responsibility over public elementary and secondary education in Pennsylvania."[3] He recommended that students make additional studies of the educational programs of organizations.[4]

Robert A. Anglin made a study involving one of the groups selected for the present investigation, although his objectives were very different. He made a sociological analysis of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to ascertain whether or not it is an institutionalized group;[5] to determine "What set of specific factors are necessary to the group before it can be called an institutionalized one?"[6] He concluded that the organization

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[1] Ibid., p. 328.

[2] Ibid., p. 342.

[3] Ibid., pp. 343-44.

[4] Ibid., p. 345.

[5] Robert A. Anglin, "A Sociological Analysis of A Pressure Group," p. 2. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1949.

[6] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

is an institutionalized group because of the functioning of the following "institutionalizing" factors: (1) recognition, (2) an ideology, (3) service, (4) interests, (5) persistence, (6) rigidity, and (7) the support of the common mores.[1]

The present undertaking is designed neither to confirm nor to refute the findings of Anglin, but, rather having accepted his conclusion that the organization has attained institutionalization, it has examined evidence about the nature and extent of the possible impact of this organization's leadership in one selected area: that of formal education. Anglin's findings about the status of the N.A.A.C.P. makes it seem even more appropriate for use in this writing, and its value as a source of racially oriented attitudes toward educational policies and practices for Negroes during the present century.

This brief review of related literature indicates that a variety of groups have been subjected to scholarly investigation as special interest groups affecting formal education. They show how many aspects of formal education have felt specialized group pressures.

This study is also concerned with the effect of group pressures of a racial minority group on the policies and practices of formal education. No other study has dealt extensively with such group. Although Armstrong included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in his study, he was concerned only with the Pennsylvania State Branches, during the period from 1930 to 1944. He did not treat extensively its national program, nor did his study have longitudinal depth. Neither did he conceive such a group as a resource for cultural needs, aspirations, and areas of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 406-07.

potential dissension available to educational policy makers in a multi-racial school community.

To treat the educational activities and attitudes of racial leadership groups presents the problem situation which is inherent in any attempt of formal education to adjust to the constant demands for increasing opportunities for racial minority groups. This situation has been complicated by the inconsistency existing between the avowed democratic principles of American society and the reality of conditions as they are encountered by certain groups within that society. MacIver undoubtedly sensed this problem when he stated: "Ignorance and prejudice and carelessness and the inertia of old traditions abound amongst us, causing frustration and hurt to multitudes of our people, denying in effect the liberties we preach, the democracy we profess."[1] The characteristic absence of members of the Negro racial group in the higher educational hierarchy, where policy making theoretically takes place, necessitates their resort to other channels for communicating their needs and expressing their dissatisfactions. A reasonable expectation is that racial leadership groups may provide such a channel. An awareness of the educational activities and attitudes of these groups is a crucial need of educational policy makers.

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[1] Robert M. MacIver, editor, Group Relations and Group Antagonisms, p. vii. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL SETTING OF INTEREST GROUP EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

This chapter contains the writer's interpretation of the situation which creates the types of problems encountered in this study, and provides insight into the manner of perception and definition of reality characteristic of the leadership in the selected organizations of this study. The writer views the particular problem of this study as growing out of the interaction of three features of the American way of life; namely, the central position of organized education, the role of special interest groups in determining policy in general, and, most significant, the relative position of the Negro in the American society.[1]

One of the prime characteristics of the American people is a pronounced vocal faith in the basic importance of institutionalized education as an essential requisite for the well-being of a democratic society. Young lists a belief in universal education as among the traits which characterize the American ethos.[2] Educational opportunity for all is recognized in our ideals as a prerequisite for wholesome personality development and efficient participation in the

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[1] Dwight L. Dumond, Anti-Slavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, p. 10. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1939.

[2] Kimball Young, Sociology, A Study of Society and Culture, p. 42. New York: American Book Company, 1942.

democratic processes.[1] That this vocal faith is not always reality is readily acknowledged; yet, as an ideal, it remains as a fundamental challenge in American society.

The importance of organized education as a prime ingredient in the American way of life is readily apparent as one reviews such prominent characteristics of the American people as: (1) their historic faith in education as basic to the "good life"; (2) their invention and continuous support of a system of universal tax-supported formal education; (3) their scholarly writings relating the goals and objectives to be accomplished with the aid of organized education; (4) the continuing faith of Americans of the varied walks of life in organized education as essential for the attainment, protection, and maintenance of a democratic way of life; and (5) the role of institutionalized education as the principal means of individual and group up-grading in the American societal system.

Organized education has long occupied a cherished position in the thinking of American people. Within a few years of the landing of the Pilgrims on New England's "bleak and rock-bound shore" their concern for their children and their faith in education resulted in the establishment of a secondary school which has had continuous existence.[2] The invention and establishment by Americans of a system of universal free public education is consistent with their faith in formal education as an instrument of enlightenment; and gives evidence of the recognition that the enlightenment of all the people is

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 882. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

[2] James L. Mursell, Education for American Democracy, p. 33. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1943. (Ref: The Boston Latin School, est. 1635.)

an essential requisite to popular government. According to Beard, shortly after gaining independence, "many of the best minds in America began to draft comprehensive plans for systems of universal education. . . ."[1] Commenting on the relative growth of elementary, secondary, and higher education in America, Brown concludes that "no nation has taken so literally its own ideal of education as expressed in the Ordinance of 1787."[2]

The acceptance of the public school system in the American way of life is especially evident from the investigation of Angell. In his study of the integration of American society, he observed that:

> Perhaps more than anything else connected with government, it [the public school system] is a precipitation of our common values. . . . We cannot even conceive that a movement aiming to abolish it could secure more than a handful of adherents.[3]

Further evidence of the faith of Americans in organized education can be drawn from the voluminous writings of American scholars and their comprehensive conceptions of educational objectives. Having conceived a democratic state as one in which every group and every individual in that group is free to develop individuality, culture, and power; or, as Beard conceives it, as implying "the widest possible diffusion of culture and all the means essential to the good life,"[4] it becomes apparent that formal education must play an increasingly important role as a safeguard and preparation for democratic living. According to Beard, education is:

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[1] Charles A. Beard, The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, p. 14. Washington: National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence, 1937.

[2] Francis J. Brown, Educational Sociology, p. 264. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949.

[3] Robert C. Angell, The Integration of American Society, p. 204. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

[4] Charles A. Beard, op. cit., p. 118.

> . . . committed by its historical and immediate obligations to cherishing and advancing the funded wisdom, knowledge, and aspirations of the race. . . . It is concerned with all the humane interests which shape society, government, and public policies, and give richness to individual life.[1]

Any review of the aims and objectives of education in the American society must emphasize the central position accorded the school and the important functions expected of its program of formalized education.[2] The breadth of the school's program is related to the faith of American scholars in the efficacy of education to assure an understanding of, and zeal for, the essential ideals of American life.[3]

Organized education as represented by the school is relied upon as an important factor in the equipping of each new member of the American society with the fundamentals for survival and acceptable group living. It occupies a central position in the transmission of the American value systems from one generation to another, making possible a reasonable consensus regarding what is acceptable or forbidden, right or wrong; this being essential for societal unity. At the same time, the school is called upon to aid in preparing for changes and the improvement of the American social order.[4] Changes are viewed as inevitable to make for necessary

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[1] Ibid., pp. 118-19.

[2] The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, p. 157. Washington: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, 1938. Note the broad pronouncements of general aims of education in America.

[3] Implications of Social-Economic Goals for Education, p. 7. Washington: National Education Association, 1937.

[4] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? p. 143. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Also, Francis J. Brown, Educational Sociology, p. 183. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949.

adjustments and readjustments in such a highly dynamic, industrial, heterogeneous social order as characterizes the American society.

Within the American social structure, the school is recognized as functioning as the principal "social elevator" for social mobility and group up-grading.[1] Landis and Landis, writing for American adolescents, make this statement: "Our school system is the greatest help in enabling us to move in an upward direction. 'Education for all' is the American boast. The ideal of universal education is to lift the entire society to a new level of achievement and enjoyment."[2] Elsewhere, they refer to education as "a road to privilege. To deny any large group equal educational opportunity is to deny them the opportunity to participate fully in modern life."[3]

Without further illustrative details, it is compellingly evident that the role of organized education is central to the American way of life and thinking. Whether viewed from historical perspective, the writings of the scholars, the professions of Americans of varied walks of life; or the functional relevance of the school to the dynamics of the struggles for individual and group up-grading in the social structure; the prime importance of organized education for Americans is obvious. Thus, there is little wonder that the school becomes the focus of pressures from a vast complexity of social forces, pressure groups, that would seek to use it as a means of implementing their group oriented objectives; that would seek to have their special interests incorporated into the school's program and policies.

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[1] Warner et al., op. cit., pp. 56-57.

[2] Paul H. Landis and Judson T. Landis, Social Living, p. 92. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949.

[3] Ibid., p. 357.

The dynamic role of special interest groups in seeking to determine policies in the American society is inherent in the political definition of democracy as a form of government predicated upon the theory of citizenship self-rule through their representatives. Such a theory accepts discussion and compromise as sources of reasonable consensus upon which to base public action and is characterized by respect for the individual personality, and for certain fundamental rights among which are those of freedom of speech, freedom of inquiry, and freedom to use the secret ballot. It is a theory that sanctions the use of certain pressure tactics in articulating the "will of the people," illustrative of which are: (1) personal appeal, (2) persuasion, (3) propaganda, (4) newspapers, (5) motion pictures (6) television, (7) radio, and (8) other means of mass media used by the various social entities in their efforts to support or oppose measures affecting public interests.[1] The virtues and vices of such a societal mode of operation are those of the people who support or tolerate the process.

Specialized group organizations are component parts of all societies, but in the American society they have added significance. This is due largely to the nature and history of the society itself, characterized as it is in the twentieth century by its rapid industrialization. Any listing of the complicating features which result must include the increment of a vast and complex division of labor, the rapid mobility of a highly heterogeneous population, and the diversity of interests and wide range of communication demanded.

American society is variously characterized by its multi-group, democratic, and dynamic features. Much of its dynamic

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[1] Kimball Young, op. cit., pp. 576-81.

character is attributable to its myriad group constituency, and the rapidity of its rate of social change due to technological innovations. The impact of these changes affects different group entities in varying degrees. It constantly demands reshuffling and reordering of intergroup relations as these social entities compete for survival, recognition, and achievement in their ever-changing cultural environment. Therefore, the position of any one group in American society is always relative to time, place, and circumstances. Thus, in order to facilitate the interpretation of attitudes characteristic of leadership organizations for a particular group, it appears necessary to point-up certain aspects of uniqueness of that group's relative position in the over-all system of intergroup relations characteristic of the time, place, and the circumstances pertinent to this study. If there be no uniqueness of position, then special "racial" leadership organizations could hardly be justified.

However, there does seem to exist a uniqueness of societal position that justifies Negro "racial" leadership organizations: a uniqueness of position stemming from their (Negroes) degree of restricted participation and sharing of opportunities, privileges, and responsibilities in the American society. Such restrictions, rather than biological inheritance itself, tend to account for much of the so-called " racial" behavior; and, become motivating factors for much of the activity of so-labeled "racial leadership" organizions. Awareness of this point of view is fundamental to an interpretation and appreciation of the activities and attitudes of the interest groups to be presented in the body of this writing.

The position of American Negroes is implied in their designation as a minority group. Yet, such designation implies no uniqueness. Most Americans are in some respects "minority"

group members.[1] Even a less general interpretation of the term "minority group" would include, for example, such major categories as ethnic groups (resulting largely from the existence of recent European immigrants and their varying progress at acculturation to the American way of life); religious minorities (for example, Jews and Catholics, as these would vary from accepted Protestantism); and racial minorities (including the many nonwhite descendants of Mongoloid or Negroid stocks, of which the American Negro is but one example).[2] Thus, it is readily apparent that if one would seek a term that implies a uniqueness in designating the position of the Negro in American society, certainly the term "minority" does not satisfy.

The use of the term "castelike" appears to have merit in indicating certain aspects of positional uniqueness of Negroes in the American society; its use tends to focus attention upon certain disabilities which provide essential insights for appreciating and interpreting the activities and attitudes that constitute the data for this study. The position of Negroes as a minority in American society assumes uniqueness when viewed in terms of the number of castelike restrictions this group must encounter in pursuit of acceptance and opportunity in the over-all society. It is recognized that many, and probably most, of the disadvantages faced by Negroes are inherent in their minority position; they do tend to share like other minorities in similar situations. Yet, over and above this, there seem to be certain additional restrictions that are inherent in the special kind of minority-being which Negroes happen to be, by virtue

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[1] R. M. MacIver (ed.), Group Relations and Group Antagonisms, p. 85. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

[2] Carey Williams, Brothers Under the Skin, passim. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942.

of just being Negroes. These additional restraints this writer considers most aptly described as "castelike" restraints. It is in this particular area that arise the problems of most significance in understanding the activities and attitudes of racial leadership organizations, and for educational policy-makers who would plan and implement programs of education in areas where members of this group are components.

The term "caste" is generally used by students of American society to refer to a system of rigid social stratification,[1] especially as contrasted with a class system of social stratification. Communication between caste segments of society tends to be minimized, and social distance tends to be maximized. Such a situation tends to enhance mutual ignorance and suspicion between caste groups, and to decrease opportunities for mutual understanding, appreciation, and the development of common interests.[2]

Cooley and others point out two available principles which operate to determine one's social position: caste and competition.[3] Caste is designated as "the principle of distributing social functions and social privileges on the basis of inheritance," and it also refers to the groups determined by this principle. According to this same source, the presence of caste is revealed by two crucial attitudes: (1) a sentiment against intermarriage, and (2) the practice of judging

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[1] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology (2d ed.), pp. 146, 147-50. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950.

[2] Louis Wirth, "Segregation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XIII, 643-46. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

[3] Charles H. Cooley, Robert C. Angell, and Lowell J. Carr, Introductory Sociology, p. 287. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

individuals on the basis of their group membership rather than on the basis of individual merit. These two attitudes have functional significance; the former is aimed at "protecting the caste at the source"; the latter is designated to prevent the operation of competition--that is, the principle of distributing functions and privileges on the basis of comparative efficiency of the seeking individuals.[1]

Kroeber gives a definitive statement of the term "caste" on the basis of its common elements. According to this authority, caste refers to "an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions."[2]

The basic features most commonly implied in using the term "caste," especially with reference to Negro-white relations in the American society, include: a rigid separation of groups enforced by custom, law, or both; restricted communication between these groups; and a degree of permanence of the individual's position within his group, an individual is born into his social group and must remain in it for life. Intermarriage outside the group is prohibited; obligations and opportunities are unequally divided; and a ranking as superior or inferior is implied. Competition for cultural advantages is restricted in most basic areas of living, including vocational, residential, health, educational, and political, as well as social advantages. Finally, there exists a system of etiquette to maintain social distance and caste consciousness.

The description of the position of the Negro as being akin to a caste position implies that in his treatment in the American society

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[1] Ibid.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "Caste," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, III, 254. New York: Macmillan Company, 1934.

he is accorded the above caste features, attitudes, restrictions, and disabilities to a significant degree; that is, to such an extent that his position takes on uniqueness even when compared with other minority groups in the American society. This phenomenon is often implied in various expressions; for example, the "color line," "Negro jobs," or "Colored"; the latter being the familiar sign to indicate accommodations especially reserved for Negroes, despite the fact that the majority of the people of the world are also colored. It is also implied in the expressions "keeping the Negro in his place," or "color caste."

In his monumental study, Myrdal uses the term "caste" to indicate the systematic type of social differentiation applied to Negroes in American society; he does not think the term "minority" as applied to Negroes is adequately definitive because it fails to differentiate between the temporary social disabilities of other minority groups (for example, ethnics) and the more permanent political, judicial, and social disabilities of Negroes.[1] Brown, in her study, recognized that something "akin to a caste division" tends to separate the "two races" in their participation in American life.[2] Warner uses the term "caste" to indicate the Negro's position in American society and his struggle to use the school to gain equality of opportunity.[3] Davis and others use the term in their study; they point out, "Life in the communities of Deep South follows an ordered

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 667. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

[2] Ina C. Brown, Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems, p. 17. Washington: Federal Security Agency, United States Office of Education, 1942.

[3] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? Chaps. II, X. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

pattern. The inhabitants live in a social world clearly divided into two ranks, the white caste and the Negro caste."[1] Again, with reference mainly to the southern and border states, Davis points out that "the basic restrictions upon marriage, occupations and public gatherings separate the two groups [white and Negro] into two self-perpetuating castes, in such a way that the white group is assured the higher privileges and fuller opportunities."[2]

That such conditions as implied by the Davis references above are not restricted wholly to the South and border states, or are not merely regional phenomena, is attested to by Warner's observation that "The system existing in the Deep South is found in various forms wherever there are Negroes in the United States. The Deep South has it more systematically organized."[3] Cooley and others early recognized the trend of affairs that, "Since the ebbing of the idealism or fanaticism of the Civil War the average Northerner in personal relations has tended to accept the Southern caste attitude toward the Negro race. . . ."[4]

In citing the references of the above paragraph, the writer is not ignoring any existing advantages of Negroes in the North and West, and the possible improvement in the position of the Negro concommitant with the Second World War and its related defense prosperity; but merely that the immediate concern is to maintain the

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[1] Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, Deep South, p. 539. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

[2] Allison Davis, "The Socialization of the American Negro Child and Adolescent," Journal of Negro Education, VIII (July, 1939), 269.

[3] W. Lloyd Warner et al., op. cit., p. 120.

[4] Cooley et al., op. cit., p. 290.

consistency of the thesis that the differential treatment and implied position of the Negro viewed from one section of the American society to another is merely a matter of degree, not of kind, and that the term "castelike" is descriptive of certain restrictions that exist for the Negro in all sections of the American society.

The writer is also aware of the lack of agreement among students of the social sciences regarding the adequacy of the concept of caste as applied to the American society. However, it is not considered necessary here to debate the general theoretical adequacy of the concept as a general tool of research; it is enough merely to be aware of its limitations. Davie concludes that although Negro-white relations in America have certain aspects characteristic of caste, "the situation is more accurately described as caste-like or as a state of modification of a caste system or of transition from such a system."[1] Other recognized social scientists, including Cox[2] and Johnson,[3] have been critical of the adequacy of the caste interpretation of American Negro-white relations, but, for the restricted role it serves in providing field insight for the interpretation and appreciation of the phenomena to be dealt with in this particular investigation, none of these criticisms invalidates its special utility in bringing into focus the uniqueness of the societal position of American Negroes. However, in deference to erudite opposition, the writer accepts the qualified version: "castelike."

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[1] Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society, p. 432. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949. Also, cf. Thomas C. McCormick, Sociology, p. 137. The Ronald Press Company, 1950.

[2] Oliver C. Cox, "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations," Social Forces, XXI (December, 1942), pp. 218-26.

[3] Charles S. Johnson, Growing Up in the Black Belt, final chapter. Washington: American Council on Education, 1941.

The inadequacies of the caste concept are most apparent when it is used to describe actual functional relations; caste lines are not drawn as straight lines. American society is highly dynamic; caste implies a more static and accepted situation. The very activity of racial leadership groups as special interest groups could be viewed as evidence of the fact that the represented constituency seeks to upgrade itself, thereby belying any imputed acceptance of lower caste position as a permanent, fixed, and unalterable placement. On the other hand, the very fact that such "racial" leadership groups exist at all may be taken as prima-facie evidence of the presence of irritating castelike social disabilities that are defined as necessitating special "racial" group organizations and "pressures" for their amelioration. This writer is favorable toward the latter interpretation.

This chapter has been included to provide the necessary information about the societal situation in which the phenomena to be dealt with in the body of this dissertation take place. The problem of this study has been interpreted as being intricately involved in the interaction of the following characteristic features of the American way of life: (1) an intense and consistent vocal faith in formal education as an indispensable instrument of personal and social well-being in a democratic way of life, (2) the sanction and tolerance of special interest group activities as a means of determining general public policies, and (3) the castelike societal position of Negroes--alluding to certain irritating and restraining disabilities which create their group as a unique social entity in the American society.

Implicit in this essay is the thesis that it is the interaction of the above-mentioned features that motivates many of the efforts of racial leadership groups to influence the policies and practices of formal educational institutions. The nature, extent, and possible

impact of such efforts on the part of two selected groups will be the immediate concern of the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEAGUE: ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND APPROACH

This chapter reveals certain salient aspects of the heritage, nature, and approach[1] that characterize the League movement. The League reflects the heritage of three antecedent social work organizations, all concerned with the amelioration of conditions inherent in the early migrations of Negroes into the great industrial centers of the United States. During the year 1906, in New York City, a meeting of white and colored persons was called by Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., then President of the Long Island Railroad and also President of the General Education Board. The call was motivated by an immediate concern for the industrial welfare of Negroes in New York City and its relevance to race relations. The specific task of this meeting was to consider means of studying the industrial needs of Negroes and seeking new openings for those best qualified. The formation of the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York City was the result of this meeting.[2]

During the same year (1906), Miss Frances Keller, a worker with immigrant white women, also called together a group of white

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[1] The League approach is often distinguished as being primarily of the "indirect" type, as contrasted with the more "direct" approach attributed to the Association.

[2] "Annual Report, 1919: An Idea Made Practical," Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), passim. Also, cf. Eugene Kinckle Jones, "The National Urban League," Opportunity, III (January, 1925), 12-13.

and colored persons for the purpose of considering the problems confronting Negro women and girls who were migrating into such urban centers as New York City and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, seeking work and living opportunities. These women, old and young, were often the victims of unscrupulous persons, and the accruing situation was both discouraging and degrading. In an effort to provide some aid in this situation, under the leadership of Miss Keller, the League for the Protection of Colored Women was formed. That such an organization concerned with "protection of Colored Women" was needed is attested to by Eugene Kinckle Jones, who related, "These colored girls were met neither by a white community nor a colored community sympathetic in a definite way with their hopes and aspirations."[1]

These two organizations--the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York City, and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women--pursued their similar interests along parallel courses for approximately four years. In 1908, George Edmund Haynes, a graduate student at Columbia University, became aware of the problems of Negro migrants to northern cities, and concluded that the accruing situation had broader aspects than finding jobs and protecting colored women from a "black slave" traffic which he interpreted as the major approach of the then existing organizations offering aid to these northern city in-migrants. He proposed a broader program of social action which inspired Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Jr., widow of one of the founders of the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York City, to call a conference in 1910. To this conference were

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[1] Eugene Kinckle Jones, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

invited the various organizations working in interest of Negroes in the City of New York. The conference resolved itself into the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes; in the following year (1911), these three organizations finally merged into one organization: the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes--a title later shortened to the National Urban League. This merger was an economy and efficiency measure; it minimized the duplication of activities and expenses. Combined in this organization were the purposes of all the antecedent and merging bodies which included: (1) to develop cooperation and coordination among agencies primarily dedicated to the welfare of Negroes in urban situations, (2) to make investigations of social conditions among Negroes in cities, (3) to secure training for Negro social workers, (4) to establish new agencies for social services among Negroes; its cardinal policy was never to duplicate services, but to act only when no other existing agency could or would assume the responsibility for existing social needs of Negroes.[1]

The basic philosophy of the National Urban League movement is succinctly reflected in the writings of its pioneer builders. Central in this philosophy is the belief in interracial cooperation and interracial good-will as prime requisites for ameliorating problems of minority groups, especially Negroes, in the American culture. A statement by its executive board points out:

> The National Urban League believes that men and women of both the white and colored races working together can eliminate conditions which lead to friction through mutual understanding and regard.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Annual Report, 1919: An Idea Made Practical," op. cit., n.p.

Interracial problems are perceived as affecting the whole community, thereby necessitating community responsibility and community action. In her letter of resignation, because of ill health, one of the Urban League's founders urged that the improvement of all the living conditions of Negroes in cities be approached "as a part of the larger problem of developing a more wholesome community life in general and a sounder national democracy."[1] An often-quoted passage in Urban League literature penned in this same letter of resignation tersely expresses the organization's ideal:

> Let us work not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefits of any group alone, but <u>together</u> [this emphasis belongs to Urban League literature], as American citizens for the common good of our common city, our common country.[2]

The acceptance and continuance of the ideal of interracial good-will and understanding as a medium of "improving the welfare status of colored people in particular, and the whole community in general" was confirmed by Jesse O. Thomas as he later viewed in retrospection the National Urban League movement.[3] As its Southern Field Director, Mr. Thomas had been a pioneering force in establishing the movement especially in the South.

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[1] "Extract from the Letter of Resignation of Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Jr., as Chairman of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes," printed in the <u>Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes</u>, V (December, 1915), n.p. Note: This title is shortened to become the National Urban League.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>. Also, Pamphlet: <u>Report of the New York Urban League, 1920</u>, III (January, 1921), 11. This same passage often appears in Urban League literature, on its stationery, folders, and inside cover sheets.

[3] Jesse O. Thomas, "For the Total Community," <u>Opportunity</u>, XXIII (October-December, 1945), 218.

Another cardinal belief apparent in the National Urban League's philosophy is that the lack of the facts defining a situation and misinformation are factors that contribute significantly to racial frictions. Implied here is the acceptance of man as a rational animal, and that being duly apprised of the pertinent facts man will bring to bear his genius, training, and experiences to correct a given problem situation. According to the League's pioneering chief administrative official, Eugene Kinckle Jones, much of the suffering Negroes have undergone in America is related to misunderstandings which he attributes as being "the underlying cause of the League's existence"; he cited the removal of the causes of such misunderstanding as being "the main purpose of the Urban League."[1]

Primarily, the League is a social service organization, and techniques of social work constitute and underlie its basic policies. It is a specialized agency in that its major clientele is made up of members of a special racial group. In this role, its original and constant objective is that of defining the unsolved social welfare problems of Negroes and advocating and promoting the solution of the same.[2] Washington concluded that "No non-racial social planning council or community council at the present time [1945] could give the same intensive and extensive attention to the social welfare needs of the Negro as can the Urban League."[3] As a social

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[1] Eugene Kinckle Jones, "Building for a Larger Life," Opportunity, I (March, 1923), 19.

[2] Forrester B. Washington, "Social Significance of the Urban League," Opportunity, XXIII (October-December, 1945), 219. Mr. Washington was formerly the Director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia. He is also a former Urban League Fellow.

[3] Ibid.

work organization, the National Urban League is affiliated with the (1) National Social Welfare Assembly, (2) National Conference of Social Work, (3) United Community Defense Services, and the (4) United Defense Fund.[1]

At its national conference held in New York City early in 1917, the Urban League adopted resolutions that reveal in outline its projected program for implementing its philosophy in both northern and southern areas of the United States. This conference was attended by representatives, both national and local, from the principal cities of twenty states--North and South--and projected its program of action including:

> In the South: That wherever possible, whether in the city or rural community, organizations be formed with the following purposes:
> (a) To foster good feeling between the two races;
> (b) To study the health, school and work needs of the Negro population;
> (c) To develop agencies and stimulate activities to meet those needs;
> (d) By training and health protection to increase the industrial efficiency of Negroes and to encourage a fairer attitude toward Negro labor especially in regard to hours, conditions, and regularity of work and standard of wages;
> (e) To increase the respect for law and the orderly administration of justice.[2]

In the North, among other purposes, the Urban League movement would seek to instruct the Negro migrants as to:

> (a) The dress, habits and methods of living necessary to withstand the rigors of the northern climate;

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[1] Folder: This is the Urban League. Prepared and distributed by the National Urban League, New York City, 1951, n.p.

[2] "Annual Report, 1916-17: A Challenge to Democracy," Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, VII (November, 1917), 5ff.

(b) The efficiency, regularity, and application demanded of workers in the North;
(c) The danger of dealing or going with unscrupulous or vicious persons and of frequenting questionable resorts;
(d) The opportunities offered by the towns and cities of the North in schools, hospitals, police protection, and employment;
(e) The facilities offered by the church, Y.M.C.A. and other organizations.

Throughout the history of the Urban League movement, the emphases on economic well-being and economic opportunities for Negroes have been of primary concern. In light of its own nature and avowed objectives, the plight of its major clientele and the materialistic emphasis of the American culture, such concern is readily understandable. Its primary over-all program mainly falls into five major areas of services: (1) health, (2) training of social workers, (3) housing, (4) vocational guidance and job placement, and (5) race relations. In the "Dedication" to its Fortieth Anniversary Year Book, the following profile of the League's areas of service is given:

> The National Urban League promotes Equal Economic Opportunity through (a) opening job opportunities at all levels, (b) placement of personnel in the highest rated job for which each can qualify, and (c) vocational guidance for better performance. The League plans and actively supports community efforts for better housing, health education, and recreation, which facilitate this program.[2]

The Urban League is dependent upon voluntary contributions. Memberships are of two types: (1) active members, who contribute five dollars ($5.00) annually, and (2) sustaining members, who

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Dedication," National Urban League 40th Anniversary Year Book. National Urban League, New York City, 1950.

contribute twenty-five ($25.00) dollars and over per year.[1] Philanthropic donors play a conspicuous role in financing its major programs. In most cities where the League movement has been active over a period of years, it is included in the Community Chest Fund.[2]

The coordination of the work of the National Urban League movement takes place at the national headquarters located in New York City, with a Southern field office located in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1951 there were fifty-eight affiliate or local Urban Leagues located in the major cities in twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia;[3] these local Urban Leagues interpret and implement national level policies to meet needs accruing in a local situation.[4] Through the annual conferences, representatives from local Urban

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[1] Folder: This Is the Urban League, op. cit., n.p.

[2] "That You May Know," Annual Report, 1947, p. 5. Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia. This League affiliate became a charter member of the Richmond Area Community Chest in 1924. In an interview with Mr. Wiley A. Hall, the Executive Secretary and guiding force in developing the Urban League movement in Richmond, Virginia, the writer was informed that the Community Chest was the chief source of financial support for his organization. Personal interview with Mr. Wiley A. Hall, Richmond, Virginia, December 20, 1951.

[3] See Figure 1, p. 47.

[4] Local Urban Leagues have their own constitutions. An Article from the Richmond Urban League reads: Article II. "The objectives of this organization are the improvement of the industrial, economic, social and spiritual conditions of Negroes; to make studies of such conditions; to work in coordination and cooperation with existing agencies; to bring to the attention of the community the social needs of Negroes and the best methods of meeting them; and in general to promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving conditions among Negroes." Constitution of the Richmond Urban League, Article II, March 6, 1929.

KEY TO FIGURE 1*

1. Boston, Mass.
2. Springfield, Mass.
3. Providence, R. I.
4. White Plains, N. Y.
5. New York City, N. Y.
6. Newark, N. J.
7. Morristown, N. J.
8. Elizabeth, N. J.
9. Englewood, N. J.
10. New Brunswick, N. J.
11. Baltimore, Md.
12. Washington, D. C.
13. Richmond, Va.
14. Winston Salem, N. C.
15. Atlanta, Ga.
16. Jacksonville, Fla.
17. Miami, Fla.
18. Tampa, Fla.
19. Warren, Ohio
20. Akron, Ohio
21. Pittsburgh, Pa.
22. Canton, Ohio
23. Buffalo, N. Y.
24. Cleveland, Ohio
25. Columbus, Ohio
26. Dayton, Ohio
27. Massillon, Ohio
28. Cincinnati, Ohio
29. Anderson, Ind.
30. Louisville, Ky.
31. Memphis, Tenn.
32. Little Rock, Ark.
33. New Orleans, La.
34. Detroit, Mich.
35. Muskegon, Mich.
36. Flint, Mich.
37. Pontiac, Mich.
38. Grand Rapids, Mich.
39. Ft. Wayne, Ind.
40. Marion, Ind.
41. Gary, Ind.
42. Chicago, Ill.
43. Springfield, Ill.
44. Milwaukee, Wis.
45. St. Paul, Minn.
46. Minneapolis, Minn.
47. Omaha, Neb.
48. Lincoln, Neb.
49. Kansas City, Mo.
50. St. Louis, Mo.
51. Oklahoma City, Okla.
52. Ft. Worth, Tex.
53. Denver, Colo.
54. Phoenix, Ariz.
55. Tucson, Ariz.
56. Seattle, Wash.
57. Portland, Ore.
58. San Francisco, Calif.
59. Los Angeles, Calif.

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* The Urban League movement is nationwide: fifty-eight local Leagues in thirty states and the District of Columbia (by 1954, this number was increased to 60). The National Headquarters is in New York City; the Southern Field Division headquarters is in Atlanta, Georgia. Source: National Urban League 40th Anniversary Year Book, 1950, p. 29.

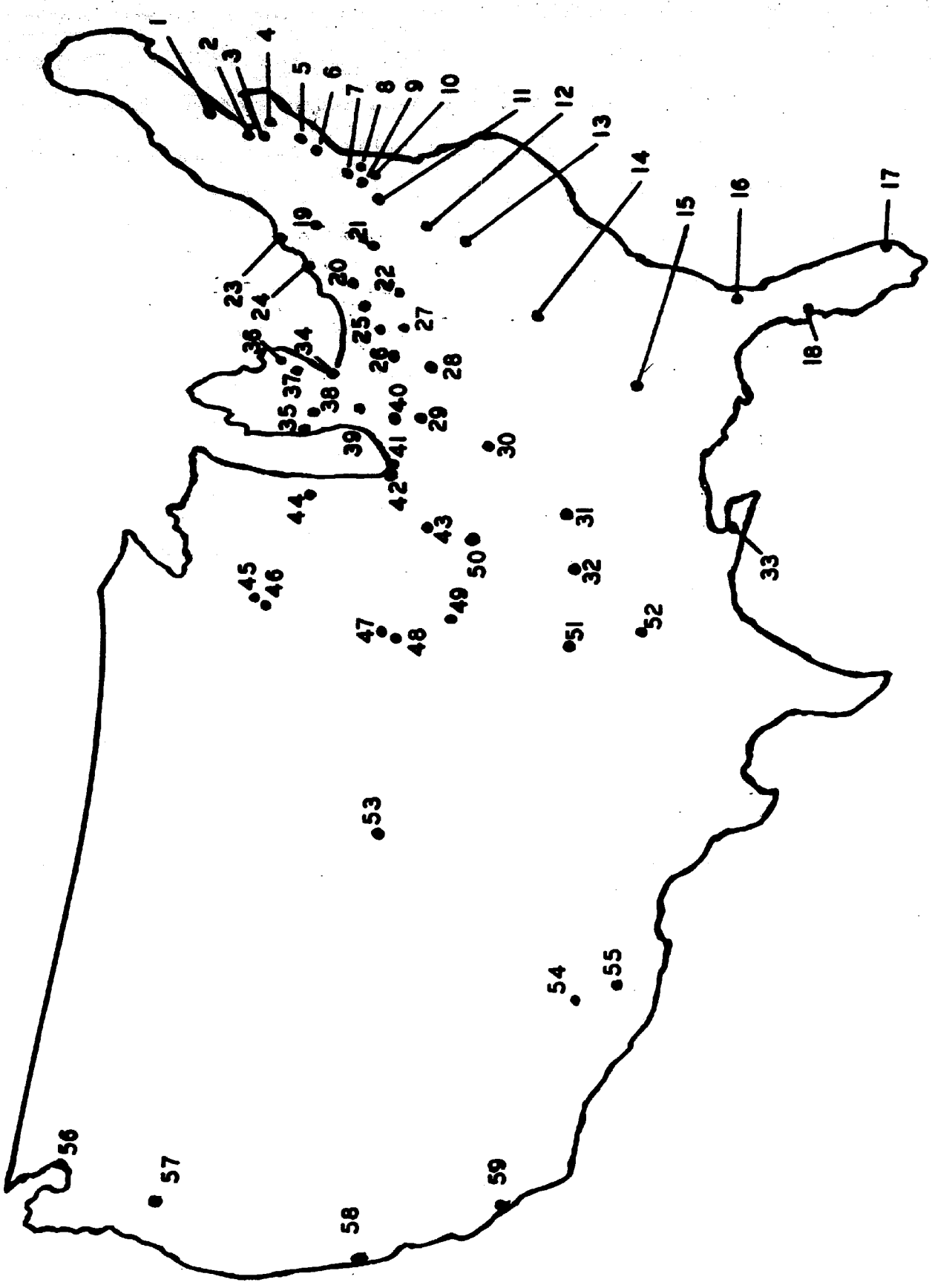

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FIGURE 1.

Leagues may also share in over-all policy determination. Chief policy formulation is the responsibility of the National Board of Trustees which was (in 1951) interracial, consisting of twenty-three white and twenty-three Negro members; this is in keeping with basic League policy. The same holds true for local Urban Leagues; their boards must be interracial, maintaining a fifty-fifty ratio of white and Negro members. Much of the direction and policy-making activity is conducted through committees which, too, are by policy interracially constituted.[1]

The chief administration officer of the National Urban League is the Executive Secretary; each local Urban League also has its counterpart, a local Executive Secretary. These bear the chief responsibility for coordinating and executing the League's programs in their respective domains.

The League machinery found to be most closely related to its educational attitudes and programs is briefly sketched in this and succeeding paragraphs. First, the Department of Research: The chief function of this department is that of making investigations prerequisite to the instigation of a League remedial program; its role is that of fact finding, a type of action research, forerunner of action; also to accumulate a body of information revealing the life and problems of Negroes as they strive for acceptance and adjustment in the American society, with special emphasis on problems encountered in urban areas; the latter to serve as a resource

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[1] The practice of forming interracial committees, especially in the South, to deal with community problems involving race relations was pioneered by the Urban League movement. Cited: "Address delivered before National Urban League Conference, Cleveland, Ohio." Reported in Opportunity, III (January, 1925), 13.

available to schools and scholars with an interest in the Negro in the United States.

The Department of Industrial Relations: The chief responsibility of this department is that of improving the Negro's relations with both management and organized labor for purposes of minimizing the factor of race as a disability to obtaining and extending employment opportunities for minority groups, Negroes in particular, and also to make possible opportunities for up-grading once employment has been obtained. By providing information and advice to both management and organized labor, the League hopes to accomplish this objective.

The Department of Vocational Guidance and Counseling Services: After the Second World War, this department appears most prominently as a source of educational attitudes related to this project. Its responsibility as stated is that of ". . . providing, year-around, vocational information and services to in-school and out-of-school youth and adults in the community, and promoting these services in schools and colleges."[1]

One further reference to a vehicle of the League's program, and a major source of information for this present writing, is Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life, referred to in this writing as merely "Opportunity." This journal served as the official organ of the National Urban League movement from 1923 until 1949, inclusive; from 1923 to 1943 it was a monthly journal; after 1943 it became a quarterly. It proposed to serve the League movement by presenting "scientific discussion of facts about Negroes," as well as reports to its constituency regarding its program, policies,

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[1] Folder: This Is the Urban League, op. cit., n.p.

achievements, and projected activities; its annual conferences were reported and interpreted through the pages of this official journal. A literary contest sponsored by this journal is considered to have been an indispensable factor in developing and encouraging young Negro writers of ability and promise and the capacity for self-expression; the fruits of which was the Negro Renaissance that received great attention during the thirties.[1] The League's chief administrative official sets forth the purposes of this journal:

> It [Opportunity] will serve as a guide to those who wish to attack the problems among Negroes with a full knowledge of the conditions they face and with the most up-to-date philosophy of their life and hopes. This will correct the unreasonable myths and opinions entertained about the Negro. . . . This magazine is published by the Department of Research and Investigation as the official organ of the National Urban League. [The italics are the writer's; the emphasis is to indicate the writer's justification for considering data found in this source as expressive of the policies, information, and attitudes of the National Urban League movement.][2]

In this chapter it has been shown that the National Urban League developed primarily as a social work organization with a heritage derived from three antecedent social work organizations, two of which date back to the year 1906. Each of these antecedent organizations was interested in some aspect of the social welfare of Negroes; each was concerned with problems resulting from the migration of Negroes mainly from the rural and southern areas into the northern industrial centers. The efforts of these Negroes to

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[1] "Editorial: Opportunity's Literary Contest," Opportunity, III (April, 1925), 100. Also, cf. "Editorial: Report on Opportunity's Literary Contest," Opportunity, III (May, 1925), 130, 131.

[2] Eugene Kinckle Jones, "Building for a Larger Life," Opportunity, I (March, 1923), 20. Mr. E. K. Jones was then the Executive Secretary of the National Urban League.

get jobs and make necessary social adjustments in a new type of environment became the focus of concern of social workers, scholars, and philanthropists with humanitarian interests.

The establishment of the Urban League movement was the work of members of both the white and Negro races; interracial cooperation and interracial good-will are indispensable to its approach. Minority problems are viewed as part of the whole of community problems, thereby necessitating community responsibility and community action. Frictions in race relations are viewed as stemming largely from misunderstandings and lack of the facts involved in a given situation.

The Urban League's program is designed to meet the social and economic needs of Negroes in both the northern and southern parts of the United States, with special emphasis upon the latter needs arising in industrial situations. It is pledged to the "improvement of all the living conditions of Negroes in cities," and likewise committed to a program of services in the areas of (1) health education and services, (2) training of social workers, (3) better housing, (4) vocational guidance and job placement, and (5) race relations. A cardinal policy of the League movement is to fully utilize existing service agencies, never to duplicate a service already being adequately provided by an already existing agency; but to pioneer, demonstrate, and--should the merits of the desired program become recognized and its continuance become assured by some other specialized agency--to relinquish it to a specialized agency.

The League movement has its national headquarters in New York City, where major responsibility for over-all policy determination and the coordination of the activities of the sixty local Urban Leagues is vested. The Southern field office of the movement is located in Atlanta, Georgia. Local Urban Leagues are responsible

for the orientation and implementation of the national level policies to meet the needs of local situations. Through representation at the annual conferences, local Urban Leagues may share in policy formulation of the movement.

The central theme of the over-all program of the National Urban League is conveyed in its motto: "not alms, but opportunity." Its chief avowed aim is the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the urban Negro. It is in pursuit of this over-all basic program that the League's educational activities and reflected attitudes have had their impact upon formal educational policies and practices for Negroes. Theoretically and by design the organization is a social agency.[1] Functionally, in terms of the orientation of its actions, it becomes a racial leadership group with the characteristics of a special interest group. This appraisal will be duly documented and extended as the events of the following chapters unfold.

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[1] "Foreword," A Handbook of Operation for Urban League Personnel, National Urban League, New York City, 1948. A statement of basic purpose and distinctive methods of Urban League operations.

CHAPTER V

SEEKING ADJUSTMENT TO A NEW WAY OF LIFE

The activities related in this chapter are mainly characteristic of the decade 1910 to 1920. They tend to reflect the impact of two major historical occurrences upon segments of American life; these are the repercussions of the war in Europe on American industry and its labor supply, and the unprecedented movement of Negroes within the United States, especially northward, with the resulting myriad of adjustment problems. The League became an active agent rendering service in an effort to facilitate the inevitable adjustment process, even though the organization itself was in the throes of establishing its own machinery and charting its own course. Its rapid growth during this period was apparent assurance that its selected goals were worthy and its type of service in demand. The adjustment difficulties concommitant with the mass movement of Negroes not only gave the League movement its cause to exist, but also provided motivation for certain of its educational activities. The socioeconomic conditions which furnished the background setting for the League's activities in general during this period are central in defining and interpreting the basic situation in which the educational activities related in this chapter take place; a brief summary of such is presented as introductory for this chapter. Then, with awareness of this emphasis, the task of identifying and interpreting the dominant educational activities and reflected attitudes of the League as it seeks to implement its major objectives for improving the social and economic welfare of Negroes proceeds. These

activities are grouped into four categories: promoting training opportunities for Negro social workers, services in cooperation with the school, community educational activities, and southern field organization educational activities.

Possibly the most crucial socioeconomic problems encountered by Negroes in American during the decade, 1910 to 1920, stemmed from the repercussions of their waves of mass migrations. The movement of this population was mainly northward, and was especially significant between 1915 and 1920. The maximum of these waves of migration was reached during 1917. Estimates of the total numbers of Negroes involved in this period of great migrations vary. Davie conservatively estimates that approximately 500,000 Negroes were involved.[1] Franklin points out that the states of the North and West showed a net gain of 330,000 Negroes during this period.[2]

To account for this movement of hitherto unsurpassed Negro northward migrations, two sets of conditions must be taken into consideration: those that served to push the Negroes out from the South, the exodus, and those that served to lure Negroes northward. Among the conditions of the first category--that pushed Negroes out from the South--certain economic factors seem paramount. The South as an area was suffering dire economic handicaps,[3] especially during the years 1914 and 1915, when southern laborers were encountering conditions of an economic depression; wages were down to seventy-five

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[1] Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society, p. 94. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1949.

[2] John H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 465. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.

