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### A Study of Segregation in Negro Education and of Efforts to Secure Racial Integration in Education

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A STUDY OF SEGREGATION IN NEGRO EDUCATION AND OF EFFORTS  
TO SECURE RACIAL INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

A Problem Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Course,  
Research Problems 390b

By

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Pittsburg, Kansas

May, 1953

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

The problem of the Negro is an important and sometimes an embarrassing one for the United States. Nations throughout the world question the policy of the United States of advocating democracy for the rest of the world and at the same time treating a large minority of its population as second-rate citizens. These undemocratic practices among peoples of our society cannot exist without affecting both minority and majority groups. Both can do much to make for better democratic practices in our educational program.

This study is an attempt to trace the progress made toward the elimination of segregated public schools and to discuss some of the effects it has had on the Negro teacher, student, and public.

Inequality in education progressed rapidly in our southland after the reconstruction period. Negroes as well as whites accepted this condition as being normal. The southern states in general proposed to give the Negro separate but equal schools but made little effort to carry out this policy. During recent years attacks have been made on segregation itself. Many people are wondering what effects non-segregated schools, which seem to be the ultimate aim of militant Negro groups, will have on the Negro and white public, the Negro teacher and

student, and the Negro college. Some vital questions are:

- (1) Will the Negro teacher be displaced?
- (2) Will Negro colleges find it possible to compete with white colleges and universities?
- (3) Can it be expected that the white as well as Negro public will be ready for such a drastic change?
- (4) Can the students adjust themselves to a drastically new situation?

One of the most pressing problems, today, is that of how to plan an educational program for democracy. We in America like to think that we live in a democratic society. At the same time the faults of our society in relation to education and democracy are suppressed. Education today must come face to face with the realities of life. We must become conscious of the forces which hinder the real progress of democracy in this country.

Adequate schools and other means of public education are indeed necessary to the successful functioning of a democratic nation. The existence of discrimination against minority groups in education has brought about a racial problem which only education can solve. It is hoped that this study may aid in developing a more complete and deeper understanding of the problems involved in providing equal educational opportunities for Negro children.

No attempt will be made in this study to give a picture of the entire pattern of segregation in education. The objects of this work are to sketch the development of the segregated pattern, to trace the fight for equal education for all people



in the United States, to give some insight on recent efforts to eliminate segregation in education altogether, and to point out some of the problems incident to the possible elimination of the segregation.

### Sources of Data

The writer confined the search for information for this study to the Kansas State Teachers College Library and the Kansas City, Missouri Public Library. Periodicals, bulletins, books, and government documents were utilized to a large degree. Perhaps the most fruitful source of information was The Journal of Negro Education, a scholarly journal published by the Howard University Press. This journal has among its contributors some of the most prominent Negroes in the United States. Government documents, particularly those published by the United States Office of Education, were also used to great advantage in this paper. Books by E. Franklin Frazier, Jerome Dowd, Gunnar Myrdal, Edward Rueter, all eminent students of the Negro problem, were of tremendous benefit. The Negro Handbook by Florence Murray was also indispensable for this study.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We are going to begin our survey of Negro education with the year of 1861. This year marked the beginning of the Civil War. As the union armies penetrated the South they were followed into this area by representatives of missionary societies who established schools for freed Negroes.

*From here*  
The Government assumed responsibility for the education of the emancipated Negro with the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau. This bureau met a great deal of opposition from the southern whites. These opponents of Negro education feared that, through the education of the former slaves, "white supremacy" was being challenged. In expression of this opposition, schoolhouses were burned and many of the teachers were beaten or run out of the areas where they taught. The Freedmen's Bureau was in existence only five years, but in that short time it was instrumental in establishing over 4,000 schools. Further, this agency, during that short period, employed 9,307 teachers who taught 247,333 pupils.<sup>1</sup>

Negroes, deprived of the right to an education prior to the Civil War, seemed quite anxious to take advantage of the schooling offered them by the missionary societies and the Freedmen's Bureau after the war. Booker T. Washington explained

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<sup>1</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp. 420-22.



this great desire for schooling as being "their natural curiosity to discover just what there was about books which made them so dangerous".<sup>2</sup>