[3] Ibid., pp. 464-65.

cents per day, and in some cases even lower. The disastrous floods during the summer of 1915 left many southerners, including thousands of Negroes, destitute and homeless. A general decline in the traditional southern agriculture had set in, especially in the cotton belt states in which the greatest numbers of Negroes resided. Among the factors contributing to this decline, the following seem most significant: the shift of cotton westward, the ravages of the boll weevil, depletion of the soil, erosion, and the decline of foreign markets.[1] The damages inflicted to the cotton crops of the South by the boll weevil during the years 1915 and 1916 were indeed severe. Many who were dependent on cotton for their subsistence were discouraged from further effort to earn a living under such precarious farm conditions.[2]

The conditions briefly reviewed here are illustrative of circumstances operating to make the South an area of decreasing economic opportunity for many during a decade (1910-1920) when it was also witnessing an expanding population. It is apparent that such conditions would exert pressure on many persons to seek other areas of more economic promise. The heightened job competition due to the contracted economic opportunities tended to focus the pressure to migrate especially upon Negroes--they being the weaker bargaining entity in the southern way of life. These unfavorable economic conditions became a major stimulus setting into motion a period of Negro exodus from the South.

Another source of forces that pushed the Negro out of the South during this period was derived from the social conditions to

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[1] Maurice R. Davie, op. cit., p. 85.

[2] John H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 465.

which Negroes, particularly in the South, were subjected. Reference here is to such conditions as lack of justice in the courts, lack of privileges, disfranchisement, segregation, and the fear of physical violence (for example, lynchings and Ku Klux Klan activities). These conditions were inherent in efforts to perpetuate the castelike features that characterized Negro-white relations more dramatically in the South prior to and during this decade (1910-1920). They reflected the characteristic efforts of certain elements in American society to maintain pre-emancipation Negro-white relations despite the legal machinery and documentation of emancipation. These conditions were not unrelated to the aforementioned economic conditions, but rather the two sets of circumstances were highly interrelated. Together, they enhanced the uncertainty of life for Negroes in the South, and provided stimulus and push for the waves of mass migrations of Negroes from the South during this period.

The second category of conditions--those that served to lure Negroes northward--gave direction to the Negro migrations. These conditions may be interpreted as forces of attraction; they lured these migrants to definite locations; they concentrated them into urban areas, mainly in the North. Foremost among these conditions must be mentioned the growth of northern industries and their pressing demand for labor. Northern industry's labor supply had been largely supplied by immigrant labor from Europe, but with the outbreak of World War One in Europe, foreign immigration as a source of labor for the North began to dwindle. European immigration into the United States dropped from more than a million in 1914 to slightly more than 300,000 in 1915.[1] Thus, a vacuum in labor supply was

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[1] Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 157-58, points out that "Immigration from Europe was largely halted by the First World War. . . ."

created. Northern industries were forced to seek a new source of labor to meet their needs; their agents were sent South to recruit Negro labor. Consequently, the First World War provided the American Negro with his first major opportunities for industrial employment. The high wages of the northern industries became a powerful attracting force for Negroes; they could earn four to four and one-half dollars per day, as compared with the seventy-five cents to one dollar per day of the South. Speaking of this migration, Woodson points out that it differed from others in that the Negro had opportunity awaiting him in the North.[1]

Letters from Negroes[2] who had migrated North describing the North as the "Promised land" brought their southern "cousins" en masse. In the main, these Negro migrants received work opportunities in the unskilled occupations of such basic industries as iron and steel mills, automobile manufacture, chemical and allied factories, foundries, slaughtering and meat-packing industries.[3] The cities providing these industries became the terminal destination of the southern Negro migrants. Black belts began to grow. Race relations in the North felt the strain of the population shift and adjustment difficulties were inevitable. Negro-white workers' problems flared up as the new migrants were often viewed as a threat to organized labor.[4]

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[1] Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration, p. 174. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918.

[2] Carter G. Woodson, The Negro In Our History (ninth ed.), p. 510. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1947.

[3] Ibid., p. 438.

[4] Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration, op. cit., p. 179.

Problems of survival and competition in an urban industrial way of life beset them, chief among which were the problems centering about health, housing, securing jobs, and securing training for jobs.

In briefly emphasizing the operation of these two sets of conditions--those that pushed or that motivated the exodus, and those that haphazardly concentrated the Negro migrants in cities of the North--certain observations are apparent and pertinent as background for this chapter. Many of the Negroes who migrated north during this period, despite the higher cost of living, did realize an improved life situation. They witnessed a type of economic emancipation and an increased opportunity for greater social participation. Unfortunately, however, vast numbers of these migrants became subjected to unscrupulous exploitation. There was a dire lack of social engineering and machinery to facilitate this tremendous population shift. Thus, a vast problem of adjustment was to be encountered. It was necessary for migrants mainly from an agricultural way of life and thinking, many of whom lacked adequate education, to become acculturated into a totally different way of life--industrial and urban.[1] This problem was further complicated by an acquired sense of freedom which was, no doubt, at times distorted. It is evident that formal education would be called upon to play a significant role in this whole adjustment process.

The decade from 1910 to 1920, characterized by the northward migration of Negroes, was a period in which the League movement was in the process of initiating and organizing its basic over-all approach and the machinery for its implementation; consequently its general educational program was limited. However, its rapid and

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[1] Ibid., p. 188.

consistent growth during this period reflects the need for its services and the reception of its evolving program. A brief view of the League's budget will indicate its phenomenal growth. At the beginning of this period (1910), the League had a staff of two employees, it had no affiliate organizations, and its budget for the first year was approximately $8,500. At the close of this period (1920), the League had developed as a movement with eighty-five (85) employees; it had thirty (30) affiliates (that is, local Urban Leagues) in urban areas of greatest concentration of Negro population. The annual budget for the national headquarters for the year 1920 amounted to $27,700, and for the affiliates during this same year it was $117,400, making a total budget for the League movement at the close of this period (1920) of $145,100.[1]

It is not meant to imply that this increased budget represented expenditures for educational purposes. The League is primarily a social welfare organization, and the figures which reveal its budget increases are presented as evidence of the expanding services and potential for services of the movement during the period which is the concern of this chapter. This growth and expansion increased the League's involvement in the role of Negro racial leadership and its search for opportunities in general for Negroes. It enhanced the League's potential as a resource for identifying the cultural needs, aspirations, and possible areas of friction confronting Negroes as a racial group in the American society.

One of the earliest objectives of the League movement was that of promoting training opportunities for Negro social workers.

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[1] See Table I on the following page.

TABLE I

GROWTH OF THE LEAGUE MOVEMENT
(by five-year intervals)

Year	No. of Employees (approx.)	No. of Affiliates	Budgets		
			National Headquarters	Affiliates	Total
1910	2	0	$ 8,500	$ 0	$ 8,500*
1915	15	9	24,900	20,000	44,900
1920	85	30	27,700	117,400	145,100
1925	125	28	58,600	400,000	458,600
1930	185	42	76,200	506,000	582,200
1935	210	44	63,200	441,600	504,800
1940	245	45	59,100	450,000	609,200
1945	320	51	100,500	924,080	1,024,580
1950	395	58	170,133	1,245,939	1,416,072

* Represents budget for fiscal year, September, 1910, to September, 1911; total expenditures for the four combined organizations amounted to $14,600, according to the First Annual Report.

This table is taken from (reprint) National Urban Leage 40th Anniversary Year Book, 1950, p. 23.

To facilitate its efforts to aid the Negro in-migrants to northern industrial centers, trained personnel with a knowledge of social work techniques were essential. The migrants faced many crucial problems inherent in their struggle to cast off the vestiges of their slave heritage and castelike status--their strivings to become first-class American citizens. They were rapidly congregating in unwholesome centers of industrial cities. The basic concern of the League was with the resulting social problems relating to housing, health, recreation, jobs, relations of Negroes to organized labor, and the general field of Negro-white race relations. In order to implement its objectives in this basic concern, it early became evident that the League movement must sponsor and support a program of training for Negro social workers. This need was even recognized at its organizing conference called in 1910 by Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Jr.,[1] one of its founders.

Two approaches were made to meet the problem of providing training opportunities for Negro social workers: (1) cooperation with other agencies to establish social work training in Negro schools, and (2) to sponsor a fellowship program[2] to enable qualified Negroes to receive training in already established social work institutions. Illustrative of the first approach, the League, in cooperation with the Women's Missionary Council, M. E. Church, South, and Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, provided a one-year training course for social and religious workers. The following is a description of this course:

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[1] Opportunity, III (January, 1925), 12.

[2] This very important part of the League training program will be discussed in more detail in a later period. See Appendix IV for a complete listing of Urban League Fellows, the cooperating schools, and last-known positions held by these Fellows.

> This training course totaled fifteen hours per week of required class work, and eight hours per week of practical field work. Five regular teachers and six special lecturers gave instructions. The class work was carried on at Fisk University, and treated the following subjects: Principles of Sociology, Practical Sociology, Playground and Recreation, Statistics and Methods of Research, Religious Pedagogy, Normal Bible, Domestic Science, and Problems of Negro Life.[1]

The second approach to the provision of opportunities for Negroes to get training as social workers is illustrated by the League fellowship program. Two types of fellowships were supported by the League: "Broken Fellowships" and "Fellows in Training."[2] Recipients of the former were permitted to gain experience during part of their training year working under the direction of the League's educational secretary--prior to 1919, under the League's executive secretary. This was a means of enabling qualified persons to become especially prepared to serve as local League executive secretaries, or kindred positions. The "Fellows in Training" pursued a one-year course at a recognized school of social work (for example, the New York School of Social Work) on League-sponsored fellowships. Seven League Fellows were trained at the New York School of Social Work during this period. The lengths of their fellowships were from one to two years. Practical experience during this training period could be gained with the New York Urban League and other local social agencies. Positions held by these Fellows subsequent to their training periods included field and executive

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[1] "Report for 1913-14 and 1915," Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, V (November, 1915), p. 12. The fiscal year extended from October 1 of one year to September 30 of the following year.

[2] "Annual Report, 1919," Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), n.p.

secretaries of League affiliates, high school counselors, instructors of sociology, dean of college, high school instructors in social studies, public relations counselor, and case workers.[1]

The League's educational program for the year 1919-20 was under the direction of its educational secretary.[2] In order to encourage the training and the placement of Negro social workers, this official visited schools North and South in efforts to stimulate interest in the study of the social sciences, and to offer counsel to promising students who would follow social work as a vocation. Also, an educational campaign was conducted to secure more interest on the part of the general public in social work among Negroes.[3] When visiting the white schools, the purpose included "calling attention of white students to their responsibility as future citizens for knowing the Negro and his problems."[4] Of course, the visits to the white schools were principally in the interest of better race relations and securing the cooperation of the white schools.

Many educational philosophers concur in recognizing the individual as the primary end of education.[5] Horne idealistically theorizes that the final test of the value of any social system, including

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[1] See Appendix IV for listing.

[2] "Annual Report, 1919," Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), 19-20.

[3] Ibid. Also, "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 5-6.

[4] "Annual Report, 1920," op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[5] John S. Brubacher, "Comparative Philosophy of Education," Philosophies of Education, Forty-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part One, p. 315. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945.

the educational system, is "the effect it has on individual personality" which he interprets as the quality or state of being a "self-conscious center of experience."[1] The League's appraisal of the expected role of the public school system is readily inferred in the statement of one of its presidents in the foreword of the annual report for the year 1920. This statement is adopted from an earlier citation attributed to General Armstrong, one of the great benefactors of educational opportunities for Negroes: "Manhood is best brought out by the recognition of it. Citizenship with the common school is the great developing force in this country. There is nothing like faith to bring out the manly quality."[2] Herein seems couched the evolving League educational philosophy, and its conception of the role of formal education.

The League early considered formal educational agencies as essential in the process of acculturating the Negro migrants to the urban and industrial centers during this period. On the one hand, these were held essential in preparing the migrants for survival in competition for industrial employment and earning.[3] On the other

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[1] Herman H. Horne, "An Idealistic Philosophy of Education," Philosophies of Education, op. cit., p. 147.

[2] "Foreword, Annual Report for 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921). This statement from General Armstrong was adopted by L. Hollingsworth Wood, president of the National Urban League (1920).

[3] Myrdal, op. cit., p. 568. He refers to the unusually large migrations to the North and the consequent displacement of some whites by Negroes in jobs and in residence. This was cited as a significant causal factor in the riots occurring in the North during the period after 1917. He also cites the opposition of labor unions to the Negro migrants (p. 195). Franklin, op. cit., p. 474, points out that from June, 1919, to the end of that same year, approximately twenty-five race riots occurred in American urban centers.

hand, educational agencies were viewed as being potentially capable of facilitating the acceptance of the new Negro migrants by the northern industrial workers and the urban community, white and colored.[1]

Since earning a living was the most pressing problem facing the Negro migrants to industrial centers, job finding became a major item on the League's agenda. Accompanying this problem, and an essential element in it, was the question of securing for the migrants the necessary training opportunities to prepare them for efficient functioning in industrial employment. It was not enough merely to communicate to the newcomers information revealing the possible job opportunities open to them, and the locus of the source of the requisite training. In effort to help this situation, the League, in cooperation with schools, established vocational exchanges. An example of such was the Douglas Students' Club established in New York City during 1914-15. This club was described as an organization formed for the purpose of "giving advice to colored high school students as to possible lines of employment open to the educated Negro, and the means by which preparation for these avenues can be gained."[2] The more extensive organization of similar clubs or exchanges was included in the projected program of the League for future years.[3]

In keeping with its policy of not duplicating social services for which other existing agencies were rendering adequate services,

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[1] Opportunity, III (January, 1925), 12-13, cites lack of sympathy for the newcomers on the part of both white and Negro native elements.

[2] "Report of 1913-14, 1914-15," Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, V (November, 1915), 13.

[3] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

the League discontinued its probation investigation for the courts in 1913. However, it did continue certain related functions in this area with school-age and school related groups of youth. In accounting its services in Brooklyn, New York, the League reported that "Public schools largely attended by colored children have been regularly visited for the purpose of aiding the cases of truant, incorrigible, and backward children. The homes of these children are afterwards visited."[1]

A Juvenile Park Protective League was organized in the Harlem district during the report year 1913-14. The membership of this group consisted of 626 school boys who were to cooperate with city departments in trying to make their city cleaner and better. Certainly, practical experiences in assuming civic responsibilities were offered by such activities. The League reported hearty cooperation from the Bureau of Attendance of the Board of Education.[2] The League also cooperated with the Big Brother and Big Sister movements in connection with its work with school-age youth. For instance, its Louisville, Kentucky, affiliate during this period reported success with its Big Sister work in connection with the public schools of that city.[3]

One of the most progressive League affiliates during this period was the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. According to its 1919 report, it employed four "home and school" visitors for the purpose of implementing its family life improvement program, and to relate more closely the home and the school. These visitors were to "teach the relation of the home to the school."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 25.

[2] Ibid., p. 31.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bulletin of the National Urban League, VIII (August, 1919), 5.

This affiliate also sponsored high school girls' clubs for developing leaders, and provided scholarships for both worthy boys and girls.

Further progress with its program of sponsoring "Home and School Visitors" was reported the following year by the League's Philadelphia affiliate. These workers worked in cooperation with school principals, making regular visits to the homes of pupils needing special aid. The favorable result of this League affiliate's demonstration of the valuable services that could be rendered by such "Home and School Visitors" was evident by the request of the Bureau of Compulsory Education that the Board of Education furnish twenty-one "coordinating teachers" to do the same type of work in other schools of that city.[1] Here exists apparent evidence that the League's cooperative efforts through one of its affiliates had a modifying effect upon the school program of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Of course, there were other possible contributing factors, too.

With the end of the First World War, the waning of the production of war-related materials began to restrict job opportunities in the industrial cities. Soldiers returned to take up civilian jobs. Many of the Negro newcomers into northern industry were adversely affected by the resulting economic situation. The temptation for parents to permit their children to drop out of school and seek petty jobs to bolster the family income was great. To counter this trend, the League conducted "Back to School Campaigns,"[2] and cooperated with other organizations that were attempting to persuade children to continue in school. This period of increasing unemployment was

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[1] "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 16.

especially drastic for the Negroes in the northern cities. For the New York City Branch of the League, the drive to keep children in school was carried on under the slogan "Stay-in-School."[1]

With regards to the possible motivation for these efforts on the part of the League, there is no question but that consideration for the future well-being of the young Negroes with adequate training was a major factor. However, it would appear that the more immediate concern was to keep the youngsters from further depressing an already slumping labor market, with its resulting impact on race relations. As the labor market was flooded, job competition heightened; Negro-white race relations in northern cities neared an all-time low. The summer of 1919 has been labeled "The Red Summer" in recognition of the intensely strained state of Negro-white race relations in the United States.[2] Northern cities bore their share.

Techniques used by the League movement in effort to dissuade children from leaving school during this period included: distribution of literature, sending speakers to public schools, and the appearance of League officials before Parents' Associations in order to impress upon them the need to continue their children in school during the period of industrial crisis.[3]

Prerequisite to the constructive program of the League is the making of investigations to ascertain just what social conditions

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[1] Pamphlet: New York Urban League, Report, 1920, III (January, 1921), p. 8.

[2] Cited by Franklin, op. cit., p. 472.

[3] League Annual Report, 1920, op. cit., p. 16. Also, New York Urban League Report, 1920, op. cit., p. 8.

exist among Negroes in the cities.[1] In pursuit of this objective, the League rendered certain cooperative services for the schools during this period. The 1920 Annual Report listed among its research activities[2] projects that reflect the League's concern for school related aspects. For example: A St. Louis affiliate reported a study of the conditions of school children's teeth; the Newark, New Jersey, affiliate reported a study of school attendance; the Columbus, Ohio, affiliate reported a study of housing, truancy, and delinquency; and the Brooklyn affiliate reported a school survey to ascertain the number of elementary and high school students in its schools. The Memphis, Tennessee, affiliate reported a survey of public amusement places for Negroes, and installed a "safety zone" plan designed to exclude questionable rooming houses and to discourage unsanitary conditions in areas around schools. The Boston affiliate also reported having conducted investigations of cases for the public schools, and having made recommendations to the school social service workers.

In efforts to create interest in social work among Negroes, and to contribute to the understanding of Negro life and problems confronted in cities, the League offered its office and services to schools as a source of such information. During the summer of 1914, lecture courses were given at some of the leading Negro colleges. The theme of these courses was city-ward migrations and the resulting problems faced by Negroes in cities. Schools at which these courses were held included Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia;

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[1] Cited as one of the original purposes for organizing the League by E. K. Jones in an address before the National Urban Conference; reported in Opportunity, III (January, 1925), 13.

[2] "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 12-13.

West Virginia Colored Institute, Institute, West Virginia; Tennessee State Normal, Nashville, Tennessee; Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama; and Texas State Normal, Prairie View, Texas.[1] The League's services as a resource on problems of urban Negroes were not limited to Negro schools.[2] Its Department of Research and Investigations was especially suitable for this role. Its prime purpose of promoting interracial cooperation and understanding made its resource function--for both white and colored schools--mandatory.

As has been indicated previously in this chapter, the Negro northward migrants during this period were confronted with a crucial configuration of problems which were inherent in their attempts to make adjustments to a totally different way of life. Many of these migrants were undoubtedly frustrated, inadequately trained, and disillusioned seekers of the promised land of "freedom and economic opportunity." From a severely restricted, paternalistic, insecure, poverty-stricken, fear-ridden, rural existence, they now sought to establish themselves and their families in an urban and industrial way of life. They soon found that the new way of life had its flagrant disadvantages in many respects, but at least it was different, and it had become the immediate reality for them.

In attempting to assist these migrants in their efforts for survival and adjustment, the League conducted and supported certain community educational enterprises. These were not always directly connected with the public schools, though they were designed to implement objectives that were to be included in the stated aims of formal education. During this period, the "Seven Cardinal Principles"

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[1] "Report for 1913-14 and 1914-15," op. cit., p. 9.

[2] Ibid.

were drawn up and greatly publicized. Mursell considered that they "came about as close to being an official statement of the basic policy of American education as anything in our decentralized system well could."[1] They reflected an effort to bring education into touch with current social conditions. They proposed that the school promote good health, the mastery of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocational efficiency, good citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character.[2] The programs conducted or sponsored as indicated in the paragraphs below are consistent with these basic educational aims.

The League's favorable attitude toward opportunities provided by public night schools was early evident. They provided educational opportunities for many beyond the range of the regular public schools. They also provided an opportunity for those holding regular jobs during the regular school hours, and the courses could be better adapted for them as a special group. The League's support was in terms of its counsel, its literature, and public addresses made by its officials advocating the cause. It gave supporting publicity for public night schools located in or near districts inhabited by Negroes, and it urged Negroes to make use of such opportunities in order that they gain greater efficiency and preparation for employment, as well as improve their opportunities for service in their communities.[3]

During the period of unemployment and financial depression, 1913-14, the League was instrumental in getting established classes

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[1] Mursell, op. cit., p. 118.

[2] Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1918.

[3] "Report of 1913-14, 1914-15," op. cit., p. 16.

in household arts for a group of Negro girls, and a workshop for hundreds of unemployed men. In administering to the peculiar needs of the nonpublic school group, a type of worker group, the following are illustrative of the efforts of League affiliates. The Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and East St. Louis affiliates reported the establishment of Departments of Home Economics. The programs of such departments included year-around health programs, training of housewives in home economics--including cooking, canning, care of homes, and saving through family budgeting.[1]

Many techniques were used in effort to facilitate the adjustment of Negroes, mainly migrants from agricultural areas of the South, in acceptable ways of city living and survival. The Urban Leagues of Detroit and Chicago established clubs and bulletins. For example, Detroit had its Dress Well Club which issued a pamphlet outlining sixteen points on dress and demeanor in public places.[2] The Urban League of Chicago used an illustrated bulletin which provided suggestions not only for accepted demeanor and dress, but also the proper appearance of one's own premises.[3] Certainly, such practical training was beneficial as good citizenship training. Other League affiliates reported success in obtaining day and evening classes in English and arithmetic for grown-ups.[4]

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[1] Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), 14-16.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See Figure 2 for an illustration of a training device used by the Chicago Urban League during this period.

[4] "Annual Report, 1919," Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), 17.

FIGURE 2

AN ILLUSTRATION OF A TRAINING TECHNIQUE USED BY THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR PERIOD*

I AM AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

I AM PROUD of our boys "over there" who have contributed soldier service.

I DESIRE to render CITIZEN SERVICE.

I REALIZE that our soldiers have learned NEW HABITS of SELF-RESPECT AND CLEANLINESS.

I DESIRE to help bring about a NEW ORDER OF LIVING in this community.

I WILL ATTEND to the neatness of my personal appearance on the street or when sitting in front doorways.

I WILL REFRAIN from wearing dust caps, bungalow aprons, house clothing and bedroom shoes out of doors.

I WILL ARRANGE MY TOILET within doors and not on the front porch.

I WILL INSIST upon the use of rear entrances for coal-dealers, hucksters, etc.

I WILL REFRAIN from loud talking and objectionable deportment on street cars and in public places.

I WILL DO MY BEST to prevent defacement of property either by children or adults.

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* Source: "Annual Report, 1919," Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), 20-21.

League affiliates in such cities as Brooklyn, Chicago, and White Plains, each reported that it had been instrumental in providing nursery or kindergarten, or both, opportunities for Negro children.[1] The problem of working parents, especially mothers, made such services extremely urgent. The problem of earning a living in the urban environment necessitated the efforts of both the parents.

The League being primarily a social welfare organization was concerned with health conditions among Negroes. It recognized that the improvement of the general health conditions was a basic requisite to improving the general social and economic well-being of Negroes. Its program included cooperation with other agencies to improve Negro health conditions, both from the standpoint of health training and the making of facilities for the care of health available. As early as 1915, the League cooperated with the National Negro Business League in implementing its National Negro Health Week, "Practically every affiliated organization of the League conducted a local campaign . . ." toward this objective.[2] Techniques for conducting these campaigns included: (1) the distribution of health literature, (2) illustrated lectures, and (3) health talks. Evidence of the interest created by such campaigns is given by the New York City branch of the Urban League, 1915. It reported that a result of its campaign was that a monthly edition of 5,000 health bulletins, entitled "Everybody's Chronical," was being published cooperatively

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[1] "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 16-17.

[2] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, V (November, 1915), 8.

with the city Department of Health.[1] For the year 1920, the League cited that it had "conducted annual health campaigns for eight consecutive years, and in one particular campaign where the local city health board became active a careful record showed that in two years' time infant mortality was reduced 14 per cent."[2] The League also sponsored clinics. The St. Louis affiliate reported sponsoring a dental clinic for the purpose of ministering to immediate dental needs, and to provide education in the care of the teeth, and their relation to good general health.[3]

As early as 1911, the League conducted an experimental playground in Harlem, New York City. The purpose of this experiment was to demonstrate to the New York City Department of Parks that there was the need for such opportunities for Negroes. The impact of this undertaking is apparent from a later League report: "Two playgrounds, for which the League had been campaigning for more than two years, have been established in Harlem."[4]

During the decade 1910-1920, there were limited League activities in the Southern Field of the League organization; these were reported as having some bearing on educational opportunities for Negroes. An inspection had been made of the public schools for Negroes of Atlanta, Georgia, which revealed the existence of unhealthy school situations, including poor heating, improper lighting, inadequate ventilation, and overcrowding. These were considered

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

[2] Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 4.

[3] Bulletin of the National Urban League, IX (January, 1920), 17.

[4] "Report of 1913-14, 1914-15," Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, V (November, 1915), 22.

as contributing to the strained eyes and unhealthy bodies of the Negro school children. The Atlanta Neighborhood Union (Atlanta, Georgia), an affiliate of the League movement, took steps to remedy this situation. Petitions were presented the board of education. The mayor and each member of the city council were interviewed; also, other influential persons were approached in an effort to gain their support for improving these conditions. Mass meetings, exhibiting lantern slides on the problem situation, were conducted. According to the League's report, the facts "were so vividly brought to the public attention that the teachers' salaries were increased, and an additional school, although inadequate, was established."[1]

At its National Conference on Negro Migration in New York City, January 26, 1917, the League proposed a program for its Southern Field, both rural and urban. The purposes of this program included:

a. To foster good feeling between the two races.
b. To study the health, school and work needs of the Negro population.
c. To develop agencies and stimulate activities to meet those needs.
d. By training and health protection, to increase the industrial efficiency of Negroes. . . .
e. To increase the respect for law and orderly administration of justice.[2]

It is readily seen how closely these objectives are related to school objectives.

Following the First World War, there was increased general League activity below the Mason and Dixon line. The national office

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[1] Ibid., p. 39.

[2] "A Challenge to Democracy," Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, VII (November, 1917), 7.

reported an enlargement of its staff to include a Southern Field Organizer; his duties were to organize and direct the League movement in southern cities. Mr. Jesse O. Thomas, a Negro, was appointed to this post. He had formerly served under Booker T. Washington as field secretary for Tuskegee Institute and had also had experience as a school principal. Immediately before receiving this appointment, Mr. Thomas has been Director of Negro Economics for the State of New York, under the Department of Labor. In accepting the position, he admitted that he was convinced that the Negro problem was still largely below the Mason-Dixon line; and further, "I know of no organization having for its aim the social and economic betterment of the colored people, that is more practical and sane in its program than the Urban League."[1]

The following year (1920), the Southern Field Secretary reported a degree of success in interesting the white and colored public-spirited citizens of the South, especially in Atlanta, Georgia, in the need for trained Negro social workers. A result of these efforts was the organization of a school for social work. Thus, in cooperation with Morehouse College and the social service organizations of Atlanta, Georgia, opportunities for training were increased for prospective Negro social workers.[2] The Atlanta League affiliate also reported that it was instrumental in securing the appointment

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[1] Bulletin of the National Urban League, VIII (August, 1919), 1.

[2] "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 5-6. National Urban League Yearbook, 1950, p. 20. The Atlanta University School of Social Work, which grew out of these efforts, had by 1950 trained more than 1,000 Negro social workers.

of a woman vocational counselor for the Negro public schools of Atlanta, Georgia.[1]

This accounting of the educational activities of the League movement, especially in its southern area, is revealing in several ways. It does indicate that the League was concerned about certain aspects of educational opportunities for Negroes, particularly those aspects related to health. It also indicates the evolving League approach in action: (1) the presentation of the facts; (2) appealing to the conscience of the controlling powers; (3) interracial cooperation as a means of solving social problems,[2] and (4) educating (informing) the public on issues in order to gain its support for certain desired results, to alter attitudes. Considering the time and locus of many of these activities in behalf of Negroes, the "appropriateness" of these techniques can be granted.

Further illustration of the League's method is provided by the "Atlanta Plan." This plan was especially suited to the situation existing in the South during this pre-First World War period. The Atlanta Urban League organization functioned as the social service department of the "Atlanta Plan." It also served as a model for other cities in the South. The "Atlanta Plan" brought together selective members of both the white and the Negro racial groups for frequent conferences on problems mutually affecting both groups. It emphasized the "efficacy of cooperation and good fellowship as a basis for solving the problems of race adjustment."[3] This plan

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[1] Ibid., p. 16.

[2] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, VII (November, 1917), 1-8.

[3] "Annual Report, 1920," Bulletin of the National Urban League, X (January, 1921), 5.

called for both separate and joint meetings of the racial groups. For example, on the first three Mondays of the month, separate meetings would be held. On the fourth Monday of the month, white and Negro members interested in Atlanta's social welfare would meet in a joint session. At this latter meeting, the decisions of the previous separate meetings would be reviewed for the joint consideration and approval by the two racial groups.[1] Awareness of the residual vestiges of caste[2] relations existent in certain areas of the American society during this period will enable one to see even in this arrangement signs of progress in Negro-white relations.

This chapter has identified the extent and nature of the League's involvement with formal education during the first decade of its existence. This period was one when the movement's primary efforts were directed toward ameliorating conditions confronted by recent Negro migrants, especially in northern industrial centers. The lack of experience and adequate training for employment in an urban and industrial situation seriously complicated the migrants' adjustment, thus the League sought the aid of organized education in this matter. It cooperated with the programs of both regular and night schools to facilitate their better serving the needs of the migrant group. It encouraged Negroes to attend school, and especially emphasized the advantages of vocational training as a requisite for securing and keeping employment in modern industry. It offered special vocational counseling services to school groups. Special efforts were made to aid the schools in dealing with problems of truancy, incorrigibility, and retardation where Negroes were involved.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] See Chapter III of this writing.

Its Armstrong Association affiliate of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, so effectively demonstrated the value of the services of "Home and School Visitors" that "Coordinating Teachers" were employed in Philadelphia to carry on a similar program. Through its research investigations of social and economic conditions existing among Negroes in cities, the League has been able to render valuable resource services available to the schools.

The League performed certain general community educational services that were not directly connected with the schools but which subscribed to recognized educational aims. Activities of this category included: sponsoring special classes for domestic and little skilled workers, nurseries, kindergartens, health clinics, and recreation demonstrations.

Activities in the southern area revealed the League's concern for improved school facilities, more adequate salaries for teachers, and the employment of vocational counselors for Negro public schools. Its southern officials were instrumental in initiating opportunities for Negroes to receive social work training in the South.

Possibly the foremost educational endeavors of the League movement during this period were in initiating and sponsoring opportunities for social work training for Negroes. Such training was essential to provide the requisite workers for the League's staff in order to implement its proposed program of racial welfare. Two approaches were followed in making these opportunities available. The League cooperated with other agencies, including schools, to establish social work training in Negro schools. This approach was necessitated by the pattern of dual school systems characteristic in the South. The programs organized at Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, and later at Morehouse College of Atlanta, Georgia, are illustrative of the results of this approach. They initiated

opportunities for social work training for Negroes in the South. The second approach was to sponsor a fellowship program to enable qualified Negroes to receive social work training in already established schools in the North. The merit of this approach is attested by the reported social usefulness of its products, a listing of which has been cited in the Appendix of this writing.

Thus, it is apparent that during this first period the League movement engaged in a limited range of educational activities, each of which was especially oriented toward the welfare of Negroes, thereby in keeping with the functioning of a special interest group. The movement's program was primarily a positive one, very little --if any--evidence of strong opposition toward school policies and practices affecting Negroes appeared. In short, the basic League attitudes as reflected through activities on both the national and affiliate levels were those of cooperating with existing reality in hopes to better utilize available advantages. The most apparent impact of its activities was in making available opportunities for social work training for Negroes, and in keeping before educational agencies the conditions of Negro life and problems in urban situations.

The methods employed by the movement were those of interracial cooperation as a means of resolving social problems, sponsoring an enterprize to demonstrate its value hoping to get it accepted and continued by the proper authorities, the presentation of facts, and the appeal to the conscience of the dominant group. It hoped by enlightening the public on issues, to facilitate the creating of a social climate favorable toward desired attitude changes.

In the chapters which follow, the investigation will be continued through the mid-twentieth century. Special attention will be focused upon the trends and consistency of the League's educational activities and attitudes.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND A "BETTER LIFE"

The preceding chapter dealt with the educational activities and policies of the League movement during the earliest decade of its existence. It dealt with a period when the League was in the process of establishing itself, of charting the course of its general program; its educational policies were rather in the process of formulation. The present chapter reveals the movement as being more adequately structured, and with its prime mission more clearly defined; its educational attitudes are better crystalized, and its techniques for implementation are more obvious. The general theme expressive of the League's attitude toward educational policies and practices is reflected in its emphasis upon the need for improvement of certain educational opportunities as a prime requisite for the participation of Negroes in the "better life," the promised heritage of American democracy and citizenship. The desired improvement was interpreted to necessitate the extension of opportunities for Negroes to secure formal education with access to more comprehensive and qualitatively adequate educational curricula. The League also sought increased opportunities for Negroes to translate training gained into better job opportunities, this being perceived as a requisite for improving health and housing standards, the level of living and social participation in general. Such is the continued emphasis of the League program as we trace its unfolding during this present chapter, covering the decades historically replete with the aftermath of the First World War, the industrial prosperity of the roaring twenties, the

despair of the Great Depression of the thirties, the pathos of socio-economic crises inherent in the preparation for and participation in the Second World War, and, finally, to the anxiety filled eve of impending atomic disaster.

James H. Hubert, a local Urban League executive, speaking at a conference during the mid-twenties gives evidence of the crystalizing League policy and the definition of its program in his statement: "We realize that the specific task of the League is that of creating new openings in the skilled trades, steering boys and girls from blind-alley jobs and raising standards and efficiency of workers in every possible way."[1] This statement is in keeping with the basic purposes of the League movement which included: to improve the industrial life of the Negro population, and to aid the Negro population to articulate more definitely with the community life. To implement these major purposes, the League movement sponsored three primary areas of activities: an economic program aiming at the dissolution of industrial barriers to the creation of new opportunities for work; a health program that included the teaching of conservation, the establishing of clinics, the clearance and improvement of neighborhoods, and getting of decent homes; and a broad social program involving endless research in order to know what specific conditions confronted Negroes, and what procedures could be engaged in for purposes of improving the undesirable conditions, especially in urban environments. Here, we have early evidence of an organization of this type bringing to bear a type of action research for purposes of a program designed for racial up-grading.

Charles S. Johnson, then Director of Research and Investigations for the League, and also a pioneering force in the formulation

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[1] Opportunity, IV (March, 1926), 103.

of its policies and procedures, described editorially the basic approach of the League movement as follows:

> It [the League movement] does not presume to guess or theorize about particular social conditions; before it begins a program it learns what the conditions are.
>
> It does not assume that Negroes are helpless incompetents; it aims at creating opportunities for self-help rather than charity as the sounder economy in the long run.
>
> It does not attempt to treat the Negro's situation as a freak phenomenon isolated from the current of American life; it conceives it as a community problem calling for both interracial interest and action.
>
> It regards special training as necessary to the best handling of specialized and complex problems of human welfare. It therefore seeks to develop trained workers, who in turn seek to enlighten public opinion as a means of minimizing social and economic difficulties "chargeable to race and class."[1]

The contents of this chapter provide selected examples of evidence showing the efforts to implement such policies and purposes as have been cited, especially wherein the programs of formal educational institutions were involved or affected.

The League's emphasis on opportunities for health education has been continuous since its founding. In 1910, meeting in the home of one of its founders, Mrs. William Baldwin, the promotion of health education was included as a major objective of the League program.[2] Whereas the implementation of this objective has not wholly depended upon the machinery of the public school, transpiring events give evidence that the school has been sought as a means of implementing portions of this objective. The League has mainly sought to cooperate with the school as an indispensable ingredient of a community health program needed by Negroes, and as a source for training the

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, VI (March, 1928), 66.

[2] Opportunity, I (December, 1923), 368.

essential personnel for the health services necessary for meeting the objective of better health and living conditions for Negroes.

The lack of adequate opportunities for Negroes to receive much needed public health services and health education was increasingly stressed by the movement. Its literature urged that the schools should do more to provide not only health instruction but sources for the training of sorely needed health workers. Forrester B. Washington, then Executive Secretary of the Armstrong Association, an affiliate of the League movement, in the mid-twenties referred to the lack of health services for Negroes as being a cause of the high mortality rates among their children. He held that the denial of decent schooling was responsible for much of the lack of knowledge on the part of Negro parents of the essential health habits and sanitation precautions necessary for the proper care of their children. He emphasized the need for improved and increased public health facilities available to Negroes, and advocated the increased training opportunities for more Negro public health nurses. As a matter of fact, he would have a Negro public health nurse "everywhere that there was a Negro supervising teacher."[1] The fact that this League official would make the criteria for having a Negro public health nurse "everywhere that there was a Negro supervising teacher" reflects the great stress put upon the school in the thinking of the Negro leader. Why must the criteria for hiring a nurse be related to the existence of a "supervising teacher"? It is possible that more nurses might be needed where supervising teachers were lacking.

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[1] Forrester B. Washington, "Health Work for Negro Children," Opportunity, III (September, 1925), 266-67.

With respect to agencies to assume responsibility for the better health movement for Negroes, among the chief was to be the schools.[1]

Its attitude toward segregated school situations is implied in the reference of a League official to the problem of getting adequate opportunities for health education for Negroes. The official stated:

> There is unequal application of educational and remedial measures which is shown, for instance, in the denial of hospitalization, and the failure in cities where there are separate schools, to carry on the same type of health work in the Negro schools as in the white schools.[2]

The inadequacy of opportunities for Negroes to receive health education and professional training and opportunities for rendering necessary health services was stressed by Jesse O. Thomas, then southern field secretary of the League. Speaking before the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the League, he cited the lack of opportunity on the part of Negroes to secure health education as a "great barrier" to their progress:

> Very few cities in the whole South have Negro City Physicians to treat the poor and indigent members of the group. South of St. Louis and Washington, D.C., there are no municipal hospitals where Negro doctors may get experience as internes, with the exception of Tuskegee Institute. Negro physicians are not permitted to general practice in municipal hospitals or to share in the clinical demonstrations and laboratory experiments, as a means of keeping abreast with the changing methods of diagnosing and treating various diseases.[3]

The League has pursued a policy of cooperation with schools and community agencies for purposes of providing and demonstrating better health services and essentials of health care and education.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., 265.

[3] Jesse O. Thomas, "Social Service Needs of the South," Opportunity, V (June, 1927), 173.

The results of such cooperation rendered possible, among other things, more and better health, dental, and child clinics available to Negroes.[1]

The annual Negro Health Week program is observed each spring by many Negro schools. Though this program was not originally inaugurated as a League activity,[2] since 1915, the League has been a sponsor and has consistently cooperated with other agencies contributing to the success of this program. According to one writer, the Negro Health Week program, "more than any other one factor . . . has called the attention of Negroes throughout the nation to the value and importance of good health."[3] In his report for the year 1923, the League's executive secretary cited:

> In most of the cities where the League is located, it has taken the leadership in arranging the details for the observance of Negro Health Week and has extended the interest created for the balance of the year through the organization of suitable "better health" clinics and other agencies for health education.[4]

The arranging of dental clinics for public school children was mentioned as one of the important services rendered in this respect.

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[1] Report of St. Louis U. L. conducting Dental clinic for public school children, Opportunity, V (April, 1927), 113.

[2] The Negro Health Week observance was begun by the National Negro Business League under the then founder-president Booker T. Washington. The Negro Health Week program was designed to inspire Negroes to protect their health and develop habits of cleanliness and sanitation believed essential for their becoming a more effective racial group.

[3] Algernon B. Jackson, "The Need of Health Education Among Negroes," Opportunity, II (August, 1924), 236.

[4] Eugene K. Jones, "The Way Opens," Opportunity, II (March, 1924), 70.

Consistent with its policy of cooperating with other agencies to meet a common objective, the League cooperated with such groups as the Association for Prevention and Relief of Heart Diseases in its work with public schools to detect incipient heart diseases in children; it also cooperated in demonstrating methods of prevention and control of such diseases.[1] It cooperated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the program to get Colored Nurses into the Tuskegee Veteran's Hospital.[2]

Commenting editorially two years later, a League official voiced a plea for training opportunities for Negro women desirous of becoming nurses. It urged consideration of the right of Negro women to enter and receive training in tax-supported nurse-training schools; and even suggested the possibility of the need to seek redress in courts to enforce this right.[3] However, this specific reference was to New York City, and the suggestion to seek redress in court apparently remained merely a "suggestion." Court action is undoubtedly not a technique consistent with the League approach to solving racial problems. It is highly possible, this writer feels, that the undertone of potential militancy in the above cited "suggestion" is more likely due to the editor as a person rather than as an official voicing League policies. Jointly with the National Tuberculosis Association and Tuskegee Institute, the League sponsored a motion picture dealing with the problem of tuberculosis among Negroes.[4] It is thus apparent that the cooperation with such agencies

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[1] Opportunity, XIII (November, 1935), 330.

[2] Ibid., p. 331.

[3] "Editorial," Opportunity, XV (November, 1937), 325.

[4] Opportunity, XVI (July, 1938), 216.

as these reveals some of the League's major techniques for implementing its health objectives; namely, sponsoring, demonstrating, and contributing to other efforts to provide health educational opportunities for Negroes both through the public schools, and other agencies of formal education.

The League policy as implemented by its official family has not always been uncritical of other agencies professing concern for the health and welfare of the Negro group. In 1939, its official organ editorially cautioned against accepting the attitude and policy of the American Medical Association toward Negroes. It advised the examination of the A.M.A.'s attitude and policy toward the Negro in the medical profession before accepting its leadership, for example, in regard to socialized medicine:

> The American Medical Association could have used its influence to break down the barriers which exist in medical schools in America. It exercises tremendous power in shaping the policies and plans of public hospitals, but if it has ever taken a step to secure for the Negro physician his rights to participation on the staffs of these hospitals, we have yet to hear of it.[1]

It is not the writer's purpose in presenting the above reference to imply that the League's program advocated socialized medicine, but merely to present evidence that though its policy was one of cooperation with agencies and organizations professing concern for the welfare of the Negro, the League was not uncritical, and was selective in this respect. However, this type of reference does seem to reveal an increasing discontent on the part of Negroes with the persistent denial of health educational opportunities, and with agencies that failed to help open the doors for securing the training of their

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVII (May, 1939), 131.

members to enable them to render needed health services for the group.

Compulsory school attendance was favored by the League. Adequate enforcement of the compulsory school law was urged as a means of improving the welfare of the Negro children who, it was held, were often denied the opportunity for full preparation for adulthood due to their being exploited as child laborers. Then, too, available child labor makes more difficult the efforts to secure certain types of jobs with adequate wages for adults. A Baltimore League executive secretary spoke critically of the caliber of schools provided for Negroes and implied that such was a factor in the high school mortality rate then characteristic of Negroes in many sections of the United States:

> If the school buildings and the curriculum were made more attractive, and a more adequately trained teaching staff employed, the need for enforcement of the compulsory law would be lessened. Where the school system has been improved, the percentage of children leaving to go to work has decreased materially.[1]

Not only has the League expressed concern for the attractiveness and adequacy of the curriculum and staff of schools available to Negroes, but in October, 1927, its official organ commented editorially on the appearances and settings of Negro schools; some were referred to as exhibiting "the stultifying barrenness of penal institutions," or in "Negro 'settings' which arrogantly and utterly deny the existence of finer tastes in Negroes."[2] This same editorial continued:

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[1] R. Maurice Moss, "The Dark Children Who Work," Opportunity, III (March, 1925), 80.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, V (October, 1927), 286.

> The absence of visible evidences of creative effort, of examples of pleasing art, of the expression of personal or group tastes which have enough distinctiveness and power to provide even a mild aesthetic experience, is a stamp of backwardness.[1]

It further contended that the physical drabness so characteristic of many schools for Negroes needed no longer be excused, and attributed much of the Negroes' feelings of inferiority to such surroundings which, it asserted, "elicit none of their finer feelings."[2]

True to its policy of interracial good will and cooperation, the League's official organ was usually generous with its praise of philanthropies, especially those that so admirably befriended the early cause of providing educational opportunities for Negroes. By 1928, the Rosenwald Fund had befriended more than four thousand schools for Negroes in the South. The schools made possible by this aid were referred to as "Rosenwald Schools," and were cited editorially as "perhaps the greatest monument to his [Rosenwald] sagacity."[3] This editorial not only credited the Rosenwald schools with providing elementary educational opportunities for hundreds of thousands of Negroes, but also as being a most potent force in encouraging the South to develop facilities for its non-Negro population.

A more solemn and strained observation was later made concerning the relationship between philanthropists and Negro educational opportunities which in some respects presented an apparently paradoxical situation. Many of the philanthropists were also industrialists who, even though they contributed thousands of dollars to provide training opportunities for Negroes as a racial group, would not permit members of this same group to be creditably employed in their

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Editorial," Opportunity, VI (June, 1928).

(philanthropic industrialists) industries after they, the Negroes, had completed their training.[1] Thus, an apparent paradox was created: individuals receiving aid from philanthropic industrialists who would "prepare" them for a better life, but having been "prepared," were denied opportunity by the same philanthropic industrialists to earn the better life.

During the desperate thirties when federal government participation in relief and public work projects was the expected, the public was also being pressed into an awareness that approximately a million American children were suffering from the lack of basic educational opportunities. The League indicated its willingness to accept federal participation to insure educational opportunities:

> . . . it would seem that there has been sufficient precedent established by the federal government in its assumption of authority in relief to surmount the bugaboo of state rights and insure at least the elements of education to all its citizens.[2]

However, this same source expressed doubts that federal educational funds, if provided, would be equally distributed if the distribution of such funds be left to the states, especially the southern states.[3]

Among the types of community services rendered by the League movement closely associated with the objectives of the school program, the following seem appropriate and illustrative for the purposes of this investigation. An interesting undertaking was reported as being carried on in Atlanta, Georgia, during 1925. There, under the sponsorship of the local Urban League,[4] an Opportunity School

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[1] Opportunity, XVII (August, 1939), 227.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XII (September, 1934), 263.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Local units of the League movement will be identified by a city's name plus "Urban League."

was being developed. This project was considered to be a particularly effective piece of social work, designed to teach various simple vocations to workers in preparation for placing them in positions. This project grew out of the fact that many persons seeking aid and employment through the League offices were unable to perform any particular job well. The offerings of this Opportunity School started first with a cooking class, then a class in serving and home management. The response on the part of the people anxious to learn was so great that later a sewing class and then a millinery class had to be added. So favorable were the results of this project, according to the League's report, that it attracted the attention of the board of education which agreed to provide for the continuation of this type of project on a larger scale as a part of the city's vocational educational program.[1]

With respect to the establishing of the visiting teacher work in public schools, the director of the Brooklyn, New York, Urban League reported in 1927 that that body had completed its first full year of such work in the public schools. This was part of a demonstration carried on in cooperation with the Juvenile Protective Association in an attempt to bring to the attention of the board of education the need for a larger number of visiting teachers. This work was initially started during November of 1925, and according to this report eighty-six cases had been referred to the Brooklyn Urban League from schools assigned during the year 1926.[2] Two years later, a committee was formed to deal with problems of colored children in the public schools with the idea of having a special

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[1] "Report of Progress," Opportunity, III (April, 1925), 128.

[2] Opportunity, V (August, 1927), 239.

visiting teacher appointed.[1] By 1931, notable success was reported in reclaiming juvenile delinquents by the visiting teacher program fostered in Buffalo, New York, by the Urban League of that city and the Council of Social Agencies. School principals were reported "unanimous" in their endorsement of this aspect of the Urban League program.[2]

The activity of the Louisville, Kentucky, Urban League illustrates another type of school-community service which functioned advantageously in making possible better educational opportunities for Negroes. This League unit reported that it took a leading role in sponsoring the million-dollar bond issue of its city. The victory of this bond issue was reported to have assured Negroes of that city an extension college of the University of Louisville, two junior high schools, and several elementary buildings.[3]

During the early thirties, the Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia, took a leading role in the drive to get Negro principals in Negro public schools of that city. Because of the rigidity of the racially dual school system of that city, such action was viewed as the only means of up-grading a Negro educator to an administrative level. Prior to the thirties, there had been no Negro school principals in Richmond, Virginia, since the turn of the twentieth century, all top administrative positions were closed to members of the Negro group. The Richmond Urban League official justified the sponsorship of Negro principals for Negro schools on the grounds

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[1] Opportunity, VIII (April, 1929), 119.

[2] Opportunity, IX (May, 1931), 154.

[3] Opportunity, IV (January, 1926), 29.

that such would benefit the economic life of the Negro community, and would enhance the efficiency of the Negro public schools:

> . . . only in Richmond and in . . . Lynchburg, Virginia, are white principals found in Negro schools in all the Southland. . . . that the only high school [for Negroes] in Virginia given an "A" class rating by the Association of Southern Colleges and Secondary Schools was the Huntington High School at Newport News with a Negro principal.[1]

In its proposed program for 1932, the Richmond Urban League reported:

> We believe that there are certain jobs in our city which in all fairness belong to the Negro, but are now filled by others, and we shall use every effort this year to create such sentiment as will make possible the change [principalships of Negro schools] to Negroes. Negro principals in Negro schools head this list.[2]

The 1933 annual report announced the success of the Richmond Urban League leadership in this respect; it announced that Negroes had been elected by the Richmond School Board to the principalships of two of the city's Negro elementary schools.[3]

When asked to indicate what he considered the most outstanding achievements rendered by the Richmond Urban League to the advancement of educational opportunities for Negroes of that community, the executive secretary of that organization unhesitatingly included this leadership in the drive for Negro principals for Negro schools. He also referred to similar drives that aided in getting for Negroes a vocational high school and one of its more modern elementary schools, and his organization's continued cooperation with public

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[1] Annual Report, Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia, 1931, p. 7.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Messenger, Richmond Urban League, I (August, 1933), n.p.

schools to make more adequate their vocational offerings and vocational guidance services.[1]

The organizing and sponsoring of nurseries and kindergartens has been a very helpful community service rendered by the League program. Illustrative examples would include the work of the St. Louis Urban League which reported in 1927 that it was conducting a day nursery to help working mothers. The Brooklyn Urban League reported in 1928 that it was furnishing space for the kindergarten and day nursery maintained by the board of education.[2] Among other instances of League efforts to provide nurseries were those from as far west as the Los Angeles, California, Urban League;[3] and as far south as the Tampa Urban League, Tampa, Florida, which reported that it had organized both nurseries and kindergartens as early as 1924.[4]

The wide and varied interests of the League program was not limited merely to the preschool and school groups of Negroes, but educational opportunities for adults, where lacking sponsorship, also received the attention of the League program. The New York City adult education experiment among colored people which was fostered by the New York Public Library was reported to have come about as a result of an appeal by the Urban League to the American Adult Education Association and the Carnegie Corporation of New York for

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[1] Personal interview with Mr. Wiley A. Hall, the Executive Secretary of the Richmond Urban League for more than two decades, and himself a former League Fellow, Richmond, Virginia, December 20, 1951.

[2] Opportunity, VI (March, 1928), 77-78.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Survey of the Month," Opportunity, IX (August, 1931), 254.

funds to establish four experimental centers in adult education for colored people. The executive secretary of the League was made chairman of the New York City experiment.[1]

The League program appeared to be a vital force in getting Negro boys organized and accepted in the Boy Scouts Movement of America. The annual report for 1927 cited efforts of the League in cooperation with the Boy Scouts of America to get colored Boy Scout troops organized in various cities of the United States.[2] A committee was established through which such a movement was conducted, and by the following year the Baltimore Urban League reported the first recognized colored Boy Scout troop in Maryland was organized.[3] By 1931, the Harlem Boy Scouts (New York), which, too, had been established at the request of the executive secretary of the League, had developed into the largest Boy Scout center in the world for Negroes.[4]

The League's interest in making better recreational facilities and opportunities available to Negroes was continued during this period. Its southern field secretary proposed that "each high school could have a recreational center largely directed by the young people in the high school."[5] He advocated the use of college students where available in college towns as factors in making possible recreational programs.

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[1] Opportunity, X (March, 1932), 91.

[2] Opportunity, VI (March, 1928), 76.

[3] Opportunity, VII (April, 1929), 118.

[4] Opportunity, X (March, 1932), 91.

[5] Jesse O. Thomas, "A Social Program to Help the Migrant," Opportunity, II (March, 1924), 71.

The lack of recreational facilities in the northern urban areas was graphically portrayed by O. R. Lovejoy, secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York. Writing in the League's official organ, he decried the situation that permitted supervised recreational facilities for Negroes to lag far behind the development of centers of commercial types such as poolrooms, night clubs, and cabarets:

> The recreational facilities in Harlem [N. Y.] are only 15% of those needed today [1929]. . . . There are only six country camps for Negro children and they can care for only 1,000 children [of the then estimated 250,000 Negroes in Harlem]. . . . Of fifty cases picked at random on the streets by a social worker, one child was found to have had any contact with an organized recreation.[1]

This reference is merely cited to present a terse emphasis on the need for a community program which the movement interpreted as being an instance of community neglect, and the type of situation deemed worthy of League effort for arousing community awareness, and seeking ameliorative measures. Similar situations were developing in many of the industrial areas into which Negroes were concentrating during their efforts to seek acceptance and adjustment in the urban ways of life. One very encouraging project reflecting the League influence in directing philanthropic aid to ameliorating the problem of inadequate recreational opportunities for Negroes in industrial areas was the Green Pastures Camp for underprivileged children opened at Little Pleasant Lake, Michigan. John C. Dancy, as executive secretary of the Detroit Urban League, was instrumental in getting this camp "purchased and set aside for Colored children by the Michigan Children's Fund,"[2] which fund was a gift

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[1] Opportunity, VII (June, 1929), 175.

[2] Opportunity, IX (August, 1931), 254.

donated by Senator James Counzens for the children of Michigan. According to this report, the supervision of the Green Pastures Camp became the responsibility of the Detroit Urban League executive secretary, John C. Dancy.[1]

The promotion of training opportunities for Negro social workers continued as a permanent and integral part of the League movement. Included in Appendix IV of this writing is an official listing of recipients of League Fellowships and a partial survey of positions held by them subsequent to their training period. Through the efforts of various League affiliates, additional fellowship and scholarship advantages were made possible including opportunities for field experiences.[2] Among the schools receiving League recommended "Fellows" during the early twenties were the New York School of Social Work, the Graduate School of Social Administration of the University of Chicago, the School of Social Work of Simmon College (Boston), the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie School of Technology (Pittsburgh), and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work in Philadelphia.[3]

The southern field secretary reported in 1928 that the League had been instrumental in organizing the Atlanta School of

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[1] Ibid., p. 254. This writer interviewed Mr. John C. Dancy, currently executive secretary of the Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan, August 20, 1951. This interview confirmed that the emphasis on meeting the recreational needs of underprivileged Negro youth remains a consistent part of the League's program, especially if no other agency is adequately meeting this need.

[2] Opportunity, III (March, 1925), 83. Opportunity, VI (March, 1928), 76-79, 85.

[3] Eugene K. Jones, "The Way Opens," Opportunity, II (March, 1924), 70.

Social Work (Negro), Atlanta, Georgia.[1] This institution advertised in the League's official organ:

> [It] gives training in every branch of technical social work and in addition offers special preparation for the special problems which confront social workers in Negro communities.[2]

Ten years later, the Atlanta School of Social Work became affiliated with Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.[3] At the mid-twentieth century this institution had become the leading school of social work for Negroes of the lower South. Along with the Social Work School of Howard University, Washington, D. C., it has been a major source of trained Negro social workers. Though the Atlanta School of Social Work was never an organic part of the League organization, certainly its success is the embodiment of the movement's spiritual emphasis, and a monument to the wisdom, foresight, and practical emphasis of the early guiding forces of the League movement.

During the great depression of the thirties, the League movement cooperated with and sponsored special educational programs designed to relieve some of the dire repercussions associated with the socioeconomic conditions then current. It was evident by the beginning of the thirties that with the growing unemployment tendency, the heightened competition between traditionally antagonistic groups of workers would have unfavorable repercussions in the field of race relations, especially where Negro and white workers were involved. The traditional policies of management in many areas to

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[1] Opportunity, VI (March, 1928), 85. Letter from Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, May 24, 1952. The Atlanta University School of Social Work started at Morehouse College.

[2] Opportunity, VI (December, 1928).

[3] Opportunity, XVI (September, 1938), 279.

make Negroes the "last hired and first fired" provided a near insurmountable obstacle to the work opportunities for Negroes in a period of such dire economic crises. This lack of job security for the Negro worker was not due merely to racial prejudice, but was due also to the fact that the Negro as a group had been but recently introduced into industrial job opportunities, thereby lacking in tenure, seniority, and other aspects of status which would procure a binding claim on any particular job situation. Negroes, even when admitted to industrial jobs, had been largely relegated to the types of jobs requiring but little special skill, whereupon it was but an easy matter to replace one group of workers with another group. To further complicate this situation, traditional "Negro jobs" were being invaded by other non-Negro groups. In the face of hunger and dire distress, jobs formally held undesirable suddenly became desirable to advantaged members and thereby were lost to lesser desirable groups of the labor market. In the face of such conditions, unrest and tensions were mounting. The accrued progress in better racial relations seemed threatened. To help in this situation, the League through its research department began systematic inquiries as a basis for its program of action. Louisville, Kentucky, was selected as providing a typical southern community situation and was studied as a source of pertinent facts. This investigation revealed that Negro workers were losing job-ground to non-Negro workers; that even in the field of domestic service, traditionally a Negro worker's stronghold, foreign household workers were in keen competition with Negroes for these jobs; and the apparent trend was a definite shift from colored to whites, especially foreign, in the domestic and personal services fields of employment.[1] According to this same

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Labor," Opportunity, VIII (April, 1930), 120.

inquiry, the reasons given in Louisville for this employment trend included the opinion that foreign household workers were "more tractable, more willing to work longer hours, more apt to 'sleep in' and generally more satisfactory than traditional Negro servants."[1]

The situation described above was characteristic of circumstances Negroes, especially urban, were facing in many sections of the United States during the decade of the thirties. To offer aid in meeting such situations, the League not only provided factual information as a result of the work of its research department, but cooperated with and sponsored certain community educational services sorely needed. Of significance was its drive to train domestics and personal service workers. In light of the aforementioned findings of its research department, this certainly seems a logical approach. Illustrative of this aspect of the League's activity were its efforts in Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago, Illinois. With the help of the Rosenwald Fund, the Atlanta League was instrumental in providing training for domestics. Instructions were offered in such skills as, for example, the proper making of beds and in the use of the electric carpet sweeper, skills essential for efficient domestic workers.[2] In Chicago, that League in cooperation with the board of education sponsored classes in cooking.[3]

The retraining of Negro workers received special concern in the League program during this era. The invasion of whites into the traditional "Negro jobs," the organized support of leadership organizations like the League, and the emphases of the New Deal program

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Opportunity, VIII (April, 1930), 120.

[3] Ibid.

provided added motivation for Negroes to forge their entrance into the industrial order as workers. The League's program was mainly twofold: to help qualify Negro workers to meet the requirements for gaining new opportunities in industry, and to help Negroes already employed in industry to improve their workmanship and retain their jobs. Through League sponsorship and cooperation, instruction for building management was organized in many cities, including New York, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Kansas City. The latter city's training class reported an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-three men; the subjects in the curriculum covered a wide range of skills such as fuel and firing, radiation and ventilation, the use and care of electrical appliances, smoke ordinances, and personnel.[1] Such courses as one is readily aware were not a part of the regular public school curricula of that day and time. Thus it would appear that the League program was certainly a contributory factor in extending a more functional and practical category of educational opportunities for Negroes during this period, an emphasis that was to receive more enduring concern from school policy makers in an era not too far off as passing events of the later war periods will confirm. This emphasis will be considered again later in this dissertation. It suffices here to record that the re-education of workers through vocational classes became a salient part of the League program, and was accompanied also by a shift in the emphasis of the program. The apparent emphasis on providing what had appeared to some to be a "special brand" of education to fit Negroes for service in the traditional "Negro jobs," from this point on seemed superseded by a drive to provide Negroes with whatever type of educational opportunity deemed necessary to their entrance and upgrading in American

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[1] Opportunity, XI (March, 1933), 93.

industry. This trend reflects the increasingly emancipated aspirations of Negroes as a racial group. This attitude appears to have been reinforced as later events inherent in participation in the Second World War were brought into play.

One further mention of the role of the League program during the depression era and its concern for school personnel is in order to reveal the comprehensiveness of its community educational concern. The middle thirties was a period of economic stress for many of the prepared school personnel. Teacher unemployment, in keeping with the trend in general unemployment, numbered well into the thousands. Certainly, Negro teachers bore their share. To aid in this situation the League cooperated with and sponsored programs to provide emergency education projects for teachers eligible for relief. The special concern of these efforts was to see that Negro teachers shared in the opportunities made possible by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The League reported that it shared in the sponsorship of five types of projects, including: (1) literary classes, (2) general adult education, (3) vocational training, (4) vocational rehabilitation, and (5) nursery schools.[1]

The League did not render its educational efforts in behalf of training and retraining opportunities for Negroes without at the same time offering through its officials certain critical appraisals of phases of the school program. Although this will be discussed more in detail under the section devoted to vocational guidance, however, the following comments seem appropriate here. The focal point of the League's attack was the offerings of the trade schools. The director of its Department of Industrial Relations charged, "Our trade schools make insufficient appeal to youth, and mothers and

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[1] Opportunity, XIII (January, 1935), 17.

fathers have not yet wanted their sons to be electricians, steamfitters, pattern-makers, engineers and draftsmen."[1] Of course, the problem was hardly as simple as this statement would tend to imply. Of possible greater importance is the glaring reality that during the period under consideration (1930), there was a lack of an established precedent that Negroes would be accepted in such jobs as referred to in the quotation. The period was one of mounting general unemployment. The traditional organized opposition to, and prejudice against, the employment of Negroes in these skilled occupations tended even more than usual to enhance the uncertainty of their achievement in such areas. Certainly, the realities apparent militated against motivating the "desires of mothers and fathers" to want their sons to pursue certain lines of skilled endeavor. The apparent dearth of parental motivation could more franklin be recognized as being a resultant of a societal configuration of antagonistic forces offering no simple solution, especially during the early thirties.

The League indicated a very favorable attitude toward the teaching of Negro history in public schools. In January, 1934, its official organ editorially went on record as advocating this procedure. It pointed out the fact that graduation from public schools in the United States may take place with the graduate lacking adequate information regarding the role Negroes have played in the history of America except as slaves. It further asserted, "The ignorance of the students concerning the Negro is only surpassed by their teachers, even some of those who teach in schools where Negroes are a part of the student body."[2] The League's concern for the teaching

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[1] Opportunity, VIII (June, 1930), 184.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XII (January, 1934), 7.

of Negro history in public schools stems from its objective of promoting better race relations. It apparently subscribed to the point of view that the addition of unbiased courses on racial elements in the American population to the school curriculum would contribute to the growth of better race relations, and that the public school offers a climate in which racial attitudes can and should be shaped. Such an assumption seemed to have been supported by a study made by Dr. P. W. Schlorff of the School of Education at New York University, and cited editorially by the League's official organ. The study reported an increase in tolerance on the part of students who were made familiar with the historical background of the Negro, his African origins and customs, and his achievements and contributions to the development of the United States.[1] Further reference will be made to the League's interest in aspects of the curriculum and contents of the schools' program under the discussion of the League's vocational guidance program.

League officials had been instrumental in directing philanthropic aid in an undertaking revealing its interest in making available to those of scholarly interest and need information on the life and social conditions among Negroes. The League's Department of Research and Investigations with the aid of Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood, at that time the League's president, successfully persuaded the Carnegie Corporation of New York to appropriate $10,000 to purchase the Arthur A. Schomburg Historical Collection of Negro books, prints, and other related data. This collection, certainly one of the most comprehensive and complete of its kind, was turned over to the New York Public Library and established as a permanent resource available to students of Negro life and history.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Opportunity, V (March, 1927), 77.

Probably because of its social worker emphasis, its stress on interracial cooperation and interracial good will, the sources resorted to as basis for this writing revealed but limited evidences of League activity to directly attack the institution of segregation. Yet, the League's unfavorable attitude toward segregation is evident in the tone of the writings of its officials and especially the editorials of its official organ under the editorship of Elmer A. Henderson from 1928 to 1942. The writer has already commented on the evidences of latent militancy perceptible in many of his editorials. An earlier reference (1925) to the problem of securing opportunities for health education for Negroes revealed one League official who decried the failure of cities with separate schools for Negroes to provide equal opportunities for health work.[1]

Lester B. Granger, who in the next quarter century (1941 on) became the executive secretary of the League movement, wrote in 1925:

> It is an undeniable fact that separate schools offer to the backward and prejudiced city or town an excuse and an opportunity to deny to the Negro child equal educational opportunities with the white, just as they offer to the progressive community a chance to show a spirit of fairness.[2]

Certainly, few indeed would be the communities, cities, or towns which would admit to being "backward and prejudiced"; and the admission of the official that in his view separate schools "offer to the progressive community a chance to show a spirit of fairness," can be perceived as an extolling of a "virtue" of the segregated

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[1] Forrester B. Washington, "Health Work for Negro Children," op. cit., p. 265.

[2] Lester B. Granger, "Race Relations and the School System," Opportunity, III (November, 1925), 329.

school; thus such a point of view can hardly be accurately interpreted as a direct attack on the existence of separate schools. Such diplomatic naivety, though sometimes expedient, can hardly ever be conclusive. The focal question Granger was attacking was the perennial one in this area: If American educational policy be motivated by "a spirit of fairness," then why is separation of "races" necessary? Implied here is an attack upon the "equal but separate" doctrine created to provide legal and philosophical sanction to the practice of segregated education characteristic of certain parts of the American public school system. Further delineation upon this line of attack will be reserved for a more appropriate part of this dissertation. It suffices here to ascertain the spirit of the quotation and the nature of its attack.

Approximately two years later, the League's official organ commented editorially on the announcement in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of July 9, 1937, stating that two Negro teachers had been appointed to faculties which previously had had only white teachers; also that two white teachers had been appointed to serve under Negro principals. This was interpreted as eliminating the previous practice of having two eligibility lists for employing personnel, one for white teachers and one for colored teachers, the latter being restricted to colored school.

> The action of the Board of Education belated as it is should be commended. For if the public schools of America are to prepare citizens for Democracy, the vicious doctrine of racial segregation in public education must be repudiated. There never has and there never will be equality in education under a segregated system.[1]

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XV (August, 1937), 228.

This same editorial accused segregated school systems of impregnating children "with ideas of superiority or an overpowering sense of inferiority."[1] It stressed the fear of spreading of segregation.

> Racial separation in the schools gives validity to separation in every other phase of existence and makes the task of obliterating racial discrimination in public and private employment in municipal, state and federal services, in all walks of life, doubly difficult.[2]

The above excerpts from the League's official organ leave no doubts regarding certain attitudes of their writer. The editor favored the administrative policy of hiring teachers on the basis of efficiency regardless of race or color; he would resist the spread of segregation, and he viewed this practice as contributing to certain unfavorable mental attitudes--inferiority and superiority complexes. The segregation of the races in schools was held as complicating the over-all process of job placement and acceptance for Negroes, a major concern of the League program, and the editor did not believe that equality of educational opportunity and segregation were compatible. Finding no evidence of the editor's immediate censure by the controlling powers of the League, the writer deems it but reasonable to conclude that the editorial, too, was reflecting an acceptable sentiment of the movement.

With reference to a reported proposal of a certain religious group to establish a high school for Negro girls in New York City, the League, through its official organ, again expressed its unfavorable attitude toward separate schools and its fear of the spread of segregation practices. Editorially, it termed the proposal a "step backwards," citing that neither tradition, custom, nor law required such practice in New York City. It attributed the proposed action

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

to the unwillingness of the educational authorities of this religious group to face the problem of educating Negro girls in a "forthright and Christian manner."[1] Further, it contended, "To establish segregated institutions where neither public policy, nor custom, nor law requires it is little less than a crime."[2]

The gracious and unrestrained approval with which its officials accepted the results of successfully prosecuted legal efforts conducted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in behalf of better educational opportunities for Negroes is further evidence revealing the attitude of the League movement in this particular. In the case of the United States Supreme Court affirmation of the right of a Negro to matriculate at a state university, striking a severe blow at both precedent and procedures in the southern part of the United States, the League, through its official organ, editorially described it as:

> . . . the most important legal decision handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the past quarter century, in as far as the civil liberties of Negro citizens are concerned. . . .
>
> The NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] deserves the gratitude and the congratulations of every American who still believes in the tenets of Democracy for carrying this issue to a successful conclusion.[3]

Similar approval by the League officials was forthcoming as success apparently crowned other legal efforts of the N.A.A.C.P. in its approach to improve and extend educational opportunities for

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVII (September, 1939), 258.

[2] Ibid., p. 259.

[3] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVII (January, 1939), 2-3. The case to which this editorial refers is the State of Missouri, ex. rel., Lloyd Gaines v. University of Missouri: 305 U. S. 337, December 12, 1938.

Negroes. But because a later part of this dissertation, reserved for the analysis and interpretation of the educational attitudes of the N.A.A.C.P., will then more appropriately consider in detail these pertinent legal cases, it is not deemed necessary to prolong such discussion here. It suffices to present one further instance confirming the League's approval of certain actions represented by these legal successes, and implying its apparent approval of efforts to break down segregation and discrimination against Negroes as they pursue educational opportunities. In the case of Walter Mills v. the Anne Arundel County Board of Education, when an injunction was granted by a United States District Court restraining that board of education from continuing a wage differential on the basis of race and color, the League's official organ editorially appraised the action and concluded, "No more important legal victory has been won in the Negro's long fight for status."[1]

Thus, despite the lack of organized campaigns and the dramatics of emotionalized efforts to spotlight its aversion to racial segregation in education, the League's attitude is discernible in this particular. The writings of its officials and the generous moral support and approval rewarded legal successes of other organizations in efforts to break down segregation and other barriers to improved educational opportunities for Negroes expose the League's own attitudes. In light of such evidence, one must conclude that the movement shared antagonistic attitudes toward educational policies and practices that arbitrarily separated Negroes from their fellow countrymen because of race and color.

One of the fruits of the despair of the thirties was the awakening of America in many respects to the inadequacies of many of

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVIII (January, 1940), 3.

her schools for large segments of her population. The work of racial leadership organizations in inducing the awareness of a significant portion of the American public to the plight of the Negro minority in this respect deserves special attention. In its emphasis upon vocational education and vocational guidance,[1] this writer considers the League movement to have made one of its most outstanding and consistent contributions to the improvement of educational opportunities for many Negroes.

As confirmed by its executive secretary at the Kansas City Conference in 1923, one of the earliest objectives of the League movement was that of the "general work of adjusting newcomers in northern cities."[2] With the growth of industrial American characteristic of the period beginning in the twenties, coupled with the persistent decline of opportunities in agricultural areas and the increasing concentration of Negroes into the industrial labor market, the extension of the concern implied in this League objective to one of concern for vocational education and vocational guidance was but a logical next step.

In 1924, the southern field secretary of the League catalogued the influences that enhanced the difficulties for migrants to become adjusted to and assimilated in their new environment. According to this League official, these influences included: (1) poor educational advantages, especially early training; (2) economic inefficiency; (3)

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[1] For the purposes at hand, this writer does not deem it necessary to draw a fine dichotomy differentiating the terms "trade training," "vocational education," and "industrial education." Considering their overlapping objectives and their desired ends, the programs are all referred to in this category: Vocational Education and Vocational Guidance.

[2] Opportunity, I (December, 1923), 368.

lack of contact with elevating personalities; (4) difficulties in securing adequate housing accommodations; and (5) the disposition to cling to customs and habits of old environments.[1] To mitigate the evils of the problem situation herein encountered, he advocated a course of action that was to become a persistent emphasis of the League program; namely, the plea for vocational education with adequate vocational guidance for Negro youth. His specific reference was to southern migrant children, "to help them determine their adaptability or their compatibility."[2] The following year, the Urban League of Baltimore, Maryland, reported that it had been instrumental in securing the appointment of two full-time vocational counselors to work in connection with the new Douglass High School and the junior high schools of that city.[3]

The League made special efforts to cooperate with schools, particularly those offering training in the trades, in an effort to improve the caliber and functional relevance of the type of training and vocational guidance Negroes were receiving. During 1925, the director of its Department of Industrial Relations reported visiting twenty-one schools offering trade training for Negroes in the South. He conferred with principals and heads of trade departments with the view of bringing their training courses and curricula in line to meet the demands of industry for more appropriately trained workers. In its efforts to place Negroes in many of the skilled positions then becoming available, the League reported complaints of the inadequate training of many Negroes. It voiced the belief

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[1] Opportunity, II (March, 1924), 71-72.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

[3] "Social Progress," Opportunity, III (September, 1925), 285.

that "many of the schools need to reorganize their trade training courses."[1] This was believed necessary to meet the new demands of the many Negroes entering industries, the machine shops and foundries. The more general type of industrial education was asserted to have been geared to rural or small community life, thus out of kelter for workers in an urban and industrial situation.

In 1926, with reference to the problem of equipping Negroes as a group so that they could hold the occupations already acquired and become able to obtain new and better ones, the League's point of view pertaining to the role the school must perform in meeting this situation was expressed editorially. It emphasized the need for better evidence of articulation between the training provided for certain jobs and the job itself. It observed that "finished tradesmen are far too few. Labor turn-over, due too often to matters which the schools may find a way to improve, must be reduced."[2]

Again, at its Sixteenth Annual Conference, New York City, the League expressed concern over the inadequacies of the efforts of schools to meet the training needs of Negro workers. The main topics considered at this conference included health, industry, housing, and education. These were discussed from the point of view of the whole community. The League's director of its Department of Industrial Relations launched the discussion of "Training for Industrial Opportunity." According to him, in spite of the crying need for and the insistence upon the efficiency of trade schools, that they were offering but a fraction of the qualified quota of workers needed by industry. He implied that the limitations of the schools

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[1] Opportunity, IV (March, 1926), 101.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, IV (February, 1926), 68.

as possible sources for industrial workers were due to "insufficient equipment and unfamiliarity of instructors in them" with modern industrial processes.[1] He urged closer articulation between schools offering trade training and the League movement. He stressed the movement's efforts to provide a source of information available to the schools revealing the better types of jobs available for prepared young people.[2]

The 1927 National Urban League Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, continued to stress the need for vocational training opportunities for Negroes.[3] And in December of that same year, Charles S. Johnson, writing editorially for the League's official organ, presented this picture:

> It is not alone true that Negro workers find it difficult to secure skilled work because of a lack of training opportunities; no formal training opportunities exist [sic]. Neither through the trade schools handicapped by isolation from modern plants, nor the public schools founded upon another principle, nor corporation schools almost impossible to sustain, nor correspondence schools, too utterly remote from work, can this training be secured.[4]

Involved in this problem of providing vocational training for Negroes are the twin disabilities of the lack of opportunities for apprentice training for Negroes and the opposition of organized labor to the entrance of Negroes into skilled trades.

During this same period, the inadequacy of the Negro's technical training reflecting the lack of and inadequacy of his opportunities

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[1] Opportunity, IV (March, 1926), 96.

[2] Ibid., p. 78.

[3] Opportunity, V (June, 1927), 167.

[4] "Editorial," Opportunity, V (December, 1927), 351.

for vocational training was recognized by many Negro educators. This was evident, for example, by the address of President J. R. E. Lee of the A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Florida, in which he made a plea for the Urban League's local affiliates to continue their co-operative efforts to improve the quality of trade training available and to facilitate the opening of new avenues of technical training for Negroes.[1] Observations of the state of affairs of Negro workers led Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, then head of the Department of Sociology at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, to comment: "The Negro is technically unqualified for the exactions of complex industry, although technical qualification is the indispensable requisite for industrial survival in a complex industrial age."[2] Such stark realism as is reflected in this quotation and his similar writings of this era won for Dr. Hancock the dubious distinction of being affectionately labeled the "Gloomy Dean" of Negro leaders of this era; but later events of the thirties concurred in proving that his realistic appraisal of the situations confronted by Negroes was not without its virtue.

As late as the mid-thirties, Negro educators through the official organ of the League movement were crying the need for better and increased opportunities for vocational education for Negroes. With special reference to the South--the greatest area of Negro population concentration, and source of the northern Negro migrant --Frank Horne, then acting principal of the Fort Valley Normal and

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[1] J. R. E. Lee, "Education of Workers for Industry," Opportunity, V (June, 1927), 168. This was an address delivered at the National Urban League Conference.

[2] Gordon B. Hancock, "When the Manna Faileth," Opportunity, VI (May, 1928), 135.

Industrial School (Negro) of Fort Valley, Georgia, made the following interesting appraisal of the status of the industrial schools for Negroes:

> As factors in training Negro youth to earn a livelihood in industrial America of today [1935], the industrial school of the South, except in a few rare instances, could practically all be scrapped without appreciable loss to anyone.[1]

The basic reasons given by this educator for his rather caustic appraisal of the apparent inefficiency of the Negro industrial school offerings in its effort to facilitate the adjustment of the Negro students to the demands of modern industrial life include the following: (1) the influence of accrediting agencies, oriented toward preparation of students for matriculation in liberal arts colleges; (2) the rapid technological development of the twentieth century, thus obsoleting many school curricula; and (3) the lack of funds.[2]

Criticisms of the offerings of Negro industrial schools during the mid-thirties was not merely limited to elementary and secondary levels; nor was it limited to Negro groups. The Committee on Vocations of the National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes concluded:

> . . . at the present time [1934] there seems to be little or no disposition to plan vocational offerings in the elementary or the secondary schools, or in the colleges, in relation to their use for livelihood.[3]

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[1] Frank Horne, "The Industrial School of the South," Opportunity, XIII (May, 1935), 136.

[2] Ibid., pp. 136-139, 179.

[3] Report of the Committee on Vocations of the National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes, 1934, p. 12.

Even the Negro land-grant colleges, capstone of Negro vocational and industrial educational opportunities, came in for their share of criticism, and evidently not without cause. No less authority than Dr. Edwin R. Embree, then president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and though a member of the white race, a recognized champion of Negro education, wrote: "The institutions [Negro land-grant colleges] are chiefly devoted to the preparation of teachers and to pretty sloppy [sic] courses in agriculture and mechanical arts."[1]

Thus, it is apparent that the emphasis on more and better opportunities for Negroes to receive vocational education with adequate vocational guidance heralded in the twentieth century by the League movement attained major prominence during the thirties. All levels of vocational training opportunities for Negroes came under attack, stimulating public awareness to a more comprehensive view of the plight of Negroes who as a group existed mainly as workers. That the schools were to play a central role in the program of improving the socioeconomic conditions of Negroes by then was a foregone conclusion; and that the League's critical attack on the inefficiency of the offerings of the Negro trade schools reflected the sentiments of a large element of Negroes was well implied and confirmed by the growing universality of complaints; also that the amelioration of the situation called for prolonged and continuous attack seemed obvious from transpiring events. The events of the thirties seemed merely to enhance and verify the League's program in this respect. Its emphasis upon the inevitable relations between providing training

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[1] Edwin R Embree, Every Tenth Pupil, p. 9. Reprinted from the Survey Graphic by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Cited also: Opportunity, XIII (May, 1935), 138. Cf. T. Arnold Hill, "Labor," Opportunity, XII (May, 1934), 151, and Lionel B. Fraser, "The Dilemma of Our Colleges and Universities," Opportunity, XV (June, 1937), 168.

opportunities and securing opportunities to use such training once obtained gave a much needed practical impetus to the vocational educational programs, and tended to remove them from the idle realm of unrelated theory.

At its annual conference held at Louisville, Kentucky, 1929, the League movement had as its general theme: "Recent Trends in the Employment of Negro Labor." Two major questions attacked at this conference were: Are Negro schools meeting the demands for vocational training? Are Negroes taking advantage of training facilities?[1] The conference theme for the following year was "Vocational Guidance." At this conference the League's Vocational Opportunity Campaign was initiated; it was designed to facilitate and encourage schools in their efforts to gear their vocational offerings more in line with the needs of modern industry. It was primarily a specialized program to make available to Negro students a more adequate source of vocational counseling services. A central idea running through much of the conference discussion was that "boys and girls should know all that the public schools can give them respecting chosen vocations before they enter upon them."[2] The corollary implicit therein was that the schools themselves must be adequately informed regarding the basic information essential to the vocations to be chosen.

The Vocational Opportunity Campaign was under the direct sponsorship of the League's Industrial Relations Department, which at that time was directed by T. Arnold Hill. According to the purposes set forth by its sponsors in 1930, this campaign was an effort

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[1] Opportunity, VII (March, 1929).

[2] Opportunity, VIII (December, 1930), 374.

to acquaint the public with the low occupational position of Negro workers, to emphasize what the Negro can do in his own behalf, to make the Negro himself aware of his strength as laborer and as consumer in order that he may marshall his forces for economic betterment. It proposed to aid the program of the schools by supplying occupational information, and by setting up demonstration centers in vocational counseling.[1] The implementation of this campaign was to be a community responsibility under the guiding sponsorship of the League working in cooperation with other agencies. Public schools of all levels were invited and apparently expected to participate; forty-five cities and educational institutions participated in the second annual Vocational Opportunity Campaign the following year.[2] The nature and extent of the campaign's concern can be detected from the listing of topics covered by the literature which the League prepared and distributed to participating communities and schools. Included among such were: "Vocational Mindedness," "My Vocation," "Choosing A Vocation," "Negro Workers," and "After Graduation What?"[3]

Community recognition and acceptance of such efforts is evident by the fact that during 1932 the League official who was directing the Vocational Opportunity Campaign was invited to cooperate with the chairman of the Vocational Survey Commission of the New York City Board of Education in planning for a special study of vocational opportunities available to colored youth in New York

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Vocational Opportunity Campaign," Opportunity, IX (April, 1931), 117.

[2] Opportunity, X (March, 1932), 74.

[3] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

City.[1] The same League official later served as a member of the Advisory Committee to the Program Committee of the New York Vocational Guidance Association.[2]

In 1932, a year when the disabilities of the great depression were nearly universal, the League's industrial relations director wrote, "The chief agent for aiding individuals in adjusting themselves to occupations is the school." He critically complained that the schools had not been promoting the acquisition of understanding; that they ". . . had striven for the acquiring and retention of knowledge but not the application of it; definition but not interpretation; formula but not value."[3] A couple of months later, this same official complained that the colleges were turning out graduates too fast for the market. He confessed to agree with the point of view that "our system of education is unfitting a lot of Negroes for work. . . ."[4] The crux of this official's complaint seemed to be that too many liberal arts and teacher training graduates were flooded upon an already saturated market, but too little attention was given to the provision of graduates with adequate vocational training for whom there was more possibility of creating a demand. He pointed out that at that time (1932) nothing like the progress made in providing higher education for Negroes had been made in providing vocational

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[1] Ibid., p. 75.

[2] Opportunity, XI (April, 1933), 107.

[3] T. Arnold Hill, "The Problem of Self in Vocational Adjustment," Opportunity, X (April, 1932), 118.

[4] T. Arnold Hill, "Let Us Have a Plan," Opportunity, X (June, 1932), 187.

training; this despite the fact that the emphasis upon the latter antedated such emphasis upon the former.[1]

With the confirmed realization that the American economy was desperately out of balance, as was evident certainly by 1931 and 1932, the problem of finding a job even when properly trained became the paramount issue for many Americans, especially disadvantaged minority groups. The League intensified the emphasis of its job placement program, and the question of vocational guidance gained added prominence in its crystalized program. Its attitude toward the proper role of vocational guidance took issue with the policy then current in the practices of many vocational counselors who held that pupils must be trained and guided only into occupations wherein they were likely to receive opportunities for employment. To pursue such a course, the League point of view reasoned, would handicap the drive to get Negroes into areas of occupations hitherto denied them. It is really the question of race prejudice that apparently skews the League's policy at this point; it recognized that to limit Negro youth only to vocational choices of occupations in which they were then likely to receive acceptance was to relegate the vast majority of them forever to menial jobs and jobs of high social disutility. Such an approach on the part of school counselors would ignore and run counter to efforts to increase not only job opportunities, but also upgrading possibilities once Negroes were accepted in given occupational categories. Thus, the League's director of its Department of Industrial Relations wrote:

> . . . unless Negro boys and girls are trained for things they are not usually allowed to do, we may never hope to raise

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Let Us Have a Plan," op. cit., pp. 185, 187.

them above the present level which is admittedly too low for the talents and aspirations they possess.[1]

This point of view is extended in the implications of the following statement by this same official in response to a request to "set forth Negro qualities and abilities" basic to a vocational counseling program involving Negroes; the official replied, "I conclude that vocational guidance is not a formula made to fit minds in the mass, but a procedure to assist a given individual in the wise selection of a vocation."[2] Here is evidence of the attempt to get Negroes considered as individual personalities rather than in terms of a group image or stereotype. This trend of thought is to play an increasing role as Negro leadership advances.

Again the following year, the League's director of Industrial Relations, in reply to the question, "For what should Negroes be trained?" further clarified the League's attitude toward vocational counseling of Negroes. He contended, "There is no justification, even though jobs are not readily available, for dissuading people from pursuing courses of study that fit them for the thing for which they prove to be best suited."[3]

A casual review and comparison of these critical attacks upon school offerings and the role of school vocational counselors in channeling Negroes into various types of training preparations reveals an apparent paradox in League attitudes as voiced by its director of the Department of Industrial Relations. In one

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Planning Careers in High School," Opportunity, IX (June, 1931), 186.

[2] Opportunity, IX (November, 1931), 346.

[3] T. Arnold Hill, "The College Graduate Looks for New Fields," Opportunity, X (July, 1932), 222.

reference[1] this official agrees, "Our system of education is unfitting a lot of Negroes for work. . . . What positions are the graduates of these schools to get?" Yet in a later instance during the same year, this same official concluded, "There is no justification, even though jobs are not readily available, for dissuading people from pursuing courses of study that fit them. . . ."[2] The harmonizing insight for this apparent paradox of attitudes may be found in the nature of the products considered: the liberal arts or teacher training products of the former reference, and the industrially trained products desired of the latter reference. Or, the former oversupply in an area in which Negroes have been accepted but which fields are already saturated; against the latter action which might, too, create a pool of unemployed workers because they were trained for occupations in which members of their group had not been accepted. But this latter group could supply a "task force" from which the League as a leadership organization might draw for its test cases in its program of getting trained Negroes into jobs heretofore denied members of their race. From the racial leadership organizational point of view, the latter emphasis undoubtedly had virtue. But from the point of view of needy persons, though well trained, the interim between becoming qualified for a certain type of work and the final placement in that type of work could be a highly frustrating period. Finally, it may be well to remember that the League's primary concern was with the welfare of the urban and industrial Negro, and consequently industrial

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Let Us Have a Plan," op. cit., p. 187.

[2] T. Arnold Hill, "The College Graduate Looks for New Fields," op. cit., 222.

training would be more closely related to the implementation of its over-all objectives.

A complicating factor confronting vocational counselors where Negroes were involved was succinctly portrayed in the assertion of a League official that the selection of vocations by Negro students reflected "ambitions" rather than "choices":

> Every expressed desire of a Negro students to follow a certain occupation has racial import. . . . His preference of a job is not the one he can do best but the one he thinks he can do with least racial antagonism.

He further asserted that for the Negro student, occupational ambitions were:

> . . . built upon little or no knowledge of the occupations selected, and still less upon an analysis of his mental, physical and social capacity to succeed in it. They have not been taught to evaluate their temperament and develop their personality, and are not aware of the significance of these two factors in their work relationships.[1]

Through its official organ, the League's officials continuously voiced the same basic attitude toward the Negroes' inadequate opportunities for vocational training and guidance. The central thread of their contention was that the placement of Negroes in industry was handicapped by the lack of and/or the inadequate nature of their requisite training; that too often Negro youth "must mainly stumble into their life's work,"[2] implying a lack of sympathetic and constructive vocational counseling, complicated by group disabilities and racial antagonisms. Not only were these critical attitudes directed toward southern educational sources, but northern school situations were involved too. Editorially, the League's official organ commented

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[1] T. Arnold Hill, "Labor," Opportunity, XI (April, 1933), 121.

[2] Opportunity, XII (May, 1934), 151.

on certain hardships which confronted Negroes in northern schools:

> Too often, particularly in schools of the North, have counselors and teachers unwittingly become the means by which ambitious youngsters have been thwarted in seeking to prepare themselves for a particular occupation.[1]

During the years 1934 to 1936, inclusive, the Vocational Opportunity Campaign was suspended, but was revived again in 1937. The suspension was hardly due to a lack of interest in such a program, but rather due to the fact that the League's personnel was so occupied with other more pressing problems of Negro survival and well-being during those dire depression years. Employment, any kind, was the near insurmountable hurdle for Negroes; special efforts were being made to insure the inclusion of Negroes in available federal relief job projects.