After the Civil War the South went through what history records as the reconstruction period. The Negro and Carpet-bag rule of that period gave to the South its first public school system. In a few of the southern states, reconstruction governments tried to force non-segregated schools. These efforts to force Negro and white children to attend the same school, however, were unsuccessful. In those areas where separate schools were not established, the whites usually did not attend the public schools at all.<sup>3</sup>

West Virginia was the first southern state to make provisions for separate but equal education for Negroes a part of its constitution. This separation of schools went so far, in some of the border states, as to segregate Negro taxes for the purpose of supporting Negro schools. In other words, Negro schools were supported from the taxes paid by Negroes. This practice was declared unconstitutional, and these border states gradually made regular provisions for Negro education. In those areas under military rule equal education was provided for Negro and white children. It was not until the seventies that inequalities in education appeared in the reconstructed states.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Berry Brewton, Race Relations, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup>Jerome Dowd, The Negro in American Life, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup>Frazier, op. cit., pp. 423-25.

The reconstruction governments gave to the South its first public tax-supported educational system. After the reconstruction period, the poor whites rose to demand better educational facilities. Because of limited funds it was soon found to be impossible to support, adequately, both white and colored schools. The Negro, now being disfranchised, automatically was the one to suffer. In order to secure funds to support the white schools a formula was worked out whereby state moneys were diverted from the Negro to the white schools. The formula originated in Mississippi and soon all of the rest of the southern states followed the same pattern. A part of the Mississippi formula consisted of a uniform examination for all teachers. The results of these examinations supposedly determined the grade of certificate a teacher would receive. The salary range for the various grades of certificates was wide so it was possible to pay a first-grade white teacher \$55 per month and at the same time pay a first-grade Negro teacher as little as \$25 per month. The rise of inequalities in education began with the rise of the poor whites. The Negro was blamed for the inadequacy of the white schools for it was the Negro, the poor whites claimed, upon whom their money for education was being wasted. These heretofore neglected poor whites maintained that the Negro was incapable of profiting from education because of his inferior mind.

Very little progress was made in Negro education during the latter part of the nineteenth and the first part of the



twentieth century. The policy of inequality of educational facilities soon became a firmly rooted pattern in the South.<sup>5</sup>

The difference between the amount spent for Negro education and the amount spent for white education in the South increased rapidly after 1900. Perhaps this is because of the fact that it was not until 1890 that the poor whites had firmly established themselves in power. It perhaps took a few years to permanently determine the Negro's place in the southern pattern. In 1900, the difference in the amount provided for each white child and that provided for each Negro child was only one dollar. In that year the South spent \$3.00 for the education of each white child for each \$2.00 it spent for the education of each Negro child. By 1930, however, this difference had increased to the extent that for each \$7.00 spent on a white child only \$2.00 was available for a Negro child.<sup>6</sup> Further evidence of the inequality of white and Negro education in the South is apparent from the information released by the United States Office of Education. It was revealed that for the school year 1937-38 no provision had been made for secondary education of Negroes in eighty-seven counties in the South although Negroes formed over twelve per cent of the population in each of these counties. Over 400,000 Negroes resided in these counties, 46,000 of whom were of high school age. In

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 425-27.

<sup>6</sup>The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "Racial Inequalities in Education," (Bulletin, October, 1938), p. 8.

another group of 115 counties having a Negro population of over 832,000, there were no high schools available for Negroes although there were at least 100,000 colored children of high school age.<sup>7</sup>

It is apparent that the separate but equal doctrine adopted by the various southern states is but a farce if one could compare the current expenditures for white schools with those for colored schools. For the school year 1943-44, it was found that the average per capita current expenditure for eleven southern states was \$84.79 for white children and only \$36.97 for Negro children. The per cent of cost per white child in those states was 129 per cent greater than the cost per Negro child. Mississippi spent 499 per cent more for the education of the white child than for the education of the Negro child, while South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana each spent slightly over 200 per cent more for education of the whites than for education of the Negroes. In six other southern states, the current expenditures per white child over that per Negro child were as follows: Alabama, 174 per cent; Arkansas, 136 per cent; Florida, 102 per cent; Maryland, 27 per cent; North Carolina, 43 per cent; and Texas, 47 per cent. Only in Oklahoma was the per capita expenditure for Negroes greater than that for white children.<sup>8</sup>

Another phase of the inequality pattern is the wide gap

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<sup>7</sup> Ambrose Caliver, "Education of Negro Leaders," Washington: U. S. Office of Education, 1948, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



in salary scales between white and Negro teachers. Negro teachers having the same qualifications and experience, and performing the same type of work as white teachers receive less in the way of compensation.<sup>9</sup> Some indication of the disparity between Negro and white teachers' salaries in the South may be found in Table I.