The revived Vocational Opportunity Campaigns[2] adhered mainly to the original insistence on the need for vocational guidance, with an added emphasis on the role of the individual's own personality traits and his sense of worth as reflected in his motivation to succeed. The League's director of industrial relations no doubt had reference to this when he cautioned:

> That driving spirit which impels success must be the possession of a large number of Negro young people. It must be accompanied by training to the point that they will develop definite skill for definite vocations. The chances of killing this spirit are greater than are those of keeping it alive. Toward this end the public schools and all agencies interested in Negro youth must plan definitely to render service.[3]

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVI (March, 1938), 69.

[2] Ever Widening Horizons, op. cit., p. 13. Inquiries from educators were listed as an encouraging factor in reviving these campaigns.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

The 1937 Vocational Opportunity Campaign continued to develop stress on the role of the individual's personality as a prime determinant of his vocational success. Its stated purpose was:

> . . . to indicate to young people both the subjective and the objective factors to be studied in connection with vocational choice. . . . The important consideration is whether or not there is inherent within the individual, or acquired through training and experience, those qualities that make for success in a chosen occupation.[1]

On the even of the Second World War, the League was continuing its stress upon the need for vocational guidance.

> If ever there was a time when American youth . . . needed vocational guidance, now is that time. In particular, Negro youth, confronted with cruel and unreasonable occupational barriers, need to be made conscious first of their own aptitudes and secondly of the possible opportunities for employment in the field of their choice.[2]

Thus, by the late thirties, it was becoming increasingly evident that the basic trend of the League's attitude advocating vocational education and counseling services as prime requisites for the urban and industrial welfare of Negroes had gained consistency. Fortunately, by this time there was a growing recognition and acceptance on the part of schools--public schools and colleges in particular--of their responsibilities for providing more adequate guidance opportunities, including facilities and trained personnel. This action on the part of schools offered increasing assurance that the work that had been so ably championed in behalf of Negroes by the League movement would be continued and extended. Therefore, in the future, the League could devote itself more extensively to community counseling services, to the increasing of its own adequacy as a resource

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[1] Opportunity, XV (March, 1937), 88.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XVII (March, 1939), 67.

available to schools and to the community, and to the pioneering of certain specialized guidance services. The nature and extent of these efforts as they are related to policies and practices of formal educational institutions will be explored in the following chapter on "Participation in National Defense."

This chapter has presented certain activities of the League movement which involved its efforts to implement the basic objective of facilitating the struggle of Negroes to attain a "better life." The inadequacy of the Negroes' training status was recognized as a primary handicap in this pursuit. Thus, the improvement of educational opportunities was approached as the central ingredient in a program to improve the employment, health, and housing standards of Negroes, and to facilitate their cultural adjustment in an urban environment.

Aspects of formal education that attracted the concern of the League movement during this period included a continuing interest in improving health services and opportunities for receiving health education; schools were sought out as one of the chief agencies to assume the responsibilities for the better health movement among Negroes. The League cooperated with schools, public and private, and other community agencies to promote better health training and services. Its efforts increased the clinical services available to schools and to Negroes directly. It cosponsored Negro Health Week, an annual observance participated in by many Negro schools, especially throughout the South, for over forty years. It promoted demonstrations of better health services and essential health practices in order to establish their merits and to encourage other community agencies, including public schools, to incorporate the services of the demonstration into a permanent program.

Its officials were instrumental in channeling philanthropic aid to enhance educational and recreational opportunities for Negroes, both of school ages and adults. It rendered other community services that were closely related to the objectives of the school program, among which were the Opportunity Schools sponsored for the purpose of providing simple vocational instructions for domestic and personal service workers in order to prepare them for job placements. It pioneered in efforts to get visiting teachers in public schools with Negro enrollments, maintaining demonstrations to indicate their potential merits. Its affiliates supported community efforts to increase educational facilities for Negroes. It contributed to the efforts to get Negro boys organized and accepted in the Boy Scout Movement of America.

Of the educational services made available directly to the community under League sponsorship, the program to train and retrain workers, beyond the regular school-age range, was significant. This program was motivated by the revelation during the thirties that job competition, especially for Negroes, was intensifying due to the dire conditions of the depression era with the "invasion" of traditional "Negro jobs" by non-Negroes. The League sponsored special training centers designed to prepare certain Negroes to secure jobs, and others to hold already existing jobs; it especially sought to make it possible for Negroes to benefit by the relief work opportunities provided by federal agencies during the New Deal era; Negro teachers were also included in these efforts. With respect to these training centers, the League shared in the sponsorship of five types of projects: literary classes, general adult education, vocational training, vocational rehabilitation, and nursery schools. Though it never officially resorted directly to court action to attack problems confronting the Negro community in its efforts to improve

educational opportunities, the League officials at times provided a type of moral support to other agencies that did so.

The League continued its efforts to promote training opportunities for Negro social workers, its Fellowship aid program becam a permanent part of its master program. Its local and national officials cooperated in encouraging other agencies and institutions to also provide scholarship aid to worthy Negro applicants for social work training. The Atlanta School of Social Work which League officials had been instrumental in organizing was later affiliated with the Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, and became recognized as one of the two leading Negro institutions for social work training.

One of the most outstanding and consistent contributions made by the League movement to the improvement of educational opportunities for Negroes during this period was in its pioneering, publiciz ing, and persistent promotion of a program of vocational guidance oriented especially toward the needs of Negro students of both the secondary and college levels. League officials were persistent critics of the inadequacies of the offerings of Negro trade schools, and they assumed a leadership role in efforts to increase the quantity and quality of vocational offerings available to Negroes. The League's Vocational Opportunity Campaigns became an integral part of many public school vocational counseling programs, especially where racially dual schools existed. As a resource for counseling information, its departments of Industrial Relations and Vocational Counseling Services appeared to be uniquely valuable to schools because of their intimate relations maintained with management, organized labor, and with the socioeconomic problems confronting Negroes in urban situations.

The coming events of the Second World War era became the immediate concern of the forties. The impact of these momentous

events and their postwar aftermath upon the League's educational involvement will be delineated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

With the gearing of the American economy and societal climate for preparedness, participation, and support of our allies in the prosecution of the Second World War, the paramount aims of American defense preparation became the dominating influences in the program of the League movement. America was acclaimed the "arsenal of the democracies," and the immediate trend of all major organized activities was vocally claimed to be in that direction, especially after the fateful tragedy of Pearl Harbor.

However, during this era of patriotic fervor the League movement did not lose sight of its prime mission: the improvement of the status of Negroes in America, especially to facilitate their acceptance and adjustment in industrial environments as workers and citizens. But rather, the movement tended to translate its primary objectives into the tenor of the times. In evidence of this, the League announced:

> Today, the National Urban League is devoting its whole organizational strength to serve the wartime needs of our nation. This calls for greater activity in a number of fields--such as war employment and housing for Negroes, community planning, cooperation with federal and State agencies, recruiting of Negro men and women for services in war industry, civilian defense, and other essential activities.[1]

Though encumbered with a patriotic halo, the above quotation leaves no doubt that the League's role as a special interest group had not

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[1] Opportunity, XXI (April, 1943), inside front cover page.

been entirely renounced. In a sense, the characteristic of a special interest group to subscribe to a type of "protective coloration" might be in evidence here. Yet in this particular instance, the patriotic sincerity can hardly be questioned.

> The interests of Negroes and their white fellow citizens are so closely bound up that they cannot be separated without endangering the security of American Democracy and future of the American nation.[1]

At the beginning of this national defense era, the employment situation was far from encouraging for Negroes who were avowedly eager to contribute their skills and talents to the defense efforts as well as to better their economic circumstances.

> Employment opportunities are being expanded in feverish defense preparations. New plants are being constructed, old plants geared for greater production. But the Negro is systematically excluded, and only because of his race. . . . It is here that Democracy is failing.[2]

Again the following month:

> Moreover, even when Negroes have been certified as capable by foremen from the plants engaged in training men for apprenticeship in the public schools, the plants have callously

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[1] Lester B. Granger, "1943 and the Victory Goal," Opportunity, XXI (January, 1943), 4. By 1943, the League's official organ, Opportunity, which had been published monthly since 1923, became a quarterly magazine. This change partly reflected the lack of and shift of financial resources and personnel to more pressing wartime demands, and partly the fact that many of the needs it formerly had served were being assured through other vehicles. Cf. Opportunity, XXI (April, 1943). Approximately six years later it ceased publication altogether, in keeping with League policy of not duplicating a service where adequate assurance is given that other agencies are supplying that given service satisfactorily.

[2] "Editorial: Where Democracy Fails," Opportunity, XIX (January, 1941), 3.

> informed state employment service interviewers that they would not accept those trainees who are colored.[1]

The situation portrayed in the above quotation reflects the impact of America's traditional racial policies on her efforts to defend her democratic way of life and to provide support and leadership to other friendly nations which were engaged in the destruction of the leadership and political structures that fostered certain ideologies contrary to the democratic principles and ideals.

To facilitate the acceptance and participation of Negroes in the national defense efforts, the League made a two-pronged approach: (1) It advocated the federal government's adoption of basic principles assuring Negro citizens "democratic equality" in the fields of employment, housing, and health; and (2) through its affiliates, the League advised the Negro population how its rights might best be defended, and it attacked specific instances of discrimination as they appeared.[2] With respect to this second approach, the League made members of its staff, national and local, available for counseling services to local groups; it expressed its willingness to cooperate in holding consumer clinics, consumer information centers where understanding could be gained concerning, for example, price ceilings, proper use of rationing stamps, rent control, and other information related to participation in the current wartime programs.[3]

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[1] "Editorial: American Nazism," Opportunity, XIX (February, 1941), 35.

[2] Lester B. Granger, "Report On Defense," Opportunity, XIX (February, 1941), 47.

[3] Warren M. Banner, "Labor and the O.P.A.," Opportunity, XXI (October, 1943), 173-74.

The League's emphasis on vocational education and especially vocational guidance remained a persisten one, possibly intensified and given the flavor of the times. The Vocational Guidance Campaign for 1941 stressed its intentions of bringing to the Negro "not only guidance but inspiration." It reinforced its plea for skilled workers such as tool makers, die makers, machinists, draftsmen, welders, and such skills as were demanded by defense industries; and it reasserted its criticism of guidance counselors who tended to make current possibilities of group acceptance dominant in their counseling of students with regards to their choice of vocations.[1]

League investigations disclosed that there was in 1941 still a woeful lack of Negroes possessed of mechanical skills. To a large extent this was attributed to the inability of Negroes to secure jobs as apprentices in skilled mechanical trades because of the hostility of trade unions and employers, and to the "lack of intelligent guidance." Guidance was referred to as being "for the most part predicated on inadequate knowledge and a defeatest psychology," particularly

> . . . in those school systems where vocational guidance counselors have disregarded the factors of aptitude and aspiration and steered their charges into those channels where racial prejudice is at a minimum. It is obvious that with the possibility or probability of employment as the sole criterion of guidance, Negro youth will be shunted away from the highly skilled occupational areas and directed into those courses of training which would equip them for jobs in fields already overcrowded, poorly paid, and demanding a minimum of skill.[2]

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[1] "Editorial: Vocational Guidance Week," Opportunity, XIX (March, 1941).

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XIX (March, 1941), 66.

Among the major barriers to the League's effort to get Negroes into both defense and nondefense industries during this period, the following were keenly emphasized by its officials: (1) the difficulty of getting qualified Negroes into in-training programs of industrial plants and schools--the sources of recruitment for industry; (2) the difficulty of up-grading qualified Negro workers who were already admitted into industry; (3) the difficulty of increasing the number of Negro workers in many of the industrial plants beyond token employment.[1]

With "Speed Defense Production" as its theme, the Vocational Guidance Campaign for 1942 included in its purposes, "to enable Negro youth to make effective contributions to the final victory of the United States and her allies . . ."; to contribute to the "preservation of the democratic form of government"; and further, to "accelerate the integration" of Negroes into American defense industry.[2] High school students were urged to "stay in school" as an asset to "more dollars," and also "more complete life socially, culturally, economically and politically," plus "job security."[3] Vocational schools were urged to be considered as aids to "aspirant Negro students" instead of, as apparently some had held, "traps into which fell the dull, the plodding, the ill advised."[4] The

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[1] Charles A. Shorter, "Philadelphia's Employers, Unions and Negro Workers," Opportunity, XX (January, 1942), 4-7. George E. DeMar, "Pittsburgh's Potential Labor Supply," Opportunity, XX (January, 1942), 18-20.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XX (March, 1942), 67.

[3] "Stay in School," National Urban League, New York City, 1942, passim.

[4] Lester B. Granger, "Vocational Opportunity and the Victory Goal," Opportunity, XX (March, 1942), 74.

traditional attitude of vocational counseling--with its emphasis on guiding Negroes into occupations with a current tradition for accepting members of this group--again was the focus of criticism. One League official contended that it was reflected in the low percent of Negroes participating in vocational training, thus lacking the requisite training for entrance into defense industrial opportunities. According to the secretary of the Department of Industrial Relations of the Pittsburgh Urban League, though Negroes of Pittsburgh made up "approximately one-tenth of the population" in that area, and the majority worked in unskilled jobs, that "less than four percent of the 2,506 day students in the Pittsburgh regular vocational schools are Negroes."[1] He further stressed the need for vocational training, and warned, "Negroes may not take advantage of opportunities if and when offered unless they first are vocationally trained and made a part of the needed potential skilled labor supply."[2] His emphasis on "first" being trained is in keeping with the persistent attitude of the League that interests, aptitudes, personality traits, and aspirations rather than a tradition of acceptance in a given occupation and minimum racial prejudice, should be the dominant factors in counseling Negro students into vocational choice. Such a procedure would often make possible the receipt of training "first" as a facilitating "weapon" for the entrance of Negroes into "new" fields of occupation.

Among the constructive policies recommended by a New York Urban League official to reduce racial tensions during 1943 was "more adequate educational facilities, particularly in the over-crowded

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[1] George E. DeMar, "Pittsburgh's Potential Labor Supply," Opportunity, XX (January, 1942), 19.

[2] Ibid.

war areas."[1] This official reaffirmed the League's favorable attitude toward federal participation in public education in recommending the enactment of the then current federal aid to education bill (Senate 637). In his opinion, this bill "would be of great benefit to whites as well as Negroes in the states where better educational facilities are most needed."[2]

The League's vocational guidance emphasis continued throughout the war era in its already patterned trend of consistency. The movement's structure for implementing its educational services was expanded by the addition in 1944 of a Department of Public Education with Dr. Alphonse Heningburg, formerly an industrial relations field secretary, as director. This new department's special responsibility was that of:

> . . . educating the American public regarding problems of race relations and dealing with them. . . . Its efforts will be aimed at stimulating interracial cooperation for victory and peace-time reconstruction, and at bolstering the war-time morale of the Negro population.[3]

The characteristic of the League program to keep abreast of socio-economic developments, especially where Negroes are involved, is evident in this latest structural innovation and its statement of responsibility. It is obvious that education is used in its broad sense, really community information services; and this writer does not find that its activities made any radical changes in the League's demands upon formal educational policies and practices; rather, its techniques

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[1] Alfred Baker Lewis, "Reducing Racial Tensions," Opportunity, XXI (October, 1943), 157.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

[3] "National Urban League Establishes Department of Public Education," Opportunity, XXII (October-December, 1944), 184.

and range of activities seem an extension of the types of services already detected and related in this writing. This is interpreted as further evidence that the movement's educational program has crystalized and has gained consistency with persistency. It suffices here to call attention to a structural increment to the League's machinery for implementing its over-all educationally related program.

Another structural innovation that affirmed the crystalizing and persistent areas of concentration for the League's program was seen in the establishment of departments of vocational services in local League affiliates, as, for example, Detroit Urban League of Detroit, Michigan.[1] On the national level, a Director of Vocational Guidance was appointed.[2] These innovations reflected the movement's persistent efforts to implement its contention that more adequate vocational counseling services available for Negroes were needed; that there was need for more qualified counselors in school systems, as well as need for a central agency with facilities and personnel necessary to carry on a city-wide guidance program available to Negroes.[3] By inference, it was clear that the League did not consider that the vocational services then available to Negroes through the formal educational institutions were adequately meeting the needs of the Negro student or the Negro community; and further, that the League because of its intimate knowledge of the problems of Negroes in the urban environs considered itself

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[1] Francis A. Kornegay, "Vocational Guidance Services of the Detroit Urban League," Opportunity, XXIII (April-June, 1945), 92.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XXVI (April-June, 1948).

[3] Francis A. Kornegay, op. cit., pp. 92-93, 119.

uniquely situated to serve both as a direct source of guidance services for Negroes and as a valuable resource for schools and other agencies concerned with aiding the Negro with his adjustment difficulties in urban settings. This inference the writer deems valid in light of the consistent policy of the movement not to duplicate services when there was adequate assurance that other existing agencies would satisfactorily make such services available.

The League's postwar[1] vocational guidance emphasis urged community leaders to profit by the experiences gained during the war emergency; its program reinforced its plea for vocational guidance, with the emphasis more on vocational guidance than on vocational education, and it stressed that "the aspirations of Negro youth are no different from the aspirations of all [italics theirs] youth."[2] Vocational guidance was referred to as the:

> . . . weapon to use in preparing youth for employment. In areas where the public schools employ full time trained vocational guidance counselors, we must help them to understand the problems of minority groups.[3]

It was apparent that many of the League's official family felt that the events of the Second World War corroborated their long and persistent plea for vocational education and vocational guidance; not only that, but also their insistence upon making interests, ability, aptitudes, and personality traits the criteria in guiding Negroes into vocational choices, rather than current occupational acceptance of members of their group, and the minimum race prejudice anticipated.

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[1] "Postwar" is used with reference to the Second World War.

[2] "Editorial," Opportunity, XXVI (April-June, 1948), 37.

[3] Alexander B. Mapp, "Vocational Guidance--A Postwar Must," Opportunity, XXIII (April-June, 1945), 98.

They could point to the fact that when the barriers of employment discrimination began to break down, as they did after 1943, under the impact of the demands for war production, "Negroes were woefully unqualified by training or experience to take the jobs."[1]

Among the various items of literature circulated by the League during its 1946 Vocational Opportunity Campaign, three were of particular interest. Comic book style biographies of "Negro Heroes" were distributed in effort to inspire young Negroes to prepare and enter various vocations beyond the "traditional Negro jobs." A self-rating chart which was a "student's guide in measuring his own resources and capacity for improvement" was provided students with thirty days of scoring on such traits as courage, good planning, honesty, industry, initiative, reliability, and general personal appearance. The third was a booklet: "Program Aids for the Vocational Opportunity Campaign," by Ann Tanneyhill, then secretary and later to become director of the League's Vocational Counseling Services. This booklet gave specific advice and suggestions to schools and

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[1] "Annual Vocational Guidance Issue," Opportunity, XXIII (April-June, 1945), passim. Cf. Julius A. Thomas, "The Negro Worker Lifts His Sights," Opportunity, XXIV (April-June, 1946), 54-55. (Mr. Thomas is Director of the League's Department of Industrial Relations.) Also, cf. Frances Perkins, "America--Land of Opportunity," Opportunity, XXV (April-June, 1947), 50. (In this guest editorial, Honorable Frances Perkins, former United States Secretary of Labor, favorably appraises the League's Vocational Opportunity Campaign and its efforts "to bring fully to the American Negro a chance to gain training for employment in whatever fields his abilities and his training may fit him.") And again, cf. Ambrose Caliver, "Youth's Greatest Need," Opportunity, XXV (April-June, 1947), 53. (In this latter guest editorial, Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist for higher education of Negroes and advisor on related problems, United States Office of Education, commends the League for its "excellent service on popularizing the field of vocational guidance," and ". . . in opening doors of opportunity."

other agencies or organizations for organizing and executing a Vocational Opportunity Campaign.

Dr. Alphonse Heningburg, director of the League's Department of Education, continued to amplify the persisting contention that "Negroes do not look for sympathy, but they demand [sic] the same chance at all kinds of work that all other citizens expect and enjoy"; this he interpreted was the meaning implied in the League's slogan: "not alms, but opportunity."[1] He reaffirmed the perennial criticism of certain of the school personnel.

> Many teachers and counselors have for one reason or another helped to close the door of opportunity to young Negroes. Realizing that Negroes in pre-war days were not generally employed in highly skilled jobs, and that in such fields as civil engineering or chemical research there were very few indeed, such teachers helped to complete the vicious circle hemming in the ambitious Negro student. While on the surface they appeared to be working to the best interest of the student, they were in reality helping to develop a sense of frustration when they advised Negro youth to prepare for jobs "in which they could find openings." Thus was violated one of the cardinal principles of vocational guidance: that every youth should be encouraged to develop his skills to the highest possible levels.[2]

The postwar, or "atomic era," League program included an intensified effort to extend its guidance activities throughout the United States, "to mobilize every available community, state and regional resource in pointing the way and giving guidance programs of action which will enable Negro youth to see beyond their narrow confined of traditional employment opportunities."[3] Ann Tanneyhill,

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[1] Alphonse Heningburg, "The Future is Yours," Opportunity, XXIII (October-December, 1945), 181.

[2] Ibid.

[3] George L. Edwards, "Vocational Guidance and Counseling in the Southern Field," Opportunity, XXV (April-June, 1947), 67.

Director of Vocational Guidance, National Urban League, wrote:

> In the past five years, Negro workers have entered many occupational fields which were virtually closed to them before the war. It is in these fields that employment gains will continue to be made, and toward these fields that counselors and teachers must guide and young people themselves must turn for satisfying and profitable careers [italics hers].[1]

An interesting and pertinent observation regarding gains of Negro workers during the Second World War period was made by Dr. Herbert R. Northrup, an economist and formerly Senior Hearing Officer at the Regional War Labor Board in New York, author of the book, Organized Labor and the Negro (Harper and Brothers, 1944).

> As noteworthy as the advances of Negroes were, they should not be exaggerated. The basic reason why Negroes gained so much is that they had so far to go [italics his]. And it should be stressed that even at the height of the war program, they never had as good a chance at jobs as whites.[2]

As a matter of fact, the above authority pointed out that the ratio of Negro men employed as unskilled workers did not change between 1940 and 1944, when one Negro man in every five was employed as an unskilled laborer.[3] Thus, it is apparent that the League's post-war intensification of its vocational guidance program seemed well justified by the existing conditions.

To implement its more extended program which included a year-around program of vocational guidance and counseling for Negro

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[1] Ann Tanneyhill, "They Made It . . . And Others Can Too," reprinted from Occupational Trends: The Magazine for Vocational Guidance (March-April, 1951); distributed by the Department of Vocational Guidance, National Urban League, New York City, 1951.

[2] Herbert R. Northrup, Will Negroes Get Jobs Now? p. 6. New York: Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 110, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1945.

[3] Ibid.

youth, the League's Southern Field Division recommended that its affiliates consult with school administrators regarding what is being done at present in the area of vocational guidance and counseling, stimulate secondary schools and colleges to create, expand, and/or enrich services in the guidance area, help schools gather and disseminate occupational information, and assist in providing counseling services, and work closely with parent-teacher groups in compiling factual information to be presented to top school officials to the end that adequate training facilities might be provided Negro youth.[1]

This intensification of the guidance program in the southern division partially reflected the increasing importance of the industrial worker in the South due to the stepped-up pace of industrialization characteristic of the post Second World War South; the impact of the war emergency on traditional patterns of race relations in the South; the migration of workers away from the South; and the impact of favorable United States Supreme Court decisions stimulating efforts on the part of communities to provide "equal but separate" educational facilities for Negroes. This latter factor will be presented more in detail in another chapter of this writing.

A guidance expert was added to the League's southern division; his title was that of Assistant Director of the Southern Field Division. His special function was to increase the movement's guidance services to schools in the South, including the states of Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi.

> Some schools he [the Assistant Director of the Southern Field Division] found had no material in their libraries to help young people choose careers and too many of them had given little or no thought to developing a guidance service [1947].

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[1] George L. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

> Sometimes the guidance given was misguidance, because it tended to frustrate and discourage Negro young people.[1]

The above reference credited the League's program as implemented by its Southern Field Division with being a significant factor in developing a new attitude toward the types of curricula and the kind of advice that teachers and counselors should offer boys and girls. A specific illustration of how the Southern Field Division League officials operated is revealed in the success story of the Dade County Vocational Guidance Committee of Dade County, Florida. This committee was formed as a result of the League's representative calling together a few white and colored citizens of that county; these were persons who could be interested in the vocational adjustment problems of Negro youth. They made a survey which revealed the paucity of existing facilities for vocational training. Top-level county educational officials were approached on setting-up a program to improve the vocational education and guidance offerings of this county, and as a result of this committee's leadership and efforts, according to a League publication:

> Within a few months, Dade County Department of Public Instruction had appointed a full-time guidance coordinator and had erected two frame buildings on the campus of Dorsey High School for an initial beginning at offering some vocational training for Negro youth. By the end of two years the over-all county program had developed to a point where each secondary school, Negro and white, had at least two trained persons employed on a full-time basis to handle the guidance and personal problems of youth, and the Board of Public Instruction had approved plans for the erection of a modern new two-story vocational training building with an additional twelve courses including video, refrigeration, plumbing and electronics.[2]

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[1] Ever Widening Horizons, p. 22. New York: Department of Promotion and Publicity, National Urban League, 1951.

[2] Ibid.

All the above plus an assurance that Negro youth would be trained "on the basis of their interests, skills, and abilities, and not on the basis of what is today often thought of as traditional Negro jobs, were referred to as being accomplished.[1]

The above lengthy reference is not merely presented to document the concern of the League movement for the public school program, but also because it presents what appears to the writer to be a "near-classic" illustration of the League's method in action: interracial good will, interracial cooperation, a type of action research, appealing to the "powers-that-be," community responsibility, non-biased politically, minimum militancy, appeal to "reason and understanding" rather than "court action," pursuit of a practical program, sponsoring demonstration projects to exhibit merits of a desired proposal, its merits being established, proposal is accepted as parts of the program of a special agency assuring its continuation, and optimistic reporting. Certainly, one is likely to feel that he detects the heritage of Booker T. Washington diplomacy abiding in such techniques.

A national office publication reveals the growth and extension of the Vocational Opportunity Campaign by 1948. According to this source, the campaign had:

> . . . extended its activities to 185,297 students and their parents, as well as the veterans, in 277 schools and colleges. It contacted 102,471 out-of-school youths and adults and distributed 62,597 pieces of vocational guidance literature from the national office.[2]

The continuous growth of this vocational guidance and counseling program made it the League's "most ambitious national project";[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 23.

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

it is interpreted by the writer as evidence that it was meeting a definite need on the part of the group it avowedly served. The wide interest and participation on the part of both public and private schools in this program reflected their recognition of the League as a uniquely qualified resource for information regarding the socioeconomic conditions and cultural aspirations particularly affecting Negroes in the urban and industrial setting. That the League was a pioneering force in vocational guidance and counseling services for Negroes seems well supported by the vast array of activities presented both on the part of the national level and on the part of selected local level affiliate organizations (Table II). And further, in the process of pioneering, expanding, and directing the trends of this program to meet the changes demanded by varying socioeconomic conditions and crises, the programs of schools have inevitable been involved; the thinking of school administrators have been challenged regarding their curricula and basic policies and practices affecting opportunities for Negroes.

Four additional current projects (1951) sponsored by the League will bring up to date its innovations that enhanced the appeal and participation of schools in its vocational guidance programs. As a result of a generous donation from Dr. Ross Thalheimer of New York, the Thalheimer Awards were presented annually to the winners of an essay contest. The subject for the contest was: "What the Vocational Opportunity Campaign Has Meant to Me."[1] The subject was later changed to: "What I Want to Be."[2] The contest was initiated in 1948, and opened to both high school students

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XXVI (October-December, 1948), 141.

[2] Ever Widening Horizons, op. cit., p. 25.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF GUIDANCE ACTIVITIES, RICHMOND URBAN LEAGUE, 1950[1]

Activity	Quantity
Vocational literature distributed	5,500
Public meetings	3
School meetings	2
Teacher meetings	1
Out-of-town meetings	4
Individuals reached by meetings	2,800*
Schools participating in the Vocational Opportunity Campaign observances	18
Class visits to industry	7
Students reached by sound films	2,200*
Students reached by recordings	1,400*
Counseling cases	123
Guidance information	312

* Estimated.

[1] Source: Messenger--The Annual Report of the Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia, 1950, p. 8. Submitted as an illustration of the efforts of a local Urban League to implement the national League program of providing vocational guidance services to meet the needs of a local community situation, and to provide services in cooperation with the schools.

and college freshmen; the receipts (financial) of the award can be applied to tuition and other school maintenance costs. This contest is held in the spring, and in the fall a second type of related contest, the Back-to-School Campaign, is held annually.[1] Both of these contests are important phases of the League's year-around vocational guidance activities. Both were initiated in 1948 and reflected the League's postwar emphasis on career building. A shift of emphasis was noted, from "finding a job" to "building careers"; the writer interprets this as indicative of the increased employment opportunities for Negroes in the post Second World War era with its continued high demand for labor.

With increased guidance consciousness on the part of schools and their specially trained personnel, the League is able to direct its resources to specialized guidance tasks. An example of this type of project is its Pilot Placement program whereby it attempts to place "an unusually well qualified Negro" into an employment situation formerly closed to members of his group. By proving the excellence of his work and skillful adjustment in this new situation, he theoretically makes it possible for other members of his race to hold such positions, thereby serving as "pilot" to lead the way to opportunities for others of his group.[2] The League indicates that this type of activity has been highly successful, and among other things has been a factor in bringing industry to the Negro college campus for recruitment purposes. In the spring of 1949, the League brought representatives of three major industries to the campus of Howard University, Washington, D. C., one of the leading centers for

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[1] "Editorial," Opportunity, XXVI (October-December, 1948), 127.

[2] Ever Widening Horizons, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

Negro college students in the world. This was reported as "the first campus recruiting of professional and technical workers in the history of American Negro colleges. . . ."[1]

One final reference to the League's specialized techniques for extending its guidance and counseling services to schools, colleges in this instance, is its Career Conference. This project the League considers "its most refined technique,"[2] and it was first used in 1950. This innovation consists of the League cooperating with a Negro college to bring personnel specialists from large potential employers to the campus for purposes of "consulting with faculty members and advising students."[3] The possibility that such conferences can contribute a much needed service to undergraduates is readily recognized.

With the coming of the forties, the League movement encountered the impact of the events associated with the participation of the United States in the Second World War and the continuing stress upon preparedness on the anxiety-filled eve of impending atomic disaster. The flexibility of the League's program is reflected in its ability to keep abreast with the socioeconomic crises inherent in this period of rapid industrial expansion and vast population shifts involving threats to traditional patterns of American society. Amid all of this, two observations are paramount: the League's patriotic fervor; and its adherence to its prime objective to improve the socioeconomic welfare of Negroes in cities, now geared to the demands of national defense.

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[1] Ibid., p. 27.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

The validity of the League's long and persistent emphasis upon the need for vocational training and vocational guidance seemed verified by the turn of events resulting in a heightened demand for skilled workers and the inability of Negroes to meet the demand in many cases due to their lack of adequate vocational training. The problems of lack of apprenticeship opportunities and the resistance of organized labor were still apparent in the early forties, but tended to be minimized under the excessive demands for labor to meet the goals of defense industries.

The vocational guidance programs of many schools continued to be attacked, especially those whose counselors placed undue emphasis on guiding Negroes into occupations with current traditions for accepting members of their group, and into occupations with a probability of minimum racial prejudice. This approach was attacked as ignoring the "aptitudes and aspirations" of Negro youth and completing " the vicious circle hemming in the ambitions of Negro students," and without doubt complicating the task of opening new fields to some and up-grading others already accepted in certain fields--this being a major objective of the League program.

The League's machinery on its national level was increased by adding a Director of its Department of Education and a Director of Vocational Guidance Services; many local Urban Leagues established Departments of Vocational Services. Post Second World War guidance programs called for extending this service to all parts of the United States with emphasis on community counseling services, cooperation with schools, and specialized guidance services. The year-around vocational counseling services available to schools sponsored a Back-to-School Campaign in the fall and a Vocational Opportunity Campaign in the spring, including financially rewarding essay contests upon vocational guidance related subjects. The

Pilot Placement program is sponsored in an attempt to gain entrance for Negroes into occupations hitherto denied their group, and Career Conferences are held annually in cooperation with Negro colleges for purposes of enhancing guidance and employment opportunities for college trained Negroes.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ASSOCIATION: ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND APPROACH

During the summer of 1908, Springfield, Illinois, home town of the great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, became the scene of an anti-Negro riot. This unfortunate occurrence motivated William English Walling to write an article which called attention to the type of treatment inflicted upon Negroes and cautioned against the danger of a race war transferred to the North.[1] It urged that a "powerful body of citizens" assist the Negroes in their effort to achieve "absolute political and social equality." It called upon both races "in the spirit of the abolitionists to come forward and right the nation's wrongs."[2]

Walling's article attracted the attention of certain liberal persons of humanitarian interests, including Mary White Ovington and Dr. Henry Moskowitz. The latter two persons met with Walling in New York City, January, 1909. At this meeting, it was decided to issue a call to the "believers in democracy" to join in a national conference "for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."[3]

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[1] William E. Walling, "The Race War in the North," Independent, LXV (September 3, 1908), 529-34.

[2] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, p. 102. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1947.

[3] Mary White Ovington, How the NAACP Began, p. 3 (n/p). New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1951.

The call was written by Oswald Garrison Villard, at that time president of the New York Evening Post Company, and signed by fifty-three persons. The response to the call resulted in the first National Conference on the Negro question, held in New York City, May 31 to June 1, 1909.

In his address which formally opened the first National Conference, Walling stated the opinion that the "most neglected side of the Negroes' welfare is his right to civil and political equality [the emphasis belongs to the original], recognized for nearly half a century in this country and clearly expressed in the Constitution."[1] During this session, the "ever growing oppression" of the ten million Negro-American citizens was firmly denounced, and the Conference went on record as unequivocally demanding:

> As first and immediate steps toward remedying these national wrongs, so full of peril for the whites as well as the blacks of all sections, we demand of Congress and the Executive:
> (1) That the Constitution be strictly enforced and the civil rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment be secured impartially to all.
> (2) That there be equal educational opportunities for all and in all the states, and that public school expenditure be the same for the Negro and the white child.[2]

A permanent committee of the conference was set up and was called the National Negro Committee.[3] Approximately a year later (1910)

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[1] Proceedings of the National Conference. New York: New York City Public Library, 1909.

[2] Reprint from The Survey (New York), June 12, 1909. This document of W. E. B. Du Bois' report on the National Negro Conference, 1909, is included in Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, pp. 924-27. New York: The Citadel Press, 1951.

[3] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, op. cit., p. 105.

this committee became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

To fully appreciate the Association[1] as a militant organization for Negroes, and as a mass protest movement intimately identified with group aspirations and struggles, one other facet of its heritage must be brought into perspective. A precursor of the Association movement was the Niagara Movement, which later was to be absorbed into the Association movement. Much of the attitudinal tone, spirit of militancy, and vociferous aggressiveness which were later to characterize certain features of the Association movement had earlier characterized the Niagara Movement. Such was also apparently true with respect to many of the objectives for improving the status of Negroes as a racial group.

William Monroe Trotter, a Negro of means, also a Harvard graduate, was copublisher of one of the more radical papers of his day, the Boston Guardian, about which Du Bois later commented, "But nothing . . . for sheer biting invective and unswerving courage, ever quite equaled the Boston Guardian in its earlier days."[2] Trotter was obsessed with an intense hatred of all racial discrimination and segregation. Through the columns of his paper, he accused Booker T. Washington of condoning the deeds of the South. He attacked Washington's philosophy and teachings, declaring them:

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[1] The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will hereafter be referred to as the Association.

[2] W. E. B. Du Bois, "William Monroe Trotter," The Crisis, XLI (May, 1934), 134.

> . . . destructive of the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Negro race, especially in the northern states, and pledged . . . to spare no effort to combat his political and social heresies.[1]

On one occasion, Booker T. Washington spoke in a Negro church in Boston, Massachusetts; Trotter attended and engaged in disagreement with him. The resulting events (exaggeratedly labeled the Zion Church, or Boston "riot") landed Trotter in "the common jail."[2] According to Du Bois, "Out of this incident, within a year or two, arose the Niagara Movement. . . ."[3]

The Niagara Movement was founded in 1905; it took its name from the locus of its founding meeting. Its membership consisted mainly of professionals: teachers, lawyers, physicians, ministers, and a few business men. Full membership was restricted to Negroes; whites could become only associate members.[4] This restricted membership was an apparent weakness. In its Declaration of Principles, the movement went on record as favoring manhood suffrage, and as being opposed to discrimination based on race and color. The exclusion of Negroes from the military and naval training schools was denounced as unjust. With respect to education, it declared, in part:

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[1] Kelly Miller, Race Adjustment, p. 12. New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1908. According to Miller, Trotter was "as uncompromising" as the great abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (p. 13); and refers to him (Trotter) as "the real guiding power" of the Niagara Movement (p. 15). However, the writer finds most sources attribute this role to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

[2] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[3] W. E. B. Du Bois, "William Monroe Trotter," The Crisis, XLI (May, 1934), 134.

[4] Mary White Ovington, The Wall Came Tumbling Down, op. cit., p. 101.

> Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end.[1]

The second convention of the Niagara Movement was held at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in 1906 (dramatic commemoration of the martyrdom of the great abolitionist, John Brown). The tenor of the movement is reflected in the resolution adopted at this convention.

> We shall not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights. . . . We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights, we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us.[2]

This resolution provides a clear example of the type of sentiment that later tends to characterize the Association.

Present at this second meeting (1906) was Miss Mary White Ovington, a social worker who was acting in the capacity of a news reporter covering the convention for the Oswald Garrison Villard's New York Evening Post. Her experiences at this meeting, plus the writings of the Niagara Movement's general secretary, W. E. B. Du Bois, "senior scholar" among Negroes, and the eye-witness portrayal of the brutalities of race riots provided by William English Walling's article "Race War in the North" (1908), all combined to

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[1] "Declaration of Principles of the Niagara Movement," Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People . . ., op. cit., pp. 901-02.

[2] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, op. cit., p. 100.

inspire Miss Ovington's role as a prime factor in the later founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1910).[1]

With the founding of the Association, the already waning Niagara Movement[2] was absorbed into it. Du Bois,[3] who had been the dynamic founding spirit of the Niagara Movement, was chosen to become the Director of Research and Publications (1910) of the new Association. For the next two decades, he exercised a dominant role in determining the policies, program, and tenor that were to characterize the Association as a nationwide Negro mass protest movement. Thus, interwoven into the heritage of this new movement were the strains of the zeal of the abolitionists, the humane concern of the philanthropists and social workers, and the spirit of Negro militancy symbolized in the Niagara Movement and articulated by the "pen and tongue" of Negroes like Monroe Trotter and W. E. B. Du Bois.

The purpose of the Association as stated in its first annual report was "to uplift the colored man and woman of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] For additional information and appraisal of this movement, see W. E. B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 224. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940. The movement is cited as forming the "backbone" of the Association. The Crisis, XL (June, 1933), 130. John G. Van Deusen, The Black Man in White America, p. 322. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1944. Herbert J. Seligmann, "Twenty Years of Negro Progress," Current History, XXIX (January, 1929), 614-21. The movement portrayed as a clear-cut break from the Booker T. Washington school of thought.

[3] At that time, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois was a professor at the Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

justice in all the courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere."[1] At a later period, a more detailed statement of its over-all purpose reads:

> To end lynching;
> To end peonage and debt slavery of southern share-croppers and tenant farmers;
> To secure the vote for Negroes everywhere in the United States;
> To abolish injustices in legal procedure, particularly criminal procedure, based on color or race;
> To secure equitable distribution of funds for education;
> To abolish segregation, discrimination, insult and humiliation based on race or color;
> To equalize the opportunity to work in all fields with equal pay for equal work;
> To abolish discrimination against Negroes in the exercise of labor's right of collective bargaining through membership in organized labor unions.[2]

The comprehensive concern of the Association's program for the advancement of Negroes as a racial group is obvious from the statements of its over-all purposes. One may tend to wonder what purposes were left for any other major Negro racial leadership organization, for example, the National Urban League, which is jointly the concern of this writing. However, there is evidence of an initial theoretical division of labor between these two major national Negro racial leadership organizations,[3] awarding the fields of employment

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[1] N.A.A.C.P., First Annual Report, January 1, 1911 (n/p).

[2] "Fortieth Anniversary Issue," The Crisis, LVIII (March, 1951). Statement of Purposes, on the inside of the cover sheet, rather a restatement.

[3] The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, referred to in this writing as the "Association" and the "League," respectively, both began in their present form during the year 1910, the former preceding the latter by approximately six months.

and philanthropy primarily to the League. Miss Ovington explains:

> We [N.A.A.C.P.] could not have raised money for "philanthropy" as successfully as an organization with a less militant program, and securing employment is a business in itself.[1]

And further:

> . . . we [N.A.A.C.P.] divided the field of advancement [Negro] with the Urban League, they taking the work of securing employment. But when employment became a national problem, when the government became an employer, we [N.A.A.C.P.] entered the picture.[2]

A recent statement of goals was reiterated by the Association as it launched its "Fight for Freedom" campaign. This projected program has been publicized as "the crusade to complete emancipation," and its culmination has been scheduled to coincide with the centennial celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation, January, 1963.[3] The following excerpts indicate the fields of concern and reflect certain attitudes and evaluations which enhance the motivation for the Association's pursuit of its projected goals:

1. Employment: "Equality of job opportunity remains the number one problem confronting Negro Americans."[4]
2. Housing: "Freedom of residence is a basic freedom in any democratic society."[5]
3. Registration and voting: "In a democratic society, the ballot is the citizen's ultimate weapon. Without the ballot, a person

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[1] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, op. cit., p. 112.

[2] Ibid., p. 244.

[3] Target for 1963, Goals of the Fight for Freedom, N.A.A.C.P., April, 1954, passim.

[4] Ibid., p. 5.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

is at best half a citizen; with it he is armed to achieve equal status."[1]

4. Education [this writer's emphasis]: Racial segregation in education is held to be irreconcilable with Christian and democratic ideals; to be injurious to the development of a well-balanced personality; and to be designed "to perpetuate an inferior status for Negroes. . . ."[2]

5. Transportation: "Some of the most frustrating and irksome of discriminations are the Jim Crow coach, the back seat in the bus, the dingy off-side waiting room in the station."[3]

6. Public accommodations: The goal is to attack color discrimination in places of public accommodation which the Association recognizes as widespread: "Even in states with civil rights legislation Negroes often are denied accommodations in hotels, restaurants, theaters, bars, movie houses, barber shops; and such recreational facilities as skating rinks, bowling alleys, golf courses, tennis courts, parks and playgrounds."[4]

7. Hospitals and health services: The Association supports the concept of a national health service for all Americans, and pledges to use its resources to break down racial barriers in this field; especially those which bar against Negroes both as patients and as physicians, surgeons, or nurses.[5]

In short, the Association seeks "full constitutional rights for all citizens," and the "complete elimination of all vestiges of second-class citizenship under which Negro Americans still suffer."[6]

To formulate and implement its program, the Association utilizes the following organizational arrangements. A board of directors, not exceeding forty-eight members, exercises primary control

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[1] Ibid., p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 9; also, cf. pp. 10-11.

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

[4] Ibid., p. 12.

[5] Ibid., pp. 13-14. Writer summarizes.

[6] "Foreword," Target for 1963 . . . ., p. 3.

and government over the national body.[1] This board elects the national officers of the Association, including a president, chairman of the board of directors, the vice-presidents, a treasurer, and a secretary.[2] The executive secretary is the national officer charged with the major responsibility for the implementation of the planned program of the Association.

Below the national level, there are seven regional chairmen whose responsibilities are to coordinate and superintend the activities of their respective regions. Each state may have a state conference, the president of which has the responsibility for the orderly functioning of the various local branches, college chapters, and youth councils.[3] All such local units must be "administered under a charter granted to it by the national Board of Directors of the Association and in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws authorized by said Board of Directors."[4]

The Annual Convention provides, among other functions, an opportunity for the representatives of the lower level echelons to air the problems of their immediate areas, and to share in determining the policies and programs that are to characterize the national movement. According to the Association's constitution:

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[1] Constitution of the N.A.A.C.P., 1945, Art. II, sec. 1.

[2] Ibid., Art. III, sec. 1.