The difference between the amount given for the support of Negro education and that given for the support of white schools is still great even in the present decade. This gap, however, has narrowed during the last fifteen years.

Segregation in education is by no means confined to the South. Prior to the Civil War a dual system of education existed in the North. Mixed schools came into being after the war when it was realized that it was impractical to maintain a dual system of education in the North with only a small Negro population. Some whites at first objected to mixed schools. Some farmers in Ohio objected to such an extent that they got rid of their Negro tenants.<sup>10</sup>

Segregation in education is forbidden in twelve northern and western states. These twelve states are: Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington. The laws of California, Iowa, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah,

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<sup>9</sup>"Racial Inequalities in Education," op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>10</sup>Jerome Dowd, The Negro in American Life, p. 66.

Vermont, and Wisconsin say nothing whatsoever about segregation.<sup>11</sup>

TABLE I<sup>12</sup>

ANNUAL SALARIES PAID WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS,  
1943-44 (INCLUDES PRINCIPALS)

State (or District of Columbia)	Average Salary of Instructional Staff		Per cent White Salaries Exceed Negro Salaries
	White	Negro	
Alabama	\$1158	\$ 661	75
Arkansas	924	555	66
Delaware	1953	1814	8
Florida	1530	970	58
Georgia	1123	515	118
Kentucky	(2)	(2)	(2)
Louisiana	1683	828	103
Maryland	2025	2002	4
Mississippi	1107	342	224
Missouri	1397	1590	(1)
North Carolina	1380	1249	10
Oklahoma	1428	1438	
South Carolina	1203	615	96
Tennessee	1071	1010	6
Texas	1395	946	47
Virginia	1364	1129	21
West Virginia	(2)	(2)	(2)
District of Columbia	2610	2610	0

(1) Due to the concentration of Negroes in Kansas City and Saint Louis

(2) No data available

<sup>11</sup>Reid K. Jackson, "The Development and Character of Permissive and Partly Segregated Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XVII (Summer, 1947), 301.

<sup>12</sup>Caliver, op. cit., p. 23.

In five states, Arizona, Kansas, Indiana, New Mexico, and Wyoming segregation is permitted but not required.<sup>13</sup>

Although Negroes in the North have the right to attend the same schools as whites, segregation in a great many instances is maintained. Several methods are utilized to circumvent these non-segregation laws. Negroes are excluded from some schools in spite of laws to the contrary. Some cities get around the laws through zoning so that all Negroes will be in the same school zone. The few whites who may be living in the Negro district are usually allowed to transfer to some school located in a white district. In many schools a policy of segregation is maintained by allowing Negro children to attend the same schools as the white children but in different classes.<sup>14</sup>

E. Franklin Frazier estimates that as yet one-fourth of the schools in the North are segregated. Further, he thinks that only one-fourth of the northern Negro school population is thoroughly integrated.<sup>15</sup>

Many militant Negro leaders have protested segregation in the North. Usually boards of education have a ready answer for these protesters. They reply that it was the Negroes themselves who requested the segregated school or schools. It

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<sup>13</sup> Horace M. Bond and Martin Puner, "Jim Crow in Education," Nation, CLXXIII (November 24, 1951), 446.

<sup>14</sup> "Racial Inequalities in Education," op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Frazier, op. cit., p. 442.



is true that some Negroes are quite articulate in their demand for separate schools. There are perhaps two primary reasons why these Negroes demand segregated schools. They are: (1) boards of education are reluctant to hire Negro teachers in non-segregated systems, so influential colored citizens, who perhaps have an educated son or daughter eager to teach, suggest or quietly accept separate schools; (2) then, there are still other Negroes who believe that the child can secure more inspiration and social participation in an all Negro school and that, therefore, a separate school is better for the child.<sup>16</sup>

It is no small wonder that many Negroes prefer separate schools even in the North when mixed schools sometimes mean humiliation for the Negro student and exclusion of the Negro teacher. In spite of these advantages of separate schools, some Negroes regard mixed schools as a matter of principle and as a means of improving the relations between the races and would therefore accept mixed schools at any price.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>T. D. Reddick, "The Education of Negroes in the United States Where Separate Schools Are Not Legal," Journal of Negro Education, XVI (Summer, 1947), 297-98.

<sup>17</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 902.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FIGHT FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

The Supreme Court indirectly sanctioned separate schools in a case brought before it in 1896. During that year the court decided in a case involving segregation in transportation (Pleasy vs. Ferguson) that separate but equal accommodations did not violate the provisions of the fourteenth amendment. Since that time separate schools have been provided for Negroes in the South with the sanction of the highest court in the land. Until very recently, all cases involving segregation in education brought before the Supreme Court have been based on the issue of whether equal facilities had been provided.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite clear that the Supreme Court has historically attempted to appease the South. The high court, has from the very beginning, held that under segregation the Negro was entitled to equal accommodations. But the court did not use the word "equal" in the true sense of its meaning in its interpretation of educational discrimination cases. The word "equal" denotes that two things are of the same quality. The Supreme Court, however, has, in many instances, qualified the word "equal" with the adjective, "substantial". The court has

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<sup>1</sup>Charles H. Thompson, "Some Progress in the Elimination of Discrimination in Higher Education in the United States," Journal of Negro Education, XIX (Winter, 1950), 5.

frequently asserted that the fourteenth amendment did not require mathematical equality.

Just what degree of equality it formerly took to be substantially equal is indicated in the case of Cumming vs. Board of Education in 1889. The Supreme Court in that case held that a Georgia county, although it had not provided a high school for sixty Negro students of high school age, while at the same time providing one for whites, had not discriminated against the Negroes. This Georgia county had a most simple defense. They simply maintained that they could not afford to support two high schools. This defense, however, was sufficient to satisfy the Supreme Court.<sup>2</sup>

During the last two decades certain militant elements of our Negro population have become increasingly aware of the inequality of the schools provided for their children. It was this consciousness that stimulated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in an all out effort to eliminate these inequalities through legal procedures. A study was made of the inequalities in education, and, by 1930, the N. A. A. C. P. had set up a special fund for its attack on the educational pattern of the South.<sup>3</sup>

The N. A. A. C. P. started its campaign in North Carolina

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<sup>2</sup>Robert E. Cushman, "The Laws of the Land," Survey Graphic, XXXVI (January, 1947), 18.

<sup>3</sup>Thurgood Marshall, "An Evaluation of Recent Efforts to Achieve Racial Integration in Education Through Resort to the Courts," Journal of Negro Education, XXI (Summer, 1952), 317.



in 1933. The organization made an effort at this time to force the state of North Carolina to admit a Negro to its law school. This effort ended in failure because the president of the Negro college where the plaintiff had graduated refused to certify the student's academic record. The student, therefore, was ineligible for matriculation at the University of North Carolina Law School.<sup>4</sup>

The second case was instituted against the University of Maryland Law School. A Negro, Donald Murray, sought admission to the law school. Although he was a graduate of Amherst College and his credentials were in order, he was denied entrance to the school solely on the basis of race. Murray contended that his constitutional rights had been violated, and, therefore, brought suit in the local courts for a writ of mandamus to compel the university officials to admit him. The local court instructed the university to admit Murray and its decision was later sanctioned by the Maryland Court of Appeals where the case had been carried by the university officials. Murray entered the law school and graduated with an excellent record in 1938.<sup>5</sup>

Following closely behind the Murray case was that of Gaines vs. Canada in which Lloyd Gaines sought admittance to the Law School of the University of Missouri. Unlike the previous suit, this case was carried to the Supreme Court so

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Jessie P. Guzman, Negro Yearbook, 1947, p. 96.

its outcome took on national significance. The Supreme Court directed the state of Missouri to either admit Gaines to its university or set up facilities within the state whereby Gaines could secure a legal education. Missouri complied with the decision by setting up a Negro law school in 1939.<sup>6</sup> This venture in providing separate facilities for professional training proved to be quite expensive for the state of Missouri. By the time the first student graduated from the segregated law school, Missouri had spent \$500,000.<sup>7</sup>

' In the Gaines case, as well as in its previous cases, the N. A. A. C. P. concentrated on securing the complete equalization of educational facilities, particularly on the graduate and professional level. To match subject for subject, teacher for teacher, and building for building in all the professional areas for the few Negroes seeking such training would be nearly impossible for most of the southern states. The N. A. A. C. P. expected the southern states to soon give up all attempts to provide equal facilities because of the extremely high cost.<sup>8</sup>

Starting in 1945 the N. A. A. C. P. changed its policy in that it decided to attack segregation directly. The organization sought in three important cases to prove that it was impossible to secure equal professional training in

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<sup>6</sup>Cushman, op. cit., pp. 18, 97.