[3] "Forty-Fourth Annual N.A.A.C.P. Conference," The Crisis, LX (August-September, 1953), 425. Gloster B. Current, director of the Association's branches, reports a membership in youth councils and college chapters alone of 15,000. The eighty-five college chapters are reported to be located on segregated and on nonsegregated college campuses throughout the United States.

[4] Constitution of the N.A.A.C.P., 1945, Art. VII.

> All actions of the convention on the question of policy and program, which are not contrary to this Constitution, shall be binding on the Board of Directors, officers, branches and other subordinate units of the Association except as hereinafter provided. . . .[1]

Committees play a very prominent role in the direction of the Association's policies and programs. This is particularly true on the local or branch level. Of special concern for this writing are the activities of the branches' Committees on Education, the prescribed duties of which include studying local educational conditions affecting Negroes, stimulating Negroes to attend school, and serving as a "center of popular education on the race question and the work of the National Association." The constitution for the branches provides that:

> The Committee on Education shall investigate the public school system and examine school boundaries. It shall become familiar with textbook material used and shall seek to eliminate derogatory material from textbooks; it shall seek to eliminate segregation, quota systems and other discriminatory practices in public schools.[2]

The official organ of the Association is called The Crisis,[3] referred to as "a magazine devoted to a scientific, unbiased and fearless discussion of all matters of race interest, and to a record of Negro progress."[4] Its editor from its founding until 1934 was

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[1] Ibid., Art. IX, sec. 1.

[2] Constitution and By-Laws for Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. (1949), Art. III, sec. 2 (g) "Education."

[3] Title suggested by Lowell's "The Present Crisis," a favorite poem of one of the Association's founders, Miss Mary White Ovington. Mary White Ovington, How the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Began (12th printing), n.p. New York: Mary Dunlop Maclean Memorial Fund, 1951.

[4] N.A.A.C.P., First Annual Report, January 1, 1911, p. 2.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who in 1910 had been chosen as the Association's Director of Publications and Research; the same year he founded The Crisis as the Association's official organ. Thus, The Crisis was virtually "born with the Association." According to editor Du Bois, the editorial page of The Crisis:

> Finally . . . will stand for the rights of men irrespective of color or race; for the highest ideals of American democracy; and for reasonable but earnest and persistent attempts to gain these rights and realize these ideals.[1]

The Association also generously employs other means of publicity and communication with its membership and the general public. Prominent among these are pamphlets, directives to the branch units, folders, brochures; as well as available non-Association media for communication. These along with The Crisis have been utilized by the writer as major sources of information reflecting the basic attitudes, policies, and programs of the organization. The editorial comments of The Crisis, its featured articles by Association leaders, its reports of the annual conferences and branch activities have been especially relied upon.

The Association is dependent upon philanthropy and voluntary memberships for its financial support. Originally, its memberships were awarded to any person upon written request, and "with the approval of the Directors," upon payment "in advance such membership fee as may be fixed."[2] Later, the fee was fixed as "at least one dollar."[3] By 1954, three categories of memberships were recognized: annual membership, $2.00, $3.50, $5.00, $10.00, and up;

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, I (November, 1910), 5.

[2] N.A.A.C.P., Articles of Incorporation (1911), Article I.

[3] N.A.A.C.P. Constitution (1945), Art. I, sec. 1.

youth membership, (under 17) $0.50, (17-21) $1.00; and life memberships, $500.00.[1] A membership of $3.50 and up includes a year's subscription to The Crisis magazine, the Association's official organ.

With respect to strategy, the Association's catalogue is extensive. Its theory of arousal and attack was evident at the National Negro Conference out of which it emerged. According to this theoretical approach, the best way to get a nation in a mood to deal with the "momentous evil of race discrimination" is to conduct:

> . . . not only investigations of the situation in all its manifold forms and in every section of the country, but also conferences, public meetings, speeches and articles by members of the organization and all others interested in this problem.[2]

An examination of its literature gives assurance that the Association has adhered to this approach, and implemented it with wide utilization of such practices as lobbying, propaganda, conferences, mass meetings, education, action research, personal appeals and speeches, organized pressures, strategic cooperation with other organizations and groups, nonpartisan politics,[3] and resort to the courts. This latter technique was a part of the Association's earliest strategy of attack, and has contributed immensely to the organization's effectiveness and status as a pressure group. A legal redress committee was inaugurated during its founding year, and as the progress of this writing will attest, the activities of the Association's legal department have become the heart of its strategy of attack.

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[1] Target for 1963 . . ., op. cit., p. 16.

[2] Proceedings of the National Conference, 1909, pp. 2-3.

[3] Herbert Hill, "Southern Negroes at the Ballot Box," The Crisis, LXI (May, 1954), 261-66. The Association's Labor Relations Assistant reiterates the organization's nonpartisan position. However, he explains, ". . . it [N.A.A.C.P.] exerts profound influence on when Negroes vote, why they vote, and also on how they vote." (p. 264)

Of particular concern in the present writing is the Association's efforts to mobilize its total resources and strategy for implementing its objectives in areas affecting educational policies and practices for Negroes in the public sources of American education. This involves the Association's efforts to implement the specific objectives of its educational program, including:

Equality of school terms;
Equality of pay for Negro teachers having the same qualifications, and doing the same work as other teachers;
Equality of transportation for Negro children at public expense;
Equality of buildings and equipment;
Equality of per capita expenditures for education for Negroes;
Equality in graduate and professional training opportunities; and
Educational opportunities on all levels on a non-racially segregated basis.

The above-stated objectives include the six-points educational program of the Association projected during the thirties,[1] plus the integration objective which became paramount with the fifties.[2]

To fully appreciate the Association's basic position and objectives in the realm of public education, one must be aware of the organization's dominant attitude toward racial dualism, and for this particular writing, toward racial segregation in public education. From its inception racial segregation as a way of societal existence has been sorely denounced.[3] In the twenties, the Association's Field Secretary reasoned:

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[1] Charles H. Houston, "Educational Inequalities Must go!" The Crisis, XLII (October, 1935), 300.

[2] "Editorial: Integration in Education," The Crisis, LVII (November, 1950), 646-47.

[3] N.A.A.C.P., First Annual Report, 1911, passim. Also, "Editorial," The Crisis, I (November, 1910).

> If there were complete school segregation throughout the nation, nobody in his right mind could suppose that the Negro tenth of the population would in a thousand years be given exactly equal conveniences and opportunities for getting an education as those given the white majority.[1]

This same official denounced the doctrine of "separate but equal" as a "mere legal fiction," and concluded that the "only impartial arrangement" for the education of a racial minority "must be in the common school of all the people."[2] Thus, in a major sense, as future events will reveal, he was presaging a United States Supreme Court opinion in this area by twenty-seven years.

A profile of the Association's strategy of attack in pursuing its educational objectives is provided by a view of its procedures utilized in a traditionally southern state, Virginia. First, in order for any case to merit the Association's support, two requirements must be met: the case must involve color discrimination, and it must involve a denial of some fundamental right of citizenship.[3] In light of these two requisites, the general activities may assume the following line of procedures:

(1) The Association's branches, or merely a mass meeting, may vote to have an investigation of a particular situation to see if it merits action; for example, a legal suit.

(2) The community concerned is generally already bestirred; thus, the availability of plaintiffs will be no problem.

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[1] William Pickens, "Racial Segregation," Opportunity, V (December, 1927), 364.

[2] Ibid., pp. 364-65.

[3] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, op. cit., p. 266.

(3) The executive secretary of the Association's state conference along with members of the Association's legal staff conduct a "first" survey of white and Negro schools of the area in question.

(4) If the Negro schools are evidently inferior, formal petition is made to the local school board in charge asking it to stop the discrimination.

(5) The survey (number 3 above) is increased for details during the wait for action.

(6) Early suits centered around the high schools; differences appear more numerous and dramatic.

(7) Educational experts from nearby Negro colleges are called in for consultation and specialized advice in the comparisons. Suits are largely initiated on the basis of such comparisons.

(8) If and when it becomes evident that the school board in question refuses to act, a legal suit is filed.

(9) Lawyer's briefs in these suits lean heavily on the rights guaranteed to all United States citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and by federal statutes. State laws are cited, too, if they include the guarantees sought.

(10) Prior to the fifties, state N.A.A.C.P. groups (in Virginia, for example) avoided direct attacks on racial segregation itself in such suits. However, caution was taken never to admit or defend the validity of separate schools for the races.

(11) After 1951, in compliance with national level policy, state level strategy adhered to the policy of directly attacking racial segregation in education as a discriminatory practice in violation of United States citizenship rights.[1]

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[1] For these eleven procedural steps, see Marvin Caplan, "Virginia Schools: A Study in Frustration," The Crisis, LVIII (January, 1951), 5-11, 61-63. Also, Spottswood W. Robinson, III, "The Virginia School Fight--A Clarification," The Crisis, LVIII (April, 1951), 228-29.

Thus, it seems apparent that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was "born" as a protest against certain brutalities and discriminations suffered by Negroes as a racial minority in the American society. Into its heritage are interwoven the strains of interracial cooperation, the zeal of the abolitionists, the humane interests of philanthropists and social workers, and the spirit of Negro militancy. Its primary goal is the attainment of complete status for Negro Americans as first-class American citizens. It especially emphasizes political and civil rights as guaranteed under the United States Constitution. Conspicuous in its overall or master program has been an avowed concern for the equality of opportunities in the field of public education. The careful examination of the Association's persistent attitudes as it plies its strategy for implementing its objectives in this latter area is the special concern of the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER IX

BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In this chapter attention will be focused upon the basic attitudes which have characterized the Association's efforts to modify educational policies and practices in the effort to make more facilities and sources of formal learning available to Negroes. "Better" opportunities means increased opportunities, both quantitatively and qualitatively, for Negroes to receive desired training within the framework of a racially segregated societal pattern. From its inception, the Association has been avowedly opposed to racial segregation in any sphere of free societal life. Despite this, for many years it is apparent that its educational activities functioned within and tolerated such a framework. Such activities and their motivating attitudes will constitute the special concern of this chapter.

It is apparent that improved educational opportunities for Negroes are vitally related to the Association's master program of utilizing organized efforts as a means of obtaining political and civil rights, and of pursuing the "cause" to which it has been committed: "That of securing for colored Americans, the common rights of American citizenship."[1] Such an emphasis was evident in the projected program for the year 1919 which included the objective of securing "an equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that

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[1] "Foreword," Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1918 (January, 1919), 5.

will enable the Negro everywhere wisely to use the vote."[1] In his keynote address at the Association's Eleventh Annual Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, 1920, the field secretary included among the five principal demands of the Association, "equal educational and industrial opportunities."[2]

Public school advantages are central in the Association's efforts to prepare Negroes for attaining and intelligently executing political and economic privileges and responsibilities without which, its leadership reasoned, one would "always be exploited, lynched, discriminated against, and denied opportunity."[3] Free compulsory public school education was included along with the right to vote, the abolition of "Jim-Crow"[4] travel, and the abolition of lynching and mob law as constituting the "irreducible minimum" below which Negroes, like other modern ethnic groups, could not afford to drop and live.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 76.

[2] Eleventh Annual Report--1920, N.A.A.C.P. (January, 1921), 68.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

[4] The term "Jim-Crow," though once the title of an ante-bellum Negro folk song (1838), and later (about 1861) used to designate a railroad car set aside for Negroes, during the twentieth century is used mainly to refer to facilities set aside for the exclusive use of Negroes; thus symbolizing a highly irritating castelike feature of the American pattern of racial relations. Cf. The Crisis, LVII (April, 1950), 230.

[5] "Editorial," The Crisis, XXI (April, 1921), 248. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Association's official organ, The Crisis, from its beginning until August, 1934, is clarifying his editorial position for the benefit of his critics. Dr. Du Bois was a foremost pioneering force in determining the tenor and emphases of the Association's master program and basic policies.

Prior to the thirties, it appears that the major activities which reflect the Association's attitudes toward formal educational policies and practices affecting Negroes are best detected in the programs of the branch chapters, the local level bodies. During the earlier decades, the body naturally was faced with the problems of establishing its program, strengthening its organizational machinery, securing necessary personnel, and financial support. The inevitable trial and error operations were essential for the refining of techniques and ranking of objectives requisite to developing its basic strategy and formulating a master program. Of prime significance were the demands upon the Association to utilize its full energies in efforts to combat mass violences and practices which tended effectively to circumvent the Negroes' franchise. These vestiges of caste status were perceived as threatening to hopes for full rights, privileges, and responsibilities as first-class American citizens.[1] Such hopes the Association's leadership persistently encouraged; it counseled its followers, "The privileges no less than the duties of citizenship belong of right to no separate class [emphasis in original] of the people but to all the people, and to them as individuals."[2]

From the beginning, both academic and industrial educational opportunities, in keeping with individual interests and talents, have been of primary concern for the Association's master program.[3]

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[1] "Foreword," Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1918, op. cit., p. 77. Also, Tenth Annual Report, N.A.A.C.P., for Year 1919 (January, 1920), p. 10.

[2] "Foreword," Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1818, op. cit., p. 78.

[3] Proceedings of the National Conference, May 31 - June 1, 1909, pp. 2-5. New York: New York Public Library. Also, N.A.A.

A similar emphasis was apparent in the proposed program of its antecedent body, the Niagara Movement; adequate educational opportunities were viewed as indispensable to a program of racial welfare in the American society.[1]

Evidence of the diversity of activities sponsored by the Association's branches reveals their early concern for educational facilities and opportunities available to Negroes. Selected instances taken from the report of branch activities during the year 1919 indicate that the branches at Wilmington, Delaware, Frankfort, Kentucky, and New Orleans, Louisiana, had as their objective, "working toward better schools in rural districts." Branches at Tucson, Arizona, Asheville, North Carolina, and Wharton, Texas, pursued as their educational objective, "more and better school buildings." The branches were concerned with the length of the school terms; for example, St. Rose, Louisiana, branch reported that it had been instrumental in getting the school term of its community extended from a five-month session to an eight-month session. Efforts to obtain increased and a "fairer distribution" of financial appropriations for Negro public schools received the support of the District of Columbia, and the Charleston, West Virginia, branches. The latter branch

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C.P., First Annual Report, 1911, p. 2. Also, N.A.A.C.P., Certificate of Incorporation, Corporation Files, Supreme Court Records, New York County, New York, June 6, 1911. Among the principal objects for incorporation were: "to secure for colored citizens impartial suffrage; . . . to increase their opportunities for securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law."

[1] Herbert J. Seligmann, "Twenty Years of Negro Progress," Current History, XXIX (January, 1929), 614-21. One of the central demands of the Niagara Movement was for "the education of our children"; "The Niagara Movement," The Crisis, XL (June, 1933), 130.

had also sought adequate facilities for training colored deaf and dumb children.[1] The Rome, Georgia, branch reported its efforts to improve the sanitary conditions of the schools in its vicinity.[2] The Des Moines, Iowa, branch reported its objective of bringing about closer relations between schools and parents. Such branches as those located at Falls Church, Virginia, Plainfield, New Jersey, and Rome, Georgia, reported their educational aim as being, "to stimulate a desire for education in their communities."[3] The national office of the Association had also earlier publicized its efforts to encourage public school graduates to continue their studies in institutions of higher learning.[4]

Such evidence as is presented briefly above is illustrative of the nature and extent of the concern of selected Association branches for the improvement of educational opportunities for Negroes during that period. These objectives were approvingly reported by the official organ of the Association, The Crisis, and therefore may be logically accepted as being duly in line with the master program of that body. This line of reasoning gains added weight in view of the fact that the role of the branches and local level bodies is to implement approved programs of the national level body on the local, community level.

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[1] Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1918, op. cit., p. 64.

[2] Except where otherwise indicated, these illustrations were cited in Tenth Annual Report, N.A.A.C.P., for Year 1919, op. cit., p. 72.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

[4] Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the Years 1917 and 1918, op. cit., p. 11.

To indicate the strategy used by the Association's branches for purposes of implementing their objectives, the following reported activities from two South Carolina branches are revealing. The Charleston, South Carolina, branch, supported by the Columbia branch of the same state, perceived that the improvement of educational opportunities for Negroes of the former city necessitated the elimination of the then current policy and practice of staffing Negro schools with non-Negro personnel. Thus, the placing of Negro teachers in the Negro public schools of its city became the educational objective of the Charleston, South Carolina, branch of the Association.[1]

A brief review of the situation giving rise to the Charleston branch action reveals that prior to 1920 the public schools of Charleston set aside for Negroes were almost totally manned by non-Negro teachers. The school system of that city was part of a rigid racially dual pattern of Negro and non-Negro coexistence; thus as Negroes were denied the opportunity to teach in schools set aside for their group, it meant that they were denied the opportunity to teach in public-supported schools. The only exception in this situation was the existence of two Negro teachers whose employment was reported to be "in order to comply with a bequest made by colored troops during the Civil War."[2] Of course, these two colored teachers were used in colored schools. There were fifty-three non-Negro teachers of Negro pupils employed in the public schools of Charleston during the 1919-20 school session.[3]

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[1] Tenth Annual Report, N.A.A.C.P., for Year 1919, op. cit., p. 73.

[2] The Crisis, XXII (June, 1921), 58.

[3] Ibid.

The complaint of the Negroes, as articulated by the Association branch, was not against the white teachers per se. Among the noblest interracial sentiments of Negroes, especially of the South, are derived from their contact with and inspiration gained from many of their white teachers. But in the instant situation, the teachers were viewed as "southern whites"; interpreted to mean: ". . . they believe in the inevitable inferiority of all Negroes, in the 'supremacy' of the white race; in absence of all social contact between teacher and taught, in discrimination against Negroes and in limited Negro education."[1] Led by the local branch of the Association, a determined drive was launched to affect the policies that maintained the grievous practices.

To attack practices so long couched in the mores and folkways of a given section obviously would meet many obstacles. It is evident that though the said branch leadership may have been articulating the grievances and attitudes of the majority element of the racial group, a significant minority element offered threatening opposition. This latter element appeared motivated by fear, inertia, or vested interest, or a combination of these. Many of this latter group were reluctant to go on record as being willing to increase discriminatory statutes on the law books. Here is evidence of the moral conflict involved: To get the white teachers removed, according to the branch's chosen procedure, would necessitate passage of a law making it illegal to have any white teachers in Negro public schools. This was interpreted by some as closing an avenue of possible contact between the races, further solidifying the castelike pattern of racial relationships, and thereby enhancing an already irritating aspect for Negroes living in the American way of life.

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[1] Ibid.

Another segment of the opposing group was dominated by fear. These Negroes were afraid that an organized movement--which could be interpreted as against whites, especially white women--would bring enmity and retaliation from the white community, thus jeopardizing the educational opportunities that did exist. The disparity in public school support in terms of annual per capita expenditure on enrolled pupils was then $35.70 for white, and $2.55 for Negro pupils. Surely, they apparently reasoned, they could not afford to make this worse.[1]

One other significant source of opposition to the drive of the Association branch to place Negro teachers in the Negro schools was derived from the fact that many Negroes were not sure that they really wanted Negro teachers for their children. Such an attitude is understandable and reflects the degree of insecurity among Negroes in many circumstances. They had long been conditioned in a situation where the proposed action just did not take place. There were only two Negro teachers in the entire Charleston system; therefore, no effective precedent for establishing confidence in Negro teachers even by Negroes themselves in many instances had been established. These members of the opposition were merely expressing a reasonable fear of the untried element in a hostile climate.

Confronted by such a situation, yet confident that it had or could gain the support of the dominant element among Negroes as a racial group, the Charleston branch of the Association pursued its objective. In January, 1919, it sent a petition to the governor of the state, superintendent of education, and to the state legislature declaring the grievances of its clientele.[2] It held sixteen mass

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[1] Ibid.

[2] See Appendix I for a copy of this petition.

meetings. A wide canvas was conducted to get signatures of five thousand heads of families concerned; this was to provide evidence that the parents of affected children desired Negro teachers, and also to counteract the rival petitions of the opposition which were requesting the retention of the white teachers. The branch's petition was certified before the judge of the city court, and was reported as being a deciding factor in the success of the drive. It was especially effective in counteracting the contention that the branch did not represent the Negroes of Charleston, South Carolina. The outcome of the drive was victory for the Association's branch leadership. Beginning September 1, 1920, the long-established policy and practice of employing non-Negro teachers in the public schools of Charleston, South Carolina, to teach Negro pupils was altered. The personnel of the Negro schools of the said city thereafter were to be Negroes.[1]

The preceding account has been presented in detail because it provides a graphic illustration of a specific instance of educational concern sponsored by a local level body of the Association at a period when such activity seems the more adequate source for detecting the accruing strategy later to characterize the movement's pursuit of its educational objectives. Among other things, this account has revealed the type of intraracial opposition encountered by the Association's branch, in this instance, as it assumed the role of racial leadership; the persistency and nature of its attack; and some of the methods of exerting pressure in its drive to affect educational policies and practices involving Negroes. In reality its efforts were

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[1] For more complete details, see "Colored Teachers in Charleston Schools," The Crisis, XXII (June, 1921), 58-60.

to make more complete the segregated pattern of education in Charleston; apparently segregation was tolerated as a lesser evil than the denial of a racial group the right to pursue the teaching profession in the city of his residence, and especially the right to teach the children of his own designated group. The role of the Association's branch in defining, articulating, dramatizing, publicizing, providing leadership, contacting the "powers that be," holding mass meetings, presenting petitions, all in the process of aggressively and persistently pursuing an objective perceived to be essential to racial well-being in the American society is clearly delineated.

Another significant community educational service provided by the Association is its contribution to citizenship education. This is closely related to the objective of preparing its clientele for effective participation in the political life of their communities. In this respect, the Association's branches were early referred to as "veritable schools" of citizenship training, especially where the use of the ballot was being restricted.[1] The branches provided opportunities for discussion and planning for action along political lines.[2]

During the early twenties, the Association encouraged its branches to hold political education classes. This was a part of the Association's master program to counteract tendencies toward disfranchisement of Negroes. Special impetus was given to the provision of such classes because of the then recent passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution granting the right of suffrage to all women citizens of the United States. The Association perceived a need for special civic training opportunities

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[1] Report of N.A.A.C.P. for Years 1917 and 1918, op. cit., p. 23.

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

for Negro women to enable them to share the newly granted privileges. Instruction was provided in the fundamentals of civics, citizenship duties and responsibilities, the requisites for qualifying, registering, and intelligently voting in both primary and general elections. Through its branches and publications, the Association provided detailed instructions for the formation of such classes, made available to both men and women, in political education. The Branch Bulletin for March, 1920, carried a printed facsimile of a ballot with instructions for its use in general elections. The program was extensively conducted.[1] The emphasis upon this need for political education, stressing the importance of the intelligent use of the ballot, has continued as a prime ingredient of the Association's master program and strategy, and cooperation with the public school program has been continually encouraged.[2]

With respect to industrial training opportunities, the Association's leadership has not maintained a hostile attitude; however, doubt has been expressed regarding the intention of those who have played the determining roles in providing such training opportunities for Negroes.[3] The major fear expressed has been that the type of industrial education made available was designed "to fix a closed industrial status upon the Negroes in the trades, the status of which has been changing or falling in significance."[4] This fear was derived

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[1] Eleventh Annual Report for 1920, op. cit., p. 27. The Crisis, XXI (November, 1920), 23.

[2] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLIII (January, 1936), 27.

[3] Eleventh Annual Report for 1920, op. cit., p. 68. "Editorial: Vicious Circle--Still," The Crisis, XLVIII (October, 1941), 311.

[4] The Crisis, XXXVIII (March, 1931), 83.

from an awareness of the resistance of trade unions, white employees, and certain employers to the employment of Negroes in the newer building trades and factory processes. And further, it was feared that in compliance with such forces of resistance the Negro industrial schools were being prevented from teaching the skills essential in a program of training to really increase the type of efficiency demanded of modern industry.

The Association rendered significant service by means of its pioneering research projects publicizing and inspiring awareness to some of the problems and inadequacies of Negro education. Its reports of 1917 revealed that its director of publication and research had cooperated with a commission to make an investigation into the problems of secondary education for Negroes.[1] During the twenties, investigations of Negro common schools were sponsored by the Association. Such investigations were considered necessary because of the then current paucity of facts concerning Negro education, and "particularly education in the free elementary public schools. . . ."[2] According to this source, the United States Bureau of Education at that time published only general figures; it did not indicate exactly the details of moneys appropriated and expended for the Negro public school systems of the South. Thus, the Association envisioned a need for special inquiries into the conditions of Negro schools in certain states. It selected the states for purposes of such inquiries, and the American Fund for Public Services contributed a grant to make the investigations possible. The findings of

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[1] Report of N.A.A.C.P. for Years 1917 and 1918, op. cit., p. 12.

[2] "The Negro Common School, Georgia," The Crisis, XXXII (September, 1926), 248.

the first of these studies, "The Negro Common School, Georgia," was published in 1926;[1] others followed.

The Association's report of its eighteenth annual conference included reference to its completion of such studies in seven southern states.

> The conditions of the Negro children in the public schools, both North and South, are still deplorable and they are not being given an equal or decent chance for common school training. Adequate high school facilities are being denied in a large part of the southern States. Negro colleges are starving for funds. State institutions like . . . are at the mercy of grafting politicians and the admission of Negroes to northern colleges, even to state universities supported by public taxation, is being restricted by race discrimination.[2]

The Association's literature does not show that it continued to engage extensively in such educational research projects. This, in all probability, is indicative of the paucity of its resources. Other aspects of its master program made increasing demands upon its personnel and finances; then, too, the growth of agencies which accepted the responsibility of educational research relieved the Association from the necessity to pursue such activities. However, it continued to act upon and publicize the findings of other such agencies in this respect.

Brief mention must be made of the reported effects of the Association's efforts to get Negro representation on educational policy making bodies. Certainly one of the paramount handicaps to Negro education has been the fact that normal channels by means of which could be communicated the needs, aspirations, and irritating problems

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[1] Ibid., pp. 248-64.

[2] "To the Public: A Report Given at the 18th. Annual N.A.A.C.P. Conference," The Crisis, XXXIV (August, 1927), 193.

affecting the Negro and his community life have, in most instances, been denied the Negro constituency. It is for this reason that the Negro "leader" and racial leadership organizations gain what in many respects appears to be exaggerated prominence. The Association, especially its branches, has on occasion supported efforts to have Negroes included on certain representative commissions or committees. For example, the Association leadership reported that it was instrumental in getting three Negroes added to the National Advisory Committee on Education appointed by the then President of the United States, Mr. Hoover.[1] During this same decade, branches were also making similar efforts; for instance, a New Jersey branch reported that it had been instrumental in having a Negro appointed to the New Jersey Commission to Survey Education in that state;[2] and the Baltimore, Maryland, branch reported that it was seeking to get representation on the school board of its city.[3]

By the late twenties, it is evident that the position of the Association was rapidly becoming clear cut and crystalized. Its activities to improve the educational opportunities for Negroes were becoming a dominant aspect of its master program. The role of the national level policy was becoming more apparent and dominant; its strategy, becoming less tolerant of what was perceived to be discriminatory policies and practices. Its educational objectives were becoming more comprehensive, and their pursuit increasingly direct and aggressive, being referred to as a "crusade." In 1929, the editor of the Association's official organ vowed: "The next step

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[1] The Crisis, XXXIX (January, 1932), 470.

[2] The Crisis, XL (January, 1933), 17.

[3] The Crisis, XLIV (March, 1937), 88.

before the N.A.A.C.P. is a forward movement all along the line to secure justice for Negro children in the schools of the nation. . . ."[1] Certain states were cited as being ". . . shameless and impudent in their defiance of law and justice in Negro education"; the editor concluded: "There must be a way to bring their cases before both state and federal courts."[2] Approximately a year later, the same writer editorialized:

> In education, the American Negro has suffered the most vital and damaging and inexcusable discrimination. He was forced by law to be illiterate until Emancipation; and since then the public schools of the South have proceeded to distribute public taxation so that, for instance, in Georgia, where the Negroes form 43 per cent of the population, they get but 9 per cent of the school funds; while $36.29 is expended for each white child a year, only $4.59 is expended for each colored child.[3]

As major aims of the Association at the beginning of the thirties, "better education" and "the absolute ending of segregation of all sorts based on race and color" ranked among the first five.[4] By conference resolution it was declared:

> And above all, we [the Association] are going to attack the discrimination in school funds customary in nearly all the southern States and even in some of the northern States, which gives to the already underprivileged Negro child less than half the chance of learning to read and write and acquiring the elements of education that is given to the none too fortunate white child.[5]

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[1] "Editorial: Heralding N.A.A.C.P. Crusade for Educational Opportunity of the Black Child," The Crisis, XXXVI (April, 1929), 132.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The Crisis, XXXVII (February, 1930), 65.

[4] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Postscript," The Crisis, XXXVII (April, 1930), 137.

[5] "Resolutions of the Twenty-First Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.," The Crisis, XXXVII (September, 1930), 306.

It was also asserted that from the standpoint of practical programs, most other organizations dedicated to the improvement of the welfare of Negroes as a racial group were in essential agreement with the Association's program.[1]

By the mid-thirties, the "crusade" was primed for full speed ahead. Professor Charles H. Houston, then vice-dean of Howard University Law School, and certainly one of the greatest legal minds identified with Negroes, was added to the Association's national staff. His primary duties were to handle the special legal work encountered in the legal attacks upon the inequities in school funds and facilities.[2] In a forthright manner, Mr. Houston revealed the core of the Association's attitude prompting its attack upon educational inequities: Negroes would never be able to attain their "rightful place" in the American society as long as they remained "systematically denied" the educational facilities with which to equip themselves; and that race discrimination in public education on all levels, "from the nursery school through the university," must be attacked.[3]

The Association proposed a two-pronged attack: a frontal attack on segregation in schools where possible; and where such was deemed inadvisable, to launch a drive to bring Negro schools up to "an absolute equality with white schools." It reasoned that "if the white South insists upon its separate schools it [the white South] must not squeeze the Negro schools to pay for them."[4] The

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[1] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Postscript," op. cit., p. 137.

[2] The Crisis, XLII (July, 1935), 208.

[3] Charles H. Houston, "Educational Inequalities Must Go!" The Crisis, XLII (October, 1935), 300.

[4] Ibid.

Association proposed to use every legitimate means at its disposal in promoting the ultimate success of this attack, including legislative action, court action, use of the press, and public forums. Its membership and supporters were urged to hold protest meetings for purposes of publicizing local discriminations in education, and to write the newspapers in the interest of equal education for better citizenship. The cooperation of local groups such as churches, clubs, lodges, and labor unions was to be sought in effort to get them to petition local school authorities to equalize public education within their jurisdiction. The specific recommendations of such groups for the improvement of local schools were to be encouraged. It was also proposed to have these groups send resolutions to governors, state boards of education, state senators, and representatives. In light of the control exercised over public school systems, the Association's leadership stressed the importance of registering and voting; to support those public officials who would pledge themselves favorably toward the efforts to equalize educational opportunities for all Americans.[1]

This "crusade" for better educational opportunities was merely one aspect of the Association's master program in behalf of Negroes, including antilynching measures, efforts to obtain work opportunities commensurate with their education and abilities, and its civil rights measures to secure for them their rights of suffrage, freedom of speech, jury service, and equal facilities of transportation. Discrimination in education was viewed as but a part of the general pattern of racial prejudice characteristic of American life, and to successfully attack the part, of necessity involved an attack upon the

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLIII (January, 1936), 27.

whole pattern of discrimination and racial segregation in American society.[1]

The more immediate objectives of the "crusade" were: (1) equality of school terms, (2) equality of pay for Negro teachers having the same qualifications and engaged in the same work as white teachers, (3) equality of transportation for Negro school children at public expenses, (4) equality of buildings and equipment, (5) equality of per capita expenditures for education of Negroes, and (6) equality in graduate and professional training opportunities. It is evident that these objectives were mainly related to the improvement of educational opportunities within the framework of a racially segregated pattern of education. Such an initial approach was in line with the Association's leadership which then held, "Equality of educational opportunity in separate school systems is the greates immediate educational problem of the Negro masses."[2]

In its "crusade" for better educational opportunities for Negroes, the Association was careful never to include in its records, at least those providing sources for the writer, any evidence of a desire to jeopardize the development and improvement of educational opportunities for any other Americans. Rather, its avowed position was a stand in favor of "equal educational opportunity for all children, black and white, from the kindergarten through the university"; this included equality of attainment of each of the objectives of the "crusade" mentioned above.[3]

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[1] Charles H. Houston, "Educational Inequalities Must Go!" op. cit., p. 300.

[2] Ibid., pp. 300-301.

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLIII (January, 1936), 27.

The Association was aware that in waging its "crusade" for the improvement of educational opportunities for Negroes, it not only had to provide leadership to fight[1] the extraracial opposition, but also it faced the complicated problem of preparing Negroes themselves for their expected role. It stressed the need to convince the masses of Negroes that they constituted a part of the public which owned and controlled the public schools. Its legal staff counseled: "In every State both by legislation and judicial decision public school systems are made responsive to public control and demands."[2] Negroes were warned against the tendency to assume that every person was duly aware of their problems of discrimination.

The chairman of the Association's national board of directors in an address to the twenty-seventh annual conference, Baltimore, Maryland, pointed out:

> Negroes should realize that by helping to pay taxes on public institutions which exclude their sons and daughters, they are perpetuating their own slavery and dooming their children to further exploitation and inferior position.[3]

But in reality, Negroes, especially in the South, had been so long kept out of governmental and administrative affairs that efforts to get them to consider themselves as part of the sovereign public

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[1] "To fight," as used in the Association's literature, implies the act of insistently putting the case of the aggrieved before the world (the public); the aim being to affect and engender what it perceived as desirable effects upon the hearts and thoughts of men. "Editorial," The Crisis, XXII (July, 1921), 101.

[2] Charles H. Houston, "How to Fight for Better Schools," The Crisis, XLIII (February, 1936), 52.

[3] Louis T. Wright, "The 26th. Year of the N.A.A.C.P.," The Crisis, XLIII (August, 1936), 245-46.

often met with apparent resistance; an evidence of the warping effects of lower castelike existence.

The first point of attack in the Association's efforts to implement the objectives of its "crusade" was made in Baltimore County, Maryland, where there existed eleven high schools, of which none accepted Negroes. A writ of mandamus was sought in effort to secure an opportunity for a Negro pupil to attend the high school at Catonsville, Maryland.[1] This case is significant primarily because of its priority in this phase of the Association's approach. The major focus of the Association's strategy which later proved highly successful was at the graduate and professional educational level. Attacks at this latter level were designed as preliminary to the fight for equalization of teacher's salaries, school terms, of per capita expenditures, and transportation.[2] However, since the Association's successes in its pursuit of educational opportunities for Negroes at the graduate and professional level established valuable precedents for the fight for integration in educational opportunities, they will be reserved for a later chapter especially devoted to that aspect. The primary concern of this chapter is with efforts to improve educational opportunities, but which tolerate the racially dual pattern of educational systems.

With respect to the drive for the equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers--"with the same qualifications, performing essentially the same duties, and equipped with the same amount of teaching experience"--the Association launched its attack in the state of North Carolina during the early thirties. The salary situation in

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[1] The Crisis, XLIII (July, 1936), 200.

[2] Louis T. Wright, "The 26th. Year of the N.A.A.C.P.," op. cit., p. 251.

this state was by no means the worst. Relatively speaking, the said situation offered certain favorable aspects; Negro public education was credited with "progress," and efforts at its improvement with "achievement." Yet, the Association's leadership viewed with suspicion the operation of the then proposed salary schedule for that state. It feared that the then current state legislative provisions permitted "too many loopholes" to protect the interest of Negroes; that "schools that operated six months will still operate six months, and no longer."[1] Much of this fear and suspicion, according to the acting business manager of the Association's official organ, was derived from an awareness of the weak bargaining position of Negroes of North Carolina. They were viewed as lacking a powerful lobby either by money or political power; "the Negro was left to the timidity of his friends and the mercy of his enemies."[2] And again, ". . . regardless of certification, the salaries of Negro teachers must be paid out of the sum appropriated by the State school commission."[3] It was further feared that circumstances would prevail so as to result in the continuance in most cases of the 30 percent differential in white and Negro teachers' salaries that had formerly characterized them.[4] Thus, in light of such fears and suspicions, and the

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[1] George W. Streator, "North Carolina Liberalism on Trial," The Crisis, XL (November, 1933), 255.

[2] Ibid., p. 254.

[3] Ibid., p. 255.

[4] Ibid., p. 255. Also, Charles H. Thompson (editor), Journal of Negro Education--Yearbook Number, IV (July, 1935), 290. With reference to teachers' salaries in bi-racial educational systems, the editor points out: ". . . the discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers increased from 52.8 per cent in 1900 to 113 per cent in 1930." Charles H. Thompson, "75 Years of Negro Education," The Crisis, XLV (July, 1938), 202-05, 240.

perceived weakness of the Negro's position in that state, it was deemed advisable that the Association supply the needed leadership to facilitate the teachers' efforts for equal pay for equal work.

The leadership of the North Carolina State Teachers Association, an organization of the Negro teachers of that state, was assailed as having been "lulled to sleep by the 'fine state of interracial relations' . . . a group which must walk in lock-step with what powers that be."[1] And though this Association official admitted that the said Negro teachers' organization had declared "privately" by way of its executive committee that it was "unalterably opposed" to discrimination as practiced in North Carolina in its dual salary scale, he insisted that the leadership of the said teachers' group was "too feeble" in its declaration to satisfy the rank and file of the Negro teachers of that state.

The situation described above is an example of the kind of strains which confront the Negro teacher as a leader of his people and as a professional worker. The insecurity of his being and the tenuousness of his professional status make him suspected (in many cases) by his own fellow-workers, and vulnerable to unfavorable appraisal even by organized forces professedly in his own behalf, and in the interest of his own profession. He is often mangled in the throes of legitimate though misguided ambitions for job security, personal "advancement" with all due prestige, and the advancement of his "race."

In arousing support for its attack on educational inequities, a N.A.A.C.P. rally was held in the capital city of North Carolina, December, 1933, to which 2,500 Negroes were reported in attendance.

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[1] George W. Streator, "North Carolina Liberalism on Trial," op. cit., p. 255.

An Association's official interprets the motivation of the rally attendance:

> They [the Negro citizens] came to give silent assent to a revitalized Negro leadership for Negro people. Against the scandalous distribution of public money they raised their protest. Against a State that can spend more public money for enlarging a football stadium for one of the three truly big institutions for white students, than it spends annually to maintain the college for Negroes at Durham; against the exclusion from professional training of tax-paying colored citizens in tax-supported State institutions; against a State that could spend more money for ice-water for the last session of the legislature than it would give for the support of a school for delinquent colored girls (maintaining all the while two institutions for white girls), in short against the petty thievishness characteristic of this and every other southern State in its treatment of the colored population.[1]

The teachers of the North Carolina Negro Teachers Association were urged to stop their "stupid back-slapping sessions"; the reference here is to the annual Negro teachers' state convention. Further, they were advised to take their organization "out of the hands of weasel-worded, petty school politicians" and to make it a power in state politics for the improvement of the whole race.[2] This diatribe is an attack on certain class and vested interests which would tend to jeopardize the degree of support desired of the three thousand Negro teachers of that state; thus, they were urged to work for the "improvement of the whole race"; race consciousness is sought to counteract class or occupational vested interests.

The drive for equalization of teachers' salaries, though launched in North Carolina, attained its precedent-making success in Maryland. The details of the North Carolina drive are significant because of

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[1] George W. Streator, "The Colored South Speaks for Itself," The Crisis, XL (December, 1933), 274.

[2] Ibid., p. 275.

their priority, and especially because of the primacy and vividness with which the Association's attack is revealed in its initial phase. Its techniques for arousing Negroes to an awareness of their problems, and the strained plight of the Negro professional educational leadership during the process are glaringly apparent.

In December, 1936, the Association filed a petition in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Maryland, seeking a writ of mandamus. The objective was to compel the board of education of that county to pay equal salaries to white and Negro teachers "with the same qualifications performing essentially the same duties and equipped with the same amount of teaching experience."[1] The said petition held the differentials in salary schedules to be unlawful and arbitrary, and to be in violation of the United States Constitution and the laws of the state of Maryland; that they denied to the petitioner and others of his race the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The differentials referred to are evident in the fact that the plaintiff, William B. Gibbs, Jr., then acting-principal of the Rockville Colored Elementary School in Montgomery County, Maryland, received a salary of $51.00 a month, or $612.00 a year, whereas teachers in white schools in the same county with the same qualifications and experience, and performing essentially the same duties, received approximately $98.00 a month, or $1,175.00 per year. For the county as a whole, the differential was approximately $731.00; i.e., annual salary for whites was $1,362.00, as against $631.00 for Negroes.[2]

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[1] "Maryland, Inequalities of Teachers' Salaries," The Crisis, XLIV (January, 1937), 53.

[2] The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 53-54. The Crisis, XLV (February, 1938), 56.

The above case terminated in an out-of-court settlement. Fifty percent of the differential between the Negro and white teachers' salaries for the immediately preceding year was to be made up the coming fall; and the remainder, the following term.[1] The following year, the governor of the state of Maryland announced that he would take necessary steps to equalize the salaries paid to white and Negro teachers in the entire state.[2]

One further reference to legal action on the part of the Association in its drive for equalization of teachers' salaries is significant. In November, 1939, a United States District Court Judge of Baltimore, Maryland, granted an injunction restraining the board of education in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, from paying salaries to teachers on the basis of race and color. The action was a result of the Association's petition in behalf of a Negro teacher-principal. The complaint was that the payment of a lower salary to him (the Negro teacher-principal) than to a white teacher-principal of the same experience, doing substantially the same work, was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[3] Specifically, in this case the Association was attacking the policy and practices of school systems to provide differential pay scales for racial groups to the effect that it worked to the disadvantage of Negro members of the teaching profession. In the instant situation, Maryland statute provided a minimum scale of salaries for white and Negro teachers, graduated to professional qualifications and years of experience, but with a separate, lower minimum for teachers

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[1] The Crisis, XLIV (October, 1937), 312.

[2] The Crisis, XLV (February, 1938), 56.

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLVI (December, 1939), 369.

in Negro schools.[1] the differential minima for 1939 were: for white teachers, $1,250; for colored teachers, $765; both with "comparable professional qualifications and experience."[2] Such practice was interpreted by the Association as being an unconstitutional discrimination; the Court adjudged in like manner and declared in favor of the Association's clientele.

Victory in the above case (Walter Mills, Association-sponsored plaintiff, v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County, a corporation, and George Fox, as county superintendent of schools of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, defendants) was hailed by the Association as the first decision ever awarded by a federal court upon the practice characteristic of the South of paying Negro teachers much less than white teachers. This decision was credited with speeding the drive for equalizing teacher salaries throughout the South; Maryland had led in establishing an agreement to equalize teacher salaries. Increased salaries were expected to attract more capable individuals into the teaching profession throughout the South. In the outlawing of wage differentials based on race in this area, it was perceived that a precedent was being established that would affect all public employment.[3]

Similar action was employed in the successful pursuit of the objective of equalization of teachers' salaries in Virginia. The decision there in the case of Melvin Alston v. School Board of Norfolk, Virginia, heard before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for

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[1] "Equal Salaries for Teachers," The Crisis, XLVII (January, 1940), 10-12, 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLVI (December, 1939), 369.

the Fourth District, was significant in that it was the first decision by a federal appellate court on the broad question of the constitutionality of salary differentials established by state agencies on the basis of race or color. It also countered the effort to circumvent the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution by the assertion that teachers waived their rights by signing contracts.[1]

With these Maryland and Virginia victories rewarding the Association's resort to the courts in its "crusade" to affect policies and practices determining educational opportunities for Negroes, its leadership potential was enhanced, and similar actions were instigated throughout the realm of racially dual school systems from Virginia to Florida. However, because they tended to follow the same general pattern as was indicated in the North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia drives, it is not necessary to present them in detail. Instead, the writer adheres to the procedure of presenting in detail only those significant, precedent-making activities which reflect the Association's efforts to affect educational policies and practices involving Negroes; the underlying purpose being that of detecting and documenting basic attitudes characteristic of the Association in this area.[2]

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[1] "Equalization," The Crisis, XLVII (September, 1940), 290. "Virginia Teachers Win $129,000 Salary Increase," The Crisis, XLVII (December, 1940), 390-91. "Newport News School Case," The Crisis, L (June, 1943), 180-81. Here is presented evidence of a type of reprisal against Negro educators by school officials because of the active supporting role they played in the successful drive to equalize teachers' salaries in Virginia.