<sup>7</sup>R. I. Brighan, "Price of Segregation; Gaines Case," Survey Graphic, XXXV (May, 1946) 156-7.

<sup>8</sup>Marshall, op. cit., p. 318.

segregated institutions.<sup>9</sup>

During 1946, a young man and a young woman attempted to enter the law schools of the University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma respectively. The young woman, Ada Sipuel, was refused admittance to the University of Oklahoma Law School and so found it necessary to resort to the courts. Her original petition to compel the University of Oklahoma to admit her was denied, so Miss Sipuel's case was eventually carried to the Supreme Court. This court on January 12, 1948, ordered the state of Oklahoma to provide facilities for the legal education of its Negroes on a par with those provided for other citizens. The second semester was scheduled to begin within one week, and within that single week the Oklahoma Board of Regents established a segregated law school. The school was located in the state capitol building and had access to the libraries of the State Supreme Court and the legislature. A faculty of three was hired and according to the catalog the school was to offer the same courses as those offered at the University of Oklahoma Law School. Ada refused to attend the segregated law school on the basis that it failed to offer equal training.<sup>10</sup>

In May, 1948, Miss Sipuel was again in court. This time her counsel protested that it was impossible to secure equal

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 318-19.

<sup>10</sup>Harriet Bunn, "Ada Sipuel's Second Try," Nation, CLXVII, (September 18, 1948), pp. 316-17.



legal education in a segregated law school. Expert testimony was introduced in an attempt to prove that intellectual isolation would automatically develop in the Negro school, because in learning law as conceived of, today, an individual needed contact with other law students. The local district court, however, would not allow a direct attack on segregation and Judge Hinshaw declared the two law schools to be substantially equal.<sup>11</sup> The law school was closed within a few months and Miss Sipuel entered the University of Oklahoma in the fall of 1949.<sup>12</sup>

Also in 1946, Herman Sweatt, a thirty-seven year old Negro attempted to enter the University of Texas Law School; he, too, was refused admittance by the university officials. The Texas state legislature then made haste in an effort to provide a university for Negroes in Texas. Three and one-half million dollars were appropriated for this purpose, but Sweatt refused to attend the segregated law school set up at the new Negro university and his case was eventually carried to the Supreme Court.<sup>13</sup>

The Supreme Court, in its decision on the Sweatt vs. Texas case, in June, 1950, commanded the University of Texas to admit Sweatt to its law school.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Jack Greenburg, "Racial Integration of Teachers," Journal of Negro Education, XX (Fall, 1951), 584.

<sup>13</sup>"Herman Sweatt Victory," Life, XXIX (October 16, 1950), 64.

<sup>14</sup>"Negro Gains," Time, XXXVI (November 27, 1950), 75.

As a result of the Sipuel effort, George W. McLaurin was admitted in 1949 to the University of Oklahoma to do graduate work in education toward the doctorate degree. McLaurin, however, was to matriculate on a segregated basis. He was given a special desk in the vestibule of the main classroom. He was allowed to use the library but had to take his books to another special desk on the mezzanine floor of the library building. He was also segregated in the cafeteria to the extent that he had a special table and a special time in which to eat. McLaurin protested and his case, too, was eventually settled by a Supreme Court directive.<sup>15</sup> In June, 1950, the Supreme Court informed the University of Oklahoma that it could no longer segregate in its library, classrooms, and dining rooms.<sup>16</sup>

Before 1951, practically all of the attacks on segregation had been on the professional and graduate level. During 1951, four important cases involving segregation on the high school and elementary school levels were brought before the courts.<sup>17</sup>

The first of these cases originated in Clarendon County, South Carolina. Expert testimony was introduced in this case

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<sup>15</sup>Charles Thompson, "The High Court Looks at Jim Crow," New Republic, CXXII (April 17, 1950), 23-4.

<sup>16</sup>"Negro Gains," op. cit., 75.

<sup>17</sup>Marshall, op. cit., pp. 322-25.

to prove that it was impossible to have segregated and at the same time have equal education even on an elementary or high school level.<sup>18</sup> The three federal judges deciding the case handed down a split decision asserting that the federal courts were powerless in that segregation of races in public education was a matter of the state legislative policy.<sup>19</sup> When a direct appeal of the case was made to the Supreme Court, the court dodged the issue by remanding the case to the district court.<sup>20</sup>

Other cases of similar nature were instituted in Topeka, Kansas; Prince Edward, Virginia; and Wilmington, Delaware. The Prince Edward and the Topeka cases were both handled by the federal courts, which upheld segregation. On the other hand, in Delaware the local judge decided that Negroes had waited too long for equality in education to which every individual is entitled. Chancellor Seitz, therefore, ordered Delaware's schools opened to Negroes. All four of these cases challenging segregation will very soon be brought before the Supreme Court.<sup>21</sup>

Not only was the N. A. A. C. P. concerned with the provision of equal facilities but, in 1936, a campaign was begun to equalize teachers' salaries. It had been discovered that, through salary differentials, Negro teachers suffered an

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>19</sup>Bond and Puner, op. cit., p. 447.

<sup>20</sup>Marshall, op. cit., p. 323.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 324.



annual loss of ten million dollars. Petitions were filed in the various courts to restrain school authorities from paying unequal salaries. This policy of paying Negro teachers lower salaries than white teachers having the same qualifications, according to these petitions, violated the fourteenth amendment. In answer to these petitions some southern school authorities attempted to prove that the salary differentials existed because of the inferior training, lower calibre of work, and less experience of the Negro teacher. The N. A. A. C. P. has been very successful in the prosecution of teacher salary cases.<sup>22</sup>

North Carolina, in 1944, was the first state to map out a program directed toward the equalization of teacher salaries. It is believed by many authorities that in the next few years a single salary scale for Negro and white teachers will exist in all southern states.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Florence Murray, The Negro Handbook, 1944, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup>"The Old North State Scores Another First in Liberal Legislations," School and Society, LX (July 1, 1944), 6.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NON-SEGREGATED SCHOOL, ITS EXTENT AND INHERENT PROBLEMS

In just a little more than two decades a great deal of progress has been made toward the equalization of Negro and white schools. If one were to compare conditions in 1930 with those of 1945, he would find that in 1930 the annual length of the school term for the southern white child was thirty days longer than that for the Negro child living in the same area. He would also find that the differential in the pay of white and Negro teachers was reduced from eighty-five to forty per cent during the same period. The difference in the amount spent for Negro education and the education of whites has been reduced tremendously during the last twenty years, but, nevertheless, a great disparity yet remains.<sup>1</sup> Not only have inequalities been lessened during recent years but also Negroes are now going to colleges and universities heretofore closed to them. State universities in eleven states have recently opened their doors to Negro students. These states are: Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. In nine of these states Negroes are permitted to enroll only on the graduate and professional level, but in two other states they are allowed to matriculate

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<sup>1</sup> Florence Murray, The Negro Handbook, 1949, pp. 120-21.



on the undergraduate level. Some estimates indicate that as many as 1100 Negro youth attend southern colleges and universities.<sup>2</sup> -Private schools have also fallen in line and Negroes are now attending such schools in eight southern states. These eight states are: West Virginia, Maryland, Louisiana, Georgia, Kentucky, Texas, Missouri, and Virginia. In one of these private institutions 251 Negroes are in attendance and five colored teachers are on the staff.<sup>3</sup>

The federal government has pointed the way toward integration of the races in education on some of its military reservations. Federal installations in Virginia and South Carolina, although in the deep south, have non-segregated elementary schools. The principle of integration has been carried to such an extent on one military reservation that a Negro teacher has been employed.<sup>4</sup>

Many conservative southerners have become increasingly fearful of the recent trend toward integration. Segregation, indeed, seems to be doomed for increasingly heavy attacks. The Supreme Court, it is quite apparent, cannot continue to dodge the issue of segregation. Without a doubt that body will have to pass on the constitutionality of segregation in the near future. James F. Byrnes, Governor of South

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<sup>2</sup>Charles Thompson, "The Courts and Racial Integration," Journal of Negro Education, XX (Winter, 1952), 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>M. Ross, "Need and Chance for Equality," New York Times Magazine, (May 25, 1952), 28.