[2] For a more comprehensive, though selective, coverage of the salary equalization efforts, see: The Crisis, XLVIII (February, 1941), 54. "Equal Salary Suits Filed in Nashville," The Crisis, XLVIII (May, 1941), 164 (Tenn.). The Crisis, XLIX (September, 1942), 297. The Crisis, L (April, 1943), 116 (Texas). The Crisis,

In an effort to implement the objective of securing equality of transportation for Negro school children at public expense, the "crusade" was launched in March, 1941. At that time, the Association on behalf of a Negro school child (through her father as next friend) filed suit against the school board of Greensville County, Virginia, and the superintendent of schools of that same county. Efforts were made to secure a declaratory judgment and a mandatory injunction to compel the proper school officials to furnish bus transportation to Negro school children of the said county. The basic Association's position in the instant case was similar to that which it held in prosecuting the Negro teachers' salary cases: ". . . that the local school board, through custom and usage, is depriving Negroes of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed them by the U. S. Constitution."[1]

L (June, 1943), 181 (Florida). The Crisis, LI (March, 1944), 88; and The Crisis, LII (July, 1945), 199 (South Carolina). The Crisis, LII (June, 1945), 173 (Alabama). The Crisis, LII (June, 1945), 173 (Arkansas). The Little Rock, Arkansas, equal salary case, like the Norfolk, Virginia, equal salary case, reached a United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Each of these cases had significant effects upon educational policies and practices involving Negroes. The former case outlawed the merit system with its discriminatory pay scale which operated to the disadvantage of Negroes because of their race and color. The latter case (Norfolk, Virginia) outlawed the separate salary schedule for white and Negro teachers with its obvious pay scale inequities. At the insistence of the Association, both the "merit system" and the separate salary schedules as used were revealed to be inadequate vehicles of democratic equality, permitting discriminatory policies and practices persistently to prevail. The Crisis, LII (July, 1945), 193. The Crisis, LIII (February, 1946), 40. Also, see The Crisis, LV (September, 1948), 276 (Louisiana).

[1] "Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront," The Crisis, XLVIII (April, 1941), 136-37.

The late forties revealed the effectiveness of the educational "crusade." It was apparently being rewarded with certain gains in public transportation for Negro school children. The Association's success in arousing public awareness to the problems of educational inequities, especially where a racially segregated situation was involved, was gaining wide recognition. Its role in clarifying and emphasizing legislative and Constitutional definitions of the responsibilities of educational policy makers to provide increasingly more equitable educational opportunities for all American citizens is a tribute to its persistent and valiant leadership. By 1948, the threat of unfavorable court action was having repercussions even on the policies and practices affecting secondary educational opportunities. To cite an illustrative instance, in Texas with the courts frowning upon separate but not equal higher educational provisions, suit was filed against the Dallas County school board seeking equal school facilities for Negro children, including transportation. School officials, in an effort to correct certain inequities before the trial date, were reported to have refunded parents of Negro school children certain moneys they (the parents) had spent to send their children sixteen miles to high school. Desks for teachers, blackboards, and other essential equipment were hastily provided; and even a well was dug on the school ground to furnish water.[1]

The educational program of the Association continued rapidly to gain momentum during the forties. Beyond a doubt, the resort to the court and the forthcoming favorable decisions exerted a compelling force in the over-all configuration of factors making possible the direction and redirection of certain policies and practices determining educational opportunities for Americans in general, especially

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[1] The Crisis, LVI (January, 1949), 26.

Negroes. And though pressures continued to be exerted in behalf of improving the quantity and quality of formal training made available to Negroes within the racially segregated framework, from the forties forward, the Association-spearheaded "crusade" involved an implied or a direct attack upon the policy and practices of racial segregation, per se, in education. In the background of each attack launched by the said body lurked the threat of a solution involving a greater degree of integration in educational opportunities for all Americans.

Thus, it has been substantiated that the Association's endeavors to implement its master program of utilizing organized efforts to enhance racial welfare has necessitated its cooperation with certain aspects of the public school program. The Association has been a force emphasizing the potentials of formal public education as an indispensable requisite for constructive adjustment in a democratic society. It has advocated education, both academic and industrial, according to the needs, interests, and talents of the individual. It has persistently sought both quantitative and qualitative extensions of educational opportunities available to all American citizens. In certain instances, as in the case of its political education classes, the Association has deemed it necessary to provide special instructional classes to promote citizenship education. By means of its own research and its publicizing of the findings of other research agencies, it has been a factor in creating an awareness on the part of Negroes themselves, and American citizens in general, to many of the problems peculiar to Negro education.

The Association's program has also promoted many aggressive attacks upon certain traditional aspects of public-supported formal education, especially where Negroes were involved. Its avowed goal has been to secure for its clientele certain political and economic rights, with the related responsibilities and privileges which it

considered to be the birthright of American citizenship, in keeping with the high idealism of the American creed.[1] In pursuit of this goal, the aid of tax-supported educational opportunities have been sought with increasing vigor. Policies, practices, and individuals, including Negro educational leaders themselves, that have been perceived as impeding the attainment of these desired opportunities have been the focus of the ire and pressures of the Association's program.

The Association's "crusade" for better educational opportunities has included the following objectives: (1) equality of school terms for Negroes, (2) equality of pay for Negro teachers, (3) equality of public transportation for Negro school children, (4) equality of buildings and equipment, (5) equality of per capita expenditure for education, and (6) equality in graduate and professional training for Negroes. These objectives indicate the areas in which discriminatory policies and practices have been considered to exist, and thereby credited with adversely affecting the quantity and quality of educational opportunities available to Negroes. Partial progress at implementing the first five of these objectives could be made without a major, direct attack upon racial dualism in public education, per se; evidence of the same has been presented in this chapter. The full view of the efforts to implement the total of the listed objectives must await the chapter on "Integration in Educational Opportunities" to be presented later in this writing.

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, pp. xlvi-xlvii, 209. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. This monumental work presents the classic statement of the system of social ideals which are referred to as the American Creed; and which are cited as constituting the basic essentials of the American ethos.

CHAPTER X

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The Association's leadership was early aware that the improvement of educational opportunities available to Negroes was intimately related to the problem of increased appropriations for education in general. This was especially true in the South where the bulk of Negroes resided, and where the added costs of a racially dual educational system further burdened the limited financial resources of that area. From the standpoint of education for Negroes, per se, an added obstacle presented itself in that public funds that were available were not equitably distributed. The traditional pattern was that educational opportunities for Negroes in most instances were grossly neglected.

Consistent with the above awareness, the Association leadership early pursued a policy of advocating legislation to make possible federal financial aid to public school education as a means of quantitatively and qualitatively improving the educational opportunities available to all American citizens. However, the Association's policy persistently maintained a qualification in this respect: it advocated federal financial aid to public education, but insisted that legislation making such aid possible also include necessary precautionary provisions to insure that Negro education be rewarded equitably. At its annual conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, 1920, the Association demanded that in states where racially dual schools existed the per capita expenditures for the education of white and Negro children be equal. A resolution was adopted stating in part: "We urge upon

Congress such legislation as will give federal aid to common school training, with such provision as will insure each colored child its full proportionate share."[1]

This insistence upon legislative safeguards to insure a more equitable distribution of proposed federal funds to be distributed for educational purposes reflects the unfavorable experiences that Negro education had encountered, especially in states maintaining a racially dual system, where distribution of funds was left solely to the discretion of states. Demands for more equitable distribution of public school funds had long persisted on the part of Association leadership and with apparently but little favorable results. At an early conference out of which the permanent Association organization grew, the plea by resolution was for: "Equal educational opportunities for all and in all the States, and that public school expenditures be the same for the Negro and white child."[2] Yet, when one of the founders and pioneering spirits of the Association toured certain sections of the United States nearly two decades later, observing Negro-white relations, she concluded: "They [southern Negroes] are still shamefully cheated in the distribution of state funds for education and for any local improvements."[3] Her observations with respect to the inequities and discrepancies in the distribution of state funds for Negro education were in accord with a later report covering the period from 1918 to 1928 issued by Dr. Ambrose Caliver, specialist

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[1] "Resolution Read and Adopted at the Eleventh Annual Conference of N.A.A.C.P., Atlanta, Georgia, May 30 - June 2, 1920," N.A.A.C.P., Eleventh Annual Report--for 1920 (January, 1921), 72.

[2] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLI (February, 1934), 52.

[3] Mary White Ovington, "Revisiting the South," The Crisis, XXXIV (April, 1927), 42, passim.

in the education of Negroes, United States Office of Education. Caliver's report revealed that in eight states where Negroes constituted approximately 30 percent of the population, only about 11 percent of the money spent for school houses were for Negroes. Again, that one-third of the counties of the South did not provide high school facilities for Negroes in 1928.[1]

Though improvement was in promise, the report prepared for the President's Advisory Committee on Education revealed that even by the middle thirties the problem of inequities in the public support for Negro educational opportunities left much to be wanted. According to this report:

> 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 compensation does not approximate a subsistence wage.[2]
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> The disparity between the general status of education for the two racial groups [Negroes and white] appears to be decreasing only very slowly, if at all.[3]

Awareness of the persistent tradition in certain sections to maintain unsavory disparities in the distribution of public funds for educational opportunities available to Negroes, in comparison with the provisions of such opportunities for other American citizens, supplied the basis for the Association's attitude toward proposed

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, XXXIX (January, 1932), 463.

[2] Doxey A. Wilkerson, Special Problems of Negro Education, Staff Study Number 12, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education, pp. 151-52. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939.

[3] Ibid., p. 152.

federal aid to education legislation. It viewed with suspicion and strategic alarm any proposed federal legislation to provide financial assistance to education unless provisions were included to safeguard against distributive inequities. Such a position by the Association, in keeping with pressures in its support, and the antagonisms it inspired in areas where the dictates of the mores and folkways demanded a racially dual educationl system, has undoubtedly been a major contributing factor in the continuous defeat of federal aid to education bills.

The Association did not give whole-hearted support to the Smith-Towner education bill of the early twenties. To the extent that the said bill represented an effort to aid common schools "to encourage the States to remove illiteracy," the Association was in accord. But the proposed manner of distribution of the apportioned funds, that is, ". . . distributed and administered in accordance with the laws of said State in like manner as the funds provided by State and local authorities for the same purpose . . .," aroused the Association's opposition. Its leaders were suspicious and skeptical of the merits of such a bill, permitting state and local educational authorities to "determine the courses of study, plans, and methods for carrying out" its purposes, to accomplish desired ends. This was especially true where educational opportunities for Negroes in racially dual educational systems were involved.[1] They reasoned that the said bill would, instead, permit the continuance of gross malapportionment of funds as was currently so irritating.[2] Thus,

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, XXIII (February, 1922), 152.

[2] Ibid., p. 153. The editor cited the then current distributive pattern of $10.32 for each white school child as compared with $2.89 for each Negro school child on a per capita basis. These figures were derived by using the sum of public school teachers' salaries of fifteen biracial states and the District of Columbia divided by the number of school children.

such a bill was portrayed by the Association's literature as "a bill to encourage lynching, peonage and ignorance in the South by perpetuating the present educational discrimination against ignorant and helpless Negroes . . ."; and was condemned as "a travesty on educational justice."[1] Later, it was assailed as encouraging a situation that ". . . deserves the denunciation of every decent American citizen."[2]

The Sterling bill, replacing the defeated Smith-Towner bill as a legislative proposal to provide federal aid to education, also met with the Association's opposition and for the same reason. The fact that it was endorsed by the National Education Association did not alter the Association's unfavorable attitude.[3] The manner of distribution of apportioned funds was similar to that proposed in the antecedent Smith-Towner bill; this provision could not be reconciled with the Association's basic attitude in this respect; the prestige inherent in the proposed Department of Education with its theoretical potential for injecting "a more humane and American spirit in educational institutions," notwithstanding. The wrath of the editor of the Association's official organ was aroused. His scathing denunciation of the South reveals the emotional fervor of which an element of the Association's leadership was capable as it contemplated the eligibility of certain states to administer and distribute federal funds equitably where Negroes were involved:

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[1] Ibid., p. 153. "Public Statement of the 15th. Annual Conference," The Crisis, XXVIII (August, 1924), 152. Here is reported a similar attitude toward a later version of this federal aid to education bill, the Sterling bill.

[2] The Crisis, XXIII (April, 1922), 248.

[3] Florence Kelley, "The Sterling Discrimination [sic] Bill," The Crisis, XXVI (October, 1923), 252-55.

> They [the effective white South] have stolen money from Negroes and spent it upon white people; they have received gifts from the United States government and spent it illegally to the hurt of blacks; they have received philanthropy from the white North and the world and deprived colored folk of their decent and honest share; they have decried and lied about the Negroes' institutions of learning; they have throttled their public school system and given black folk no voice in its conduct; they have in numerous cases appointed the worst instead of the best colored teachers; they have publicly, impertinently and continually declared it to be their business to give the Negro only enough education to make him useful to white folk; to make him a servant, a lackey and a fool.[1]

The Harrison-Fletcher bill to provide federal financial aid to public education was also opposed by the Association. Its lack of a provision to prevent racial discrimination in the distribution of the funds proposed by the bill was, again, the major source of opposition from this group.[2]

> But our [N.A.A.C.P.] basic objection is that under the plenary power granted the state and territorial legislatures under the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill," there is nothing to prevent any state or territory from expending every cent of the monies appropriated and apportioned to it on the white schools and the white children, regardless of the needs of the Negro school population.[3]

The dominant element in the Association's attitude toward federal financial assistance to public education is a dire fear that such assistance, if left to be distributed and administered in accordance with the policies and practices of certain states, will be

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[1] "Editorial: The Sterling Discrimination [sic] Bill," The Crisis, XXVII (March, 1924), 200-01.

[2] "Dangerous Federal School Aid," The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 41-42, 50, 60.

[3] Ibid., p. 42. Also, see copy of Association's letter to the president of the N.E.A., December 31, 1936, ibid., p. 41. "Editorial," The Crisis, XLIV (March, 1937), 81.

diverted from securing the degree of equality of educational opportunity for all Americans so desired by the Association's avowed clientele. This fear has been enhanced by statistical evidence of previous indiscretions and inequities in the distribution of public funds for education characteristic of certain states.[1] This led to the conclusion, in various instances, that in the absence of restraining provisions, the more money certain states have to spend for public schools, "the less proportionally they spend on Negro schools."[2]

By 1937, the Association's position in opposition to federal aid to education legislation entailed a morbid suspicion of the intention of certain states to distribute equitably proposed funds for educational opportunities for Negroes in the absence of legislative safeguards against possible discriminatory practices; a fear that policies and practices deemed discriminatory by its constituency were in danger of being enhanced in states where racially dual educational systems were mandatory either by law, custom, or both.[3] Further,

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[1] Charles H. Thompson, "The Negro Separate School," The Crisis, XLII (August, 1935), 230-31, 242, 247. Dr. Thompson, then professor of education at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and editor of the Journal of Negro Education, concluded that schools for Negroes in the nineteen states and the District of Columbia where Negroes were then [early thirties] forced by law to attend schools set apart for them were ". . . almost invariably characterized by notorious and increasing discrimination" (p. 230). Further: Charles H. Thompson, "75 Years of Negro Education," The Crisis, XLV (July, 1938), 202-05, 240. He concludes: "The difference in per capita expenditures on white and Negro pupils in common schools in the same communities in 1900 was only 48%; in 1930, it was 252%. Negroes receive proportionately less of the common school funds today than they received in 1900; and this, despite the fact that the per capita expenditure on Negroes has increased over 500% during that time" (p. 204).

[2] "Dangerous Federal School Aid," op. cit., p. 42.

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, XLIV (December, 1937), 369.

it was becoming evident that educational need rather than proportion of population would provide a more satisfactory basis of allocation of funds for educational purposes.[1] However, the lack of an acceptable yardstick of "educational need" complicated any attempt to use such a standard; thus "proportion of population" continued to be cited as a basis for distribution of proposed funds.

To correct what it perceived to be the inadequacies of the Harrison-Fletcher bill to provide federal aid to education, the Association proposed an amendment to the said bill,[2] for the expressed purpose of protecting what it termed "the legitimate interests of Negro school children in the Southern and border states."[3] At its conference held in Detroit, Michigan, the Association recommended ". . . federal subsidy to education with the provision that Negroes be guaranteed a just and proportionate share of the funds based upon the population, and that the States make report of the disbursements of such funds to the secretary of the Department of the Interior."[4]

The Association was favorable toward the Hill-Thomas bill which replaced the Harrison-Black-Fletcher version of a federal aid to education bill. This favorable attitude stemmed from the inclusion in the new version of the provision that "a just and equitable distribution to Negroes is required in the States having separate schools

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[1] "Dangerous Federal School Aid," op. cit., p. 50. Also, cf. Alfred Baker Lewis, "Federal Aid to Education," The Crisis, LII (December, 1945), 351-52, 363. Mr. Lewis was then a member of the Association's board of directors.

[2] See Appendix II for a copy.

[3] "Dangerous Federal School Aid, op. cit., p. 50.

[4] The Crisis, XLIV (August, 1937), 246.

by law."[1] However, apprehension was expressed that efforts of "political trickery," for example, unnecessary amendments and action to arouse southerners' phobia of federal action threatening their segregated pattern of schools, would endanger any possibilities of the final passage of such a bill.[2] Apprehensions were justified.

By the late forties, the attitude of the Association had become more rigid and less tolerant of federal assistance to any form of segregated undertakings. In federal education bills as well as federal housing bills, this group favored and supported nonsegregation clauses. It contended that federal funds then distributed to states were not allocated fairly where a racially dual system of education was maintained. They considered it improbable that any new funds would be distributed equitably under such a system. The Association concluded that a federal policy to pump millions into such systems (segregated housing and education) would dim the prospects of eradicating the attendant discriminations permitted by segregation.[3]

The Barden Federal Aid to Education Bill was condemned as "anti-Negro and wholly unacceptable to the N.A.A.C.P."[4] The perenial attack was evoked, claiming that the said bill would allot federal funds to states without any safeguards for equitable distribution to Negro pupils. Though the Association leadership consistently expressed a favorable attitude toward federal aid to education, by the mid-twentieth century it was on record for demanding not

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[1] The Crisis, XLV (April, 1938), 118.

[2] The Crisis, L (November, 1943), 333, 348.

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVI (June, 1949), 169.

[4] The Crisis, LVI (October, 1949), 276.

only safeguards against discrimination, but against segregation itself.[1]

Thus, federal aid to public education has been viewed favorably by the Association. Its advocacy has been a consistent aspect of a master program to prepare Negroes for attaining and intelligently exercising their political and economic privileges and responsibilities requisite to full status as first-class American citizens. But the Association has stood firm in its conviction that legislation to provide federal funds for public education must include provisions to safeguard against discriminatory distribution of proposed funds, especially where racially dual systems of education are maintained. From a somewhat decentralized range of approved branch activities attacking what was perceived to be discriminatory practices related to the distribution of educational funds, to a clear-cut, crystalized opposition to the use of federal funds to assist racially segregated education, per se, marks the course of development of the Association's master program and dominant attitude in this respect. This trend toward direct opposition to policies and practices supporting segregated public school education will be considered further in a later chapter.

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[1] "Resolution, the Forty-First Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.," The Crisis, LVII (August-September, 1950), 523. "Resolutions Adopted by the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P. at Atlanta, Georgia, June 30, 1951," The Crisis, LVIII (August-September, 1951), 477. The Association reaffirmed its stand in favor of federal financial aid to education, "provided no such federal aid is given to States where racially segregated education is practiced."

CHAPTER XI

CONTAINMENT OF SEGREGATION

Activities to improve the welfare of Negroes as a racial group have not been limited merely to efforts tolerating an already existing framework of accommodated opportunities; nor to attacks upon such framework in the interest of integration. Concomitant with these possible approaches have been organized efforts designed to be preventive. Such efforts have sought to restrain the extension of policies and practices that would facilitate the establishment of any arrangement perceived as jeopardizing the up-grading of Negroes as members of a racial group. In implementing its master program, the Association has apparently deemed it necessary to assume leadership in this respect. This has been especially true with regard to efforts to contain policies and practices which promote racial dualism in public-supported educational opportunities. Racial segregation has been viewed as an accommodative instrument facilitating policies and procedures that are discriminatory, and which impede the attainment of the ultimate goal of the full integration of Negroes into the main stream of American life.

The Association's sponsored or approved activities have provided firm opposition to the spread of practices of racial dualism in any phase of public school activities. The waves of northward and westward migrations, both Negro and white, characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century, concentrated Negroes in industrial centers. Concomitant with these population shifts was the tendency for many discernible aspects of racial segregation to spread.

into areas where neither law nor tradition demanded them. The Association viewed with marked concern the quiet but persistent attempts to increase the number of separate schools and discriminatory practices directed toward Negroes in these areas. The basic attitudes of the Association as it attempted to prevent the spread of such caste vestiges into public-supported educational systems (beyond the original slavery-traditioned states) constitute the special concern of this present chapter.

The basic position of the Association with respect to its perception of the role and the ideal constituency of the public schools in a democracy was succinctly stated editorially:

> The theory of the public school is that it should be the foundation of the democracy of the land. . . . So far then as possible, we should strive in every way to keep the public schools open to all citizens, white and black, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, native and foreign.[1]

This editorial reasoned that the separation of children of school ages would usually mean their virtual separation throughout life. Such was viewed as being conducive to misunderstandings, frictions, group, class, and racial hatred.[2]

Two years later, 1923, this same official organ provided editorial evidence of the basic elements of the Association's attitude toward the spread of the practice of segregation into public systems of education. According to this source, segregation and discrimination in the common public schools are the "most dangerous, most insidious, and the most far reaching" of all sorts of segregation and discrimination confronting the Negro in the United States. But one thing was recognized as worse, and that was "ignorance." This same

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, XXII (August, 1921), 150.

[2] Ibid.

reference affirmed the body's conviction that "Education in the public schools by races or by classes means the perpetuation of race and class feelings throughout the land . . ."; and that it was the duty of those who believe in democracy and broad human development to oppose the spread of segregation in the public schools.[1] Selected illustrations of the Association's sponsored or approved activities, and its techniques for implementing its basic attitudes of the instant concern are submitted in the succeeding paragraphs.

The annual report for the year 1919 revealed efforts on the part of the Association's branch at Cleveland, Ohio, to defeat attempts to exclude four Negro girls from admission into the dormitory at Oberlin College, even after they had won "preferred" dormitory assignments by drawing lots. The report indicated that attempts were made to pressure the Negro girls into seeking quarters in "boarding houses" rather than accepting accommodations in the school dormitory.[2] This same source revealed that the branch at Cincinnati, Ohio, was leading a drive to prevent the establishment of a separate school for Negro children in that city.[3] Also, the branch at Los Angeles, California, reported "victory in obtaining the admission of Colored girls to the County Hospital Training School despite the opposition of the nurses [non-Negro]."[4]

The annual report for the following year included evidence of Association-led resistance in New York. Six Negro girls, students at the Girls High School, Brooklyn, were to be excluded from attending

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[1] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Tragedy of 'Jim Crow,'" The Crisis, XXVI (August, 1923), 169-72.

[2] Tenth Annual Report, for 1919 (January, 1920), 44-45.

[3] Ibid., p. 45.

[4] Ibid., p. 73.

their class promenade and dance. The affair was to be given at a hotel which, according to the report, did not want Negroes in its ballroom. School authorities were considering a policy of providing a separate affair for the Negro girls. The Association was fearful that a precedent for segregation, euphemistically referred to as "separation without malice," was in the making. Through a committee headed by its Director of Publicity and Research, it made contact with the superintendent of schools and registered opposition to such an anticipated practice. The result was that the principal of the school involved was instructed either to admit all eligible students or call off the affair.[1] The affair was held; the Negro girls attended. This incident is illustrative of the Association's action to prevent the establishment of what it considered to be an undesirable practice in public school affairs. This instant situation also provides an example of educational policy making which capitalizes upon a knowledge of certain attitudes of special interest groups to the end that it becomes a factor in minimizing potential intergroup frictions.

In the early twenties, the Association's branch at Springfield, Ohio, in cooperation with a General Citizens Committee, conducted a fight to prevent and defeat efforts to establish a segregated school for Negroes in that city.[2] This action was reported to have been carried on despite the opposition by ministers of two of the largest churches of that city.

The strategy of protest utilized by the Association's branch in the above instant situation, and typical of the general pattern

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[1] Eleventh Annual Report of the N.A.A.C.P. for Year 1920 (January, 1921), 53.

[2] The Crisis, XXVI (May, 1923), 25.

utilized in other similar situations, included:

(1) The field secretaries of the national body assisted in planning the over-all campaign strategy.

(2) Mass and committee meetings were held to arouse awareness and definition of the grievous situation.

(3) Petitions were presented to the board of education voicing the opposition to the anticipated practice of providing a separate school for Negroes. In the instant case, the results obtained from this stage were unsuccessful.

(4) Parades were held.

(5) The school in question was boycotted and picketed.

(6) Finally, an injunction was secured, granted by the court against the school in question.[1]

The techniques involved in the strategy outlined above, and which is presented as illustrative of the general pattern of protest strategy characteristic of the Association in such situations, had certain special merits. They provided a means for interpreting, defining, and articulating the perceived grievances of the Association's clientele; as well as occasions for dramatizing the irritating issues of the threatening situation for purposes of inducing public awareness and securing the requisite support for remedial and preventive action. They also provided necessary opportunities for raising funds with which to defray the expenses of the proposed action.

Association-sponsored or approved activities designed to contain the spread of the practice of racial segregation in public school systems were prevalent throughout the twenties. The official literature for this period shows the national office of the Association

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[1] Ibid.

to be aiding its branches at Dayton, Ohio,[1] and Indianapolis, Indiana.[2] In Coffeyville, Kansas, Association-sponsored efforts were rewarded the support of a favorable court decision to the end that the board of education and the superintendent of public schools of that city were denied authority to bar a Negro girl, plaintiff, from the junior high school of that city to which she had applied and been denied admission on account of her color.[3] Commenting upon this particular case, the Association's literature credits it with throwing open "the doors of all junior high schools in Kansas to Colored students."[4]

Similar efforts were reported in progress in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,[5] and in Cleveland, Ohio.[6] In the action at Toms River, New Jersey, the issues are illustratively clear-cut. Reports of this situation revealed Negro children were excluded from certain public schools of this town during the spring of 1927. The Association's literature relates an instance wherein Negro children were being "herded" in a building described not only as being separate from those used by non-Negro children, but unfit for use as a school; being referred to as "dark and unsanitary."[7] The instant Toms

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[1] The Crisis, XXIX (November, 1924), 20.

[2] Ibid., p. 20. The Crisis, XXXV (October, 1928), 337. This latter reference reports the continuance of a legal fight against attempts to establish the principle of segregation of Negro and white children in the public schools of Indiana.

[3] The Crisis, XXIX (November, 1924), 21.

[4] The Crisis, XXX (March, 1925), 208.

[5] The Crisis, XXXI (March, 1926), 230.

[6] Ibid.

[7] The Crisis, XXXV (February, 1928), 50.

River situation was viewed as one which, if permitted to go uncontested, would establish a potential precedent for the extension of the principle of racial segregation in public school systems of the North with all the accompanying discriminating evils. Protest hearings were before the Governor of the state of New Jersey; the aid of the courts was sought; and hearings were obtained before the Commissioner of Education. These Association-led protests were rewarded with a policy-affecting victory: ". . . the Commissioner of Education ordered that Colored children be restored to the school from which they had been illegally excluded."[1]

One further reference appears worthy of inclusion as highly descriptive of the nature of the Association's concern and its strategy for implementing opposition to the invasion of racial dualism into nonslavery-traditioned areas. A situation was created in Gary, Indiana, wherein white students engaged in a "strike" in an attempt to bring about the exclusion of Negro students from the Emerson High School of that city. To ease the tensions inherent in this situation, the anticipated policy was to furnish a separate high school for Negro students. In late September, 1927, the city council of Gary passed an ordinance appropriating a sum of money for a "temporary" building to house the Negro students.[2] The Association assumed a leadership role in this complicated situation. It provided counsel and funds to assist its Gary branch in an effort to organize the resistance, and to aid in "the struggle for the American principle of equal opportunity and fair treatment regardless of color in American schools."[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Struggle for Equal Opportunity and Fair Treatment in American Schools," The Crisis, XXXV (January, 1928), 13.

[3] Ibid.

Fortified with the public sentiment of a dominant element of the Negroes of Gary, the Association used its characteristic strategy, which culminated in a resort to the court. On November 7, 1927, a temporary injunction was procured restraining the Gary city council from spending public funds as had been proposed.[1] The outcome of this phase of organized resistance against the extension of practices of racial dualism in the public schools of Indiana was hailed as a victory for the Association's leadership. The Gary city council rescinded the proposed appropriation. The temporary injunction was later made permanent, and the city of Gary paid the costs of the legal proceedings which had been brought by the Association.

By the close of the twenties, it was apparent that Negroes, by and large, were opposed to the extension of any policies that permitted practices of racial dualism in public education. And further, that under the leadership of certain organizations Negroes were prepared to wage a fight against such policies and practices to a conclusive showdown. For this trend of affairs, the Association appears due for the lion's share of the credit.

In sparking the opposition to the spread of racial dualism in public education, the Association's activities encountered certain intraracial resistance. One significant source of such resistance was often the Negro educator who had been invested with the leadership and promotion of a separate school for Negroes. The divergent views as expressed by certain Negro educational leaders and the Association's leadership throw into broad relief the basic attitudes of each. Significant for this writing is the fact that controversies between these two categories of racial leaders provide special

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[1] "The N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront," The Crisis, XXXV (January, 1928), 30.

opportunities for appraising the persistency and consistency of the Association's basic attitudes regarding the specific concern of this chapter.

The controversies surrounding the justification of such schools as Wilberforce University, Ohio; Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; and the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, Pennsylvania, are pertinent for the above purpose. Each of these educational institutions was designed for and almost totally patronized by Negroes. Yet, each existed in a state beyond the slavery-traditioned area. Each was considered by many to provide a needless precedent for a separate "Negro school" in an area where neither law nor tradition demanded such. Therefore, each could be viewed as a potential instrument for the spread of the practice of racial dualism in education.

For purposes of this writing, the controversies centering around the existence of one of the above-mentioned educational institutions will be surveyed in the pages immediately following. Attention will be focused upon the persistency and consistency of the Association's basic attitudes with respect to the containment of policies, and the prevention of procedures, perceived to facilitate the growth of racial dualism in public education. Of concern, also, will be the kind of intraracial strains engendered.

The Cheyney Training School for Teachers was established in 1832, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Originally it was a private school for training Negro teachers. In 1920, by an act of the Pennsylvania state legislature, this school became a normal school for Negro teachers. It was this act that aroused the opposition of the Association, especially its Philadelphia branch. The position of the opposition reflected a suspicion and a basic fear. The suspicion was aroused by the fact that the legislative bill to make possible

Cheyney's new status was introduced by a Pennsylvania state senator who had been a bitter foe of the Civil Rights Bill in the same legislature.[1] This suspicion was further enhanced by the fact that just six miles from the location of Cheyney there already existed a standard state normal school to which Negroes, along with other students, had traditionally been admitted. The basic fear was that such a state-supported normal school as the Cheyney institution (with its predominately Negro patronage) would mean the spreading of the pattern of racial segregation into Pennsylvania's public schools with its accompanying discrimination and injustices. Pennsylvania, as a state, had formerly been relatively free of such irritations. According to the Association's Philadelphia branch leadership:

> Cheyney, as constituted, is but the legal beginning of a complete segregated school system for the State of Pennsylvania. For, when the State has spent its money for the purpose of making segregated teachers, it will not hesitate to spend the necessary money to make the segregated schools, and will not hesitate to drive the Colored children from the graded schools that are established, into dislocated and ill-equipped buildings. . . .[2]

The perceived interrelationship between the extension of segregation into educational systems and its extension into other areas of human living was basic to the Association's concern for its containment. The Association's leadership reasoned that ". . . wherever there are separate schools, there always follow Jim-crow cars, segregation in public conveniences, and loss of political status."[3]

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[1] The Crisis, XXVI (May, 1923), 21.

[2] G. E. Dickerson and W. L. Imes, "The Cheyney Training School," The Crisis, XXV (May, 1923), 20-21.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

That element of the Negro group that tended to justify the existence of predominantly "Negro" schools in areas where neither law nor tradition demand such attempts tended to differentiate between "voluntary" and "forced" racial dualism. Possibly the most pertinent exponent of this point of view in the controversy was Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, then the principal of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers. He was a well-trained Negro educator, a Harvard graduate, 1903, Phi Beta Kappa.[1] He would justify Cheyney's existence on the grounds that it was "a voluntary undertaking developed from within by the finest type of interracial cooperation."[2] This erudite educator attempted to draw a distinction between "voluntary" segregation and "forced" segregation. This latter brand, in keeping with his dichotomy, was created and enforced by the state; he referred to it as "the vicious sort of enforced segregation against which every true American citizen must wage incessant war."[3] This same educator was critical of some of the pressure tactics often employed by organized protest groups. Of such, he wrote: "Indignation mass meetings, appeals to the passions of the crowd, general condemnation of the whole white race, bad manners and violent language turn back all the wheels of progress."[4]

Thus, the two sides of the Cheyney controversy have been outlined. The crux of this controversy apparently hinged upon the acceptance of the academic distinction between "forced" and "voluntary" segregation. On the one hand, the educator, Dr. Hill, recognized

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[1] The Crisis, XXVI (August, 1923), 169.

[2] Leslie Pinckney Hill, "The Cheyney Training School for Teachers," The Crisis, XXV (April, 1923), 252.

[3] Ibid., p. 254.

[4] Ibid.

such a distinction; he would justify the existence of a public-supported "Negro" school in an area where neither law nor tradition demanded. On the other hand, the Association's leadership, especially in the Philadelphia branch, failed to recognize a valid distinction between "forced" and "voluntary" segregation. In keeping with this latter point of view, the existence of predominantly "Negro" schools, where neither tradition nor law demanded it, was contrary to the best interest of those concerned. It presented a dangerous precedent that was potentially an instrument for the spread of the practices of racial segregation, with the accompanying evils in all walks of life. To this extent, the Association's persistent protests were consistent with its avowed basic attitudes. Despite continued vigorous protests, the Cheyney Training School for Teachers has continued to exist as a predominantly "Negro" school.[1] However, its emphasis on its role as a "Negro" school has been minimized.[2]

The thirties revealed that the Association's efforts to resist racial dualism in public education were intensified. This was true at all levels. It is especially apparent in school-sponsored sports activities. Through its branch at Pasadena, California, a formal protest was lodged with the board of education of that city over the

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[1] Personal interview with Miss Josephine G. Cooke, a student of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, November 27, 1953, confirmed the observation that Cheyney remains predominantly a "Negro" (patronized almost totally by Negroes) school.

[2] The same is true for Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and Wilberforce University, Ohio. This latter institution (originally church supported) has been separated; the liberal arts college has been redesignated as Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, and advertises: "Central State College is co-educational and interdenominational, and its students are selected solely on the basis of merit without reference to race or nationality." The Crisis, LX (November, 1953), 570.

exclusion of four Negro student members of the Padadena Junior College band from participation in the Rose Bowl festivities; the event was the Alabama versus Stanford football game. The Pasadena school authorities explained that they had been apprised of the Alabama school's attitude only the night before the game. Assurance was given that care would be taken to prevent the occurrence of such discrimination in the future.[1] Similar occurrences and protests marked the efforts of the Association throughout the thirties. The incidence of these irritations in sports seemed especially associated with the participation of schools beyond the slavery-traditioned states with those of the traditional slavery areas.[2]

By the forties, it is apparent that the Association's persistent resistance to the spread of racial segregation in public educational systems had become a dominant aspect of its master program of racial welfare for Negroes in the American society. Such a program catered to the thinking of a large segment of Negroes as a racial group. For this segment, freedom and progress have been traditionally identified with the "way" of the North and West. To yield to the spread of certain "southern ways" of life, intimately identified with Jim Crow provisions, was an ominous default. The extension of the "southern ways" in the provision of educational opportunities was perceived as jeopardizing the whole of the Negro's "gains" in racial welfare, and as closing to him his last vantage point of hope;

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[1] "Negro Participation in Band," The Crisis, XLII (March, 1935), 88.

[2] "Editorial: Discrimination in Collegiate Sports," The Crisis, XXXVII (January, 1930), 30 (N.Y.U. v. a Georgia team). The Crisis, XL (January, 1933), 18 (Iowa U. v. George Washington University of District of Columbia). The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 61 (re: universities of Illinois, Chicago, and Northwestern).

thereby confirming his direst suspicions regarding his future in the American way of life. Without submitting such a trend of thought as being characteristic of the whole of Negroes as a racial group, the widespread and continued support provided the program of the racial leadership group of immediate concern undoubtedly gives assurance of its existence and acceptance by a highly significant element.

Throughout the forties, the Association persistently opposed any efforts to inaugurate practices of racial segregation in any phase of public-supported educational opportunity. Even the exigencies of participation in the Second World War did not dim the dominance of this basic opposition. It was evident in its "unqualified opposition" to the proposed army air force plan to establish a "composite group" of Negro bombers and fighters as a segregated unit at the Tuskegee Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama. It unalterably opposed segregation in the post-Second World War air force or army.[1]

Racial segregation continued to be most severely denounced by the Association at the turn of the mid-century. Such segregation was portrayed as a system by means of which a large segment of the total citizenry of a given society or state was deemed unfit, and by the same token tended to be rendered unfit for human association and assimilation. This could be accomplished by custom alone, or by custom reinforced by law.[2] Therefore, to uproot and attack such an evil, it reasoned, a vigorous battle to contain segregation's cancerous growth must be waged concomitantly.

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[1] "Along the NAACP Battlefront," The Crisis, LII (November, 1945), 324.

[2] "Editorial: Segregation Blunted," The Crisis, LVII (November, 1950), 647.

Thus, efforts to contain the spread of policies that were perceived as contributing to the establishing and perpetuation of practices of racial segregation in public education have comprised a salient aspect of the Association's program for racial welfare. This body has persistently exerted its pressures to prevent and restrain racial dualism especially where neither law nor tradition demanded such. Its opposition has been consistent whether the supporters of educational policies in question were identified with the dominant racial group, or whether they were the educational leaders racially identified with the Negro group. Whereas ample evidence has been presented to reveal successful results of many of the protests against policies and practices deemed undesirable, the Association's efforts have not been adequate to prevent the growth of predominantly "Negro" schools beyond the slavery-traditioned areas of the American society. However, evidence does warrant the observation that the Association (including its branches) has exercised a restraining role; it has sought to alter educational policies and practices to the extent that they were interpreted as facilitating the spread of racial dualism; and that it has been a force articulating the opposition of a substantial segment of Negroes as a racial group to racial dualism. The latter has been interpreted to be both a source contributing to racial discrimination, and a force antithetical to that which is symbolical of "racial progress." The weight to be given the latter symbolical interpretation may be debatable, but the fact that it existed, and that it was a significant factor in motivating many of the Association's activities during this period is not to be denied. This line of thought will be further substantiated in the chapter, "Integration in Educational Opportunities," that follows.

CHAPTER XII

INTEGRATION IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In the light of the degree of success attributed to the Association's efforts to implement its master program, it was increasingly evident by the early forties that a more direct attack on racial segregation itself was the inevitable next step. Such an attack would necessitate the removal of legal supports from the policies that bred and perpetuated practices of racial dualism. Consequently, from the forties on an increasingly direct attack on legally sanctioned segregation in publicly supported education became the dominant trend of the Association's educational program. Describing and documenting the nature and extent of this trend constitute the chief concern of the immediate phase of this writing. Primary obstacles to be reckoned with by the Association's leadership during this phase of its program include: (1) laws and legal interpretation which justify policies that initiate and perpetuate practices of racial dualism in public education, (2) practices designed to flaunt or circumvent the spirit of court decisions, (3) financially exhausting court litigations, (4) apathy of certain key individuals due to vested interests, fear, inertia, or a combination of such, and (5) a social climate frought with mores and prejudices antagonistic toward desired changes.

Legal successes which were later to provide the essential precedents for a direct attack on policies and practices of racial dualism in public education were first established in the realm of higher educational opportunities. As early as 1933, an unsuccessful attempt was made to utilize formal court action in challenging racial

dualism in public education. The reference here is to the efforts of Thomas Hocutt, a Negro of Durham, North Carolina, who attempted to gain admission to the College of Pharmacy, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Hocutt's action had the Association's backing, but legal technicalities made it inadvisable for that body further to pursue his specific case.[1]

Of more significance as providing a discernible antecedent for a direct attack upon racial dualism in public education was the case litigated in the state of Maryland.[2] This Association case grew out of the denial by the University of Maryland of admission of one Donald Gaines Murray who had applied to enter its school of law for the term beginning September 25, 1935. The said Murray, a qualified young Negro, was a resident citizen of Baltimore, Maryland. His application for matriculation was denied by the registrar and the president of the said public institution. The action of the president was in turn ratified by the board of regents. At this point, Murray sought the advice and aid of the Association, which thereupon sought from a court a writ of mandamus to compel the university to admit the plaintiff, Murray. The actions of the school officials in this case were portrayed by the attorney general of the state of Maryland as being in keeping with the tradition, practice, and law of the state, thereby implying justification. Furthermore, at that time Maryland made provisions for certain "out-of-state scholarship" aid for the professional education of Maryland Negroes in institutions outside of the state of Maryland, mainly in northern and western

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[1] Charles H. Houston, "Cracking Closed University Doors," The Crisis, XLII (December, 1935), 364.

[2] University of Maryland v. Murray, 169 U. S. 478 (1935).

states.[1] The outcome of this case was that the Baltimore city court ordered the university in question to admit Donald Gaines Murray to its school of law for the term beginning September 25, 1935, pending an appeal of the case.[2] In the appeal, the decision of the Maryland Court of Appeals was favorable to Murray's cause; a precedent was established of a lower court and an appeals court sustaining the rights of Negroes under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution to utilize educational facilities equal to those provided other United States citizens. The Association's persistent orientation, namely, opposition to racial dualism and to the denial of educational opportunity solely on the basis of color, was thus undoubtedly rewarded.

Mary White Ovington, one of the great pioneering spirits of the Association, reports in her book that in 1938 Donald Gaines Murray, the Association plaintiff in the above case, was graduated from the University of Maryland's law school. And further, that he received his diploma from the hands of the attorney general, who had represented the opposition to his admission.[3]

The great significance of the legal victory challenging the traditional pattern of exclusion of Negroes from the dominant state sources of professional and graduate training opportunities is spotlighted by an editorial of a leading professional Negro journal. In a terse summary statement of the availability of graduate and

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[1] Such "out-of-state scholarships" will be discussed more fully later in this present chapter.

[2] The Crisis, XLII (August, 1935), 239.

[3] Mary White Ovington, The Walls Came Tumbling Down, p. 268. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947.

professional educational opportunities then available to Negroes in areas of racial dualism, the editorial revealed:

> . . . there is not a single state-supported institution of higher learning in any one of the 17 of the 19 states which require separation by law, to which a Negro may go to pursue graduate and professional education.[1]

The more immediate focus of the Association's legal attacks in these early cases was on the established policy of certain states not to provide at public expense any graduate or professional training opportunities for Negro college graduates. This reflected its position that "the Negro will never be able to take his rightful place in the nation as long as he is systematically denied the educational facilities with which to equip himself. . . ."[2] However, it will later become apparent that these early litigations themselves become contributing factors in crystalizing opinion favoring a policy of direct attack upon racial dualism itself.[3]

Obviously encouraged by the sense of "victory" in the University of Maryland v. Murray case, the next move was an attempt to utilize similar techniques to gain the admittance of Negroes to other state universities in areas of racial dualism. Illustrative of this procedure was the suit filed in effort to have Lloyd L. Gaines, a Negro, admitted to the University of Missouri School of Law, located at Columbia, Missouri.[4] Gaines had received his A.B. degree

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[1] Charles H. Thompson, "The Courts and the Negro Separate School," Journal of Negro Education, IV (July, 1935), 290.

[2] Charles H. Houston, "Educational Inequalities Must Go!" The Crisis, XLII (October, 1935), 300.

[3] The Crisis, XLV (January, 1938), 14.

[4] The Crisis, XLIII (March, 1936), 91.

in 1935, and in September, 1935, he applied for admission to the law school of the University of Missouri. He was denied admission on the grounds that he was a Negro, the school in question being for non-Negroes only. The Missouri courts were less favorable to the Association's efforts than were the Maryland courts. Gaines' petition for a writ of mandamus to compel the University of Missouri to admit him to its law school was denied. Missouri's lower court's action was affirmed by the state's court of appeals.[1] In substance, the latter ruled that in view of the fact that it was "contrary to the constitution, laws and public policy of the State to admit a Negro as a student in the University of Missouri," and since the state of Missouri already provided for separate schools, the course of action to be pursued by Gaines was to seek to compel the opening of a law school at the state's separate university for Negroes; i.e., Lincoln "University" at Jefferson City, Missouri.[2] Such a decision was irreconcilable with the core attitude of the Association's master program which did not accept an interpretation that a state had the right to exclude qualified citizens, in this instance a qualified Negro citizen, from a state university on the grounds of racial identity. Rather, such action was held in conflict with the rights and protection granted in the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[3]

The Gaines case was appealed, and after years (1935-38) of costly litigation, a United States Supreme Court opinion favorable to

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[1] See this case: 113 S. W. (2d) 783 (1937).

[2] The Crisis, XLV (January, 1938), 14, 279.

[3] "Lloyd Gaines Case vs. the University of Missouri," The Crisis, XLV (December, 1938), 398.

the Association plaintiff was handed down:[1] The state of Missouri must furnish Negroes an opportunity to study law in a state-supported institution. Thus, an additional precedent was established supporting the Association's contention that the provision of a state-supported law school for one element of its citizenry and failing to make available similar training for another qualified element of its citizenry was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[2]

Among the significant effects upon public educational policies and practices for Negroes attributable to the success of the legal action in this case was a reaffirmation with added emphasis of the previously dominant United States Supreme Court opinion affecting this area, that racial separation is legal only when there is provided equality of provisions between the racial groups concerned.[3] Also, brought into renewed prominence was the classic statement of Mr. Justic Harlan often cited as justifying state control of certain school policies and related practices:

> . . . any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools [schools maintained by state taxation; separate but equal] cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land.[4]

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[1] Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada, 305 U. S. 377 (1938).

[2] "University of Missouri Case Won," The Crisis, XLVI (January, 1939), 10.

[3] The principle of "separate but equal" was made valid in the precedent-establishing cases: Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537, 544; Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U. S. 78.

[4] Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education, 175 U. S. 528, 545.

Of course, the basic and persistent contention of the Association's position was that wherever the states maintained opportunities available to some of its qualified citizenry and denied such to other equally qualified citizenry, that such action sanctioned by the state constituted "a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land," the United States Constitution; to wit, Amendment Fourteen.

Southern states, in an effort to meet requirements of the letter of the Court's decree in this Gaines case, speeded up their efforts to set up certain graduate and professional courses at their specially designated state colleges for Negroes.[1]

Fortified by interim "successes" and by increasing community support, the latter forties witnessed the Association valiant attack in the Texas v. Sweatt case. The situation in this series of litigations began with the failure on the part of the University of Texas to admit Heman Marion Sweatt, a Negro, to its law school, there being no other source of such training available to him. The Association's aid was sought and brought to bear in Sweatt's behalf. A writ of mandamus was sought in the local court at Austin, Texas. In essence, the court ruled that in the absence of an equal but separate law school, the University of Texas in denying Sweatt had in effect denied him the equal protection of the laws under the United States Constitution. However, the operation of the court's decree was stayed for six months during which time Texas filed a motion alleging the establishment of an "equal but separate" law school

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[1] For a thorough and detailed analysis of the probable impact of the Gaines decision on educational policies and practices, see Henry J. McGuinn, "The Courts and Equality of Educational Opportunity," Journal of Negro Education, VIII (April, 1939), 150-63.

for Negroes. Thereupon, the court denied the writ of mandamus to force the admission of Sweatt into the dominant Texas University Law School.

The Association appealed the Sweatt case to the civil court of appeals of Texas. Differing sharply with the stand taken by the attorney general of Texas, the Association's leadership held that before a state may allege a right to segregation, it must first show the existence of facilities completely equal in all respects to those offered other students. It held that in actual practice there is little or no actual difference between segregation and discrimination; the doctrine of "separate but equal" was attacked as "legal fiction" and as a "judicial myth."[1] Furthermore, it denied the existence of a rational basis of racial classification for school purposes, and strongly contended:

> It is impossible to have the equality required by the Fourteenth Amendment in a public school system which relegates citizens of a disadvantaged racial minority group to separate schools.[2]

At this stage, it was becoming increasingly evident that opposition to segregated facilities on the higher educational level was rapidly crystalizing as a basic attitude characterizing the Association's efforts. The "separate but equal" Negro law school which Texas authorities hastily made available for Negroes was wholly unacceptable to the Association, despite reported assertions of some Texas educational policy makers that such facilities would give Negroes the same, or even better, education than that of the great University of Texas.[3]

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[1] The Crisis, LIV (May, 1947), 149.

[2] The Crisis, LIV (November, 1947), 342.

[3] Ibid., p. 343.

The Association's official organ presented the following description of Texas' legal training opportunities set up for Negroes (1947): Three-room law school located in a basement of a building in downtown section of Austin, Texas; later moved to Houston, Texas Admittedly, there was no fair comparison in money value between this improvised law school and the University of Texas Law School. No private offices existed either for faculty or dean. Yet, this law school set-up was obviously designed to comply with the letter of the order given by the District Court of Travis County, Texas, to provide a course of legal instruction "substantially equal" to that provided at the University of Texas Law School.[1]

On the other hand, the same source provided the following profile of the University of Texas Law School (1947) to which Sweatt sought admission: Its staff included sixteen full-time and three part-time professors; its library contained approximately 65,000 volumes; the school was housed in modern beautiful buildings; it was an institution of many years of accreditation, with accrued prestige in the community and nation; and with an allotted budget of several hundreds of thousands of dollars.[2]

The above portrayals represent a few of the differentials that the Association felt it difficult hastily to duplicate, or even render "substantially equal." Such comparisons also bring into focus the problem of establishing some criteria of equality should the "separate but equal" doctrine be perpetuated and implemented in the area of educational opportunities.

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[1] The Crisis, LVII (May, 1950), 290.

[2] Ibid.

The Sweatt case finally reached the United States Supreme Court, which, on June 5, 1950, unanimously rendered a decision favorable in many respects to the Association's basic program. This highest legal body held the segregated professional and graduate education (law) offered by the state of Texas to be unlawful because not equal.[1] Despite the fact that the highest court sidestepped the "separate but equal" doctrine, the decision as rendered was hailed as a strategic victory, to be of significant utility in an eventual attack on the whole question of statutory racial segregation.[2]

Further, the fact that the Court did not find "substantial equality" between the two law schools in question ". . . in those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school"[3] was hailed as highly significant. These intangible qualities included such factors as: (1) reputation of the faculty, (2) experience of the administration, (3) position and influence of the alumni, (4) school's standing in the community, and (5) its traditions and prestige.[4]

According to the Association's literature, the ruling doomed to failure efforts on the part of certain states to escape their obligations to their citizens in this area by establishing mushroom professional schools. Such decisions were rendering it increasingly apparent that states either must establish professional and graduate schools that could be proved substantially equal, or they must open their dominant institutions of higher learning to qualified Negroes.

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[1] Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U. S. 629 (1950).

[2] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVII (July, 1950), 442-43.

[3] Ibid., p. 442.

[4] Ibid., p. 446.

With respect to strategy, the Sweatt case brings into prominen the Association's technique of utilizing the testimony of specialists, widely recognized experts in their chosen professions, to strengthen its case. By so doing, both a legal and sociological attack could be made upon the doctrine of "separate but equal" as applied to higher education. During the progress of the present case, Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean of the School of Education at Howard University; Dr. Earl G. Harrison of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; Professor Malcolm P. Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School; and Dr. Robert Redfield, also of the University of Chicago, were liste among the experts who gave testimony.[1]

While the Sweatt case was in process of litigation, the Association was also lending its support to several other cases in its reinforced challenge to traditional policies and practices that would deny equality of educational opportunities to Negroes. In Oklahoma, the case of Ada Lois Sipuel, a Negro seeking admission to the law school of the University of Oklahoma, received support of this body. This case is mainly similar to the Gaines case already presented in this writing. It is cited here mainly because the United States Supreme Court in rendering its opinion in this case introduced the factor of time limitation on compliance.[2] This was viewed as strategically advantageous to the Association's cause. The state of Oklahoma was ordered to provide Ada Lois Sipuel with the educational opportunity sought "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."[3] Despite the apparent clarity of this highest Court order,

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[1] The Crisis, XVII (May, 1950), 290.

[2] Sipuel v. Oklahoma, 332 U. S. 631 (1948).

[3] "Editorial," The Crisis, LV (February, 1948), 41.

it did not prove conclusive. Oklahoma established a makeshift separate Negro law school; the Association's plaintiff refused to enter it. She was finally admitted to the dominant law school of the state, but on a segregated basis.[1]

The continued resistance on the part of the University of Oklahoma to the admission of qualified Negroes as students made it apparent that the legal support to such a practice must be attacked. With G. W. McLaurin, a retired Negro school teacher, as plaintiff, a preliminary injunction against the continued rejection of qualified Negro applicants at the university in question was filed. The Association's legal leaders sought a decision invalidating Oklahoma's segregation laws in so far as they prohibited qualified Negroes from entering the University of Oklahoma graduate schools.[2]

In pursuing this case, the Association's legal staff employed an additional technique new to their repertoire. Their desired relief was sought before a special three-judge federal court. This procedure was obviously employed to expedite the hearings, especially to minimize the long and expensive delays previously involved in getting cases up to the highest court. Cases in this category get precedence and are expedited at the earliest practical date.[3] Furthermore, involving questions of a constitutional nature as they do, they may be appealed directly to the United States Supreme Court.

The special three-judge federal court in the instant case ruled favorably for the Association's cause. Mr. G. W. McLaurin, the Association-sponsored plaintiff, was admitted to the University

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVI (July, 1949), 201.

[2] The Crisis, LV (September, 1948), 274.

[3] Ibid., pp. 274-75.

of Oklahoma as its first Negro student. State laws prohibiting co-education of the races insofar as they prevented the admission of a Negro student to the particular graduate school in question were invalidated.[1] Unfortunately, the spirit of the admission of Negroes to the dominant state university was yet unsatisfactorily complied with. McLaurin, for example, though "admitted" was still circumscribed and forced to yield to segregation within the graduate school. This failure on the part of policy makers of the University of Oklahoma to permit the said McLaurin to exercise the rights and privileges of full status as a graduate student of that university incurred the Association's opposition; relief was sought before the highest court.

On June 5, 1950, the United States Supreme Court, concerned with both the McLaurin v. University of Oklahoma and the Sweatt v. University of Texas cases, unanimously held the segregated professional and graduate educational opportunities offered by the state of Oklahoma to be unlawful because of the inequality of the offerings for racial groups. The same court also found that the "ceremonial" segregation of Mr. McLaurin handicapped him "in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction."[2]

Though, in its economy of decision, the highest court did not see fit at that time to overrule the Plessy v. Ferguson decision (1896), and its "separate but equal" doctrine, the Association's leaders were certain that this doctrine's applicability to graduate and professional education had been nullified.[3]

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[1] The Crisis, LV (November, 1948), 339.

[2] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVII (July, 1950), 442.

[3] Ibid., p. 444.

Thus, as the second half of the present century begins to unfold its lures, the long, persistent, and valiant efforts of the Association to challenge and obliterate certain aspects of traditional racial dualism and discrimination in public education were showing tangible returns, at least in the realm of higher education. Having attained a degree of success in this area, the course of its future campaign, a direct attack on segregation itself in public education on all levels, seems inevitable.

Less this phase of the Association's "struggle" be oversimplified by the writer's selectivity, at this point attention will be directed toward some of the major obstacles confronted in the body's efforts at implementation of its "victories" at the various stages. Among the more pertinent must be included: out-of-state scholarships, the rise of Negro graduate schools, southern regionalism, and, of course, the constant psychological factors of fear, inertia, and threats. It will be shown that each of these has been viewed with suspicion by the Association. Each has been viewed as an attempt to circumvent or to prevent the attainment of the ultimate goals toward which the Association's efforts have been geared.

Out-of-state scholarships refer to the financial grants made by states to Negroes to aid in defraying the costs of securing graduate and professional training not available to them within their respective states. The courses to be pursued had to be a part of the curricula of the dominant state institutions to which Negroes were not admitted, and they could not be a part of the curricula of the state's Negro institutions, if out-of-state scholarship assistance was to be awarded. Theoretically, these scholarships were to make up the differential in costs between amounts paid by a Negro student to attend a dominant institution of his own state and one outside his state, mainly in northern or western states, in which he could be

accepted. Sixteen states were reported having some form of this arrangement.[1]

Such out-of-state scholarships for graduate study arrangements were opposed by the Association. They were viewed variously as devices to perpetuate and extend policies and practices of racial segregation in public education; as efforts to circumvent rulings of the United States Supreme Court with respect to certain rights of Negroes for educational opportunities; and as means of exiling Negro scholars from their states. The state of Missouri, for example, during the twenties had made certain provisions for a type of out-of-state scholarship; to wit, section 9622 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri (1929):

> Pending the full development of the Lincoln University [Missouri's separate institution for Negroes], the board of curators shall have the authority to arrange for the attendance of Negro residents of the state of Missouri at the university of any adjacent state to take any course or to study any subjects provided for at the state university of Missouri, and which are not taught at the Lincoln University and to pay the reasonable tuition fees for such attendance. . . .[2]

Thus, by such a device, prior to the Gaines v. Canada (1938) decision, Missouri was enabled to prevent the enrollment of Negroes in her dominant state university and thereby to perpetuate the pattern of racial segregation in public education. Furthermore, should the demand warrant it, that is, should the number of Negroes applying for a specific course make it financially more advantageous to set up the course at the separate Negro university (Lincoln University

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[1] Jessie P. Guzman et al. (editors), The Negro Yearbook, pp. 230-31. New York: William H. Wise and Co., Inc., 1952.

[2] "Opinion of the Court," Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, et al., 305 U. S. 342-43.

of Missouri) than to provide the out-of-state scholarships, then such course or department could be opened at the special Negro university. In this process, the pattern of racial segregation in public education would then be extended. Awareness of these possibilities was apparently a basic factor in the Association's suspicion of out-of-state scholarships and their relations to equality of educational opportunities for Negroes. This suspicion was enhanced as southern states hastily adopted out-of-state scholarship provisions following the admission by mandamus of a Negro as a student to a traditionally all-white southern state university (U. of Maryland v. Murray) during 1935-36. By the latter part of 1936, six states, including West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Kentucky, were reported as providing such out-of-state scholarship provisions.[1] This number was to increase to sixteen by 1951.[2]

To the extent that out-of-state scholarships were being resorted to in order to avoid the problem of providing graduate and professional training for qualified Negroes within the borders of their respective home states, and at the same time to comply with the "separate but equal" doctrine in the provision of educational equality,[3] the Gaines v. Canada (1938) decision was hailed as sounding their death knell. The highest court in its majority opinion concluded

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[1] The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 50.

[2] Jessie P. Guzman et al. (editors), The Negro Yearbook, op. cit., p. 231.

[3] The Crisis, LIV (June, 1947), 181, reports unsuccessful attempts of qualified Negro applicants to gain admission to law and medical schools of Louisiana. Circuit Court of Appeals (first circuit), State of Louisiana, supported the decision: petitioners (Negroes) must use out-of-state scholarship aid plan.

in substance that the state practice of permitting members of one racial group opportunities to pursue, for example, a legal education within their own state and compelling qualified members of another racial group to go outside their state for such training was a "discrimination repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment";[1] that ". . . payment of tuition fees in another State does not remove the discrimination."[2] And furthermore, that ". . . equality of legal right must be maintained within State's own jurisdiction."[3] Thus, the Association through its sponsorship of this Gaines case[4] was able to get certain statutory bases invalidated for state policies of providing a type of "equality" of educational opportunity for Negroes by means of out-of-state scholarships.

The Association viewed out-of-state scholarships not only as being in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, but also as being means of "exiling ambitious young Negro scholars" from their respective home states.[5] As stipends compensating such action they were considered far from adequate:

> These scholarships, however, are mere pittances and no substitute on any conceivable basis for their [Negro graduate students] exclusion from the state university.[6]

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[1] Gaines v. Canada (1938), op. cit., p. 344.

[2] Ibid., p. 348.

[3] Ibid., p. 350.

[4] Thurgood Marshall, "Equal Justice Under Law," The Crisis, LVI (July, 1939), 201. The Association's chief legal counsel referred to this Gaines decision as, "the first clear statement of the law by the United States Supreme Court on this [educational opportunities of Negroes] question. . . ."

[5] The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 50. The Crisis, XLVI (February, 1939), 12, 18.

[6] The Crisis, XLVI (February, 1939), 18.

Edwin R. Embree, then president of the Rosenwald Fund and certainly one of the most informed authorities on problems of Negro education, was reported to have urged that if out-of-state scholarships were to be awarded, they be not less than $400 each.[1] However, the Association's top legal advisor later wrote concerning one of the more liberal of the scholarship states:

> The state of Missouri has poured and is pouring millions of dollars into the state university for the education of white students, which works out a per capita expenditure of nearly a thousand dollars for the white students, while it banishes its Negro students with a pittance never over two hundred dollars per student.[2]

It is now apparent that the Association maintained an attitude of basic opposition to the resort to out-of-state scholarships as a policy to be pursued by states in providing Negro students graduate and professional training. By means of lengthy court litigation, the body was able to secure legal "victories" which invalidated the basic statutory justification of such scholarships. These out-of-state scholarships were variously viewed as efforts to obstruct the Negro's attainment of the equal protection of the laws and as attempts to circumvent court victories in behalf of equality of educational opportunities for Negroes. They were further interpreted as means of perpetuating and extending patterns of racial dualism and their accompanying discriminations in public education, as well as forcefully exiling young Negro scholars from their home states, and that without adequate financial compensation.

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[1] The Crisis, XLIV (February, 1937), 49.

[2] Charles H. Houston, "A Challenge to Negro College Youth," The Crisis, XLV (January, 1938), 15. Also, see Charles H. Houston, "Educational Inequalities Must Go!" The Crisis, XLII (October, 1935), 301.

The separate state college for Negroes has long been tolerated in certain sections of the United States mainly as a necessary evil. However, the trend to extend them to Negro graduate schools which hastily appeared following the mandate admission of a Negro student to a southern dominant state university (Donald Gaines Murray at the University of Maryland, 1935-36) met with certain Association suspicions, if not open opposition. Such Association response adhered to its basic opposition to the extension of racial segregation in public educational opportunities at any level. Following its "victory" in getting a Negro admitted as a student in a dominant southern state university, the Association pledged by resolution: "We pledge ourselves to press forward with increased vigor the struggle against jim-crow and segregated educational opportunities in all institutions of public learning wherever they exist."[1] Also, efforts to create racially segregated schools were specifically condemned.[2]

A rather interesting movement that showed promise of flourishing in the South, and which the Association viewed as a threat to its program of achieving equality of educational opportunities for Negroes, was termed southern regionalism. This movement involved agreements among several southern states to maintain certain regional graduate and professional schools. According to Professor Howard W. Odum, one of its foremost exponents, regionalism is a "tool for social planning" which takes into consideration "the rights, privileges, resources of people of large areas, and stresses self-government and

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[1] "Resolution Taken at the Conference, Baltimore, Md., June 29 - July 5, 1936," The Crisis, XLIII (September, 1936), 277.

[2] "Resolution Adopted at Pacific Coast Conference," The Crisis, LII (January, 1945), 20-21.

self-development as opposed to coercive centralized power."[1] However, the version of regionalism that is the concern for this writing grew out of a conference of southern governors meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, October, 1947. These governors unanimously passed a resolution calling for the establishment of regional schools for the separate higher and professional education of Negro and white students. This action was viewed by the Association as an attempt on the part of the South to circumvent a Supreme Court ruling defining the responsibility of a state to furnish equal educational facilities for all its citizens (Gaines v. U. of Missouri). And further, it was viewed as an attempt on the part of the South to provide a "practical" solution to the problem then enhanced by litigations pending in several southern states for the admission of Negroes to tax-supported professional schools.[2]

Toles, who made an intensive study of southern regionalism as a doctoral dissertation, concluded: "The Southern Regional Education Board grew out of the South's desire to maintain segregation in higher education and at the same time comply with Supreme Court mandates"; and further, ". . . segregation was supported through the regional arrangements of the Board."[3]

At its Thirty-Ninth Annual Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, June 22-27, 1948, the Association's leaders attacked the regional

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[1] Howard W. Odum, The Way of the South, p. 312. New York: Macmillan Company, 1947.

[2] "Editorial: Unreal Realism," The Crisis, LIV (December, 1947), 361.

[3] Caesar F. Toles, "Regionalism in Southern Higher Education," p. 167. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, University of Michigan, 1953.

college plan as an effort to maintain segregation in state schools. They pledged by resolution: "opposition to segregated education and to the regional plan of the southern governors. . . ."[1]

The following year the Association in behalf of Miss Esther McCready brought its first test of the legality of the southern regional school plan operation. Miss McCready's application for admission to the school of nursing of the University of Maryland had been refused. Maryland had joined in a contract with the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education; this enabled her to send Negro students to the nursing school of the Meharry Medical School, the Negro regional school unit located in Nashville, Tennessee. The Association opposed such a regional school arrangement, contending that it discriminated against Negroes. The latter were to be sent out of their home state to take courses offered at the state university, while the only white students sent out of the state were those who desired to pursue courses not offered at their state university.[2] This stage of the litigation was lost to the Association's cause, but the case was appealed to the Court of Appeals of Maryland. The latter unanimously ruled favorably in behalf of the Association's plaintiff, Esther McCready, upholding her right to admission to the University of Maryland School of Nursing. This court action was viewed as demonstrating that "the regional education compact can not be used as an excuse for excluding qualified Negro students from existing educational facilities within a state."[3]

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[1] The Crisis, LV (August, 1948), 245.

[2] The Crisis, LVI (January, 1950), 38.

[3] The Crisis, LVII (June, 1950), 380.

As a final appraisal, it appears that the Association's opposition was not directed at regionalism as a principle, but rather toward regional educational centers when set up by states for purposes of evading the spirit of the United States Supreme Court rulings against racial discrimination in higher education.[1]

As for the psychological obstacles of fear and inertia on the part of many persons strategically involved, and threats on the part of many representatives of the dominant group, the writer finds them no more exaggerated than one would reasonably expect under such conditions. They have been concomitants of the entire "crusade" or campaign spearheaded by the Association's program. Since evidence of such factors has already been cited, and as these factors assume no new significance during this present phase, only three observations will be emphasized here. First, there is the possibility that the psychological factors may increase in degree of intensity as the more direct attack on racial segregation in public education materializes. Second, the psychological factors mentioned exercise no apparent deterrent effect upon the Association's pursuit of its objectives. And third, if anything, they served to inspire an element of constructive caution, to emphasize the value of thoroughness in plotting the course of attack, and to enhance the challenge of the pursuit of the Association's ultimate objectives. The validity of these observations is further borne out in the next phase of its educational program.

At this stage of this writing, it is apparent that the efforts of the Association to effect certain educational policies and practices determining the extent and conditions of public educational opportunities

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[1] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVII (October, 1950), 584, 586.

for Negroes are increasingly evident. The resort to the courts has rewarded the body's program with enhanced potency, especially on the level of higher education. By the end of the first half of the present century, Negro students had gained the right of admission to the graduate and professional schools of the dominant state universities throughout the South[1] with the exceptions of those in the states of Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. Even these states had not been omitted in the Association's efforts.

The Association's program had successfully confronted attempts to jeopardize the potency of its efforts by such circumventions as included in the programs of out-of-state scholarships, the mushrooming of Negro graduate schools, southern regionalism, and the constant psychological factors of fear, inertia, and threats. The following pages will reveal the full culmination of the Association's efforts into a direct attack on racial segregation in and of itself as an act of discrimination; and the principle of "separate but equal" as an instrument incompatible with aims of equality of opportunity in public school systems of a democratic society.

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[1] Such opportunities were not traditionally denied by law in other sections of the United States.

CHAPTER XIII

DIRECT ATTACK ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION

By the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, it had finally happened. The long and persistently crystalizing trend of increasing opposition to racial segregation in public education had matured into a positive program demanding complete integration in educational opportunities. Henceforth, the Association was to use a basic policy and strategy of direct, head-on, attack upon racial segregation in public education. It was to concentrate its major efforts toward destroying the legal support which buttressed the policies and practices of racial dualism in American public education. There can hardly be any doubt that Association-sponsored court "victories" which had been instrumental in gaining the admission of Negro students to the graduate and professional schools were prime factors in motivating this new strategy of "direct attack."

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, in states where racial segregation in education was illegal, or at least not demanded by law, the Association had already favored and sought racial integration in educational opportunities. For example, in New Jersey, its Camden branch was reported taking a leading role in efforts to integrate Negro pupils and teachers in the public school system of its area.[1] The activities of the East St. Louis, Illinois, branch provide another example.[2] The objective in these instances was to modify the public

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[1] The Crisis, LIII (November, 1946), 343.

[2] The Crisis, LVII (March, 1950), 174.

education policy to the extent that all children (including Negroes) could enroll in the school nearest their respective homes.

In Indiana, the Association branches were reported to have assumed a leading role in successfully bringing pressure upon the state legislature to pass legislation abolishing segregated schools in the state.[1]

Racial segregation by gerrymandering the school district lines was attacked by the Association. This practice consisted of irregularly and arbitrarily drawing school district lines for purposes of selecting school memberships, rather than permitting selection by geographical proximity. This practice has been the source of many "Negro schools" in areas where racial segregation was "illegal." The Association reported successful attacks on similar practices in such cities as Hempstead[2] and Freeport,[3] Long Island. These are but selected examples which reflect the possible roles of legal and social action techniques of the Association's local branches in effort to encourage and facilitate the implementation of racial integration in public educational systems. The parent body held this approach to be a "reasonable approach."[4] Its officials made available their services for drawing up formal plans for such integration and for maintaining racial good will; they cooperated with other community leaders to attain these ends. The new dedication was clear: "The N.A.A.C.P. must uphold the right of any individual to apply for

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[1] The Crisis, LVI (May, 1949), 148-49.

[2] The Crisis, LVII (January, 1950), 39.

[3] The Crisis, LVII (March, 1950), 174-75.

[4] The Crisis, LVII (April, 1950), 211.

entrance to any school, especially in states . . . where laws made segregation in the schools illegal."[1]

Of course it was to be in areas where laws made segregation legal and respectable that the drive for racial integration in educational opportunity was to be most difficult. This was to be especially true in the South where laws and tradition had long dictated that racial dualism was legal, respectable, and "right." Yet, in November, 1950, the official organ of the Association announced the projected course of action of that body for the better educational opportunities for Negroes to be to break down racial segregation in public schools where "the inequalities are the most glaring," and where it expected "to encounter the greatest resistance."[2] The Association's Department of Public Relations had already decried the doctrine of "separate but equal," and had emphasized its repudiation as an "unwarranted deviation from the principle of equality under law" provided in the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.[3]

In addition to the calculated opposition to be encountered from the dominant group, the Association also expected opposition to its all-out attack on racial segregation in public school systems to stem from an element of the Negro group itself:

> Inertia, fear, white pressure, and vested interest in the segregated system are going to make some Negroes, among whom will be many teachers, throw their weight against any suits attacking the discriminatory system.[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVII (November, 1950), 646.

[3] Edna B. Kerin, "Separate Is Not Equal," The Crisis, LVII (May, 1950), 288.

[4] "Editorial," The Crisis, LVII (November, 1950), 646.

To what extent this anticipation of the opposition of Negro teachers to the progress of the Association's campaign for equality of educational opportunity for Negroes reflected a genuine concern for a probable force of resistance, and to what extent such was utilized as mere strategy to motivate, this writer is not sure. At practically every phase in the implementation of the Association's program such alarms have gone out. Yet the success of every stage has included evidence of valiant cooperation on the part of Negro teachers in the main. Rather, the writer interprets these attacks-in-anticipation as reflecting the insecure position of the Negro teacher as a professional worker. Teachers constitute the largest category of the Negro professional class, but in most instances they are still in a highly insecure situation. The vast majority, save the token number in the North and West, of Negro teachers are members of racially segregated school systems.[1] They are faced by strains of maintaining the "good will" of the dominant white element in ultimate control of their job situation, and at the same time maintaining the "good graces," or at least not too openly incurring its ill will, of the Negro community in which their status must be recognized and exhibited. They may even gain a type of job security by means of their relations to the white "powers," but to translate their job status into community status the forces of the Negro community must be reckoned with. Thus, the crux of the strains, and a probable explanation for Negro teachers' vulnerability to attacks-in-anticipation by certain pressure groups.

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[1] One southern state alone (e.g., Virginia) employs as many Negro teachers in her public schools as are employed in all of the thirty-one nonsegregated states. Cited: Davis v. County School Board, 103 F. Supp. 337 (340) (1952).

On the other hand, the writer is equally aware of the possibilities of vested interests inherent in certain professional and class aspirations that may run counter to the objectives of the racial group as a whole, its perceived symbols of recognition, of well-being, and of progress. The interplay of these often conflicting forces would obviously be expected to be enhanced by any course of action challenging such a large segment of societal functioning as do the Association's actions, especially its drive for racial integration in public school systems.

In pursuing its policy of direct attack, the Association was emphatic, admitting "no patience" with what it termed the "gradualism school,"[1] whether Negro or white. It specifically emphasized:

> There can be no equality in education in a bi-racial school system. . . . And in all future legal cases in the field of education the Association is going to ask for non-segregated schools, not minimum programs. . . .[2]

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[1] Without attempting its definition, the writer has observed that "gradualism" connotes a policy of leadership that is often held in disrepute by many of the more urbane and sophisticated Negroes; they desire a more dynamic and militant type of leadership. "Gradualism" is denounced as being unduly conciliatory; as a slow, piecemeal approach characterized by an unwholesome willingness to compromise to the Negro's perceived disadvantage; and as placing extreme emphasis upon the efficacy of the "good will" of the dominant group as the panacea of all racial disabilities. In the instant situation, the "gradualists" would, no doubt, have Negroes content themselves with having obtained opportunities for graduate and professional training in the South. They would confine their actions in the immediate future to improving educational opportunities on the elementary, secondary, and undergraduate levels, but without attempting to disturb the traditional pattern of racial segregation characteristic of these levels, especially in the South.

[2] "Editorial: Integration in Education," The Crisis, LVII (November, 1950), 646-47.

This new policy was in keeping with recommendations made by an informal meeting of the presidents of the Association's state conferences held during the forty-first annual convention of the national body. It had already been included in a resolution passed by a national conference of the Association's lawyers in June, 1950,[1] and was confirmed by a ruling of the Association's board of directors, October 9, 1950.[2] All branches were instructed to insist on the new policy, stressing that no relief other than education on a non-segregated basis would henceforth be acceptable as such.[3] Such forthright instructions leave no doubts regarding the body's projected course of action.

Through its official organ the Association declared: "Segregation has always meant inequality, and no matter how many millions the southern states might spend they can never equalize jim crow educational facilities."[4] In the Preamble to the resolutions adopted at its forty-second annual convention, "the abolition of enforced segregation in all public life" was cited as being of primary concern. Segregation was portrayed as:

> . . . the evil root from which stem all the sinister manifestations of bigotry, of intolerance, of racism, of cynical defeatism. Not until this evil is eradicated from American life will we attain a society of freedom, justice, equality and security for every American.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 650.

[2] Ibid., p. 647.

[3] Ibid., p. 653.

[4] "Editorial: Segregated School Decision," The Crisis, LVIII (June-July, 1951), 395.

[5] "Preamble, Resolutions Adopted by the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P. at Atlanta, Georgia, June 30, 1951," The Crisis, LVIII (August-September, 1951), 475.

This convention reaffirmed its faith in, and support of, the completely antisegregation stand in the field of public education taken by its leaders. It also specifically stated by resolution:

> We urge all school authorities to select qualified teachers and other school officials on the basis of their qualifications, training and experience without regard to their race, creed, color or national origin.[1]

In examining the nature and extent of the Association's frontal attack of racial segregation in public education, it is apparent that two varying interpretations of the United States Constitution were being brought into conflict. On the one hand, those favoring racial segregation in public education held the control of educational opportunity to be a matter of state jurisdiction inherent in the powers of a state to legislate with respect to safety, morals, and health. This point of view was supported in the language of the Supreme Court in 1911.

> Among the powers of the State not surrendered--which power therefore remains with the State--is the power to so regulate the relative rights and duties of all within its jurisdiction as to guard the public morals, the public safety, and the public health, as well as to promote the public convenience and the common good.[2]

With this group, the implementation of the doctrine of "separate but equal" (Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896) was the necessary remedy to be sought.

On the other hand, the Association held that in the field of public education the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth

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[1] Ibid., p. 477.

[2] Thomas James Norton, The Constitution of the United States, Its Sources and Its Application, p. 227. New York: America's Future, Inc., 1951. Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education, 175 U. S. 528, 545, supra.

Amendment of the United States Constitution superceded the opinion of the lower court in light of the discrimination involved in the instant problems. Racial segregation itself was denounced as discriminatory, and as denying its victims the due protection of the laws to which United States citizenship entitled them.

The most dynamic phase of the Association's efforts to translate its frontal attack into results involved its resort to the courts. This procedure had been its major weapon in the McLaurin and Sweatt cases which had upset the policy and practices of racial segregation in higher public education. The present frontal attack constitutes a concerted drive to extend to the secondary and elementary levels the principles established in the above-mentioned historic cases.[1] A brief resume of legal activities involving four states, South Carolina, Virginia, Kansas, and Delaware, will serve to focus the major issues in conflict during this phase of the Association's program. The litigations originating in each of these states culminated in one of the truly momentous decisions of the twentieth century, perceived by many to augur a near-social revolutionary impact in the fields of race relations and public education.

The cases in each of the states mentioned involved the basic queries: Are states within their constitutional rights when they pursue the policy and practice of racially segregating pupils into separate schools at the elementary and secondary levels?[2] Further,

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[1] "Editorial: The N.A.A.C.P. and Segregated Education," The Crisis, LVIII (August-September, 1951), 432-33.

[2] The following is a list of the states which require racial segregation by law; they include states in which the educational opportunities of approximately 70 percent of all the Negro citizens of the United States, numbering more than ten and one-half million persons, are curtailed. (1) Alabama, (2) Arkansas, (3) Delaware,

does the segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? Through its legal representatives, the Association contended segregation itself to be discrimination, and accordingly to be in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Repeatedly, lower courts ruled unfavorably on the Association's major contentions, basing their opinions on the "separate but equal" doctrine. Finally, after lengthy and circuitous litigations the highest tribunal of justice rendered a decision upsetting this doctrine, and thereby favorably rewarding the Association's efforts.

In Clarendon County, South Carolina, several parents of Negro children had made various appeals to their county school authorities seeking better educational facilities for their children, but to no avail. In desperation these parents sought the aid of the Association, which on May 16, 1950, permitted its attorneys to seek relief in the United States District Court in Charleston, South Carolina. This court was asked to issue an injunction "restraining and enjoining the school board from making a distinction on account of race and color in maintaining public schools for colored children which are far inferior to those maintained for white children."[1] The real objective sought in the case, as later results will reveal, was that of abolishing racial segregation.

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(4) Florida, (5) Georgia, (6) Kentucky, (7) Louisiana, (8) Maryland, (9) Mississippi, (10) Missouri, (11) North Carolina, (12) Oklahoma, (13) South Carolina, (14) Tennessee, (15) Texas, (16) Virginia, (17) West Virginia. In addition, racial segregation is permissive in the following states; they entail another 1 percent of all the Negro citizens of the United States: (1) New Mexico, (2) Wyoming, (3) Kansas.

[1] Briggs v. Elliott, 342 U. S. 350 (352) (1951).

Because of the constitutional nature of this case, it was heard before a special three-judge federal tribunal which in June, 1951, handed down a two-to-one decision upholding racial segregation in the public schools concerned. However, the court did order the school authorities to provide for the Negro pupils "educational facilities, equipment, curricula and opportunities equal to those offered white pupils."[1] Also, the school officials were ordered to report back to the court within six months on progress made toward equalization.[2] This three-judge federal court action was unsatisfactory to the Association. Thus, the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court with a request for a definite ruling on the constitutionality of racial segregation as a pattern of educational equality at the elementary and secondary school levels.

One of the most comprehensive of the educational cases brought by the Association during this phase of its drive originated in the state of Virginia. In most essentials the Prince Edward County, or Farmville, Virginia, case bears close resemblance to the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case. Both states possessed state constitutional[3] provisions making the separation of the races (Negro and white) mandatory in public school systems; both states were also firm in their general patterns adhering to racial dualism. The plaintiffs (Negroes) in both situations sought relief from state

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[1] Briggs v. Elliott, 98 F. Supp. 529 (1951).

[2] "Editorial: Segregated School Decision," The Crisis, LVIII (June-July, 1951), 394-95.

[3] In South Carolina, Art. XI, section 7, of the South Carolina State Constitution, and S. C. Code, 1942, section 5377, were the focus of attack. In Virginia, Section 140, Constitution of State of Virginia, and the Code of Virginia, 1950, sec. 22-221, were the focus of attack.

statutes which they held to be in violation of rights and privileges granted them under the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. In both instances, the aid and counsel of the Association were sought, which body in turn resorted to the courts in a direct attack on racial segregation itself as a discriminatory practice in public education.[1]

Negro parents of Prince Edward County, Virginia, had repeatedly sought the improvement of the educational opportunities for their children. In April, 1951, the Negro students of the Robert R. Moton High School, the segregated high school for Negroes of Prince Edward County and located in Farmville, Virginia, took an aggressive step: they walked out of their high school as a protest against what they interpreted as its inadequate educational facilities. Thereafter, their parents sought to have them enrolled in one of the county's high schools reserved for white students. The events that followed set off a series of litigations which, with the guidance and support of the Association, were to lead to the highest tribunal of legal justice.

During February of the following year, this Farmville case was heard by a special three-judge federal court in Richmond, Virginia. The Association plaintiffs were the parents of one hundred of the Negro pupils "and all others similarly situated"; thus instituting this suit as a class action.[2] The pupils were among those

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[1] Spottswood W. Robinson, III, "The Virginia School Fight--A Clarification," The Crisis, LVIII (April, 1951), 228-29. The Association's Regional Special Counsel for the Southeast Region affirms his region's adherence to the policy of direct attack on racial segregation in public education.

[2] Such action includes every Negro child of school age in Virginia, and every Negro parent or guardian of such child.

of the Robert R. Motor High School of Farmville, Virginia (Prince Edward County), who had gone on "strike" the previous spring.[1] In its decision, this court unanimously upheld the traditional school segregation laws of Virginia. However, the same court did agree that the Negro school buildings, facilities, curricula, and means of transportation were "not substantially equal" to those provided white pupils in the school system in question.[2] The county's school authorities were ordered to proceed immediately "with all reasonable diligency and dispatch" to equalize the facilities.[3] In this respect, the three-judge tribunal in this ruling was hardly as decisive as the three-judge tribunal in the Clarendon County, South Carolina, hearing. The latter at least indicated a time limit: the school officials were ordered "to report back to the court within six months" on the progress they had made toward complying with the decision. Association counsel had already critically assailed the slow pace of progress the states had characteristically made under the "separate but equal" doctrine.[4] Such a decision provided but little comfort to the Association's point of view, and as might be expected, it was appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

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[1] "Along NAACP Battlefront," The Crisis, LVIII (June-July, 1951), 399-400, reports 455 students taking part in the two-week strike.

[2] Davis v. County School Board, 103 F. Supp. 337 (1952).

[3] Ibid. The following September (1952), a "spanking new three-quarter million-dollar high school" was reported as being opened for Negroes of Prince Edward County, Virginia, the county involved in this case. Source: Richmond News Leader, May 17, 1954, p. 3.

[4] The Crisis, LVIII (June-July, 1951), 398.

In Topeka, Kansas (1950), Negro parents sought the aid and counsel of the Association in their efforts to get better educational opportunities for their children. The irksome situation in this instance was that the Negro children involved had to pass nearby schools reserved for white children, and had to travel from one to two miles in order to attend the segregated school assigned to them. Racial segregation in Kansas was maintained only at the elementary level. It was permitted under a statute which allowed school boards in "first class" cities to determine such policies.[1] The Association resorted to the aid of the courts in behalf of these Negro parents and their children. First, a declaratory judgment and an injunction invalidating the Kansas statutes which permitted the irritating school segregation were sought. Then in 1951 the complaint was amended to ask the court to issue a permanent injunction restraining the board of education from setting up separate schools for white and Negro children.[2] A three-judge federal district court, while upholding the constitutionality of the policy of racial segregation, did acknowledge that the "segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon colored children."[3] This decision, too, did not grant the desired relief; the Association appealed this case to the United States Supreme Court. However, it was reported in the press that in September, 1953, the Topeka school board, the board in question, passed a resolution calling for the termination of racial segregation in the Topeka public elementary

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[1] Reynolds v. Board of Education, 66 K. 672, 679, 680 (1903). Also, Gen. Statutes of Kansas, 1949, Chapt. 72-1724.

[2] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 98 F. Supp. 797 (1951).

[3] Ibid.

school system "as rapidly as practicable." By May, 1954, two of that city's twenty-two elementary schools were reported to be already racially integrated.[1]

In the state of Delaware, the Association's efforts centered about two cases growing out of the failure of the Claymont High School of North Wilmington, and the Hockessin Elementary School Number 29 in South Wilmington to admit Negro students. The latter, who lived in the vicinity of these schools, were referred to the Howard High School and the Hockessin School Number 107, both segregated schools. The Negro parents concerned, with the Association's sanction, refused to permit their children to attend these latter schools on the grounds that they were racially segregated; that such schools were unconstitutional;[2] and that they inflicted psychological injury on their children. Further, they contended that the two schools to which their children had been directed were in every physical respect unequal to the two to which they sought admission.

During the latter part of October, 1951, this case was heard in the United States District Court. This court found that the schools concerned were quite inferior to those set aside for the white children.[3] But as the United States Supreme Court had not at that time reversed its stand on the "separate but equal" doctrine, or segregation itself, this district judge did not order the Negro children to obtain the relief they sought on the grounds of segregation. Instead he ordered the Claymont High School and the Hockessin School Number

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[1] Richmond Afro-American, May 22, 1954, p. 6.

[2] Art. X, section 2, State Constitution of Delaware, and Delaware Code, 1935, Paragraph 2631. State directed that there be separate free school systems for Negroes and whites.

[3] Belton v. Gebhart, Del.--87 A. 2d. 862 (866-70) (1951).

29 to cease excluding Negro children, basing his action on the physical inequalities of the other schools in question. It is significant in this case that the judge in rendering his decision saw fit to declare: "I believe the 'separate but equal' doctrine in education should be rejected. . . ."[1] In this respect, he was presaging a judicial opinion to come, as well as implying merit in the Association's long and persistent attitude in this realm. The state of Delaware finally appealed the decision in this case to the highest court, which granted it certiori, November 24, 1952.[2]

The technique of utilizing the testimony of experts became an integral part of the Association's strategy in its direct attack upon racial segregation as a policy and practice in public school education. The following instances are demonstrative of the nature and extent of such testimony.

In both the Clarendon County and the Topeka cases, experts were reported to have testified "without contradiction" that racial segregation at the elementary and secondary levels had injurious effects upon Negro students, preventing them from obtaining an education equal to that given other pupils. Further, that the "bad effects of inferior schooling" would continue to exist in a racially segregated public school system.[3] Dr. Harold J. McNally, associate professor of education at Columbia University, and Dr. David Krech, visiting associate professor of psychology at Harvard University, corroborated in this testimony. The latter expert particularly

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[1] Ibid., p. 862.

[2] Gebhart et al. v. Belton et al., 344 U. S. 891 (1952).

[3] "Editorial: The NAACP and Segregated Education," The Crisis, LVIII (August-September, 1951), 432-33.

asserted, "We build into the Negro the very characteristics which we use to justify prejudices."[1]

In the Prince Edward County case, the division superintendent of the public schools of that county then involved, Superintendent Thomas J. McIlwaine, ". . . denied under repeated questioning, that the practice of racial segregation in public schools had any adverse effects on the preparation of children of either race to take their places in today's democratic society."[2] To counter such claim, the Association presented a battery of opinions by experts. Prominent among these were: (1) Dr. Kenneth Clark, assistant professor of psychology at the City College of New York, who testified that segregation has "a basic, corroding and distorting effect on the personality of a Negro child."[3] (2) Dr. Isidor Chein, director of the research commission on community interrelations of the American-Jewish Congress, and who had engaged in psychological research on segregation through a survey of 849 social scientists, offered his opinion. According to him, segregation develops a "feeling of inferiority and insecurity," and Negroes "are prone to develop a strong feeling of self-doubt." He also shared the opinion that regardless of the parity of facilities, there could be no equality if legal racial segregation persisted.[4] (3) Dr. John J. Brooks, director of the New Lincoln School, New York City, and who had received his early

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[1] "Along the NAACP Battlefront," The Crisis, LVIII (June-July, 1951), 396.

[2] Reported in Richmond News Leader, February 25, 1952, p. 1.

[3] Ibid., pp. 1, 3.