Carolina, expressed what seemed to be in the minds of many of his cohorts when he indicated his state would do away with public education completely rather than have white and Negro children attend schools together.<sup>5</sup>

✓-In spite of these conservatives, integration continues to make headway. Lillian Smith, well known liberal and author of Strange Fruit, predicted in 1951 that, by the year 1954, all southern undergraduate and graduate schools would be opened to Negroes.<sup>6</sup>

Integration has progressed rapidly within the last few years and like any other revolutionary change it has created and will continue to produce numerous problems. Little difficulty is experienced in introducing technological changes but to change the minds of men is a long and tedious process. Traditions built up over the years will continue to exist long after the need for them has vanished. A good many people fear new innovations and some will resist them to the bitter end. Beyond any doubt the process of eliminating segregated schools will continue and both Negro and white people will find it necessary to adjust to the new situation.

Definitely one of the greatest problems associated with the elimination of segregation in schools is that of the employment of Negro teachers. Militant Negro organizations had

<sup>5</sup> "Segregation in the Schools," Commonweal, LX (March 21, 1952), 581.

<sup>6</sup> Lillian Smith, "Ten Years From Today," Vital Speeches, XVII (August 15, 1951), 670.

concentrated on the elimination of educational segregation while giving very little attention to the employment of Negro teachers in the non-segregated school systems. Their attention was focused rather abruptly on this issue when the Board of Trustees of the University of Louisville decided to discontinue its Negro branch and opened its doors to Negro students. Immediately following this decision to admit Negroes to the main university, the faculty members of the Negro branch were given notice of their dismissal.<sup>7</sup>

If one were to accept the non-segregated pattern of schools as set up in some of our northern states as a guide, the problem of Negro teacher employment would be quite apparent. In most communities where the Negro population is small, the policy is to refrain from hiring Negro teachers altogether. In cities where there is a large colored population, Negro teachers are usually assigned to schools in the Negro area. In schools where the number of Negro and white children is more or less equal, Negro teachers are usually assigned to Negro classes.<sup>8</sup>

It will take time but eventually the Negro teacher will be employed in our various integrated school systems. It is important that the Negro teacher be prepared to compete as an

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<sup>7</sup> Charles Thompson, "Negro Teachers and the Elimination of Segregated Schools," Journal of Negro Education, XX (Spring, 1951), 135.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 136.



individual, and not as a Negro, with all other persons engaged in his profession. It is important that the Negro teacher study and work harder if he is to fit into the new pattern.<sup>9</sup>

—Another important question at issue in an integrated school system is the continued existence of the Negro college. Already this question has been one of concern to many Negro educators.

It is thought by a good many educators that the weaker Negro colleges will be the first casualties of full integration. Second in the hierarchy of the doomed Negro colleges will be those in close proximity to strong white colleges and universities.<sup>10</sup> Walter White, Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. feels that with full integration the Negro college will cease to exist. By this he does not mean that the various Negro college plants will not be used for educational purposes, but that these schools will become educational institutions operating on a non-segregated basis.<sup>11</sup> In developing a non-segregated system of schools, one of two things must be done in regard to Negro colleges; (1) close them and unite facilities and students, or (2) continue the former Negro colleges but on an interracial basis. Beyond a doubt many of the Negro

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<sup>9</sup>Martin D. Jenkins, "Problems Incident to Racial Integration and Some Suggested Approaches to These Problems," Journal of Negro Education, XXI (Summer, 1952), 416-17.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 415.

<sup>11</sup>"Court Action and Other Means of Achieving Racial Integration in Education," Journal of Negro Education, XXI (Summer, 1952), 113-14.

faculty members will be displaced because of their inability to teach on the level of efficiency maintained at the white colleges and universities.<sup>12</sup>

\* Integration is something that is feared by several elements of our Negro population. Integration is particularly obnoxious to some middle class Negroes who foresee in integration a termination of certain monopolies in the professions and businesses. Most Negro teachers especially resist all efforts to throw their jobs open to non-racial competition. Too, many Negroes believe that it is only through segregation that the white and Negro elements of our population can maintain a harmonious relationship.<sup>13</sup>

In segregated schools, libraries, hospitals, and other segregated institutions, Negroes have an area of leadership. The heads of these institutions have been a source of authority in race relations. Some Negroes regard separate schools as a means to secure professional employment.

Not all Negroes profit from segregation but a small but articulate element of our Negro population have a vested interest in the segregated pattern. The Negro professional and business man enjoys a certain advantage in that he does not have to compete with whites.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>"Current Trends and Events of National Importance in Negro Education," Journal of Negro Education, XX (Spring, 1951), 113-14.

<sup>13</sup>J. Saunders Redding, On Being Negro in America, pp. 97-98.

<sup>14</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, "Human, All Too Human," Survey Graphic, XXXVI (January, 1947), 75.

In so far as southern whites are concerned, many believe that integration leads to mixed marriages. They do not seem to realize that in those areas where the non-segregated schools exist, there have been very few mixed marriages.<sup>15</sup>

The resistance to integration on the part of both Negroes and whites was clearly demonstrated recently in Cairo, Illinois. In spite of an Illinois law prohibiting the distribution of state funds to districts which segregate on account of race, this southern Illinois community chose to disregard this law. In the month of January, 1952, after a special committee had found the Negro schools to be inferior, seventy Negro children attempted to enter the white schools. The school board and many white and Negro citizens were against non-segregated schools. Foremost of those against Negroes entering the white schools were the Negro principals who, in every way possible, attempted to keep the colored children from transferring to the white schools. The law enforcement officials, catering for public sanction, refused to protect the right of Negro children to attend the public schools of Cairo. Negro leaders promoting the movement for non-segregated schools in this southern Illinois community had their homes bombed. For days after the attempt to enter the white schools a mob atmosphere persisted in the community.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Rayford Logan, ed., What the Negro Wants, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup>L. Schroeter, "Force Violence in Illinois," Nation, CLXXIV (February 9, 1952), 124-26.



It is obvious that both the Negro and white public need to be educated to accept the non-segregated school. This educational program should be high on the agenda of the program of those who are promoting non-segregated schools.

Our schools naturally should be centered around the interests of the child. The Negro child and youth will have many adjustments to make. Ultimately they are the ones who will participate directly in the non-segregated educational program. We can be reasonably sure that these students will experience difficulty in making scholastic and social adjustments. The problems of the Negro student in making this change should be given a great deal of consideration and study.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Jenkins, op. cit.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary

In this paper the writer has attempted to do three things:

(1) Trace the development of unequal educational facilities for Negroes;

(2) Give a historical sketch of the fight launched by militant Negroes, first for equality in education, and later for non-segregation in education;

(3) Give some insight on the extent of non-segregated education, and discuss some of the problems connected with non-segregated education.

It was found that the Negro during the reconstruction period was provided with public educational facilities more or less equal to those provided for the whites. With the end of the reconstruction period, however, the Negro found himself increasingly deprived of educational opportunities.

A fight was launched by the N. A. A. C. P. during the early thirties to improve Negro educational facilities. The fight once started was continued and has had a great deal to do with the narrowing of the gap in the amount spent for Negro education and the amount spent for the education of whites.

In 1945, the legal staff of the N. A. A. C. P. decided that the time had come for a direct attack on segregation.



Since that year a number of Negroes have enrolled in southern colleges and universities formerly maintained exclusively for whites.

The development of non-segregated schools is bringing with it many problems of adjustment for the Negro as well as for white people. These problems of adjustment will not be solved overnight, but will require a great deal of thought and patience.

### Conclusions

We are living today in a dynamic society. New scientific findings place into obsolescence our ways of doing and thinking almost in a fortnight. Yet we still have people who cling to the horse and buggy days. There are those who cling to state rights as if the various states had as little in common as they had when the constitution was written. There are those people who still believe that one race is innately superior to another although the anthropologist has long ago proven this to be false.

America is seeking world leadership, but cannot bring herself to the realization that three-fourths of the people of the world are of the darker hue. When she speaks of justice, many peoples of the world question her treatment of the Negro. How can America, they want to know, be expected to deal fairly with millions in Asia and Africa, of whom she knows little, when she maltreats the 13,000,000 black people in her own land whom she knows so well? Foreigners observe

our segregated educational systems with apprehension.

America is making great strides toward the more equal distribution of knowledge. Let us not heed the voice of the ultraconservatives, but continue to press forward. The non-segregated school system must come even if it does bring heartaches for some; not only for the sake of the Negro, but for the peace of the world.

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