[4] Reported in Richmond Times Dispatch, February 27, 1952, pp. 1, 3. Also, New York Times, March 8, 1952, p. C-15.

education in southern schools, testified that the existence of racial and religious segregation "prolongs the violation of our basic concepts" of democracy. Further, that the "handicapped system of Negro segregation re-creates itself in its own image."[1] (4) Dr. M. Bruster Smith, chairman of the department of psychology at Vassar College, testified that segregation "very definitely impairs the learning processes of a child."[2]

On the question of the disparity in financial provisions for educational opportunities for the races, Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, Dean of the Virginia Union University at Richmond, Virginia, testified. He pointed out that in 1951, Prince Edward County (the Virginia county in question) had provided for each of its Negro high school students $18.75 worth of equipment for science and vocational teaching, and for the same purposes $53.07 was provided for each of its white students.[3]

One further reference must be included to show the varied roles of experts in their contributions to the preparation of the Association-sponsored cases which were finally to be heard by the highest legal tribunal. During the process of litigation before the United States Supreme Court, 1952-53, a rather unusual set of questions were proposed by that body to be answered by the lawyers in their brief upon the reargument of the pending Association-sponsored cases. Paraphrased for brevity, these questions were:

> Was the Fourteenth Amendment intended to prohibit segregated public schools? Was the Fourteenth Amendment intended to give the Supreme Court or Congress the power to outlaw school segregation? Apart from the preceding question, does the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] New York Times, op. cit., p. C-15.

> Supreme Court have the authority to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment as prohibiting school segregation? If the Court finds segregation unconstitutional, does it have the power to order a gradual transition to nonsegregated schools?[1]

A vast amount of research was required in drawing up the necessary answers to the above questions. Reports in the press indicate that "132 lawyers and law professors, college presidents and college professors, all over the country" gratuitously performed the necessary research. The final form of the resulting brief consisted of 256 pages, containing 80,000 words.[2]

At various stages during the circuitous litigation process, testimonies by recognized experts in many fields dramatically and forcefully portrayed the disabilities attributable to racial segregation in public education. The experts themselves contributed not only their knowledge and prestige, but also a certain degree of respectability to a cause not always popular in some quarters. They emphasized both the tangible and the intangible aspects of equality. Without doubt, their emphasis on the role of the intangible factors of equality of educational opportunity was significant. It is certainly conceivable that the wealth of expert testimony contributed convincingly to the ultimate decision.

The four Association-sponsored cases from the states of South Carolina, Virginia, Kansas, and Delaware, reached the United States Supreme Court in December, 1952. After more than a year of legal entanglements and considerations, on May 17, 1954, that highest tribunal of legal justice rendered its momentous decision,

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[1] "The Last Round of Debate," New South, VIII (December, 1953), 1.

[2] "Full Text of 'Golden Words,'" Richmond Afro-American, November 28, 1953, p. 13.

declaring racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional.[1] The Chief Justice, speaking for a unanimous Court, declared: ". . . that in the field of education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." It was agreed that racial segregation as complained of deprived the plaintiffs and others similarly situated "of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."[2]

With special reference to children in elementary school and high school, this highest court held:

> To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.[3]

Thus, it becomes apparent that the Association's courageous opposition to racial segregation as a policy determining public educational opportunities for Negroes in the United States, and its basic

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[1] An idea of the international import of America's minority problems can be gained from the comments of the foreign press concerning the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the United States public schools. The Indian Express, a chain of newspapers in New Delhi, Bombay, and Madras, welcomed the ruling as a "healthy change in enlightened America." London's Daily Herald asserted the antisegregation ruling "will make every friend of humanity and every believer in democracy cheer." London's Daily Mirror held that the ruling would "rank in sociological significance with Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation." According to a front page editorial of the Le Monde of Paris, the ruling "marks the victory of justice over race prejudice, a victory for democracy." These comments were reported in the Richmond News Leader, Richmond, Virginia, May 19, 1954, p. 44.

[2] The Richmond News Leader, Monday, May 17, 1954, pp. 1, 3. Ibid. (blue streak edition), p. 2. This latter edition carried the text of the Supreme Court's decision.

[3] Text of the Supreme Court's decision, ibid., p. 2.

contention that such segregation as a practice was detrimental to its victims, were finally vindicated by the highest court of legal justice. Furthermore, the Association's technique of utilizing the testimony of experts evidently had been highly effective. Because these cases had been brought as class actions thereby affecting "all persons similarly situated," and because of the "great variety of local conditions" to be involved, the formulation of decrees in these cases was postponed until October 1, 1954.

The reaction of the Association's leaders to the May 17 decision was nearly instantaneous. Its chief counsel, Mr. Thurgood Marshall, referred to the decision as "an all-out decision"; further, that "it settles once and for all this question of separate but equal.[1]

A few hours following the announcement of the court decision, the Association's board of directors convened. The text of their prepared statement released to the public read in part:

> This ruling further vindicates the 45-year fight of the NAACP to establish the principle that to segregate is to discriminate and, accordingly, violates our Constitution and the American spirit of equality.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In accordance with the Court decision, the NAACP is fully prepared to present further argument for the formulation of decrees and will exert every effort to win full community compliance with this historic decision.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The NAACP will not be content until every form of racial discrimination and segregation is eliminated from American life.[2]

The latter paragraph above sets the instant "victory" in its proper perspective as but one aspect of the Association's master plan of racial welfare.

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[1] Richmond Afro-American, May 22, 1954, p. 6.

[2] Ibid.

Approximately a week following the May 17 Supreme Court decision, more than a hundred Association key officials met in a two-day conference held at Atlanta, Georgia. Among those present were delegates from seventeen states and the District of Columbia, as well as those from the national office. The outcome of this conference was the announcement of the "no delay" policy which would characterize the next immediate phase in the projected efforts of the Association to translate the May 17 decision into actual desegregated educational opportunities for all concerned. The Association's state and local level officials were instructed to return to their respective domains and publicly call on all school boards affected immediately to desegregate the schools within their jurisdiction:

> We are instructing all of our branches in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay and to assist these agencies in working out ways and means of implementing the Court's ruling.
>
> The total resources of the NAACP will be made available to facilitate this great project of ending the artificial separation of America's children on the irrelevant basis of race and color.[1]

The Association indicated an awareness of certain administrative problems, inevitably requiring a time differential from situation to situation. Reportedly, it desired to impose "no unnecessary hardships" during the process of ending racial segregation in public schools.[2] But what would incur its opposition was "the use of any tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation."[3]

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[1] "Atlanta Declaration (Full Text of Statement)," Richmond Afro-American, May 29, 1954, p. 6.

[2] "NAACP Warns of New Court Battles . . . ," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 23, 1954, p. 23. Also, see James L. Hicks, "NAACP Delegates Vote Unanimous," Richmond Afro-American, May 29, 1954, p. 6.

[3] "Atlanta Declaration," op. cit.

It further avowed its support of federal aid to facilitate the meeting of these problems, "provided that any such legislation contains the necessary safeguards to insure the distribution of funds in accordance with the requirements of the Court's decision."[1]

In addressing a session of the Association's forty-fifth annual convention meeting in Dallas, Texas, June 30, 1954, the Association's chief legal adviser announced the body's "deadline" for public school desegregation. September, 1955, was set as the date to end all racial segregation in the public elementary and secondary schools in the United States. He again emphasized the Association's willingness to negotiate matters affecting the orderly implementation of the May 17 Supreme Court decision without further resort to the courts as long as the proper school officials "show good faith."[2]

Of the many varied reactions of other organizations in response to the Supreme Court ruling against racial segregation in public education, those of at least one group are especially pertinent here. A minor assumption has been that the programs of racial leadership characterizing each of the two special interest groups, the League and the Association, which constitute the over-all concern of this writing, have been primarily complementary. In view of this, and the tremendous importance attached by the Association to the potentialities of the court's decision for racial aspirations and welfare, two queries seem timely: What was the basic reaction of the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "NAACP Fixes 1955 Deadline," The Atlanta Constitution (Atlanta, Georgia), July, 1954, p. 10. See "Marshall Outlines Next Step . . . ," Journal and Guide (Norfolk), February 6, 1954, p. 13. A predecision, and less optimistic "deadline."

League toward the said Supreme Court decision? What role, if any, did it propose to pursue in the implementation of this decision?

Within two weeks after the historic May decision, the League (National Urban League) issued an "emergency program." Its sixty branches throughout the United States were instructed immediately to begin holding conferences with key officials in their respective communities for purposes of making available their services to facilitate the desegregation of public schools. It was stressed that the court's decision must be implemented not only in the twenty-one states more directly affected, but also in the great urban centers of the North and West where, according to the League's national executive director, in some areas "public school segregation . . . is in fact on the increase."[1] The same League official, reflecting the characteristic approach of his group, concluded that the desired implementation "requires voluntary action by men and women of good will, white and colored, working together through local interracial agencies."[2] Thus, the League's attitude of approval was evident, and characteristic[3] role and approach through "interracial cooperation and goodwill" were assured.

At long last, the persistent and in many respect valiant efforts of the Association were signally rewarded. The resort to the courts, the utilization of expert testimonies, and social action techniques were effectively employed in efforts to implement its basic

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[1] "Emergency Integration Program To Be Pushed," Richmond Afro-American, May 29, 1954, p. 6. Also, Detroit Free Press, June 26, 1954, p. 5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Characteristic" as substantiated by means of chapters IV-VII of this writing.

opposition to racial segregation. In the instant phase, it was against racial segregation as a policy and practice determinant of educational opportunities for Negroes in the public school systems of the United States. The Supreme Court finally rendered paramount support by way of legally declaring racial segregation as being incompatible with democratic educational opportunities. The Plessy v. Ferguson precedent had long buttressed statutory provisions for racially segregated public school systems. Its invalidation was hailed as clearing away the major legal obstacle to racial integration in public educational opportunities.

The projected course of future action on the part of the Association includes directing its resources toward the bringing into full realization the long sought after objective of complete integration of educational opportunities for all American citizens alike, including Negroes. This is an essential phase of its avowed goal of "an integrated American society free of racial, religious, or national origin handicaps" which, according to its timetable, it is scheduled to attain by January 1, 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.[1] To assay the full impact of the Supreme Court decision, as well as the Association's projected course of action for its complete implementation will obviously require the unfolding of the future, beyond the purview of this present writing.

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[1] Booklet: "Ninety Years Plus Ten Equals Freedom," Annual Report of the NAACP for 1953, June, 1954, passim.

CHAPTER XIV

RACIAL LEADERSHIP GROUPS: A RESOURCE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

The words spoken May 17, 1954, in the unanimous opinion of the highest and most respected source of judicial wisdom eloquently set before policy makers a momentous challenge in the field of public education.

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments.
> . . . . . .
> It is the very foundation of good citizenship.
> . . . . . .
> In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. . . .[1]

The inherent challenge is really not new save in its urgency and comprehensiveness. It merely reflects the maturing of American awareness to the immensity of the responsibilities bequeathed this republic by the progenitors of its Christian-democratic heritage, so attractively expressed in the American Creed. It takes cognizance of the never-ending bounden duty of those entrusted with policy making in a democratically oriented society, eternally to seek to extend the full benefits of the fruits of man's creative intelligence to an ever-increasing body of recipients. Unfortunately for the American

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[1] Excerpts from the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools, May 17, 1954.

educational policy maker, this task has been unduly complicated by the heterogeneity of the population strains, and by an exaggerated emphasis on race.

To meet constructively the challenge indicated above, those invested with the privilege and responsibility of exercising leadership in planning any aspect of America's public education must be alert to the availability of resources upon which they may draw to fulfill their commission. The need for such resources where racial minorities constitute an element of the public school constituency has apparently been critical, or else certain resources have been flagrantly ignored. The increased population mobility characterizing the Second World War era, plus the trend toward desegregation of public education, enhance the urgency of the demand for such resources. The writer himself, tempered by approximately twenty years of experience as a teacher and administrator of sorts, has long been concerned with this problem. Such concern was a contributing factor in his selection of this dissertation topic.

A brief reflection on the findings of this dissertation will indicate their pertinence for educational planning. These findings have revealed the nature and extent of the educational involvement of the groups studied herein, as well as their characteristic approaches to the implementation of their educational concern. Attention has been focused upon the dominant attitudes of both groups, and their definitions of the educational needs of their racial clientele. In most instances, it was found that the program of public education received the cooperative efforts of the groups studied; however, there were certain educational practices that consistently incurred stiff opposition on the part of these groups. Such findings as these, the writer proposes, reveal information and insights of significant worth for educational planning and implementation, especially in a multiracial situation.

The activities and attitudes described in this dissertation have strikingly confirmed the writer's major assumption that selected racial leadership groups have unquestionably sought to modify certain aspects of public educational policies. In their efforts to implement their master programs, both the League and the Association have sought to utilize the potential of public education as an indispensable means of achieving their avowed goals. As special interest groups, their activities have exerted persistent "pressures" on public educational policies and practices, especially those determining the extent and the conditions under which Negroes as a racial group are able to share public educational opportunities.

Chapters IV through VII revealed the League to be primarily a social service organization with specialized interests in problems confronting Negroes in urban situations. The said body viewed the obtaining of certain educational opportunities to be a prime requisite for fulfilling its avowed major mission of securing the "improvement of the industrial, economic, social and spiritual conditions of Negroes." Such a commitment necessitated the primary objectives of more and better jobs, better homes, and improved health conditions. To implement these objectives, the League sought to work cooperatively with both private and public educational agencies. It pioneered in making available training opportunities for Negro social workers, in the employment of visiting teachers for predominantly Negro school situations, and in the effective utilization of the interracial committee as an instrument for resolving Negro-white racial tensions, often involving schools. It critically assailed the vocational offerings of many Negro industrial schools, yet it has signally championed industrial education as a means of increasing the efficiency of Negroes in modern industry; and has, itself, specialized in vocational guidance and job placement services uniquely adapted to the needs of this group.

The major emphasis of the League's "pressures"[1] has been directed toward the extension of the availability of certain educational opportunities for Negroes. This approach has involved efforts to minimize the quantitative and qualitative differentials between the best American educational opportunities obtainable, and the educational opportunities available to Negroes. It is evident that such an approach is one with a limited educational involvement; it is restrained by an avowed special interest.

Chapters VIII through XIII have documented the nature and extent of the Association's educational concern. They have revealed this organization to be avowedly dedicated to securing for Negroes "the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all the courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere." Equality of educational opportunities has been perceived as the central element in a program for achieving this goal. Therefore, pressures have been exerted to increase both quantitatively and qualitatively the educational opportunities available to Negroes in the American society. Public-supported educational institutions have especially been sought out as sources of the desired training opportunities.

To fulfill the above dedication, the Association has pursued as its primary educational objectives certain "equalities" perceived

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[1] Mr. John C. Dancy, executive secretary of the Detroit Urban League, from the point of view of continuous service, the oldest currently active member of the League's official family, and certainly one of the most respected of League officials, does not like to emphasize the "special interest group" aspect of the League program. He assured me that the League did not join in pressure group tactics. However, the writer is aware of differing opinions and is rather relying on the documented evidence of activities as have been studied. Personal interview with Mr. John C. Dancy, Executive Secretary, Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan, August 4, 1952.

as affecting the offerings of public education. Among these have been: equality in the length of school terms, equality of pay for equally qualified teachers doing similar work, equality of transportation provided school children at public expense, equality of buildings and equipment, equality of per capita expenditures for education, equality of graduate and professional training opportunities; and educational opportunities on all levels on a nonracially segregated basis.

The efforts to implement the above objectives have necessitated the Association's employment of a variety of techniques, the most effective and characteristic being its resort to the courts. The current trend toward the attainment of the desired equalities expressed in each of the educational areas cited in the above objectives is, in no small degree, a signal tribute to the effectiveness of the Associations's persistent pressures. Possibly the crowning achievement of the Association's educational endeavors has been its sponsorship and successful prosecution of the litigations which culminated in the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision outlawing the policy of racial segregation in American public schools. This said decision has been hailed by no lesser authority than Arthur E. Sutherland, professor of constitutional law at the Harvard Law School, as ". . . the most important and the most heartening opinion which any court in any country has ever expressed on a question of public education."[1] For the Association, it is apparent that the said decision climaxes a rewarding round in its long and persistent fight to implement its obsession toward racial dualism in the American society.

In overview, it is apparent that the Association's educational concern has assumed a rather limited involvement: educational

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[1] Arthur E. Sutherland, "The Supreme Court and the Public School," The Harvard Educational Review, XXIV (Spring, 1954), 71.

opportunities for Negroes. To this extent, the limitations of a special interest group dominate. The pressures of the organization have been directed primarily toward affecting the conditions of educational opportunities for Negroes in the American society. Like the League, it has been concerned about certain quantitative and qualitative extensions of existing educational opportunities. But for the Association, such extensions could only be adequately met under conditions of a nonsegregated pattern of educational opportunities. Herein lies the motivation for the body's long and persistent opposition to the doctrine of "separate but equal" as a policy affecting public education.

A minor assumption of this dissertation has been that the two groups selected presented two different approaches to the problem of improving the cultural and social well-being of racial minorities in the American society. Within the limited range of their total activities which came within the purview of this investigation, the differences in approaches have been readily discernible. However, the actual degree of the differences was hardly as clear-cut as the writer had expected. Both of these organizations were interracially occasioned, but from their inception, the master program of each has been oriented toward the improvement of the welfare and status of Negroes as a racial group. Both seek to utilize interracial cooperation and formal education as means toward obtaining the ultimate goals of their respective programs. Both officially claim to be politically nonpartisan, and each vociferously acclaims its adherence to the highest ideals of American democracy, and to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, especially when rights sought are "guaranteed therein."

The principal differences in the approaches of these two organizations are most apparent in the degree of emphasis awarded interracial good will and militant aggressiveness through courts in

seeking their avowed goals. In the League movement, interracial committees and interracial good will are paramount in its approach. This contrasts decisively with the militancy and the all-out resort to the courts which are more characteristic of the Association's approach. However, the latter does strategically utilize interracial cooperation, but the League never (at least the writer found no evidence of it) resorts to the courts as official strategy in pursuit of its avowed goals.

The primary sources revealed no evidence that would indicate any major conflict between the operations of these two organizations and their approaches, despite the fact that their objectives tended to overlap at times. On the contrary, the assumption that the programs of these two organizations and their approaches functioned in a complementary manner seemed to be borne out adequately.

Implicit throughout this writing has been the assumption that the selected groups were potential agencies for detecting certain basic cultural needs, aspirations, and frustrations of the group they represented. This assumption has been compellingly verified. The range of racial disaffection in the area of public education has been paraded throughout this dissertation, and with extensive documentation spanning nearly fifty years (1905-1954). Add to this the special appropriateness of the particular groups studied, as was explained in the first chapter, and this line of thought gains potency. Neither of the groups investigated herein would have any justification for being save for the disabilities of the racial group which they represent. To be more definitive, their origin and their continued existence are the resultant of the peculiar position the group they serve occupies in the American society.

It can be understood from this study that the selected organizations provided their racial group with certain noteworthy though

less obvious services. Significant among these were: the arousal of many Negro communities to an awareness of certain educational inadequacies and needs, and the definition of educational needs and standards to be sought. The groups themselves served as instruments for articulating and communicating the Negro community's needs and aspirations to the larger community, the cooperation of which was essential for constructive action to achieve the desired ends. The significance of this latter role was enhanced by the fact that the generally prevailing pattern denied the Negro community representation through normally accepted channels of educational policy determination.

The "campaigns," "fights," "drives," "crusades," or "programs" so extensively interspersed throughout this writing consistently sought to justify objectives in terms of seeking certain "rights." But "rights" are evidences of perceived or actual denials, or the fear of such. Groups never seek "rights" when they can get and secure the objects or privileges desired. Awareness of "rights" may provide motivation for the real object or privilege, but never an effective substitute for either. "Rights," when established, provide standards of what ought to be. It is reasonable, then, that to the extent that the organized efforts of these leadership groups were vociferously acclaiming certain "rights," they were at the same time revealing dramatic evidence of the existence of real or perceived cultural denials. Of significance for the present writing, these denials included certain educational opportunities.

It is in view of the above line of reasoning that the writer justifies his recommendation that educators more fully utilize racial leadership groups as resources for educational planning. The import of this recommendation is enhanced when the planning and implementation involve multiracial situations. This recommendation

takes seriously the often asserted potential of public education to facilitate the individual's acceptance and development in a society that stresses "individual worth and the integrity of the human personality." Its timeliness is attested by the moral mandate inherent in the recent high court opinion to the effect that, when state-supported, the right of educational opportunities "must be made available to all on equal terms. . . ."

A few final notes must indicate that the writer has in no way intended to make ethical judgments of the merits or demerits of either of the organizations concerned; of neither their master programs nor their approaches for the implementation of such programs. Both were merely viewed as existing and as acting; both reflecting a possible division of labor in racial leadership. Only a selected segment (educational) of their programs fell within the purview of this writing. Nor has it been the writer's intention to imply unilinear causation for the trends and achievements cited herein. The writer is aware that the interaction of many factors, some even more potently causative, is involved in any changes in policies and practices herein cited. The writer's obligations were duly limited in this respect by his hypotheses and his method.

If it appears at times that the writer was perturbed by certain strains created by "teacher versus leadership group" relations, let the reader be assured that the leadership group was not the main focus of his concern. Rather, the writer merely questions any situation which permits those of partial involvement to exercise undue "pressures" upon those of total involvement in education. One final and likely inference has been that American educational policy makers have at times been loath to assume their responsibilities in the area of education with which this writing is primarily concerned. When

citizenship rights in the field of public education must be continually referred to by courts of law, the latter inference is not without substance.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I[1]

The following is a copy of the petition presented to the governor, superintendent of education, and members of the state legislature of South Carolina in an effort to secure colored teachers in colored public schools of Charleston, South Carolina, January, 1919:

> We, the citizens of the Negro race and parents of pupils of the aforesaid race in attandance as pupils of the public schools of Charleston, do, through our committee [sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P.] . . . most respectfully petition for assistance and relief from the uncalled for, unnecessary, unusual, abnormal conditions that surround and control the management, instruction and teaching of the children of the aforesaid race in the public schools of the city of Charleston.
>
> Fifty-six years after freedom the Negroes of the city of Charleston are denied the right to teach Negro children by Negroes in the free public schools of Charleston; and,
>
> WHEREAS, We need relief from this unnecessary, unusual, abnormal condition; and,
>
> WHEREAS, We have thousands of educated men and women who are prepared and worthy to teach the children of the aforesaid race in the city of Charleston; and,
>
> WHEREAS, Under the existing law of the free public schools of the State of South Carolina, it is impossible for teachers of the Negro race to teach children of the Negro race in the free public schools in the city of Charleston; and,
>
> WHEREAS, Negro teachers do teach children in every other city of this State, and in every city in every one of the thirteen old slave-holding States in the Union;
>
> WE, THEREFORE, most humbly petition and pray to each and every one of you in authority to have Section No. 1780 of the Civil Code of 1912 amended so as to read: That it shall be unlawful for a person of the white race to teach in the free public schools of South Carolina provided and set aside for the children of the Negro race.

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[1] "Colored Teachers in Charleston Schools," The Crisis, XXII (June, 1921), 58-59.

APPENDIX II[1]

For purposes of protecting the "legitimate interests" of Negro school children, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People suggested that the Harrison-Fletcher bill be amended to the effect:

(1) that wherever separate schools are maintained in a state or territory under authority of law, the monies apportioned to the state or territory under the bill shall be divided and expended for white and Negro schools respectively in the proportions that the white and Negro children, aged five to twenty years, inclusive, bear to the total population of the state or territory, aged five to twenty years, inclusive;

(2) that no [italics in original] public school in the state or territory shall be maintained for less than one hundred and sixty days, closings due to epidemics, fires and acts of God excepted;

(3) that wherever separate schools are maintained in a state or territory under authority of law, no state or territory shall receive any part of the apportionment under the bill for any year unless during the school year next preceding the year for which such apportionment is made it has expended from state or territorial or local revenues, through state or territorial and local units combined, a sum of money for the white and Negro schools respectively not less than the amount spent on them as separate educational divisions in the school year ending in 1934;

(4) that the Chief educational authority designated to represent the state or territory shall annually, within six months after the close of the fiscal year in such state or territory, prepare, and within thirty days thereafter shall file with the United States Commissioner of Education a report which shall include: (a) an audit of the funds apportioned to the state or territory, showing the manner of distributing the same, and the work and improvements accomplished thereby; (b) a report showing the number of days in which each public elementary and high school was open during the school year next preceding the date of the report; (c) an audit of

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[1] The Crisis, XXXXIV (February, 1937), 50.

the state or territorial or local revenues expended through state or territorial and local units combined, during the school year next preceding the date of the report, showing the distribution between white and Negro schools, where separate schools are maintained under authority of law;

(5) that if the United States Commissioner of Education finds that the apportionment made to a state or territory for the current fiscal year is not being expended for educational purposes or that the state or territory has violated the provisions of the bill as regards the length of school term or the distribution of school funds, he shall give notice of these facts to the chief educational authority and to the governor of such state or territory. If, after being so notified, a state or territory continues in such failure or violation, the United States Commissioner of Education shall report thereon at once to the Secretary of the Interior, who shall be authorized and directed to withhold all payments to the state or territory until the terms and conditions of the bill have been complied with.

APPENDIX III

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE FELLOWSHIPS

The fellowship program of the League is as old as the League itself (40 years in 1950). The founders of the organization established the program to increase the number of prepared leaders for social work among Negroes in order to raise the standards of both personnel and program within the Negro community. Over the forty-year period 116 persons have held the title "Urban League Fellow"; and practically all of them have entered some field of work which has been enriched because of their additional equipment.

Since the League began its fellowship awards, a Committee has each year sifted the fellowship applications and selected the successful candidates on the basis of preparation, interest, fitness, and to a degree, need. Of course, each candidate has had to meet the entrance requirements of the school to which he or she is assigned. It is, therefore, necessary that they be class-A college graduates, possessed of majors in the social sciences and kindred subjects; or candidates for degrees in the June class immediately following application. A special application form which the candidate must fill and submit before March 15th is supplied by this Committee.

Over the years, funds in support of the fellowships have come from many sources, principally:

(1) Foundations which have made annual grants for a period;

(2) Special funds contributed to the National Urban League for investment, the income from which is devoted to fellowships;

(3) League budgetary items which have been matched by similar gifts from local Leagues or other agencies; and

(4) Tuition grants or refunds for tuition by schools of social work.

The number and monetary value of the fellowships vary depending upon the funds available, the extent of the student's need, etc. Four fellowships are normally available each year as follows:

(1) Benezet Fellowship--supported by a grant from the Benezet House Association of Philadelphia and available only to residents of that city.

(2) Ella Sachs Plotz Fellowship--grant from the League's Ella Sachs Plotz fund and tuition grant from the New York School of Social Work.

(3) Joint National Urban League-Pittsburgh Urban League-University of Pittsburgh Fellowship--tuition granted by the University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work; part maintenance granted in equal sums by the National Urban League and the Urban League of Pittsburgh.

(4) Adam Hat Fellowship--grant by the Adam Hat Company Welfare Department. (Supplemented during 1950-51 by New York School of Social Work assistance with tuition.) Applicants from among employed League personnel given preference.

Except for "1" there are no residence stipulations. The fellowships are awarded for one school year only. However, the incumbent is given a high priority for the second year in case of satisfactory performance.

Correspondence relating to the fellowships should be addressed to:

R. Maurice Moss,
Associate Executive Director
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway, Room 826
New York 10, New York

APPENDIX IV

FORMER FELLOWS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
(year; name; graduate school; last known position)

1911-12; Hubert, James H.; New York School of Social Work; Field Secretary, Assn. for Advancement of Negro Country Life, Industrial College, Georgia.

1911-12; Walls, Ellie A.; New York School of Social Work; Counselor for Senior Girls, Wheatley High School, Houston, Texas.

1911-12; Imes, William Lloyd; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Director, Adult & Social Education, N. Y. State Council of Churches, Albany, New York.

1911-13; Moore, Garrie (deceased); New York School of Social Work; Late Professor of Sociology, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

1912-13; Locke, Benjamin H.; New York School of Social Work; Teacher, Social Studies, Benjamin Franklin High School, New York City.

1913-14; Owen, Chandler; New York School of Social Work; Public Relations Consultant, Chicago, Illinois.

1913-14; Quander, Nellie; New York School of Social Work; Teacher of Social Sciences, Shaw Junior High School, Washington, D. C.; Member, Board of Directors, Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A.

1913-14; Livingston, Uxenia B.; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; (not known).

1914-15; Colson, William (deceased); New York School of Social Work; Late Executive Secretary, Richmond, Virginia, Urban League.

1914-15; Edwards, Myrtle L. Alexander; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; (not known).

1914-15; Robinson, James H. (Ph.D.); New York School of Social Work; Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Professor of Sociology & Social Administration, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

1915-16; Singleton, Rosalie I.; Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; (not known).

1915-16; Alexander, Winona Cargile; New York School of Social Work; Formerly Caseworker with Associated Charities, Jacksonville, Fla., later absorbed by city & county; Now Homemaker.

1915-16; Washington, Forrester B.; New York School of Social Work; Director, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia.

1916-17; Harewood, Patricia Ferguson; New York School of Social Work; Social Worker, Cook County Juvenile Court, Chicago, Ill.

1919-20; Grayson, Vashti C. Maxwell; New York School of Social Work; Editor, "Monthly Summary of Events & Trends in Race Relations," Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

1919-20; Moss, Maurice R.; New York School of Social Work; Executive Secretary, Urban League, Pittsburgh, Pa.

1920-21; Daniel, William A.; Univ. of Chicago Graduate School of Social Admin.; Wage Rate Analyst, War Labor Bd., Chicago, Ill. (last position recorded).

1920-21; Falls, Lillian Proctor; Univ. of Chicago Graduate School of Social Admin.; Formerly District Supervisor, Public Assistance Div., Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago, Ill., Now Homemaker & Volunteer Social Worker.

1920-21; Lindsay, Inabel Burns; New York School of Social Work; Director, School of Social Work, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

1920-21; Beckham, Ruth Howard (Ph.D.); Social Work School of Simmons College, Boston, Mass.; Co-Director, Center for Psychological Service,; Teacher of Psychology, Provident Hosp. School of Nursing, Chicago, Ill.

1920-21; White, Phila McGillery; Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Phila., Pa.; Teacher, Armstrong H.S.; Also Music Supervisor and Teacher of Piano, Richmond, Virginia.

1921-22; Watts, Kathryn B. (deceased); New York School of Social Work; Late Teacher, New York City Public School System.

1921-22; Elkins, Myrtle Hull; Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Worker, Foster Home Dept., Children's Home, Cincinnati, Ohio.

1922-23; Morris, Gertrude Clark; Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Red Cross Home Service Volunteer, Bayonne, N. J.

1922-23; Fairclough, Alice Brown; New York School of Social Work; Teacher, New York City Public School System.

1922-24; Jenkins, Mabel Bickford; New York School of Social Work; Psychiatric Social Worker, Bureau of Child Guidance, Bd. of Educ., N. Y. City.

1923-24; Davis, Ethel McGhee; New York School of Social Work; Trustee, Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.; Regional Member, Girl Scouts., Institute, W. Virginia.

1923-24; Harris, Abram L. (Ph.D.); University of Pittsburgh; Associate Professor of Economics, The College, The Univ. of Chicago.

1924-25; Tillar, Jane M.; New York School of Social Work; Social Investigator, Harlem Hospital, N. Y. City.

1924-25; Reid, Ira De A. (Ph.D.); University of Pittsburgh; Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Summer, 1925; Moore, Katie Mae Davis; New York School of Social Work; Investigator, Department of Welfare, New York City.

1925-26; Carrington, Glen; New York School of Social Work; Psychiatric Social Worker, Mental Hygiene Clinic, Harlem Hospital, N. Y. City.

1925-26; Hamblin, Miriam A.; New York School of Social Work; Acting Postmaster, Institute, West Virginia.

1925-26; Yarbrough, Dean S. (Ph.D.); University of Pittsburgh; Professor of Sociology, State College of Educ. & Industrial Arts, Wilberforce, Ohio.

1926-27; Coleman, Eleanor E.; New York School of Social Work; Informational Secretary, Loop Center Y. W. C. A., Chicago, Illinois.

1926-27; Goodman, George W.; New York School of Social Work; Director, North End Community Center, Hartford, Conn. (Inter-Racial Project).

1926-27; Thomas, Alice; Atlanta School of Social Work; Girls' Worker, Y. W. C. A., St. Louis, Missouri.

1926-27; Allen, Gerald E.; University of Pittsburgh; Director, Special Service Unit, Los Angeles Youth Project, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, Calif.

1927-28; Covington, Floyd C.; University of Pittsburgh; Executive Director, Los Angeles Urban League, California.

1927-29; Halliburton, Cecil D.; New York School of Social Work; Dean and Professor of Sociology, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1927-28; Bolton, Wendell (deceased); University of Chicago.

1927-28; Chinn, Genevieve Lomax; New York School of Social Work; Formerly Investigator, Emergency Work Bureau, N. Y. City; Now Homemaker.

1928-29; Patterson, Louise A. Thompson; New York School of Social Work; Vice-Pres., International Workers' Order, Chicago, Illinois.

1928-29; Baker, James H., Jr.; University of Pittsburgh; Public Relations Counsel, Baker Associates, Wash., D. C.

1928-29; Hall, Wiley A.; University of Pittsburgh; Executive Secretary, Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Va.

1928-29; Bolden, Norman R.; University of Chicago; Overseas Representative, United Seaman's Service, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

1928-29; Austin, Isabella Fairfax; Ohio State University; Various Social Work Positions in Columbus, Ohio, N. Y. City, & St. Louis, Mo., Now Homemaker in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

1928-29; Jackson, Joseph S.; New York School of Social Work; Organization & Operations Assistant, Office of Housing Expediter, Washington, D. C.

1929-30; Coleman, Paul; New York School of Social Work; Investigator, Department of Public Relief, Cincinnati, O.

1929-30; Steele, Julian D.; New York School of Social Work; Executive Director, Armstrong Hemenway Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

1929-30; Owens, S. Vincent; New York School of Social Work; Executive Secretary, St. Paul Urban League, Minnesota.

1929-30; Rucker, Alvin M.; University of Pittsburgh; USES, Department of Labor, Senior Service Analyst, Washington, D. C.

1929-30; Dunstan, Merle S.; New York School of Social Work; Guard Dept. of Kingsbury Ordnance Plant, LaPorte, Indiana.

1929-31; Moseley, Gaston A. Bradford; New York School of Social Work; Caseworker, Homefinding Department, Cuyahoga County Child Welfare Board, Cleveland, Ohio.

1930-31; Yancey, Alice White; New York School of Social Work; Director, Utopia Children's Center, New York City.

1930-31; White, Louis B.; University of Pittsburgh; Caseworker, Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri.

1930-31; Grissom, Pearl Renfroe; New York School of Social Work; School Social Worker, Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education, New York City.

1930-31; Bennett, Raymond S.; University of Chicago; Director of Special Programs, The Anti-Tuberculosis League of Cincinnati, Ohio.

1930-31; McCracken, Kathryn; New York School of Social Work; Caseworker, Community Service Society of New York, N. Y.

1931-32; Williams, Sayde J. C.; New York School of Social Work; Member, Women's Council, N. Y. State Dept. of Commerce, New York City.

1931-32; Taylor, Lois; Columbia University & New York University; Assistant to Magazine Editor, AFRO Newspapers, Baltimore, Maryland.

1931-32; Hill, Rosalia Clark; University of Pittsburgh; Guidance Counselor, Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C.

1931-32; Cooper, Helen E. Cromer; New York School of Social Work; Area Supervisor, Public Assistance, N. Y. State Dept. of Social Welfare, New York City.

1931-32; Goodall, Penrose E.; University of Chicago; Junior Caseworker, Old Age Assistance, Chicago, Ill.

1931-32; Toms, Charles M.; New York School of Social Work; Medical Social Worker, Veterans Admin., Regional Office, Kansas City, Missouri.

1931-32; Hawkins, Julia Young; New York School of Social Work; Various Medical Social Work Positions in St. Louis & N. Y. State & Municipal Public Welfare Service until July, 1946, Now Homemaker, Institute, West Virginia.

1932-33; Moron, Alonzo G.; University of Pittsburgh; General Business Manager and Chairman, Interim Administrative Committee, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

1932-33; Oswell, Louise Love; New York School of Social Work; Proprietor, Mail Order Business, New York City.

1932-33; Adams, Alger L.; New York School of Social Work; Editor, The Bulletin of the Diocese of New York.

1933-34; Blake, Charles; New York School of Social Work; Teacher, Board of Education, New Rochelle, New York.

1933-34; Clark, Mildred Moore; Bryn Mawr College; Executive Director, Hume Child Development Center, New Orleans, La.

1933-34; Gould, Howard D.; University of Pittsburgh; Director, Industrial Race Relations Associates, Chicago, Illinois.

1934-35; Baltimore, Marjorie B.; New York School of Social Work; Supervisor, Child Welfare Division, Board of Public Welfare, Washington, D. C.

1934-35; Banner, Warren M. (Ph.D.); University of Pittsburgh; Director of Research & Community Projects, National Urban League, New York City.

1934-35; Alexander, Katherine Kinzy; Bryn Mawr College; Information Officer, Los Angeles Metropolitan Offices, California State Employment Service, Los Angeles, Calif.

1935-36; Montero, Frank Curle; New York School of Social Work; Public Relations Consultant of Urban League Service Fund, New York City.

1935-36; Coggs, Pauline Redmond; University of Pittsburgh; Volunteer with: Milwaukee Urban League (Board Member), League of Women Voters, N.A.A.C.P., Council of Social Agencies & Wisconsin Welfare Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

1935-36; Spencer, Laura Lee; New York School of Social Work; Health Educator, Department of Health, Detroit, Michigan.

1936-37; Berkley, Charles C.; University of Pittsburgh; Public Relations Consultant, New York City.

1936-37; Mitchell, Clarence M., Jr.; Atlanta University School of Social Work; Labor Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

1936-37; Smith, John Caswell, Jr.; New York School of Social Work; Social Service Faculty, Bennington College, Bennington, Vt.

1937-38; Bell, William Y., Jr.; University of Pittsburgh; Adult Education Teacher, Ethical Culture Society, New York City.

1938-39; Beckett, Charles C.; New York School of Social Work; Executive Secretary, Washington (D. C.) Urban League.

1938-39; Robinson, George H.; New York School of Social Work; Executive Secretary, N. J. Urban League, Newark, N. J.

1938-39; Whiting, Albert N.; University of Pittsburgh; Assistant Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

1939-40; Banton, Dorothy Fassitt; New York School of Social Work; Superintendent, Kruse School, Marshallton, Delaware.

1939-40; Bell, Ruth Hamlin; University of Pittsburgh; Director for Teen-Age Program, Phyllis Wheatley Branch, Y. W. C. A., Indianapolis, Indiana.

1939-40; Duckrey, Vernor C. R.; New York School of Social Work; U. S. Probation Officer for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

1940-42; White, Edith A. Lockley; University of Chicago; Psychiatric Social Worker, N. Y. State Dept. of Mental Hygiene, Albany, New York.

1940-42; Allen, Alexander J., Jr.; New York School of Social Work; Executive Secretary, Baltimore Urban League, Baltimore, Maryland.

1940-42; Tanneyhill, Gertrude A.; University of Pittsburgh; Industrial Secretary, Brooklyn Branch, Urban League of Greater N. Y. (In Charge of Branch Office).

1940-42; Gordon, Roger F.; New York School of Social Work; Acting Chief Social Worker, Veterans Administration, Trenton, New Jersey.

1943-44; Meares, George E.; Atlanta University School of Social Work; Probation Officer, Kings County Court, Brooklyn, New York.

(Jan.)
1943-44; Morris, Laura Martin; New York School of Social Work; Community Relations Secretary, Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc., Boston, Massachusetts.

1943-44; Gordon, Catherine Blackwell; New York School of Social Work; Teacher, Sociology, The State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.

1943-45; Snowden, Muriel Sutherland; New York School of Social Work; Publicity & Public Relations Consultant, St. Mark Social Center, Inc.; Vice-Pres., Council on Community Affairs of Upper Roxbury, Mass.; Member, Corporation of Denison House, Dorchester, Mass.

1944-45; McDonald, Inez Womack; University of Pittsburgh; Group Work Supervisor, Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Pittsburgh, Pa., & Univ. of Pittsburgh Field Instructor, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

1944-45; Huey, Frances E. Benson; New York School of Social Work; Caseworker, Bellevue Hospital Social Service, New York City.

1944-45; Bradley, Kathryn Davenport; New York School of Social Work; Family Caseworker, Family Service Bureau, Salvation Army, Brooklyn, New York.

1945-46; Bibb, Marilyn Duncan; University of Pittsburgh; Group Worker, The Five Towns Community House, Inc., Lawrence, Long Island, N. Y.

1945-46; Goff, Phoebe H.; Teachers College, Columbia University; Field Consultant, Rehabilitation Service, National Tuberculosis Assn., New York City.

1945-47; Samuda, Lois; New York School of Social Work; Caseworker, Leake & Watts Children's Home, Yonkers, N. Y.

1946-47; Banks, James G.; University of Pittsburgh; Tenant Consultant, National Housing Authority, Washington, D. C.

1946-48; Jackson, Elizabeth B.; University of Pittsburgh; Group Work Supervisor, Parkway Community House, Chicago, Illinois.

1946-48; Anthony, Agnes; New York School of Social Work; Supervisor, Youth Division, Manhattanville Neighborhood Center, New York, N. Y.

1946-48; Runnels, Aldena B.; New York School of Social Work; Caseworker, Riverdale Children's Association, New York City.

1947-48; Augustine, Thomas; University of Pittsburgh; Assistant Industrial Secretary, Akron Community Service Center, Urban League of Akron, Ohio.

1947-48; Clark, Frances L.; New York School of Social Work; Group Leader, Forest House Day Camp Program, Bronx, New York.

1947-48; Belle, Josephine; University of Pittsburgh; Head Counselor, Y. W. C. A. Day Camp, Montclair, N. J.

1948-49; Jackson, Harry E.; New York School of Social Work.

1948-49; Hargon, Victoria C.; University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work.

1948-49; Webster, Thomas A.; University of Kansas; Executive Secretary, Urban League of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri.

1949; Marjorie Greene; New York School of Social Work.

1949; Harry Jackson; New York School of Social Work.

1949; Mozella Jackson; New York School of Social Work.

1950; Della Bell; New York School of Social Work.

1950; Ivor V. Johnson; New York School of Social Work.

1950; George Davis; New York School of Social Work.

1951; Della Bell; New York School of Social Work.

1951; George Davis; New York School of Social Work.

1951; Doris Carnegie; Pittsburgh School of Social Work.

Note: This listing covers the period 1911-1951, inclusive. Information was obtained from the office of R. Maurice Moss, Associate Executive Director, National Urban League, March 4, 1952.

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Report of New York Urban League. New York: New York Urban League, 1920-1921.

2. Letters:

Douglas, Winston, Booker T. Washington High School, Norfolk, Virginia, March 10, 1952.

Hill, Lester V., Coordinator of Diversified Occupations, Maggie L. Walker High School, Richmond, Virginia, March 17, 1952.

Mays, Benjamin E., President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, May 24, 1952.

Moss, R. Maurice, Associate Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City, March 4, 1952.

Oliver, U. L., Virginia Randolph High School, Glen Allen, Virginia, February 26, 1952.

Peterson, George, Jr., Armstrong High School, Richmond, Virginia, February 27, 1952.

Tanneyhill, Ann, Director of Vocational Guidance, National Urban League, New York City, November 29, 1951.

Valien, Preston, Chairman, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 9, 1952.

B. Personal Interviews

Baxter, Julia. Research Associate, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City, August 19, 21, 1952.

Brown, Ezell R. Research Director, Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan, August 4, 8, 1952.

Cooke, Josephine G. Student, Cheyney State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania, November 27, 1953.

Dancy, John C. Executive Secretary, Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan, August 4, 8, 11, 1952.

Hall, Wiley A. Executive Secretary, Richmond Urban League, Richmond, Virginia, December 20, 21, 28, 1951; April 8, 1952; June 11, 1953; and March 16, 1954.

Price, William L. Department of Community Relations, Detroit Urban League, Detroit, Michigan, August 4, 8, 1952.

Wilkins, Roy. Administrator, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City, August 19, 20, 22, 1952.

C. Published

1. Official Organs and Yearbook:

Fortieth Anniversary Yearbook. New York: National Urban League, 1951. Pp. 129.

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2. Pamphlets:

A Handbook of Operation for Urban League Personnel. New York: National Urban League, 1948.

An Outline of Branch Functions. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, n.d.

Constitution of the Richmond Urban League. Richmond: Richmond Urban League, 1929.

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Ever Widening Horizons, The Story of the Vocational Opportunity Campaigns. New York: National Urban League, 1951. Pp. 31.

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Handbook for N.A.A.C.P. Youth Councils. New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1943, n.p.

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